

# Contents

---

Map 1:	Anatolia, c.1340	viii
Map 2:	The expansion of the Ottoman Empire	ix
Map 3:	The borders of the Ottoman Empire, sixteenth/ seventeenth centuries	x
Map 4:	The Ottoman–Habsburg frontier, 1600	xi
Map 5:	Ottoman provinces, sixteenth century	xii
	<i>Preface to the Second Edition</i>	xiii
<b>1</b>	<b>Chronology</b>	<b>I</b>
	The Ottoman Empire in 1650	1
	Before the Ottomans	3
	The Ottoman Emirate: from triumph to disaster, 1300–1402	7
	The Ottoman Emirate: civil war and recovery, 1402–51	16
	The Ottoman Empire: conquest and consolidation, 1451–1512	25
	The apogee of Empire, 1512–90	39
	The Ottoman times of trouble, 1590–1650	58
<b>2</b>	<b>The Dynasty</b>	<b>75</b>
	Reproduction and family structure	75
	Succession	84

	Accession	102
	Legitimation	107
<b>3</b>	<b>Recruitment</b>	<b>116</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>The Palace</b>	<b>131</b>
	Palaces	131
	The household	135
	The imperial council	141
<b>5</b>	<b>The Provinces</b>	<b>164</b>
	Provinces	164
	Sanjaks	170
	Fiefs	181
	Peasant tenements	192
	The provinces transformed	194
<b>6</b>	<b>The Law</b>	<b>204</b>
	Legal communities	204
	The sacred law	205
	Colleges, muftis and judges	212
	The secular law	230
<b>7</b>	<b>Taxation</b>	<b>239</b>
	Taxes due to fief-holders	239
	Taxes due to the treasury	242
	Treasury deficits	247
	Tax-farming	253
	Payments	257
	Personnel	259

<b>8</b>	<b>The Army</b>	<b>262</b>
	The fourteenth century	262
	1400–1590: Troops	266
	1400–1590: Weapons	275
	1400–1590: Tactics	284
	After 1590: the ‘military revolution’	290
<b>9</b>	<b>The Fleet</b>	<b>295</b>
	The Ottomans and the sea	295
	Ships	296
	Shipbuilding	299
	Admirals	304
	Captains and crews	309
	Troops	315
	Tactics	317
	<b>Some Conclusions</b>	<b>324</b>
	<i>Notes</i>	332
	<i>Glossary</i>	361
	<i>Sources Quoted</i>	368
	<i>Bibliography</i>	374
	<i>Index</i>	395

# 1 *Chronology*

---

## **The Ottoman Empire in 1650**

In 1650, the Ottoman Empire occupied lands in Europe, Asia and Africa. In Europe, Ottoman territory encompassed most of the Balkan peninsula south of the rivers Danube and Sava, and the lands of central Hungary to the north. The principalities of Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia and the Crimea which lay between Hungary and the Black Sea were tributaries of the Ottoman sultan. In Asia, the Empire extended eastwards from the Bosphorus to the mountainous border with Iran, and southwards to the headwaters of the Gulf, and to Yemen in the south-west of the Arabian peninsula. In Africa, the lands of the Empire comprised part of the western littoral of the Red Sea, Egypt and the semi-autonomous outposts of Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers. In the Mediterranean, Cyprus and most of the islands of the Aegean Archipelago were Ottoman possessions. By 1669, so too was Crete.

Europeans in the seventeenth century, as they still do, normally referred to the Empire as the 'Turkish Empire', and to its Muslim population as 'Turks'. These designations are only partially correct. The population of the Empire was heterogeneous in religion, language and social structure. As the faith of the sultans and of the ruling élite, Islam was the dominant religion, but the Greek and Armenian Orthodox churches retained an important place within the political structure of the Empire, and ministered to large Christian populations which, in many areas, outnumbered Muslims. There was also a substantial population of Ottoman Jews. Following the settlement there of Jews expelled from Spain in 1492, Thessaloniki had become the city with the largest Jewish population anywhere in the world.<sup>1</sup> Outside these main groups, there were

numerous other Christian and non-Christian communities, such as the Maronites and Druzes of Lebanon. Linguistic groups were as varied and overlapping as religious communities. In the Balkan peninsula, Slavonic, Greek and Albanian speakers formed the majority, but there were also substantial minorities of Turks and romance-speaking Vlachs. In Anatolia, Turkish was the majority language, but this was also an area of Greek and Armenian speech and, in the east and south-east, Kurdish. In Syria, Iraq, Arabia, Egypt and North Africa most of the population spoke dialects of Arabic with, above them, a Turkish-speaking élite. However, in no province of the Empire was there a unique language. The social structure of the Empire was also varied. The economy of the Ottoman Empire was overwhelmingly agricultural, and the glory of the sultans rested on the labour of the peasantry. However, the types of agriculture and livestock-rearing, as well as the social structure of villages and households, varied with different traditions and with different terrains and climates. In contrast with the peasantry, a part of the Empire's population was semi-nomadic and often at odds with the settled peoples and government. Among these groups were the Bedouin on the desert margins of Arabia, Syria and Egypt, the Vlachs of the Balkan peninsula and the Turkish-speaking tribesmen of Anatolia, northern Syria and south-eastern Europe.

In the mid-seventeenth century, the political and military élite tended to be of Albanian or Caucasian – that is, typically, Georgian, Abkhazian or Circassian – descent.<sup>2</sup> The legal and religious figures who staffed the religious colleges, law courts and mosques were more likely to be Turks, in the western Balkans, Bosnians or, in the Arabic-speaking provinces, Arabs. The Ottoman Empire was, in short, multinational. Certain groups certainly enjoyed an advantage in the competition for political office, and rivalry between ethnic factions was an important element in Ottoman politics. In principle, however, discrimination existed only on grounds of religion. Muslims alone could achieve political office, but even here Muslim descent was unnecessary. Many, if not most, political office holders were first- or second-generation converts from Christianity. It was the judicial offices that were the preserve of old Muslim families. One vital organ of government, however, remained open to

non-Muslims. Many who engaged in the risky if potentially profitable activity of tax-farming were Christians or Jews.

The Ottoman Empire was not, therefore, exclusively Islamic; nor was it exclusively Turkish. It was a dynastic Empire in which the only loyalty demanded of its multifarious inhabitants was allegiance to the sultan, and even this consisted usually of no more than not rebelling and paying taxes. It was in the end the person of the sultan and not religious, ethnic or other identity that held the Empire together.

Nevertheless, it is not wholly misguided to refer to the sultan's 'well-protected realms' as the 'Turkish Empire'. By the seventeenth century, literate circles in Istanbul would not call themselves Turks, and often, in phrases such as 'senseless Turks', used the word as a term of abuse. Nonetheless, Turkish was the language of government and the lingua franca of the élite. A vizier might be an Albanian, a Croat or an Abkhaz, but for all official and most literary purposes he would use Turkish and not his native tongue. As the language of power, Turkish had prestige throughout the Empire. Furthermore, despite their abuse, the Ottoman élite seems to have thought of Muslim Turks as the most reliable of the sultan's subjects. The settlement of Turkish colonies in the Balkans had accompanied the Ottoman conquest in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the years after the conquest of Cyprus in 1573 had witnessed the removal to the island of Turks from Anatolia. The deportees were sometimes troublemakers at home, but the intention was that with their removal to a distant territory they would form a nucleus of loyal Ottoman subjects. It should be noted, however, that the sultans also resettled non-Turkish groups, such as the Jewish community implanted on Cyprus after 1573 in order to stimulate the commercial life of the island.

The reason for the dominance in the Empire of the Turkish language and the important, although unprivileged, position of the Turks lies in the Empire's origins and in the history of Anatolia in the two and a half centuries before its foundation.

### **Before the Ottomans**

The Ottoman Empire came into being in about 1300 in north-western Anatolia, to the east of the Byzantine capital, Constantinople. It was

only one of numerous small principalities which had emerged in Anatolia in the last two decades of the thirteenth century on territory which had previously belonged to the Byzantine Empire. The lords of these territories and their followers were Muslim Turks, and their presence in Anatolia indicates not only a change in sovereignty, but also a change in ethnicity and religion. From being primarily Greek and Christian in the eleventh century, by 1300 Anatolia had become primarily Turkish and Muslim.

The origins of this change lie in the eleventh century. In the mid-century a confederation of Turkish tribes from Transoxania conquered Iran and, in 1055, occupied Baghdad, establishing it as the capital of the Great Seljuk dynasty. The consequence of these events was not simply to establish a new ruler in Baghdad, but also, with the influx of Turks from Central Asia, to alter the ethnic balance of the Middle East. Many of these Turkish incomers were to colonise Anatolia.

A convenient date for marking the beginning of this phenomenon is 1071. In this year the Great Seljuk sultan defeated the Byzantine emperor at Manzikert in eastern Anatolia. The battle heralded the collapse of Byzantine rule in eastern and central Anatolia, and its replacement by the rule of a branch of the Seljuk dynasty. The area of Byzantine sovereignty shrank to the territory in western Anatolia between the Aegean and the central plateau. The collapse of Byzantine defences and the appearance of a Muslim dynasty undoubtedly encouraged the immigration of Turks. So too did geography. The Turks who had migrated from Transoxania to the Middle East were pastoralists, and Anatolia was well suited to their way of life. The Mediterranean coastlands and the plain of northern Syria provided them with a warm winter climate, while in the summer they and their flocks could follow the retreating snowline to the upland pastures of the Anatolian plateau. It was perhaps these factors more than the collapse of Byzantine rule that encouraged the first Turkish immigrants into Anatolia. Many were to abandon pastoralism and settle in villages.<sup>3</sup>

These Turks were an important element in the realms of the Anatolian Seljuks, but did not form a ruling class. The language of government in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was Persian,

and there was a sharp divide between the Persian-speaking élite of the cities and the Turks in the countryside. It was events in the thirteenth century that raised the political status of Turkish speakers in Anatolia. The same events also brought about the political fragmentation in Anatolia and the Balkan peninsula that was to make possible the establishment of the principality that was to become the Ottoman Empire, and to favour its rapid expansion.

The first of these crises affected the Balkan peninsula rather than Anatolia. In 1204, the army of the Fourth Crusade conquered Constantinople and established a Latin emperor in the city. With the capital in their possession the leaders of the crusade divided Byzantine territory in Greece and the Aegean Archipelago among themselves, forcing the Byzantine government into exile at Nikaia (Izник) and confining its territories to western Anatolia. During the course of the century, the Byzantine emperor recovered some lands in Greece, but the area still remained a patchwork of small principalities. The most lasting benefit of the crusade came to Venice, which acquired strongholds in the Peloponnesos and islands in the Aegean, the most important of which was Negroponte (Evvoia) off the eastern coast of the Greek mainland. By the time of the Ottoman invasion of the Balkan peninsula in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the lands to the north had become similarly fragmented. For a while during the fourteenth century they found political unity under the Serbian Tsar, Stephen Dushan (d. 1355), whose lands comprised Serbia itself, as well as much of Macedonia, Thessaly, Epiros and Albania. On Stephen's death his successors divided the territory into small principalities. The same thing happened in Bulgaria. On the death of Tsar Alexander in 1371, his lands between the Danube and the Balkan mountains divided into three separate principalities. This fragmentation of the Balkan peninsula after 1204 was something which the Ottoman conquerors were to exploit.

The Fourth Crusade did not upset the equilibrium in Anatolia. The Byzantine emperor retained control of western Anatolia and remained at peace with the Seljuk sultan to the east. In the mid-thirteenth century, however, the Seljuk sultanate suffered a catastrophe. In 1243, a Mongol army – part of an invading force which, by 1258, had conquered Iran, Anatolia and Iraq – defeated a Seljuk



army at Köseadağ and reduced the sultan to vassalage. Henceforth, his overlord was the Ilkhan, the Mongol ruler of Iran.

The Mongol conquest did not immediately affect Byzantine lands in western Anatolia. It was, nonetheless, a factor in the collapse of Byzantine rule in this area. The Mongols were a pastoral people, and needed the grasslands of Anatolia not only for their flocks, but also especially for the horses that were essential to their military success. It seems likely, therefore, that competition from the Mongols forced many Turkish pastoralists to seek new lands in the west. They found these in Byzantine Anatolia, where the river valleys led from the plateau to the warmer climate on the Aegean, a feature of the landscape that was well suited to their summer and winter migration. Turkish migration to the west became easier after 1261.

In this year, the Byzantine emperor, Michael VIII Palaiologos, reconquered Constantinople. It was a victory with some unhappy consequences. Once established in Constantinople, the emperor used his resources against enemies in the west, largely ignoring his apparently secure eastern frontier. As Byzantine fortresses fell into disrepair, the westwards migration of Turks became easier. Thus, in the last decades of the thirteenth century, western Anatolia experienced the same transformation in its ethnic composition as central and eastern Anatolia had experienced in the last decades of the eleventh. As in the eleventh century, this change in ethnicity from primarily Greek to primarily Turkish had political consequences.

These to an extent mirrored the political changes in the former Seljuk realms. After 1243, the Seljuk sultans lost their power to Mongol governors, their formerly sovereign territory becoming the western outpost of the Ilkhans of Iran. In 1302, the last Seljuk sultan died. His death coincided with a period of weakening Ilkhanid control over Anatolia, making it possible for governors and warlords to establish themselves as independent rulers. Thus, in the early fourteenth century, what had been Seljuk and Ilkhanid Anatolia fragmented into a kaleidoscope of principalities. Of these, the longest-lived and the most fearsome rival of the Ottoman Empire was the emirate of Karaman in south-central Anatolia, with the old Seljuk capital of Konya as principal city.

The same phenomenon occurred in western Anatolia. Byzantine rule did not survive the Turkish immigration of the late thirteenth

century, and by 1300 Turkish rule had replaced Greek, with a series of Turkish principalities on the former territory of the emperor. On the south coast, around Antalya, lay the principality of Teke. To the north of Teke and lying inland were the territories of Hamid, around Isparta, and Germiyan, with its capital at Kütahya. At the southernmost tip of the Aegean coast lay the principality of Mentеше. To the north of Mentеше were Aydın and Saruhan, with Tire and Manisa as their respective capitals. To the north of Saruhan, with part of its shoreline along the Dardanelles, lay the emirate of Karesi. North-west of Karesi, in the former Byzantine province of Bythnia, was the emirate of Osman, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty. His lands were to form the nucleus of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>4</sup>

One feature in particular distinguished the principalities that had emerged on former Byzantine and Seljuk territories from the polities which they had replaced. Now the rulers, and not simply the subject people, were Turks. They were also Muslims. The mosques which they built bear witness to their faith, while the titles which they adopted for their mosque inscriptions show their wish to emulate the rulers of the old Islamic world. Nonetheless, the literary fragments which survive in Turkish from fourteenth-century Anatolia suggest that these new Turkish lords were 'a rude, unlettered folk', largely ignorant of the tenets of the orthodox Islam which they outwardly professed.

This was the world into which the future Ottoman Empire<sup>5</sup> emerged: strongly Turkish and tentatively Islamic. As the Empire expanded it became increasingly multinational, both in its subject populations and in its body politic. At the same time, the Islam of the rulers, which expressed itself through the adoption of Islamic law and the imposition of formal Islamic ritual, became increasingly orthodox. Nonetheless, the use of Turkish as the language of government and the Turkish element in the population – both a reflection of the Empire's origins – gave the state a Turkish character.

### **The Ottoman Emirate: from triumph to disaster, 1300–1402**

Ottoman tradition names Osman son of Ertughrul as the founder<sup>6</sup> of the Ottoman Empire, and relates how he declared himself a

sovereign ruler at Karacahisar, a castle overlooking the Porsuk valley south-west of Eskişehir. From this area on the edge of the Anatolian plateau, he and his followers migrated north-westwards across the Sakarya river and into Bythina, the Byzantine province to the east of Constantinople. How he came to settle in this area is a matter for speculation, but it is possible that a natural disaster provided the impetus. The Sakarya valley was strategically important, since it controlled the approach to Constantinople from the east and, by 1280, the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII had reorganised this frontier and completed a series of fortifications along the river bank. However, in the spring of 1302 the Sakarya flooded and subsequently changed its course, rendering the defences useless. It was possibly this event that allowed Osman's men to cross the river and settle in Byzantine Bythina.<sup>7</sup>

Turkish raiders soon reached the Sea of Marmara. The Byzantine chronicler Pachymeres describes how news of Osman's victories spread, attracting Turks from other parts of western Anatolia to join his following, and how in 1302 he defeated a Byzantine army near Nikomedia (Izmit), exposing all Bithynia to his raids. From their base in the Sakarya valley his men plundered the countryside to the west, forcing the inhabitants into the walled towns. These remained secure, since Osman lacked the military skills to undertake sieges: his assault on Nikaia (Iznik) failed. When he died in the mid-1320s, Nikaia, Prousas (Bursa), Nikomedia (Izmit) and Pegai had still not fallen.

It was Osman who founded the Ottoman Empire, and who gave his name to the Ottoman – or Osmanlı – dynasty, but it was under his son Orhan (1324?–62) that his principality became more settled. Osman's territory contained no large towns. In 1326, however, the city of Bursa succumbed to starvation and, in 1327, following an earthquake which damaged its fortifications, Orhan's men occupied the Byzantine town of Lopadion (Ulubat), towards the Dardanelles. These disasters persuaded the emperor Andronikos III to lead an army to Bithynia in 1328, but he turned back when Orhan checked his advance at Pelekanon, two days' march from Constantinople. With the land route between the city and Bythina impassable, the fall of the remaining Byzantine towns was inevitable. Nikaia fell in 1331.

Nikomedia followed in 1337, confining Byzantine territory in Asia to a few miles to the east of Constantinople. Ottoman expansion was not only at the expense of Byzantium. In 1345–6, Orhan annexed the Turkish emirate of Karesi, whose lands along the Dardanelles provided a crossing point from Asia into Europe; in 1354, his son Süleyman Pasha occupied Ankara, but such is the obscurity of this period, that it is not clear from whom he took the city.<sup>8</sup>

It was Orhan who established an Ottoman bridgehead in Europe. He achieved this by exploiting a civil war in Byzantium between the rival emperors John [VI] Kantakouzenos and John [V] Palaiologos. Kantakouzenos sought allies among the Turkish rulers of western Anatolia and, in 1346, formed a pact with Orhan by marrying him to his daughter Theodora. The strategy succeeded and, in 1347, Kantakouzenos entered Constantinople and proclaimed himself emperor, with John V as his co-regent. It was Orhan who gained most from this arrangement. In 1352, as war raged between John V and Kantakouzenos' son Matthew, the father summoned help from Orhan, granting his troops under Süleyman Pasha a fortress on the Gallipoli peninsula. This was the first territory that the Ottomans occupied in Europe. Further conquest followed a natural disaster. In March 1354, an earthquake destroyed the walls of Gallipoli and other towns along the Dardanelles, which Süleyman immediately occupied, settling them with Turks from Anatolia.

In 1354, Kantakouzenos abdicated, leaving John V as sole emperor. Orhan had no family ties with John, and so had no obligation to relinquish his new European possessions. Instead, he continued for a while to support the claims of Matthew Kantakouzenos to the Byzantine throne, while his men raided and eventually conquered much of eastern Thrace. In 1359 or 1361 – the date is unclear – Orhan captured Dhidhimoteichon (Dimetoka), clearing a passage along the northern shore of the Aegean towards Thessaloniki.

By the time of Orhan's death in 1362 his realm had acquired characteristics which were to distinguish the Ottoman Empire into the twentieth century. It comprised lands in both Asia and Europe, cities as well as rural settlements; and the ruler had constructed the first mosques and religious establishments that distinguished his principality as a Muslim polity.

It seems that Orhan's son, Murad I (1362–89), came to the throne after a civil war.<sup>9</sup> By the late 1360s, his rulership was secure, and his realms in Anatolia and in Europe began to expand rapidly. In the east he annexed the Turkish principalities that lay in an arc between his own lands in north-western Anatolia and Antalya on the Mediterranean coast. Ottoman chronicles present these annexations as entirely peaceful. Murad acquired, they say, part of the principality of Germiyan as a marriage portion which came with the betrothal of a Germiyanid princess to his son, Bayezid. Hamid, to the south of Germiyan, Murad acquired by purchase. In fact, the Germiyanid marriage and the annexation of Hamid probably followed a military campaign. A chronology of 1439–40 tells us that in 1375–6: 'The Germiyanid and Tatar armies were routed, and Kütahya, some of the fortresses of Germiyan and the land of Hamid were conquered.' Eastwards expansion brought Murad into contact with Karaman, and contact led to war. In 1387, to avenge himself for a previous Karamanid attack, Murad invaded and reduced the lord of Karaman, Alaeddin Ali, to submission.

The control of Germiyan, Hamid and territory to the south gave Murad control of a trade route leading from his capital at Bursa to Antalya, and most probably enhanced his treasury as much as it expanded his realms, but his conquests in Europe were more spectacular.

His reign, however, began with a defeat which might have halted Ottoman conquests in Europe altogether. In 1366, Amadeo of Savoy, the cousin of the Byzantine emperor John V, captured Gallipoli on the European shore of the Dardanelles, a conquest which should have enabled the Byzantines to block the passage of the Turks across the Straits. Then, in 1369, the emperor travelled to Rome to procure the assistance of the pope. Nonetheless, Byzantine success was temporary. No assistance came from Europe, and the continuing Ottoman advance into the Balkan peninsula suggests that reinforcements continued to cross from Asia Minor. Whatever advantage the Byzantines possessed they lost in 1377, when the emperor Andronikos IV ceded Gallipoli to Murad in return for his assistance in a civil war against his father and brothers.

The first of Murad's victories in Europe came, probably, in 1369, when Turkish forces occupied Adrianople (Edirne).<sup>10</sup> The city's position at the confluence of the Maritsa and Tundzha rivers gives access to central and eastern Bulgaria, and to western Thrace, and it was the imminent danger to the lands lying to the west of Edirne that motivated the two Serbian lords of Macedonia to attack Murad's forces on the Maritsa river in 1371. Both men lost their lives in the rout which followed and, in the words of a Greek Short Chronicle: 'From then on the Muslims began to overrun the Empire of the Christians.'

The pressure which these Muslims exerted was both political and military. The tsardom of Bulgaria became a vassal of Murad following his marriage to Thamar, the sister of Tsar Shishman. The conquest of Thrace and Macedonia, however, was by war. Turkish raids began immediately after the battle of the Maritsa, with Thessaloniki coming under attack in 1372. In the same year, Pope Gregory XI tried unsuccessfully to form an anti-Turkish alliance, suggesting that the Latin colonies in central and southern Greece were also threatened. What had begun as raids, led to conquests. In 1383, an Ottoman army under the vizier Hayreddin Chandarli captured Serrai and besieged Thessaloniki. In 1387, the city capitulated. Verroia fell probably in 1385–6 and Bitola shortly afterwards, bringing all of southern Macedonia under Ottoman control by 1387. In the same years, Turkish raids spread south-westwards into Epiros – by 1386, Esau Buondelmonti, the despot of Epiros, was Murad's vassal – and southwards to the Peloponnesos. In 1387, at the invitation of Theodore, the Byzantine despot of Mistra, the Turkish lord Evrenos harried lands in the Peloponnesos, attacking both the despot's enemies and the Venetian settlements in the peninsula. Meanwhile, to the north, Ottoman expansion continued in the direction of Serbia.

In, probably, 1385 Sofia fell. Nish followed in 1386, enabling Murad to enter the territory of the Serbian lord, Prince Lazar. The invasion failed. Lazar checked Murad's advance at Pločnik and forced his withdrawal. For three years Murad did not return to Serbia. His advance in the west had given the emir of Karaman, Alaeddin Ali, the opportunity to attack his lands in Anatolia, and it was against

Karaman that Murad campaigned in 1387. Then, during the same year, the Bulgarian tsar, Shishman, renounced his allegiance to Murad, unleashing a campaign under the vizier Ali Chandarli to reduce him to submission. By the summer of 1388, Shishman had again accepted Murad's overlordship.<sup>11</sup> But it was another event in 1388 that drew Murad back to Serbia in the following year.

It seems that Murad had sent troops under a certain Shahin to assist his vassal George Stracimirović, lord of Zeta, in attacking the Bosnian king, Tvrtko. In August 1388, Bosnian troops routed Shahin's men at Bileća, near the Adriatic, and it was perhaps with a view to striking against King Tvrtko that Murad marched westwards in 1389. His route, in any case, led him into Serbia, and here, on 15 June 1389, he encountered the army of Prince Lazar at Kosovo Polje.<sup>12</sup> The outcome of the battle seems to have been a Turkish victory insofar as the Turks held the field, but with great losses. Both Murad and Lazar lost their lives in the battle. According to Ottoman tradition, Murad's son, Bayezid, succeeded his father in a coup on the battlefield of Kosovo.<sup>13</sup>

Fourteenth-century sources suggest that Murad styled himself as 'emir' and not yet as 'sultan'. The emirate that he had established on the basis of his inheritance from Orhan consisted of a federation of lords under Ottoman suzerainty. The lands which he had inherited around Bursa in Anatolia and the lands in Thrace around Edirne probably came directly under the rule of Murad himself or of his appointees. After the Germiyanid marriage of 1375–6, much of Ottoman Anatolia probably came under the rule of his son, Bayezid. Political power in the Balkan peninsula lay largely with the Muslim marcher lords, whether these, like Evrenos in Macedonia, were of Turkish origin, or whether, like the Mihaloghlu family in north-eastern Bulgaria, they were converts from Christianity. In addition, many of the Christian dynasts of the Balkan peninsula, such as Esau Buondelmonti of Ioannina, George Stracimirović of Zeta, Shishman and Ivanko in Bulgaria and the Byzantine emperor and his son Theodore of Mistra, were Murad's vassals. They owed him tribute and provided him with troops, but in return received support against their enemies. The Ottoman Empire was to retain a similar political structure until after 1450.

Murad's death at Kosovo encouraged neighbouring powers in Anatolia to seize Ottoman lands, a contemporary source telling how Alaeddin of Karaman recovered Beyşehir, and how the lord of Germiyan attempted to regain his lost territory. Bayezid's response came in 1390. By March of that year he had conquered the three principalities on the Aegean shore of Anatolia – Saruhan, Aydın and Mentеше – retaken Beyşehir from Karaman and in this, or a later campaign, seized the lands that remained to Germiyan. The campaign secured territory but not peace. As it proceeded, one of Bayezid's Anatolian vassals, Süleyman Pasha of Kastamonu, transferred his allegiance from Bayezid to Burhaneddin, the ruler of much of central Anatolia. In 1391 Bayezid defeated and executed Süleyman Pasha, before continuing eastwards against Burhaneddin. He suffered a defeat at Çorumlu, but this was not so severe as to halt his advance. In December, however, weather, terrain and events in Europe forced him to return westwards. During the course of the campaign he had annexed Kastamonu, and perhaps obtained the allegiance of the lords and clan chiefs of northern Anatolia. The army that he led was very different from that of the first two Ottoman rulers. He now had in his following his vassal, the Byzantine emperor Manuel II, with a contingent of Byzantine troops and also, on Manuel's testimony, contingents of Serbs, Bulgarians and Albanians.<sup>14</sup>

In 1392, Bayezid's main concern was with Serbia. After the battle of Kosovo, Serbia faced a threat of invasion from Hungary to the north, and from the Ottomans to the south and east. It clearly had to accept the overlordship of one in order to gain protection from the other. A faction in Serbia preferred Bayezid to King Sigismund of Hungary and, to formalise the arrangement, Bayezid married Olivera, the sister of Lazar's son and successor, Stephen Lazarević. Stephen was henceforth Bayezid's vassal. At the same time Bayezid asserted his suzerainty over George Stracimirović of Zeta and Vlk Branković, lord of Priština. Bayezid's next concern was Bulgaria. Why he should have invaded Tsar Shishman's territory in 1393 and captured his capital of Tărnovo is not clear: Shishman had perhaps, for a second time, broken his allegiance to the Ottoman ruler. This was, however, only a preliminary engagement. Two years later, in



order to pre-empt an anti-Turkish alliance between King Sigismund of Hungary and Voyvoda Mircea of Wallachia, Bayezid led his army to the north of the Danube and encountered the Wallachians in a violent but indecisive battle. On his return he entered Târnovo and executed Tsar Shishman, exiling other members of the dynasty to governorships in Anatolia.

The establishment of Ottoman suzerainty over Serbia, the extinction of the tsardom of Bulgaria and Bayezid's invasion of Wallachia posed a threat to Hungary which lay to the north of the Danube. To counter the danger, King Sigismund renewed his efforts to form an anti-Turkish league, seeking an alliance in the first place with the Byzantine emperor Manuel II. In 1394, Bayezid had placed Constantinople under siege,<sup>15</sup> and Manuel himself was seeking allies, counting above all on assistance from Venice, whose own possessions in Greece and the islands were targets for Turkish raids. By 1396, Sigismund, Manuel and Venice had agreed to contribute troops and ships to a war against Bayezid. A more significant contingent came from France and Burgundy. In 1395, a truce between France and England had released the Franco-Burgundian knights for adventures elsewhere, and a contingent under the son of the duke of Burgundy, travelled to Hungary to join Sigismund's crusade against Bayezid.

Bayezid encountered the crusaders in 1396 at Nicopolis (Nikopol) on the Danube in Bulgaria. His lightly armed cavalry, including a contingent under Stephen Lazarević, outmanoeuvred the heavily armed western knights, drawing them into a trap and inflicting a total defeat. The survivors whom Bayezid did not execute, he kept for ransom. Following his victory, Bayezid removed the last independent Bulgarian lord, Sratsimir of Vidin, consolidating Ottoman domination of the lands south of the Danube and threatening an invasion of Hungary.

This did not happen. Instead, Bayezid led his army into Anatolia. The reason for his departure was the action of the emir of Karaman, Alaeddin, who, while Bayezid encountered the crusaders at Nicopolis, had taken prisoner his governor-general in Anatolia. Bayezid's response was decisive. In 1397 he invaded Karaman, occupied Konya and executed Alaeddin. Alaeddin was also his brother-in-law and, when he marched south to lay siege to Larende, his sister,

Alaeddin's widow, ordered the garrison to open the gates. With Alaeddin's death and the removal of his widow to Bursa, Karaman became an Ottoman territory and a base for further conquest. This involved Bayezid in conflict with Burhan al-Din of Sivas, whom he had first encountered in his Anatolian campaign of 1391. In 1398, he expelled Burhan al-Din from Sivas, annexed the small principalities near the Black Sea coast and occupied Sivas itself. Soon afterwards, he seized Malatya to the east of Sivas, a northernmost outpost of the Mamluk sultans of Cairo. By 1401, he had advanced along the Upper Euphrates valley to take Erzincan from its lord, Taharten.

Bayezid's ambitions in eastern Anatolia had a fatal consequence. The period of his conquests had coincided with the growth of another empire to the east. Between the 1370s and 1400, Timur<sup>16</sup> – or Tamberlaine – had from humble beginnings overrun lands in Central Asia, southern Russia, Iran and Azerbaijan, and out of these created an empire with its capital at Samarkand. By 1400, the westward expansion of Timur's empire and the eastward expansion of Bayezid's led to conflict. The first blow fell in 1400, when Timur sacked Sivas. In 1401, he led his army into Syria, plundering Aleppo, Homs, Hama, Baalbek and Damascus, returning to spend the winter of 1401–2 in Karabagh in the Caucasus. Disputes with Bayezid over the allegiance of vassals provided Timur with an excuse for war and, in 1402, he invaded, camping in July outside Ankara.

Timur's strategy was as much political as military, exploiting the fragile loyalties of Bayezid's subjects in Anatolia. In 1390, the lords of the old emirates of Germiyan, Saruhan, Aydın and Mentеше had sought the protection of Timur after Bayezid had annexed their lands. He now placed these men in prominent positions in his army. At the same time, his envoys had negotiated with the tribal chiefs of Anatolia to desert Bayezid on the battlefield. Furthermore, before the battle began, he had occupied a position which controlled access to the water supplies, exhausting Bayezid's men even before the conflict. His strategy succeeded. When the battle opened, the cavalymen from the old emirates, seeing their former lords in Timur's army, deserted Bayezid. So, as pre-arranged, did the tribal levies. When these men changed sides, the forces under the command of his elder and younger sons, Süleyman and Mehmed,

abandoned the field, leaving Bayezid with only his Janissary bodyguard and the contingent from Serbia under Stephen Lazarević. He ended the battle a prisoner of Timur. He died a year later, still in captivity.

Timur followed the battle with a campaign of massacre and plunder in western Anatolia, which lasted until the summer of 1403.<sup>17</sup> He died in 1405, at the start of a campaign against China.

