

AN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY  
OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE



AN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY  
of the  
OTTOMAN EMPIRE  
from earliest times to the end of the sixteenth century

*with detailed maps  
to illustrate the expansion of the Sultanate*

DONALD EDGAR PITCHER



Leiden  
E. J. BRILL  
1972

*Copyright 1968 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands.  
All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or  
translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm or any  
other means without written permission from the publisher.*

*Production : THE SHIELD PRESS  
Cartography : K. JORDAN  
Printed in Great Britain by Cox & Wyman Ltd.,  
London, Fakenham and Reading*

## Preface

THE narrative part of this work is an account of the rise of the Ottoman Empire viewed from the standpoint of historical geography. It contains few new ideas or theories, but is content to deal principally with facts, gleaned from many sources and arranged to give a reasonably coherent picture of the progress of Osmanlı expansion. The emphasis throughout is on political geography, simply because an equal treatment of ethnography, religion, commerce, and economic geography would have either trebled the size of the book or resulted in a series of brief sketches.

The maps, unlike the text, are original, and with the exception of two, whose indebtedness is noted in the commentary, are not copied from any existing material but freshly constructed from the available evidence. Historians of the Ottomans have so far shown little interest in the usefulness of maps, and the present study has been undertaken largely to fill this gap, and to correct some errors which are frequently found in historical atlases.

The text includes no footnotes. Instead of detailed bibliographical notes I have inserted a long preliminary chapter giving all the works consulted for each section, with critical notes wherever necessary; while in the body of the work precise references to books used are confined to instances of controversial theories or doubtful conclusions.

The spelling of names has presented the usual problem. The general principle adopted here has been to give on at least one occasion both the Turkish and the non-Turkish names for places included within the empire at its widest extent.

In conclusion, I must acknowledge my great debt to Mr. Harold Bowen, not only for invaluable criticism and advice, but for the untiring patience with which he translated important passages from Turkish sources which I should otherwise have been unable to use.

1950

Donald Edgar Pitcher

## Acknowledgements

I AM glad to have been given the opportunity to thank the many people who have made the publication of my late husband's thesis possible.

To Mr Wieder of the House of Brill for the high quality of publication; and to Dr. van Donzel of Leiden for seeing the work through the press.

To Mr Jordan and Mr Simmons for the sympathetic interest which they have shown in something that was more than a simple business transaction and to the late Mr Bowen for his unfailing generosity in time and scholarship whilst the thesis was being written.

Lastly to Professor Lewis who has at all times been available for consultation and encouragement.

To these people, my thanks.

Erica Pitcher

1967

## Contents

Preface	v
Contents	vii
List of Maps	ix
Introduction. The Sources	I
A. Works of History and Reference	1
B. Maps and Atlases	16
Chapter One. The Historical Background	21
I. The Turks in World History	22
II. The Selcuk Kingdom of Rum	24
III. The Successor-States	28
Chapter Two. The Foundation of the Ottoman Power	35
I. The Principality of Ertuğrul and its early expansion	35
II. The Later Conquests of Osman (1300-26)	37
III. The Reign of Orhan (1326-62)	38
Chapter Three. The Conquests of Murad I and Bayezid I (1362-1402)	41
I. Murad's European Campaigns	42
II. Bayezid's European Campaigns	46
III. The Conquest of Asia Minor: (a) under Murad	51
IV. The Conquest of Asia Minor: (b) under Bayezid	53
V. International Relations	56
Chapter Four. The Recovery after Ankara (1402-51)	57
I. Tīmūr in Asia Minor (1402-3)	57
II. The Civil War (1403-13)	58
III. The Restoration in Asia Minor (1403-51)	59
IV. The Restoration in Europe (1402-51)	63

Chapter Five. The Second Period of Expansion (1451-1503)	75
I. The Reigns of Mehmed II and Bayezid II	75
II. The Asiatic Front	77
III. The European Front	83
IV. The Control of the Black Sea Countries	93
V. International Relations of Turkey in the 15th Century	98
Chapter Six. From Sultanate to Empire (1503-20)	100
I. Selim I and the New Imperialism	100
II. The Struggle with Ismā'il Shh Safavī	100
III. The Conquest of Syria and Egypt	103
IV. The Beginning of Ottoman Power in Arabia	106
V. The First Acquisitions in North West Africa	107
VI. The European Front	108
Chapter Seven. The Climax and Breakdown of the Imperial Achievement (1520-1606)	110
I. Süleyman I and his Successors	110
II. The Resumption and Exhaustion of the 'Gazi' Mission	114
III. The Zenith and Decay of Ottoman Sea-power	116
IV. The Establishment of a Durable Front on the East	119
V. Advance and Retreat on the Desert Fringe	120
VI. Failure on the Northern Steppes	121
Chapter Eight. The Political Geography of the Imperial Administration	124
I. Direct Government	124
II. Vassal States	129
III. The Extent of the Empire	134
Chapter Nine. The Ottoman Provinces in the 16th Century	136
Map 24. The Political Divisions of the Ottoman Empire in 1609	136
Map 25. Anadolu	136
Maps 26 and 27. Rumeli	137
Map 28. Dalmatia and Bosnia	138
Map 29. The Danube Lands	138
Map 30. The Black Sea and the Northern Steppes	139
Map 31. Caucasia	139
Map 32. Syria, Mesopotamia and Kurdistan	141
Map 33. The Lebanon	141
Maps 34 and 35. Egypt and Arabia and the Nile Delta	142
Map 36. The Barbary Coast	143
Index of Place Names	145

## List of Maps

- 1-4. The Turks in World History
  1. The Conquest of the Eurasian Steppes, 540-946
  2. Turkish Expansion from 950 to the Mongol Conquest, 1215
  3. The Turks in the 14th and 15th centuries
  4. The Age of Ottoman Imperialism, 1512-1683
5. The Turks in History and at the Present Day
6. The Selcuks of Rum
7. The Turkish Emirates, *c.* 1300-20
8. Asia Minor and the Aegean Sea, *c.* 1360
9. The Emirate of Osman and Orhan, 1300-62
10. The Conquests of Murad I and Bayezid I, 1362-1402
11. The Ottoman Turks and International Relations, 1300-1402
12. The Civil War, 1402-13
13. The Recovery of the Empire, 1413-51
14. Greece and the Aegean Sea
15. Albania
16. The Conquests of Mehmed II and Bayezid II, 1451-1503
17. The Byzantine Empire and the Empire of Mehmed II
18. The Raids on the North-west Frontier, 1451-1503
19. The Ottomans and International Relations, 1402-1503
20. The Conquests of Selim I
21. The Empire in the reign of Süleyman I, 1520-66
22. The Campaigns of Süleyman I
23. The Empire from 1566 to 1612
24. The Political Divisions of the Empire in 1609  
Chart of the Area of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1940
25. Anadolu
26. Rumeli
27. Rumeli and Bosna according to Kâtib-Çelebi, *c.* 1650
28. Dalmatia and Bosnia
29. The Danube Lands

30. The Black Sea and the Northern Steppes
31. Caucasia
32. Syria, Mesopotamia and Kurdistan
33. The Lebanon
34. Egypt and Arabia
35. The Nile Delta
36. The Barbary Coast

## INTRODUCTION

### The Sources

#### A. WORKS OF HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION

THE works consulted are grouped into sections corresponding to the arrangement of the text of this book; within each section the sources which have proved of most value are usually given first, with comments where necessary.

##### *Abbreviations used:*

- Byz.* = Byzantion.  
*CSHB* = Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae.  
*JA* = Journal Asiatique.  
*JRAS* = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
*ZDMG* = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

#### I. GENERAL WORKS ON OTTOMAN HISTORY

1. Hammer-Purgstall, J. von: *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (10 vols., Pest, 1827-35: French translation by J. J. Hellert, 18 vols., Paris, 1835-43).  
This classic work remains the basis of all modern histories of Turkey. It is arranged with little eye for anything except chronology, its earlier chapters are now superseded by more reliable material, the dates have to be carefully checked, and the author rarely steps back to survey his landscape, having an encyclopaedic passion for the trees rather than the wood. But this very weakness has been of great assistance to the present study, as von Hammer has ransacked his authorities for information and has then set down all the details he can find. The voluminous notes and appendices have been of especial value, but the maps in the original edition are poor and inaccurate (for the Atlas accompanying the French translation see No. 310 below).
2. Zinkeisen, J. W.: *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa* (7 vols., Gotha, 1840-54).  
Generally regarded by scholars as of more value than von Hammer as far as Ottoman relations with Europe are concerned, and certainly diplomatic history is treated with great care; but Zinkeisen relies too little on oriental sources, mainly using Sa'düddin (*Cronica dell' origine e progressi di casa ottomana*, tr. Bratutti, 1649-52) and other translations, while he is not interested at all in the details of political geography, and has the annoying habit of writing 'u.s.w.' instead of completing a list of towns.
3. Iorga, N.: *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (5 vols., Gotha, 1908-13).  
The most skilfully arranged of the three great histories, and of particular value for the 15th century, as are many other works of this writer. His natural bias in favour of his native Rumania is of great

assistance in dealing with historical geography, as he gives much detail on the Danube and Black Sea regions not to be found elsewhere.

4. Vaughan, Dorothy: *Europe and the Turk*, 1350-1700 (Liverpool, 1954).  
The only one-volume history which deals with the whole field of Ottoman relations with the West during this period. An excellent and much-needed survey, which succeeds just where von Hammer fails.
5. Danişmend, I. H.: *Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, Vols. 1-3 (Istanbul, 1947-50).  
Should be of more value than it is. The author gives a host of facts, but rarely quotes sources, and omits many important events. Its chief use is that it provides excellent indices of personal and geographical names; it also lists all the different dates given in the original sources for the earlier events, though no reasons are given for the final judgement in favour of one particular year.
6. Uzunçarşılı, I. H.: *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vols. 1-3 (Ankara, 1947- ).  
The histories written by Turkish authors in the first twenty years after the foundation of the Republic were marred by Turko-centric bias, as was natural. This work is more carefully written, gives many useful details about the earlier period, and adds some helpful sketch-maps.
7. Leunclavius, J.: 'Annales sultanorum othmanidorum' and 'Pandectes historiae turcicae' (Frankfort, 1596; reprinted in Vol. 159 of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Paris, 1866).  
The 'Annals' are a translation and extension of the 'Künh-ül-Ahbar' of Âli-Çelebi, and the 'Pandects' are copious notes on the same.
8. Knolles, R.: *The General Historie of the Turkes* (London, 1603; 5th edition, with continuation to 1638, London, 1638).
9. Cantemir, Demetrius: *History of the Ottoman Empire* (2 vols., English tr. by N. Tindal, London, 1734-5).
10. de Testa, I.: *Recueil des traités de la porte Ottomane*, Vol. I (Paris, 1864).
11. Djuvara, T. J.: *Cent projets de partage de la Turquie, 1281-1913* (Paris, 1913).
12. Marriott, J.: *The Eastern Question* (Oxford, 1917).
13. Hasluck, F. W.: *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford, 1929).
14. Alderson, A. O.: *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (Oxford, 1956).

## II. GENERAL HISTORIES AND REFERENCE BOOKS

15. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st edition, 4 vols. and supplement (Leyden, 1913-38).
- 15a. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition in progress (1950- ).
- 15b. *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Turkish edition in progress (Istanbul, 1940- ).  
This important work has contributed much to the present study, and a citation of the articles and authors would take up too much space, though mention must be made of the contributors most frequently used, e.g. J. H. Kramers (Ottoman history generally), J. H. Mordtmann and F. Taeschner (Asia Minor), F. Babinger (the Balkans), W. Barthold and V. Minorsky (the Eastern frontier), G. Wiet (Egypt), and A. Brunschvig (North West Africa). Many of the articles contain vital information from the standpoint of political geography, but some are disappointing (for example, those on the emirates of Asia Minor contain few details, though in this respect the second edition is a great improvement). The Turkish version gives much additional material on the Ottoman area, but has not yet proceeded beyond the letter 'M' [1958].
16. *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, Vol. IV: 'The Eastern Roman Empire' (Cambridge, 1923).  
The section on the 14th and 15th centuries is useful, though the chapter on the rise of the Ottomans contains strange errors (e.g. the author, Sir Edwin Pears, perpetuates the old legend making Osman

a protagonist at the siege of Rhodes, a confusion resulting from the presence on that occasion of a Türkmen leader of the same name).

17. *Cambridge Modern History*, Vols. I-III (Cambridge, 1900-5). (The new edition of Vol. I appeared too late for consultation).
18. Grousset, R.: *L'Empire du Levant* (Paris, 1946).  
This author's general works are often of more value than his detailed studies, and his particular interest in political geography has been of much use in this work. *L'Empire du Levant* is a well-documented survey of the conflict between East and West from Hellenic times to the end of the 16th century; and the sections on the Selcuks, the Anatolian emirates, and the relations of the Ottomans with the Frankish states in the Levant include important geographical notices. A number of helpful sketch-maps are given.
19. Brockelmann, C.: *A History of the Islamic Peoples* (Eng. tr., London, 1949).
20. Toynbee, A. J.: *A Study of History*, 10 vols. (Oxford, 1934-54).  
In the course of developing his main thesis, the author has much to say about the Ottoman Turks, and his comments are often illuminating and challenging. Apart from these, his many digressions and annexes sometimes include detailed analyses of particular aspects of Ottoman history, and these are often of great value from the standpoint of political geography.
21. Freeman, E. A.: *Historical Geography of Europe* (London, 1881).
22. Heyd, W.: *Geschichte des Levanthandels im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1879; Fr. tr., Leipzig, 1885-6).
23. Pirenne, J.: *Les grands courants de l'Histoire Universelle*, Vol. 2 (Neuchâtel, 1947).
24. Stadtmüller, G.: *Geschichte Sudosteuropas* (Munich, 1950).
25. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edition, Cambridge, 1910).
26. *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* (London, 1950).

### III. THE TURKS IN WORLD HISTORY (Chapter One, Part I)

27. Grousset, R.: *L'Empire des Steppes* (Paris, 1939).  
Once again a general work by this author contains one of the best surveys of a large topic. Good bibliographies in footnotes, a great deal of geographical information, and useful maps.
28. Barthold, W.: *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale* (French translation, Paris, 1945).  
The best short study of this subject, but few details.
29. Deguignes, H.: *Histoire générale des Huns, des Turcs, et des Mongols* (5 vols., Paris, 1758).
30. Howorth, H. H.: *History of the Mongols* (4 vols., 1876-1927).
31. Vambéry, H.: *Das Türkenvolk* (Leipzig, 1885).
32. Chavannes, E.: *Documents sur les Tou-Kieu occidentaux* (St. Petersburg, 1903).
33. *Manual on Turanians and Pan-Turanianism* (Admiralty Handbook, London, no date, but c. 1917).
34. Czaplicka, A.: *The Turks in Central Asia in History and at the Present Day* (Oxford, 1918).
35. Parker, E. A.: *A Thousand Years of the Tatars* (2nd ed., London, 1924).
36. Barthold, W.: *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (Eng. tr., London, 1928).
37. Lot, F.: *Les Invasions barbares*, Vol. II (Paris, 1937).
38. McGovern, W. M.: *The Early Empires of Central Asia* (N. Carolina, 1939).

## IV. THE SELCUKS OF RUM

## (Chapter One, Part II)

Most of the information relating to the general history of the Selcuks of Rum has been obtained from works already mentioned, particularly Nos. 15, 18 and 27 above. Additional material has been acquired from :

39. Cahen, C.: 'La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure' (*Byz.* 18, 1948).
40. Wittek, P.: 'Les traits essentiels de la période seldjoudide en Asie Mineure' (No. 1 of 'Deux chapitres de l'histoire de Roum', in *Byz.* 11, 1936).

Nos. 39 and 40 are two most valuable studies of the general characteristics of the Selcuk period.

41. Chalandon, F.: *Les Comnènes* (2 vols., Paris, 1900-13).
42. Gardner, A.: *The Lascarids of Nicaea* (Cambridge, 1912).
43. Laurent, J.: *Byzance et les Turcs seldjoudides des origines à 1081* (Paris-Nancy, 1914).
44. Grousset, R.: *Histoire des Croisades* (3 vols., Paris, 1934).
45. Runciman, S.: *History of the Crusades* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1951-53).
46. Baldwin, Marshall (ed.): *The Crusades*, Vol. I (Philadelphia, 1955).

Works on the historical geography of Asia Minor during this period are comparatively few in number, but of great importance :

47. Ramsay, W. M.: *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London, 1890).  
A mine of information, although now corrected on many points.
48. Le Strange, G.: *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905).  
This otherwise excellent work is disappointing as regards Asia Minor; the author entirely neglects the geography of al-'Umarī (No. 61 below).
49. Honigmann, E.: *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071* (Brussels, 1935).  
Includes the identification of many medieval place-names in eastern Anatolia.
50. Wittek, P.: 'Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie' (*Byz.* 10, 1935).  
The only complete survey of the political frontiers of the Selcuk kingdom c. 1200. Corrects Ramsay on important details, and gives a useful map.
51. Cahen, C.: *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades* (Paris, 1940).

## V. THE SUCCESSOR-STATES

## (Chapter One, Section III)

52. Lane-Poole, S.: 'The Successors of the Saljuks in Asia Minor' (*JRAS*, 1882).
53. Gibbons, H. A.: *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford, 1916).  
Lane-Poole's brief monograph was the first attempt to survey the history of the Anatolian emirates with the help of the surviving coinage. Gibbons enlarges on this in the appendix to his work, which contains an annotated list of the emirates to prove his arguments (a) that there were many more than the traditional ten, and (b) that the Ottomans were by no means of outstanding importance till the reign of Murad I. Unfortunately the list abounds in errors; for example he places Nazilli east of Denizli, and Tavas on the coast, he dates Sasan too late, ascribes a late formation to Mentеше, and awards independence to any town mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūta or al-'Umarī as ruled by a brother or son of a neighbouring emir, though this surely implies that the lord in question was governing

on behalf of his relative. Yet Gibbons's work is of importance as the first serious attempt to bring order out of chaos. It is accompanied by useful sketch-maps.

54. Uzunçarşılı, I. H.: *Anadolu Beylikleri* (Ankara, 1937).  
The only book which attempts to cover the history of all the non-Ottoman emirates, including the Karakoyunlu, the Akkoyunlu, and the Dulkadir Türkmens, but it is disappointingly inadequate from the geographical standpoint.
55. Wittek P.: *Das Fürstentum Mentese* (Istanbul, 1934).  
An exhaustive monograph on Mentese which includes much information on neighbouring states as well, and is the most valuable of all the works on this period.
56. Mordtmann, J. H.: *Ueber das türkische Fürstengeschlecht der Karasi in Mysien* (Berlin, 1911).
57. Zambaur, E. de: *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam* (2 vols. Hanover, 1927).  
Important as containing notices of the principal towns in which traces of the rule of the various dynasties have been found. It includes an inaccurate map of Asia Minor in the 14th century.
58. Lane-Poole, S.: *The Mohammedan Dynasties* (London, 1894).  
The precursor of Zambaur, who corrects him on many details.
59. Mustawfī: *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* (ed. and tr. le Strange, London, 1919).  
This 14th-century geography contains useful details on eastern Anatolia.
60. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: *Tuhfat al-Nuzzār* (Fr. tr. Défreméry and Sanguinetti, 4 vols., Paris 1853-9: English translation selected by H. A. R. Gibb in *Broadway Travellers*, London, 1929).  
An admirable and unbiased account of Asia Minor is given by the famous traveller who went right through the peninsula in 1333.
61. Shihāb-ad-Dīn al-'Umari: *Masālik al-Absār fi Mamālik al-Amṣār* (the part on Asia Minor translated into French by E. M. Quatremère in *Notices et extraits des MSS*, Vol. 13, Paris, 1838).  
Written before 1348 from accounts given to the author by an Anatolian sheykh and a Genoese ex-slave. It combines with No. 60 to give us a useful picture of the political geography of the peninsula in the first half of the century.
62. Moravcsik: *Byzantinoturcica I: Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvolker* (Budapest, 1942).  
A useful handbook of the Greek sources which include the following:
63. Pachymeres: 'Historia 1255-1308' (*CSHB*, 1835).
64. Gregoras, Nicephorus: 'Historia Romana, 1203-1359' (*CSHB*, 1829-55).
65. Dukas: 'Historia Byzantina, 1341-1462' (*CSHB*, 1834).
66. Chalcocondyles, Laonicus: 'Historia, 1298-1463' (*CSHB*, 1843).
67. Phrantzes, Georgius: 'Chronicon, 1258-1476' (*CSHB*, 1838).
68. Muntaner, Ramon: *Cronica* (English translation Hakluyt Society, 1920-1).  
A record of the Catalan expedition by one of its members.

## VI. THE OTTOMANS IN THE 14TH CENTURY (Chapters Two and Three)

The only history which deals entirely with this period is Gibbons's 'Foundation', cited already (No. 53). His main argument—that the early sultans blended Greek with Turk to continue with renewed vigour the role of the Byzantine Empire—has been destroyed by more recent historians; but he does make a skilful attempt to sift the detailed evidence,

and he presents the Turkish advance coherently, though in common with von Hammer and Zinkeisen he allows too much weight to the dates given by later Turkish sources (Aşık-Paşa-Zade and Oruç were unknown to him).

(a) *The Foundations of Ottoman Power*

69. Blake, R. P., and Langer, W. L.: 'The Rise of the Ottoman Turks and its Historical Background' (*American Historical Review*, 37, 1932).
70. Köprülü, M. F.: *Les origines de l'empire ottomane* (Paris, 1935).  
An important study which emphasizes the part played by the 'ahi' associations in 14th-century Anatolia.
71. Wittek, P.: *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1938).  
Both Nos. 70 and 71 attack the theories of Gibbons, but Wittek replaces them by the 'gazi' explanation of Ottoman origins.
72. Taeschner, F.: 'Anatolische Forschungen' (*ZDMG* 82, 1928).  
Includes valuable notes on the geography of Osman's emirate, and a useful map of the district concerned.
73. Wittek, P.: *Zur Geschichte Angoras im Mittelalter* (Festschrift Jacob, Leipzig, 1932).