### **The Ottoman Emirate: civil war and recovery, 1402–51**

Timur's campaign devastated western and central Anatolia. It also altered the political configuration. After the battle of Ankara, Timur re-established the emirs of Germiyan, Saruhan, Aydın and Mentеше in their former realms, and reinstated the dynasty of Karaman, confining Ottoman rule to the territory running from Amasya in the east to Bursa in the west. Timur had not touched Ottoman lands in the Balkans, but by a treaty, concluded at Gallipoli in 1403, with the Byzantine emperor, Venice, Genoa and the Knights of St John, Bayezid's son, Süleyman relinquished Thessaloniki to the emperor and made some other, lesser concessions.<sup>18</sup> The Ottoman lands themselves were divided; Bayezid's eldest son, Süleyman, ruled in Europe, his youngest son, Mehmed, in Amasya. A third son, Isa, tried to establish himself in western Anatolia. Another son, Musa, came into Mehmed's custody. Another, Mustafa, disappeared, conceivably as a captive to Samarkand. With no agreed succession to Bayezid, a civil war was inevitable.

In 1403, Süleyman was the most powerful of Bayezid's successors. He had ceded Thessaloniki and some other territories, but otherwise inherited his father's European domains intact. An alliance which Sigismund of Hungary had proposed in 1406 between himself and Stephen Lazarević of Serbia never materialised. Instead, in 1409, Süleyman's forces assisted Stephen's brother, Vlk Lazarević and George Branković in devastating Stephen's realms and establishing themselves as rulers in southern Serbia. Süleyman's action made him overlord of all three Serbian principalities. In Anatolia, Prince Mehmed faced more opposition. From the battlefield of Ankara, he withdrew to Tokat in the north-east, where he faced

the rebellions of local dynasts and tribal leaders. It was only when he had defeated these that he travelled westwards to challenge his brother Isa for possession of Bursa. Isa offered no resistance, but fled to Karaman and 'disappeared there'. Mehmed's troubles did not end with Isa's flight. In 1404, Süleyman crossed the Straits to Anatolia and occupied Bursa, driving Mehmed back to Amasya and confining his rule to the Ottoman territories to the east of Ankara. For the next five years, Süleyman was master of the Ottoman Balkans and part of western Anatolia.

Then, in 1409, Mehmed released his brother Musa from captivity. Musa crossed the Black Sea to Wallachia where, having formed a marriage alliance with the voyvoda Mircea, he led an army of Wallachian troops into Süleyman's territory, overrunning eastern Bulgaria and Thrace and occupying Gallipoli. As Mehmed had intended, the need to re-establish his rule in his European territories forced Süleyman's withdrawal from Anatolia. In the summer of 1410, the Byzantine emperor ferried Süleyman and his men across the Straits to confront Musa.

Süleyman rapidly gained the upper hand, forcing Musa to live 'like a brigand in the mountains'. Six months later, he was dead. Early in 1411, Süleyman was in Edirne and as, to quote a Greek Short Chronicle, 'he lay in stews and drank great cups of wine', his brother's army approached. Ignoring all warnings until it was too late, he fled towards Constantinople. Musa's men caught up with him and strangled him on the road.<sup>19</sup>

Musa's reign was short. He faced the hostility of his brother, of the Serbian despot who harried his lands in the Morava valley and of the Byzantine emperor, who set free Süleyman's son, Orhan, to oppose his rule. It was this hostile act that led Musa, briefly and unsuccessfully, to lay siege to Constantinople in 1411. While facing these enemies, he also suffered the desertion to Mehmed of several of the powerful marcher lords. Nonetheless, in 1411, he defeated his brother and in the following year carried out reprisals against Serbia. In 1412, when Mehmed attempted to invade for a second time, foul weather forced him to retreat. In 1413, however, assured of the friendship of Stephen Lazarević in Serbia and securing his eastern border by a marriage alliance with the lord of Dulgadir, he

crossed the Bosphorus for the third time. In July he defeated and killed Musa outside Sofia.

Musa's death left Mehmed I (1413–21) as sole ruler of Ottoman territories in Europe and Asia. His inheritance was fragile, with enemies determined to destroy his fractured domains. The first attack came from the emir of Karaman, who had laid siege to Bursa already during Mehmed's last campaign against his brother. When the Karamanids had withdrawn, the emperor Manuel tried unsuccessfully to negotiate with Venice for a subvention against the Turks. When the Venetians refused, he again released Süleyman's son Orhan, hoping that, in alliance with Mircea of Wallachia, he would overthrow Mehmed. This scheme was a failure, but in 1414 another possibility arose when a Venetian galley captain at Trabzon took on board the envoy of a man who claimed to be Mustafa, the son of Bayezid who had disappeared at the battle of Ankara in 1402. The Venetians refused to cooperate with Mustafa, but he was to prove useful to Mehmed's other enemies.

These did not act immediately, giving Mehmed the opportunity to take vengeance on the emir of Karaman. In 1415, he besieged Konya, forcing the emir to cede the lands in western Karaman which he had taken from the Ottomans after their defeat at Ankara. From Karaman, Mehmed began the pacification of the old western Anatolian emirates, annexing Saruhan and part of Aydın. As governor he appointed Alexander Shishman, a scion of the old Bulgarian dynasty.

In the following year, he faced three crises. The first was the consequence of allowing his ships to attack Venetian and other settlements in the Aegean Archipelago. In April 1416, after diplomacy had failed, a Venetian squadron destroyed the Ottoman fleet outside the Dardanelles. The Ottoman fleet did not present a danger again until after 1450. The second crisis came in August, when the man who had contacted Venice in 1414, claiming to be Mehmed's brother Mustafa, landed in Wallachia and, at the head of a force of Turks and Vlachs, crossed the Danube into Mehmed's realms. Mehmed, however, defeated the invaders, compelling Mustafa himself to take refuge in Byzantine Thessaloniki. In response Mehmed laid siege to the city.

It was then that two revolts broke out simultaneously, the one in the Dobrudja in north-eastern Bulgaria and the other on the Karaburun peninsula, on the Aegean shore of Anatolia opposite Chios. The leader of the Bulgarian revolt was Sheikh Bedreddin, a jurist and mystic, who had served as Musa's chief judge in Rumelia between 1411 and 1413.<sup>20</sup> The leader in Karaburun was Börklüje Mustafa, a charismatic dervish who, Ottoman sources plausibly claim, was a disciple of Bedreddin. Ottoman accounts of the rebellion are partisan, but entirely credible in asserting that Bedreddin found much of his support in the Dobrudja from among the officers and fief-holders whom Musa had appointed during his reign in Rumelia, and whom Mehmed had dismissed on his accession to power. Bedreddin, who appears to have claimed the sultanate on the basis of his alleged descent from the Seljuks, announced that, as sultan, he would reinstate the dispossessed. The revolt of Börklüje Mustafa was, by contrast, a popular, millenarian rebellion around the person of Börklüje, who preached, according to the Greek chronicler Doukas, the equality of Muslims and Christians and the common ownership of property.

Both rebellions failed. The revolt in the Dobrudja collapsed when an agent of the sultan seized Bedreddin and brought him before the sultan at Serrai, where, in accordance with the fatwa of a Persian molla, he was hanged in the marketplace. The resistance of Börklüje's followers was fiercer. They defeated the army of Shishman, the governor of Saruhan and then the army of another Ottoman governor, Ali Bey. It was only when Mehmed sent against them an army under the vizier Bayezid Pasha that he was able to crush the rebellion. 'Bayezid Pasha', writes Doukas, 'killed everyone in his path without sparing a soul, young or old, men and women.' Börklüje Mustafa and his dervishes he brought to Ephesus and executed. Despite the defeat, memories lingered, and a sect named after Bedreddin survived in the Dobrudja for at least two centuries after his death.

A beneficiary of Mehmed's troubles had been the emir of Karaman who had seized the opportunity to pillage Ottoman Anatolia. As a reprisal, in 1417 Mehmed invaded Karaman, bringing his army almost to Konya. He refrained from attacking the city. Instead,

in the same year, he led a second expedition in Anatolia against Isfendyaroghlu of Sinop, a campaign which left him in control of Kastamonu and its copper mines, and confined Isfendyaroghlu to the lands around Sinop. Three years later, in obscure circumstances, the Ottomans also occupied Samsun, a Genoese colony on the Black Sea coast. Mehmed's conquests in the Balkan peninsula matched those in Anatolia. In 1417, the Venetians were alarmed to hear that an Ottoman force had seized Vlorë on the Adriatic coast from Rugina, the 'Lady of Valona', and feared that Ottoman ships might soon appear in the Adriatic. This did not happen but, in 1418, Hamza Pasha conquered Gjirokastër, the stronghold of the Zenevis clan, Vlorë and Gjirokastër together giving the sultan a substantial territory in southern Albania. In the same year Mehmed led in person an expedition against Mircea of Wallachia, forcing him into submission and occupying his fortresses along the Danube.

When Mehmed died in 1421, his son, Murad II (1421–51), did not inherit an undivided realm. To exploit the uncertainties of the succession, the Byzantine emperor Manuel II released Murad's uncle, Mustafa, from custody in Thessaloniki, and it was to avenge this act that in 1422 Murad besieged Constantinople. The operation lasted until September, when he withdrew to meet a new challenge to his rule.

This came from his younger brother, 'Little' Mustafa, and it was only after his elimination that Murad could turn against external enemies. Exploiting Murad's preoccupations, Drakul, the voyvoda of Wallachia, had crossed the Danube to harry Ottoman Rumelia, while Isfendyaroghlu of Sinop had recovered his territories in Kastamonu. With the younger Mustafa dead, Murad led his army to Kastamonu to recover the lost territory and its copper mines, while a Rumelian marcher lord led an expedition into Wallachia. The outcome of the campaigns was to reduce both Drakul and Isfendyaroghlu to vassalage, with Murad marrying an Isfendyarid princess.

These campaigns restored stability to Murad's realms, and within 20 years he had recovered most of the territories lost after the battle of Ankara. In Europe, the most significant of these had been Thessaloniki and, in 1422, Murad's forces blockaded the city. Unable to resist, the Byzantines ceded Thessaloniki to Venice in 1423.

The sultan, meanwhile, directed his forces against the emirates of western Anatolia. In 1424, he sent an army against Juneyd, the lord of Aydın, obliging him to take refuge in a coastal fortress and to seek help from the Venetians in Thessaloniki and from Karaman. With the cooperation of Genoese ships, the Ottoman besiegers captured the fortress and executed Juneyd with his entire family. By 1425, Murad had in addition annexed Mentеше, bringing all the Aegean coastline of Anatolia under his rule. In 1428, he completed his conquests in Asia by annexing the areas along the Black Sea coast to the east of Samsun and occupying Germiyan.

Meanwhile, as the siege of Thessaloniki continued, the Venetians unsuccessfully sought an alliance with Sigismund of Hungary who was in conflict with Murad over the fate of Serbia. The elderly Stephen Lazarević had transferred his allegiance from the Ottoman sultan to Sigismund, promising to bequeath the Danubian fortress of Golubats to the Hungarian king. An Ottoman advance to the Serbian border forced Stephen into submission but, in 1427, the old despot died, unleashing a war in which Sigismund seized Belgrade, and Murad retaliated with the capture of Golubats. The new Serbian despot, George Branković, found himself squeezed between king and sultan.

By 1430, it was clear that Venice could expect no help from Hungary in relieving the siege of Thessaloniki and, in March of that year, the city fell to a general assault. In the subsequent treaty, Venice ceded Thessaloniki and agreed to pay Murad an annual tribute for Venetian possessions in Albania. In the same year, the Ottomans conquered Ioannina in Epiros. The occasion was the death of the despot Carlo Tocco in 1429 with no legitimate heirs, the despotate passing to his nephew, Carlo II, a protégé of the Angevin king of Naples. Murad resented the implantation of Angevin influence in Greece, and found a reason to oust Carlo II. Carlo I had left six illegitimate sons, who had resided in turn at Murad's court, and it was at the behest of the eldest, Hercules Tocco, that Murad sent Sinan Pasha against Ioannina in 1430. Sinan occupied the city, but instead of installing Hercules, he placed it directly under Ottoman rule. He next harried Carlo II's domains in Arta, as a reminder that he ruled there as Murad's vassal.



The years after 1430 saw the uncertain establishment of Ottoman rule in central and southern Albania. This began with the seizure of territories to the north of Gjirokaštër belonging to the Arianit and Kastriotë clans, provoking a rebellion of the defeated lords and an Albanian siege of Gjirokaštër. Ottoman reprisals followed when, in 1433, an army entered Albania, raised the siege of Gjirokaštër and 'destroyed John Kastriotë's domains'. John Kastriotë, however, continued to rule at Krujë as an Ottoman vassal, with his son George – the famous Scanderbeg – a hostage at the Ottoman court. With much of Albania under his control, Murad next extended his dominion over Serbia, not by force, but by marriage. In 1435, he wed Mara, the daughter of George Branković, establishing her father as his vassal.

The marriage heralded the conquest of Serbia. Despite Branković's status as his vassal, in 1438 Murad led a campaign which first captured Borač in the north of Serbia, before crossing the Danube to pillage Transylvania. In 1439, he took Zvornik and Srebrenica on the border with Bosnia and, most importantly, the fortress of Smederovo on the Danube, bringing northern Serbia under his control. His goal was the kingdom of Hungary. By 1439, with Serbia under his dominion and his eastern border secure after defeating Ibrahim of Karaman in 1437, he was free to act. The moment was propitious. In 1437, soon after the death of King Sigismund, a peasants' revolt had shaken Hungary. In 1440, Sigismund's successor, Albert II, died, leaving an infant as his heir. It was then that Murad attacked, laying siege to the strategically vital fortress of Belgrade and sending raiders into the kingdom.

The siege of Belgrade was unsuccessful, but civil war in Hungary allowed Murad to launch a raid into the kingdom in 1441, while civil war in Byzantium allowed him to intervene on behalf of the pretender Demetrios. Demetrios, however, failed to secure the imperial title, and the lord of Transylvania, John Hunyadi, defeated the Ottoman incursion of 1441 and another in the following year. These victories, together with the election of King Vladislav III of Poland as Vladislav I of Hungary, raised Christian morale at a time when Murad faced a mortal danger.

In 1439, as the price of receiving military aid from Catholic Europe, the Byzantine emperor, John VIII, had accepted the union

of the Greek and Latin churches under the primacy of Rome. Pope Eugenius IV had a strong motive for fulfilling his side of the contract and organising a crusade on the emperor's behalf. His position as head of the Church was not secure, but a successful crusade would make his position unassailable. He did not have difficulty in raising support for the project. Above all, he was able to enthuse King Vladislav, whose kingdom the Ottomans threatened. Venice, too, was ready to participate, since a successful crusade could lead to the reoccupation of Thessaloniki and the acquisition of other territories. So, too, was the duke of Burgundy. Credentials as a crusader could lead to his recognition as a king. The other participant was the emir of Karaman. If the emir could attack Murad in the east and draw him into Anatolia, the Venetian, Burgundian, Pontifical and Byzantine galleys could block the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles and prevent Murad from crossing the water to meet the Hungarian army as it invaded his territories in Europe.

The difficulty with this plan was coordination. In 1443, before the allied fleet was ready, Ibrahim of Karaman attacked Murad in Anatolia. With no opposition at the Straits, Murad crossed to Anatolia and forced Ibrahim into submission before returning to Edirne. Here he learned of the death of his favourite son, Alaeddin, and then, in late autumn, of an invasion. A Hungarian army under John Hunyadi had devastated Serbia and was advancing towards Sofia, defeating the Ottoman forces in its path. The Hungarians had the advantage not only in the size of their army, but also in their successful use of new battlefield tactics. In the end, despite the desertion of his cavalry army, Murad and his Janissaries stopped the Hungarian advance at the Zlatitsa Pass in the Balkan mountains. In bitter winter weather, both armies retreated.

The horrors of the winter war persuaded Murad and Vladislav to make peace. In the summer of 1444 in Edirne, the negotiators agreed on a ten-year truce between Murad and Vladislav,<sup>21</sup> and the cession of Golubats, Smederovo and other fortresses to George Branković. In August an Ottoman envoy travelled to Hungary to ratify the terms. Then Murad made an extraordinary decision. Saddened by the death of Alaeddin and the events of the war, and with all his

borders apparently secure, he abdicated in favour of his 12-year-old son, Prince Mehmed.

The pope seized the opportunity. To allow the crusade to continue, he absolved the king of Hungary from his oath and, in the autumn of 1444, King Vladislav and John Hunyadi led the Hungarian army on a destructive march to Varna, on the Black Sea coast. In the crisis, the viziers recalled Murad from retirement in Manisa. This time, the allied fleets did block the Straits, but failed nonetheless to prevent the passage of the Ottoman army. While part of his forces crossed at the Dardanelles, out of sight of the ships, the sultan himself crossed at the Bosphorus. Under the cover of cannon firing from both shores, and in boats which the Genoese had supplied, he and the remainder of his troops crossed the Straits. On 10 November 1444, the armies met at Varna, with the Hungarian cannon again driving the Ottoman cavalry from the field. At a crucial point, however, the king broke loose from the ranks, allowing one of the Janissaries around the sultan to unhorse and kill him. The death of the king decided the battle.

From Varna, Murad returned to Manisa, but not to a peaceful retirement. During the crisis of 1443–4, Constantine, the Byzantine despot of Mistra, had seized lands in southern Greece and was continuing his raids, while George Kastriote, or Scanderbeg, had recovered his family's domains in central Albania. However, it was a crisis in 1446 that brought the old sultan out of retirement. First, a fire devastated Edirne. Next, a Janissary rebellion, which Prince Mehmed could not control, terrorised the city, persuading the grand vizier, Halil Chandarli to recall Murad.<sup>22</sup>

On his re-accession, Murad turned against his rebellious vassals. In 1447, he invaded the Peloponnesos, reducing Constantine to submission. Next year he attacked Scanderbeg in Albania, but in mid-campaign received news that John Hunyadi had again invaded his realms. Abandoning the Albanian campaign he marched northwards and, in October 1448, encountered Hunyadi on the Plain of Kosovo. After a two-day battle, Hunyadi fled the field, leaving Murad free, in the winter of 1448–9, to seize Arta, the last of the Tocco domains on mainland Greece, and, in 1449, to make an unsuccessful assault on Scanderbeg's fortress of Krujë.

This was Murad II's last campaign. He died early in 1451.

### **The Ottoman Empire: conquest and consolidation, 1451–1512**

In 1450, the Ottoman Empire was a local power, dominating western and northern Anatolia and a large part of the Balkan peninsula, with the sultan ruling in many areas through vassals and semi-independent marcher lords. In the Middle East, the Mamluk sultanate of Cairo was probably stronger and certainly more prestigious. In south-eastern Europe, the kingdom of Hungary still counterbalanced Ottoman power. By 1512, the Ottoman Empire had acquired an imperial capital. Its territories in both Anatolia and the Balkan peninsula had expanded greatly. The power of the marcher lords had diminished, and they were no longer present in the central councils of the Empire. In Europe, south of the Danube, the sultan ruled largely through his own appointees rather than through vassals, although former Christian dynasties in the area often came, after conversion to Islam, to form part of the Empire's ruling élite. In Anatolia, it was only in the borderlands that the authority of the sultan still depended on the allegiance of vassals.

At his second accession in 1451, Mehmed II's (1451–81)<sup>23</sup> immediate goal was to conquer Constantinople. In order first to secure his frontiers, he led a campaign against Karaman, once more forcing the emir to accept Ottoman suzerainty. At the same time, he concluded treaties with George Branković of Serbia and John Hunyadi, the Hungarian regent. To secure his southern border, he sent the marcher lord Turahan against the Byzantine despots of the Peloponnesos, Thomas and Demetrios. At the same time, to prevent the passage of ships through the Bosphorus, he built a castle on its European shore, opposite another on the Asian side, which Bayezid I had constructed during the siege of 1394–1402. In early spring 1453, with his ships stationed in the Bosphorus, Mehmed's army encamped before the double walls of Constantinople. Despite their depleted numbers, the defenders repelled the assaults, thwarting Ottoman attempts to mine beneath the walls, or to use siege towers to bring the assailants to the level of the ramparts. The Ottoman fleet failed to stop Genoese reinforcements coming by sea, or to break the boom which blocked the entrance to the Golden Horn, the estuary that formed a

natural moat on one side of the city walls. In the end, the besiegers dragged the ships overland from the Bosphorus to the Golden Horn, but again this did not bring victory. What determined the outcome was the power of the Ottoman artillery against the land walls. On 29 May, with the Janissaries in the vanguard, Mehmed's army entered the city through a breach in the wall and began a three-day pillage. On the day after the conquest, the sultan entered the city.<sup>24</sup> The repopulation and refurbishment of the metropolis was to be a major preoccupation throughout his reign.<sup>25</sup>

The conquest of Constantinople gave the Ottoman Empire a capital city at the juncture of its European and Asian territories, securing the Straits which linked the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Through his victory, Mehmed acquired spiritual prestige as the conqueror of the city foretold in Muslim eschatological tradition, and secular glory as heir to the throne of the Caesars. Furthermore with his appointment of George Scholarios – a prominent anti-unionist cleric – as Patriarch, he asserted his primacy over the Greek Orthodox Church. It is for his conquest of the city that Mehmed II remains famous, but it was only the beginning of the incessant warfare that marked his reign.

After the fall of Constantinople, Mehmed secured the surrender of Pera, the Genoese city opposite the Byzantine capital, across the Golden Horn. He next attacked Serbia. In campaigns, in 1454 and 1455, he seized Novo Brdo and the silver mining districts of southern Serbia, confining the despot George Branković's territory to the north of the country. In 1456, he unsuccessfully besieged Belgrade, a defeat which saved Hungary from invasion, but did not prevent the extinction of Serbia. In 1457, George Branković died, and his son Lazar soon afterwards, exposing his territory to invasion by King Matthias of Hungary, or by Mehmed II. Mehmed was the first to act. In 1458, an army under the Serbian vizier, Mahmud Pasha, invaded and, by virtue of Mahmud's political guile as much as by military force, captured Golubats, Smederovo and other fortresses, subjugating Serbia, and establishing the Danube as the border between Hungary and the Ottoman Empire.

Ottoman conquests in the Aegean region during the same years were less extensive but lucrative nonetheless. The fall of

Constantinople had alarmed the Latin powers of the Aegean, who rightly feared for their own possessions. Anxious for the safety of Negroponte, Venice had annexed the islands of the northern Sporades to form a northern line of defence, while simultaneously pursuing negotiations with Mehmed. These resulted in a treaty allowing them to trade freely and to maintain a colony in Istanbul.

It was the Genoese colonies that suffered. In 1455, with his eye on their alum mines, Mehmed despatched a fleet to seize the Genoese settlements of Old and New Phokaia on the Anatolian coast. Then, in January 1456, he himself led an army to Enez, a Genoese colony in western Thrace, forcing its lord, Dorino Gattilusio to surrender Enez and its salt-pans, together with the islands of Samothrace, Imbros and Limni. These attacks were premeditated. The capture of Athens was opportunistic. In 1451, the Florentine duke of Athens, Nerio II Acciajuoli, died, and both Nerio's nephew and his widow's new husband called on the sultan to support their claims to the city. Mehmed's response in 1456 was to send Turahanoghlu Ömer to occupy Athens, so alarming the Latin powers of the Aegean that Pope Calixtus III and King Alfonso of Aragon assembled an anti-Ottoman fleet that in 1457 retook Imbros and Limni.

Further Latin intervention threatened with King Alfonso's proposal to marry his grandson to the daughter of Demetrios, one of the Byzantine despots of the Peloponnesos. It was to prevent this happening that, in 1458, Mehmed invaded, bringing much of the Peloponnesos under his control, and extracting from Demetrios an agreement to marry his daughter to Mehmed, and to leave the Peloponnesos. However, he did not move. Instead, he fought with his brother Thomas, provoking another Ottoman attack in 1460. By the end of the year, all Byzantine Peloponnesos was in Mehmed's hands, Demetrios had left to settle on his appanage in Thrace, while Thomas fled to Rome. Only the Venetian colonies remained independent of the sultan.

Mehmed next targeted the independent enclaves along the southern shores of the Black Sea, divided by mountains from Ottoman territory to the south. The first was Genoese Amasra, which succumbed without a fight in 1459. Two years later, he launched a second campaign, sending a fleet along the Black Sea coast, while

he led his army overland. His first goal was Sinop, the territory of Isfendyaroghlu Ismail. The fleet at sea and the army beneath his walls persuaded Ismail to surrender Sinop in exchange for lands near Bursa. Mehmed meanwhile continued the difficult march to Trabzon, a Greek city governed by a scion of the Comnenes, the dynasty that had ruled in Constantinople before 1204. The fall of Trabzon in 1461 extinguished the last outpost of the Byzantine Empire.

In 1462, Mehmed attacked Vlad the Impaler, the Wallachian lord who had refused to pay tribute to the sultan, killed his agent and terrorised Ottoman Bulgaria. Vlad's flight and the submission of Wallachia brought much of the western shoreline of the Black Sea under Ottoman control, an advantage which Mehmed immediately reinforced by constructing two fortresses at the Dardanelles, to control the passage of shipping to the Black Sea from the Mediterranean. It was immediately after the submission of Wallachia that Mehmed conquered the Genoese island of Lesbos, bringing it under direct Ottoman rule.

His next goal was Bosnia. In 1463, he led his army westwards, and within the year the kingdom had fallen. The first large fortress to capitulate was Bobovac, and from here the army proceeded to Travnik. Hearing that the king had fled to Jajce, the sultan sent Mahmud Pasha in pursuit. Mahmud eventually captured King Stephen at Ključ and, with his execution, the kingdom of Bosnia was extinct. Mahmud Pasha continued the campaign by seizing part of the lands of Duke Stephen Vukčić-Kosača in Hercegovina. What remained to the duke, Mehmed seized in 1466, giving him a border with Hungary that extended along the Sava, and southwards along the Vrbas to the Adriatic.

In 1463, war broke out in the Peloponnesos. Early in the year, Turahanoghlu Ömer had seized the Venetian town of Argos, and it was this incident that led the Venetian senate, alarmed by Mehmed's conquests in the Peloponnesos and the Aegean, to declare war.

By the end of 1463, Venice had retaken Argos and occupied Monemvasia and much of the Peloponnesos, while the Venetian fleet had captured Limni. Diplomatically, Venice had constructed an alliance which included the king of Hungary, the pope, the duke

of Burgundy and the Karamanids. The involvement of Hungary produced immediate results. On Mehmed's withdrawal from Bosnia, King Matthias captured the fortresses of Zvečaj and Jajce, and, the next year, a Venetian fleet attacked Lesbos. In 1464, however, Venetian plans collapsed. The attack on Lesbos was unsuccessful and, although the sultan failed to retake Jajce, his army under Mahmud Pasha thwarted a Hungarian attack on Zvornik. In the same year, the emir of Karaman died, undermining Venetian plans for an eastern alliance. So, too, did Pope Pius II, and with him plans for a crusade. Nonetheless, the Venetian senate refused a peace overture from Mahmud Pasha, trusting that a new ally would destroy the Ottoman sultan.

This was Uzun Hasan, the ruler of the Akkoyunlu Empire that during the fifteenth century emerged as a great power in Iran, Iraq and south-eastern Anatolia.<sup>26</sup> In 1464, Uzun Hasan was in dispute with the Ottoman sultan over the succession to the emir of Karaman, who had died leaving six sons by an Ottoman princess and one, Ishak, by a different mother. In order to block a relative of Mehmed II from the Karamanid succession, Uzun Hasan intervened and established Ishak as emir, at the same time sending an embassy to Venice to propose an anti-Ottoman alliance. Venice accepted the proposal, leaving Mehmed to face an alliance of Venice and Hungary in the west and Uzun Hasan in the east. When, in 1465, he prepared an expedition to salvage his position, his exhausted troops refused to fight.

The allies, however, did nothing, allowing Mehmed to oust Ishak, and place his own cousin Pir Ahmed on the throne of Karaman. With the danger in the east averted, in 1466 he led an expedition to Albania against Scanderbeg – George Kastriote – who had re-occupied his father's domains around Krujë in 1444 and resisted Ottoman encroachments ever since. In the winter of 1466–7, Scanderbeg travelled to Italy and returned to break the siege of Krujë with troops from King Ferrante of Naples. In 1467, Mehmed invaded again, forcing him to flee. He died in 1468, leaving Krujë to the Venetians, who had used the opportunity of Mehmed's engagement in Albania to seize Imbros and lands around Athens.

Mehmed did not immediately recover these losses. Instead, in 1468, he led a campaign, probably directed at the Mamluks in Syria,



but the refusal of his Karamanid cousin, Pir Ahmed, to join the campaign and act as guide, thwarted his plan. Instead he attacked Karaman, occupying most of Pir Ahmed's domains to the north of the Taurus mountains, and appointing his own son Mustafa as governor. A second campaign followed in 1469.

Mehmed's absence in Karaman provided the Venetian captain-general Niccolò da Canal with the opportunity, in 1469, to pillage Enez on the coast of Thrace. His action provoked a reprisal. In June 1470, a fleet, which an observer estimated as consisting of 400 ships, left the Dardanelles, while the sultan led an army overland. The destination of both was Negroponte. The Ottoman fleet was too large for da Canal to engage, and he remained inactive as the Ottoman troops crossed from the mainland, pillaged the island and captured its capital, Chalkis. With the fall of Negroponte, Venice lost her most important commercial centre in the Aegean, but this was not the only blow. After conquering the island, an Ottoman force under Hass Murad Pasha recaptured most of the fortresses in the Peloponnesos that Venice had occupied since 1463.

Nonetheless, Venice rejected a peace offer from Mehmed, hoping that the alliance with Uzun Hasan would bring victory. Conflict between Mehmed and Uzun Hasan was indeed inevitable, the issue being who was to dominate Karaman. In 1470, the Karamanid prince, Kasim, had rebelled and attacked Ankara, provoking Ottoman campaigns in 1471 and 1472, which subdued not only the north of the country, but also the mountainous interior down to the Mediterranean coast. It was during the second campaign that Uzun Hasan attacked, claiming that he would restore the fugitive Pir Ahmed to the throne of Karaman, and Kizil Ahmed, son of Isfendyaroghlu Ismail, to Sinop. To coincide with his incursion, the Venetians raided the Ottoman ports of Antalya and Izmir. Mehmed's son, Prince Mustafa, repelled the Akkoyunlu forces, but only after they had captured Kayseri.

Anticipating another Akkoyunlu invasion, the Venetians, in 1473, organised a partially successful sabotage of the Ottoman naval arsenal at Gallipoli, and landed artillery on the Mediterranean coast ready for Uzun Hasan's agents to collect. On behalf of the Karamanids, they captured Silifke at the foot of the Taurus

mountains. The sultan meanwhile marched eastwards to fight Uzun Hasan. In the first encounter, on the Upper Euphrates, in August 1473, the Akkoyunlus defeated an Ottoman detachment but, in a battle near Bayburt, Uzun Hasan fled, terrified by the Ottoman artillery. He himself lacked guns, and had never collected the cannon which the Venetians had left on the Mediterranean shore.

The defeat of Uzun Hasan allowed Mehmed to attack his confederates. In 1474, he sent raiders into the Venetian mainland, and assaulted Shkodër, a Venetian fortress in northern Albania. The siege failed, probably through fear of a Hungarian attack. In the same year, Gedik Ahmed Pasha led a campaign against the last Karamanid stronghold within the Taurus range. By 1474, the emirate of Karaman was extinct.

Venice continued to believe in the possibility of peace with the sultan. Their optimism increased in 1475, when Süleyman Pasha, the Ottoman commander at the siege of Shkodër, led his already exhausted men to Moldavia to punish its ruler, Stephen, for not paying the tribute due to the sultan. Stephen routed Süleyman Pasha's army, raising the hopes of the Venetian ambassador to the sultan that he could negotiate a peace. He received only a promise that the Ottoman fleet would not engage the Venetians for six months. The Ottomans kept this promise since, in 1475, the fleet sailed against the Genoese town of Caffa (Feodosiya) in the Crimea, in response to a plea from the khan of the Crimea, who, as a result of a feud within the ruling family, found himself a captive within this Genoese enclave. The fleet under Gedik Ahmed Pasha captured first Caffa and then Genoese Tana (Azov) at the mouth of the Don, and other Crimean fortresses. The refugee khan, Mengli Girey, was restored to the khanate, but as a vassal of the Ottoman sultan.

The khan's submission and the capture of Caffa and Tana strengthened Mehmed's position in the Black Sea region, and it was presumably to reinforce his control over the area and its profitable commerce that, in 1476, he led an inconclusive campaign against Stephen of Moldavia. When his army returned to Edirne, he heard that, during his absence, the Hungarians had built three fortresses between the Danube and the Morava in order to block access to Smederovo. Despite a threatened mutiny, the sultan forbade his

army to disband, and led it through the snow to the Morava. The moats of the forts had frozen, and it was by approaching them over the ice to lay brushwood against the walls, and threatening to set fire to it, that the besiegers forced the garrison to surrender, and so lifted the threat to Smederovo.

These campaigns diverted Ottoman resources away from Venice. In 1477, however, the sultan attacked Venetian Lepanto (Navpaktos) on the Gulf of Corinth and Scanderbeg's old citadel at Krujë. Both sieges failed but, in 1478, there were renewed assaults in Albania, where the first place to come under siege was Shkodër. It was also the last to fall. Before the sultan arrived at the town, he had already secured the surrender of Krujë. At Shkodër itself, he realised that the citadel would not succumb until he had taken the surrounding places. To this end, he sent detachments to capture Zhabljak, Drihtë and Lezhë. In autumn, the main body of the army departed, leaving Evrenosoghlu Ahmed to continue the blockade.

By 1479, the Venetians realised that there was no choice but to make peace with the sultan. Their efforts to form an effective anti-Ottoman alliance had failed, and Venice alone lacked the resources to continue the war. In January they took the decision to surrender Shkodër, and in negotiations which followed, ceded Limni and agreed to an annual tribute of 10,000 ducats. The ratification of the treaty in 1479, ended the 16-year war.

It did not end Mehmed's ambitions of conquest. Turning his thoughts towards the invasion of Italy, his next goal was the Ionian islands of Levkas, Cephalonia and Zante. Their overlord was Leonardo Tocco, whose wife was a niece of King Ferrante of Naples. His removal therefore was necessary if Ottoman troops were to attack Ferrante's kingdom in southern Italy. In 1479 Gedik Ahmed Pasha seized the islands and, in 1480, crossed the Adriatic to Otranto on the heel of Italy, where he captured and occupied the fortress. Simultaneously with Gedik Ahmed's operations in Italy, the vizier Mesih Pasha besieged Rhodes, the stronghold of the Knights of St John.

The siege failed. Nonetheless, in 1481 the sultan departed on a campaign to the east, apparently against the Mamluks. A few days' march from Istanbul, he died. His army did not mourn. Instead,

the Janissaries returned to Istanbul and subjected the city to several days' looting until, as a temporary measure, the viziers placed Mehmed's grandson Korkud on the throne.

By the end of his reign, Mehmed had consolidated or extended Ottoman territory to comprise, in Europe, most of the lands between the line of the Danube and Sava in the north and the Peloponnesos in the south. In Asia Minor, he had added to the Ottoman domains parts of the Black Sea coast, the Upper Euphrates valley and the emirate of Karaman. These two blocks of territory in Europe and Asia were in later centuries to form the core of the Ottoman Empire.

The reign of Mehmed's son, Bayezid II (1481–1512) was very different from his father's.<sup>27</sup> A reason for the contrast was the personality of the new sultan. Unlike his father, whom he detested, Bayezid disliked war. However, there were also social and political reasons. In fighting his wars, Mehmed had driven his men to exhaustion and strained the Empire's resources. He had raised taxes on peasant tenements, he had debased the coinage and, most controversially, had seized some private properties and properties belonging to charitable trusts, redistributing their income as military fiefs. This had caused such discontent that one of Bayezid's earliest acts was to return the properties to their owners.<sup>28</sup> Finally, the survival and captivity in Europe of his brother Jem guaranteed Bayezid's non-aggression against western powers.

The reign opened with a civil war between Bayezid and Jem.<sup>29</sup> The fighting ended with Jem's flight to the custody of the Knights of St John, first on Rhodes and later in France, where his presence as a hostage was to dominate Bayezid's foreign policies for the first half of his reign. In 1483, he agreed to pay an annual tribute to Rhodes for Jem's safekeeping, transferring this payment to Rome when, in 1489, Jem came into the custody of the pope. The agreement with the knights, and subsequently with the pope, was crucial in securing Bayezid's realms from foreign war and civil strife. To maintain peace in the west, he abandoned Otranto, ratified the 1479 treaty with Venice and, in 1483, concluded a truce with King Matthias of Hungary. In 1490, he undertook not to attack Venice, the Papal States or Rhodes, measures taken to ensure that

these powers would not use Jem as a weapon against the Ottoman Empire.

Peace in the west did not mean an absence of war. In 1483, the governor-general of Rumelia invaded and annexed Hercegovina, and in the following year Bayezid led an expedition to Moldavia. The pretext was Voyvoda Stephen's raids into Bulgaria, his efforts to detach Wallachia from the sultan and the attacks on Ottoman shipping by pirates operating from the Danube delta. Bayezid's army captured first Kilia and then Akkerman, both important commercial centres. Stephen counter-attacked in 1485, but did not recapture the fortresses. The year 1485 also saw the outbreak of war with the Mamluks.

The Ottoman annexation of Karaman had brought the Ottomans and the Mamluks into confrontation, with the Taurus mountains forming an ill-defined boundary between the two powers, and the loyalty of the Turcoman tribes in the region and the allegiance of Alaeddevle of Dulagadir whose lands abutted on both Ottoman and Mamluk territory, as a source of friction between them. In 1485, war broke out when Bayezid rejected Mamluk peace overtures and the Ottoman governor-general of Karaman occupied Adana and Tarsus in the Çukurova.<sup>30</sup>

In 1486, the Mamluks reversed this success, re-occupying Adana, capturing the governor-general of Anatolia, Hersekzade Ahmed Pasha, and encouraging the Turcomans of the Taurus mountains to raise a rebellion around the figure of a Karamanid pretender. The Ottoman grand vizier, Daud Pasha, suppressed the uprising in 1487, but the Ottoman position was nonetheless precarious. In 1488, aware that the Mamluks were seeking Christian allies and attempting to secure the release of Jem, Hadim ('The Eunuch') Ali Pasha led an army into the Çukurova, which Hersekzade Ahmed – released from captivity in Cairo – supported with the fleet. The expedition ended in disaster, with an Ottoman defeat in the plain between Adana and Tarsus, encouraging Alaeddevle of Dulagadir to defect to the Mamluks. In 1490, as the enemy besieged Kayseri, Bayezid prepared to go to war in person, a threat which persuaded the Mamluks to negotiate. By the peace concluded in 1491, the Ottomans renounced their claims to the Çukurova, restoring the pre-war border between the two powers.

With the end of the war, Bayezid hoped to exploit the instability in Hungary which followed the death of King Matthias, but when Bayezid arrived in Sofia in 1492, the crisis in Hungary had ended with the enthronement of the new king. Instead, he sent raiders into Transylvania, while he led the army to Albania to suppress the rebellion of John Kastriote, who had not recognised Ottoman overlordship since the death of Mehmed II. The expedition was not wholly successful, the rebellion continuing until shortly after 1500 and, as the army returned, a 'naked dervish, bare-footed and bare-headed' tried to assassinate Bayezid as he passed through Prilep. The terrified sultan ordered – in vain – the expulsion of all such dervishes from his realms and afterwards withdrew to some degree from the public eye.

Three years later, Bayezid faced a crisis which he had been dreading. In 1494, the French king, Charles VIII, invaded Italy, capturing Rome and taking custody of Jem. In January 1495, with the prince as his most potent weapon, he announced a crusade against the Turks, provoking a panic in Istanbul as Bayezid ordered the strengthening of the city's fortifications. To protect himself, Bayezid negotiated a three-year treaty with Hungary, and awaited the invasion.

It never came. Jem died in February, and Charles evacuated Italy, leaving Bayezid to deal more freely with the European powers. He ignored the truce with Hungary, allowing the Ottomans to capture some Hungarian forts in Bosnia, and answered a call from Stephen the Great of Moldavia, when King John Albert of Poland tried to replace him with his own brother. Bayezid's men expelled the king's troops and, in 1498, Ottoman and Tatar raiders made a devastating *razzia* into Poland. Bayezid also re-opened hostilities with Venice. He was aware of deficiencies in Ottoman naval power: such successes as his father had achieved at sea had depended on overwhelming numbers of ships and men. In 1498, Bayezid increased the size of the fleet and engaged corsairs as naval captains. Piracy was to become the most important training school for Ottoman mariners and admirals, and it was Bayezid who established the link between the corsairs and the Ottoman fleet.

Piracy was also a cause of the friction that led to war with Venice. In 1499, the repatriation of Jem's body and its public burial removed

a lingering fear that rumours of the prince's survival might still encourage dissent and, in this year, Bayezid declared war, sending raiders into Venetian territory in Dalmatia and Friuli. At the end of August, the Ottomans took Navpaktos on the Gulf of Corinth, convincing the Venetians that they should use diplomacy to end the war. The embassy to Bayezid failed and, in 1500, they lost the important coastal fortresses of Methoni, Koroni and Navarino in the Peloponnesos.

The losses spurred Venice to further diplomatic action, this time successful. By May, 1501, negotiators had constructed an alliance between the Papacy, Venice and Hungary and persuaded the kings of France and Spain to enter the war. With these allies, Venice began to win victories. In December 1500, with Spanish reinforcements, she occupied Cephalonia. In 1501, a Franco-Venetian attack on Lesbos failed, but in 1502, with the assistance of the Papacy, Venice took Lefkada, establishing, temporarily, a dominance in the Ionian islands, with control of Corfu, Lefkada, Cephalonia and Zakynthos. Bayezid offset this loss by capturing the Venetian port of Durrës on the Adriatic. By 1502, the war had ruined Venice, and Bayezid was prepared to conclude a peace. By the treaty of 1503, while retaining commercial privileges, Venice abandoned Methoni, Koroni, Navpaktos and Durrës, and ceded Lefkada to Bayezid. In the same year, the sultan concluded a seven-year truce with Hungary.

The treaties of 1503 marked the beginning of an Ottoman disengagement from Europe that lasted until 1521. In the first two decades of the sixteenth century, it was events in the east that were to preoccupy the sultans. The first sign of these troubles was a revolt in 1500 of the Turgut and Varsak Turcomans of the Taurus mountains, around a Karamanid pretender. The grand vizier, Mesih Pasha, suppressed the uprising. This was a local incident, whereas future revolts in Anatolia were far more dangerous. The reason for this was the establishment of the Safavid dynasty in Iran.<sup>31</sup>

The dynasty takes its name from its ancestor, Safiy al-Din, the leader in the early fourteenth century of a religious order at Ardabil on the Caspian Sea. During the fifteenth century, the nature of the order changed, as the descendants of Safiy al-Din began to claim divinity for themselves and, at the same time, adopted shi'i Islam.

With a claim to divinity went a claim to political power and a programme of proselytisation not only in Iran but, above all, in Anatolia. The most active supporters of the Safavid Order were the Turcoman tribesmen of Anatolia, many of whom migrated to Iran. It was the support of these men, known as *kizilbash* ('red heads') from their red headgear, that brought Shah Ismail I to power in Tabriz in 1501. It was they too who fought in the armies. In 1501, Ismail took Tabriz and all Azerbaijan; in 1503, he defeated the last Akkoyunlus at Hamadan, and extended his rule into central and southern Iran. In 1504, he conquered the Caspian provinces of Mazendaran and Gurgan. Between 1505 and 1507, he annexed Diyarbekir to the north of Syria. In 1508, he conquered south-western Iran and Baghdad. Shirvan followed in 1509, and Khurasan in 1510.<sup>32</sup> Within ten years, Ismail had established a polity which matched the Ottoman Empire in its resources; which, in its adoption of shi'ism, professed a religion which was hostile to the sunnism of the Ottoman sultans; and whose leader claimed the allegiance of many thousands of the sultan's subjects.

Bayezid reacted cautiously, anxious not to provoke war. When Ismail summoned his adherents to Erzincan in eastern Anatolia before entering Tabriz, Bayezid sent an army to the border but did not intervene. After Ismail had proclaimed himself shah in 1501, he ordered the arrest of Safavid sympathisers in his realms, and closed his eastern border. However, since he did not also stop the caravan trade, Safavid missionaries used this route to enter his realms. In 1505, he received an embassy from Ismail which laid claim to Trabzon and listened to protests against the raids which Bayezid's son Selim, as governor of Trabzon, had made into Safavid territory. In 1507, he allowed Shah Ismail to cross his territory in a campaign against Dulgadir.

Bayezid's timidity in the face of the danger from the Safavids was a product in part of his age and infirmity. These too were causes of the struggle for succession between his sons, Korkud, Ahmed and Selim.

It was during this conflict, in April 1511, that a rebellion broke out in south-western Anatolia, the area under the governorship of Prince Korkud. Its leader was a certain Shah Kulu – 'slave of the



shah' – whose father had been a follower of Shah Ismail's grandfather. On his father's death, Shah Kulu had sent agents to proselytise the Safavid cause in the eastern Balkans, while his local adherents claimed, according to a report to Prince Korkud: 'He is God, he is a Prophet. The Day of Judgement will be before him.'<sup>33</sup> It was not only believers who joined the rebellion. Many of his followers were cavalrymen, who claimed that tricksters had defrauded them of their fiefs, leaving them destitute. In the face of the rebellion, Prince Korkud retreated to Manisa, while the rebels occupied Antalya. Shah Kulu's next victory as he advanced northwards was against the governor-general of Anatolia, Karagöz Pasha. As he approached Kütahya, Karagöz Pasha attacked again but, in a counter-attack, Shah Kulu, defeated and killed him, impaling and – according to Prince Korkud's report to Bayezid – roasting his corpse. From Kütahya he advanced to Bursa. It was at an urgent request from Bursa that, in June, the grand vizier Ali Pasha the Eunuch and Prince Ahmed led a force against the rebels, forcing Shah Kulu to retreat to Sivas, with Ali Pasha in pursuit. The encounter was Shah Kulu's last victory. He defeated and killed Ali Pasha, but seems himself to have lost his life, leaving the rebels to flee across the border into Iran.

The Shah Kulu rebellion had discredited Bayezid's rule and the claims to succession of Korkud, who had abandoned Antalya to the rebels, and Ahmed, whose pursuit had been ineffective. It was with this knowledge that Selim rose in rebellion. In April, 1512, he arrived in the capital, and 12 days later Bayezid abdicated in his favour. The old sultan died in the following June.

His reign, despite the civil strife at its beginning and end, marked an important stage in the evolution of the Empire. Ottoman failure against the Mamluks had led the sultan to improve the weaponry of the Janissaries and to tighten his control over the cavalrymen in the provinces. His reconstruction of the navy and encouragement of corsair captains had produced a fleet that was the equal of Venice's and had extended Ottoman naval power into the Mediterranean. His conquests, in comparison with his father's, were limited, but nonetheless significant, extending Ottoman control over the littoral of the Black Sea and the Peloponnesos and pacifying Albania. More important, however, were his institutional innovations. It was

Bayezid who initiated the systematic codification of Ottoman customary law, and it was in Bayezid's reign that what have come to be regarded as 'classical Ottoman institutions' came to receive their 'classical' formulation.

### **The apogee of Empire, 1512–90**

Selim I's (1512–20) first concern on securing the throne was to eliminate his brothers. His next was to destroy the Safavids. After executing the ringleaders in areas where Shah Kulu had recruited followers, he prepared to attack Shah Ismail, using as the pretext a Safavid attack on Tokat and Shah Ismail's support for Prince Ahmed in the civil war. In a move which defined a new Ottoman claim to be defenders of sunni Islam, Selim also obtained a fatwa declaring Ismail and his followers to be heretics, whose destruction was obligatory.<sup>34</sup> With this legal backing, Selim left Istanbul on a campaign against the shah.

In August 1514, he won an overwhelming victory at Chaldiran in Azerbaijan. From Chaldiran, he marched eastwards to Tabriz, intending to continue the campaign in the following year. The Janissaries, however, refused to spend the winter in Tabriz, forcing Selim to retreat to Amasya.

Nonetheless, Selim did not abandon the war, but in the next two years, partly by force and partly by persuasion, expelled the Safavids from much of eastern Anatolia. His envoy was a Kurdish scholar, Idris of Bitlis, who had previously served the Akkoyunlu sultans. In 1515, Selim sent him to secure the allegiance of the Kurdish chieftains of eastern Anatolia and, by the end of the year, all except one had recognised Selim's overlordship. The loyal Kurdish chiefs included Sharaf al-Din, who offered his allegiance to Selim in return for recognition of his hereditary rights as ruler of Bitlis.

The commander of the military operations was Biyikli ('the Moustachioed') Mehmed Pasha, whom Selim had installed as governor of Erzincan after the victory at Chaldiran. Mehmed Pasha's first action in 1515 was to besiege and capture Kemah on the Upper Euphrates. At about the same time, emboldened by Idris's propaganda, the inhabitants of Amid (Diyarbakır) rebelled against their

Safavid governor, provoking a Safavid siege, which lasted until September, when Mehmed Pasha took possession of the city. From Amid he proceeded to Mardin, taking the town but not the citadel. In 1516, his defeat of the last Safavid army to remain in Anatolia and the submission of Sincar, Ergani, Siverek, Birecik, Urfa and, finally, the citadel of Mardin, extinguished Safavid rule in south-eastern Anatolia. In the same years, Selim exploited a rift within its ruling family to appoint his candidate as ruler of Dulgadir in south-eastern Anatolia, and nominated Ramazanoghlu Piri, the hereditary lord of Adana, as Ottoman governor of Adana and surrounding districts.

The lands of the Ramazanoghlu and Dulgadir dynasties had formed a buffer between the Ottomans and Mamluks.<sup>35</sup> The establishment of Ottoman suzerainty over both, together with the Ottoman occupation of Diyarbekir, threatened the Mamluk sultan, Qansuh Ghawri, and persuaded him to receive favourably an embassy from Shah Ismail proposing an alliance against the Ottoman sultan. Aware of the danger, in 1516 Selim despatched troops to the east.<sup>36</sup> In June, he left Istanbul, joining the main body of the army at Elbistan in the territory of Dulgadir. At this stage, Selim was uncertain whether to proceed eastwards against Ismail, or to attack the Mamluks in Syria. It was, in the end, the actions of the Mamluk sultan that forced his decision. Fearing an Ottoman invasion, Qansuh had led his army from Cairo to Aleppo and also, as Selim discovered, sought help from Shah Ismail. Selim could not attack Ismail with a Mamluk army on his border.

On 24 August, he routed the Mamluks at Marj Dabiq, north of Aleppo, the death in battle of the Mamluk sultan and the flight of the Egyptian army allowing Selim to occupy Syria almost without resistance. In October 1516, he entered Damascus and, with no Egyptian troops north of the Sinai peninsula, appointed Ottoman governors to Aleppo, Damascus, Tripoli and Jerusalem. At this stage, he did not plan to invade Egypt. The perils of crossing the Sinai desert and the danger of an attack from Ismail advised caution. In the end, however, the urgings of Khairbay, a former Mamluk commander in his entourage, and the action of Qansuh's successor, Tumanbay, in mounting a counter-attack in Gaza and in executing an Ottoman ambassador, led Selim to abandon caution. At the

beginning of January 1517, he left Gaza, crossed the desert and, at the end of the month, defeated Tumanbay at Raydaniyya, outside Cairo. He remained in Cairo until the end of the year. He spent the winter of 1517–18 in Damascus, planning a new campaign, but when the army assembled on the Euphrates in May, it refused to move. Selim's ambition had outstripped the capacity of his troops.

Nonetheless, he continued to plan, extending the naval arsenal in Istanbul and preparing a fleet, whose destination Venetian observers assumed to be Rhodes: so long as Rhodes remained in the possession of the Knights of St John, the sea route between Istanbul and the new Ottoman province of Egypt would never be secure. These naval preparations coincided with an expansion of Ottoman territory into the western Mediterranean. In the first decade of the sixteenth century, two brothers, Hayreddin Barbarossa and Uruj, had engaged in piracy off the south-western shores of Anatolia, enjoying the patronage of Bayezid's son, Korkud. Selim I's execution of Korkud and pursuit of his followers in 1513 forced them to flee to North Africa, where they established themselves as pirates and eventually as rulers of Tunis and Algiers.<sup>37</sup> By 1519, Hayreddin was in a difficult position. His brother was dead; on land he faced local opposition; and at sea he faced the power of Spain. He needed a protector and found one in the Ottoman sultan. Tunis and Algiers became semi-autonomous Ottoman provinces, extending Ottoman power into the western Mediterranean and marking the beginning of a long conflict with Spain.

Selim died in 1520. His eight-year reign had doubled the size of his empire by adding to it territories in eastern and south-eastern Anatolia; in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and the Hejaz; and, in addition, Tunis and Algiers. The acquisition from the Mamluks of the three Holy cities of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem gave the Ottoman sultan primacy among Islamic monarchs, and bolstered his claim to be the defender of Islamic orthodoxy against Safavid heresy. Nonetheless, the difficulty which Ottoman troops experienced in suppressing the insurrection in 1519 of a rebel called Jelal, whose claims to divinity recalled Şah Kulu's, was a reminder of the power of Safavid propaganda and the fragility of Ottoman rule in Anatolia.

Since Süleyman I (1520–66)<sup>38</sup> was Selim's only son, the succession was peaceful. In Syria, however, the governor-general of Damascus, Janberdi Ghazali, a Mamluk who had allied himself with Selim, declared himself an independent ruler, requiring an expedition under Shehsuvaroghlu Ali of Dulgadir and the governor-general of Rumelia to suppress his rebellion. The sultan himself prepared to attack Hungary, using King Lajos's disrespectful treatment of his ambassador as the pretext for war.

The goal of the expedition was Belgrade and, in July, the sultan sent the grand vizier ahead to besiege the city, while he himself captured Šabac on the Sava to the west, sending a force across the river to plunder the land between it and the Danube. This diversionary action was pointless, and had the grand vizier not disobeyed an order to join Süleyman at Šabac, Belgrade would probably not have fallen. However, the city had a garrison of only 700 and capitulated at the end of August 1521.<sup>39</sup> This was Süleyman's first major victory, achieved through the tactical sense of his grand vizier. For his second campaign, Süleyman exploited his father's navy. In 1522, the fleet and army departed for Rhodes, the sultan himself traveling overland to Marmaris. In December, after a five-month siege, Rhodes capitulated. On 1 January 1523, the Knights of St John left the island.<sup>40</sup> Their Order, however, continued intact and, from their new base on Malta, continued to harry Muslim shipping.

The conquests of Belgrade and Rhodes established Süleyman's reputation as the sultan who succeeded where his great ancestor, Mehmed II, had failed, and both places were strategically important. Belgrade was the key to the conquest of Hungary, while Rhodes commanded the sea lanes between Istanbul and Egypt.

It was Egypt that demanded the sultan's attention. From Rhodes he sent the second vizier, Mustafa Pasha, to Egypt as governor and, in 1523, received news of a rebellion by an alliance of Circassian Mamluks and Arab sheykhs, who had cut off the roads to Cairo and murdered Ottoman incomers. Mustafa Pasha pacified the Arab leaders with promises of tax reductions and, finally, having defeated the Circassians in battle, spread terror by rolling the heads of the rebels around Cairo in an exemplary parade. In the summer, Süleyman recalled Mustafa Pasha, appointing the second vizier,

Ahmed Pasha, in his place. Ahmed Pasha had coveted but failed to secure appointment as grand vizier and, once in Egypt, declared himself an independent ruler with the support of such rebels as had survived Mustafa Pasha's purge. However, not all his entourage supported him and, after fleeing an attempted assassination, he died at the hands of the pursuing troops. To secure a lasting peace in Egypt, Süleyman sent the new grand vizier to Cairo.

This was Ibrahim Pasha, whom Süleyman, against all precedent, had promoted directly to the vizierate from his position as head of the privy chamber in the inner palace. The youthful grand vizier was thus an intimate of the sultan and was to be a dominating figure, on whom the sultan was to bestow the title of 'army commander', with orders that commands from Ibrahim Pasha were to be accepted as if coming from the sultan himself. In Egypt, in 1525, Ibrahim restored order by combining executions with public magnanimity and, more enduringly, by drawing up a new law-book for Egypt.

Süleyman himself remained in Istanbul. His next expedition exploited the victory at Belgrade. Relations with Hungary had not improved and, in 1525, the Janissaries rebelled, complaining that the lack of campaigns had deprived them of bonuses and plunder. In 1526, Süleyman departed for Hungary and, on 29 August, routed his enemy at Mohács. In September, he entered Buda, the Hungarian capital, leaving it ten days later to confront a crisis. At the moment of Ottoman victory in Hungary, a rebellion had exploded in central Anatolia, requiring a major force to bring it under control. Then, in 1527, a second uprising led by a millenarian dervish called Kalenderoghlu defeated the army that Süleyman had sent to restore order. It required the acumen of the grand vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, to defeat the rebels. In 1522, the sultan had annexed Dulgadir, executing its last independent ruler, Shehsuvaroghlu Ali. With the change of regime, the cavalymen of Dulgadir had lost their fiefs, and many of the dispossessed had joined Kalenderoghlu. By promising to restore their fiefs, Ibrahim Pasha detached them from the core of the rebels, whose depleted ranks he overcame in battle. This was not the last rebellion. There were further uprisings in the Çukurova in 1528 and, for the rest of the century, it was only by establishing a network of

informers, particularly against Safavid sympathisers, that Süleyman and his successors maintained order in Anatolia.<sup>41</sup>

But the major political crisis was in Hungary. King Lajos had died at the battle of Mohács. In November, the Hungarian Estates elected John Szapolyai as his successor, but the Habsburg Archduke Ferdinand of Austria – brother of the Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain, Charles V, and brother-in-law of King Lajos – rejected the decision and, in December, had himself crowned king of Hungary. The arbiter in the dispute was the victor of Mohács and, in 1528, Süleyman accepted Szapolyai as king. In response, Ferdinand occupied Buda, provoking Süleyman's campaign of 1529. The sultan re-occupied Buda and, in the autumn, laid siege to Vienna. Hampered by the weather and the determined defence, on 14 October, he withdrew. In 1530, Ferdinand besieged Buda again. He was unsuccessful, but his occupation of western Hungary and his claim to the Hungarian crown required Süleyman to intervene again in support of King Szapolyai. The campaign did not make major conquests: the Ottomans took several fortresses on the approach to Vienna from the south-east, occupied Kőszeg after a difficult siege and raided Styria, but this was sufficient to force the Habsburgs to seek a truce. An agreement of 1533 confirmed the existing division of Hungary, with Ferdinand and Szapolyai ruling their respective territories as Ottoman tributaries.

The truce enabled Süleyman to attack the Safavids. In 1528, a Safavid governor of Baghdad had offered the city to the Ottomans and, in 1530, the Safavid governor of Azerbaijan, Ulama Tekelu, had defected to the sultan, at the same time engineering the disgrace of Sharaf al-Din of Bitlis, who transferred his allegiance to Shah Tahmasb. Ordering Ulama to capture Bitlis – which he never did – Süleyman prepared a campaign. In 1533, Ibrahim Pasha retook Bitlis and, in 1534, occupied Tabriz with no resistance from the shah. Süleyman joined Ibrahim Pasha in Tabriz, and then led the army to Baghdad which surrendered at the end of November.<sup>42</sup> By the time of the sultan's return to Istanbul in 1536, he had added to the Empire Baghdad, Erzurum and, temporarily, Van.

The sultan's tour of inspection of his eastern provinces on the return march from Tabriz marked a stage in the full incorporation

of these lands into the Empire.<sup>43</sup> The end of the campaign was also a landmark in Süleyman's personal career. In 1536 he ordered the execution of Ibrahim Pasha, allegedly for 'mistakes' made during the eastern campaign. With the death of this all-powerful minister, Süleyman emerged as the fully sovereign ruler of the Empire.

Despite his successes on land, Süleyman knew that his seapower could not match that of the combined Christian navies. In particular, the Spanish fleet at Messina and the ships of the Knights of St John were a constant danger, and it was with this in mind that he invited Hayreddin Barbarossa to come from Algiers to serve as admiral. The threat from Spain materialised when, in 1535, Charles V led an expedition against Tunis. The Spanish victory, coinciding with the outbreak of war with Venice in 1536, persuaded Süleyman to accept the proposals for an alliance coming from the French king, Francis I.

In 1537, Süleyman and Francis planned to invade Habsburg territories in Italy. Francis was to attack Lombardy, while Süleyman launched an assault on the kingdom of Naples, with assistance from the French fleet. The plan failed. Francis did not invade Italy and, instead of invading Naples, the sultan laid siege to the Venetian Corfu, sending raiders against Brindisi and Otranto, which he withdrew when there was no news from the French king. The siege of Corfu was also a failure, and Süleyman retreated. Nonetheless, the war with Venice continued. In 1538, Barbarossa captured most of the Venetian islands in the Aegean, including Naxos, Paros, Santorini and Andros. The Venetian response was to seek allies and, in 1538, the Holy League of Pope Paul III, Charles V, Ferdinand of Austria and Venice came into being. Its moment came later in the year when, after the Spanish capture of Kotor on the Dalmatian coast, the combined fleet under Andrea Doria trapped Barbarossa in the Gulf of Prevesa. The ensuing battle was Barbarossa's most famous victory. Immediately afterwards, he recaptured Kotor, forcing the war to a conclusion. By the treaty of 1540, Venice ceded Monemvasia and Navplion in the Peloponnesos and all her Aegean possessions apart from Tinos.

Meanwhile, in 1538, Süleyman had led his troops against the voyvoda of Moldavia, Petru Rareș, whom he suspected of collusion



with Ferdinand and the king of Poland. The invading force annexed south-eastern Moldavia, including the port of Bendery on the Dniestr, so completing the land link between Istanbul and the Crimea.

The 1540s saw a renewal of Ottoman–Habsburg conflict in Hungary, with a subsidiary theatre of war in the Mediterranean. The source of friction was a treaty which Ferdinand of Austria had concluded with King Szapolyai in 1538. By its terms, each recognised the other's territory, but Szapolyai's lands were to pass on his death to Ferdinand, making him the sole ruler of Hungary. In 1540, King Szapolyai died, leaving an infant son whom the Bishop of Varad, George Martinuzzi, contrived to have elected king. Ferdinand immediately tried to make good his own claims and besieged Buda. The operation was unsuccessful, but nonetheless he captured Vác, Visegrad and Székesfehérvár. In 1541, he tried again, but Martinuzzi resisted for long enough for the sultan's army to rout the besiegers. However, when the Janissaries occupied the citadel of Buda, Martinuzzi understood that Süleyman did not intend to make him regent in Hungary. Instead, he appointed an Ottoman governor-general to central Hungary, and nominated the infant John Sigismund as king of Transylvania – the eastern part of the old kingdom – under the tutelage of Martinuzzi who, thwarted in his ambition, made contact with Ferdinand.

In 1541, to coincide with Ferdinand's siege of Buda, his brother, Charles V, attacked Algiers, an enterprise which ended in disaster, when Hasan Agha repulsed the besiegers and a storm destroyed the Spanish fleet. The news encouraged Francis I of France to renew his alliance with Süleyman. In late summer, 1542, as Ferdinand attacked Buda for the third time, a French ambassador travelled to Istanbul, returning with an agreement for a joint action in 1543. In the spring of this year, Süleyman led his army into Hungary, extending his border to the west of the Danube with the capture of Valpo, Siklos, Pécs, Székesfehérvár and Esztergom. In the meantime, his fleet under Hayreddin Barbarossa stormed Nice and spent the winter in the French port of Toulon.

However threatening the appearance of Süleyman's fleet in the western Mediterranean, the danger was momentary. Barbarossa

relied on French support, and a peace between Charles V and Francis I temporarily ended Franco-Ottoman cooperation. In Hungary, the war continued. In 1544, the governor-general of Buda captured more Habsburg fortresses, including Nógrad, Hatvan and Simontornya to the north-east of Buda, persuading Ferdinand and his brother Charles V to send ambassadors to Istanbul to seek peace. In 1547, they concluded a five-year treaty with Süleyman, confirming the territorial status quo. Ferdinand, however, renounced his claim to Hungary, and agreed to pay 30,000 ducats each year for the Hungarian territory which he continued to rule. For Süleyman, the treaty also had a symbolic significance, since the Turkish text no longer refers to Charles as 'Emperor', but simply as 'King of Spain', and it was from this moment that the Ottoman sultan considered himself to be 'Emperor of the Romans' or 'Caesar'.<sup>44</sup>

The peace freed Süleyman to lead an expedition against Iran, the pretext being the revolt of Shah Tahmasb's brother, Alqass Mirza, who had found refuge in the Ottoman court. In 1548, the sultan sent Alqass to the border. He himself followed and, in July, occupied Tabriz without resistance. Five days later, he returned westwards to besiege Van, a fortress which the Safavids had recaptured after Süleyman's expedition of 1533–6. Van fell in August, and the sultan retired to Aleppo for the winter. In 1549, his troops undertook an expedition to secure the Empire's north-eastern border against raids from Georgia, but in its main objective – the conquest of Iran – the campaign failed. Shah Tahmasb captured his brother, ensuring that Süleyman could not profit from the rebellion. At the end of 1549, Süleyman returned to Istanbul, and to renewed conflict in Hungary.