(b) *The Beginning of Ottoman Conquest in Europe*

74. Iorga, N.: 'Latins et Grecs d'Orient et l'établissement des Turcs en Europe' (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XV, 1906).
75. Babinger, F.: 'Byzantinischer-osmanen Grenzstudien' (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXX, 1929).
76. Babinger, F.: 'Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien, 14-15 Jahrhundert' (*Südosteuropäische Arbeiten*, XXXIV, 1944).  
This is a most important and detailed study of the Turkish conquest of Thrace, sifting all the available evidence.
77. Charanis, P.: 'An Important Short Chronicle of the 14th century' (*Byz.* 13, 1938).
78. Charanis, P.: 'The Strife among the Palaeologi and the Ottoman Turks' (*Byz.* 16, 1942-3)

(c) *Relations of the Ottomans with the Balkan States*

79. Manfroni, G.: *Le relazioni fra Genova, l'Impero bizantino e i Turchi* (Genoa, 1898).
80. Hopf, K.: *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1867-8).
81. Delaville le Roulx: *La France en Orient au XIVe siècle* (2 vols, Paris, 1886).
82. Miller, W.: *Latins in the Levant* (London, 1908).
83. Miller, W.: *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921).  
These last two volumes contain a mass of valuable information not easy of access elsewhere, concerning the entire history of Frankish Greece and the Venetian colonies down to the reign of Süleyman I; they have been used extensively in the present work. No. 82 contains several important maps.
84. Tafrahi: *Thessalonique au XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1913).
85. Silberschmitt: *Das orientalische Problem zur Zeit der Entstehung des türkischen Reiches nach venezianischen Quellen* (Leipzig, 1923).
86. Zakythinos: *Le despotat grec de Morée* (Paris, 1932).  
Corrects Miller on several small points of dating.
87. Borchgrave, E. de: *Croquis d'Orient* (Brussels, 1908).
88. Radojačić: 'La chronologie de la bataille de Rovine' (*Revue historique du sud-est européen*, V, 1928).

89. Loenertz: 'Pour l'histoire du Péloponnèse au XIVe siècle' (*Études byzantines*, I, 1943).  
 90. Atiya, A. S.: *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London, 1934).  
 91. Atiya, A. S.: *The Crusade in the later Middle Ages* (London, 1939).

(d) *General Works on the 14th century*

92. Finlay, G.: *History of the Byzantine and Greek Empires*, Vol. 2 (London, 1854).  
 93. Vassiliev, A.: *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Univ. of Wisconsin, 1928).  
 94. Ostrogorsky: *History of the Byzantine State* (English translation, Oxford, 1956).  
 95. Jireček, C. J.: *Geschichte der Bulgaren* (Prague, 1876).  
 96. Jireček, C. J.: *Geschichte der Serben* (2 vols., Gotha, 1911-18).  
 97. Guérin Songeon, R. P.: *Histoire de la Bulgarie* (Paris, 1913).  
 98. Temperley, H. W. V.: *History of Serbia* (London, 1917).

(e) *Original Sources*

99. Cantacuzenos, John: 'Historia, 1314-54' (*CSHB*, 1828-32).  
 100. Neşri: 'Cihannüma (partly translated by Th. Nöldeke in *ZDMG* 13, 1859, and 15, 1861: the first number includes Ottoman beginnings to the death of Osman, and the second deals with the reign of Bayezid I).  
 101. Schiltberger, H.: *The Bondage and Travels* (Hakluyt Society, 1874).  
 102. Boucicaut: 'Livre des faits du bon messire' (*Froissart's Chronicles*, Vol. XVI, edit. de Lettenhove, Brussels, 1870-7).

VII. THE 15TH CENTURY  
 (Chapters Four and Five)

The history of the civil war has received little attention, and most of the facts relative to the period 1402-21 have been obtained from more general works already cited. To these we must add:

103. Iorga, N.: 'Byzance et l'anarchie turque' (*Histoire de la vie byzantine*, III, 1934).  
 104. Wittek, P.: 'De la défaite d'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople' (*Revue des études islamiques*, 1938).

The three most valuable works for the period 1421-1503 are:

105. Babinger, F.: *Mehmed der Eroberer* (Fr. tr., Paris, 1954).  
 This is a detailed study of Mehmed II, and contains a long preliminary chapter on the reign of Murad II. Unfortunately it is as badly arranged as von Hammer, and the author indulges in much repetition, while the promised second volume of full notes and references, which will presumably include valuable geographical information, has yet to appear. Only a few sketch-maps are given, all of which are borrowed from other works.  
 106. Iorga, N.: 'Notes et Extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XVe siècle' (1st part in Vols. IV-VIII of *Revue de l'orient latin*; others subsequently, 1896-1915).  
 This consists of documents and extracts which throw much light on relations with the European powers, and it is particularly useful for the geography of the Adriatic front.  
 107. Fisher, S. N.: *Foreign Relations of Turkey, 1481-1512* (Illinois, 1948).  
 The only book which deals fully with the reign of Bayezid II.

To the contemporary writers already given we must add:

108. Panaretos, Mikhail: *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt* (tr. and ed. J. P. Fallmerayer, Munich, 1844).
109. Tafur, Pedro: *Travels* (English edition *Broadway Travellers*, London, 1926).
110. Brocquière, Bertrand de: *Voyage d'Outremer* (translation T. Johnes, London, 1807).
111. Wavrin, Jean de: *La campagne des croisés sur le Danube* (ed. Iorga, Paris, 1927).
112. Kritobulos: *Life of Mehmed II* (new ed., Princeton, 1954).
113. Barbaro, Contarini, Angiolello, etc: *Travels in Persia*, etc. (Hakluyt Society, 1873).

Other works consulted on specific points are:

114. Halecki, O.: *Le croisade de Varna* (New York, 1943).
115. Rossetti: 'Stephen the Great and the Turkish Invasion' (*Slavonic Review*, June, 1927).
116. Henry, P.: *Le Règne d'Etienne le Grand* (Mélanges Diehl, Vol. II).
117. Gegaj: *L'Albanie et l'invasion turque du XVe siècle* (Louvain, 1937).  
This is one of the few works dealing in detail with the Albanian insurrection, but it is strongly biased in favour of the heroes of the revolt, and is poor for the reign of Mehmed II. Many geographical names are included, but there is little attempt to verify their modern equivalents, and the sketch-map is unhelpful.
118. *Enciclopedia Italiana* (Milano, 1929-38).  
Articles on Albania, Dalmatia and Venice are all useful; and good reproductions of early maps are included.
119. Hecquard, H.: *Histoire et description de la haute Albanie* (Paris, 1859).
120. Iorga, N.: *Brève histoire de l'Albanie et du peuple albanais* (Bukarest, 1919).
121. Cogo, G.: 'La Guerra di Venezia contra i Turchi, 1499-1501' (*Nuovo Archiv. Veneto*, XVIII, 1899).
122. Kláić, V.: *Geschichte Bosniens* (Leipzig, 1885).
123. Coquelle, P.: *Histoire du Montenegro et de la Bosnie* (Paris, 1895).
124. Gopcević, S.: *Geschichte von Montenegro und Albanien* (Gotha, 1914).
125. Villari, L.: *The Republic of Ragusa* (London, 1904).
126. Horváth, M.: *Geschichte der Ungarn*, Vol. I (Pest, 1851).
127. Szalay, L.: *Geschichte Ungarns*, Vol. I (Pest, 1866).
128. Miller, W.: *Trebizond, the last Greek Empire* (London, 1926).
129. Thuasne: *Djem-sultan* (Paris, 1892).

The next four volumes give useful information about the eastern frontier during the wars with the Akkoyunlu (see also No. 220 below):

130. Bouvat, L.: *L'Empire Mongol, II<sup>me</sup> phase* (Paris, 1927).
131. Browne, E. G.: *A History of Persian Literature under the Tatar Dominion* (Cambridge, 1920).
132. Gabriel, A.: *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie* (Paris, 1934).
133. Gabriel, A.: *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale* (Paris, 1940).

#### VIII. THE 16TH CENTURY (Chapters Six and Seven)

Most of the detailed literature concerns one or other of the provinces, and will be found listed in the subsequent sections. The following books refer to the empire as a whole, or to specific points covered in Chapters Six and Seven.

(a) *Original Sources*

134. Ibn Iyās : 'An account of the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt' (translated from Vol. III of the *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Tarikh al-Duhūr* by O. Salmon, London, 1921).
135. Rüstem-Paşa : *Ottoman Chronicle* (translated into German by L. Forrer, Leipzig, 1923).
136. Busbecq, O. de : *Life and Letters* (translation Forster and Daniell, 2 vols., London, 1881).
137. Dernschwam, H. : *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Asien, 1553-5* (ed. Babinger, Munich and Leipzig, 1923).
138. Naima : *Annals of the Turkish Empire, 1591-1659* (in part translated by Fraser, London, 1832).
139. Glover, Sir T. : 'Journey of Edward Barton in 1596' (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Vol. VIII).
140. Rigault, A. : 'Le Voyage d'un ambassadeur de France en Turquie au XVIème siècle' (*Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, XV, 1901).

(b) *Secondary Sources*

141. Lybyer, A. H. : 'The Ottoman Turks and the Routes of Oriental Trade' (*English Historical Review*, 1915).
142. Merriman, R. B. : *Süleyman the Magnificent* (Harvard, 1944).
143. Jansky : 'Die Eroberung Syriens' (*Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*, II, 1926).
144. Arnold, Sir T. : *The Caliphate* (Oxford, 1924).
145. Tyler, Royall : *The Emperor Charles the Fifth* (London, 1956).

## IX. OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

## (Chapter Eight)

Research among the Imperial Ottoman Archives is still in its infancy, and although much has been done and recent publications have thrown considerable light on the state of the provinces in the 16th century, no complete survey of the empire has been attempted, as far as I am aware; indeed, it may not yet be possible. A good introduction to the subject will be found in :

146. Lewis, Bernard : 'Studies in the Ottoman Archives—I' (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XVI, 1954).

Until a systematic and detailed account of the empire appears, our primary source is still the great work of the 17th-century geographer Kâtib-Çelebi, better known in Europe as Hajji Khalfa :

147. Kâtib-Çelebi : *Cihan-nüma* (begun 1648, unfinished at his death in 1657).  
The work exists in two recensions: (a) the unfinished fragments in a series of MSS; and (b) the version printed in Istanbul in 1732, which does not include the Balkans, but completes the part on Asia Minor by using the description of Anatolia by Abu-Bakr al-Dimashqī (d. 1691). The available translations are :
- i. Latin translation by Norberg (Lund, 1818). Imperfect. Does not include Europe.
  - ii. Part on Asia Minor translated in French by Armain, and published by V. de St. Martin (Vol. III of *Histoire des découvertes géographiques*, see below, No. 167).
  - iii. Part on Kurdistan translated in French by Charmoy in *Fastes de la Nation Kurde* (see below, No. 221).
  - iv. *Rumeli und Bosna*, German translation by von Hammer (1812).

Résumés of the state of the empire are found in :

148. *Turcici Imperii Status* (Leyden, 1630).  
Includes two lists of the provinces, of which the second and more accurate is taken from the 'Pandects' of Leunclavius (see above, No. 7).
149. Hammer-Purgstall, J. von : *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung* (Vienna, 1815).
150. d'Ohsson, M. : *Tableau général de l'empire ottoman* (7 vols. Paris, 1788-1824).
151. Bélin, M. : 'Du régime des fiefs militaires dans l'Islamisme' (*Journal Asiatique*, 1870).
152. Tischendorf, Paul von : *Das Lehenswesen in den Moslemischen Staaten* (Leipzig, 1872).  
Nos. 151 and 152 contain a critical discussion of the analysis of the state of the empire made for Ahmed I by his grand-vizier Kuyucu-Murad Paşa. in 1609.

Further helpful particulars have been obtained from :

153. Mostras, K. G. : *Dictionnaire géographique de l'empire ottoman* (St. Petersburg, 1873).
154. Lybyer, A. H. : *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Süleyman the Magnificent* (Cambridge, 1913).
155. Barkan, Ö. L. : 'XV ve XVIncı asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları, I, Kanunlar' (Istanbul, 1943).
156. Akbal, Fazla : '1831 Tarihinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda idarî taksimat ve nüfus' (*Bellekten*, XV, 1951).  
Contains a sketch-map of the provincial boundaries before the reforms of Mahmud II.
157. Gibb, H. A. R., and Bowen, H. : *Islamic Society and the West* (Oxford, 1939 and 1957).

## X. THE PROVINCES IN THE 16TH CENTURY

### (Chapter Nine)

- (a) *Anadolu*. No works have yet appeared dealing specifically with 16th-century Anatolia, so that information has to be gleaned from the general historical works already quoted, together with the volumes on Anatolian geography listed below :
158. Taeschner, F. : *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1924).  
This valuable work is an exhaustive study of all the available sources for the routes across Asia Minor before the 19th century ; it includes two splendid and large-scale maps.
159. Taeschner, F. : 'Die geographische Literatur der Osmanen' (*ZDMG*, 77, 1923).
160. Hammer-Purgstall, J. von : 'Ueber die Geographie der asiatischen Türkei' (*Jahrbücher der Literatur*, Vols. 13 and 14, Vienna, 1821).  
Another important, though early, study, making critical use of the 'Cihan-nüma'.
161. Evliya-Çelebi : *Seyahatname* (1st. part only trans. into English by von Hammer, London, 1834).  
A complete and accurate translation of the whole massive work is sadly needed, as although Evliya often makes the most curious statements, he covered the whole area of the empire in such detail that his travels give us an almost exhaustive geographical account of Turkey as it existed in the middle of the 17th century.
162. Makarius : *Travels* (translation F. C. Belfour, London, 1829).
163. Kinneir, J. M. : *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia and Kurdistan in 1813 and 1814* (London, 1818).
164. Mordtmann, A. D. : *Anatolien : Skizzen und Reisebriefe aus Kleinasien, 1850-59* (Hanover, 1925).
165. Sarre, F. : *Reise in Kleinasien* (Berlin, 1896).
166. Tomaschek, W. : *Zur historische Topografie von Kleinasien* (Vienna, 1891).

167. Saint Martin, Vivien de: *Histoire des découvertes géographiques*, Vol. III (Paris, 1846).  
This volume deals with the various explorers and travellers who crossed Asia Minor from earliest times to the 19th century (see No. 147 above).
168. Texier, C.: *Asie Mineure* (3 vols., Paris, 1839-49).
169. Cuinet, V.: *La Turquie d'Asie* (5 vols., Paris, 1890).  
The most complete geography of Ottoman Asia, excluding Arabia, but his historical notes are singularly inaccurate.
170. Barthold, W.: *La découverte d'Asie* (French translation, Paris, 1947).
171. Alastos, Doros: *Cyprus in History* (London, 1955).

(b) *Rumeli*. We may conveniently divide the works on this important province under three headings:

(i) *History*

172. Iorga, N.: *Histoire des états balkaniques jusqu'en 1924* (1925)
173. Miller, W.: *The Balkans* (London, 1896).
174. Delaville le Roulx: *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes* (Paris, 1912).
175. Vojnović: *Histoire de Dalmatie* (1934).

(ii) *Geography and Travel*

176. Cvijić: *La Péninsule Balkanique* (Paris, 1918).
177. Ancel, J.: *Manuel géographique de politique européenne* (Paris, 1935).
178. Wanklyn, H. G.: *The Eastern Marchlands of Europe* (London, 1941).
179. Boué, A.: *La Turquie d'Europe* (4 vols., Paris, 1840).
180. Boué, A.: *Recueil d'itinéraires dans la Turquie d'Europe* (2 vols., Vienna, 1854).  
Nos. 179 and 180 give a detailed and complete picture of the state of the towns and road-system of European Turkey early in the 19th century.
181. Behrnauer, W. F.: *Suleiman's Tagebuch auf Wien* (Vienna, 1858).
182. Jireček, C. J.: *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Konstantinopel* (Prague, 1877).
183. Pertusier, C.: *La Bosnie considérée dans ses rapports avec l'empire ottoman* (Paris, 1822).
184. Jackson, Sir T. G.: *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria* (3 vols., Oxford 1887).
185. Brown, H. F.: *Dalmatia* (London, 1924).

(iii) *Political Geography*. Under this head are included works which give important details concerning the administrative divisions of Rumeli.

186. Gökbilgin, M. T.: 'Kanunî Sultan Süleyman devri başlarında Rumeli eyaleti, livalar, şehir ve kasabaları' (with French summary, in *Bulleten XX*, 1956).
187. Kabrda, J.: 'Les anciens régistres turcs des cadis de Sofia et de Vidin' (*Archiv Orientalni XIX*, 1951).
188. Inalcık, Halil: 'The Economic Situation of Turkey during the foundation and rise of the Ottoman Empire' (with English summary, *Bulleten XV*, 1951).
189. Inalcık, Halil: *Fatih Devri üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar* (Ankara, 1954).  
The last chapter of this study of particular facets of the reign of Mehmed II gives important details of the sancak lists of the late 15th century.
190. Inalcık, Halil: *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Sûret-i Dester-i Sancak-i Arvanid* (Ankara, 1954).  
A detailed treatment of the sancak of Arvanid in the year 1431, and more valuable for historical geography than the shorter notice by the same author 'Timariotes chrétiennes en Albanie au XVe siècle' (*Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, IV, 1951). Includes a large-scale and useful map.

(c) *Hungary*

191. Salamon, F.: *Ungarn im Zeitalter der Türkenherrschaft* (Leipzig, 1887).  
 192. Lefaiivre, A.: *Les Magyars pendant la domination ottomane* (2 vols., 1902).  
 193. Yolland, A.: *Hungary* (London, 1917).  
 194. Teleki: *The Evolution of Hungary* (New York, 1923).  
 195. Gyalokay, J.: 'La catastrophe de Mohacs' (*Revue des études hongroises*, V, 1927).  
 196. Seton-Watson, R.: *The Southern Slav Question* (London, 1911).  
 197. Müller, G.: *Die Türkenherrschaft in Siebenburgen* (Hermannstadt, 1923).

(d) *The Rumanian Principalities*

198. Xenopol, A. D.: *Histoire des Roumains* (2 vols., Paris, 1896).  
 199. Iorga, N.: *Histoire des Roumains de Transylvanie et de Hongrie* (2 vols., Bukarest, 1916).  
 200. Iorga, N.: *History of Roumania* (London, 1925).  
 201. Iorga, N.: *Histoire des Roumains* (4 vols., Bukarest, 1937).  
 202. Seton-Watson, R.: *A History of the Roumanians* (Cambridge, 1934).  
 203. Benda, C.: 'Les relations politiques entre la principauté transylvaine, la Moldavie et la Valachie' (*Revue d'histoire comparée*, New Series I, 1933).  
 204. Smith, John: 'Travels and Adventures', c. 1596 (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Vol. VIII).  
 205. Ancel, J.: *Les frontières roumaines* (Paris).  
 206. Babel, A.: *La Bessarabie* (Paris, 1926).

(e) *The Black Sea and the Steppe Frontier*. The most comprehensive study of the Khanate of the Crimea is contained in Volume II of Howorth's *History of the Mongols* (No. 30 above), which is one of the best parts of his work, giving voluminous details on the relations between the Khans, the Sultans and the Czars, and superseding von Hammer's slighter work on the same subject. The following contribute additional details, often correcting Howorth:

207. Spuler, B.: *Die goldene Horde* (Leipzig, 1943).  
 208. Spuler, B.: 'Die Grenze des Grossfürstentums Litauen im Südosten gegen Türken und Tataren' (*Jahrbücher für Gesch. Osteuropas*, VI, 1941).  
 209. Inalcık, Halil: 'The Origin of the Ottoman-Russian rivalry, and the Don-Volga canal' (*Annales de l'Université d'Ankara*, I, 1946-7).  
 210. Vernadsky, G.: *A History of Russia*, Vol. III: 'The Mongols and Russia' (Yale, 1953).  
 The most detailed and up-to-date work on the subject, which unfortunately only goes as far as 1451. The next volume is not yet published.  
 211. *The Cambridge History of Poland*, Vol. I (Cambridge, 1950).  
 212. Bain, R. Nisbet: *Slavonic Europe, 1447-1796* (Cambridge, 1908).  
 213. Nolde, B.: *La Formation de l'empire russe*, Vol. II (Paris, 1953).  
 214. Seeley: 'Russia and the Slave Trade' (*Slavonic Review*, Jan. 1945).

(f) *Caucasia*

215. Brosset, M.: *Histoire de la Géorgie*, Vol. II (St. Petersburg, 1856).  
 Contains all the Georgian chronicles, with notes and a mass of detail concerning the wars of the Turks on the Caucasus frontier.  
 216. Brosset, M.: 'Description de l'ancienne Géorgie turque' (*Journal Asiatique*, 1834).

217. Allen, W. E. D. : *History of the Georgian People* (London, 1932).  
Includes excellent maps and useful geographical notices.

218. Manvelichvili, A. : *Histoire de Géorgie* (Paris, 1951).

(g) *Mesopotamia and Kurdistan*

(i) *History*

219. Longrigg, S. : *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq* (Oxford, 1925).

The only work which deals with the history of Ottoman Mesopotamia from the 16th century to modern times. Of great importance.