Ferdinand did not contravene the treaty of 1547 by launching an invasion but, instead, opened negotiations with Martinuzzi who, in 1549, agreed to cede Transylvania. Süleyman heard of these developments through the French ambassador and ordered the governor-general of Buda to intervene. However, neither the governor-general nor the appeal by John Sigismund's mother, Queen Isabella, could deflect Martinuzzi who, in 1551, forced her to renounce the crown of Transylvania. These events had international consequences. Taking advantage of the sultan's preoccupation with Transylvania,

Charles V's admiral, Andrea Doria, in 1550 captured Mahdia and Monastir on the Tunisian coast, the strongholds of the Turkish corsair, Turgud Reis. In turn, the growth in Habsburg power so alarmed the French that, in 1551, the French king, Henry II, proposed that he and the sultan form an alliance, with their fleets cooperating in the Mediterranean, while the French invaded Piedmont and the Turks attacked Transylvania.

The alliance came to nothing. In 1551, the pope negotiated a peace in Piedmont, the French fleet remained in Marseille and the governor-general of Rumelia's invasion of Transylvania failed. Nonetheless, the mobilisation of the Ottoman fleet had important consequences. After his success against Mahdia and Monastir, Andrea Doria attacked Jerba, off the Tunisian coast, almost taking Turgud prisoner. In reprisal, Süleyman ordered his admiral, Sinan Pasha, to attack Malta. After raiding Sicily, Sinan anchored before Malta, but assaults on the island failed, and the French fleet did not appear. Instead, a section of the Ottoman fleet left for North Africa and besieged Tripoli, which the Knights of St John had occupied in 1530. Tripoli fell in 1551. In the meantime, the warring parties continued unsuccessfully to seek alliances, Charles V with Shah Tahmasb, and Süleyman and Henry II with the Protestant princes in Germany.<sup>45</sup>

Nothing came of these overtures, and attempts at joint Franco-Ottoman action in 1552 were as unsuccessful as in the previous year. The Ottoman fleet put to sea in April<sup>46</sup> and cruised off the western coast of the kingdom of Naples, but did not make contact with the French until September at the end of the sailing season. By this time, too, Charles V and Henry II had temporarily made peace.

The same year saw another crisis in Transylvania. In 1551, Martinuzzi was murdered, and a Spanish mercenary general seized power; shortly afterwards, there was a rebellion in Szeged. To overcome the two crises required two campaigns. First, the governor-general of Buda suppressed the rebellion and then, in May, the second vizier, Kara Ahmed Pasha, led an expedition to Hungary, persuading the governor-general to begin an offensive, which took Veszprem and several smaller fortresses to the north of Buda. Kara Ahmed Pasha himself captured Temesvár and Lipova

in Transylvania, before taking Szolnok in cooperation with the governor-general.

The campaign of 1552 was only partially successful. It led to the Ottoman occupation of Temesvár and the conquest of part of Transylvania, but did not reinstate John Sigismund and his mother, nor did it extinguish Ferdinand's claim to the kingdom. However, it convinced Süleyman that his western border was secure enough to allow him to undertake his third campaign against Iran, sparked by Safavid raids in 1551. The expedition was as unsuccessful as the campaign of 1548–9. Süleyman advanced as far as Nakhichevan, but Safavid scorched-earth tactics again forced a retreat, while the shah defeated the governor-general of Erzurum outside the city, and captured some frontier fortresses. The outcome of the campaign was the treaty of Amasya in 1555, which confirmed the existing frontiers between Iran and the Ottoman Empire.

Subsidiary to the main negotiations at Amasya were discussions between Süleyman and Ferdinand. Süleyman made the condition that, if he wished for peace, Ferdinand should abandon his claim to Transylvania, and this Ferdinand was reluctant to concede. Süleyman's response was to order the governor-general of Buda to capture the fortress of Szigetvár in southern Transdanubia. The siege failed, but it caused sufficient alarm for the Estates of Transylvania to vote to reinstate Sigismund and Isabella. Their return to Cluj in 1556 ended the crisis of the Transylvanian crown.

The same year saw a change in the political configuration of western Europe. In 1556, Charles V abdicated. His son Philip II inherited the kingdom of Spain and the Spanish Netherlands, but not the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. Philip also opened negotiations with Henry II to end the hostilities between France and the Habsburg monarchy, which had brought the Ottoman sultan into an alliance with France, and whose last manifestation had been a Franco-Ottoman naval campaign against the Spanish kingdom of Naples in 1555. The allies had captured some fortresses but not garrisoned them permanently. In 1559, Philip II of Spain and Henry II of France concluded a peace at Cateau-Cambrésis, depriving Süleyman of an ally, and allowing Philip to attack the Ottomans in the Mediterranean without fear of France. The focal point of hostilities

was the North African coast. In 1556, the Ottoman admiral, Piyale Pasha, and the governor-general of Algiers had attacked the Spanish fortress of Oran to the west of Algiers. The next year, Piyale took Bizerta near Tunis and, in 1558, plundered Ciudadela on Minorca. Philip counter-attacked, occupying Jerba off the Tunisian coast, but his success was transitory. In 1560, Piyale reconquered the island.

While the major Ottoman naval actions took place in the Mediterranean, events in the southern ocean were, in the end, as significant.<sup>47</sup> With the conquest of Egypt in 1517, Selim I acquired an outlet to the Indian Ocean and access to the trade between south Asia and the Mediterranean. Some years before the conquest, the Portuguese had established a new route from the Indies, via the Cape of Good Hope, to Lisbon, and hoped, by force of arms, to establish a trading monopoly. During the last years of Mamluk rule in Egypt, they had seized ships in the Red Sea and, in 1517, attacked Jedda. The Portuguese threat and, equally, the opportunity for the sultan to control the Indies trade was the subject of a memorandum which the governor of Jedda, Selman Reis, submitted in 1525. The sultan paid no attention, and it was only in the 1530s, when trade in spices through the Mediterranean had diminished and there were pepper shortages in the palace, that the sultan took action. In 1531, the Portuguese received reports of a fleet under construction at Suez. In 1538, it emerged under the command of a former governor-general of Egypt, Süleyman Pasha, and sailed to India but failed to take the Portuguese fort of Diu on the coast of Gujarat. In 1541, the Portuguese responded with an unsuccessful attack on Suez. The failure at Diu notwithstanding, Süleyman Pasha's expedition had important consequences. On the journey to Diu Süleyman garrisoned the coasts of Aden and Yemen, to form a land frontier against the Portuguese. In 1547 and 1552, the Ottomans established themselves in highland Yemen with the capture of Ta'izz and San'a respectively.

By the early 1540s Süleyman was attempting to negotiate with King John of Portugal for the safe passage of merchant ships, for the establishment of the line Shihr-Aden-Zeila' as the frontier between the Portuguese and Ottoman fleets, and for the exchange of Ottoman wheat for Portuguese pepper. These negotiations were

fruitless, and although operations off the shores of Arabia, and in particular the activities of the corsair Sefer Reis, assisted the recovery of the Mediterranean spice-trade from the mid-sixteenth century, Ottoman ships could not permanently disrupt Portuguese trade routes.

The conquest of Iraq provided a second outlet to the Indian Ocean. In 1538, four years after the occupation of Baghdad, the local ruler of Basra, at the head of the Gulf, received formal recognition as an Ottoman governor-general, but it was not until 1546 that Basra became in reality an Ottoman province. Nonetheless, it did not flourish as a centre of maritime trade, since the Portuguese occupied Hormuz and controlled the route from the Gulf into the Indian Ocean. In 1546, the governor-general of Basra, Ayas Pasha, tried to establish Basra as a trading port and, with a view to confronting the Portuguese in Hormuz, occupied Al-Hasa on the western shore of the Gulf. In 1550, the Ottomans occupied Katif and, two years later, attempted to break the blockade at Hormuz. In 1552, Piri Reis set out from Suez to the Gulf with a squadron of 30 vessels. He captured the Portuguese fortress at Muscat, but failed to take Hormuz, instead plundering the island of Qeshm and returning to Basra with the spoils. On his return to Egypt, the sultan ordered his execution. An attempt to bring the ships back from Basra to Suez failed, as the Portuguese blocked the Straits and when, in 1554, Seydi Ali Reis broke through the blockade, a storm in the ocean drove him to the coast of India.

The conflict with the Portuguese continued intermittently. In 1555, to strengthen the Ottoman position in the Red Sea, the sultan ordered Özdemiroghlu Osman Pasha to organise the province of Abyssinia, even though its revenues did not cover the cost of the garrisons at the ports of Sawakin and Massawa. Nevertheless, it contributed to the defensive frontier against the Portuguese. It was to strengthen the Ottoman position against the Portuguese in the Gulf, as well as to secure control of the pearl-fishing that, in 1559, the governor-general of Al-Hasa invaded the island of Bahrain, provoking a Portuguese attack on his forces and a humiliating retreat. By 1560, it was clear that the Portuguese could not evict the Ottomans from Basra, Al-Hasa and Katif at the head of the Gulf, nor from the

Red Sea. The Ottomans, however, could not break the blockade at Hormuz, nor defeat the Portuguese on the ocean. Instead, they tried negotiation. In 1562, the governor-general of Basra sent an envoy to Hormuz to discuss the resumption of trade through the Gulf, while in 1564 the sultan wrote to the king of Portugal, demanding that he 'ensure the passage on land and sea for the people and merchants of the Ottoman Empire trading to and from the lands under Portuguese domination'. Small-scale hostilities continued but, despite the successes of Sefer Reis in the 1550s and 1560s and despite their later efforts to establish the suzerainty of the sultan over the small polities along the Swahili coast in the 1580s,<sup>48</sup> the Ottomans never succeeded in controlling the sea routes from south Asia.

To the sultan, events in the southern ocean probably seemed unimportant next to his concerns with Iran, Hungary and the Mediterranean, and it was Hungary and the Mediterranean that dominated his final years. But first he had to face a civil war. From about 1550 Süleyman's death seemed imminent, leading to a struggle for succession. In 1553, he pre-empted what he believed to be a plot against him by executing his son, Prince Mustafa. This left two challengers, the princes Bayezid and Selim. In 1558, believing that his father favoured Selim, Bayezid rebelled, forcing Süleyman to confront him with an army under the command of the vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. Sokollu defeated Bayezid near Konya in 1559, compelling the prince to flee to Iran, where he became the subject of negotiations between shah and sultan. In 1562, when Tahmasb had secured a treaty of peace and financial reward, he allowed an Ottoman executioner into the prince's cell to end his life.

The agreement with Tahmasb coincided with the conclusion of an eight-year peace with Ferdinand, leaving Süleyman free to fight his last battles. Piyale Pasha's incursions into the western Mediterranean in the 1550s had extended the reach of his fleet and offered visions of further conquest. An essential preliminary was to conquer Malta which, at the sea's narrowest point, dominated the passage from the eastern to the western Mediterranean. The siege of 1565 was unsuccessful, and in 1566, as if in compensation for defeat at Malta, Piyale Pasha took the Genoese island of Chios. It is significant, however, that Chios is in the Aegean and lay off the Ottoman

coastline: its conquest marked the end of Ottoman maritime expansion towards the west.

Süleyman's last campaign was to Hungary. In 1564, Ferdinand died. His son, Maximilian, wished to renew the peace, but largely in order to free himself to pursue his claim to Transylvania. In 1565, with most of his forces engaged on Malta, Süleyman could only order the governor-general of Temesvár to undertake a limited incursion into Transylvania. A major campaign followed. In 1566, the elderly sultan left Istanbul, carried for the most part in a litter. Sending the vizier Pertev Pasha to occupy the disputed lands in Transylvania, the sultan himself laid siege to Szigetvár. He died on the field of battle, two days before the fortress capitulated.

During his 46 year reign, Süleyman had added to the Empire territory in eastern Anatolia, Iraq, the Gulf and the Red Sea, the Aegean, Moldavia and Hungary. Some of these territories cost more in defence than they provided in revenue, but all served to emphasise Süleyman's status as ruler of one of the world's greatest Empires. Ottoman territory was to expand further during the reigns of his successors, but the Empire never again played the international role that it had done at the height of Süleyman's power. The French kings Francis I and Henry II had sought him as an ally, as had, briefly, the Protestant princes of Germany. He had provided artillery and gunners to Muslim rulers in India and Ethiopia and, at the end of his reign, despatched ships, artillery and artillerymen to Aceh in Sumatra. At the same time, his reign had shown that there were geographical constraints to imperial ambition. In his campaigns against Iran, the hostile terrain in the borderlands between the two Empires was sufficient to frustrate Ottoman aggression, even when the Safavids offered no military resistance. In the south, the isthmus of Suez was a barrier to the import of Mediterranean timber and other shipbuilding materials into the Red Sea, and to the passage of ships from one sea to the other. Furthermore, ignorance of how to build ocean-going vessels made it impossible to defeat the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. These were problems that were to confront Süleyman's successors.

Selim II (1566–74) was Süleyman's only surviving son. Unlike his father, he had a distaste for affairs of state, delegating much of



the responsibility of government to his grand vizier and son-in-law, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. At Selim's accession, Sokollu faced three problems: the war in Hungary, the revolt of the Zaydi Imam of Yemen<sup>49</sup> and an Arab rebellion in the marshes north of Basra. Sokollu acted decisively in all three cases. In 1567, a river-borne expedition pacified the leader of the marsh Arabs, Ibn 'Ulayyan who ended his rebellion when the sultan granted him the title of governor. The revolt in Yemen took three years to suppress. The operation began with the dismissal of the commander, Lala Mustafa Pasha, and his replacement by the governor-general of Egypt, Koja ('the Elder') Sinan Pasha. Sinan captured first Ta'izz, and then Aden. In 1569, San'a fell, and the campaign ended in the following year with the capture of Kawakaban. In Hungary, Sokollu in 1568 concluded an eight-year peace with Maximilian, on condition that the emperor pay a yearly tribute of 30,000 ducats.

It was perhaps the war in Yemen that led Sokollu, in 1568, to order the construction of a canal linking Suez with the Mediterranean, which would have enabled him to despatch ships, troops and war materials from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. The plan failed, as did a similar project in 1569.<sup>50</sup> The immediate stimulus for this was the Russian occupation of Astrakhan on the Volga, the Russian presence there offering an alternative focus of loyalty for the khan of the Crimea, who was a vassal of the Ottoman sultan. Sokollu planned to cut a canal between the Don and the Volga, enabling him to send a fleet directly from the Black Sea to Astrakhan and the Caspian Sea. The project would also permit the despatch of troops against Iran, bypassing the mountain barriers in eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus. In 1569, an Ottoman–Tatar army camped at Perevolok and began work, but had completed only one-third of the canal when the onset of autumn began to hamper the excavation. Meanwhile, the commander, Kasim Pasha, had raided the district of Astrakhan, but when the city itself resisted, he ordered a retreat. About half his army perished in the swampy steppe lands, and a fire in the depot at Azov made it impossible to continue the campaign in the following year. The viziers had conceived both canal schemes as a way of overcoming the geographical barriers to further conquest. With the failure of both projects, Ottoman

military and maritime power continued to operate within the old constraints.

The major campaign of Selim's reign was more conventional. Venice had occupied Cyprus since 1489 and, in 1570, despite an unexpired treaty with Venice, an Ottoman fleet attacked the island. The invasion answered a wish of the sultan, and had the support of the viziers Piyale Pasha and Lala Mustafa Pasha, who were to command respectively the naval and land forces and saw it as the first of three campaigns to conquer Cyprus, Crete and Malta.<sup>51</sup> Sokollu, fearing an alliance of Venice, Spain, the Knights of St John and the pope, opposed the war. In 1570, Lala Mustafa captured Nicosia; in 1571, he took Famagusta. The war, however, had the consequence that Sokollu had feared and, in October 1571, the Ottoman fleet encountered the ships of the Holy League off Lepanto (Navpakto) in the Gulf of Corinth. In the battle, the allies destroyed most of the Ottoman fleet. Of the Ottoman commanders, only Uluj Ali, the governor-general of Algiers, had fought successfully, and it was he who returned with the remaining ships to Istanbul. Lepanto, however, was a battle without strategic consequences. As it occurred in the autumn, the allied fleet returned to its bases and, during the winter of 1571–2, the Ottoman arsenals constructed a new fleet which emerged in 1572 under the command of Uluj Ali. In 1573, the war ended with the cession of Cyprus to the Ottomans.<sup>52</sup> To the further discomfiture of the victors of Lepanto, in 1574 another naval expedition under Uluj Ali and Koca Sinan took Tunis from the Spaniards, leaving much of the North African coast to the east of Oran under Ottoman control.

In 1574, Selim II died, and his only adult son ascended the throne as Murad III (1574–95).

Murad retained Sokollu Mehmed Pasha as grand vizier, but had brought to Istanbul his own entourage from his days as a governor in Manisa and these colluded with Sokollu's enemies to undermine the grand vizier's authority. In 1579, perhaps with the encouragement of these men, an assassin disguised as a dervish stabbed Sokollu to death. His demise heralded a change of policy from peace to war.<sup>53</sup> Shah Tahmasb had died 1576, and his successor Ismail II in 1577, bringing Ismail's brother, Khudabanda, to the throne. This

instability in the Safavid realms encouraged the Uzbeks to invade from the east, providing the Ottomans with an opportunity to attack from the west. The activities of Safavid propagandists and the defections of some Kurdish lords allowed the sultan to claim that the Safavids had broken the terms of the treaty of Amasya and, in 1578, he commanded Lala Mustafa Pasha to conquer Shirvan on the Caspian Sea. Sokollu had opposed the war, but his death in 1579 brought the war party to power.

In 1578, Lala Mustafa won a series of victories. After defeating the Safavids at Çıldır, he received the submission of Minucmehr, prince of Meskhetian. In August, he entered Tblisi and received the submission of Alexander Khan, prince of Kalkhetia but, as the army marched eastwards, it began to suffer food shortages, and the Janissaries demanded that they return.<sup>54</sup> Hearing this, the Safavid governor of Tabriz launched an unsuccessful attack near the Kur river. In mid-September, with the supply problem eased, the army reached Eresh. At the end of the year, Shirvan fell, and Lala Mustafa appointed governors to both Shirvan and Daghestan. The weakness of the Ottoman position soon became clear when the Safavids assembled an army south of the Kur, and the new governors refused to spend the winter in their provinces. Instead, Özdemiroghlu Osman remained with a reduced force and, to gain the confidence of the Daghestanis, married the daughter of the shamkhal. This merely emphasised the dangers of involvement in Caucasian politics: as an enemy of the shamkhal, Alexander Khan defected to the Safavids, as did Simon Khan, the prince of Kartli. This was the situation when Lala Mustafa Pasha returned to Erzurum in the winter of 1578–9.

In 1579, the Safavids counter-attacked, besieging the Ottoman garrisons in Derbend and Tblisi, and forcing Özdemiroghlu to abandon Shamaxi. Neither siege was successful. The khan of the Crimea came to the relief of Derbend, and an army under the governor-general of Dulgadir compelled the Safavids to retreat from Tblisi. In 1580, Koca Sinan Pasha was appointed army commander and departed to reinforce the garrison at Tblisi. Believing, however, that peace negotiations would succeed, he abandoned the campaign that was in preparation for 1581, a decision that severely weakened the Ottoman position. In 1582, a Safavid and Georgian army prepared

to besiege Tblisi and routed an Ottoman force carrying pay and supplies to the garrison. In Shirvan, too, the Safavids exploited rumours of peace to overwhelm Ottoman garrisons when they were off their guard, while the Daghestanis turned against Osman Pasha. From his stronghold of Derbend, Osman sent an envoy to demand assistance from Istanbul. By 1583, his position seemed hopeless. The shamkhal of Daghestan had allied himself with the Safavid governor of Gänjä, with a view to annihilating Osman Pasha's army and ending the Ottoman occupation of Shirvan. An Ottoman victory after a four-day battle at Meshale on the Sana river thwarted his plans, consolidating Ottoman sovereignty in Shirvan and Daghestan. After the battle, Özdemiroghlu returned to Istanbul.

The battle of Meshale revived Ottoman fortunes. In 1583, a new commander, Ferhad Pasha led an army to the east, occupied Erivan, repaired and built fortresses in Georgia and gained the allegiance of the Georgian prince, Simon Khan. He also reported to the sultan that the troops were exhausted and that Ottoman subjects were suffering from the weight of taxation. He received the reply that the army should not depart until it had forced the Safavids to sue for peace. The aim of the government was to occupy Tabriz, an objective Özdemiroghlu Osman Pasha achieved in 1585. After defeating a Safavid army under crown prince Hamza Mirza at Sufian, he entered Tabriz, with resistance only from the garrison. Within a month, his troops had built a new fortress.

Soon afterwards, when Hamza Mirza had overwhelmed part of the garrison, Osman Pasha found himself facing defeat in an isolated outpost. In October 1585, he died, leaving the garrison under the command of the governor-general of Diyarbekir, Jafer Pasha. For 11 months, until the arrival of a relieving force under Ferhad Pasha, he withstood a Safavid siege and, during his eight years as commander at Tabriz, resisted Safavid attempts to recapture the city. In Georgia, too, Ottoman fortunes advanced. In 1587, Ferhad Pasha led an expedition against Minuchehr, who had abandoned his allegiance to the Ottomans, and against Minuchehr's father-in-law and erstwhile Ottoman ally, Simon Khan. After defeating them both, he occupied Simon Khan's capital at Gori and departed to reinforce Tblisi. With the submission of Simon Khan, Georgia became an

Ottoman dependency. In the following year, a new shah, Abbas I, ascended the throne in Iran.

The Ottoman war was only one of Abbas's problems. He faced factional strife within his own realms and, in 1589, the Uzbeks captured Herat and advanced to Mashhad. Abbas's preoccupation with this war allowed the Ottomans to extend their front. In 1588, while Ferhad Pasha occupied Gänjä in Azerbaijan, Jigalazade Sinan Pasha led an army from Baghdad and took Nihavend. With war on two fronts, Shah Abbas had no choice but to sue for peace. In January 1590, a Safavid ambassador arrived in Istanbul. The treaty of the same year left the Ottomans in possession of all the territories which they had conquered in Azerbaijan and the Caucasus, and Nihavend, Luristan and Shehrizor in western Iran.

With this treaty the Ottoman Empire attained its maximum size.

### **The Ottoman times of trouble, 1590–1650**

The war with Iran added vast territories to the Ottoman Empire, but at great cost. The victory followed a decade of fighting in harsh terrain, which had led to discontent among the troops, and placed a burden on the treasury that in turn had strained the social fabric of the Empire. The war had not produced an abundance of plunder, and it is unlikely that the tax yield of the new provinces covered the cost of their garrisons. Furthermore, its victorious conclusion owed less to Ottoman military superiority than it did to the internal troubles of the Safavids and the invasion of the Uzbeks.

This was clear to Ferhad Pasha. When hostilities with Austria threatened in the early 1590s, he opposed the declaration of war, on the grounds that the troops were exhausted after the Iranian campaign. It was, the chronicler Ibrahim Pechevi claims, the grand vizier, Koca Sinan Pasha, who, in his ambition to eclipse Ferhad Pasha's fame as a commander, was its chief advocate.

Sinan Pasha had his wish and, in 1593, departed to Hungary as commander-in-chief. The campaign began auspiciously with the capture of Veszprem and Paluta in western Hungary, but when the Austrians besieged Székesfehérvár and routed an Ottoman relief force, it became clear that the Ottoman army had lost its military

superiority. The Austrian offensive continued in 1594, with the capture of Novigrad and the sieges of Esztergom, on the Danube to the west of Buda, and of Hatvan, to the north-east. The besiegers again routed an Ottoman force coming to relieve Hatvan. It was only when Sinan Pasha approached with a large force that the Austrians withdrew, and the Ottoman offensive continued with the capture first of Tata and then of Győr on the road between Buda and Vienna. Pechevi, however, stresses that it was only 'by the grace of God' that Győr fell. The river had flooded the ditch around the fortress, and the besiegers could approach the wall only in single file across a bridge, giving the Austrians no reason to surrender.

The following year brought disaster. In 1595, at the instigation of the Austrian emperor, the king of Transylvania, Stephen Bathory, transferred his allegiance to the Habsburgs. At the same time, the voyvodas of Moldavia and Wallachia rebelled, opening a new theatre of war, and threatening Ottoman control of the Danube, a major route for transporting war materials to Hungary. The voyvoda of Moldavia defeated an Ottoman force and, in the winter of 1594–5, Voyvoda Michael of Wallachia crossed the Danube and devastated northern Bulgaria. The Ottoman campaign to suppress his rebellion started badly, with the dismissal of the commander, Ferhad Pasha, and his replacement by Koja Sinan. Sinan Pasha, despite forests, swamps and the harrying tactics of the Wallachians, reached Bucharest and Tirgoviște, fortifying both places. Soon afterwards, Michael counter-attacked, slaughtering the garrison at Tirgoviște and forcing an Ottoman retreat to the Danube. At Giurgiu, Michael cut off the bridge across the river, and massacred the Ottoman troops stranded on the northern bank. Meanwhile, in Hungary, the Austrians besieged Esztergom. The fortress fell when its commander, Sinan Pasha's son, Mehmed, fled to Buda.

In 1595, Murad III died. The accession of his son Mehmed III (1595–1603) came at a time of crisis on the battlefield and, at the urging of Sinan Pasha and others, in 1596 the new sultan accompanied the army to Hungary. It was a campaign of mixed fortunes. As the army approached Eger in the north, news came that the Austrians had captured Hatvan. To counterbalance this loss, the siege of Eger was a success and, shortly afterwards, the Ottomans won an unexpected

victory on the plain of Mező-Keresztes. In the face of Austrian artillery and of volley fire from arquebusiers under the protection of pikemen, the Ottoman cavalry fled the field. With very little resistance, the Austrian troops reached the Ottoman encampment and abandoned themselves to plunder. It was at this moment that the palace servants who had accompanied the expedition attacked, shouting 'The infidel's fled!' Their shouts encouraged the defeated troops to return to the attack. Their victory was total, but success did not follow.

In 1597, the vizier Satirji ('the Cleaver') Mehmed Pasha left Istanbul for Hungary. He recaptured Tata, but could not even come near, let alone defeat the entrenched Austrian artillery at Vác on the northern approach to Buda, and in the same year the Austrians recaptured Győr. Nonetheless, Satirji Mehmed remained in command. In 1598, he invaded Transylvania, taking Csanad and then, in heavy rain, laying siege to Varad, where he heard that Buda was under siege. He immediately withdrew, but floods and foul weather hampered the journey to the Hungarian capital. Hunger, disease and mutiny followed, together with the news that the Austrians were besieging Veszprem, Tata and Paluta. When no relief reached Buda, the sultan ordered Satirji Mehmed's execution. The disasters which threatened did not materialise. Buda survived and, in 1599, as the Ottoman army under the grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha approached Vác on the Danube, the Austrians retreated. Meanwhile, Kuyuju ('the Well-Digger') Murad Pasha took Bobovac, and the expedient of offering money to an unpaid French garrison at Papa persuaded them to change sides, and for a while the fortress came under Ottoman control.<sup>55</sup>

The year 1600 brought a larger prize when the governor-general of Buda, Mehmed Pasha, took Kanizsa in south-west Hungary. The victory was, as Pechevi describes it, 'a grace of God'. First, a powder magazine exploded in the fortress and when, unable to withstand Austrian gunfire, the Janissaries fled, the Austrian troops outside the fortress believed this to be a trick and departed, leaving Kanizsa under siege. With their departure, the fortress surrendered. In 1601, the Austrians counter-attacked, taking Székesfehérvár, and sending an army to recapture Kanizsa. An Ottoman force under Yemishchi

(‘the Fruiterer’) Hasan Pasha could not dislodge the entrenched Austrian force that blocked his path to Székesfehérvár. Kanizsa, however, under the command of Tiryaki (‘the Addict’) Hasan Pasha, resisted a siege that lasted into the winter.

In 1602, Yemishchi Hasan Pasha reconquered Székesfehérvár, while in Transylvania, the Szekely Mózes rebelled against the king and asked the Ottoman commander for assistance. Both events seemed to herald a revival in Ottoman fortunes. As it turned out, Mózes’s rebellion led to disaster. In 1602, Yemishchi Hasan prepared to invade Transylvania, but immediately after the army’s departure news came that the Austrians had captured Pest, on the Danube opposite Buda. Yemishchi Hasan turned back, to find Pest in Austrian possession, and Buda under siege. He returned to Istanbul in disgrace but, enjoying the sultan’s favour, escaped execution and, when he resigned, the Janissaries rebelled on his behalf. The agha of the Janissaries, however, calmed the rebels, and soon afterwards Yemishchi Hasan was murdered.

Before leaving Hungary, Yemishchi Hasan had appointed Lala Mehmed Pasha as commander. His first success was to drive the Austrian forces from Buda, enabling him to plan the reconquest of Pest. This required dislodging the enemy from the island of Csepel, which blocked the approach to the city by river. Lala Mehmed realised that to defeat the Austrians on the island required infantry in entrenched positions and planned accordingly. The Janissaries, however, refused to entrench and demanded cavalry reinforcements. Lala Mehmed bowed to their demands, with the result that, in July 1603, the Austrians annihilated the attacking force, and remained in possession of Pest. In 1604, however, Ottoman fortunes improved.

One factor in this was the weakening Austrian position in the Danubian principalities. The revolt of Voyvoda Michael in 1595 had diverted Ottoman resources from Hungary, but by 1600 Michael’s claim to the rulership of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania was equally threatening to the Austrians, whose reaction was to have him murdered. Then, in 1603, Stephen Bocskay led an anti-Austrian rebellion in Transylvania. Another factor in the Ottoman recovery was the leadership of Lala Mehmed Pasha. When he left Belgrade for



Hungary in 1604, the Austrians abandoned Hatvan and Pest, and surrendered Vác following a blockade. In the autumn of 1604, he undertook an unsuccessful siege of Esztergom before returning to Istanbul, where he received permission to crown Bocskay king of Transylvania, with the title 'King of Hungary.' In 1605, he returned to the front and conquered Esztergom in the last major encounter of the war.

In 1606, peace negotiations began at Zsitvatorok in the no-man's-land between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires, focusing on the territorial arrangements, the tribute due to the sultan and the settlement of cross-border disputes. Some issues remained unsettled, with the result that both sides signed slightly different versions of the treaty. When Habsburg negotiators travelled to Istanbul in 1608 to ratify the text, they rejected it since they found that parts of it had been changed. It was not until 1612 that they ratified the final version.<sup>56</sup> The treaty nonetheless worked. There were no hostilities between the two sides until the 1660s, while the clause forbidding raids across the border and introducing a procedure for the settlement of cross-border disputes gave a formal expression to the concept of a fixed and peaceful frontier. The *kleinkrieg* of former centuries had come to an end.

The war with Austria which had opened with Sinan Pasha's boast that he would 'bring the king of Vienna captive to Istanbul', had ended in compromise, and shown that the Austrians were by now equal or superior to the Ottomans on the battlefield. Nonetheless, in their ability to continue the war and, in its last two years, to win a series of victories, the Ottomans had shown an extraordinary resilience,<sup>57</sup> particularly since, in these years they were fighting not on one front, but three.

The second front was in the east. In 1590, Shah Abbas had, in the face of Uzbek attacks in Khurasan, conceded territory to the Ottomans. In 1598, he defeated the Uzbeks and occupied Herat. Then, using the defection of a Kurdish lord as a justification for war, in 1603 he entered Tabriz. From here, he marched to Nakhichevan. After its surrender, he proceeded to Erivan. The city's double fortress withstood a Safavid siege for more than nine months but, facing starvation, capitulated in 1604. The loss of Erivan made it essential

to mount a campaign against the shah, despite the demands of the Hungarian front. In 1604, Jigalazade Sinan Pasha led the army towards Shirvan, until the troops forced him to change his direction to Tabriz. Marching south from the river Aras he wintered in Van. In 1605, he continued towards Tabriz, with Safavid forces shadowing him in the mountains. Then, deceiving Jigalazade as to the direction of the attack, Shah Abbas routed his army at Sufian. Following the victory, he captured Gänjä in Azerbaijan, Tblisi in Georgia and laid siege to Shirvan. With the fall of Shirvan in 1606, Abbas recovered all the territory that the Ottomans had won in the war of 1578–90.

The third front was Anatolia.<sup>58</sup> Unrest was endemic in the area but, in 1596, a rebellion erupted on an unprecedented scale. The Ottoman chroniclers link the uprising to events after the battle of Mező-Keresztes when the grand vizier, Jigalazade Sinan Pasha, dispossessed the cavalrymen who had fled the battlefield. Deprived of their livelihoods, these joined the first of the rebel leaders, Kara Yaziji. When ordered to attack the rebels, the governor-general of Karaman defected to Kara Yaziji, who retired to Urfa. Unable to defeat him, the government tried appeasement, appointing him as governor, first of Amasya and then of Çorum. As governor, he continued to plunder Anatolia until, in 1601, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's son, Hasan Pasha, finally defeated him near Elbistan. In 1602, he died.

This did not end the rebellion. Command of the jelalis, as the rebels came to be known, passed to Kara Yaziji's brother, Mad Hasan who, in 1602, besieged and killed Hasan Pasha in Tokat. In August, he defeated another government force and besieged Ankara, extorting a huge sum from the inhabitants, before moving westwards to besiege another government force in Kütahya. The grand vizier, Yemishchi Hasan Pasha's response was to appoint him governor-general of Bosnia. This removed the problem from Anatolia, as his rebels accompanied him to Bosnia and then to Hungary, where 2000 of them perished in the attack on Csepel island. In 1606, the commander-in-chief in Hungary ordered Mad Hasan's execution. The departure of Mad Hasan did not end the disturbances in Anatolia, as new groups of rebels combined to assault towns and villages and to extract illegal taxes, provoking

a 'great flight' from farms and villages to Istanbul and other large towns. At the same time, severe weather exacerbated the plight of the population.

All attempts to defeat the rebels failed. In 1605, Jigalazade ignored a command to confront the jelalis before attacking the Safavids and, in the same year, the rebel Tall Halil defeated a former governor-general of Aleppo at Bolvadin, persuading Sultan Ahmed to lead an expedition in person. His 'campaign' was a fiasco. In November 1605, he travelled to Bursa. Tall Halil retreated, and the sultan returned, offering the rebel the governor-generalship of Baghdad. Tall Halil left Anatolia, but his presence in Baghdad destabilised Iraq, while in Anatolia, a certain Kalenderoghlu Mehmed had emerged as rebel leader. An expedition in 1606, uncertain whether its objective was to defeat Kalenderoghlu or Shah Abbas, turned back when the unpaid troops mutinied. In 1607, Kalenderoghlu defeated a force near Nif, encouraging other jelali leaders to join him. In the summer he besieged Ankara. A relieving force drove him off, but was itself defeated at Ladik. Announcing his intention to occupy Üsküdar, Kalenderoghlu advanced towards Bursa and occupied the town, leaving only the citadel in government hands. In the south-east, Adana and the Taurus passes were in the hands of a rebel called Jemshid, but most dangerous of all was the rebellion of Ali Janbulad in Syria.

Members of the Janbulad family had been hereditary governors of Kilis since 1571 and in 1603 Hüseyin Janbulad had established himself as governor-general of Aleppo. In 1605, Jigalazade Sinan executed him for his refusal to serve on the Iranian campaign, sparking a rebellion by his son Ali. To defeat Ali, the government appointed his rival, the Lebanese Yusuf ibn Sayf, as governor in Damascus, with orders to overthrow the rebel. Ali Janbulad's response was to ally himself with a certain Fakhr al-Din and other Syrian and Lebanese lords, in order first to defeat Yusuf, and then to divide Syria and Lebanon among themselves. By May 1606, he was demanding a vizierate and the right to appoint his own nominees to a large area around Aleppo, while also seeking alliances with Kalenderoghlu and other Anatolian rebels. Ali's goal was to declare himself an independent ruler.

The appointment of Kuyuju Murad Pasha as grand vizier in 1606 thwarted Ali's ambitions. At the start of a carefully planned operation, Kuyuju Murad departed for Syria in July 1607, appointing Kalenderoghlu governor of Ankara in order to neutralise him during the campaign. Then he crossed the Taurus mountains and occupied Adana. From here, choosing the route that was least expected, he approached Aleppo and routed Ali Janbulad's forces in October 1607. In November, he entered Aleppo and executed most members of the Janbulad family. During the winter, he received the submission of Ali's Syrian and Lebanese confederates. Ali himself fled westwards, making contact with Kalenderoghlu at Bursa but, reaching no agreement with him, accepted instead the sultan's pardon and appointment as governor-general of Temesvár. Here, the populace rejected him and, in 1610, Kuyuju Murad ordered his execution.

The defeat of Ali Janbulad still left the rebels in control of much of Anatolia. In 1608, Kalenderoghlu defeated a force under Nakkash ('the Artist') Hasan Pasha near Mihaliç, and in the summer blocked another army carrying the treasure to Aleppo. Kuyuju Murad meanwhile faced severe problems in organising a new campaign. Kalenderoghlu had blocked his supply of cash; in consequence of severe weather and the impoverishment of the countryside, his full quota of troops had failed to come from Anatolia; and supplies from Egypt were late. In the meantime, he detached some of the lesser jelalis from Kalenderoghlu by awarding them governorships. Finally, in August 1608, he defeated Kalenderoghlu near Malatya. The rebel fled to Iran, while Kuyuju Murad returned to Istanbul. In 1609, the army mustered in Üsküdar, but Kuyuju Murad did not move. Instead, he sent a former jelali, Zulfikar, to attack the rebel Musli Chavush, whom he himself had appointed governor of İçel. During Zulfikar's absence, another rebel, Yusuf Pasha, appeared to seek a pardon, which the vizier granted until Zulfikar had returned with news of Musli Chavush's defeat. Then he had him executed inside his tent. With the death of Yusuf Pasha, Kuyuju Murad dismissed the army, although campaigns against the rebels in Anatolia and Iraq continued on a smaller scale.

The defeat of the jelalis left the grand vizier with two concerns. The first was to restore Ottoman administration after decades of

war and rebellion. The result was a revision of the laws of land tenure and a memorandum by a chancery clerk, Ayn Ali, presenting an idealised scheme of fiscal, provincial and military organisation. The sultan himself wanted a visible monument to the victory over the rebels, and ordered the construction in Istanbul of the mosque that bears his name, the Sultan Ahmed Mosque. In Anatolia rural life was slow to recover: fiscal surveys from over 30 years later show that the population had still not reached its sixteenth-century level.

Kuyucu Murad's second concern was to renew the war with Iran. His campaign was inconclusive and, in 1611, he died in Diyarbekir. In 1612, his successor, Nasuh Pasha, concluded a peace with Shah Abbas but, in 1615, on the pretext that the annual tribute of silk due from the shah had not arrived, the grand vizier, Öküz ('the Ox') Mehmed Pasha, renewed the war and unsuccessfully besieged Erivan.

In the west, there was peace, apart from encounters in the eastern Mediterranean between the Ottoman fleet and corsairs sponsored by the Knights of St John and the duke of Tuscany. In the Black Sea, however, the raids on settlements along the Black Sea coast, which the Cossacks launched from their bases along the Don and the Dniepr, intensified as the seventeenth century advanced, culminating in a raid on Sinop in 1614. An Ottoman counter-attack failed when the Cossacks lured the admiral Jigalazade Mahmud so close to the shore that his galleys ran aground. In 1623, they attacked Yeniköy on the Bosphorus and, between 1637 and 1641, occupied Azov. For half a century, the war with the Cossacks required a series of maritime expeditions and constant vigilance along the Black Sea coasts. These encounters with the Cossacks were the major Ottoman naval engagements until 1645.

The conclusion of the Austrian war and the defeat of the *jelalis* did not end the Ottoman 'times of trouble'. In 1617, Ahmed I died, precipitating a dynastic crisis. Since Ahmed's sons were not yet adults, a faction within the palace secured the succession of his brother, Mustafa I. This prince, however, was mentally disturbed, and the faction that had opposed Mustafa's succession secured his replacement in 1618 by Ahmed I's eldest son, Osman.

Osman's reign saw the conclusion of a peace with Iran, which confirmed the frontier in Georgia and made slight adjustments to

the Ottoman–Safavid border in Iraq. By contrast, there was a crisis in relations with Poland.<sup>59</sup> Cossack raids from Polish territory on the Ottoman coastline and Tatar raids into Poland led to tension between the two powers, but it was events in Moldavia that led to war. When Caspar Gratiani succeeded as voyvoda of Moldavia, he intercepted letters from the king of Transylvania, Bethlen Gabor, and revealed them to the Polish king, Sigismund. When the sultan replied by deposing Gratiani, the voyvoda rebelled and fled to Poland, precipitating war. In September 1620, the governor-general of Ochakov, Iskender Pasha routed the Polish and Moldavian armies at Iași, and a second Polish defeat persuaded King Sigismund to seek peace. The sultan, however, resolved to continue the war and, in May 1621, he led an army from the capital. In August, he reached Chotin on the Dniestr. By October, assaults on the fortress had failed and, despite Osman's determination to stay in the field, mutiny forced him to accept the terms that King Sigismund was proposing; in November, he left Chotin with nothing achieved.

Osman's next decision was fatal. His ambition was to restore Ottoman glory by reforming its institutions and reversing the humiliations which Shah Abbas had inflicted. An element in his plan – or so the Janissaries believed – was to abolish the Janissary corps and when, in 1622, he crossed the Bosphorus on the excuse of leaving for the pilgrimage, they rebelled, believing that he intended to collect an army in Syria and use it for their annihilation. Under pressure from the Janissaries, Osman turned back, but refused to execute the six men whom they accused of leading him astray. His refusal provoked them to a rebellion which culminated in his murder and the re-accession of Mustafa.

The assassination of one sultan and the enthronement of another who was mentally incapable guaranteed chaos. To expiate their guilt, the Janissaries demanded the execution of Davud Pasha, the grand vizier who had condoned the murder of Osman. He and the agha of the Janissaries lost their lives, unleashing a competition for the vizierate between Georgian Mehmed Pasha and the Albanian, Mere ('Come here!') Hüseyin Pasha. The provinces, too, experienced unrest. Claiming that he was avenging Osman's blood, the governor-general of Erzurum, Abkhaz Mehmed Pasha, seized

Şebîn Karahisar, Sivas, Ankara and Bursa. In the Lebanon, Yusuf ibn Sayf asserted his independence and, in Iraq, Shah Abbas captured Baghdad.<sup>60</sup> In the same year, the Cossacks attacked Yeniköy.

The first step to prevent the Empire's disintegration was to remove the sultan. In 1623, after a group of ulema had taken the decision to depose Mustafa, a deputation went to the palace and bargained with the sultan's mother. Mustafa was dethroned, but his life was spared.

His successor was Murad IV (1623–40), the 12-year-old son of Ahmed I. He – or rather his mother, Kösem Sultan, who effectively ruled the Empire during her son's minority – inherited political turbulence, the revolt of Abkhaz Mehmed Pasha and war with Iran. At great cost to the treasury, he purchased the loyalty of the Janissaries with an accession bonus and ensured that the grand vizier was his own nominee by executing Kemankesh ('the Bowman') Ali Pasha, ostensibly for his delay in reporting the loss of Baghdad. In 1624, the new grand vizier, Circassian Mehmed Pasha, left Istanbul with orders to defeat the rebel governor of Erzurum, and then to proceed to Baghdad. He defeated the governor, who withdrew to Erzurum, while a separate Ottoman force won a victory over the Iranians at Kerkuk. However, Erzurum and Baghdad remained in enemy hands.

In 1626, Mehmed Pasha's successor, Hafiz Ahmed Pasha, besieged Baghdad. After numerous skirmishes around the city and a major defeat in June, a Janissary rebellion forced his withdrawal. The war in eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus was equally unsuccessful. Still nominally an Ottoman governor, Abkhaz Mehmed Pasha disobeyed an order to march against the Safavid army besieging Ahiska: instead, he defeated the Ottoman forces near Erzurum. It was not until 1628 that an army under the grand vizier Hüsrev Pasha trapped him in Erzurum and forced his surrender. The sultan uncharacteristically forgave him and, using a traditional method of pacifying Anatolian rebels, appointed him governor-general of Bosnia.

The defeat of Abkhaz Mehmed Pasha, the renewal in 1629 of the Treaty of Zsitvatorok and the engagement of Austria in the Thirty Years War left the sultan free to send Hüsrev Pasha against Iran. The expedition was, at first, successful, overcoming the Iranians in skirmishes near Baghdad, and then, in 1630, defeating a Safavid army at Mihriban. As it retreated, the grand vizier took Hamadan and

Darguzin, intending to proceed to Ardabil and Qazvin. It was here that he received a reminder that the sultan wished to retake Baghdad, and so he returned and besieged the city. After a failed assault in November, Hüsrev Pasha abandoned the siege and returned to Mosul, allowing Shah Abbas's successor, Shah Safi, to reverse the Ottoman conquests.

For his failure, the sultan removed Hüsrev Pasha and replaced him with Hafiz Ahmed. Hüsrev Pasha had been popular with the Janissaries and the Six Divisions of palace cavalrymen and his removal precipitated a rebellion that spread beyond the capital to the cavalrymen in Anatolia. With the encouragement of the vizier Rejeb Pasha, these men came to the palace in February 1632 and demanded the heads of the grand vizier, the chief mufti and several of Murad's closest associates. To pacify the rebels, the sultan released Hafiz Ahmed to his death, replaced the chief mufti and appointed Rejeb Pasha grand vizier. At the same time, he ordered the execution of the former grand vizier, Hüsrev Pasha, in Tokat. His death removed the rebels' favourite, but the arrival of his head in Istanbul inflamed the situation. In March, the insurgents demanded further executions and the custody of the princes Bayezid, Süleyman, Kasim and Ibrahim. On the executions, the sultan did as the insurgents demanded, while Rejeb Pasha and the new chief mufti agreed to stand surety for the princes. It was at this point that the rebels considered dethroning the sultan. However, the agha of the Janissaries remained loyal, and it was he who informed Murad of the role of Rejeb Pasha and Janbuladoghlu Mustafa Pasha in inciting the rebellion. The sultan suspected Rejeb Pasha in particular and, in May, ordered his execution, appointing Tabani Yassi ('the Flat Footed') Mehmed Pasha in his place.

By stopping part of the cavalrymen's pay, Murad re-ignited the rebellion. This time he did not capitulate, but summoned the leaders in groups, extracting from each an oath of allegiance. Then he counter-attacked, ordering the execution of rebels in Istanbul and the provinces, and the cessation of all payments that were not part of regular salaries.

The defeat of the rebellion saved Murad's throne, but did not end his troubles. It required an expedition under Küçük ('Little')



Ahmed Pasha to suppress brigands in Anatolia and the rebellion of Fakhr al-Din in the Lebanon. Then, in 1633, fire destroyed a large part of Istanbul, the last of a series of calamities which affected the sultan deeply and made him suspicious of anyone in his entourage. In 1633, he banished his advisor, Kochi Bey, and, in 1634, advised by his mother, executed the chief mufti, Ahizade. In 1635, he executed Prince Süleyman and, in 1638, the princes Kasim and Bayezid, precipitating a succession crisis, as he had no surviving son. In addition to frequent and often arbitrary executions, in 1633, with the encouragement of a group of fundamentalist Muslims,<sup>61</sup> he imposed a ban on coffee and tobacco.

Murad's violent measures did restore order and allowed him to recover some of his ancestors' military glory. In 1632, Shah Safi invaded Georgia and besieged Van and, in 1633, the grand vizier Mehmed Pasha, assembled an army. He advanced as far as Diyabekir, but, by September, the Iranians had lifted the siege, and the outbreak of hostilities with Poland led to his recall. Continuing Tatar raids into Poland and Cossack attacks on Ottoman territory had again caused tension and, in 1633, tension led to fighting on the river Dniestr and an Ottoman campaign under Abkhaz Mehmed Pasha. When Mehmed Pasha's assaults on Kamenets and the Cossack fortifications were unsuccessful, negotiations began. These failed, and Murad appointed Murtaza Pasha to lead a full-scale campaign, the threat of war leading to an agreement with Poland in 1634: the Ottomans were to remove the Tatar tribes from the Belgorod steppes and the Poles to restrain the Cossacks. The peace freed Murad to undertake a campaign against Iran.

In 1635, as Uzun Piyale led a naval expedition against the Cossacks, the sultan left Üsküdar in person at the head of an army. By the end of July, he had reached Erivan and, within a week, the Safavid commander had surrendered and offered his services to the Ottoman sultan. On the fall of the city, Murad sent Kenan Pasha to take Ahiska, while the main body of the army proceeded to Tabriz. Here the sultan fell ill and returned to Van, with the Safavid army shadowing but not attacking. At Izmit, on the return to Istanbul, Kenan Pasha joined the sultan with news of the capture of Ahiska.

The campaign, it appeared, had been successful until, in April 1636, Shah Safi reconquered Erivan and, shortly afterwards, defeated and killed Küçük Ahmed Pasha near Mihriban. Murad did not immediately respond but, finally, in 1638, led his army from Istanbul to Baghdad. On his progress through Anatolia and the Arab provinces, he ordered the seizure and execution of brigands and other miscreants. In mid-October, the army camped outside Baghdad and, in December, the governor surrendered. In January 1539, Murad entered the city.<sup>62</sup> On the return, he fell ill at Diyarbekir and did not reach the capital until June. In the meantime, the grand vizier, Tayyar ('the Mercurial') Mehmed Pasha, negotiated the Treaty of Qasr-i Shirin with an envoy of the shah, concluding a war which had continued intermittently since 1603. The treaty awarded Baghdad to the Ottoman Empire, re-establishing the border between the Safavid and Ottoman empires that had been fixed at the treaty of Amasya in 1555.

Murad IV died in 1640, with a reputation as the sultan who had restored order and revived Ottoman military glory. His successor Ibrahim, by contrast, acquired the epithet 'the Mad'. He was Murad's sole surviving brother and had suffered from the terrors of his early life. From his confinement in the palace, he had witnessed the murder of Osman II, the deposition of Mustafa and the execution of his brothers Süleyman, Bayezid and Kasim. It was only with difficulty that his mother, Kösem Sultan, and the grand vizier, Kemankesh Mustafa Pasha, persuaded him to ascend the throne.

Nonetheless, for the first four years of his reign the Empire enjoyed stability. In the early 1640s, Ibrahim and his grand vizier ordered new fiscal surveys and the issue of new coinage in an attempt to stabilise the treasury. The same years saw the ratification of the treaty with Iran and a renewal of the Treaty of Zsitvatorok. In 1644, this period of tranquillity came to an end and, with it, the sultan's mental composure. The sultan's exorcist, Jinji Hoja and his allies, Sultanzade Mehmed Pasha and Yusuf Pasha, had acquired control of appointments and, in January 1644, they procured the execution of Kemankesh Mustafa, installing themselves respectively as military judge of Anatolia, grand vizier and admiral. The coup precipitated a crisis.

This began with the outbreak of war with Venice. In July 1644, Maltese pirates captured a ship carrying the former chief black eunuch of the harem to Egypt. The Ottoman response was to construct a fleet which, observers believed, was bound for Malta. In fact, when the fleet emerged in 1645, its destination was Crete. The conquest of the island was the wish of the sultan and, as it lay on the route to Egypt, it was possible to blame the Maltese attack on the Venetians. With the advantage of surprise, the campaign opened successfully. In August, Chania fell and, in 1646, despite the mutual recrimination between the admiral, Yusuf Pasha, and the grand vizier, Sultanzade Mehmed Pasha, leading to Sultanzade's dismissal and Yusuf Pasha's execution, troops on Crete under the command of Mad Hüseyin Pasha captured Apokoroni and Rethymnon. At the same time, Mad Hüseyin thwarted Venetian attempts to block the Dardanelles and establish themselves on Tenedos. In the summer of 1647, Herakleion came under siege.

Mad Hüseyin's successes contrasted with the problems in the capital. The execution of Kemankesh Mustafa inaugurated a period of competition for office, which coincided with a deterioration in the sultan's mental state. At the time of his succession, Ibrahim's advisors knew his intelligence to be limited: a treatise on government which the advice writer Kochi Bey composed for him is written in appropriately uncomplicated language. The trigger for his insanity, however, was the dynastic crisis. Murad IV had died with no male heir at a time when Ibrahim had no children of his own. If Ibrahim were to die childless, the dynasty would be extinct. His first duty, therefore, was to produce male heirs, and this he did with increasing appetite. Duty turned to obsession and, as he withdrew into the private world of the harem, his whims began to endanger the Empire. In 1647, he executed the grand vizier, Salih Pasha, accusing him of not enforcing his ban on carriages in the capital. In Salih's place, Ibrahim appointed Musa Pasha, the husband of a favourite companion. However, before Musa could reach Istanbul, the deputy grand vizier Hezarpare ('Thousand Pieces') Ahmed Pasha persuaded Ibrahim to appoint him in his place and, to safeguard his own position, pandered to the sultan's whims, imposing, among other things, taxes to support his obsession with sable and ambergris.

The sultan's madness coincided with a period of military and political crisis. In 1647, the Venetians blockaded the Dardanelles, preventing supplies from reaching the army. Once the Ottomans had lost the element of surprise, it had become clear that the Venetians were superior at sea. On land, too, the Venetians made advances. In Dalmatia, the governor-general of Bosnia failed to capture Zadar and Šebenik, while the Venetians overran a number of fortresses on the Bosnian frontier. In 1647, at a time when the blockade of the Straits was causing food shortages in Istanbul, the grand vizier, Ahmed Pasha, refused admission to the palace of the governor-general of Rumelia, who was bringing news of the Venetian conquest of Klis.

The sultan's recklessness at a time of crisis led to revolt. In 1648, on receiving a command to pay 'festival tax', and aggrieved at the practice of dismissing governors before the completion of their three-year term, the governor-general of Sivas, Varvar Ali Pasha, rebelled. He overcame one government force, but his rebellion ended in defeat and execution. It was an uprising in Istanbul that overthrew the sultan.

In 1648, a Venetian fleet blockaded the Dardanelles, preventing the admiral, Ammarzade, from transporting supplies to Crete. He paid for his failure with his life. In June, an earthquake shook Istanbul, which many took as a sign of divine anger. In August, the Janissary commanders asked the chief mufti, Abdurrahim, for a fatwa justifying the execution of the grand vizier. The mufti did as they wished allowing the plotters to depose and execute first the grand vizier and then the sultan himself.

Ibrahim's successor was his seven-year-old son, Mehmed IV (1648–87).

At his accession, his grandmother, Kösem Sultan, was the most influential figure in the government. Her 'reign' ended with her murder in 1651, at the instigation of Mehmed's own mother, Turhan, who assumed rulership on his behalf. In 1656, after a period of political instability, and at a moment of mortal danger following the Venetian annihilation of an Ottoman fleet at the Dardanelles, Turhan surrendered much of her power to an elderly and almost unknown provincial governor whom she appointed as grand vizier.

Her perception was remarkable. Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and, after him, his son Fazil Ahmed, revived the Empire's political and military fortunes. It was Fazil Ahmed who brought the Cretan war to a victorious conclusion in 1669. This period was to last until the decision, in 1683, to besiege Vienna. Not only did the siege fail, it led directly to the formation of a coalition of anti-Ottoman powers. In the sixteen-year war that followed, the Ottoman Empire suffered defeat on land and sea. By the Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699, the sultan ceded Hungary to the Austrians, and Athens and the Peloponnesos to Venice. Within 15 years, the Empire had recovered the lost territory in Greece, but Hungary – the most prestigious conquest of Süleyman the Magnificent – was lost for ever.

# Index

---

- Abbas I, Shah, 58, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 177, 294  
 Abbasids, 114, 118  
 Abdülhamid II, 109  
 Abdullah, Molla, 222  
 Abdullah, page of the slipper, 186  
 Abdurrahim, chief mufti, 73, 100, 323  
 Abdurrahman, military judge, 219  
 Abdurrahman Pasha, 170  
 Abkhaz Mehmed Pasha, 68, 70, 244  
 Abkhazians, 2, 136, 153  
 absolutism, 117, 144, 152, 324, 325, 326  
 Abu Ayyub, companion of the Prophet, 105  
 Abu Bakr, first Caliph, 114, 365, 366  
 Abu Hanifa, jurist, founder of Hanafi School of law, 207  
 Abu Yusuf, disciple of Abu Hanifa, 207  
 Abu'l-Wafa, patron saint of Vefaiyye order of dervishes, 113  
 Abyssinia, 51  
 accession, 102–7  
     *bay'a*, 104, 105, 107, 114, 352  
     ceremony of, 103–4  
     gratuities to Janissaries, 106–7  
     pilgrimage to Eyüp, 105–6  
 Acciajuoli, Nerio II, rukler of Athens, 27  
 Aceh, 53  
 acts of worship, *see* law, Islamic  
 Adana, 40, 64, 65, 175  
 Aden, 50, 54  
 admirals, 35, 45, 66, 71, 72, 73, 146, 151, 166, 180, 297, 298, 301, 304–10, 315, 316, 317, 320, 322, 364  
     of Alexandria, 308  
     appointments of, 146  
     of local squadrons, 308–9  
     maritime experience of, 35, 305–6  
     of the Mediterranean fleet, 304–7, 364  
     status of, 180, 304–6  
     of Suez, 308–9  
 Adorno, Giovanni, Genoese entrepreneur, 254  
 Adrianople, 11, 120  
     *see also* Edirne  
 Adriatic, 12, 20, 28, 32, 36, 290, 18  
 Aegean, 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 13, 18, 19, 21, 26, 27, 28, 30, 45, 52, 53, 166, 254, 280, 295, 303, 304, 307, 308, 311, 322, 361  
*aër*, 183  
*aërikon*, 183  
 Africa, 1, 121, 295  
 Afyon, 93  
 agha of Anatolia, 125  
 agha of Istanbul, 126  
 agha of Rumelia, 125  
 agha of the Abode of Felicity, 141  
 agha of the gate, 141, 161  
 agha of the girls, 141, 163  
 agha of the Janissaries, 61, 67, 125, 155, 179, 306  
 aghas of the stirrup, 179  
 Ahiska, 68, 70

- Ahizade, chief mufti, 70  
 Ahmed, Emir, ruler of Amasya, 173  
 Ahmed, Prince, son of Bayezid II, 38, 39  
 Ahmed, Prince, son of Mehmed I, 77  
 Ahmed I, 66, 68, 79, 99, 100, 102, 104, 106, 114, 127, 130, 138, 161, 162, 195, 217, 251  
   mosque of, 66  
 Ahmed Pasha, rebel governor of Egypt, 43  
 Ahmedi, Turkish poet, 85, 109  
*akche*, 105, 119, 120, 126, 151, 155, 168, 177, 178, 181, 186, 188, 189, 191, 192, 193, 195, 199, 200, 214, 215, 217, 218, 220, 224, 234, 235, 236, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 244, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 268, 274, 303, 304, 306, 313, 314, 361  
   clipping and counterfeiting, 249  
   Crimean, 250  
   debasement of, 247–9  
   as unit of account, 250  
*akinji*, *see* raiders  
 Akkerman, 34, 108, 221  
 Akkoyunlus, 29, 30, 31, 37, 39, 172, 183, 234, 235, 361  
 Akshemseddin, 105  
 Alaeddevle, lord of Dulgadmir, 34, 77, 82  
 Alaeddin, Seljuk Sultan, 110  
 Alaeddin I, Seljuk Sultan, 111  
 Alaeddin II, Seljuk Sultan, 183  
 Alaeddin III, Seljuk Sultan, 111  
 Alaeddin, Molla, 213  
 Alaeddin, son of Murad II, 23  
 Alaeddin Ali of Karaman, 10, 11, 13, 14–15  
 Alaşehir, 219  
 Albak, 176  
 Albania, 5, 20, 21, 22, 24, 31, 32, 35, 38, 124, 152, 171, 172, 177, 182, 186, 217, 304, 313, 319  
 Albanian (language), 2, 67  
 Albanians, 2, 3, 13, 22, 67, 150, 151, 153  
 Albert II, king of Hungary, 22  
 Aleppo, 15, 40, 47, 64, 65, 214, 222, 237, 257, 283, 303  
 Alexander, tsar of Bulgaria, 5, 18  
 Alexander Khan, prince of Kalkhetia, 56  
 Alexandria, 308  
 Alfonso, king of Aragon, 27  
 Algiers, 1, 41, 45, 46, 50, 55, 170, 299, 305, 307, 309, 323  
 Al-Hasa, 51, 170  
 Ali, fourth Caliph, 114  
 Ali, Shehsuvaroghlu, lord of Dulgadmir, 42, 43  
 Ali Agha, 95  
 Ali Bey, governor of Aydın, 19  
 Ali Chelebi, *see* Chelebi Ali Pasha  
 Ali Jemali, chief mufti, 228  
 Ali Pasha, fictitious brother of Orhan, 84, 85, 96  
 Alp Gündüz, 164  
 Alqass Mirza, Safavid prince, 47  
 Al-Shaibani, disciple of Abu Hanifa, 207  
 Alum, 27, 253, 254  
 Amadeo of Savoy, 10  
 Amasra, 27  
 Amasya, 16, 17, 39, 49, 56, 71, 77, 87, 88, 90, 92, 93, 94, 148, 150, 165, 173, 221, 244, 324  
   formation of sanjak of, 173  
   treaty of, 49, 56, 63, 71  
 Amid, 172, 247  
 Ammarzade, admiral, 73  
 Anaba, 289  
 Anatolia, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 53, 54, 63, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 77, 82, 86, 87, 89, 90, 93, 95, 98, 110, 111, 112, 115, 116, 117, 118, 122, 124, 125, 126, 135, 146, 147, 150, 151,

- Anatolia – *continued*  
 153, 154, 158, 160, 165, 166,  
 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175,  
 176, 183, 186, 187, 188, 191,  
 193, 195, 196, 197, 204, 212,  
 213, 216, 219, 223, 225, 226,  
 227, 234, 235, 237, 239, 240,  
 244, 246, 254, 260, 269, 274,  
 275, 283, 284, 285, 286, 294,  
 302, 303, 305, 312, 313, 314,  
 315, 317, 330  
 governor-general of, 34, 38, 90,  
 93, 146, 150, 160, 227  
 anchors, 303  
 Andrea Doria, 45, 48  
 Andros, 45  
 Angelos lords of Thessaly, 149  
 Angelović, family, 149, 343, 383  
 Andronikos III, Byzantine  
 Emperor, 8  
 Andronikos IV, Byzantine  
 Emperor, 10  
 Angevins, 21  
 Ankara, 9, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 30, 63,  
 64, 65, 68, 85, 86, 93, 172,  
 220, 264, 267, 330  
 battle of, 15–16, 86, 172  
 Anonymous Chronicles, 110, 143, 277  
 Anonymous reform writer, 195, 196  
 Antalya, 7, 10, 30, 38, 88, 90, 221  
 Apokoroni, 72  
 Arab lands, 2, 125, 168  
 Arabia, 1, 2, 51, 170, 175, 204, 239  
 Arabic language, 2, 137, 158, 212, 231  
 Arabs, 2, 42, 54, 112, 114, 115, 175,  
 177, 216  
 Aras river, 63  
 archers, 262, 263, 264  
*see also* bows; crossbows  
 Archipelago (Aegean), Province of  
 the, 305, 306, 308, 313, 315,  
 317, 364  
 Ardabil, 36, 69, 365  
 Argos, 28  
 Arianit, Albanian clan, 22  
 Armenian Orthodox Church, 1  
 Armenians, 2, 158, 205, 225, 314  
 armour, 169, 185, 186, 271, 276, 279,  
 315, 317  
 armourers, 250, 276, 317  
 corps of imperial, 276  
 numbers of, 276  
 arquebuses, 277, 279, 280, 285,  
 286, 289, 291, 292, 310, 316,  
 317, 361  
 use in conjunction with pikes,  
 60, 293  
 arquebusiers, 98, 285, 286, 287, 291,  
 292, 293, 316  
 arsenals, naval, 30, 41, 55, 275, 297,  
 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303,  
 304, 309, 310, 311, 313, 314,  
 315, 320  
 Basra, 302  
 craftsmen at, 297, 300  
 Gallipoli, 30, 275, 302, 309  
 Genoese, 300  
 Istanbul, 41, 298, 300–1, 302, 303  
 Izmit, 302  
 Sinop, 298  
 Suez, 50, 302  
 Arslan Bey, governor-general of  
 Buda, 284  
 Arta, 21, 24, 319  
 artillery, 26, 30, 31, 53, 60, 277, 278,  
 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 285,  
 286, 287, 288, 291, 296, 297,  
 299, 302, 320, 322, 323, 331  
 French, 280  
 techniques, 277, 278, 279, 280,  
 281, 286, 287, 288, 320,  
 322, 331  
*see also* cannon; gun foundry  
 Ashik Chelebi, Ottoman writer, 229  
 Ashikpashazade, Ottoman  
 chronicler, 112, 113, 120, 143,  
 145, 169, 212, 240, 270, 327  
 Asia Minor, *see* Anatolia  
 askeri, *see* military class  
 Astrakhan, 54