220. Minorsky, V. : 'The Middle East in Western Politics in the 13th, 15th, and 17th centuries' (*Journal of the Royal Central Asiatic Society*, XXVII, 1940).

A useful comparison of the political situation at three different periods of history.

221. Şerefüddin of Bitlis : 'Şeref-name' (translation in French by Charmoy, in *Fastes de la Nation Kurde*, 4 vols., St. Petersburg, 1868).

A most important history and description of the Kurdish tribes, written in 1597-8 by one of their chieftains. Gives voluminous details of the geography of Kurdistan and the relations of the tribes with the Ottoman sultans.

222. Huart, C. : *Histoire de Baghdad* (Paris, 1901).

223. Sykes, Sir P. : *A History of Persia* (2 vols., London, 1915).

224. Lockhart, L. : *Nadir Shah* (London, 1938).

Although this work deals with the 18th century, it contains much useful historical material for the earlier period.

225. Sykes, Sir M. : *The Caliph's Last Heritage* (London, 1928).

The earlier chapters, which contain an outline of Turkish history, are too concise to be of use here, but the section on Kurdistan is much more detailed.

(ii) *Geography and Description*

226. Rousseau, M. : *Description du Pachalik de Bagdad* (Paris, 1809).

227. Hartmann, R. : 'Zu Evlija Tshelebis Reisen im oberen Euphrat- und Tigris-gebiet' (*Der Islam*, IX 1919).

228. *Admiralty Handbook of Mesopotamia*, Vol. I (London, 1918).

229. Sherley, Sir Anthony : 'Travels into Persia' (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Vol. VIII).

230. Cartwright, John : 'Voyage from Aleppo to Ispahan' (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Vol. VIII).

231. Hanway, Thomas : *Travels* (London, 1753).

232. Kinneir, J. M. : *A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire* (London, 1813).

(h) *Syria and the Lebanon*

(i) *History*

233. Lammens, A. : *La Syrie : Précis Historique*, Vol. II (Beyrout, 1921).  
The most detailed single volume on the whole subject.

234. Hitti, P. : *A History of Syria* (London, 1951).

Contains a valuable chapter on the Lebanon.

235. Charon, C. : 'La Syrie, 1516-1835' (*Echos d'Orient*, VII, 1904).

236. 'Histoire des émirs Maan' (*Journal Asiatique*, 1864).

237. Carali, P. P. : *Fakhr ad-Din II e la corte di Toscana* (Rome, 1936-8).

238. Ismail, Adel : *Histoire du Liban*, Vol. I : 'Le Liban au temps de Fakhr-ed-din II, 1590-1633' (Paris, 1955).

239. Biddulph, Wm.: 'A letter from Aleppo,' c. 1604 (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Vol. VIII).
240. Sandys, George: 'A Relation of a Journey,' c. 1610 (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Vol. VIII).  
(ii) *Political Geography*
241. Lewis, B.: 'The Ottoman Archives as a source for the history of the Arab lands' (*JRAS*, 1951-2).
242. Hartmann, R.: 'Politische Geographie des Mamlukenreichs' (translation of part of al-'Umarī—see No. 61 above—in *ZDMG*, LXX, 1916).
243. Edhem, Halil: *Tagebuch des Sultans Selim I* (Weimar, 1916).
244. Le Strange, G.: *Palestine under the Moslems* (London, 1890).
245. Gaudefroy-Demombynes: *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks* (Paris, 1923).
246. Dussaud: *Topographie historique de la Syrie* (Paris, 1927).
- (i) *Arabia*. Sixteenth-century Arabia has been poorly treated by historians, and most of the history of the period has to be pieced together from the records of travellers, whether contemporary or subsequent.
- (i) *History*
247. Philby, St. John: *Arabia* (London, 1950).  
A general account of modern times, excellent for the last two centuries, but with very sparse notes on the earlier period.
248. Stripling, G.: *The Ottoman Turks and the Arabs* (Illinois, 1942).  
Arouses great expectations, but is a most disappointing and threadbare work with highly inaccurate maps.
249. Gaury, G. de: *Rulers of Mecca* (London, 1951).
250. Tritton, A. S.: *The Rise of the Imams of Sanaa* (Oxford, 1925).  
One of the only two books which give details on the Ottoman province of the Yemen: this is invaluable for the later period (1597-1636), while Rüstem-Paşa (No. 135 above) deals fully with the conquest of 1545-8.
251. Bury, G. Wyman: *Arabia Infelix* (London, 1915).  
(ii) *Geography and Travel*
252. Varthema: *Travels* (Hakluyt Society, 1863).
253. Newberie, John: 'Travels' (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Vol. VIII).
254. Teixeira, Pedro: *Travels* (Hakluyt Society, 1902).
256. Edib, Mehmed: *Manāsik al-Hajj* (1779, French translation by M. Bianchi as 'Itinéraire de Constantinople à la Mecque' in *Recueil des Voyages et des Memoires*, Vol. II (Paris, 1825).
257. Beckenham: 'Dutch Travellers in Arabia in the 17th century' (*JRAS*, 1951).
258. Musil, A.: *Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1927).
259. Musil, A.: *Northern Negd* (New York, 1928).
260. Oppenheim, Max von: *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf* (Berlin, 1900).
261. Oppenheim, Max von: *Die Beduinen* (Leipzig, 1930).
262. *Admiralty Handbook of Arabia* (London, 1916).  
An invaluable compendium of geographical information about all parts of Arabia.
263. Serjeant, R. B.: 'Two Tribal Law Cases of the Wāhidī Sultanate, S.W. Arabia' (*JRAS*, 1951-2).
- (j) *The Red Sea and Indian Ocean*. No single book deals with all the Ottoman ventures in eastern waters.
264. Kammerer, A.: *La mer rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie depuis l'Antiquité*, Vol. II (Cairo, 1935).  
The best treatment for the Red Sea area c. 1500.

265. Cooke, B. Kennedy: 'The Red Sea coast in 1540' (*Sudan Notes and Records*, XVI, Part 2, 1933). Describes an early Portuguese raid on the Turkish maritime settlements.
266. Bloss, J. F. E.: 'The Story of Suakin' (*Sudan Notes and Records*, XIX, Part 2, 1936).
267. Charles-Roux, F.: 'L'isthme de Suez et les rivalités européennes au XVIème siècle' (*Revue de l'histoire des colonies françaises*, XVII, 1924).
268. Longrigg, S.: *A Short History of Eritrea* (Oxford, 1945).
269. Trimingham, J. S.: *Islam in Ethiopia* (Oxford, 1952).
270. Rossini, C. Conti: 'La guerra turco-abissina' (*Oriente Moderno*, I, 634-36, 684-91, and II, 48-59) An account of the war in Eritrea in 1578.
271. Paul, A.: *A History of the Beja tribes of the Sudan* (Cambridge, 1954).
272. Sidi Ali Reis (Sidi Ali): *Travels, 1553-56* (ed. Vambéry, London, 1899).
273. Dames, M. Longworth: 'The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the 16th century' (*JRAS*, 1921).
274. Ross, E. Denison: 'The Portuguese in India and Arabia, 1507-38' (*JRAS*, 1921 and 1922). Contains corrections and comments in respect of No. 273.
275. Wilson, A.: *The Persian Gulf* (London, 1928).

(k) *Egypt*. The history of Egypt under Turkish rule awaits a thorough investigation. Even the volume of the official history of Egypt which is devoted to this period (No. 278 below) is largely concerned with the last few years of the 18th century.

276. Lane-Poole, S.: *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* (London, 1901).
277. *Précis de l'histoire d'Égypte*, Vol. III (Cairo, 1933).
278. Wiet, G.: *Histoire de la Nation égyptienne*, Vol. V (Paris, 1937).
279. Trimingham, J. S.: *Islam in the Sudan* (Oxford, 1949).
280. *Description de l'Égypte*: especially Vols. XI and XV (23 vols., Paris, 1809-28).
281. Quatremère, E. M.: *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte* (2 vols., Paris, 1811).
282. Carre: *Voyageurs et écrivains français en Égypte* (Cairo, 1932).

(l) *The Barbary States*. Most of the material for the study of the Barbary corsairs and their states can be gathered from three important books:

283. Braudel, F.: *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949). This is invaluable for the whole of the 16th century as well as for the reign of Philip II; it deals fully with all aspects of geography, history, and commerce.
284. Mercier, E.: *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Vol. III (Paris, 1891). Gives a very complete story of the North African states, with useful geographical surveys of the Arab and Berber tribes at different periods.
285. Piquet, V.: *Les civilisations de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris, 1915). This is largely a summary of Mercier, but contains in addition translations of extracts from original sources and some helpful sketch-maps.

Other books dealing with the Mediterranean are:

286. Kâtib-Çelebi (Hajji Khalifa): *History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks* (tr. Mitchell, London, 1831). An incomplete translation of the 'Esfar-ül-bihar', written in 1656.
287. Brantôme, P. de: *Vie des grands capitaines étrangers*, Vol. II (ed. of Paris, 1866).
288. Dan, le Père: *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires* (1637-9).
289. Lane-Poole, S.: *The Barbary Corsairs* (London, 1890).

290. Gravière, J. de la: *Les Corsaires barbaresques et la Marine de Soliman le Grand* (Paris, 1887).  
 291. Hubac, P.: *Les Barbaresques* (Paris, 1949).  
 292. Manfroni: *Storia della marina italiana dalla caduta di Constantinopoli alla battaglia di Lepanto* (1897).

Details of the North African states can be found in the following:

294. Leo Africanus: *History and Description of Africa*, Vol. III (Hakluyt Society, 1896).  
 295. Ibn Abī Dīnār al-Qayrawāni: *Kitāb al-Munis* (written in 1681, French translation as 'Histoire de, l'Afrique' by Pellissier and Rémusat in *Explorations scientifiques de l'Algérie*, Vol. 7, Paris, 1845).  
 296. Walsin-Esterhazy: *De la domination turque dans l'ancienne régence d'Alger* (Paris, 1840).  
 297. Grammont, H. D. de: *Histoire d'Alger sous la domination turque* (Paris, 1887).  
 298. Pellegrin, A.: *Histoire de la Tunisie* (Tunis, 1948).  
 299. Slousch, N.: 'La Tripolitaine sous la domination des Karamanli' (*Revue du monde musulman*, VI Sept.-Nov. 1908).  
 300. Rinn, L.: *Histoire de l'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie* (Alger, 1891).  
 Contains useful notes on the early history of Kabylia.  
 301. Federman and Aucapitaine: 'Organisation du beylik de Titeri' (*Revue africaine*, 52 et sqq., 1878)  
 302. Robin: 'Organisation des Turcs dans la grande Kabylie' (*Revue africaine*, 52 et sqq., 1878).  
 303. Masson, P. *Histoire des établissements et du commerce français dans l'Afrique barbaresque de 1560 à 1793* (Paris, 1903).

## B. MAPS AND ATLASES

### I. EARLY MAPS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

From the middle of the 15th century onwards the map-making art, which had degenerated ever since late Roman times, took on new vigour and increasing accuracy. For another century, however, it was the coastline that received most attention, owing to the vast percentage of trade which went by sea rather than land, and the consequent need for detailed sailing charts. Maps of the interior were not unknown, but they were so erratically drawn as to be almost useless. See, for example:

(304) Lewelel's *Géographie du Moyen Age, avec Atlas* (Brussels, 1850), also the 15th-century map of Albania reproduced in the *Enciclopedia Italiana* (No. 118 above) under the article 'Albania', and (305) Babinger's notice of 'An Italian Map of the Balkans, presumably owned by Mehmed II' (*Imago Mundi*, VIII, 1951).

The main emphasis, therefore, continued to be on the shoreline, particularly during the epoch of the great discoveries. Piri-Reis, the Ottoman admiral, produced two handbooks and many charts of the Aegean and Mediterranean; and the western half of his famous map of the world, for which he used the work of Columbus, is still in the Istanbul Museum, and has been reproduced many times.

Late in the 16th century appeared the first great collections of world maps—(306) in 1570 the 'Theatrum orbis terrarum' of Ortelius, and (307) in 1595 the 'Atlas' of Mercator. Later, the work of Mercator was enlarged and improved by J. Hondius, who made use in his maps of the Near East of the various accounts by travellers. The next revision was by Henry Hondius, which was brought out in an English edition (308) with the accom-

panying text translated by Henry Hexham in 1638. This is virtually the first work which is of any value for the present study, and it is interesting to note the difference in skill between the portrayal of the European part of the Ottoman Empire and that of the eastern section. Maps of Hungary and the Balkans contain many names which are readily identifiable today and which are in approximately their proper place, but although familiar names are given in Anatolia, such as Sarcum (Saruhan), Aldinelli (Aydın-eli), Monteseli, Germian, Caramania, Amasia, Suvas, Chiutale (Kütahya), Chiancare (Çankırı), Baiburt and Bozoch, the eastern frontier is dragged out of all proportion into the middle of Persia, while the Caspian Sea appears to be laid on its side. Hondius includes not only a full map of the empire (of which we give a reproduction) but also separate charts of Anatolia, Palestine, North Africa and Egypt.

For many years this edition was scarcely improved by subsequent cartographers, and the next important move came from the Ottomans themselves, for the geography of Kâtib-Çelebi was accompanied by maps of the various regions of the empire, though he used Mercator-Hondius as a basis (see the reproductions given by M. T. Gökbilgin in his article on 18th-century Rumeli, No. 186 above); and much use of the maps in the 1732 printed edition of the *Cihan-nüma* was made by the French cartographer J. B. d'Anville (1697-1782), whose work was distinguished by a much greater degree of accuracy in the orientation of place-names than is found previously. His maps (309) include a 'Carte de l'Asie', 1751-3, and 'Asiae quae vulgo Minor dicitur et Syriae tabula geographica' (1764, with improved edition in 1769).

The period of the Napoleonic Wars saw much travelling, map-making, and detailed plotting of charts on both sides (for example, in the work of the French expedition to Egypt which resulted in the great *Description de l'Égypte*—No. 280 above—with its accompanying maps, and the travels and careful drawings of Macdonald Kinneir—see Nos. 163 and 232 above); and the labour of translating von Hammer into French inspired J. J. Hellert to discard altogether the very poor and unhelpful maps which accompanied the German edition, and to make use of all the new information to construct the first *Nouvel atlas physique, politique, et historique de l'empire Ottoman et des états limitrophes en Europe, en Asie, et en Afrique* (Paris, 1844). This splendid appendix (310) gives clear, detailed, and excellently printed maps on a large scale of all sections of the empire as it existed at the close of the reign of Mahmud II; only Arabia is indifferently treated, owing to the lack of knowledge concerning Arabian geography which persisted until the present century.

## II. THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN 19TH-CENTURY HISTORICAL ATLASES

Although attempts to draw maps portraying the history of the Bible and of classical antiquity can be traced back as far as Ortelius, the historical atlas was slow to develop. Suddenly, in the middle of the 19th century, German scholars grasped the importance of illustrating their histories with maps, and in 1846 Karl von Spruner issued the first edition of his *Historisch-geographischer Hand-Atlas zur Geschichte der Staaten Europas von Anfang des Mittelalters auf die neueste Zeit*. But twenty years earlier than the appearance of

this work, which gives no particular treatment to the Middle East, a singular attempt had been made to summarize the whole history of Asia in an enterprising series of maps. This was:

311. Klaproth, H. J.: *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie* (Paris, 1826).

This orientalist, whose reputation as a scholar was rightly suspect in his own day and has suffered even more since, deserves some slight rehabilitation by reason of this stroke of cartographical genius. The work consists of some two dozen maps of Asia on a scale of about 1:30 million, showing the historical changes at intervals of roughly a century, and with an accompanying volume of explanations. Many of his boundaries are rashly drawn, and research has challenged many of his conclusions, but as an attempt to plot the whole course of eastern political geography it was not only a pioneer effort, but has remained unique.

Nothing of particular value or interest appeared for fifty years, but the last quarter of the 19th century witnessed the beginning of the first serious attempt to chart the political geography of the Orient.

312. Spruner-Menke: *Hand-Atlas für die Geschichte des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit* (3rd edition, Gotha, 1880).

This finest of all historical atlases resulted from fifteen years' work by Theodor Menke in revising the 2nd (1854) edition of Karl von Spruner's atlas. The Ottoman Empire, besides appearing on the maps of Europe for 1350, 1492, 1648, 1740, 1810 and 1815, is given careful treatment in the section on the Orient.

No. 84 is the first of a series of maps of the Balkans and Asia Minor on a scale of 1:5 million, and shows the Byzantine Empire on the eve of the First Crusade. It gives the Selcuk kingdom as being in possession of the Ankara-Kastamonu area, which is improbable at this date, but otherwise it is remarkably accurate. Docea, however, is marked as on the site of the later Tosya, whereas Wittek has demonstrated (pp. 53 ff. of his article on Selcuk geography, No. 50 above) that Docea is Tokat (this error has been copied on all later maps).

No. 86 gives the same area as in A.D. 1210. Here there is much to be desired, as the Rum-Nicaean frontier is shown as (a) running not far south of the Meander from the coast east to Khonai, whereas the Selcuks ruled no farther west than the river Dalaman; and (b) running far to the south of Amorium and Kotaion almost to Ankara, whereas there is no evidence, and it is most unlikely, that the north-west frontier of Kılıç Arslan II was ever pushed back by the Lascarids. In his notes to the map Menke admits that his boundary is conjectural, and that Gregoras' claims are untenable, but unfortunately the boundary has been copied by almost all subsequent maps except, strangely enough, in that of Putzger (No. 317 below), where the frontier in the map of the Nicaean Empire in 1265 is almost correct.

No. 88 shows the boundaries for 1311, and places most of the emirates in more or less the correct positions, except that Sasan had disappeared before this date, and Karaman is made far too big, while the limits of each state are given with such carefully irregular lines that one might suppose them to have been arranged by a peace conference instead of being in the highly fluctuating state which we know to have existed (but this is one of Menke's principal faults throughout).

No. 89 illustrates the period 1391-1452, and is excellent for the European side of the Straits, though in Asia a highly fictitious boundary is drawn to indicate the cessions to Bayezid I after his first war with Karaman.

No. 90 portrays the whole Ottoman Empire in the 17th century (1:9 mil.), with insets of Arabia and North Africa, but the limits of the eyâlets are very inaccurate, though the map as a whole is useful.

313. Droysen, G.: *Allgemeiner historischer Hand-Atlas* (Bielefeld, 1886).  
His maps of Turkey are on a small scale, and in general much inferior to those of Spruner-Menke.
314. Freeman, E. A.: *Historical Geography of Europe, with Atlas* (London, 1881).  
The maps are only interesting sketches, and of little use except as illustrations to the text (see above, No. 21).
315. Schrader, F.: *Atlas de géographie historique* (Paris, 1896).  
His maps of the Ottoman Empire give very sparse treatment to the provinces.
316. Lane-Poole, R.: *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe* (Oxford, 1902).  
This was the first British effort to produce a large-scale historical atlas, and in order to make it a scholarly work the editor called in the assistance of a team of experts. His maps of Europe were modelled on those of Menke, as is that of south-east Europe in 1210; but the orientalist Stanley Lane-Poole contributed new maps of the Near East in 1070, 1190, 1330 and 1590, while William Miller constructed a map of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, 1356–1897, and Nisbet Bain one of Turkish Hungary. Lane-Poole's maps are on too small a scale to be of much value, and though Miller's map of the Balkans is very good, Nisbet Bain gives a most extraordinary boundary for the Treaty of Vasvár in 1664, the authority for which I have been unable to trace.

### III. MODERN HISTORICAL MAPS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

With one or two exceptions, 20th-century atlases have been based either on Spruner-Menke or on Lane-Poole, and the mistakes committed by them have tended to become perpetuated. For example, while it has become an invariable rule to exhibit Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia and the Crimea as 'vassal-states', separately indicated as such by bands of colour instead of a flat wash, no attempt is ever made to show the hereditary principalities of Kurdistan as other than centrally administered, although they were often more autonomous than the Rumanian countries; while the coasts of Arabia are nearly always fully marked as Turkish, and so are the Barbary states.

317. Putzger, F. W.: *Historischer Schul-Atlas* (numerous editions: the 53rd, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1936, and the latest just published).  
Only remarkable for the Nicaean boundary mentioned above under 312.
318. Muir, Ramsay (ed.): *Philip's Historical Atlas, mediaeval and modern* (6th ed., completely revised, London, 1927).  
This is still the most up-to-date British historical atlas covering the Ottoman period, and marks no advance on Lane-Poole, which it copies (with a quaint error concerning the emirate of Ertena Bey, marked in Lane-Poole as 'Mohammed Artin' in such a way that the letter 'R' runs just above a river: in Muir's map Ertena consequently appears as 'Mohammed ABTIN', and so in the index).
319. Zeissig, H. (ed.): *Neuer Geschichts- und Kultur-Atlas* (Atlantik-Verlag, 1950).
320. Leonhardt, K.: *Atlas zur Weltgeschichte* (3rd ed., Stuttgart, 1952).

Four atlases have appeared in recent years which are of more practical value in dealing with Turkish history. These are:

321. Hermann, A.: *An Historical and Commercial Atlas of China* (Harvard, 1935).  
Includes several good maps illustrating the history of Central Asia.
322. Vasilevich, K. V.: *Atlas Istorii SSSR* (3 vols., Moscow, 1950).  
This gives several useful maps on the history of the Caucasus.

323. Westermann, G. (publisher): *Atlas zur Weltgeschichte* (Braunschweig, 1956).  
This is another collective work, and although most of the maps are on a small scale, the Ottoman Empire receives a greater proportion of attention than is usual. Of particular use is a specially drawn map of Turkish Hungary (unfortunately with few names).
324. Hazard, H.: *Atlas of Islamic History* (Princeton, 1951).  
This recent work, based on somewhat the same principle as that of Klaproth in that the maps are mostly of the same area and show changes at exactly a century's distance, is disappointingly deprived of much of its value by two essential flaws:
- (a) It is coloured merely to show changes of political control from Islam to Christendom and back, whereas its importance would have been greatly increased if the colours had illustrated cultural and religious changes, or the control by one religion over peoples of the other faith, etc.
  - (b) It is highly inaccurate, both as to boundaries and dates. This reaches a farcical level for the page devoted to the Ottoman Empire: the map has incorrect boundaries in Arabia and the Caucasus, while the facing page of dates (showing Ottoman control of the various provinces) has thirty-two important errors.

Few of the works listed above in section A have good illustrative maps: the rare exceptions are noted in the commentaries, and we should add the names of two other books which have been used solely for their excellent maps:

325. *Revai Nagy Lexikona*, Vol. 13 (Pest, 1915).  
This Magyar encyclopaedia contains most useful maps of Hungary for the years 1490 and 1629 in the article 'Magyarország'.
326. Nasonov, A. N., and others: *Ocherki Istorii SSSR*, Vol. III (Moscow, 1955).  
Contains large-scale and detailed maps of the Steppe country and the Caucasus, compiled with great care.

## The Historical Background

THE Empire of the Ottoman Turks lasted as an independent unit for six-and-a-quarter centuries (1300–1922), and its history may be conveniently divided into six periods of roughly a hundred years each :

1. 1300–1402. Beginning with the collapse of the Selcuks of Konya, nominal overlords of the young principality of Osman, and ending with the defeat of Bayezid I at the battle of Ankara, the century witnessed a steady expansion in western Anatolia, and is divided halfway by the establishment of the first bridgehead in Europe (1354), with the subsequent conquest of Thrace, Bulgaria, and eastern Macedonia.

2. 1402–1503. Until mid-century the sultans were occupied in regaining the ground lost by Tīmūr's invasion; the next fifty years sees the conquest of the Balkan peninsula in the west and Asia Minor up to the Taurus Mountains in the east. The period ends with the general peace of Buda in 1503.

3. 1503–1606. The kingdom is transformed into an empire by vast acquisitions in Asia, the attachment of the states of North Africa, and the conquest of Hungary. The period ends with the treaty of Zsitvatorok in Europe, but in Asia a more convenient date is 1612, when peace was made with Persia.

4. 1606–99. The empire holds its own until the failure of the second siege of Vienna (1683), with the subsequent loss of Hungary and the humiliating treaty of Karlowitz.

5. 1699–1812. A period of general decline and of unsuccessful wars with Russia, ending in the three treaties of Küçük-Kaynarca (1774), Jassy (1792) and Bucharest (1812).

6. 1812–1922. In Europe the frontiers continue to recede, but a series of internal reforms enables the Turks to recover a good deal of ground in Asia until the final collapse during and after the First World War.

This study is concerned with the first three only of these periods—the centuries during which a tiny emirate in the north-western corner of Asia Minor grew into an empire embracing large parts of three continents; and to show the distance we have to travel let us call on the evidence of two independent and unbiased witnesses, one from each end of the limits of our survey.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, in the course of thirty years of travel all over the Islamic world, visited Asia Minor in 1333, and gives this brief but valuable description :

The Sultan of Bursá is Orkhán Bek, son of Othmán Chúk. He is the greatest of the Türkmen kings and

the richest in wealth, lands, and military forces, and possesses nearly a hundred fortresses which he is continually visiting for inspection and putting to rights. He fights with the infidels and besieges them. It was his father who captured Bursá from the Greeks, and it is said that he besieged Yaznik [Nicaea] for about twenty years, but died before it was taken. His son Orkhán besieged it twelve years before capturing it, and it was there that I saw him. (No. 60—ed. Gibb, p. 136.)

In 1610 George Sandys, an Englishman, travelled through the Ottoman dominions, and we have from his pen this detailed list of the lands ruled by the Sultan :

The Turkish Empire is the greatest that is, or perhaps that ever was from the beginning. For first the European part thereof extendeth westward unto the Archdukes of Austrias Dominions, stretching to the Adriatick Sea by the confines of Ragusa, bounded on the South with the Mediterraneum; on the East, with Aegeum, Propontis, and Pontus, even to Theodosia, a Citie of the Scythian Chersonesus; and on the North almost to Russia and Polonia; contayning Romania, Bulgaria, Servia, Rascia, the tributarie principalities of Valachia and Moldavia; the greater part of Hungary, Bosnia, Albania, Macedon, Epirus, all Grecia and Peloponnesus; all the fruitful Ilands of the Aegean Sea: Ragusa payes for her libertie; nor is Candie, Zant, or Cephalania held without Presents. But what is this, compared to her Asian Territories? within which, all Natolia is comprised; on three sides embraced with the Aegean, Euxine, and Cilician Seas; contayning the Provinces of Pontus, Galatia, Bythinia, Phrygia, Lycia, Pamphilia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, and the lesser Armenia; beyond which, Colchis stretching Northward to Cataie, and bounded on the East with the Countrey of the Georgians, whereof the Turkes possess not a little. A great part of it also contayneth of the greater Armenia: all Syria (in which Coelosyria, Phoenicia, and Palestine,) Babylonia and Mesopotamia: Arabia felix, which stretcheth out into the South Sea, interposing the Persian and Arabian Gulfes, doe bow to that Soveraigntie: so doe the Inhabitants of Petrea, and Deserta; such I meane, as have knowne habitations. In Africa it extendeth all along the coasts of the Mediterraneum, even from the red Sea to Acrath, a Citie of Mauritania (except some few places possesst by the Spaniard) wherein is the Countrey of the Troglodites, the miraculously fertile Kingdome of Aegypt, Tripoly in Barbarie, the Kingdome of Tunis, and Citie of the Argers with her Territories, with the tributarie Kingdomes of Fesse and Morocco. To this adde Cyprus, Rhodes, and all the fertile Ilands of the mid-land Sea, that lie East of Candie. Thus great at this day is the Ottoman Empire. (No. 140, pp. 121-2).

## 1. THE TURKS IN WORLD HISTORY

(Maps 1-5)

The Turks first appear in history under that name (Chinese: T<sup>3</sup>u-kiu) in the middle of the 6th century A.D. Their habitat was on the slopes of the Altai Mountains, on the western side of the Mongolian steppe; their ancestry was obscure, and orientalist are still disputing whether their immediate predecessors, the Hiung-nu, were Turks, or Mongols, or proto-Turks, or the common ancestors of both Turks and Mongols.

The clearest method of portraying in a brief space the complicated story of the Turks since their emergence on to the world stage is by a series of maps; and the sequence of four which are given here bring out the two salient features of their history:

(a) They have always tended to remain an essentially nomadic people. From the

pasturelands of the Altai they have spread gradually over the western grasslands of Turkestan (to which they have given their name) and the 'Khazar Steppe' or 'Dasht-i Qipchāq (T. Deşti Kıpçak) of south Russia (both names again are those of Turkish peoples) and round both sides of the Caspian into the steppes of Azerbaijan and Asia Minor. East of the Altai homeland they were unable to absorb the Mongols who, instead, mongolized the once-important peoples of the Naiman, Merkit, and Kerait tribes, who were probably of Turkish origin. The Oğuz Türkmens reached Asia Minor in several waves; the first-comers, the Selcuks, were followed by other nomadic bands from whom sprang the Osmanlı Turks, and these, according to Toynbee, turned their nomadic habits to effective use in the organization of their empire (see No. 20, Vol. III, pp. 22-50).

(b) The Turks have constantly been an imperial people. They have made a habit of empire-building, and although none of their structures have attained the imposing dimensions of the Mongol achievement, many of them have been far more lasting. The maps show at least a dozen states of the first rank which have been constructed by Turkish peoples, and another dozen built by Turkish leaders, sometimes by themselves, sometimes with the assistance of a military aristocracy of their own race.

Among the first type, resting on a solid core of Turkish peoples, we may class :

1. The *T'u-kiu*. Built a vast empire stretching from Mongolia to the Caspian. United only for two brief spells—552-82 and 699-714; but the eastern part soon fell under Chinese protection until its revival between 682 and 744.
2. The *Khazars*. Dominated the Black Sea and Caspian steppes for about three centuries, c. 600-900.
3. The *Uyghur*. Destroyed the East T'u-kiu and ruled Mongolia from 744-840.
4. The *Kirgiz*. Succeeded the Uyghur 840-c. 920, when they were driven back to their old home on the Upper Yenisei by the K'itan.
5. The *Karakhanids*. Spread from Kashgaria (Chinese Turkestan) into the land between the Āmū- and Syr-Daryā rivers between 950 and 1000. An imperial people until 1074 in West Turkestan and until 1130 in Kashgaria.
6. The *Selcuks*. A branch of the Oğuz Türkmens who first spread Turkish rule over the Oxus into Iran and Mesopotamia. Conquered Baghdād in 1055. Their empire remained intact until 1092, after which they still ruled large fragments—Khurāsān until 1157, Kirmān until 1187, 'Irāq until 1194, Syria until 1117, and Asia Minor until shortly before 1300.
7. The *Khwārazm-Shāhs*. In origin Selcuk officials, they emerged from their petty sultanate on the sea of Aral about 1150 and acquired vast dominions in Iran until the Mongol irruption of 1218.
8. The *Timūrids*. Founded by Timūr of the Barlas Turks (1369-1405) and maintained by his son, Shāh Rukh (1405-47). Fell apart later.
9. The *Karakoyunlu* and *Akkoyunlu Türkmens*. Ruled 'Irāq, Azerbaijan, and most of western Persia during the 15th century (c. 1420-90).
10. The *Osmanlı or Ottoman Turks*. Founded the most permanent of all the Turkish

empires: it may be said to have reached imperial status by 1389 and maintained this until 1918.

The maps indicate most of the empires of the second type—those founded by Turkish leaders or ruled by Turks, but without the backing of Turkish-speaking peoples. Among the most famous of these are the kingdoms of the Ghaznavids, the Slave-kings, and the Moguls in India, and the sultanate of the Bahrī Mamlūks in Egypt; but it is not often realized that many other dynasties of Muslim India were of Turkish origin, or that the Cha-t'o Turks contributed one royal family to northern China (if only for eighteen years).

It is also worth recording that many other kingdoms of large size were built on Turkish foundations, but by leaders reckoned as of Mongol origin, however much they might be Turkish in speech and custom. The fact was that throughout much of the steppe-country which had once belonged to the Mongol Empire the blood of Çingis-Khan was regarded as sacred, although the proportion of Mongols in all the western areas was very small indeed. The khanates of Chaghatay and of the Golden Horde were almost from the first Turkish in all but name and ruler, and so were their successors—states of the Crimea, Kazan, Kasimov, Astrakhan, the Shaybānids, and the later khanates of Khīva, Bukhārā and Khokand.

Map 3, which illustrates the position at the beginning of the 16th century, brings out one interesting point—that at this moment, when the western steppes were all Turkish in settlement, they were also all controlled by Turkish rulers of considerable strength: and what is even more of a coincidence, there was hardly any Turkish control outside the steppe-area (except in the Balkans and Malwa). Never again was there to be such a concentration of Turkish power over such a definite area: never again was there to be such an opportunity for pan-Turanianism as when Selim I, victorious at the battle of Çaldıran in 1514, might have marched through Iran to join hands with the Özbek Türkmens against the Shī'a heresy and to bolster the nomadic front against the threat from Muscovy. But the janissaries refused to follow, so Selim turned against the Mamlūk, Bābur adventured into India, and the Islamic steppe-country began its long and losing battle against Russia.

The fourth sketch-map shows how far the decline had gone by 1683, in spite of the Ottoman conquests, which yet involved no further expansion of Turkish settlement; and the map of the present Turkish-speaking areas (Map 5) shows that only the republic of Turkey still remains as an independent state.

## II. THE SELCUK KINGDOM OF RUM

(Map 6)

In the year 1071 the forces of the Byzantine Empire were shattered by the Selcuk Sultan Alp-Arslan at Manzikert (T. Malâzgird), north of Lake Van. The battle was decisive as far as the Greeks were concerned, since their empire never fully recovered from the blow. None the less, Manzikert did not lead immediately to an invasion of Asia Minor, which

was still heavily defended by Byzantine troops. The Selcuk conquest was largely the result of the civil war in the Greek empire, during which Nicephorus Botaniates not only stripped the garrisons of soldiers in his fight for the throne (1078) but invited the assistance of Turkish auxiliaries. These included the Selcuk princes Süleyman and Mansur ibn Kutulmuş, who had recently arrived in Asia Minor, and who now extended their authority around Nicaea. Mansur was soon killed, but Süleyman was recognized as 'Sultan' by the Greeks (c. 1080). It is interesting to note the striking similarity between the way in which the Turks obtained their first footing in Asia Minor and, centuries later, in Europe (1352-4)—in both cases by an invitation to help one of the contending parties for the throne of Constantinople.

The Selcuks in Anatolia, like the Ottomans later in Thrace, had come to stay, and their kingdom controlled the heart of the peninsula for nearly two centuries. The history of its growth from the beginning of Süleyman's lordship to the destruction of the Selcuk army by the Mongols in 1243 may be divided into four phases:

#### 1. *From the occupation of Nicaea to the end of the First Crusade (c. 1080-1100)*

The political geography of this period is so nebulous that it cannot be plotted on a map. Süleyman was not the only Turkish leader to have appeared in Asia Minor, as rival Greeks had summoned different nomadic hordes to their assistance, while others arrived to take advantage of the political vacuum. Süleyman attempted to establish his authority over a wide area, and took Antioch in Syria in 1084, but he was killed near Aleppo in 1086, and a period of great confusion followed. Various emirs obtained possession of the western coastal districts, including Smyrna, Clazomenae, Phocaea, Apollonia, Cyzicus and Nicaea, while the Anatolian Selcuks were cut off from their relatives in Iran by the arrival of the Danişmendids at Sebastea (Sivas), the Beni Mengucek at Tephrike (Divriği), and the Saltukids at Paypert (Bayburd) and Theodosiopolis (T. Erzurum = Arabic Arzan al-Rüm), though large stretches of the country remained under Greek suzerainty—the north-east under the Dukes of Trebizond, and Cappadocia and Cilicia under various Armenian princes.

In 1092 Süleyman's son Kılıç-Arslan I was allowed by the Selcuk Sultan of Iran to return to Anatolia to seek his heritage, and he recovered Nicaea; but the arrival of the armies of the First Crusade and the energy of Alexius Comnenus led to the Byzantine reconquest of all the western districts from Bithynia to Lycia. Kılıç-Arslan was forced to refound his kingdom on a much narrower and coastless basis at Iconium (Konya) about the year 1100. The approximate extent of his dominions at this time is shown on the map; and this small province, which coincided almost exactly with the area of minimum fertility and near-desert in the middle of the plateau, was the heartland of the Selcuk monarchy for the rest of its existence.

#### 2. *The struggle for survival (1100-62)*

For sixty years the Selcuks battled incessantly against two powerful rivals as well as against the crusading bands which wandered across the kingdom from time to time.

(i) The Danişmendid Emirs of Cappadocia ruled a wide belt of territory east of the Halys (T. Kızıl Irmak), from which they extended their sway west to Kastamonu and Ancyra and south-east to Melitene so as to control the important routes from Ancyra via Caesarea to Sebastea and to the Euphrates. They were at the height of their power between 1124 and 1141 and threatened to absorb most of Asia Minor. Civil war after 1141 decreased their efficiency, but they were still strong enough in 1160 to wrest Elbistan from Kılıç-Arslan II.

(ii) The Comneni Emperors—Alexius I, John and Manuel (1081–1180)—bent their strategy towards the double end of (a) preventing the Selcuks from reaching the coast at any point between Trebizond and Cilicia, and (b) sealing off their possessions in the west by a series of forts between Dorylaeum and Adalia. When they were successful they pushed as far east as the high mountains guarded by the line Amorium-Polybotos-Philomelion; when the Turks were in the ascendant the frontier was farther west towards the rim of the plateau and ran through Akroinon, Apamea and Laodicea. For most of this period the Byzantines held the eastern line, but the territory between the two was subject to frequent Turkish raids which reached as far as Pergamum and Abydos (e.g. in 1113), while the trade-route through Apamea was so unsafe that it fell into disuse after 1120.

Mes'ud I (1116–56) turned his ambitious attention to the south-east, where his share of the spoils of the former Crusading state of Edessa was Maraş, Kaysun, Behesni, 'Aynţāb and Dulūk (1149–51), but during the civil war which followed his death most of these conquests fell to Nūr al-Dīn of Syria (1159–60), and the Selcuk kingdom reached its nadir in 1162 when Kılıç-Arslan II was forced to seek help from the Emperor Manuel on terms which looked suspiciously like vassalage.

### 3. *The conquest of the central plateau (1162–82)*

These twenty years saw a dramatic change in Selcuk fortunes. Kılıç-Arslan made a successful attack on the Danişmendid kingdom, and between 1174 and 1180 absorbed the hitherto undisputed region east of the Kızıl-Irmak, including Sebastea (Sivas) and Caesarea (Kayseri), as well as all the southern lands as far as Malatya and the Euphrates. Next he frustrated Manuel's attack by a sweeping victory at Myriokephalon (T. Çardak) in 1176, and by 1182 he had captured the whole line of forts as far as Kotaion and Laodicea, which broke the Byzantine link between Adalia and the Meander valley.

The extent of his success can be clearly seen on the map. The great central plateau was now firmly in Selcuk hands, and the boundary was roughly coincident with the 3,000-ft. contour-line. No seaport was as yet in Turkish hands, although Türkmen raiders probably reached the coast at some points, e.g. between Adalia and Kharadros.

The following table attempts to summarize the fluctuating fortunes of the principal towns in dispute (S = Selcuk, B = Byzantine, D = Danişmendid):

#### (a) *The Western Frontier*

Dorylaeum (Eskişehir)      S. c. 1081: B. 1097: B. frontier town to 1176, then S.

Amorium (nr. R. Akçay)	S. c. 1081: B. 1097: probably S. frontier 1116–75: B. 1175: S. 1176 or later.
Polybotos (Bolvadin)	S. c. 1081: B. 1098: ?S. 1116: B. 1175: S. 1176 or later.
Philomelion (Akşehir)	S. c. 1081: B. 1098: ?S. 1116: B. 1175: S. 1176 or later.
Akroinon (Afyon-karah.)	S. c. 1081: B. before 1116: S. 1176 or by 1182.
Sozopolis (Uluborlu)	S. c. 1081: B. 1119: S. 1176 or by 1182.
Sublaion (Keçiborlu)	S. c. 1081: B. 1119: S. later: B. by 1156: S. 1176 or later.
Kotaion (Kütahya)	Usually B. till 1182 or later.
Panasion (Banaz)	B. till 1176 or later.
Apamea (Dinayır)	S. 1076–1119: B. 1119, but soon deserted.
Laodicea (Denizli)	S. 1081: B. 1098: S. by 1118: B. 1119: S. 1182 or later.
Khonai (Honaz)	S. 1081: B. 1098: S. by 1118: B. 1119: S. 1182 or later.
Adalia (Antalya)	S. 1081: B. 1098: road cut before 1118: opened 1119: cut 1180.

(b) *The Northern Frontier*

Ancyra (Ankara)	S. before 1116: D. c. 1124: B. 1139: S. c. 1143/5.
Gangra (Çankırı)	D. by 1124: B. 1135: S. 1143/5.
Kastamone (Kastamonu)	D. c. 1090: B. 1130: D. 1131: B. 1132: D. 1134: B. 1135: D. later: S. in 1174 or earlier.
(Osmancık)	D. c. 1090: S. by 1174.
Nikonía (Çorum)	D. 1100/20: ?S. 1143/5 or not till 1174.

(c) *The Eastern Frontier*

Tyana (Niğde)	D. c. 1100/20: S. c. 1143/5.
Ablistene (Elbistan)	S. 1111: D. 1160: S. 1174.
Melitene (Malatya)	D. 1103: S. 1106: D. 1124: S. 1177/80.
Germanicea (Maraş)	S. 1149: Syria 1159/60.
Behesni, Kaysun, Raban	S. 1150: Syria 1159/61.
'Ayntāb and Dulūk	S. 1151: Syria 1159/61.

4. *The period of imperial expansion (1182–1243)*

The conquests of Kılıç-Arslan II were a permanent addition to the kingdom of Rum. Even the division of his empire between his dozen sons in 1188–92 (their provincial capitals are ringed on the map) proved no hindrance to the continuing expansion, and after the reunion of the provinces in 1204 a series of able monarchs brought Selcuk power to its height.

In the west the Türkmen raids advanced the frontier to the river Dalaman, and Adalia was captured, first in 1207 and finally in 1214. In the North-west Divrik (? the Greek Dadybra) was reached by 1197 and only a narrow coastal strip was left to the Greeks. About the same time Canik (the region around Samsun) and Amisos (Samsun) were conquered, and in 1214 Sinope fell, cutting off the Byzantine Empire from the Trapezuntine Greeks, who were usually tributary to Konya for the next half-century. But the energy of the Lascarid Emperors of Nicaea (1204–59) counterbalanced the Selcuk power, and this equilibrium produced a fairly stable frontier between the two states running from the mouth of the Dalaman on the Mediterranean through a point east of Antioch-on-Meander, then continuing north-north-east, passing west of Kütahya and east of

Mudurnu, and between Heraclea Pontica (Ereğli) and Divrik to the Black Sea at some point west of Sinop (see Wittek, No. 50, for full details of this frontier).