- Atai, Nev'izade, Ottoman poet and biographer, 217, 218, 221, 222, 223, 225
- Athens, 27, 29, 74, 81, 303
- Atlantic, 299
- Austria, 44, 45, 46, 58, 59, 60, 68, 113, 168, 197, 249, 273, 290, 294
- Austrians, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 66, 68, 74, 129, 195, 197, 198, 243, 250, 273, 268, 290, 291, 292, 293, 331
- avariz*, see taxes
- Ayas Pasha, 51, 91
- Ayazmend, 226
- Aydın, 7, 13, 15, 16, 18, 21, 171, 196, 240, 247, 253
- Ayn Ali, clerk in the Ottoman chancellery, 66, 166, 170, 177, 180, 196, 275
- Ayshe, mother of Selim I, 77
- azabs*, 268–9, 271, 274, 276, 285, 286
- azabs*, naval, 310–11, 312, 315, 316, 361
- Azerbaijan, 15, 37, 39, 44, 58, 63, 112, 290
- Azov, 31, 54, 64, 271, 304, 322
- Baalbek, 15
- Bab al-Mandab, 308
- bad-i hava*, 183
- Baghdad, 4, 44
  - Ottoman conquest, 44, 51, 58, 64, 68, 71, 94, 108, 113, 131, 134, 166, 170, 218, 284
  - Ottoman re-conquest, 71, 108
  - Safavid re-conquest, 68
- Bahrain, 51
- bailos*, Venetian, 300, 301, 320, 361
- Balkan mountains, 5, 23
- Balkan Peninsula, 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 12, 16, 17, 20, 25, 38, 117, 124, 150, 151, 182, 240, 245, 270, 271, 276, 277, 281, 284, 313
- Baphaeus, battle of, 8, 262
- Barbarossa, see Hayreddin Barbarossa
- bargias*, 298, 299, 361
- Basra, 51, 52, 54, 170, 302
- Bassano, Luigi, 147, 159, 161
- bashtina*, 245
- Basta, Austrian commander, 293
- battlefield tactics
  - of Austrians, 60, 291, 292–3, 331
  - at battle of Nicopolis, 14, 265
  - of early Ottomans, 262–5
  - earthworks and entrenchments, 60, 61, 198, 264, 276, 287–8, 292, 293
  - in fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, 284–9
  - of Hungarians, 277–8
  - military drill, 293
  - pike-squares, 60, 292–3
  - volley-fire, 60, 293
  - see also *wagenburg*
- Batum, 180
- bay'a*, see accession
  - definition of, 104–5, 362
  - function of, 107, 114
- Bayburt, 31, 203
- Bayezid, Prince, son of Süleyman I, 52, 92–5, 96, 101, 162, 230
- Bayezid, Prince, brother of Murad IV, 70, 71, 100, 197
- Bayezid I, 10, 12–16, 18, 25, 77, 81, 82, 85, 86, 96, 120, 142, 143, 159, 165, 167, 172, 173, 186, 187, 253, 265, 277, 288, 299, 330
- Bayezid II, 33–9, 41, 82, 83, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 103, 106, 107, 108, 120, 136, 141, 143, 148, 149, 150, 151, 173, 187, 188, 221, 232, 233, 235, 236, 237, 250, 256, 267, 268, 273, 274, 285
- Bayezid Pasha, vizier of Mehmed I and Murad II, 19, 145
- Bedouins, 2, 204

- Bedreddin, Sheikh, jurist and  
rebel, 19, 213, 230
- Beirut, 167
- Belgorod steppes, 70
- Belgrade, 21, 22, 26, 42, 43, 61, 106,  
249, 281, 290, 309
- Bendery, 46
- Benetto, Michele, shipwright, 301
- Bergama, 173, 226
- Bethlen Gabor, king of  
Transylvania, 67
- beylerbeyi*, see governors-general
- Beypazar, 226
- Beyşehir, 13, 97
- Bileća, 12
- Bilecik, 148
- Birecik, 40
- biscuit, 316, 319
- Bitlis, 39, 44, 176, 177
- Bitola, 11
- Biyikli Mehmed Pasha, 39, 90
- Bizari, Pietro, Genoese writer, 281,  
288, 289
- Bizerta, 50
- Black Ali, 101
- Black Sea, 1, 15, 17, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27,  
28, 31, 33, 38, 54, 66, 89, 133,  
140, 147, 166, 167, 255, 302,  
303, 304, 317, 321
- blacksmiths, 127, 301, 304
- blockading fortresses, 288
- Bobovac, 28, 60
- Bobovi, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 144
- Bolvadin, 64
- bombardiers, 127, 300, 301
- Bon, Ottaviano, Venetian writer, 161
- Bor, 284
- Borać, 22
- Börklüje Mustafa, dervush and  
rebel, 19
- Bosnia, 2, 22, 28, 35, 63, 68, 73, 120,  
124, 141, 149, 150, 166, 171,  
175, 178, 273, 276, 282
- Bosnians, 2, 12, 124, 151
- Bosphorus, 1, 18, 23, 24, 25, 26, 66,  
67, 89, 105, 127, 133, 140, 247,  
265, 278, 288
- bows, 139, 169, 276, 316
- Boyabad, 254
- Boyana, Lake, 177
- boyunduruk*, see *chifts*
- Boz Ulus, Turcoman tribe, 237
- božić*, see taxes
- Bozok, 197, 235
- Branković family
- George, 16, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 82, 171
- Lazar, son of George, 26
- Mara, daughter of George, 22, 82
- Vlk, 13
- bribery, 101, 128, 196, 252
- Brindisi, 45
- bronze casters, 301
- Broquière, Bertrand de la,  
Burgundian spy, 120, 132, 138
- Bucharest, 59
- Buda, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 59, 60,  
61, 166, 193, 203, 245, 253,  
255, 257, 267, 284, 309, 314
- Bulgaria, 5, 11, 14
- Bulgarians, 13
- Burgundy, 14
- dukes of Burgundy, 14, 23, 29
- Burhaneddin, ruler of Sivas, 13
- burial of sultans, 35, 88, 103
- Bursa, 8, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 28, 38, 64,  
65, 68, 87, 88, 90, 93, 95, 127,  
132, 148, 164, 167, 187, 213, 215,  
216, 218, 225, 226, 233, 234,  
236, 237, 243, 255, 263, 264
- Busbecq, 91
- Bythinia, 7, 8
- Byzantines, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11,  
12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22,  
23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 80, 85,  
86, 87, 107, 110, 113, 116, 118,  
132, 133, 134, 149, 164, 182,  
183, 186, 241, 245, 262, 263,  
264, 296

- cadastral surveys, 124, 171, 176, 177,  
     183, 193, 217, 232, 233, 234,  
     235, 243  
     *see also* timar registers
- 'Caesar', Ottoman claims to title of,  
     26, 47, 114
- Caffa, 31, 304
- Cairo, 15, 25, 34, 40, 41, 42, 43, 162,  
     213, 214, 218, 283
- calendars  
     Islamic, 258  
     Julian, 240, 258
- caliphate  
     Ottoman claims to, 114–15  
     qualifications for, 104  
     Rightly Guided Caliphs, 109, 115
- Calixtus III, Pope, 27
- Canal, Niccolò da, Venetian  
     admiral, 30
- candidates 'in attendance', 214–19,  
     222, 223, 227
- Canik, 244
- cannon, 24, 31, 93, 275, 276, 277,  
     278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283,  
     285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 291,  
     292, 293, 296, 297, 299, 304,  
     320, 322  
     basilisks, 281, 361  
     bronze, 280, 282, 283, 296, 301, 322  
     culverins, 281, 297, 362  
     dimensions of, 279  
     introduction of, 276–9  
     long range, 292  
     monster, 279–80  
     mortars, 280, 281, 287  
     at siege of Constantinople  
         (1422), 277  
     at siege of Constantinople  
         (1453), 279  
     wrought iron, 282, 296  
     *see also* gun foundry
- cannon-balls, iron, 280, 283
- cannon-founders, foreign, in  
     Ottoman service, 282
- Cape of Good Hope, 50
- Captains  
     of Buda, 309  
     of Caspian Sea, 309  
     of Kavalla, 307  
     of Mocha, 308  
     of Mohács, 309  
     of the Sava, 309
- Carlowitz, treaty of, 74
- carpenters, 127, 301
- carracks, 298
- Carrasa, 289
- Caspar Gratiani, voyvoda of  
     Moldavia, 67
- Caspian Sea, 36, 54, 56, 309
- Castle of the Seven Towers, 99
- Castles, *see* fortresses
- Cateau-Cambrésis, Peace of, 49
- Caucasus, 15, 54, 58, 68, 121, 290, 309
- caulkers, 127, 300, 301, 304
- cavalry, 14, 23, 24, 60, 61, 99, 120,  
     128, 138, 179, 184, 195, 198,  
     231, 262, 265, 266, 267, 268,  
     270, 274, 277, 284, 285, 286,  
     292, 293, 362, 363, 365
- cavalrymen, *timar*-holding, 15, 38,  
     43, 63, 69, 93, 129, 178, 181,  
     182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188,  
     190, 191, 192, 194, 197, 198,  
     199, 201, 227, 231, 232, 233,  
     245, 250, 266, 267, 275, 276,  
     286, 331  
     age of, 189  
     appointment of, 188–92  
     burdens of service on, 197–8  
     Christian, 188  
     discontent among, 197–8  
     functions of, 196–8  
     income of, 181, 189  
     numbers of, 198  
     obligations of, 186–7  
     service in fleet, 315–16  
     use of firearms by, 316  
     *see also timar*

- Central Asia, 4, 15  
 Cephalonia, 32, 36  
 Chaldiran, battle of, 39, 267, 269, 282  
 Chalkis, 30  
 chancellery, 11, 145, 147, 157–9, 201  
   languages of, 157–8  
 chancellors, 96, 105, 144, 145, 147,  
   148, 154–8, 170, 179, 201, 362  
 Chandarli, family, 117, 148, 324–5  
   Ali, 12, 148, 265  
   Halil, 24, 83, 149  
   Hayreddin, 11, 119, 148, 186  
   Ibrahim, 145, 148, 150  
   Mehmed, 83  
   Süleyman, 148  
 Chania, 72, 318  
 charcoal, 283  
 Charles V, king of Spain and Holy  
   Roman Emperor, 44, 45, 46,  
   47, 48, 49, 113, 114  
 Charles VIII, king of France, 35,  
   88, 281  
 Chelebi Ali Pasha, 307, 308, 319  
 Chernomen, 221, 273  
 Chief Mufti, *see* mufti of Istanbul  
*chifts*, 182, 239, 240, 241, 242  
   *see also* taxes  
*chilik*, 122  
 Chios, 19, 52, 148, 301, 308, 313, 315  
 Chivizade family, 153  
   Abdi Chelebi, 154  
   Hajji Mehmed, 224  
   Hamid Mahmud, 224  
   Ilyas, 153  
   Muhiyeddin, 216, 224  
 Chortasmenos, John, Byzantine  
   chronicler, 265  
 ‘Chosroes’, as title, 114, 115  
 Chotin, 67  
 Christians, 1, 2, 3, 4, 11, 12, 19, 22,  
   25, 34, 45, 83, 109, 117, 119,  
   121, 122, 124, 149, 150, 171,  
   172, 174, 184, 188, 204, 205,  
   240, 242, 245, 260, 271, 278,  
   282, 286, 291, 309, 317, 318,  
   319, 325  
 Chronology of 1439/40, 10  
 Cicala, Scipione, *see* Jigalazade  
   Sinan Pasha  
 Çıldır, 56, 176  
 Cilicia, 285  
 Circassian Mehmed Pasha, 68, 153  
 Circassians, 2, 42, 153  
   rebel in Egypt, 153  
 Ciudadela, 50  
 civil wars  
   Byzantine, 9, 10  
   Hungarian, 22  
   Ottoman, 10  
 clerks, 125, 128, 131, 137, 145, 147,  
   156–60, 192, 201, 220, 227,  
   228, 229, 254, 257, 259, 260,  
   261, 304, 310  
   head clerk, 156  
   of the imperial council, 145, 147,  
   156, 157, 158  
   of the mufti of Istanbul  
   of the treasury, 137, 156, 157,  
   260, 261  
   *see also* scribal service  
 Cluj, 49  
*coccas*, 298, 362  
 ‘collection’, 122–9, 136, 151, 152,  
   276, 282  
   breakdown of, 127–9  
   legality of, 121–2  
   procedures for, 122–4  
 colleges, 2, 154, 158, 211, 212, 213, 214,  
   215, 217, 218, 221, 222, 223,  
   224, 226, 362  
   function of, 211–12  
   hierarchy of, 214, 217  
   Inner, 215  
   students of, as brigands, 223  
   syllabus of, 215  
   *see also* Eight Colleges;  
   Süleymaniye  
 Colonna, admiral, 297

- commissioner of the arsenal, 310  
 Comnenes, Byzantine dynasty, 28  
 concubines, 78–80, 84, 128,  
     163, 329  
 Constantine Dejanović, Serbian  
     prince, 171  
 Constantinople, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 14, 17,  
     20, 25, 26, 27, 28, 105, 106,  
     112, 113, 148, 265, 279, 281,  
     287, 288, 295  
     siege of (1394–1402), 11, 14, 25, 26  
     siege of (1411), 17  
     siege of (1422), 20, 277  
     siege of (1453), 25–6, 106, 148, 113,  
     279, 280  
     *see also* Istanbul  
 controller of registers, 156  
 conversion, 25, 124, 150, 174, 325  
 Corfu, 36, 45, 325  
 Corinth, 32, 36, 55, 279  
 corsairs, 35, 38, 48, 51, 66, 299, 307,  
     309, 311  
     North African, 299, 307, 309  
     in Ottoman fleet, 35, 307, 309, 311  
 Çorum, 63  
 Çorumlu, battle of, 13  
 Cossacks, 66, 68, 70, 167, 321–2  
 courtiers, political influence of, 97,  
     101, 163, 328, 329  
 courts of law  
     Hanafi, 2, 205, 219  
     Jewish, 205  
     *see also* judges  
 Crete, 1, 55, 72, 73, 299, 318, 319  
 Crimea, 1, 31, 46, 54, 56, 89, 168, 250,  
     274, 285  
 Croats, 3  
 crossbows, 275  
 Crusades, 5, 14, 24, 265, 267, 278,  
     279, 284  
     Fourth, 5  
     of Nicopolis, 14, 265  
     of Varna, 24, 267, 278, 279, 284  
 Csanad, 60  
 Csepel island, 61, 63, 293  
 Çukurova, 34, 43  
 Cyprus, 1, 3, 154, 166, 223  
     Ottoman conquest of, 3, 55,  
     230, 248, 290, 291, 297, 313,  
     315, 318  
 Daghestan, 56, 57  
 Dalmatia, 36, 45, 73  
 Damascus, 15, 40, 41, 42, 64, 167,  
     170, 177, 213, 214, 218, 219,  
     221, 223  
 Danube, river, 1, 5, 14, 18, 20, 22, 25,  
     26, 31, 33, 34, 42, 46, 59, 60,  
     61, 82, 89, 120, 121, 147, 166,  
     168, 171, 174, 178, 242, 247,  
     260, 271, 272, 273, 290, 309  
 D'Aramon, French ambassador, 282  
 Dardanelles, 7, 8, 9, 10, 18, 23, 24, 28,  
     30, 72, 73, 164, 165, 307, 314,  
     315, 318, 323  
 Darguzin, 69  
 Daud, cavalryman, 192  
 Daud Pasha, grand vizier of  
     Bayezid II, 34, 155  
 Davud of Kayseri, scholar, 212, 213  
 Davud Pasha, grand vizier of  
     Mustafa I, 6  
 Dead Sea, 283  
 debasement, *see akche*  
 decision making, 141–3, 323  
 decrees, format of, 157  
*defterdars*, *see* treasurers  
 Demetrios, Byzantine pretender, 22  
 deportation, 3, 172  
 Derbend, 56, 57  
 Dervish Hasan, falconer, 142  
 Dervish Mehmed Pasha, 163  
*devshirme*, *see* collection  
 Dhidhimoteichon, *see* Dimetoka  
 Dilaver Pasha, 98  
 Dimetoka, 9, 264  
 diplomas of appointment, 190–1  
     fees for, 246

- Diu, 50
- Diyarbakir, 37, 40, 57, 66, 71, 94, 151, 166, 241, 244
- Dniepr, river, 66, 166, 321, 322
- Dniestr, river, 46, 67, 70
- Dobrudja, 19
- Doghanji Mehmed Pasha, 249
- Don river, 31, 54, 66
- Don-Volga canal, 54
- dönüm*, 183
- Doukas, Greek chronicler, 19, 103, 167, 279
- dovijas*, 271, 362
- Drakul, voyvoda of Wallachia, 20
- dreams, prophetic, 112–13
- Drisht, 32
- Druzes, 2, 167, 177
- Dubrovnik, 276
- Dukaginzade Ahmed Pasha, 150
- Dukagjin family, 171
- Dukakin, sanjak, 171
- Duke John of Shkodër, 150, 171
- Duke of Candia, 253
- Duke of Tuscany, 66
- Dulgadir, 17, 34, 37, 40, 42, 43, 56, 77, 82, 166
- Durrës, 36, 304
- Dushan, Tsar Stephen, of Serbia, 5
- Ebu's-su'ud, chief mufti, 93, 110, 114, 115, 193, 216, 217, 218, 224, 225, 227, 228, 229, 231  
statement on land-tenure, 231
- Ebu's-su'ud, family of
- Abdülkerim, 225
- Abdülvasi, 225
- Ja'fer, 225
- Lutfullah, 225
- Ma'lulzade Mehmed, 224
- Shemseddin Ahmed, 224
- Sun'ullah, 224–5
- Edebali, Sheikh, dervish and supposed father-in-law of Osman I, 76, 112–13
- Edirne, 11, 12, 17, 23, 24, 31, 87, 95, 103, 127, 132, 133, 136, 138, 142, 143, 148, 215, 216, 217, 218, 225, 276, 279, 283  
treaty of, 23  
*see also* palace
- Edirne Gate, 102
- Eger, 59, 108, 284, 291, 293
- Egypt, 1, 2, 40, 41, 42, 43, 50, 51, 54, 65, 72, 87, 88, 90, 142, 146, 155, 159, 166, 170, 204, 214, 216, 221, 239, 249, 251, 260, 283, 284, 295, 303, 308, 309, 313, 316, 364  
conquest of, 40  
pacification of, 42–3  
revenues of, 251, 295
- Eight Colleges, 214, 218, 222, 223, 224, 225  
place in hierarchy of colleges, 214–15
- Elbistan, 40, 63
- Enez, 27, 30
- England, 14, 298
- Ephesus, 19
- Epiros, 5, 11
- Ereğli, 91
- Eresh, 56
- Ergani, 40, 234
- Erivan, 57, 62, 66, 70, 71, 108, 131
- Erivan Pavilion, 134
- Ersekujvar, 290
- Ertughrul, father of Osman I, 7, 84
- Ertughrul, son of Bayezid I, 77
- Erzincan, 15, 37, 39
- Erzurum, 44, 49, 56, 67, 68, 94, 125, 166, 175, 203, 223, 244, 314  
Saltukoghlu dynasty of, 175
- Es'ad, Chief Mufti, 97, 99, 100, 154, 224, 228
- Esau, 112
- Esau Buondelmonti, despot of Epiros, 11, 12
- Eskişehir, 8, 226

- Esztergom, 46, 59, 62, 291, 293  
 Ethiopia, 53  
 Eugenius IV, Pope, 23  
 eunuchs, 34, 38, 72, 76, 133, 135, 137,  
     138, 141, 141, 156, 329  
     black, 141  
     influence of, 141, 329  
     white, 141  
 Euphrates river, 15, 31, 33, 39, 41, 175  
 Evliya Chelebi, 132, 133, 156, 283  
 Evrenos, 11, 12, 117, 174  
 Evrenos, family of, 174, 175, 324  
     Ahmed, 32  
     Ali, 174  
     Barak, 174  
     Isa, 174  
 Evvoia, 5, 123, 245, 303, 319  
     *see also* Negroponte  
 executions, 2, 14, 19, 21, 28, 39, 40,  
     41, 43, 45, 51, 52, 60, 61, 64,  
     65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73,  
     85, 87, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96,  
     97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 116,  
     139, 140, 144, 149, 150, 152,  
     169, 226, 230, 236, 237, 256,  
     324, 328, 339, 328  
     *see also* fratricide  
 exemptees (*müsellems*), 274–5, 300,  
     301, 317, 362  
     abolition of, 275  
     functions of, 274  
     numbers of, 275  
     organisation of, 274  
 Eyüp, 102, 105, 106  
  
 Fakhr al-Din, Lebanese lord, 64, 70  
 Famagusta, 55, 281, 288–9, 291  
     siege of, 281, 288  
 Farsala, 319  
 fatwa office, 228  
 fatwas, 19, 39, 73, 93, 100, 101, 211,  
     212, 222, 228, 229, 230, 235  
     anthologies of, 229  
     functions of, 229–30  
     procedures for issuing, 228–9  
 Fazil Ahmed Pasha, 74, 153  
 Fenari, Molla, *see* Shemseddin  
     Fenari, Molla  
 Fenarizade Muhiyeddin, mufti, 224  
 Feodosiya, *see* Caffa  
 Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria,  
     44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 52, 53, 113  
 Ferhad Pasha, 57, 58, 59, 142  
 Feridun Bey, chancellor, 154, 251  
 Ferrante, king of Naples, 29, 32  
 feudal tenure, 209, 231  
 fiefs, 19, 33, 38, 43, 92, 116, 125, 143,  
     155, 158, 159, 169, 171, 172, 176,  
     178–202  
     free, 179  
     hereditary, 188  
     *see also* *hass*; *subashilik*; *timar*;  
         *zeamet*  
 firearms, 129, 198, 255, 276, 280,  
     284, 285, 291, 292, 293, 294,  
     316, 317  
     Austrian superiority in  
         use of, 292  
     Hungarian use of, 277  
     on battlefield, 284–5  
     *see also* arquebus; artillery;  
         cannon  
 fiscal surveys, 66, 71  
     *see also* cadastral surveys  
 fleet, Ottoman, 18, 27, 28, 30, 31,  
     34, 35, 38, 41, 42, 46, 48,  
     50, 52, 54, 55, 66, 72, 73, 12,  
     220, 248, 251, 259, 284, 291,  
     295–323  
     *see also* admirals; arsenals; *azabs*:  
         *coccas*; galleasses; galleons;  
         galleys; *gripars*; horse-ships;  
         stone-ships  
 footmen (*yayas*), 274–5, 300, 301, 317  
     abolition of, 275  
     functions of, 275  
     numbers of, 275  
     organisation of, 274

- fortresses, 6, 8, 9, 10, 20, 21, 22, 23,  
 24, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34,  
 36, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53,  
 57, 59, 60, 62, 67, 73, 94, 95,  
 107, 131, 159, 164, 166, 185,  
 258, 262, 263, 264, 265, 269,  
 275, 280, 284, 286, 287, 288,  
 289, 290, 291, 292, 315, 316,  
 318, 320, 352  
   Austrian, 290–1, 293  
   bastioned, 289, 290–1  
   earth-ramparts in, 290–1  
   Ottoman, 291  
 Forum of the Bull, 133  
 France, 14, 33, 36, 46, 49, 88, 298  
 Francis I, King of France, 45, 46,  
 47, 53  
 fratricide, 85, 86, 95, 96, 97, 100, 101,  
 118, 135, 324  
   justification for, 95–6  
   ‘law of’, 96  
   popular disapproval of, 95–7  
 Friday Prayer, 84, 207  
 Friuli, 36  
  
 Galata, 136, 255, 301, 309, 310, 311  
   *see also* Pera  
 galeasses, 297–8, 318  
 galleons, 42, 298–9, 310, 322–3, 361,  
 362, 363  
 galleys, 18, 23, 66, 160, 220, 243,  
 280, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300,  
 301, 302, 303, 304, 307, 308,  
 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316,  
 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323  
   *al scaloccio*, 297  
   artillery on board, 296–7  
   construction of, 300–4  
   crews of, 160, 243, 266, 280, 297,  
   297, 298, 309–15  
   design of, 296–7  
   disrepair of Ottoman, 320–1  
   food supplies on, 316, 319  
   masts and sails, 296, 297, 303, 311  
   melon sterns, 297  
   merchant, 297  
   operational limitations of, 298, 318  
   as punishment, 314–15  
   tactical advantages of, 320  
   tactics, 296, 317–18, 320, 322,  
   323, 363  
 Gallipoli, 9, 10, 16, 127, 17, 30, 127,  
 148, 174, 150, 255, 275, 295,  
 296, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303,  
 304, 305, 306, 307, 309, 310,  
 311, 312, 319, 361  
   naval arsenal at, 275, 299–300,  
   309, 311  
   treaty of, 16, 148, 174  
 Gänjä, 57, 58, 63  
 garrisons, 15, 32, 42, 49, 50, 51, 56,  
 57, 58, 59, 60, 251, 258, 259,  
 267, 269, 270  
   French, 60  
   payment of, 251, 259  
   troops, 267, 269  
 Gattilusio, Dorino, Genoese lord, 27  
 Gaza, 40, 41  
 Gedik Ahmed Pasha, 31, 32, 87, 304  
 genealogy, Ottoman, *see* legitimacy  
   of sultans  
 Genoa, 16  
 Genoese, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28,  
 31, 52, 132, 136, 137, 150, 151,  
 169, 253, 254, 278, 279, 281,  
 300, 310  
   as allies of Ottomans, 21, 24, 254  
   transfer military technology to  
   Ottomans, 278, 279  
 George Stracimirović Balšić,  
   Albanian lord, 12, 13  
 Georgevits, Bartholomaeus,  
   Hungarian prisoner of  
   Ottomans, 276  
 Georgia, 47, 57, 63, 66, 70, 175, 176  
 Georgian Mehmed Pasha, 7, 153  
 Georgians, 2, 57, 125, 153  
 Germany, 48, 53, 282



- Germiyan, 7, 10, 12, 13, 15, 21, 81, 171  
 Geuffroy, Antoine, Hospitaller, 145,  
     152, 155, 156, 269, 272  
 Gevaş, 176  
 Ghazan Khan, 111, 186  
*ghazis*, *see* legitimacy of sultans  
 Giovo, Paolo, Florentine  
     chronicler, 205  
 girding, ceremony of, *see* accession  
 Giurgiu, 59, 273  
 Gjirokastër, 20, 22, 167, 319  
 Golden Horn, 25, 26, 102, 105, 133,  
     300, 301  
 Golubats, 21, 23, 26  
 Gori, 57  
 governors-general, 14, 34, 38, 42, 46,  
     47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55,  
     57, 60, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 73,  
     90, 94, 146, 149, 150, 151, 154,  
     155, 160, 166, 168, 169, 170, 176,  
     177, 178, 180, 181, 184, 189, 190,  
     191, 192, 194, 195, 199, 200,  
     201, 202, 203, 221, 227, 246,  
     249, 284, 305, 306, 307, 309,  
     312, 316, 363, 364, 366  
     appointment of, 167–8  
     duration of appointment, 168  
     functions of, 169  
     hierarchy of, 170  
     income of, 168  
     life grants to, 202–3  
 grain, illegal sale of, 307  
 grand viziers, 24, 34, 36, 38, 42, 43,  
     54, 55, 58, 60, 63, 65, 66, 67,  
     68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 79, 83,  
     87, 88, 89, 91, 93, 97, 98, 99,  
     100, 101, 102, 103, 108, 117,  
     136, 139, 142, 143, 144, 146,  
     148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154,  
     155, 156, 157, 159, 160, 161, 162,  
     163, 180, 190, 198, 200, 219,  
     224, 251, 252, 253, 292, 305,  
     306, 323, 329, 330, 340  
     background of, 148–53  
     communication with Sultan, 161–3  
     deputies, 72, 97, 142, 153  
     grand vizier's council, 157  
     marriages of, 83–4, 93  
     wealth of, 155–6  
 'great flight', 64  
 'great mollaships', 218–19, 223  
 Greece, 5, 11, 14, 21, 24, 74, 303, 305,  
     307, 313, 319  
 Greek (language), 2, 157, 158, 182,  
     234, 241  
 Greek doxology, 265  
 Greek Mehmed Pasha, 149  
 Greek Orthodox Church, 1, 23, 26  
 Greeks, 4, 19, 77, 103, 149, 158, 164,  
     167, 255, 263, 265, 279  
 Gregoras, Nikephoros, 85, 164  
 Gregory XI, Pope, 11  
 Gregory Palamas, 132  
*gripars*, 299, 363  
 Gujarat, 50  
 Gülbahar, mother of Bayezid II, 77  
 Gülchichek, mother of Bayezid I, 77  
 Gulf (Arabian/Persian), 1, 51, 52,  
     53, 298  
 Gulf of Corinth, 32, 36, 55  
 Gulf of Izmit, 85, 116, 164  
 Gulf of Prevesa, 45  
 Gümüşhane, 166  
 gun foundry, 279  
     Genoese, 279, 281–3  
 gunners, 53, 127, 277, 282, 300, 317, 323  
     corps of imperial, 282  
 gunpowder, 259, 283–4, 285, 289  
*gureba*, *see* Six Divisions  
 Gurgan, 37  
 Győr, 59, 60, 290, 291  
 Gypsies, 129, 196, 245  
 Habsburgs, 46, 47, 48, 49, 59, 62, 91,  
     106, 108, 113, 114, 166, 168,  
     286, 292, 293, 336  
     *see also* Charles V; Ferdinand;  
     Maximilian

- Hadim Ali Pasha, 34, 88  
 Hafiz Ahmed Pasha, 68, 69, 306  
 Hafsa, daughter of Mehmed I, 83  
 Hagia Sophia, 97, 133, 134  
 Hajji Ivaz Pasha, 145  
 Hakkari, 176, 177, 283  
 Halil, son of Orhan, 80, 85, 116  
 Hama, 15  
 Hamadan, 37, 68, 251  
 Hamid, 7, 10  
 Hamza Mirza, Safavid Prince, 57  
 Hamza Pasha, 20  
 Hamza Pasha, chancellor, 145, 157  
 harem, 72, 76, 98, 133, 133, 135, 138, 140, 141, 329  
 Harmanli, 192  
 Hasan Agha, 46  
 Hasan al-Kafi, 292  
 Hasan Pasha, son of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, 63  
*hass*, 181, 184, 194, 202  
 Hass Murad Pasha, 30, 149, 150  
 Hatvan, 47, 59, 62, 245  
 Hayreddin Barbarossa, 41, 45, 46, 146, 166, 295, 305, 307, 309  
 head clerk, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 191, 363  
 Hejaz, 41  
 hemp, 303  
 Henry II, king of France, 48, 49, 53  
 Herakleion, 72  
 Herat, 58, 62  
 Herceg Novi, 247, 319  
 Hercegovina, 28, 34, 150, 171  
 Hersekzade Ahmed Pasha, 34, 83, 89, 150, 305  
 Hexamilion, 279  
 Hezarpare Ahmed Pasha, 72, 100  
 Hizir, father of Yörgüch Pasha, 150  
 Holland, 298  
 Holy Cities, 41  
 Holy League, 45, 55, 74, 297, 319 of 1538, 45 of 1571, 55, 297, 319 of 1683, 74  
 Holy Roman Empire, 44, 49, 113, 114  
 holy warriors, *see ghazis*  
*Holy Wars of Sultan Murad son of Mehmed Khan*, 277  
 Homs, 15  
 Hormuz, 51, 52  
 horse-armour, 169, 276  
 horse-ships, 299  
 Hüdavendgar, 164  
 Hüma, mother of Mehmed II, 77  
 Hundi Hatun, 83  
 Hungary, 1, 13, 14, 16, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 28, 29, 33, 35, 36, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 52, 53, 54, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 74, 81, 82, 88, 89, 108, 113, 121, 131, 143, 166, 168, 178, 193, 219, 241, 245, 249, 255, 271, 273, 277, 282, 286, 290, 292, 309, 330  
     Ottoman conquest of, 44  
 Hunyadi, John. Voyvoda of Transylvania, later Regent of Hungary, 22, 23, 24, 25, 277  
 Hurrem, concubine, then wife of Süleyman I, 78, 79, 91, 92, 135  
 Hüsrev, Molla, 214  
 Hüsrev Pasha, 68, 69  
 Hüsrev Pasha college, 222  
 Ialomița river, battle of, 277  
 Ibn Battuta, Maghribi traveller, 131, 165  
 Ibn Hajar, Egyptian scholar, 142, 143  
 Ibn Humam, jurist, 214  
 Ibn Nujaym, jurist, 214  
 Ibn Ulayyan, lord of the marsh Arabs, 54, 175  
 Ibrahim, Sultan, 69, 71–2, 79, 100–1, 327, 329  
 Ibrahim of Aleppo, jurist, 214  
 Ibrahim of Karaman, 22, 23, 83