In the south, Isauria and parts of Cilicia were taken from the Armenian kingdom *c.* 1221/2, and the port of Alâiye was founded by the Selcuks. Towards the east a tremendous expansion took place at the expense of the petty emirates which still existed there: Erzurum (under a collateral Selcuk line), Şebīn-karahisar, Divriği, Kemah and Erzincan (under the Beni Mengucek), Bayburd (under the Saltukids), Çemişgezek, Harput and Kâhta (under the Artukids), and Ahlât (under the Ayyūbids) were all made tributary and later annexed outright. Tall Bāshir, Edessa, Ḥarrān and Raqqa were also included in the empire for a few years each.

The Mongol invasion of 1243 and the defeat at the battle of Köse Dağ near Erzincan brought sudden ruin to the Selcuks, and the whole kingdom was shortly afterwards reduced to strict vassalage; but from what little we know of the abilities of the later Selcuk monarchs it seems likely that the Mongol conquest only hastened an inevitable decline. The Ilkhāns of Persia controlled the whole country east of the Kızıl-Irmak, while in the west of Asia Minor increasing hordes of Türkmen nomads and gazis raided the remaining Greek territories at the same time as they brought chaos to the Selcuk heartland. The last Sultans were powerless to combat the rival ambitions of the Mongol governors, the local Turkish chiefs, and their own Pervanes (or viziers).

### III. THE SUCCESSOR-STATES

(Maps 7 and 8)

The history of Asia Minor during the hundred years after the Mongol invasions is illustrated by two maps. Map 7 shows the chaos arising from the collapse of both the Selcuk and Byzantine realms at the beginning of the 14th century, while map 8 shows on a larger scale the comparative degree of stabilization reached by the Turkish emirates by the end of Orhan's reign (1362).

#### I. *The first period of expansion (1261-1304)*

After the recovery of Constantinople by the Greeks in 1261 their European possessions assumed a role of much greater importance than those in Asia; already in the reign of Michael Palaeologus the Turks made rapid progress past the old Dalaman frontier into the Meander basin, and under his feeble successors the boundary gave way altogether owing to the ceaseless raids of the nomad hordes, now led by a number of vigorous chieftains who were able to found independent dynasties, and whose names are recognizable even in the Greek histories (practically our only original sources for this early period). By 1269 all Caria was Turkish; in 1278 Tralles was besieged; in 1282 it fell, together with Nyssa.

The most powerful of these early emirs appears to have been Menteşe (Mantakhias) and Germiyan (Karmanos Alisurios)—the first dominant along the coast from Ephesus

south-west to Finike, while Germiyan wielded an inland supremacy from the neighbourhood of Philadelphia (still a Greek city) as far east as Ankara and Kırşehir (if the members of this family known to have ruled in these two towns were, as is probable, merely governing on behalf of the emir of Germiyan, whose capital was Kütahya).

Other rulers appear by the turn of the century. Sasan, originally a general of Menteşe, became independent about 1304 with his capture of Ephesus, Thyraea (Tire), Pyrgion (Birgi), Magnesia (Manisa) and Pryene. Similarly Aydın, a vassal of Germiyan, broke away after his conquest of the north bank of the Meander. In the vicinity of Smyrna appeared Saruhan (Sarkhanes); towards Mysia was Karasi; in Bithynia Osman (Atmas) was laying the foundation of his power; to the east of the Sangarios river were the 'sons of Amurios'—that Umur-Han whose descendants are later found from Göynük eastwards; Kastamonu was occupied by the house of Candar; and Sinop was the last refuge of the Selcuk dynasty, represented by Gazi Çelebi.

This general progress across the Byzantine territories, which the Palaeologi vainly attempted to stem, received a temporary setback in 1304-5 when the Greek emperor summoned to his aid the notorious Catalan Company. Roger de Flor relieved Philadelphia and beat back the Turks from Ephesus, Tire and Birgi; one doubtful tradition claims that his company chased Osman from his recent capture of Lefke (*Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 657); but certainly Muntaner's assertion (No. 68, p. 502) that they pushed the Turks as far east as the Cilician Gates is a wild exaggeration (possibly due to a confusion of 'Cilician' with 'Lycian'); and the green line of Map 7 indicates the approximate frontier of the Eastern Empire when the Catalans left Asia to pursue their depredations in Thrace, Thessaly and Attica (1305).

## 2. *The second period of expansion (1306-60)*

The Turkish reverse was only momentary; within fifteen years the Greeks had been pushed back to the confines of the Sea of Marmara, and only retained the area flat-coloured on Map 7, including the city of Philadelphia, now cut off from all Christian help, and the three coastal enclaves of Phocaea on the Aegean, and Heraclea Pontica and Amasris on the Black Sea.

During this period of continued confusion we find three types of political organization prevailing among the Islamic powers in the peninsula:

(a) The overlordship of the Mongol Il-Khāns of Persia. This varied in strength and locality, but was rarely more than nominal west of the Kızıl-Irmak. The headquarters of the Il-Khān governor were usually at Kayseri, whence occasional punitive expeditions might be made, as in 1324 when Timūrtaş marched to Egridir and killed Dündar-Bey. On the death of Abū Sa'īd in 1335 the governor of Rum, Ertena-Bey, made himself independent.

(b) The independent states of the Turkish leaders, whose number and relative importance changed repeatedly. In general this variation was largely controlled by the vigour or weakness of the reigning prince plus the possibility or otherwise of utilizing the constantly arriving bands of Türkmen hordes on an expanding frontier. For example, Aydın

occupied an eminence out of all proportion to its size in the first half of the century thanks not only to a great leader but also to his flair for turning his gazis into sea-rovers: so also Osman and Orhan, themselves great men, could use any number of new arrivals in the attempt to encircle and then batter down the citadels of the infidel Greeks. On the other hand, *Menteşe* declined owing to the firm hold of Aydın on the whole Meander basin and of the Knights of St. John on the Dodecanese Islands; while Karaman, although first in the field of all the post-Selcuk states, waited for a hundred years to achieve any distinction because of the nearness of the powerful Mongol governors at Kayseri.

(c) The 'Ahis'. These were leaders of associations of young men organized in guilds. Although not of military origin, they are frequently found in this period endeavouring to assure to their locality some degree of civic security and stability during the prevailing political anarchy. If the local ruler was weak or inefficient, or unduly tyrannous, the *ahis* might undertake the government of the city and the policing of its district, as in Ankara, where they were particularly strong. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found them of great assistance during his travels through the peninsula.

### 3. *The principal Emirates*

The following notes will help to explain the two maps which concern the emirates. The list is, of course, far from exhaustive. Indeed, it is probable that all defensible sites and all unusually vigorous chieftains had a period of independence at some time during this chaotic age; but the two dozen listed below are the main ones concerning which notice has been preserved. It will be seen that many of those which survived into the 15th century had acquired such a long-standing title to their territories that the personal names of the founders (or their tribal connections) became commonly used as the names of the provinces, e.g. Aydın (-eli), Saruhan, Karasi, *Menteşe*, Hamid, Teke and Karaman; the emirates not thus distinguished are listed under the names of their chief towns (with the single exception of Sasan).

(i) *Afyon-Karahisar*. The family of Sahib Ata Fahrüddin, granted Karahisar by the last Selcuks, ruled there and in Sandıklı and Bolvadin at the beginning of the 14th century, but fell under the influence of Germiyan, who annexed their territories outright c. 1349. After the founder of the dynasty, the capital was alternatively known as Karahisari-Sahib.

(ii) *Alâiye*. This important Selcuk foundation was often in dispute between Karaman and Teke, being controlled by the former when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited it in 1333. It seems to have been independent in 1360, but from 1363 was for a short time tributary to the Christian kingdom of Cyprus. It was autonomous in the 15th century under a dynasty claiming descent from the Selcuk royal line.

(iii) *Ankara*. Often an independent *ahi* republic, but ruled on at least one occasion by a member of the Germiyan family (inscription of 1299). On the decline of Germiyan it seems to have been threatened by Karaman, and Orhan found it necessary to occupy it in 1354 (though Evliya says he took it from a prince of Germiyan, No. 161, Vol. 2, p. 224). It was again in danger in 1359/60 and was annexed permanently by Murad I in a special campaign at the beginning of his reign.

(iv) *Aydın*. At first a vassal of Germiyan, but independent by 1307/8 when he took Birgi and Ephesus (Ayasoluk) from Sasan and rapidly occupied the whole Meander valley. Umur Bey soon developed a maritime supremacy, making numerous piratical expeditions and levying tribute in the Aegean and Thrace, sometimes as mercenary ally of one or other of the rival Byzantine emperors. Smyrna (İzmir) was lost to the Christians in 1344 and Ayasoluk temporarily in 1365. Aydın disputed Sardis (Sart) and Nymphaion (Nif) with Saruhan, and Balat (Miletus) and the south Meander basin with Menteşe. Declined rapidly after the middle of the 14th century, and fell easily to Bayezid I in 1390. Restored by Tīmūr in 1402, and finally annexed in 1426.

(v) *Beyshehir*. The centre of the short-lived power of the Eşrefids, whose founder died shortly after 1300. His son added Akşehir and Bolvadin. The dynasty was ended by the great Mongol raid of 1324–5, and most of the territory, including the lake district of Beyshehir, Seydişehir and Akşehir, was absorbed by Hamid by 1328.

(vi) *Bolu*. A small state east of the Sangarios (Sakarya), at first under the Umur Hant but independent in 1333. Taken by Ottomans *c.* 1354.

(vii) *Canik*. Sometimes this territory was ruled by Kastamonu, at others it was a nest of independent emirs. (Al-'Umarī—No. 61, p. 363—calls it 'Qāwiyā', but no place of this name can be discovered). At the time of its conquest by Bayezid I the following dynasties were found there:

*Samsun*. The Kubad-oğulları.

*Kotyora (Ordu) and Kerasus (Giresun)*. The Emir-oğulları.

*Phazemon (Merzifon) and Havza*. The Taşan-oğulları.

*Themiskyra (Terme) and Çarşanba*. The Tacüddin-oğulları. These last appear to be identical with the emirs of Limnia mentioned by Panaretos in his history of Trebizond under the years 1379 and 1386.

(viii) *Denizli*. Usually independent till 1365, when it was annexed by Germiyan, but even in 1333 Ibn Baṭṭūta found the district infested by Germiyan 'brigands'. According to al-'Umarī (*op. cit.* p. 358) it was a powerful state controlling much of the Meander valley.

(ix) *Gerede*. A small state with roughly the same history as Bolu.

(x) *Germiyan*. One of the first and most powerful of the emirates (see above, p. 28), which appears to have controlled a vast territory from the neighbourhood of Philadelphia to Ankara and Akşehir. Simav was captured in 1306/7. Later Germiyan suffered a decline, and seems to have relapsed into anarchy—at least, Aydın successfully asserted his independence, and in 1333 Ibn Baṭṭūta alludes only to Germiyan 'brigands' and paid no visit to its capital, Kütahya, which he would certainly have done had its Sultan been notable enough. Towards mid-century a revival took place, Afyon-karahisar being absorbed *c.* 1349/50 and Denizli *c.* 1365; but an immediate relapse occurred, and the Ottomans took over the major portion of the emirate without difficulty *c.* 1380/1, while the Emir retired south-west to the Kula region. It was restored by Tīmūr in 1402, and finally annexed in 1428.

(xi) *Göynük*. Ruled at the turn of the century by the family of Umur-Han, who also occupied Taraklı and Mudurnu. Conquered by Orhan in 1331.

(xii) *Hamid*. Uluborlu was the first capital of this emirate, but by 1300 its place had been taken by Eğridir (al-'Umarī—op. cit., p. 360—says that the capital was Nazilli, but he is probably confusing 'Amid-eli', which he also calls 'Ayd-eli' with 'Aydın'). Dündar-Bey renamed his new capital Felekâbad, and his power reached to the Mediterranean by the acquisition of Antalya (Adalia). He was killed by the Mongols in 1324 but his son regained the lake district and added to it the dominions of the Eşrefids of Beyşehir by 1328. Dündar-Bey's brother, Yunus-Bey, managed to save Antalya from the Mongol invasion, and founded an independent line there (his son was reigning in Teke at the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's visit in 1333, and that traveller appears to know nothing of the family connection with Hamid). Another brother was sub-ruler of Gölhisar in 1333, but this may not be the town of that name marked on the map, but another, now unknown, on a more direct route from İsparta to Denizli. Between 1381 and 1386 Murad I obtained the eastern two-thirds of the emirate, and the rest was conquered by Bayezid I in 1390.

(xiii) *Karaman*. Independent in Ermenek and Lârende as early as 1256, but slow to develop owing to the proximity of the Mongols, who twice crushed its rising power (1299 and 1319) after Karaman had twice seized Konya (1277 and 1312). Karaman often held Alâiye, and about 1350–60 became very powerful, disputing Ankara with the Ottomans and temporarily overrunning all the dominions of Eretna (coins were struck as far east as Erzincan). The later history of the emirate and its struggles with the Ottomans is dealt with in detail in Chapters Three to Five.

(xiv) *Karasi*. Of Danişmendid origin. Appears well before 1300, to suffer defeat at the hands of the Catalans. Thereafter became very powerful, with centres at Bergama (Pergamum) (1302) and Balıkesir. The coastal districts of Edremid and Çanakkale were annexed c. 1306. Karasi was one of the Aegean pirate strongholds, but does not seem to have controlled the Marmara coast. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa thought little of the Sultan—'a worthless person'. Most of the emirate was annexed by the Ottomans between 1336 and 1350, though Edremid and Çanakkale survived a little longer.

(xv) *Kastamonu*. One of the earliest emirates, founded c. 1290 by a governor of the Il-Khāns, who founded the dynasty of the Candar-oğulları, later known as the Kızıl-Ahmedliler or the İsfendiyar-oğulları. Conquered Sinop (1322) and Canik (c. 1330). Çankırı was probably within this state, though it seems to have been independent about 1393 or later.

(xvi) *Manavgat*. Semi-independent in 1360, and submitted to Cyprus in 1361. Usually under Karaman or Teke.

(xvii) *Menteşe*. The reasons for the limitation of the early power of this emirate have been given already (p. 30). The defection of Sasan and the rise of Aydın were severe blows to the promise of expansion, while the seizure of all the near-by islands by the Knights of St. John prevented *Menteşe* from reaping compensation by piracy. The Meander valley continued to be disputed with Aydın, which in general had the upper hand and seems to have taken Balat (Miletus) before 1340, while Teke expanded west to Finike

and possibly as far as the Dalaman. On the other hand Tavas was acquired by Menteşe after 1333, and according to the 17th-century geography of Kâtib-Çelebi Feslikan, far to the north-east, was part of the emirate, though this can only have been a temporary possession. In 1390 Menteşe was conquered by Bayezid I, and after Timūr's restoration was finally annexed by the Ottomans in 1426 or earlier.

(xviii) *Saruhan*. A small Aegean emirate which, like Aydın and Karasi, became powerful through piracy. Its raids are frequently mentioned by the Byzantine historians. It arose soon after 1300, possible under Germiyan hegemony, and made a rapid recovery after defeat by the Catalans, taking Manisa and Nif *c.* 1313, though Nif and Sart were long disputed with Aydın. The Genoese colony at Phocaea (Foça) paid tribute to the emir. Conquered by Bayezid I in 1390, and again in 1405 by Mehmed I.

(xix). *Sasan*. The story of his rise has been given on p. 29. His fall was equally sudden. He lost Birgi and Ayasuluk in 1307/8 to Aydın, and seems to have been killed at Rhodes in 1310, leaving no successors.

(xx) *Sinop*. Ruled *c.* 1300 by a Selcuk, Gazi-Çelebi, but he lost it to Kastamonu in 1322. According to al-'Umarī (op. cit., p. 340) he was allowed to retain it as a vassal, but he was dead before Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Sinop in 1333.

(xxi) *Sivas*. Ertena-Bey, last of the Il-Khān governors of Rum (appointed *c.* 1327), made himself independent in 1335. Ruled from Sivas a vast domain including Kayseri, Niğde, Şebin-Karahisar, Erzincan and Erzurum. His domain fell partly to Karaman *c.* 1360, and then between 1365 and 1381 to Bürhanüddin, who came into conflict with Bayezid I.

(xxii) *Tavas*. Independent till about 1333 when it fell to Menteşe.

(xxiii) *Teke*. Seems to have established itself when a Türkmen tribe of that name acquired Antalya, thenceforth the seat of its power. Taken over by Hamid till the Mongol invasion of 1324, after which it was ruled independently by a branch of the Hamid family. Its extent varied considerably, sometimes stretching from Finike or farther west to Alâiye on the east, and at other times confined to Antalya and its hinterland. From 1361-73 Antalya itself was ruled by the Christian kingdom of Cyprus. In 1386 Murad I annexed the whole emirate except Antalya and İstanoz, and these fell to Bayezid I in 1391. Its final conquest by the Ottomans was about 1427.

*Note on al-'Umarī's Account of Asia Minor.* Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives us an eye-witness picture of the peninsula in 1333, but al-'Umarī's account is based on the reports given him by Sheykh Haydar of sbrḥşr (? Sivrihisar) and Dominic Doria of Genoa. Haydar, says the author (p. 337), left Rum about 1333, and from internal evidence we may judge his account to be valid for *c.* 1330: e.g. he mentions Ertena-Bey (p. 334), who became governor about 1327, but on the other hand gives Göynük as independent (p. 340), whereas in 1333 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found it in Orhan's possession (Gibb. edit., p. 138). Doria's account mentions many more names, and al-'Umarī thinks him the more reliable of the two, but he seems to have been inspired by memories stretching over a considerable period: e.g. he knows that İbrahim has succeeded Süleyman of Kastamonu (p. 361), which event happened well after 1333, but he has not heard of the death of Dündar of Hamid in 1324 (still reigning according to p. 360), nor of the Ottoman conquest of most of Karasi (still divided between two brothers according to pp. 365-6). And he is most inaccurate over his compass-points (or else al-'Umarī has wrongly transcribed them, or Quatremère

has wrongly translated them!), placing Bursa east of Canik (p. 364), Menteşe north of Tavas (p. 370), and getting into the utmost confusion over the Karahisars, so that on p. 349 Şebīn-karahisar, incorrectly mentioned as east of the silver-mines of Gümüşhane, is then placed west of the Eşrefids in Beyşehir. In general, however, the details he gives fit admirably into the broader picture given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, and help us to fill in parts of the jigsaw puzzle which is the map of 14th-century Asia Minor.

## CHAPTER TWO

# The Foundation of the Ottoman Power

(Maps 8 and 9)

THE early history of the Ottoman Empire is so entwined with legend and so abounding in contradictions that scarcely an event can be dated with any certainty before the battle of Kosovo (15.6.1389). The chronology in the Turkish official histories cannot be relied upon till we reach the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror, nor are the writings of the Greeks of much greater accuracy, and it is only when we can make use of the Venetian and Serbian records that the dates become reasonably safe.

None the less, the traditional accounts contain a good deal which makes sound historical sense, and a sifting of the various statements gives us a residue of coherent fact which makes reasonably possible a map showing the early progress of the emirate.

We may take as our two settled points (a) the certainty provided by the Greek annalists of the rule of Osman in Bithynia in the first quarter of the 14th century, and (b) the evidence of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in 1333 that Orhan ruled in Bursa (taken by Osman), Nicaea (taken by Orhan), Geyve and Göynük. And in view of the common tendency to regard the Ottoman power as slow to emerge it is worth repeating Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's categorical assertion that Orhan was 'the greatest of the Türkmén kings, and the richest in wealth, lands and military forces, possessing nearly a hundred fortresses'. He should know; he had visited them all (except Germiyan), and he had no axe to grind.

Map 8 shows (a) the traditional donation of the Selcuk sultan to Osman's father, Ertuğrul, (b) the traditional conquests of Osman prior to 1300—which have no true chronological framework assigned to them; (c) the later conquests of Osman; and (d) the acquisitions of Orhan. Map 9 portrays Osman's principality on a greatly enlarged scale.

### I. THE PRINCIPALITY OF ERTUĞRUL AND ITS EARLY EXPANSION

Tradition states that the Ottoman power was founded in the mid-13th century by the placing of a nomadic Türkmén tribe, said to be of the Kayı clan of the right wing of the Oğuz, on the Selcuk-Byzantine frontier between Dorylaeum (Eskişehir) and Nicaea (İzmit). Historical fact has been completely overshadowed by legend, however, and we can only make conjectures, with an attempt to distinguish between the probable and the possible.

(a) It is *probable* that the original cradleland of the future emirate was the pastureland stretching from the north-east slopes of the Domaniç Dağ east-north-east to the curve of the Sangarios (Sakarya), since such a tradition is likely to have been founded on an accurate folk-memory, and there is nothing from the geographical or historical standpoints to militate against it. These grasslands were right on the frontier between the Selcuk fortress of Eskişehir and the Byzantine citadel of Belokoma (Bilecik).

(b) It is *possible* that this was a direct grant by the Selcuk Sultan, though this assertion may have been invented later on to give the Ottomans some pretext for their claim to be the true successors of the Selcuks.

(c) It is *possible* that this territory was settled by a single Türkmen tribe, as is stated in the official Ottoman histories from the late 15th century onwards. But this view has been challenged repeatedly of recent years—first by Gibbons in his ‘Foundation’ (No. 53, especially pp. 263–7), where he reaches the conclusion that there was no ‘tribe’ till Osman, probably ‘a self-made man’ of no particular ancestry, created one by his own personality as a leader. His thesis is followed up by Wittek (No. 71), who pointed out that one of the earliest Ottoman historians, Ahmedî, in his ‘İskender-nâme’, written shortly after 1402, mentions no tribal origin, and no genealogy going back to Kayı-Han, but speaks of the Ottomans only as ‘gazis’. Here Wittek attacks Gibbons’s second argument—that the Ottomans were forged by their founder out of an amalgam of Greek and Turkish elements, replacing it by his own thesis that the state originated as a band of ‘gazi’ warriors drawn together by a ‘gazi’ leader whose mission in life was to wage the ‘jihād’ or Holy War on the collapsing Christian frontier, and that it grew because it attracted to itself more and more like-minded zealots who could find fewer outlets for their fervour in the remaining emirates (which had already expanded to their possible limits).

(d) It is *unlikely* that any fortresses to the south of this small domain were still in Greek hands. Eskişehir and the near-by citadel of Melangeia (Karacahisar) were almost certainly Selcuk rather than Byzantine, as has been shown above (p.26), and were probably occupied by Osman on the disintegration of the Selcuk kingdom as being the important strongholds which commanded the pass from the central plateau to the Bithynian plains.

Tradition, for what it is worth, says that in 1284 Osman received a Selcuk commission to succeed to his father’s territory, and that in 1289 this grant was extended to include Eskişehir and İnönü. The other traditional acquisitions show a natural desire to widen the pasturelands to accommodate the increasing nomad population, swollen by the arrival of fresh Türkmen hordes, to safeguard these possessions by the capture of the strongpoints, and to fulfil the functions of a true gazi warrior by pushing back the Greek frontier.

So to the original narrow belt stretching from the Domaniç Dağ to Sögüt were added the plains from İnegöl (Gr. Angelokoma) on the west to the Sakarya and beyond on the east, with the forts of Bilecik, Yarhisar, and finally Yenişehir, which is of prime importance as commanding the route from Bursa to Nicaea (İznik) and Lefke.

## II. THE LATER CONQUESTS OF OSMAN (1300-26)

With the disappearance of the last feeble Selcuks of Konya about A.D. 1300 Osman could consider himself as an independent chieftain *de jure* as well as *de facto*. From the Il-Khān point of view, of course, he was subordinate to their governors in Kayseri, but it is unlikely that he recognized this claim, nor is it recorded that he ever paid them tribute.

The Greek historians now help out our attempt to read between the lines of the Ottoman chroniclers, and though the dates are confused and unreliable, two main stages in Osman's later career become apparent:

(a) In the first fifteen years he advanced from his new base of Yenişehir in opposite directions—south-west to Lüblüce on the flank of Mount Olympus (Uludağ or Keşişdağ), and north-east up the Sakarya, taking Kocahisar (Trikokkia), Lefke, Akhisar, Geyve and Tekfurmanı. The legendary date of 1308 is likely to be approximately correct, as the presence of the Catalans would certainly be a hindrance prior to 1306 (they are supposed to have driven Osman from Lefke in 1305). The raids which he is said to have undertaken as far west as Lopadion (Ulubad) and as far east as Modrene (Mudurnu) resulted in no permanent acquisitions; neither did the foray which brought about his first victory over a detachment of the imperial Greek army at Bapheus (Koyunhisar) in (?) 1301.

(b) In the next ten years (?1317) Osman expanded his northern frontier by the conquest of the district to be known as Koca-eli, after Akça-Koca, the Ottoman general responsible for the campaign; but from the list of places whose capture is claimed it does not appear that the Turks had yet reached the Black Sea. Osman also prepared the encirclement of Bursa by capturing Atranos (Edrenos, later Orhaneli), and the fall of Karatekin was a direct menace to Nicaea.

According to the records the remainder of Osman's reign was taken up with the long siege of Bursa, finally taken by Orhan just before his father's death in 1326. The value of this capture can be clearly seen by a glance at the map. Bursa stood in a commanding position, with its rear protected by the towering height of Olympus, and controlling the plains towards Cyzicus and Lampsacus in the west and Kios (Gemlik) and Nicaea in the east, thus opening to the Ottoman attack the entire southern shore of the Propontis (Marmara-Denizi). Its fall, like the subsequent capture of Nicaea and Nicomedia, was not due to any skill the Turks had yet acquired in the art of siege warfare but to its complete isolation over a period of years by the Ottoman occupation of the environs, and by the lack of any help from Constantinople, so that the heroic defenders were at last forced to give way through economic necessity and loss of morale (see Gibbons, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57, and the reasons for the capture enumerated by Neşrî, No. 100, Vol. 13, pp. 214-18).

Throughout this period the southern frontier seems to have remained stable. Certainly any expansion in this direction would have been difficult while the power of Germiyan was at its height, with its capital at Kütahya so near to the Ottoman border. The only danger is reported to have come from the invasion of a hostile band of Tatars; this attack may have been identical with or encouraged by the Mongol raid which we know from

other sources took place about 1317 or earlier in a vain attempt to assert Il-Khān sovereignty west of the Kızıl-Irmak.

One very doubtful though oft-repeated assertion is that Osman captured the island of Kalolimne (İmralı) in the Sea of Marmara in 1308. This seems quite impossible, as at that time the Ottomans possessed no coastal towns at all, much less the requisite navy; Aydın or Saruhan might have achieved such a success, but even they could scarcely have done so at such an early date. The tradition appears in the late 15th-century 'Heşt-Bihîşt' of İdris of Bitlis, but is repeated without comment by von Hammer (No. 1, Vol. I, p. 91) and Gibbons (op. cit., p. 46).

### III. THE REIGN OF ORHAN (1326-62)

This divides into three clearly marked stages:

#### 1. *The conquest of the north-western coastlands* (1326-40)

The chronology, unfortunately, is badly confused. For example, to the three most important events are allotted widely different dates:

Fall of Nicaea:	1330 and 1334.
Fall of Nicomedia:	1327 and 1338.
Conquest of Karasi:	1336 and 1340 or later.

If we are to deal in likelihood, then it would seem sensible to place the capture of Nicaea (easily isolated from Byzantine naval assistance) earlier than that of Kios (Gemlik) in 1333 or than the fall of Nicomedia. On the other hand the great sweep of 1327-8 towards Scutari was more than a mere raid: it resulted in the fall of Kandıra, Samandıra and Aydos, and was followed by victories over the Greeks at Pelekanon (Maltepe) in 1329 and at Philokrene (Tavşancıl) in 1330, which must have isolated Nicomedia effectively. To straighten out the course of events is at present impossible, but the lines of strategy are clear. The conquest of the interior of the northern peninsula was paralleled by a simultaneous conquest of the southern shore of the gulf of Nicomedia as far as Karamürsel and Yalova, and followed by a second sweep which took in the whole northern coast of the same gulf, including the towns of Dakibyza (Gebze), Niketiatos (Eskihisar) and Ritzion (Darıca).

Nicaea, now isolated, fell on 2nd March, 1331 (according to Charanis—No. 77, p. 342); then, after lengthy sieges, Gemlik and İzmid (Nicomedia) followed. Armutlu seems to have held out till 1337, but by 1338 all that certainly remained to the Byzantines in Asia was a strip of coast from Şile on the Black Sea to Scutari on the Bosphorus, plus the enclaves of Heraclea Pontica and Amastris in Paphlagonia and Philadelphia between Aydın and Germiyan. East of the Sakarya the interior towns of Taraklı, Göynük and Mudurnu had long been held by Umur-Han, but Orhan's son Süleyman is said to have captured them in 1331 (they were Ottoman at the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's visit two

years later), and it is likely that by this time the coastline around the mouth of the Sakarya had also fallen into Ottoman hands.

Meanwhile Orhan's attention was drawn to his south-west frontier, and in an expedition about 1337/8 he took from their Greek rulers Lopadion (Ulubad), Mihaliç and Kirmasti. Biga escaped from the Turks till 1363, and seems to have been in the possession of a last remnant of the Catalan horde.

The conquest by Orhan of most of the emirate of Karasi (1336-40) when he took advantage of a civil war in that country brought him an enormous accession of strength—doubling his territory at a blow, and giving him for the first time a frontage on the Aegean, with the legacy of a redoubtable pirate fleet. The districts of Çanakkale and Edremid seems to have maintained some kind of independence for a few years longer—possibly till 1350 or even later.

## 2. *Consolidation and diplomacy (1340-52)*

During this second period Orhan appears to have annexed no fresh lands. The absorption of his gains must have taken some time, and the division of the emirate into the three sancaks of Sultan-öyüğü (Sultan-önü), Koca-eli and Hudavendigâr probably dates from this time. But he still took an active part in external affairs and paved the way for his next conquests by entering into alliances with Cantacuzenos and his rivals (from 1345 onwards) by means of which his lieutenants became thoroughly familiar with the European terrain. In 1347 an Ottoman attempt to seize the island of Imbros (İmroz)—possibly by means of the ships obtained from Karasi—was defeated at sea by the Knights of Rhodes.

## 3. *The establishment of the Thracian bridgehead (1353-62)*

The first definite foothold in Europe was Tzympe (Cinbi) on the Dardanelles, not far from Gallipoli, which was secured when Süleyman-Paşa, Orhan's capable son, turned the camp which his Turkish mercenaries had been granted by the Greek emperor into a permanent base. The Turkish date for this is 1356, and this is repeated by many western histories; but the Greeks give 1352 for the grant and the following year for the settlement (Cantacuzenos IV, 38, and Gregoras XXVIII, 40-42 and XXXIII, 67). The latter account is more probable in view of the specific date of 2.3.1354 recorded for the great earthquake which in 1355 delivered Gallipoli into Ottoman hands.

What happened between 1354 and Orhan's death is not clear; but the Turkish claim that Süleyman reached Adrianople is most unlikely, except possibly on a raiding foray, and the boundary given on Map 8 is the widest permissible for his conquests. Bolayır, Ekzamil (Hexamilion), Gaziköy (Ganos), Panidos, Misinli, Çorlu (Tzouroulos), Lüle-Burgaz (Arkadiopolis), Malkara, İpsala and Tekirdağ (Rodosto) seem to have been reached, but as some of these are found in Byzantine possession early in Murad's reign it is possible that they were only attacked and looted.

One interesting problem concerns the annexation of Ankara and its district, which is stated by Cantacuzenos (IV, 37) to have taken place in 1354. Most historians have ignored

this, assuming it to be an erroneous anticipation of Murad's campaign of 1362, but Cantacuzenos was an exact contemporary, and is only untrustworthy over matters involving his own actions and motives. Wittek, in his article on medieval Ankara (No. 73, pp. 347-51) supports his assertion. We know that the long-dormant power of Karaman was seeking to establish its supremacy in the heart of Asia Minor at this time, and Ankara, being a centre of the *ahıs* whose associations formed an important element in Orhan's community, and also a town on one of the main routes which the *Türkmen gazıs* would take on their way to the Christian frontier, could not be allowed to fall into the hands of a dangerous rival. So he, already half-way to Ankara since the conquest of Mudurnu, would be very likely to take steps to avert such a disaster. At the same time he probably absorbed the minor emirates of Bolu and Gerede.

The date of Orhan's death has been much disputed. Most Ottoman sources give 1359 or 1360, and the majority of Western scholars have followed them, but as long ago as 1876 Jireček decided after careful scrutiny in favour of March 1362 (No. 96, p. 321, n. 10), and this has been supported since by Wittek (No. 73, pp. 347-51) and Charanis (No. 77, p. 351).

Map 8 shows how far the emirate had expanded during this reign. Its area had quadrupled, a footing had been gained in Europe, and the control of the Marmara coast and of the Dardanelles was striking in view of the fact that the Ottomans had as yet little control of the sea. Even so, the position of the emirate was precarious: determined action on the part of any maritime power could have severed the link with Europe; and the emergence of a strong state, or even of a trustworthy alliance between two or more lesser states, could yet have prevented Ottoman success. Neither eventuality occurred, and before the next sultan had finished his career it was too late.

#### IV. THE BALKANS AND AEGEAN IN 1362

Map 8 shows the position of the neighbouring Christian states at Orhan's death. Bulgaria and Constantinople were fast-decaying empires, the Serbian domain so recently enlarged by Stephen Dušan (d. 1355) was already dissolving into fragments in the feeble hands of his successor, the Latin states of Attica and the Peloponnese were weakened by civil strife, and the only prosperous district was the Byzantine province of Mistra, which was expanding at the expense of the Achaian Principality. The Aegean islands were divided between the Greeks, the Venetians, the Genoese, the Rhodian Knights, and the Sanudi Dukes of Naxos.

The map attempts to show some of the recorded raids by Turkish corsairs, but the unrecorded ones were certainly more numerous; all the coasts and islands were a prey to the annual expeditions sent out by Aydın and Saruhan. The only point which needs emphasis is that no raids west of the Maritsa can be attributed with certainty to Osman or Orhan; the use by the Greek historians of the word '*Turkoı*' for all these bands indiscriminately has misled many subsequent historians into the assumption that the Ottomans are meant.

CHAPTER THREE

The Conquests of Murad I and Bayezid I (1362–1402)

(Maps 10 and 11)

THE last forty years of the 14th century are the most confusing in Ottoman history. If the earlier period is veiled by the scantiness of the evidence, the careers of Murad and Bayezid are obscured by its contradictory nature.

Most of the important events have two possible dates assigned to them, often wide apart; some have three or more; others are given impossible dates, as when the fall of Niş is placed before the capture of Sofya; others may be duplicated, as when we read of two battles at Çirmen on the Maritsa in 1366 and 1371. Only three stand undisputed—the battles of Kosovo (15.6.1389), Nicopolis (28.9.1396) and Ankara (20.7.1402). In general the Turkish sources tend to antedate the conquest of the various parts of the Balkans, and where comparison is possible between the Turkish dates and those given in the Greek, Serb, Bulgar or Venetian chronicles, the latter are often more plausible.

Ottoman expansion during these two reigns was astounding. Both rulers were soldiers of uncommon ability, and they were served by a series of generals of equal distinction. The main difference was that Murad had the caution and was granted the time, to consolidate his gains, while Bayezid swallowed in undue haste large tracts of land which he could not assimilate; and after his defeat by Tīmūr it took his descendants three-quarters of a century to recover all the lost ground. None the less the Ottoman dominions in 1402 were nearly forty times the size of the little emirate left by Osman in 1326, as is shown by the following table (which includes only territory directly administered, and not vassal states).

		<i>Europe</i>	<i>Asia</i>	<i>Total</i>
		(in thousands of square miles)		
Osman:	1326	—	7.0	7.0
Orhan:	1362	1.5	27.5	29.0
Murad I:	1389	51.0	50.0	101.0
Bayezid I:	1402	86.0	181.5	267.5

Map 10 shows the expansion of the sultanate down to 1402, the year in which it reached its maximum size before Tīmūr began his westward march from Karabağ to

Ankara. It is on a sufficiently large scale to enable the details of the geography of the campaigns, often intricate and confusing, to be clearly seen. Also shown are the main routes of the Christian crusades of the late 14th century.

### I. MURAD'S EUROPEAN CAMPAIGNS

These fall into three clearly marked phases, separated by periods of consolidation and organization:

1. 1362-8: the conquest of northern Thrace and eastern Rumeli up to the Balkan range.
2. 1371-5: the conquest of western Thrace and the Macedonian lowlands.
3. 1385-9: the subjugation of the Macedonian highlands, and the first attacks on Serbia and Bulgaria.

#### I. 1362-8. *Northern and Central Thrace, and the Maritsa Valley*

No sooner had Murad arrived in Europe from his settlement of his Asiatic dominions (see Section III below), than he and his able generals began to expand their foothold in Thrace (which had apparently receded slightly since the death of Süleyman). The Byzantine Empire was in no condition to resist the Turkish attack, nor did its acceptance of a stage of vassalage in 1363 save it from the onslaught. Çorlu, Misinli, and Lüleburgaz were captured, and after a victory over Greeks and Bulgarians between Babaeski and Pınarhisar, the Ottomans took Adrianople, soon to become the new capital of the sultanate under its Turkish name of Edirne (1365 or 1366). From this centre the Turks expanded in four directions.

- (i) Evrenos-Bey marched up the Maritsa to recover İpsala and take Dimetoka (the Gr. Didymoteichon). From there he swung to the south-west under the spur of the Rhodope Mts. and reached Komotene (Gümülcine) and Karasu Yenicesi near the Aegean coast. Many authorities (e.g. Hammer, Vol. I, p. 222) give this last town as Vardar Yenicesi, i.e. Pella in Macedonia, but a glance at the map will show the impossibility of this capture, which took place possibly during Evrenos' next campaign in 1373-4, but more probably not till 1387.
- (ii) Lala-Şahin-Bey continued up the Maritsa valley against the Bulgarians, and wrested from them their ancient town of Zagora (Eski-Zağra), and their more recent acquisition of Philippopolis (Filibe) in 1363-4. This campaign drove an effective wedge between the Greeks of the Aegean coast and the Bulgarians, not that any alliance between them was likely to be of any danger to the Ottomans, as they were full of mutual distrust and ancient hatred.
- (iii) After the fall of Çirmen, near the junction of the Maritsa and Tunca rivers, Timürtaş marched north to the eastern end of the Balkan range, and took the Bulgarian towns of Elkhovo (Kızılağaç-Yenicesi), Yanbolu and Sliven (İslimye) in the campaign of 1365-6.

- (iv) Murad himself then secured the region between his new capital and the Black Sea. This campaign, while less spectacular than the others, was more vital and strenuous, partly because of the difficulty of attacking the coastal region which could be more easily defended by the Greeks, still far stronger at sea than the Turks, and partly because of the quixotic little crusade led by Amadeus of Savoy which arrived at this time.

The chronology of this wing of the conquest is particularly confusing, but we may attempt to unravel it with the constant help of Babinger's researches into its intricacies (No. 76).

John Alexander of Bulgaria, freed at last from Serbian hegemony by the death of Stephen Dušan in 1355, embarked on a final attempt to revive Bulgarian greatness, and having already secured the ports of Burgas and Sozopolis, he took from the Greeks between 1362 and 1365 the towns of Kirk-kilise (today Kırklareli), Pınarhisar, Bizya (Vize) and Midye. This triumph was momentary, for on John Alexander's death in 1365 his kingdom split into warring fragments, and Amadeus of Savoy recovered for the Greeks Burgas and Sozopolis in 1366. The crusading army also captured from the Ottomans their original base of Gallipoli (Gelibolu)—which shows on what a precarious foundation the Turkish control of Europe rested—and in the following year Amadeus wrested from them Eueakassia and Koloveiro on the Marmara coast (these last two ports cannot be identified but were probably between Gallipoli and Heraclea).

Ignoring these maritime exploits, Murad now seized the opportunity afforded by Bulgarian weakness; he marched far to the north and captured Aitos (Aydos) and Karinova, which commanded the passes over the eastern end of the Balkan range (1366-7). With the northern frontier now secure he could turn his attention to the interior lines, and in the next year's campaigns he completed the conquest of central Thrace with the capture of Chariopolis (Hayrabolu), Vize, Kirk-kilise and Pınarhisar (1367-8).

The subjection of the Black Sea coastlands would seem to be a natural accompaniment of this campaign, but the chronology is extremely doubtful. Burgas (Burgaz) and Sozopolis (Sözebolu) are claimed by the Turkish chronicles as part of the spoils of Murad's last two campaigns, but they appear to have needed recapture in 1372-3, so may either have been regained by the Greeks in the meantime, or never have left their possession. Agathopolis (Ahtopol) was probably taken in 1367-8. No data are available for the acquisition of the stretch of coast from İğneada to Podima, but Babinger thinks that the area must have been overrun about this time, bringing Ottoman rule right up to the wall of Anastasius and leaving only Mesembria (Misivri) and Anchialos (Ahyolu), possibly with Burgas and Sozopolis, still in Byzantine hands to the north of this.

The Sultan seems now to have called a halt for the organization and settlement of his conquests. The new city of Saray was built south-east of Vize, and a military road constructed from Vize towards Çatalca.

There is still some dispute over the date of the first anti-Ottoman crusade (Amadeus's crusade had been primarily directed against Bulgaria). Many sources, including the

Turkish histories, refer to an alliance between the Serbs, Bosnians, Vlachs and Hungarians in 1364, when the Maritsa Valley was invaded by a joint army only to be defeated by Hacı-İlbey at Chernomen (Çirmen). It is possible, however, that there is some confusion here with the crusade which was crushed at the same spot in 1371; if the two are identical, then the latter date is certainly the correct one.

The only other important happening is the treaty of 1365 made with Ragusa (Dubrovnik)—probably not a payment of tribute for Ragusan territory so much as an agreement that Ragusan commerce could purchase protection in Turkish waters.

## 2. 1371–5. *Western Thrace and the Macedonian Lowlands*

Nothing is recorded for the years 1369 and 1370, but by 1371 the Ottomans were on the move again. Lala-Şahin-Bey, now appointed as the first governor (Beylerbeyi) of Rumeli, as European Turkey was henceforth called, advanced farther up the Maritsa valley to separate the Serbs from the Bulgars. In the spring he too İhtiman and Samakov, beating a combined Serbo-Bulgar army at Çamurlu, near Samakov. Konstantin of Velbužd (Köstendil), one of the petty lords who ruled a fragment of the late Serb empire, promptly paid tribute, but his neighbours Vukasin, despot of the principality of Prizren, and his brother Ugljesa of Serrai, engineered a combination of local princes to stem the tide of Turkish advance. At the battle of Çirmen on the Maritsa in 1371 both were killed.

Vukasin's son Marko was allowed to retain a small vassal principality around Prilep and Skoplje, but Macedonia was now thoroughly invaded, and between 1372 and 1375 Evrenos and his companions took Iskeçe, Kavala, Avrathisar, Drama, Sikhne (Zihna) and Serrai (Siroz). During this campaign Evrenos also completed the conquest of western Thrace by the occupation of Xanthi and Maronea (1374). Bands of Turks may at this time have reached Bosnia and Albania, but no conquests were made. Bulgaria and Serbia were in grave danger, however, and both Lazar of Serbia and Šišman of central Bulgaria appear to have sought immunity by the payment of tribute (*c.* 1376).