- Ibrahim Pasha, grand vizier of Mehmed III, 60, 219
- Ibrahim Pasha, grand vizier of Süleyman I, 43, 44, 45, 136, 152
- appointment of, 43
- as commander of Iranian campaign, 44
- execution of, 45
- suppresses rebellion in Anatolia, 43
- suppresses rebellion in Egypt, 43
- Ibrahim Pasha college, 217
- Ibshir Mustafa Pasha, 153
- Idris of Bitlis, Kurdish scholar, 39
- Ilkhans, 6, 111, 173, 186, 187
- imam, 137
- as title of caliph, 363
- see also* Zaydi Imams
- Imbros, 27, 29
- imperial council, 97, 134, 137, 141, 142–63, 170, 175, 180, 184, 190, 192, 201, 215, 220, 221, 223, 225–8, 232, 242, 249, 253, 298, 315, 316, 328, 329
- development of, 143–8
- functions of, 159–60, 161
- petitions to, 159
- times of meeting, 158
- imperial cypher, 109, 145
- imperial rescript, 99, 162
- India, 50, 51, 53
- Indian Ocean, 50, 51, 53, 295, 298, 299, 308
- İnegöl, 218
- infantry, 61, 119, 126, 129, 198, 199, 263, 266, 267, 268, 274, 275, 284, 285, 292, 293, 294, 310, 312, 361, 363
- Austrian infantry tactics, 292–3
- see also* azabs; Janissaries
- Inflation, 198, 242, 249
- İnönü, 164
- intendant of the register of fiefs, 180
- Ioannina, 12, 21, 82
- Ionian islands, 32, 36
- Iraq, 2, 5, 29, 51, 53, 64, 65, 67, 68, 166, 170, 175, 179, 204, 211, 216, 239, 302, 361
- Iran, 1, 4, 5, 6, 15, 29, 36, 37, 38, 39, 47, 49, 52, 53, 54, 58, 64, 65, 66, 68, 70, 71, 90, 91, 92, 94, 110, 114, 142, 166, 176, 177, 195, 197, 211, 212, 249, 251, 283, 290, 291, 294
- Isa, son of Bayezid I, 16, 17
- Isa Bey, grandson of Pasha Yigit, 174
- Isa Bey, marcher lord, 185
- Isaac, 112
- Isabella, queen of Transylvania, 47, 49
- Isfendyaroğlu, ruler of Sinop, 20, 82, 83, 87
- Isfendyaroğlu Ismail, ruler of Sinop, 28, 30
- Ishak, Karamanid prince, 29
- Ishak Bey, son of Pasha Yigit, 174
- Ishak Pasha, 141
- Iskender, slave of Bayezid II, 87
- Iskender Pasha, 67
- Iskender Pasha, vizier of Bayezid II, 150
- Ismail I, Shah, 37–9, 40
- Ismail II, Shah, 55
- Ismihan, daughter of Selim II, 93
- Isparta, 7
- ispenje*, *see* taxes
- Istanbul, 3, 27, 32, 33, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 53, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 78, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 97, 103, 105, 106, 124, 125, 126, 127, 131, 132, 133, 136, 142, 144, 146, 147, 152, 159, 170, 173, 176, 185, 191, 196, 199, 214, 215, 216, 218, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 232, 246, 255, 258, 260, 268,

- Istanbul – *continued*  
 281, 283, 284, 298, 300, 301,  
 302, 303, 307, 308, 309, 313,  
 314, 319
- Italy, 29, 32, 35, 45, 280
- Ivanko, Bulgarian lord, 12
- Ivaz, cavalryman, 192
- Izmir, 30, 303
- Izmit, 8, 70, 85, 90, 116, 164, 264,  
 302, 314  
*see also* arsenals
- Iznik, 5, 8, 77, 87, 148, 212, 213, 222,  
 226, 263
- Ja'fer, cousin of Ebu's-su'ud, 225
- Ja'fer Pasha, 57
- Ja'fer Pasha, admiral, 307
- Jajce, 28, 29, 278, 279
- Janberdi Ghazali, 42
- Janbulad family, 64, 65  
 Ali, 64–5  
 Hüseyin, 64  
 Mustafa Pasha, 69
- Janissaries, 23, 24, 26, 33, 38, 39, 43,  
 46, 56, 60, 61, 67, 68, 69, 87,  
 90, 91, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102,  
 106, 107, 108, 119, 123, 125,  
 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 140,  
 155, 179, 188, 198, 199, 231,  
 232, 248, 251, 252, 258, 266,  
 267, 268, 269, 274, 275, 276,  
 278, 284, 285, 286, 293, 294,  
 300, 306, 315, 316, 317, 328,  
 361, 362, 363, 366
- bonuses paid to, 102, 106, 107,  
 258, 328
- as factor limiting sultanic power,  
 39, 56, 60, 101–2, 107,  
 267–8, 328
- marksmanship of, 286
- marriage of, 128
- numbers of, 267, 293–4
- position on battlefield, 278,  
 284–5, 286
- rebellions of, 43, 61, 67, 89,  
 99–101, 248
- recruitment of, 123–7
- solaks*, 286, 366
- as tradesmen, 294
- transformation of, 128–9
- use in fleet, 315–16, 317
- Jano, Brother Bartholomew de,  
 Minor Friar and writer, 122
- Japheth, 111–12
- Jedda, 50
- Jelal, millenarian rebel, 41
- jelali rebellions, 62–6
- jelalis, 63, 64, 65, 66, 195, 293, 294
- Jelalzade Mustafa, chancellor, 105,  
 144, 145, 157, 158
- Jem, Prince, 87–8, 90, 94, 104, 107, 141
- Jemshid, jelali rebel, 64
- Jerba, 48, 50, 295, 315, 316
- Jerusalem, 40, 41, 97
- Jews, 1, 3, 97, 204, 205, 249, 252, 253,  
 255, 256, 260, 282, 314
- Jigalazade Mahmud Pasha, 66, 322
- Jigalazade Sinan Pasha, 58, 63, 64,  
 151, 177, 306, 321
- Jihangir, son of Süleyman I, 92
- Jinji Hoja, mentor to Sultan  
 Ibrahim, 71, 329
- jizya*, *see* taxes
- John, king of Portugal, 50
- John Sigismund, king of  
 Transylvania, 46, 47, 49
- John Szapolyai, king of Hungary, 44
- Jörg of Nuremberg,  
 cannon-maker, 282
- judges, 126, 146, 148, 148, 154, 155,  
 158, 159, 169, 173, 176, 179,  
 194, 207, 210, 211–12, 213, 214,  
 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221,  
 222, 223, 225, 226, 227, 228,  
 229, 232, 233, 236, 237, 238,  
 242, 243, 244, 254, 257, 258,  
 268, 269, 302, 303, 312, 313,  
 314, 315, 327, 364

- judges – *continued*  
 appointment of, 217–18  
 career patterns of, 218–19  
 of cities, 216, 218, 223  
 emoluments, 218  
 functions of, 219–21, 226, 227,  
 236, 237–8, 243–4, 254, 257,  
 258, 268, 302, 312–14, 315  
 Hanbali, 219  
 of Istanbul, 146, 218, 232  
 Shafi'i, 219  
*see also* 'great mollaships'
- Juneyd, lord of Aydin, 21
- jurists, 19, 109, 193, 205, 206–12, 213,  
 214, 231, 326
- Kabiz, Molla, 144
- Kachanik, 185
- kadi'asker*, *see* military judges
- Kalenderoghlu, rebel leader (1527), 43
- Kalenderoghlu Mehmed, Jelali  
 rebel, 64, 65
- Kalkhetia, 56
- Kamenets, 70
- Kanos, 265, 277
- Kanina, 217
- Kanizsa, 60, 61, 166, 290, 291, 293
- Kantakouzenos family  
 John VI, Byzantine Emperor, 9,  
 80, 116  
 Matthew, 9, 80  
 Theodora, 9, 80
- kanun*, *see* law, Ottoman
- Kapudan Pasha  
*see* admirals
- Kara Ahmed Pasha, 48
- Kara Rüstem of Karaman, scholar,  
 119, 186
- Kara Timurtash, Ottoman  
 commander in Rumelia, 169
- Kara Yaziji, jelali rebel, 63
- Karabagh, 15
- Karaburun, 19
- Karacahisar, 8, 84
- Karagöz Pasha, 38
- Karaman  
 emirate, 6, 10, 11–12, 13, 14, 15, 16,  
 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 25, 29, 30,  
 82, 83, 96, 106, 110, 119, 165  
 governors-general of, 34, 63, 93,  
 94, 151, 244  
 Ottoman province, 125, 168, 191
- Karamanids, 18, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36,  
 83, 173, 183, 247
- Karesi, 7, 9, 171, 173
- Karlieli, 171
- Karlovac, 290
- Kars, 94
- Kartli, 56
- Kasim, Karamanid Prince, 30
- Kasim, Prince, brother of Murad IV,  
 70, 71, 100
- Kasim, son of Isfendyaroghlu, 83
- Kasim Pasha, 54
- Kasim Pasha college, 224
- Kastamonu, 13
- Kastellani, Molla, 146
- Kastriote family, 22, 35, 171  
 John, 22, 35  
 George, *see* Scanderbeg
- Katib Chelebi, 100, 101, 142, 297,  
 298, 303, 304, 306, 307, 311,  
 312, 318, 320, 321, 322, 323
- Katif, 51
- Katoika, 262
- Kavalla, 307
- Kawakaban, 54
- Kayi, 111
- Kayseri, 30, 34, 212, 213
- Kemah, 39
- Kemalpashazade, chief mufti, 96,  
 104, 227, 228, 231
- Kemankesh Ali Pasha, 68, 99
- Kemankesh Mustafa Pasha, 71, 72
- Kenan Pasha, 70
- Kenyermezö, battle at, 278
- Kerch, strait of, 322
- Kerkuk, 1

- Khairbay, Mamluk governor, 40  
 Khanate of the Crimea, 31, 168  
 Khans of Bitlis, 14, 44, 176  
 Khans of the Crimea, 168  
 Khudabanda, Shah, 55  
 Khurasan, 37, 62  
 Kile, 244, 364  
 Kilia, 34, 89, 108, 221  
 Kilis, 64, 175  
 Kirik Musa, gatekeeper, 185  
 Kizil Ahmed, 30  
*kizilbash*, 37, 204, 364  
*kleinkrieg*, 62, 264, 317  
 Klis, 73  
 Knights of St John, 32, 33, 41, 42, 45, 48, 55, 66, 87, 88, 141, 317  
 Kocaeli, 192  
 Kochi Bey, advisor to sultans, 70, 72, 129, 155, 163, 196, 197, 199, 272, 274  
 Koja Mehmed Pasha, 100  
 Koja Sinan Pasha, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 142, 153, 198, 251, 273, 290  
 Konstantin Eli, *see* Kyustendil  
 Konya, 6, 14, 18, 19, 52, 87, 89, 92, 93, 94, 118, 165  
     battle of, 52, 94  
 Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, 74, 79, 153  
 Köprülü viziers, 74, 79, 153, 330  
     *see also* Fazil Ahmed Pasha;  
     Köprülü Mehmed Pasha  
 Korkud, Prince, 33, 37, 38, 41, 88, 90  
 Koroni, 36  
 Kos, 307  
 Kosača, 28  
 Köseadağ battle of, 6  
 Kösem Sultan, queen-mother, 68, 71, 73, 79, 80, 99, 101  
 Kosovo  
     battle of (1389), 12, 13, 85, 171  
     battle of (1448), 24, 278, 279  
 Kószeg, 44  
 Kotor, 45  
 Kraso, cavalryman, 185  
 Krujë, 22, 24, 29, 32  
 Kruševac, 175  
 Küçük Ahmed Pasha, 71  
 Küçük Çekmece, 222  
 Kupa river, 290  
 Kur river, 56  
 Kurdish (language), 2  
 Kurdistan, 166, 188  
     administrative arrangements, 176–7  
     province of, 166  
 Kurds, 39, 56, 62, 129, 155, 166, 176, 177, 179, 188, 204, 316  
 Kütahya, 7, 10, 38, 63, 81, 92, 94, 235  
 Kuyuju Murad Pasha, 60, 65, 66  
 Kyustendil, 171  
  
 labour services, 239  
 Ladik, 64  
 Ladislas II, King of Hungary, 278  
 Lagato Rayko, cavalryman, 185  
 Lajos, King of Hungary, 42, 44  
 Lala Mehmed Pasha, 61, 251, 292, 293  
     as military innovator, 293  
 Lala Mustafa Pasha, 54, 55, 56  
 Lala Shahin, 169  
 land  
     arable, 176, 193  
     flight from, 64, 193, 194, 195  
     inheritance of, 193  
     *miri*, 181, 193–4  
     pasture, 4, 131, 193, 242  
     private, 33, 176, 179, 181, 183, 184, 209, 222  
     rights of orphans to, 233–4  
     rights of peasants to, 193–4  
     rights of women to, 234  
     trust, 33, 181  
 land and tax surveys, *see* cadastral surveys  
 land registry office, 184, 185  
 Larende, 14, 265  
 Latin Emperor, 5

- law, Islamic, 2, 7, 75, 76, 81, 109, 118,  
 119, 121, 204–12  
 acts of worship, 207  
 conservatism of, 208–9  
 criminal, 210–11  
 family law, 75  
 fixed punishments in, 210–11  
 of Friday Prayer, 84, 207  
 Hanafi, 75, 206, 207, 212, 214, 219,  
 221, 231  
 Hanbali, 206, 219, 221  
 of homicide, 209–10  
 of inheritance, 181  
 innovation in, 209  
 of land tenure, 210, 211  
 Maliki, 206, 219, 221  
 of marriage, 75–6  
 nature of, 205–12  
 origin of, 205–7  
 of purity, 207  
 of sale, 208  
 Shafi'i, 206, 219, 221  
 of slavery, 118–19  
 of taxation, 210  
 of war, 109
- law, Ottoman  
 basis of, 231–3  
 commutation of death  
 penalty, 237  
 conformity with Islamic law, 231  
 criminal, 236–8  
 death penalty in, 144, 237  
 fines, 187, 236, 237  
 'of Hasan Padishah', 234, 325  
 homogenisation of, 234–5  
 lash, 237  
 of non-Muslim communities,  
 204–5  
 procedure in, 236–7  
 role of Bayezid II, 232, 233,  
 235, 236  
 stabbing, penalty for, 237–8  
 taxation, 231  
 torture, 226, 236, 237
- law books, 43, 96, 141, 161, 162, 176,  
 179, 180, 187, 193, 214, 215,  
 222, 233–7, 239, 240, 241,  
 242, 245, 247, 268, 269, 273,  
 274, 275, 276, 364  
 of Aleppo (1570), 222, 227  
 Aydın, 240, 247  
 of Boz Ulus (1540), 237  
 Buda, 193  
 of Bursa (1487), 233, 234, 236, 237  
 Diyarbekir, 241  
 of Edirne market (1502), 276  
 of Ergani (1518), 234  
 of Gallipoli (1518), 275  
 general, of Bayezid II, 187, 233–4  
 general, of c.1540, 187, 235  
 of Kütahya (1528), 235  
 'of Mehmed II', 96, 161, 179,  
 214, 227  
 nature of, 233–4  
 of scholars, 215  
 of Selim II, 179  
 of Smederovo (1516, 1560), 273  
 of Vize, 194
- Laws of the Janissaries*, 123, 275
- Lazar, Prince of Serbia, 11, 12, 13, 171
- Lazarević family, 13, 14, 16, 17, 21, 81  
 Olivera, sister of Stephen, 13, 81  
 Stephen, tsar of Serbia, 13, 14, 16,  
 17, 21, 81  
 Vlk, brother of Stephen, 16
- Lazes, 129
- learning journeys, 213–14
- Lebanon, 2, 41, 64, 68, 70, 177, 204
- legitimacy of sultans, 107–15  
 as Caesar, 26, 47, 114  
 as Caliph, 104, 109, 114–15  
 as *ghazis*, 109  
 as heirs to the Seljuks, 110–11  
 prophetic dreams, 112–13  
 rivalry with Habsburgs, 113–14  
 as senior descendants of Oghuz  
 Khan, 111–12  
 spiritual genealogy, 112–13

- legitimacy of sultans – *continued*  
   as upholders of orthodoxy, 110  
   as war leaders, 107–8  
 Leonard of Chios, 148  
 Lepanto, *see* Navpaktos  
   battle of, 55, 192, 248, 291, 297,  
     298, 302, 307, 313, 314, 316,  
     317, 318  
 Lesbos, 28, 29, 36, 280, 301, 304,  
   307, 308  
 Levadhia, 303  
 Levkas, 32  
 Lezhë, 32  
 Limni, 27, 28, 32  
 lion-thaler, 249  
 Lipova, 48  
 Lisbon, 50  
 Lombardy, 45  
 Lopadion, 8  
 Luristan, 58  
 Lutfi Pasha, 28, 151, 152, 155, 161, 180,  
   190, 200, 251, 253, 258, 267,  
   274, 300, 312, 321  
   on Janissary numbers, 267  
   on Ottoman fleet, 321  
   on payment of Janissaries, 267  
   on Tatar troops, 274  
  
 Macedonia, 5, 11, 12, 117, 174, 245,  
   256, 264, 324  
 Maçka, 166  
 Mad Hasan, 63  
 Mad Hüseyin, 72  
 Mahdia, 48, 308  
 Mahidevran, concubine of  
   Süleyman I, 78, 91  
 Mahmud, Molla, 217  
 Mahmud, Prince, son of  
   Mehmed I, 77  
 Mahmud, prince, son of  
   Mehmed III, 100  
 Mahmud Pasha, grand vizier, 26,  
   28, 29, 141, 149, 150, 225, 305  
   ancestry of, 149  
  
 Malagina, 132  
 Malatya, 15, 65  
 Malchi, Esparanza, tax-farmer,  
   249, 260  
 Malhatun, possibly wife of  
   Osman I, 76, 80  
 Malhun, supposed wife of  
   Osman I, 76  
 Malipiero, Venetian chronicler,  
   279, 285  
 Malkochoghlu family, 117, 174, 175  
 Malta, 42, 48, 52, 53, 55, 72, 273, 286,  
   287, 315, 316, 319  
 Mamluks, rulers of Egypt and  
   Syria, 15, 25, 29, 32, 34, 38,  
   40, 41, 42, 50, 82, 87, 88, 107,  
   115, 172, 248, 285  
   Circassian, rebellion of, 42  
   Ottoman conquest of, 40–1  
 Ma'nid dynasty, 177  
 Manisa, 7, 24, 38, 55, 88, 90, 92, 103,  
   173, 243  
 Manq Ali, biographer, 225  
 Manzikert, battle of, 4  
 Maraş, 93, 191  
 marcher lords, 12, 17, 20, 25, 117, 171,  
   173, 174, 179, 185, 188, 271,  
   272, 324  
   origins of, 12, 173–4  
   power of, 12, 25, 174, 324  
   *see also* Evrenos; Mihaloghlu;  
   Turahan  
  
 Mardin, 40  
 Ma'rifetullah, Molla, 222  
 Maritsa river, 11, 120, 174, 265  
   battle of, 11, 174, 265  
 Marj Dabiq, battle of, 40, 284, 285  
 Marko, Macedonian lord, 174  
 Marković family, 174  
 Marmara, sea of, 8, 103, 133,  
   303, 361  
 Marmaris, 42  
 Maronites, 2



- marriages of princes and sultans,  
     10, 11, 12, 17, 22, 76, 80, 81,  
     82, 83, 89, 113, 167, 326  
     of princesses, 82–3, 84  
     of viziers, 84, 93, 152  
 Marseille, 48  
 marsh Arabs, 54, 175  
 Martinuzzi, George, 46, 47, 48  
 Mashhad, 58  
 Massawa, 51  
 Matthias Corvinus, King of  
     Hungary, 26, 29, 33, 35  
 Maurand, Jean, 281, 282  
 Maximilian, Emperor of Austria,  
     53, 54  
 Mazendaran, 37  
 Mecca, 41  
 Medina, 41, 223  
 Mediterranean, 1, 4, 10, 26, 28, 30,  
     31, 38, 41, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51,  
     52, 53, 54, 66, 133, 284, 295,  
     296, 297, 298, 299, 302,  
     304, 308, 309, 317, 319, 320,  
     321, 322  
*medreses*, *see* colleges  
 Mehmed I, 15–16, 18–20, 77, 83, 86,  
     143, 145, 148, 213, 218, 254  
 Mehmed II, 25–33, 35, 42, 77, 83, 87,  
     96, 103, 106, 108, 113, 131, 132,  
     133, 135, 141, 143, 144, 145,  
     146, 148, 149, 150, 154, 161,  
     165, 167, 169, 173, 183, 214,  
     227, 239, 248, 250, 256, 267,  
     268, 279, 282, 283, 287, 288,  
     296, 298, 300, 305, 310, 312,  
     320, 329  
 Mehmed III, 59, 79, 95, 96, 97, 100,  
     101, 102, 106, 108, 131, 135,  
     154, 215, 224, 228, 251, 330  
 Mehmed IV, 73, 79, 101, 102, 133, 153  
 Mehmed, Prince, brother of  
     Osman II, 100  
 Mehmed, Prince, son of  
     Süleyman I, 78  
 Mehmed Bey of Karaman, 188  
 Mehmed Chelebi, surveyor of  
     taxes, 222  
 Mehmed Pasha, son of Koja Sinan  
     Pasha, 59  
 Mehmed Pasha college, Iznik, 226  
 Mehmed Pasha of Karaman, 96,  
     146, 148  
 Melek Ahmed Pasha, 153, 156, 253  
 Melos, 283  
 memoranda, 66, 161, 162  
     of appointment, 180, 191, 200,  
     292, 366  
 memorandum writer, 157, 160, 219  
 Mendoça, Bernadino de, military  
     writer, 291  
 Mengli Girey, Crimean khan, 31  
 Mentеше, 7, 13, 15, 16, 21, 160,  
     171, 253  
 Mere Hüseyin Pasha, 67  
 Meshale, battle of, 57  
 Mesih Pasha, 32, 36, 149, 150, 161  
 Meskhetian, 56  
 Messina, 45  
 Methoni, 36  
 Metropolitanans, 122, 204, 205  
 Mező-Keresztes, battle of, 60, 63,  
     108, 197, 199, 292, 293  
     cause of victory, 60  
     social consequences of, 197  
 Michael, Voyvoda of Wallachia,  
     59, 61  
 Michael VIII Palaiologos, Byzantine  
     Emperor, 6, 8  
 Mihailović, Constantine, 122, 141,  
     270, 273  
 Mihalić, 65  
 Mihaloghlu family, 12, 174, 175, 178,  
     271, 272, 273  
 Mihaloghlu Mehmed, 174  
 Mihriban, 68, 71  
 Mihrimah, daughter of Süleyman I  
 military class  
     definition of, 226

- military judges, 71, 145, 146, 147, 148,  
149, 153–6, 161, 215, 216, 217,  
218, 219, 223, 224, 225, 226,  
227, 228, 364  
backgrounds of, 153–4  
career patterns of, 153–4, 214–15  
functions of, 216, 226–7  
numbers of, 146–7  
wealth of, 155, 156
- mines, 20, 27, 247, 248, 253, 254,  
259, 283  
in sieges, 265, 287, 289
- Minorca, 50
- mints, 87, 247, 248, 249, 258, 259
- Minuchehr, Prince of Meskhetian,  
56, 57, 176
- Mircea, Voivoda of Wallachia, 14,  
17, 18, 20, 81
- Mistra, 11, 12, 24
- Mitylene, 280, 283, 287, 295, 304, 318  
French siege of, 280, 283
- Mocha, 308
- Mohács, 43, 44, 121, 168, 273, 278,  
284, 309  
battle of, 43, 44, 121, 168, 273,  
278, 284  
captain of, 309
- Moldavia, 1, 31, 34, 35, 45, 46, 53, 59,  
61, 67, 89, 158, 168, 283, 367
- Monastery college, Bursa, 213
- Monastir, 48
- Monemvasia, 28, 45
- Mongols, 6
- monopolies, 50, 247, 253, 295
- Morava river, 17, 31, 32, 265
- Mouzalon, Byzantine commander,  
262, 264
- müderris*, see professors
- Müezzinzade Ali Pasha, 306, 307
- mufti of Istanbul, 69, 70, 73, 93, 97,  
99, 100, 101, 102, 106, 110,  
114, 142, 154, 212, 217, 221,  
223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 229,  
230, 323  
authority of, 230  
development of office of, 223,  
227–8  
functions of, 227–30
- muftis, 211, 212, 213, 214, 221–2, 223,  
227, 233  
appointments of, 221–2  
career patterns of, 221–2  
functions of, 211, 221, 222, 223
- Muhammad, Prophet, 109, 113,  
144, 206
- Murad I, 10, 77, 80, 82, 110, 116–17,  
119, 120, 132, 148, 165, 169,  
264, 266, 296, 324
- Murad II, 20, 23, 23, 24, 82, 83, 87,  
103, 111, 132, 150, 254, 267,  
278, 279, 289
- Murad III, 55, 59, 78, 95, 97, 101, 106,  
128, 135, 142, 154, 162, 196,  
197, 200, 251, 252, 256, 329
- Murad IV, 68, 71, 72, 79, 99, 102, 108,  
128, 131, 135, 136, 138, 144, 163,  
196, 201, 217
- Murad, Prince  
son of Mehmed I, 77  
son of Prince Ahmed, 90
- Murtaza Pasha, 70
- Musa, timar-holder, 185
- Musa, Prince, 16–18, 19, 77, 81, 82,  
86, 95, 132, 174
- Musa Pasha, 72
- Muscat, 51
- müsellems*, see exemptees
- muskets, 292–3, 364
- Musli Chavush, jelali rebel, 65
- Muslims, 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 11, 12, 19,  
26, 42, 53, 70, 75, 83, 105,  
109, 110, 114, 115, 118, 119, 124,  
128, 135, 136, 149, 150, 153,  
154, 158, 174, 181, 204, 205,  
207, 208, 209, 211, 212, 213,  
214, 216, 230, 231, 241, 244,  
245, 247, 255, 258, 260, 282,  
294, 311, 313

- Mustafa I, 66, 67, 68, 71, 79, 97,  
     102, 327  
 Mustafa, son of Bayezid I, 16, 18, 20,  
     77, 86, 87  
 Mustafa, son of Mehmed I  
 Mustafa, son of Mehmed II, 30  
 Mustafa, 'Little', brother of  
     Murad II, 20, 87  
 Mustafa, Prince, son of Prince  
     Ahmed, 90  
 Mustafa, Prince, son of Süleyman I,  
     52, 91  
     execution of, 91–2  
     impostor, 96  
 Mustafa Agha, chief eunuch, 97, 98,  
     99, 99  
 Mustafa Pasha (second vizier,  
     governor of Egypt), 42, 43  
 mutiny, 31, 60, 67, 248–9, 250,  
     258, 321  
  
 nails, 303  
 Na'ima, Ottoman chronicler, 253, 273  
 Nakhichevan, 49, 62  
 Nakkash Hasan Pasha, 65  
 Naples, Kingdom of, 21, 29, 32, 42,  
     45, 48, 49, 88, 281  
 Nasuh Pasha, 66, 163  
 naval tactics, 297, 298, 320, 322, 323  
 Navarino, 36  
 Navpaktos, 32, 36, 55, 149  
     *see also* Lepanto  
 Navplion, 45, 319  
 Naxos, 45, 308  
 Negroponte, 5, 27, 30, 295, 305, 312  
 Neshri, Ottoman chronicler, 95,  
     109, 111, 265, 285  
 New Phokaia, 27, 254  
 Nice, 46  
 Nicolay, Nicolas de, French  
     traveller, 282, 288  
 Nicopolis, battle of, 14, 265  
 Nicosia, 55, 287, 289, 291  
     siege of, 289  
  
 Nif, 64  
 Nihavend, 58  
 Nikaia, 5, 8, 263, 264  
     *see also* Iznik  
 Nikomedia, 5, 9  
     *see also* Izmit  
 Nikopol, 14, 175, 258, 259  
 Nilüfer, consort of Murad I, 77, 80  
 Nish, 11, 265  
*nishanji*, *see* chancellors  
 Nishanji Mehmed Pasha, *see*  
     Mehmed Pasha of Karaman  
 Noah, 111, 113  
 Nógrad, 47  
 North Africa, 2, 41, 48, 170, 296,  
     306, 317  
 novice Janissaries, 126–7, 140,  
     267, 300  
 Novigrad, 59  
 Novo Brdo, 26  
 Nuh Pasha, 251, 252  
 Nurbanu, consort of Selim II, 78  
*nüzül*, *see* taxes  
  
 oakum, 127, 300, 301, 304  
 oarmakers, 127  
 oarsmen, 220, 221, 243, 296–7, 298,  
     310, 311, 312–14, 315, 318,  
     321, 363  
     convicts as, 314–15  
     levy of, 220–1, 312–14  
     numbers of, 297, 312, 314  
     pay of, 313, 314  
     prisoners-of-war as, 315, 321  
     volunteer, 314  
 Ochakov, 67, 166, 322  
 Oghuz, 111, 112, 115  
 Oghuz Khan, legendary ancestor of  
     western Turks, 111, 112, 115  
 Okchuzad, chancellor, 154, 157, 158  
 Öküz Mehmed Pasha, 66  
 Oltu, 176  
 Ömer Beg, 76  
 Ömer Hoja, mentor to Osman II, 98

- Oran, 50, 55
- Orhan, second Ottoman ruler, 8–9,  
12, 17, 18, 76, 77, 80, 84, 85,  
86, 96, 113, 116, 119, 131, 132,  
164, 165, 173, 182, 212, 213,  
263, 264
- Osman, Prince, son of Prince  
Ahmed, 90, 91
- Osman I, 7–8, 76, 77, 80, 84, 85, 95,  
106, 110, 111, 112, 113, 116, 119,  
132, 164, 262, 263, 264
- Osman II, 66–7, 71, 79, 97–9, 100,  
102, 107, 128, 131, 140, 195,  
228, 267
- Osman Pasha, 109
- Osmanshah, nephew of  
Süleyman I, 92
- Otranto, 32, 33, 45, 287, 305
- Özdemiroğlu Osman Pasha, 51, 57,  
151, 199
- Özi, *see* Ochakov
- Pachymeres, Byzantine chronicler,  
8, 107, 262, 263, 264
- pages, 133, 135, 137–40, 151, 163,  
329, 365  
cloth bearer, 139, 151  
education of, 137  
of the larder, 138–9  
numbers of, 138–9  
of the privy chamber, 139, 152,  
163, 329  
stirrup bearer, 139  
of the treasury, 138  
turban lord, 139  
water bearer, 139  
weapons bearer, 139, 151, 365
- palace, 43, 50, 60, 66, 68, 69, 71, 73,  
76, 78, 79, 87, 97, 98, 99, 100,  
101, 102, 103, 104, 107, 118,  
120, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128,  
131–41, 142, 143, 144, 145, 147,  
149, 151, 152, 153, 155, 157, 159,  
161, 163, 169, 179, 180, 188,  
189, 200, 201, 202, 203, 216,  
222, 225, 231, 247, 249, 250,  
256, 257, 258, 260, 261, 268,  
269, 272, 305, 306
- Baghdad Pavilion, 134–5  
at Bursa, 132  
campaign chamber, 138  
chamber of petitions, 134, 161  
*chavushes*, 65, 140, 257, 362  
chief barber, 139, 329  
council chamber, 98, 134,  
142, 144  
Erivan Pavilion, 134  
falconers, 140, 142, 180  
first court, 134  
Galata palace, 136  
gardeners, 140, 163, 201, 306  
gardens, 112, 124, 126, 127, 133, 134,  
140, 283  
Gate of Felicity, 101, 134, 141, 161  
gatekeepers, 140, 151, 161, 162, 179,  
180, 185, 188, 305, 306  
Great Chamber, 135, 136, 151  
Hall of Petitions, 161  
head taster, 151, 179  
of Ibrahim Pasha, 137  
ice-house, 103, 127  
inner treasury, 134, 251  
Imperial Gate, 134  
kitchens, 134, 140  
larder, 138, 139  
at Malagina, 132  
master of the hounds, 140  
master of the stable, 140, 155,  
179, 188  
master of the standard, 140, 151,  
179, 180  
Middle Gate, 134  
*müteferrikas*, 151, 364  
New Palace, Edirne, 87, 132–3  
New Palace (Topkapı), Istanbul,  
133–5  
Old Palace, Edirne, 132, 136, 138  
Old Palace, Istanbul, 99, 133, 135