Murad himself had spent these years in the capture or recapture of Sözebolu and Burgaz, while Çatalca, İnceğiz and Ferecik are reported as Turkish about 1372–3. This drew the net more closely around beleaguered Constantinople, whose emperor again acknowledged Ottoman suzerainty in 1373, and in 1377 returned Gallipoli to Murad.

The whole of the Thracian and Macedonian plains now in his hands, the Sultan called a second halt to consolidate his gains. This was a vital step before the Turks could attempt the more dangerous conquest of the mountain regions of the north and west, and they appear to have made no further move for nearly ten years, during which time Murad was partly occupied in Asia (see Section III below); but from the fact that Turkish auxiliaries are reported as assisting the various Albanian chieftains in Epirus between 1382 and 1384 we may deduce that the Sultan was actively encouraging his generals to gain valuable knowledge of the type of warfare and countryside they would encounter in the next series of campaigns. Meanwhile the Emperor Manuel tried to recover Siroz, provoking the Turks into their first attack on Salonica, and this great city fell to Hayrüddin-Paşa in 1387 after a three-year siege.

No reverses are reported in the chronicles to mar this record of Turkish success, but from the year 1384 onwards we find the port of Ainos at the mouth of the Maritsa in the hands of the Genoese family of the Gattilusii of Lesbos. This was probably not the result of hostile action, as it never appears to have been Ottoman, but if Chalcocondyles is right in saying that the citizens themselves invited the Genoese to take over the government, this may have been to prevent Ainos from falling into Turkish hands, and is therefore likely to have occurred at the time of Evrenos' campaigns (1362 or 1374—see Miller, No. 83, p. 318).

### 3. 1385-9. *The Macedonian highlands, Serbia, and Bulgaria*

The campaign against the Macedonian highlands opened in 1385 with tremendous vigour and success. Timūrtaş-Paşa, the new Beylerbeyi of Rumeli, marched from Samakov into the Vardar valley, taking the three great fortresses of İştîp, Monastir (Manastır), and Prilep (Pirlepe). At the same time the right wing of the Turkish forces captured the vital point of Sofya, thus opening the way for a pincer movement on Bulgaria from west and east simultaneously. In the far west Hayrüddin-Paşa captured Okhrida (Ohri) and forced his way into Albania, where he found the numerous local princes engaged in their usual clannish wars; he lent his aid to Thopia of Durazzo and killed George Başa of north Albania in battle on the banks of the Devoll (1385). Later in the same year Timūrtaş raided Epirus as far south as Arta, though no conquests were made in Albania or Greece except for the permanent occupation of Kastoria (Kroya, Berat and Dulcigno were captured by Hayrüddin-Paşa, but relinquished soon afterwards).

The way was now open for a direct attack on Serbia proper, and in 1386 the key-town of Niš (Niş) was captured (the Turkish date of 1375 is impossibly early, as Niş cannot have been held by the Osmanlıs until they had secured Sofya and North-west Macedonia (see Gibbons, No. 53, p. 161, for a full discussion of the chronology). Lazar of Serbia promised an annual tribute, which safeguarded for a time the remnants of his kingdom.

The fall of Salonica in 1387 was followed up by the capture of Pella (Vardar Yenicesi), and in 1387 or 1388 the new despot of Yanina (Yanya) in Epirus asked Murad for protection against the Albanians who were besieging his capital; a force was sent which raised the siege. Turkish raiders also appeared as far south as the Morea in 1387 and the following year.

Meanwhile, on the Black Sea front the ruler of the Dobruja (Dobruca), Ivanko, son of Dobrotiç, became the Sultan's vassal, so that Turkish influence now for the first time reached the Danube. The year 1387, however, witnessed the first serious defeat of the Ottomans, when a united Serbo-Bosnian army won a battle at Plošnik, west of Prokoplje on the River Toplica; and Turkish raiders who had invaded Bosnia were repulsed at Rudnik.

Murad did nothing at the time to restore the position in the north-west as he was engaged in a successful attempt to reduce to submission the fragments of Bulgaria. In 1388 his armies crossed the Balkan range by the pass of Nadir-Derbend, north of Aydos, and while a detachment took Provadia (Pravadi), the main body captured Šumen

(Šumnu) and Tărnovo (Tirnova). Czar Šišman fortified Silistria, but the Turks, though unsuccessful in their attempt on Varna, took Nicopolis (Niğbolu). The Turkish authorities claim that the whole of Bulgaria fell into their hands during this campaign (and here Zinkeisen, No. 2, Vol. I, pp. 252–5, follows Sa'düddin), but though the country may have been overrun it was not annexed outright till Bayezid's reign, and the results of this campaign seem to have been as shown on the map, with Šišman and Stratsimir remaining as vassals in Nicopolis and Vidin respectively, while Nicopolis and Šumen retained Turkish garrisons owing to their importance on the Danube frontier. (Babinger thinks that the Bulgarian campaign may not belong to Murad's reign at all, but the evidence of most of our early authorities is strongly in favour of the year 1388 for the first conquests north of the Balkan Mountains.)

By the spring of 1389 Murad was ready for the Serbs, who had followed up their earlier victory by taking the frontier castle of Pirot (Şhirköy), though the Turks soon regained it. Joined by his (Serb) vassals of Köstendil and Ūsküp (Skoplje), Murad marched from İhtiman and Köstendil into Lazar's territory via Kratovo to the plain of Kosovo (Kosovopolje), scene of so many battles throughout medieval history. Here on the 15th of June he completely defeated Lazar and his allies, but lost his life in the moment of victory.

## II. BAYEZID'S EUROPEAN CAMPAIGNS

In spite of chronological difficulties Murad's campaigns are sufficiently logical to make good historical and geographical sense. For the reign of Bayezid I, on the other hand, it is practically impossible to obtain anything like a 'reasoned chronology'. This is because we have now to contend not only with the contradictory assertions of the chronicles, but also with the incoherent and muddle-headed nature of the Sultan's movements. For Bayezid shared with his great enemy Tīmūr an almost total incapacity for organizing his conquests: both rushed from end to end of their expanding empires, dismaying their opponents by their lightning campaigns but failing to ensure that rebellion would not break out again once the conqueror had departed. So the historian finds it almost impossible to choose between the rival dates for the Sultan's Greek campaigns, or to decide when and how often he entered Wallachia and Karaman. It is clear, however, that in spite of his reputation among contemporaries, Bayezid was by no means the ever-victorious leader that the Turks might expect from the heir of Murad, Orhan and Osman; even before the fatal day of Ankara he had been outmatched in the field by at least two other opponents—Mircea of Wallachia and Būrhanüddin of Sivas.

In view of the chronological difficulties of the reign, we shall not attempt a consecutive account, but will instead give comments on the various provinces and vassal states of the period.

### 1. *The Byzantine Empire*

By 1389 the territory of the Palaeologi had shrunk within narrow limits. Around Constantinople itself it stretched only to the walls of Anastasius and to the cities of Selymbria (Silivri), Heraclea (Ereğli), Rodosto, Danias and Panidos on the Propontis; the Northern Sporades, Thasos, Lemnos, Samothrace and Imbros were still guarded by the navy in the Aegean; on the Black Sea coast Şile in Asia, and Mesembria and Anchialos in Europe were yet held; in Asia Minor Philadelphia was cut off from all aid by its ring of Turkish emirs; the only sizeable province was the prosperous Despotat of Mistra, the eastern half of the Peloponnesus, since 1384 an apange of the imperial family.

During the reign of Bayezid these petty dominions shrunk still further, as the sultan had determined to put an end to Greek independence by taking Constantinople itself. In 1390 he forced his unhappy vassal to march with him to the capture of Philadelphia; and after the miscarriage of the Nicopolis crusade Bayezid avenged himself for the Emperor's share in the alliance by preparing for a final assault on the city. In 1396 Şile was captured, and thus the Byzantines lost their last foothold in Asia; and by 1398 the capital was menaced by a ring of Turkish forts—Güzelhisar and Göksu on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus and Küçük- and Büyük-Çekmece on the European coast of the Marmaradenizi. The possession of these last two implies almost certainly the fall of Silivri, Ereğli, Rodosto, Danias and Panidos, which would mean that the Greek Empire extended no farther than the walls of its own capital city. The arrival of the French Marshal Boucicault in 1399 brought only temporary relief and an isolated success in the short-lived capture of Riva on the Asiatic shore. A full-scale attack by Bayezid might well have forestalled the victory of 1453 had it not been for the diversion caused by Tīmūr, which brought a reprieve of half a century.

The fate of Salonica (Selânik) is puzzling. It seems to have become Turkish in Murad's reign (see p. 45) but is reported to have been captured again by Bayezid on two other occasions, in 1391 and 1394 (Dukas, 13, p. 50, and Chalcocondyles, II, p. 59). It was returned to the Greeks in 1403/4, and the Ottomans only recovered it finally in 1430. Gibbons (op. cit., p. 231) assumes that the first three accounts are all mythical on the ground that it was far too heavily defended to pass from hand to hand with such ease and rapidity. It seems very probable, however, that the Turks would make a serious attempt to take such an important city before extending their empire into Thessaly and Greece; and it had not shown itself so difficult to capture in former times. Tafrali's construction has much to commend it (No. 84): he supposes that Murad was content to leave only a garrison in the citadel after his victory of 1387, and allowed the inhabitants civil autonomy, but that Bayezid in 1391 absorbed the town fully into his empire, which misled Dukas into speaking of this event as a second capture. This solution frees us from the incredible explanation that Bayezid returned it as a gift to the Greeks!

Another problem, without apparent answer on the available evidence, is the fate of the surrounding countryside, especially of the three-branched peninsula of Chalkidike with the sacred Mount Athos on the eastern limb. We can only assume that it 'went with'

Salonica and so became Turkish at the same time, but the Holy Mountain seems to have kept its inviolability from infidel and womankind alike.

When Bayezid invaded Thessaly his fleet gained temporary possession of the Northern Sporades, but the four large islands of Thasos, Lemnos, Samothrace and Imbros remained in Greek hands till the mid-15th century.

## 2. *Bulgaria*

Murad's attack on Bulgaria had left three petty vassals still ruling north of the Balkan range—Šišman in Tırnova and Niğbolu, Stratsimir in Vidin to the north-west, and Ivanko in the Dobruca between the bend of the Danube and the Black Sea. Bayezid planned to end this situation and turn all Bulgaria into a Turkish province. So Tırnova fell in 1393 and Šišman was deposed. This threat made Stratsimir seek help from Sigismund of Hungary, whose vassal he became (he had formerly paid tribute to Sigismund's predecessor, Louis the Great). The Magyar king, realizing the grave danger from the Ottoman advance to the Danube, made an international affair of it, but in 1396 the Franco-Hungarian crusade was utterly defeated by Bayezid in the great battle of Nicopolis, whose immediate result was the annexation of Vidin (by 1398 at latest). The fate of the Dobruca is less clear; Ivanko is last heard of at Varna in 1393, but his land appears to have been overrun for a time by Mircea of Wallachia, and it is impossible to say whether the Ottomans during Bayezid's reign ever conquered as far as the mouths of the Danube (see Iorga, No. 200, p. 76, concerning the fate of Ivanko).

## 3. *Macedonia*

The victory of Kosovo gave Bayezid the opportunity of completing the conquest of the Macedonian highlands. Kratova and Skoplje (Üsküp) were annexed, and large numbers of Turkish settlers were planted in the Vardar valley, while Evrenos shortly afterwards took Edessa (Vodena) and Pydna (Çitroz, 1390-1). The small vassal states of Marko and Konstantin soon disappeared (both princes are said to have died fighting for the Sultan in the Wallachian campaign).

## 4. *Serbia*

After Kosovo the kingdom of Serbia was reduced to the limits it had occupied before the reign of Dušan. Stephen Lazarević became the Sultan's vassal and kept his throne by unswerving loyalty; his sister became Bayezid's wife, and it was the Serb contingent which contributed largely to the victory at Nicopolis and proved the most faithful and effective part of the Ottoman army at Ankara. None the less Bayezid reduced the danger of rebellion by recognizing a rival Serb lord, Vuk Branković, as ruler of Priština, and his son and successor, George Branković (1398-1457) assumed the title of 'Prince of Serbia'.

## 5. *The North-west Frontier (Hungary, Bosnia and Albania)*

The reign of Bayezid marks the real beginning of the long series of heavy raids by Turkish gazis across the frontiers of the remaining Christian states of the Balkans, raids

which not only kept those districts in a perpetual state of terror and devastation, but which served the purpose of softening up the way for the next stage of the conquest. The main burden of defence rested on the shoulders of the Hungarians, as the strength of the newly established kingdom of Bosnia did not outlast the reign of its first monarch, Tvrtko (1353-91).

In the very year of his death the Ottomans invaded Bosnia as far as Naglazinze, and Syrmium as far as Francovilla (Nagy-Olosz, near Karlowitz and Slankamen), though both attacks were repulsed by the Magyars. Belgrade, then Hungarian, suffered its first siege in 1391 or 1392, and in the latter year the Banat of Machov was raided and Golubac was captured very temporarily. The Hungarians now retaliated by raiding Bulgaria and capturing Little Nicopolis, but the defeat of the great crusade of 1396 opened the way for renewed Turkish attacks. Syrmium was ravaged, and Mitrovica on the Sava taken, though the raiders were defeated at Požega (1396). Schiltberger, who had been taken prisoner at Nicopolis, asserts in his memoirs that the Ottomans reached Styria and burnt Pettau (No. 101, p. 6), but no other source mentions such a daring exploit (though Chalcocondyles takes the raiders to Buda, II, 76-80), and it is more probable that Peterwardein is meant. In 1398 Bosnia was again attacked by a powerful force, and Zvornik was reached by the raiders who were bought off by the payment of tribute: but it is an exaggeration to say that this made Bosnia a vassal state, which status it did not reach till the middle of the next century.

Farther south, in Albania, the continued quarrels between the numerous petty chieftains afforded the Turks much scope for easy loot in spite of the difficult nature of the terrain. In 1392 they took the strongholds of Kroya (called Akçahisar by the Turks) and Škodra (Scutari, or, to the Turks, İskenderiye) from George Balša II, and by 1394 they were practically masters of the Drin valley and had appeared on the Adriatic coast at the mouth of the Boyana, although in the following year Balša recovered his castles, and for the rest of Bayezid's reign Albania relapsed into undisturbed anarchy.

## 6. Wallachia (Eflák)

Concerning the first Turkish attack on Wallachia we find the most appalling confusion, not merely chronological but also factual. The questions What? When? and Where? are alike unanswerable.

The *starting-point* is the rise to power in Wallachia of the powerful voivode Mircea the Great (1386-1418). The occasions for dispute were (a) his possession of the northern Dobruca and the strong fortress of Silistria on the south bank of the Danube, and (b) his diplomatic intrigues with Bayezid's enemies, especially the İsfendiyar-oğulları of Kastamonu and Sinop; the ease of sea communication between Sinop and the Danube mouth meant that either power could open a second front if the other were attacked. The *finishing-point* is the reduction of Wallachia to (temporary) tributary status at some time before 1396. In between the two we have:

(i) *From Christian sources*: a Turkish invasion of Wallachia soon after Kosovo, the

capture of Mircea and his release only on promise of homage and tribute, then an invasion by Bayezid in 1394 and a battle at Rovine on 10th October, during which the Turkish vassals Marko Kraljević and Konstantin of Köstendil were both killed. A second source places Konstantin's death on 17th May, 1395, but without referring to a battle.

- (ii) *From Turkish sources: Oruç* (c. 1460) gives a Turkish raid by Firuz Bey of Vidin into Wallachia in 1389, followed in 1390 by Bayezid, who first takes Nicopolis and Silistria, then fights a battle with Mircea at Ogras; this is on the whole a defeat for the Turks, but after Bayezid's retreat, Mircea sends tribute. *Sa'düddin* places the invasion in 1391 and scores a victory for Bayezid, who reduces Mircea to great straits and complete vassality. *Neşri* gives two campaigns, the second being caused by Mircea's attack on Karınova in Bulgaria while the Sultan is engaged in reducing Kastamonu.

Babinger's reconstruction (see No. 76 for details of all the sources) is based on the assumptions that (a) Oruç and Neşri are correct in placing the Wallachian campaign immediately after the attack on Kastamonu, and (b) this attack was the final one of spring, 1393. He thus places Ogras in autumn, 1393, and equates Ogras with Curtea de Argeş. This solution has much to commend it. There is no room for a Wallachian campaign in 1391, and although it might be fitted into the autumn of 1394 this would ignore the likely connection with Kastamonu. There can be no question of any sweeping Turkish victory (Oruç is the earliest and probably the safest guide on this matter). Further, the story of Mircea's capture is unsupported by any weighty evidence, and Rovine cannot be found anywhere in Rumania! It is strange that the Rumanian historian of the Turks, Iorga, continued to allude to this battle, but Oruç's manuscript was undiscovered in his early days of writing his great history of the Ottomans (No. 3). Some other more recent authorities (see Nos. 88 and 89) support the theory of a battle on 17.5.1395, but once again this means relinquishing the connection with Kastamonu. Here, to await further expert investigation, we must leave the matter.

## 7. Greece

The conquest of Macedonia and Salonica left an easy path open to the plain of Thessaly, which was overrun by Evrenos-Bey in 1392 or 1393. Larisa, its chief town, now became the Turkish Yenişehir, and the whole province became a fief held by Evrenos from the Sultan. At about the same time Bayezid sent his new fleet to make a devastating raid in the Aegean, during which Chios, Negroponte and the coasts of Attica were ravaged.

It was now the turn of the Latin states of the south to feel the weight of the Turkish menace. At this time there were five of them: (a) the Duchy of Athens, ruled by the Florentine Nerio Acciajuoli since 1388; (b) the Principality of Achaëa under the Navarrese Company, whose vicar was Bordo de San Superan; (c) the County of Salona (Amphissa); (d) the Marquisate of Boudonitsa, which guarded the historic pass of Thermopylae; (e) the Venetian colonies of Pteleon in Thessaly and Modon and Koron in the Morea.

San Superan appears to have set the avalanche in motion. To help him in his perpetual fight against the growing Byzantine despotate of Mistra he invited Turkish aid. The Sultan held a great conclave of his vassals at Siroz, to which he summoned among others the despot Theodore (May, 1394), obtained from him the promise of Argos and Monemvasia (which were never surrendered, however), and dispatched Evrenos to raid the Morea, which he did in 1395, sacking Veligosti (Leondari) and Akova. Meanwhile the Sultan in person marched south, taking Trikkala (Tırhala), Domokos, Pharsala (Çatalca), Zeitouni (İzdin), Neopatras and Salona, while Boudonitsa saved itself by the payment of tribute. A last great raid was led in 1397 by Evrenos and Yakub-Bey, who destroyed Argos (then Venetian), defeated the Byzantines at Leondari, ravaged south-west Morea as far as Modon and Koron, and returned via Athens, of which they seem for a short time to have occupied all but the citadel, where the Venetian garrison held out.

Once again the chronology offers difficulties. A letter written by the Duke of Athens in February 1394, refers to the fall of Salona: and this encourages Miller (No. 82, p. 347) to place Bayezid's court of Siroz and the invasion of Greece in 1393. Zakythinos, helped by another document of the ubiquitous Constantine of Köstendil, fixes the date of the Siroz assembly in May, 1394 (No. 86, pp. 113-14). The years 1395 and 1397 for Evrenos' Morean raids are not in dispute, but it is not at all clear whether Bayezid's own march south was in 1394, 1395, or even in 1396 after the battle of Nicopolis; the only certainty seems to be that one of Evrenos' raids was a continuation of the Sultan's march, when the latter was forced to move elsewhere on news from another front.

### III. THE CONQUEST OF ASIA MINOR: (a) UNDER MURAD

During the last forty years of the century the expansion of the sultanate in Europe was more than counterbalanced by the acquisition of the whole of Asia Minor up to the Taurus, the Euphrates, and Erzincan. The probable reasons for this, apart from the personal ambitions of Murad and Bayezid, are:

(a) The enormous extension of the front against Christendom, which called for an ever-increasing supply of warriors; and it was necessary for the sultans to control as far as was possible the sources of such a supply so that no other power could divert them to other and hostile purposes.

(b) The recent growth of the power of Karaman in the centre of the peninsula. As long as Konya was held by this state it could claim to be the rightful successor of the Selcuk; on the other hand the Ottomans were now beginning to feel that this position really belonged to them by virtue of the fact that their emirate was now the only true gazi kingdom (the Islamic countries bordering on the now feeble Christian lands of Trebizond and Georgia had no such stimulus to the 'jihād').

Early in his reign Murad had to undertake a campaign in Asia to restore the situation caused by the sudden threat from Karaman. Ankara and the district of Gerede were confirmed as part of the empire, and Murad seems to have added the country as far east as

Tokat (see Wittek, No. 73, p. 354, placing this expedition in 1362 rather than 1361), though this acquisition can only have been temporary, since Tokat is later found in the possession of Bürhanüddin of Sivas. At about the same time one of the two remaining Byzantine ports on the Black Sea (Heraclea Pontica—Karadeniz Ereğlisi) was captured, and in 1363 or 1364 the important town of Biga north of Karasi was taken, probably from Catalan occupants, so that the whole southern shore of the Marmara-denizi was now firmly in Ottoman hands.

For nearly twenty years Murad was busy in Europe, but in 1380 or shortly afterwards he undertook an astonishing piece of diplomacy. He married his son Bayezid to the daughter of the Emir of Germiyan and obtained as her dowry the district which included Kütahya, Simav, Eğrigöz and Tavşanlı. A glance at the map will show that this grant amounted to more than half the emirate, including the capital city, yet none of the authorities comment on the surprising gift, nor do they hint at the threat which must have induced it. Was it to appease the Ottoman or to frustrate the Karaman-oğlu that the much-enfeebled ruler submitted to such an indignity? Possibly the latter, since his remaining possessions were well away from Konya, and his new capital of Kula was as far to the west as his shrunken domains would permit.