- palace – *continued*  
 privy chamber, 43, 134, 135, 138,  
 139, 151, 152, 163, 329  
 schools, 125, 136–7, 268  
 second court, 134, 142, 151, 363  
 Small Chamber, 135, 136, 151  
 stables, 134, 140, 151, 155, 179,  
 188, 250  
 steward of the gatekeepers, 161, 162  
 third court, 134, 135, 136, 138, 141,  
 151, 161  
*see also* agha of the Abode of  
 Felicity; agha of the gate;  
 agha of the girls; eunuchs;  
 harem
- Palaiologos family, 6, 9, 80, 149, 255  
 Andonikos III, 8, 263  
 Andronikos IV, 10  
 Constantine, despot of Mistra, last  
 Emperor of Byzantium, 24  
 Demetrios, despot of the Morea,  
 22, 25, 27  
 Eirene, 80  
 Hass Murad Pasha, 30, 149, 150  
 John V, 9, 10, 80, 80  
 Manuel II, 13, 14, 18, 20  
 Mesih Pasha, 32, 36, 149, 150, 161  
 Michael VIII, 6, 8  
 Theodore, despot of Mistra, 11, 12  
 Thomas, despot of the Morea,  
 25, 27  
 Yakub, tax farmer, 255
- Palestine, 41  
 Paluta, 58, 60  
 Papa, 60  
 Papal States, 33, 88  
*para*, 249, 364  
 Parga, 152  
 Paros, 45  
 Pasha Yigit, 174  
 family of, 174  
 Patras, 319  
 patronage, 41, 139, 152, 153, 154, 155,  
 158, 172, 189, 214, 225, 325, 326
- Paul III, Pope, 45  
 Pazardzhik, 304  
 Pazarlu, brother of Orhan, 85,  
 116, 164  
 peasants, 33, 182, 192, 193, 194, 231,  
 233, 234, 239, 241  
*see also* land
- Péc, 304  
 Pechevi, Ibrahim, Ottoman  
 chronicler, 58, 59, 60, 97, 98,  
 99, 108, 121, 141, 153, 252, 292
- Pécs, 46  
 Pegai, 8, 263  
 Peje, 177  
 Pelekanon, battle of, 8, 85, 116,  
 164, 263  
 Peloponnesos, 5, 11, 24, 25, 27, 28,  
 30, 33, 36, 38, 45, 74, 170,  
 295, 296  
*penz*, 241, 249, 364  
 pepper, 50  
 Pera, 26, 278, 279, 300  
 Perevolok, 54  
 Persian (language), 4–5, 122, 137, 157,  
 158, 186, 212  
 Persians, 19, 230, 285  
 Pertev Pasha, 53, 93  
 Pest, 61, 62, 253, 255  
 petard, 292, 293  
 Petru Rareș, Voyvoda of  
 Moldavia, 45  
 Philip II, King of Spain, 49  
 Philippe de Clèves, 280  
 Piedmont, 48  
 pikemen, 60, 293  
 pikes, 292, 293  
 pilgrimage, 67, 295  
*see also* accession, pilgrimage to  
 Eyüp
- Pir Ahmed, Karamanid Prince, 29,  
 30, 83  
 piracy, 35, 41  
*see also* corsairs
- Piri Mehmed Pasha, 147, 150, 154, 161

- Piri Reis, 51, 308, 319  
 Mediterranean map of, 308, 319  
 pitch, 283, 304  
 Pius II, Pope, 29  
 Piyale, warden of the arsenal, 70, 322  
 Piyale Pasha, 50, 52, 55, 151, 306  
 Pleven, 109  
 Pločnik, 11  
 Plovdiv, 221  
 Podocattaro, 289  
 Poland, 22, 35, 46, 67, 70, 108, 121, 273  
 popes, 10, 11, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 33, 45, 48, 55, 88  
 Porača, 258  
 Porsuk valley, 8, 84  
 Portuguese, 50, 51, 52, 53, 295, 298  
 Postel, Guillaume, 144, 159, 161  
 prebends, 168, 177–8, 180  
 Prevesa, battle of, 45  
 Prilep, 35, 185  
 princesses, 10, 20, 29, 82, 83, 201, 250, 325  
*see also* marriage  
 prisoners-of-war, levy of, 120, 128, 136, 247, 321, 363  
 Priština, 13  
 professors, 153, 158, 211, 212, 213–15, 217, 218, 221–6, 227, 233  
 appointment of, 214, 216  
 as muftis, 221–2  
 progression of, 214–15, 217  
 salary of, 214  
 Promontorio, Iacopo de, genoese merchant, 169, 171, 173, 268, 269, 270, 272, 286  
 pronoias, 182, 183, 186, 365  
 Protestant princes, 48, 53  
 Prousas, 8, 263, 264  
*see also* Bursa  
 provinces, 164–202  
 breakdown in traditional government of, 194–202  
 depopulation of, 195–6  
 formation of, 164–8  
 numbers of, 165–7  
*see also* Algiers; Al-Hasa; Anatolia; Archipelago (Aegean); Baghdad; Bosnia; Buda; Çıldır; Cyprus; Damascus; Diyarbekir; Egypt; Erzurum; Kanizsa; Karaman; Kurdistan; Maraş; Ochakov; Rum; Rumelia; Shehrizor; Syria; Trabzon; Tripoli; Tunis; Van  
 pulley-makers, 127, 300  
*qadis*, *see* judges  
 Qansuh Ghawri, Mamluk sultan, 40  
 Qasr-i Shirin, treaty of, 71  
 Qazvin, 69, 94, 95  
 Qeshm, 51  
 Quduri, jurist, 207, 208  
 queen mothers, 79, 80, 101, 135, 141, 329  
*see also* Hurrem; Kösem; Nurbanu; Safiye; Turhan  
 Quirini, Lauro, Venetian humanist writer, 173, 174  
 Quraish, 114  
 Quran, 137, 206, 213  
 raiders, 8, 22, 31, 35, 36, 45, 109, 120–1, 178, 262, 263, 266, 270–4, 276, 286, 321  
 declining importance of, 272–3  
 destruction of, 273  
 enrolment of, 271–2  
 functions of, 264, 270–1  
 income of, 270  
 indiscipline of, 271  
 mobilisation of, 271  
 numbers of, 272  
 organization of, 271–2  
*ra'iyet*, *see* tax-paying class  
 definition of, 231  
 Ramazan Pasha, 219  
 Ramazanoghlu, dynasty

- Ramazanoghlu Piri, 40, 175  
 Ramberti, Venetian writer, 138, 139, 156  
 Rashid al-Din, Persian historian and statesman, 111  
 Raydaniyya, battle of, 41, 284  
*re'aya*, *see* tax-paying class  
 Red Sea, 1, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 295, 302, 308, 309  
 registers, land-and-tax, *see* cadastral surveys  
 registers of important affairs, 157, 161  
*reisü'l-küttab*, *see* head clerk  
 Rejeb Pasha, 69  
 reproduction of Ottoman dynasty, 76–9  
 Rethymnon, 72  
 Rhodes, 32, 87, 88, 90, 150, 221, 281, 287, 300, 308  
   siege of 1480, 32, 33, 41, 42, 42  
   siege of 1522, 42, 281, 287  
 rice-paddies, 253, 254  
 riggers, 312  
 Roman imperial title, *see* legitimacy of sultans, Caesar  
 Rome, 10, 23, 27, 33, 35, 88  
 rope, 98, 183, 303  
 Roxelana, *see* Hurrem  
 Rugina, 20  
 Rum, 110, 118, 165, 168, 191, 197, 244, 313  
 Rumelia, 19, 20, 34, 42, 73, 77, 81, 86, 87, 89, 93, 120, 125, 126, 132, 146, 147, 149, 154, 161, 166, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173–4, 175, 183, 188, 189, 190, 191, 195, 216, 218, 221, 225, 226, 239, 240, 246, 249, 260, 266, 270, 271, 272, 274, 275, 285, 304, 305, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316  
   *gha* of, 125, 126  
   governor-general of, 34, 42, 73, 146, 146, 147, 148, 149, 169, 170, 189, 190, 191, 246, 249  
   marcher lords of, 173–5, 179  
   military judge of, 149, 154, 161, 218, 225, 226  
   province of, 19, 20, 34, 77, 81, 86, 87, 89, 93, 120, 132, 147, 148, 166, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 183, 188, 191, 195, 216, 239, 240, 260, 269, 271, 272, 274, 275, 285, 304, 305, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316  
   treasurer of, 154  
 Russia, 15, 121  
 Rüstem Pasha, 83, 91, 93, 151, 224, 306  
 Rycaut, Sir Paul, English consul, 230  
 Šabac, 42  
 Sa'dchukur, 94  
 Sa'deddin, family of, 154, 224, 228  
   Bahai Efendi, 224  
   Es'ad, 97, 99, 100, 154, 224, 228  
   Mehmed, 224  
 Sa'deddin, royal tutor and chief mufti, 108, 142, 154, 217, 224, 228, 329  
 Safad, 167  
 Safavids, 68, 70, 71, 94, 105, 110, 110, 114, 115, 146, 175, 176, 177, 230, 284, 327  
 Safi, Ottoman panegyric historian, 104  
 Safi, Shah, 69, 70, 71  
 Safiy al-Din, 36  
 Safiye, 78, 79  
 sailcloth, 259  
 St Demetrios' Day, 245  
 St George, Nicosia, 289  
 St George's Day, 245  
 St Irene, church of, 134  
 St Marina, Nicosia, 289  
 Sakarya river, 8, 132  
 Salih Pasha, 72  
 Salona, 81  
 Saltpans, 243, 247, 253, 256, 259  
 saltpetre, 283–4

- Saltukoghlu dynasty, 175  
 Salutati, Caluccio di, Florentine  
     humanist writer, 122  
 Samarkand, 15, 16  
 Samokov, 283, 303  
 Samothrace, 27  
 Samsun, 20, 21, 303, 304  
 Sana river, 57  
 San'a, 50, 54  
 Sanevber, slave-girl, 99  
 sanjak governors, 175, 177–81, 185,  
     190, 192, 197, 201, 202, 217,  
     226, 227, 232, 233, 236, 237,  
     246, 258, 271, 272, 273, 274,  
     304, 305, 306, 307, 308,  
     309, 316  
     appointment as, 175, 180  
     career patterns of, 180–1  
     duration of appointment of, 180  
     functions of, 178–9  
     income of, 177–8  
     princes as, 179, 324  
 sanjaks, 164, 170–82, 184, 185, 187,  
     191, 192, 194, 196, 197, 202,  
     203, 222, 227, 233, 234, 235,  
     253, 273, 274, 304, 305,  
     312, 365  
     formation of, 171–4  
     hereditary, 173–7  
     sovereign, 176–7  
 Santorini, 45  
 sappers, 287  
     corps of, 287  
 Saruhan, 7, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 171,  
     172, 173  
 Satirji Mehmed Pasha, 60  
 Sava, river, 1, 28, 33, 42, 121, 150, 270,  
     290, 309  
 Sawakin, 51  
 Scanderbeg, 22, 24, 29, 32, 171  
 Schiltberger, German prisoner of  
     Ottomans, 167, 265, 353  
 Schwendi, Lazarus, Austrian  
     commander, 286, 290  
 scribal service, 147, 154, 156, 216, 330  
     *see also* clerks  
 Šebenik, 73  
 Şebin Karahisar, 68  
 Sefer Reis, 51, 52  
 Selaniki, Ottoman chronicler, 97,  
     103, 105, 249, 251, 252  
 Selim I, 37, 38, 39–41, 42, 50, 77, 82,  
     89–91, 104, 105, 106, 150, 151,  
     154, 161, 166, 176, 267, 269,  
     285, 286, 300, 308  
 Selim II, 52, 53, 54, 55, 78, 83, 92–5,  
     97, 101, 103, 105, 106, 107, 128,  
     131, 175, 179, 225, 330  
 Selimiye mosque, 127  
 Seljuks, Great, 4  
 Seljuks of Anatolia, 4, 5, 6, 7, 19, 110,  
     111, 115, 118, 173, 186, 187, 212,  
     213, 341, 365  
 Selman Reis, 50  
 Serbia, 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22,  
     23, 25, 26, 81, 149, 171, 182,  
     248, 265, 277  
 Serbian (language), 158  
 Serrai, 11, 19, 148, 264  
 Seydi Ali Reis, 51  
 Shadgeldi family, 173, 324  
 Shah Kulu, Ottoman sectarian  
     rebel, 37–9, 197  
 Shahin, commander of Murad I, 12  
 Shamaxi, 56  
 Shamkhal of Daghestan, 56, 57  
 Shams al-Din, lord of Bitlis, 176  
 Sharaf al-Din, lord of Bitlis, 39,  
     44, 176  
 Sharaf Khan, *see* Sharaf al-Din  
*shari'a*, *see* law, Islamic  
*shaykas*, 322, 365  
 Shehinsah, son of Bayezid II, 89  
 Shehrizor, 58, 166  
 Shem, 112  
 Shemseddin Fenari, Molla, 214,  
     224, 227  
 Shih, 50



- shi'i Islam, 36, 37, 88, 110, 204, 206, 365
- shipbuilding, 53, 178, 299–304  
*see also* anchors; arsenals; carpenters; caulkers; nails; pitch; rope; sailcloth; timber
- Shirvan, 37, 56, 57, 63
- Shishman, tsar of Bulgaria, 11, 12, 13, 14, 81, 265  
 family of, 18, 19, 81, 167
- Shkodër, 31, 32, 150, 177
- Short Description of the Grand Turk's Court*, 145
- Shuf mountains, 167, 177
- Shükrullah, Ottoman chronicler, 77, 110
- Sicily, 48
- Sidon, 167
- siege warfare, 8, 11, 14, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 29, 31, 32, 34, 39, 40, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 66, 68, 69, 70, 72, 74, 105, 148, 149, 263, 264, 265, 266, 273, 276, 277, 279, 280, 281, 283, 284, 286–92, 293, 316, 318, 322, 331  
 amphibious, 247, 295, 318  
 bastions, 289, 290, 291  
 casemates, 289  
 fascines, 288  
 in fourteenth century, 287–8  
 gabions, 288  
 mangonels, 287  
 mantlets, 287  
 mines, 25, 265, 287, 289  
 sappers, 287  
 siege-platforms, 287  
 siege-towers, 287  
 tactics in, 287–9  
 trenches, 60, 61, 198, 264, 276, 287–8, 292, 293  
*see also* artillery; cannon
- Sigismund, king of Hungary, 13, 14, 16, 21, 22
- Sigismund, king of Poland, 67
- Siklos, 46
- silahdar*, *see* Six Divisions
- Silifke, 30
- Silistra, 89, 242
- Silivri, 314
- silver, 26, 98, 138, 247–8, 249, 258  
*see also* *akche*
- Simon Khan, Prince of Kartli, 56, 57
- Simontornya, 47
- Sinai Peninsula, 40, 283
- Sinan, architect, 134
- Sinan, Molla, 218, 219
- Sinan Agha, 90
- Sinan Pasha, Admiral, 306
- Sinan Pasha, conqueror of Ioannina, 21
- Sinan Pasha college, 217
- Sinop, 20, 28, 30, 66, 83, 87, 90, 167, 298, 302, 322  
 Naval arsenal at, 298, 302
- Sincar, 40
- Siouros, Byzantine commander, 262, 264
- Sitti Hatun, 82
- Sivas, 15, 38, 68, 73, 195, 214, 244
- Siverek, 40
- Six Divisions, 69, 99, 120, 128, 138, 179, 188, 201, 231, 249, 251, 258, 260, 268, 272, 274, 276, 285, 286, 331, 365, 366  
 cavalrymen (*sipahi*), 365  
 numbers, 268  
 stipendiaries (*ulufeji*) of the left and right, 268, 366  
 strangers (*gureba*) of the left and right, 268, 363  
 swordbearers (*silahdar*), 268, 365  
 as treasury agents, 260
- Siyavush Pasha, 153
- skippers, 310–11, 321
- Skopje, 174, 185, 270

- slaves, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 87, 99,  
118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125,  
128, 129, 136, 138, 139, 140,  
152, 156, 174, 178, 185, 188, 195,  
200, 207, 231, 233, 248, 268,  
270, 271, 273  
  laws relating to, 75–6, 118–19  
  licensed, 118  
  recruitment of, 120–1, 121–2, 136  
slaves of the Porte, 107, 116  
Slavonic (languages), 2  
Smederovo, 22, 23, 26, 31, 32, 203,  
258, 273  
Sofia, 11, 18, 23, 35, 185, 221  
Sofu Mehmed Pasha, 97  
Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, 52, 54, 55,  
56, 63, 83, 93, 94, 103, 154,  
180, 301, 305, 306, 330  
*solaks*, *see* Janissaries  
Spain, 1, 36, 41, 44, 45, 47, 49, 55, 113,  
282, 296  
Spandounes, 147, 155, 156, 232, 237,  
238, 246, 248, 269, 270, 271,  
276, 281, 282  
spice trade, 51  
Sporades, 27  
Sratsimir, lord of Vidin, 14  
Srebrenica, 22  
Srem, 273  
Stara Zagora, 89  
Stephen, king of Bosnia, 28  
Stephen, vojvoda of Moldavia, 31,  
34, 35  
Stephen Bathory, king of  
  Transylvania, 59  
Stephen Bocskay, king of  
  Transylvania, 61  
Stephen Dushan, *see* Dushan;  
  Stephen Tsar  
Stephen Lazarević, *see* Lazarević  
  family  
Stephen Vukčić-Kosača, Duke of  
  St Sava, 28, 150  
stone-ships, 299  
storekeepers, 300  
*stremma*, 182  
Styria, 44  
*subashik*, 164, 226, 232, 236, 237,  
268, 366  
*subashiliks*, 164, 181  
succession  
  of Ahmed I, 97  
  of Bayezid I, 85  
  claimed from Seljuks, 110–11  
  of Ibrahim, 100  
  of Mehmed I, 86  
  of Mehmed II, 87  
  of Mehmed III, 95  
  of Mehmed IV, 100–1  
  of Murad I, 85  
  of Murad II, 86–7  
  of Murad III, 95  
  of Murad IV, 99  
  of Mustafa, 97–8, 98–9  
  of Orhan, 84–5  
  of Osman I, 84  
  of Osman II, 98  
  of Prince Musa, 86  
  of Prince Süleyman, 86  
  principles of, 86, 95, 101  
  of Selim I, 88–90  
  of Selim II, 95  
  of Süleyman I, 91  
Suez, 50, 51, 53, 54, 302, 308  
Sufian, 57, 63, 177  
  battle of, 63, 177  
Süleyman, Prince, brother of  
  Murad IV, 69, 70, 71  
Süleyman, Prince, son of Bayezid I,  
15, 16, 17, 86, 148  
Süleyman I, 42–53, 74, 83, 90, 91,  
92–5, 104, 107, 108, 113, 114,  
127, 133, 134, 135, 144, 146, 150,  
151, 152, 156, 157, 158, 162, 164,  
166, 168, 197, 217, 218, 228, 230,  
272, 283, 305, 306, 308, 309  
Süleyman Pasha, governor-general  
  of Egypt, 50

- Süleyman Pasha, of Kastamonu, 13, 82
- Süleyman Pasha, son of Orhan, 9, 116
- Süleyman Pasha, vizier of Mehmed II, 31
- Süleymaniye college, Iznik, 222
- Süleymaniye mosque, 78, 214  
colleges of, 214, 218, 223, 225
- sulphur, 283
- Sultan Hatun, daughter of Mehmed I, 83
- Sultan Mehmed college, Medina, 223
- Sultaniyye college, Bursa, 218
- Sultanönü, 226
- Sultanzade Mehmed Pasha, 71, 72
- Sumatra, 53
- sunni Islam, 37, 39, 114, 177, 204, 206, 366
- sürsat*, *see* taxes
- swordbearers, *see* *silahdar*
- Syria, 2, 4, 15, 29, 37, 40, 41, 42, 64, 65, 67, 93, 146, 166, 172, 204, 214, 216, 237, 239, 260, 266, 283, 284, 316
- Szeged, 48
- Szekely Mózes, 61
- Székesfehérvár, 46, 58, 60, 61
- Szigetvár, 49, 53, 107
- Szolnok, 49
- Tabani Yassi Mehmed Pasha, 69
- Tabriz, 37, 39, 44, 47, 56, 57, 62, 63, 70, 268
- Taharten, lord of Erzincan, 15
- Tahmasb I, Shah, 44, 47, 48, 52, 55, 94, 95
- Ta'izz, 50, 54
- Ta'likizade, Ottoman writer, 290, 344
- Tall Halil, jelali rebel, 64
- tallow, 304
- Tamburlaine, *see* Timur
- Tana, *see* Azov
- Tarducci, Achille, Italian writer on military affairs, 291
- Tárnovo, 13, 14
- Tarsus, 34
- Tashköprüzade, Ottoman biographer, 146, 213, 228  
continuator of, *see* Atai, Nev'izade
- Tashlijali Yahya, Ottoman poet, 96
- Tata, 59, 60
- Tatars, 10
- Tats, 129
- Taurus mountains, 30, 31, 34, 36, 64, 65, 91
- taxes, 3, 33, 42, 57, 58, 63, 72, 73, 92, 119, 120, 124, 138, 158, 176, 177, 178, 182, 183, 184, 187, 190, 192, 193, 194, 196, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203, 204, 209, 210, 211, 222, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 239–61, 270, 274, 275, 294, 302, 312, 313, 314, 326, 330  
appointment fees, 246, 255  
*avariz*, 242–4, 274, 302, 361  
assessment of, 243  
as a cash tax, 242–3  
conversion to annual tax, 243  
*božić*, 242  
bride, 194, 234, 241  
cash in lieu, 220, 237, 246, 251, 314  
*chift*, 239–40  
origins of, 239  
rate of, 239–40  
Christmas, *see* *božić*  
currency exchange, 249–50  
entry fees, 193, 233  
exemptions from, 120, 124, 204, 243, 244, 245, 246, 270  
farm breaker's, 193–4  
festival, 234  
hive, 242  
Hungarian, 241–2, 245  
illegal, 124, 242

- taxes – *continued*  
*ispenje*, 240, 242, 245  
*jizya*, 244–6, 250, 253, 260  
 in Evvoia, 245  
 in Hungary, 245  
 in Islamic law, 244–5  
 levied on Muslims, 245  
 in Ottoman practice, 245–6  
 registers, 246  
 ‘surplus’, 250  
 in Thebes, 245  
 labour services, 239  
*monapolya*, 241  
*nüzül*, 243–4  
 payments in kind, 239, 240,  
 241, 244  
 pig, 241–2  
 sale of office, 252–3  
 sales, 246  
 sheep, 234, 235, 241  
*sürsat*, 244  
*temürjik*, 234  
 weighing machine, 246–7, 255  
 widow, 240  
 tax farmers, 3, 209, 252, 253–9, 260  
 Greek  
 Jewish, 3, 249, 252, 253, 255,  
 256, 260  
 Muslim, 255, 256, 260  
 tax-farming, 3, 158, 199, 203, 252,  
 253–9, 260, 294  
 assignment of revenues from,  
 259, 303  
 bids for, 254–5  
 conditions of contract, 253, 256–7  
*emanet*, 253, 362, 366  
 Italian interest in, 253–4  
 oversight of, 257  
 payments from, 257–9  
 penalties for default, 256  
 tax-paying class, 187, 190, 200, 231,  
 232, 243, 275, 364, 365  
 Tayyar Mehmed Pasha, 71  
 Tblisi, 56, 57, 63  
 Tedaldi, Florentine merchant, 279  
 Teke, 7, 171  
 Tekirdağı, 303  
 Temesvár, 48, 49, 53, 65, 257, 284  
 Tenedos, 72  
*tenges*, 234  
*tevki’i*, *see* chancellors  
*tezkere*, *see* memoranda  
*tezkireji*, *see* memorandum writer  
 Tamar, Bulgarian princess, 11, 81  
 Thasos, 304  
 Thessaloniki, 1, 9, 11, 16, 18, 20,  
 21, 23, 122, 174, 185, 221,  
 264, 319  
 Thessaly, 5, 117, 149, 174  
 Thirty Years War, 68  
 Thrace, 9, 11, 12, 17, 27, 30, 85, 164,  
 165, 182, 313  
 Threshold of Felicity, 134, 233  
 Tigris river, 175  
*timar*, 181, 182–201, 203, 209, 231,  
 232, 233, 235, 236, 239, 242,  
 246, 250, 251, 253, 254, 266,  
 267, 268, 270, 274, 275, 276,  
 285, 291, 294, 315, 316, 317,  
 331, 365  
 appointments to, 188–92,  
 199–200  
 ‘baskets’, 196  
 centralization of control of, 184–7  
 conditions of occupancy  
 confiscation of, 182  
 conversion to hereditary  
 holdings, 188, 200  
 conversion to tax-farms, 199, 294  
 decline of, 194–201  
 definition of, 181–2  
 divided revenues, 183  
 fraudulent claims to, 190, 196  
 functions of, 182  
 increases to, 191–2  
 origins of, 182–3  
 two-thirds of, 251  
 value of, 181

- timar registers, 183–7  
 compilation of, 184–5, 201  
 detailed, 184–5  
 discontinuation of, 198–9, 201  
 men and tent notes, 186  
 muster, 185, 201  
 origins of, 186–7  
 summary, 185, 191, 201  
*see also* cadastral surveys
- timber, 53, 302–3
- Timirtashi, Ottoman jurist, 214
- Timur, 15, 16, 81, 82, 86, 111, 132, 172, 267, 299, 330
- Tire, 7, 219, 222, 303
- Tirgovişte, 59
- Tiryaki Hasan Pasha, 61
- tithes, 183, 222, 234, 235, 240, 241, 270
- Tocco family, 21, 24, 32, 82, 171  
 Carlo I, despot of Epiros, 21, 82, 171  
 Carlo II, nephew of Carlo I, 21  
 Hercules, illegitimate son of Carlo I, 21  
 Leonardo, 32
- Tokat, 16, 39, 63, 69
- Topkapı, *see* palace
- torture, 226, 236, 237
- Tosya, 158
- Toulon, 46, 319
- Trabzon, 18, 28, 37, 86, 89, 150, 166
- traditions of the Prophet, 206, 213
- Transoxania, 1
- Transylvania, 1, 22, 35, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 59, 60, 61, 62, 67, 168, 241, 273, 277
- Travnik, 28
- treasurers, 141, 145, 147, 154, 156, 157, 158, 161, 188, 201, 202, 249, 260, 366  
 career patterns of, 154  
 numbers of, 260
- treasury, 10, 58, 68, 71, 99, 100, 107, 116, 120, 129, 131, 134, 137, 138, 141, 147, 154, 156, 157, 183, 184, 186, 195, 198, 199, 201, 202, 204, 222, 231, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 274, 294, 302, 312, 313, 319, 328, 330  
 clerks of, 131, 137, 156, 157, 260–1  
 deficits, 199, 245, 247–53, 256, 257, 258, 259  
 fiscal years, 186, 258  
 inner, 134, 251  
 loans to, 251–2  
 provincial treasuries, 195, 202, 245, 253, 257  
 script, 170
- tributaries, *see* vassals
- Trikkala, 319
- Trikkokia, 263
- Tripoli (Lebanon), 40
- Tripoli (Nicosia), 289
- Tripoli (North Africa), 1, 48, 166, 288, 295, 299, 312
- trusts, 33, 76, 77, 85, 116, 136, 147, 179, 181, 208, 211, 214, 220, 222, 226, 233, 250
- Tughi, Janissary chronicler, 98, 99
- tughra*, *see* imperial cypher
- Tumanbay, 40, 41
- Tunca river, 132
- Tunis, 1, 41, 45, 50, 55, 166, 170, 296, 299, 307, 318
- Turahan, marcher lord, 25, 117, 174, 272, 277
- Turahan, commander of the raiders, 271, 272
- Turahanoghlu Ömer, 27, 28
- Turcomans, 34, 36, 37, 125, 129, 177, 204, 235, 361
- Turgud Reis, corsair, 48
- Turhan Sultan, mother of Mehmed IV, 73, 79, 80, 101, 153
- Turkish language, 2, 3, 5, 7, 113, 137, 157, 158, 169, 182
- Turkish Empire, 2, 3

- Turks, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 18, 35, 48, 111, 112, 120, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 132, 149, 150, 154, 158, 164, 174, 196, 212, 262, 264, 270, 275, 277, 285, 286, 288, 289, 294, 321
- Tursun Bey, Ottoman chronicler, 106, 107, 108, 133, 287, 328
- Tvrtko, King of Bosnia, 12
- Tzympe, 164
- Ulama Tekelu, Ottoman rebel, serving the Safavids, 44
- ulema, 68, 96, 98, 99, 101, 102, 104, 110, 206, 366
- Ulubat, 8
- Ulubat, lake, 87
- ulufeji*, *see* Six Divisions
- Uluġ Ali Pasha, 55, 298, 307, 315  
career of, 307
- Uluġ Hasan Pasha, 307
- Umar, second caliph, 365, 366
- Urban, cannon-maker, 279, 282
- Urfa, 40, 63
- Uruj, brother of Hayreddin Barbarossa, 41
- Üsküdar, 64, 65, 70, 94, 127
- Uthman, third Caliph, 114, 365, 366
- Uzbeks, 56, 58, 62
- Uzun Hasan, Akkoyunlu Sultan, 29, 30, 31, 234, 267, 280, 285
- Vác, 46, 60, 62
- Valona, *see* Vlorë
- Valpo, 46
- Van, 44, 47, 63, 70, 166, 176, 283, 314  
administration of, 176
- Varad, 46, 60
- Vardar river, 174
- Varna, 24, 255, 267, 278, 279, 284  
battle of, 24, 267, 278, 279, 284
- Varsak, Turcoman tribe, 36
- Varvar Ali Pasha, 73
- vassals, 6, 11, 12, 13, 15, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 31, 44, 54, 81, 82, 117, 167, 168, 265, 266, 309, 326
- Vefaiyye, dervish order, 113
- Venetians, 11, 18, 21, 23, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 36, 41, 45, 72, 73, 78, 138, 161, 173, 182, 245, 273, 279, 285, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 305, 312, 315, 318, 320, 323
- Venice, 5, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21, 23, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 45, 55, 72, 74, 88, 174, 253, 295, 297, 299, 323, 361
- Verroia, 11
- Veszprem, 48, 58, 60
- Vidin, 14, 117, 174, 175, 178, 227, 271
- Vienna, 44, 59, 62, 74, 108, 282  
siege of (1529), 44
- vilayet*, 246
- Visegrad, 46
- viziers, 3, 11, 12, 19, 26, 32, 48, 52, 60, 65, 42, 43, 48, 60, 96, 139, 148, 149, 150, 153, 155, 170, 200, 367  
background of, 3, 148–52  
career patterns, 151, 2, 153–4  
numbers of, 145–6  
*see also* grand viziers
- Vlachs, 2, 18, 158, 235
- Vlad the Impaler, voyvoda of Wallachia, 28
- Vladislav III, king of Hungary and Poland, 22, 23, 24
- Vlkashin, Macedonian lord, 174
- Vlorë, 20, 304, 305
- Volga, river, 54
- Volos, 319
- volunteers, military, 272, 274
- volunteers, naval, 314, 316, 317
- Vostan, 176
- Vrbas river, 28, 279
- Vulçitrn, 272

- wagenburg, 277, 278, 284, 331  
 Ottoman adoption of, 284–5  
 use by Hungarians, 277–8
- Wallachia, 1, 14, 17, 18, 20, 28, 34, 59,  
 61, 81, 168, 273, 304, 367
- warden of the arsenal, 310, 311, 322
- warrior sultans, 107–8
- weapons, 184, 266, 271, 275, 275–6,  
 279, 281, 285, 287, 292, 300,  
 315, 317, 331  
*see also* artillery; arquebus; bows;  
 cannon; crossbow
- wine, 17, 208, 210, 241, 253
- Yahya, chief mufti, *see*  
 Zekeriyazade Yahya
- Yakub, lord of Germiyan, 81
- Yakub, son of Murad I, 85, 96
- Yakub, tax-farmer, 255, 256
- Yakub, Akkoyunlu ruler, 361
- Yalakabad, 192
- Yarhisar, 77
- Yavash Bey, cavalryman, 188
- yayas, *see* footmen
- Yazijioghlu Ali, 111
- Yemen, 1, 50, 54, 170, 309
- Yemishchi Hasan Pasha, 60, 61, 63,  
 153, 292
- Yeniköy, 66, 68
- Yenişehir, 87, 90
- Yiannitsa, 174
- yoke, *see* *chift*
- Yörgüch Pasha, governor in  
 Amasya, 150
- yürüks, 275
- Yusuf, officer for levy of  
 prisoners-of-war, 120, 121
- Yusuf, Prince, son of Mehmed I, 77
- Yusuf ibn Sayf, 64
- Yusuf Kirmasti, judge of  
 Istanbul, 232
- Yusuf of Stanimaka, janissary, 185
- Yusuf Pasha, admiral, 71, 72
- Yusuf Pasha, jelali rebel, 65
- Zadar, 73
- Zaganoz Bey, governor of  
 Kanina, 217
- Zakynthos, 36
- Zante, 32
- Zaydi Imams of Yemen, 54, 363
- zeamets, 181, 184, 189, 192, 194, 196,  
 200, 201, 306, 365, 366, 367
- Zeila', 50
- Zekeriyya Efendi, chief mufti,  
 222, 224
- Zekeriyazade Yahya,  
 chief mufti, 224
- Zenevis, Albanian clan, 20, 167, 325
- Zeta, 12, 13
- zeugarion, 182
- Zhabljak, 32
- Zlatitsa, 314
- Zlatitsa Pass, battle of, 23, 278
- Zsitvatorok, treaty of, 62, 68, 71, 114
- Zulfikar, jelali rebel, 65
- Zvečaj, 29
- Zvornik, 22, 29