Murad's next move was another diplomatic success, when he induced Hamid also to part with two-thirds of the emirate, including the lake-district of Beyşehir, Seydişehir, Akşehir, İsparta, Yalvaç and Kara-ağaç; and judging from the list of sancaks into which the conquests were now divided (Germiyan, Sivrihisar, Ankara, Akşehir and Eğridir) the town of Eğridir (Felekâbad), Hamid's capital, also formed part of the 'sale'. Another reference to the map reveals not only the extent of the acquisition but also the certain motive. Hamid, like Germiyan, was telescoped into its western corner so that the Ottoman could form a strong front against the menace of Karaman. Murad was preparing for a show-down, and although hostilities were averted for the present by a marriage between his daughter and Alâüddin Karaman-oğlu, the two rivals soon came to blows.

The traditional date for the first Karamanlı War is 1386, and its cause was the attempt of the sultan of Konya to annex the lakes of Beyşehir. He was defeated by Murad and the boundary restored, but the Ottomans were not yet strong enough to undertake the complete conquest of Karaman, and contented themselves with the exaction of tribute. However, Murad is reported to have made one more annexation on his southern frontier by forcing the small emirate of Teke to give up to him everything except Antalya and İstanoz. This, if true, is puzzling. We know that Teke was far from strong at this time; it had only recently recovered Antalya from Cyprus, Alâiye was under the domination of Karaman, while Finike, even if part of Teke at the time, would scarcely have had any value for Murad. We can only surmise that he annexed the valleys of the Köprü-su and the Manavgat-çay which ran south from his new possessions in the lake-district, and so connected them with the Mediterranean. This would give him one or two small but useful ports to form naval bases for the struggle with Karaman.

This interpretation of the acquisitions of Murad in Asia may seem to lay too much

stress on the building of an anti-Karamanlı front, but it seems the only one which makes sense of his otherwise strange moves.

#### IV. THE CONQUEST OF ASIA MINOR: (b) UNDER BAYEZID

The overweening ambition of Yıldırım led him on not only to the completion of his father's aims but to the extinction of all other rivals in Asia Minor until on the borders of Armenia he challenged a greater than himself and lost all. The sources are more than usually confused, but the campaigns can be divided under four main headings and the chronological difficulties will be mentioned in connection with each.

##### I. *The absorption of the south-western emirates*

In 1389 there still existed in South West Asia Minor the lordships of Saruhan, Aydın and Menteşe, the truncated remains of Germiyan, Hamid and Teke, the Greek city of Philadelphia (Alaşehir), the Genoese colony of Phocaea (Foça), and the city of Smyrna (İzmir) guarded by the Rhodian Knights. All these, with the exception of Phocaea and Smyrna, were the objects of Bayezid's first attack, and all that he attacked succumbed. There is mention in the sources of an attempt at a coalition against him under Karamanlı leadership, but the coastal emirates had not been powerful on land for nearly a century, and their once-imposing navies were no longer a match for the Ottoman fleet.

The order and date of the campaigns are too entangled to permit of any satisfactory unravelling, as the following summaries of the itineraries show:

- (a) *Oruç*: 1389: Bursa—Alaşehir—Beyşehir—Konya—Aydın—Menteşe—Ayasuluk—Saruhan—Teke—Beyşehir—Lârende—Konya.
- (b) *Sa' dîiddin*: 1390 (spring): first campaign to Alaşehir—Aydın—Saruhan—Menteşe; then a second campaign to Germiyan—Teke.
- (c) *Dukas*: 1390 (spring): first campaign to Germiyan—Menteşe—Saruhan—Alaşehir; (autumn) second campaign to Teke.
- (d) *Phrantzes*: 1390 (spring): Kastamonu—Saruhan—Menteşe; (autumn) Teke.
- (e) *Chalcocondyles*: Alaşehir—Kastamonu—Aydın—Saruhan—Menteşe—Teke.

The one conclusion we may draw from the above list is that the entire episode was probably completed by the end of 1390. There is nothing impossible about this, and the historians who prefer to make the reduction of the south-west drag on into 1391 and even 1392 forget that it must have been early in his career that Bayezid earned the nickname of 'Lightning' by which his contemporaries knew him (cf. Evliya, No. 161, Vol. II, p. 21, where he remarks that Bayezid passed seven times in one year from Anatolia to Wallachia!).

The itinerary is another matter. Charanis (No. 78, p. 304) argues that if Manuel Palaeologus did accompany the Sultan to the capture of Philadelphia, it must have been in the autumn of 1390, as he was elsewhere in the summer. But since Philadelphia submitted

without a siege, and as it is not necessary to assume that Bayezid forced Manuel to accompany the rest of the campaign, it was quite possible for him to have marched with the Sultan in the spring and still have reached Rhodes in the summer. If so, then we can assume with Oruç and Sa'düddin that Philadelphia was the first objective, after which Oruç's route makes better sense (ignoring his probable misplacement of Bayezid's first campaign against Karaman—see below). Then we can read as follows :

Spring 1390: first campaign to Alaşehir—Aydın—Ayasuluk—Menteşe—Saruhan.  
Autumn 1390: second campaign to Germiyan—Hamid—Teke.

It is not to be supposed that Bayezid's swift march completed the conquest of all these emirates; much mopping-up must have been left to his subordinates, which may well account for the later dates given for the annexation of some of the provinces; and even their organization into sancaks did nothing to sweep away the loyalty of the people for their old rulers, as was seen when the soldiers drafted unwillingly into the Ottoman army deserted *en masse* when they saw their former lords on Timür's side at Ankara.

## 2. *The conquest of Karaman*

The Turkish authorities agree that Bayezid fought two wars against Alâüddin. In the first campaign Beyşehir and Konya were taken, says Oruç: Sa'düddin states that Akşehir, Niğde and Aksaray surrendered, and that by the peace treaty Alâüddin gave up everything north of the river Çarşamba. Later, during Bayezid's Wallachian campaign (Sa'düddin), Alâüddin broke the treaty, defeated and captured Timürtaş, who had been left in charge of Anadolu, and advanced to Bursa; but the Sultan returned quickly from Europe, only to find that his lieutenant, now released, had gained his revenge by defeating Alâüddin in the plain of Akçay and had executed him, so that Bayezid was able to annex all Karaman, taking Aksaray, Konya, and Lârende. In Oruç's version Bayezid advanced via Beyşehir, Lârende, Konya and Karahisar (*sc.* Afyon-karahisar) on his way from Teke to Osmaniçik.

It is obvious that Alâüddin's attack on Timürtaş must have taken place during Bayezid's absence, which means that Oruç is wrong in making the second campaign follow on the fall of Teke, while his first campaign can neither be fitted in where he places it—after the fall of Philadelphia—nor straight after the conquest of Teke, since we know that Bayezid was back in Bursa when he heard the news of the death of John V, which occurred in February, 1391 (see Charanis, *op. cit.*). The first campaign, therefore, probably took place in the summer of 1391, and the second (if Sa'düddin is right) was immediately after the Wallachian campaign, i.e. very late in 1393 or in the summer of 1395 (Babinger's suggestion of the spring of 1394 is ruled out by the occurrence of the Siroz congress).

Several other points of interest arise in connection with these two wars:

(a) The double mention in Oruç of the taking of Beyşehir. This is significant as showing that the Sultans of Konya occupied the lake-district whenever they saw the opportunity. Alâüddin had clearly annexed it on Murad's death.

(b) The specific mention of the Çarşamba boundary in 1391. Zinkeisen (No. 2, I, p. 348) complains that he cannot find it on his maps, but concludes that it must have been

north of Konya (hence Spruner-Menke, in map 89, gives an entirely fictitious frontier to mark the treaty!). Gibbons likewise (op. cit., p. 189) thinks that Konya could not have been annexed at this time. But the river in question flows out of the lake of Beyşehir, bending south-east and then north-east always well to the south of Konya; and that this is the same river as the one mentioned by Sa'düddin is suggested by the placing of a town of that name in the correct spot in the 1638 edition of Mercator-Hondius. Also, it would have been quite in line with his father's policy for Bayezid to take the first opportunity of annexing his enemy's capital, especially such a sacred city as the capital of the Selcuks; and in any case the Karaman-oğulları had until recently been known as the Emirs of Ermenek rather than of Konya. (The Karahisar mentioned by Oruç was probably not Afyon-karahisar, as Babinger thinks, but Develi-karahisar, near Kayseri, which would give Bayezid a more daring, but not a longer route from Konya to Osmançık).

(c) The absence in all our authorities of any mention of Alâiye. This was such an important port that one would expect it to occur in the lists of conquests. The map assumes, therefore, that it was not captured at this time; it possibly remained either independent or was a last refuge of the Karaman dynasty before the restoration by Tīmūr.

### 3. *The conquest of the Black Sea coastlands*

The generous welcome given to the dispossessed emirs by Süleyman of Kastamonu was an adequate *casus belli* for a campaign against the İsfendiyar-oğulları. A long land-march in the summer and autumn of 1391 was followed by a naval attack on Sinop late in 1392 (Charanis, op. cit.), but the results of neither are clear. We are told that on the fall of Kastamonu Süleyman was deposed but that his son İsfendiyar was allowed to retain Sinop as a vassal state, and that later he too was removed and the whole emirate annexed. These may have been the results of the first and second campaigns respectively, or equally probably those of the second and a third (undated) attack.

Whatever the date of the final campaign, the emirate of the Candar-oğulları was annexed; but meanwhile the outlying dependencies which had long been considered as part of its domain had broken away. In Canik the petty lords of Samsun, Ordu, Merzifon and Terme (see above, p. 31) sought their freedom, while Osmançık was annexed by Bürhanüddin, the poet-ruler of Sivas. Bayezid naturally opposed the disruption of what he considered his territory by right of the sword, but he was defeated by Bürhanüddin near Çorum (? 1393) and his lands were raided as far west as Ankara: although a retaliatory raid by Bayezid seems to have resulted in the capture of Amasya he made no further move till after Bürhanüddin's death (c. 1397/8) when Timūrtaş, took Çankırı and all the lords of Canik surrendered their possessions. (Schiltberger, in his memoirs, No. 101, Chap. 7, speaks of the capture of Samsun in a way which hints strongly at his own and Bayezid's presence there; if this is accurate, the Sultan must at some date later than Schiltberger's capture at Nicopolis in 1396 have gone on campaign into the Canik area).

The absorption of the Canik emirates brought the Ottomans dangerously near to the fading Greek Empire of Trebizond; dependent as it was for its existence on its Black Sea commerce, this little state must have been only too conscious of the power for damage and

trespass exercised by the Ottoman fleet. But in 1392 the Comneni rulers had accepted Tīmūr as their suzerain, and this, added to the fact that the reduction of the immensely strong citadel would have necessitated an arduous campaign, probably saved Trebizond, which survived for another sixty years before it succumbed to the Ottomans. Amastris, the only other independent port on the Black Sea coast of Anatolia, remained undisturbed in the possession of the Genoese.

#### 4. *The conquest of eastern Asia Minor*

This was a last striking effort on the part of Bayezid, and one which led him straight to the final catastrophe. First of all, on the death of Būrhanüddin, he annexed all his territories, including Sivas, Tokat, Kayseri, Kırşehir, Niksar and Şebīn-karahisar (1397-8). Next, he sent Timūrtaş on a great raid which starting innocently enough with the capture of Çankırı, proceeded in a tremendous sweep to take in Divriği, Darende, Malatya, Kâhta, Behesni and Maraş. These six towns were at that time ruled by Nasırüddin Mehmed, fourth of the dynasty of the Dulkadır (Arabic- Dhū'l-Qadr), the lords of a Türkmen horde which had settled in the bend of the Euphrates just before the middle of the century, and whose allegiance was claimed by both Būrhanüddin (Nasırüddin's father-in-law) and the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt (now neighbours of the Ottomans through their recent conquest of Cilician Armenia). Bayezid, as the successor to the ruler of Sivas, now claimed the land of the Dulkadır, and his annexation began a dispute with Egypt which lasted more than a century.

In 1400 Bayezid stirred up a more dangerous enemy than Egypt by demanding tribute from Mutahherten Bey of Erzincan and Kemah. He appealed to his rightful overlord, the redoubtable Tīmūr, who marched westward and sacked Sivas, taking also Malatya and Behesni. Then he was diverted southward to Syria; but during the next year Bayezid, instead of letting the matter drop, annexed the emirate of Erzincan outright. As soon as he could spare the time Tīmūr set out to avenge this insult, and on 20th July, 1402, Bayezid was taken prisoner after his defeat at Çubuk-ova near Ankara. He died in captivity in the following year.

### V. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Map 11 is designed to show the relations of the Osmanlı Turks with the other states of Islam and Christendom. It is self-explanatory, and in the main simply summarizes in diagrammatic form the various wars and crusades which occupied the first century of Ottoman history. The crusading routes shown are only approximate and not detailed.

The only additional point worth mentioning, and one not illustrated on a map, is the request made by Bayezid (c. 1395) to the shadowy representative of the Abbasid Caliphs in Cairo for permission to adopt the style of 'Sultan-i-Rum' in place of the title of 'Emir' with which his ancestors had been content. He evidently felt that the conquest of Asia Minor and the possession of Konya justified the adoption of this historic dignity.

## CHAPTER FOUR

# The Recovery After Ankara (1402–51)

(Maps 12–15)

THE principal effect of the battle of Çubuk-ova was to illustrate the immense value of the work of Orhan and Murad I. For when the smoke of Tīmūr's invasion and the flames of civil war had died away the sultanate was seen to be firmly established almost exactly along its boundaries of 1389, except that Murad's corridor from Ankara south to the Mediterranean was now replaced by one of roughly equal extent running from Ankara north-east to the Black Sea near Trebizond. On this stable foundation Mehmed I and Murad II were able to build a more secure empire than that too hastily flung together by Bayezid.

The political geography of this period is illustrated by two maps of the whole sultanate during and after the civil war, and two others of Greece and Albania on a larger scale.

### I. TĪMŪR IN ASIA MINOR (1402–3)

(Map 12)

Tīmūr remained in Asia Minor for eight months after his victory (July, 1402–March, 1403) during which time he devastated the Ottoman dominions, reconstructed the political map of Anatolia, and wrested the important stronghold of İzmir (Smyrna) from the Knights of Rhodes.

1. From Ankara Tīmūr proceeded to Kütahya, from which centre he dispatched troops in all directions, pillaging Bursa, Taraklı Yenicesi, Gemlik, İznik, Mihaliç, Akşehir, Afyon-Karahisar, and the recently acquired Ottoman provinces in the south-west.

2. The dispossessed emirs, most of whom had accompanied his march, were now restored to their estates. The beys of Saruhan, Aydın, Menteşe and Kastamonu seem to have received the whole of their former provinces, but Germiyan and Teke were shorn of their eastern areas in favour of Karaman, which acquired (if we add together the lists of towns given in the various sources) Konya, Lârende, Aksaray, Kayseri, Kırşehir, Bey-pazarı, Sivrihisar, Akşehir, Eğridir, İsparta, Antalya and Alâiye—an enormous extension of territory which included the whole of the former emirate of Hamid and amounted to a third of the peninsula. Tīmūr's motive for this imposing grant is doubtful unless he

wished to keep a guard against possible Ottoman revival by making one of his vassal-states of overwhelming strength; if so, the policy was justified by events, as the enlarged Karaman proved an obstinate enemy of the Ottoman sultans for three-quarters of a century. In the west of Asia Minor there was no restoration of Karasi, probably because the ruling house had long been extinct. In the north-east a collection of petty Türkmen beys appeared as Tīmūr's vassals at Tokat, Niksar, Sivas and Şebin-karahisar, while the Emperor of Trebizond continued to pay tribute. In the south-east the Dulkadır submitted, though Cilicia was left untouched by Tīmūr and remained under the Mamlūks of Egypt (except that the coast from Selefke westward belonged to Karaman and the little port of Korykos was until 1448 part of the kingdom of Cyprus). The ravaged remnants of the north-west were left by Tīmūr for the sons of Bayezid to quarrel over.

3. The capture of İzmir was a great blow to Christendom, and as such was a salve to Tīmūr's conscience. For he, while priding himself on his devotion to Islam, spent his thirty-five years of conquest in spreading desolation over the Muslim world, and hitherto his only attempt to fulfil the sacred duty of the 'jihād' had been to harry the feeble kingdom of Georgia. What was worse, his victory over the Ottomans had crushed the only state still functioning in a true gazi capacity. İzmir partially atoned for both sins, as in the long run its capture by Tīmūr saved the Ottomans much trouble, expense, and bloodshed.

## II. THE CIVIL WAR (1403-13)

(Map 12)

The most striking feature of the ten-year struggle for the empire between the four sons of Bayezid is that within the boundaries of the sultanate as established by Murad I there was astonishing fidelity to the house of Osman. Support might be transferred from one brother to another according to character and circumstance, but there was little or no inclination to break away from Ottoman rule. Participation in the war naturally employed the main energies of the troops, but that the gazi impulse was still strong is shown by the continuation of raids into Christian territory even as far afield as Möttling in the extreme north-west.

Three of the four brothers were capable leaders. Süleyman at one moment looked like winning the empire by his ability in the field, then lost title and life by relapsing into indolence and debauchery: Musa was a true son of Bayezid, but his energy was offset by his savagery, and his troops deserted him in favour of Mehmed, who had displayed the more statesmanlike qualities of his grandfather.

The fact that the imperial frontiers shrank between 1402 and 1413 can be ascribed very simply to two unrelated causes. In Asia they recoiled because Tīmūr's arrangement liberated the unassimilated portions of Bayezid's conquests; while in Europe provinces were relinquished by Süleyman—often needlessly—in order to secure friends and allies for his contest for empire; Musa recovered most of them with very little trouble, but Mehmed

gave some up again in his final effort, and having won the victory preferred to organize his dominions rather than enlarge them.

It is noteworthy that neither in Europe nor in Asia did the enemies of the Ottomans make any real effort to combine. The four small western emirates once joined İsa against Mehmed, and lost; while Karaman supported Mehmed against Süleyman and must have regretted having backed the winner. The Christian states, although they gained important individual advantages, showed no desire to take common action, and so threw away all the opportunities afforded them by Tīmūr's victory.

The details of the civil war are of little interest from the standpoint of political geography, but they are here summarized for the sake of completeness and reference :

- 1403. On Tīmūr's withdrawal, Süleyman controls Rumeli, İsa rules in Bursa, and Mehmed in Amasya, while Musa is guarded by Germiyan in Kütahya. Mehmed advances west, defeats İsa at Ermeni-beli near İnegöl, takes Balıkesir, wins a second battle at Ulubad, and overruns Karasi and Saruhan.
- 1404. İsa to Europe, then back to Karasi. Mehmed's third victory. Revolt of Cüneyd in İzmir and Aydın.
- 1405. İsa raises league of Aydın, Saruhan, Menteşe and Teke, but Mehmed wins fourth victory, annexing Saruhan outright. İsa disappears.
- 1406. Süleyman invades Asia, marching via Bursa, Ulubad, Bergama and İzmir to Mesavlion near Ayasoluk, where Cüneyd surrenders. Menteşe tributary. Süleyman to Bursa and his troops to Ankara, so Mehmed creates a diversion by allying with Karaman and sending Musa via Sinop and Wallachia into Rumeli. Süleyman returns to Europe and defeats Musa in Thrace.
- 1406-10. Süleyman rules Ottoman Europe: 1406-13. Mehmed rules Asia.
- 1410. Musa invades Europe again. Süleyman defeated and killed near Edirne.
- 1412. Mehmed invades Europe. Defeated by Musa at İnceğiz. Cüneyd recovers Ayasoluk but is forced to recognize Mehmed's supremacy.
- 1413. Mehmed invades Europe again in alliance with Constantinople, Serbia and Dulkadır. He marches via Vize, Edirne, Filibe, Sofya, Şehirköy and Niş to Kosovo, where he joins the Serb army and turns back to Çamurlu near Samakov, where Musa is defeated (10.7.1413) and later killed.

### III. THE RESTORATION IN ASIA MINOR (1403-51)

(Maps 12 and 13)

It was perhaps to be expected that the movement for the salvation of the empire should have as its nucleus one of the provinces untouched by Tīmūr's devastation; the surprising thing is that this province was not Murad's well-organized and loyal Rumeli but Bayezid's recently acquired Amasya, to which the young Mehmed had hurried immediately after Çubuk-ova. Yet for several reasons Amasya was an excellent base for Mehmed's enterprise.

(a) The citadel was one of the strongest and most defensible points in Anatolia.

(b) The people of the province had no feeling of loyalty to an ancient line, but having had as their recent rulers two such striking personalities as Ertena Bey and the poet Bŭrhanüddin they were more likely to support the cultured Mehmed than the savage Türkmen chiefs who had come in Tīmūr's wake. The same applied to the neighbouring cities of Niksar, Tokat, and Sivas, whose destinies had been linked with that of Amasya since the time of the Danişmendids, and so within a year the Türkmen chiefs had been dispossessed and their warriors enrolled as a welcome and sturdy reinforcement to Mehmed's army. (Sivas was naturally left undisturbed till Tīmūr had passed through it on his way back to Samarkand—a dangerous moment for Mehmed, but the conqueror made no attempt to attack Amasya, and the prudent young prince continued for some time to recognize Tīmūr's overlordship on his coins).

(c) Once Sivas had been secured, Mehmed found excellent protection for his southern front in an alliance with the now-powerful kingdom of the Dulkadir. He had married Emine-Hatun, daughter of Süli-Bey and first cousin of the ruling chieftain, Nasırüddin Mehmed Bey. This alliance proved of great value, for Nasırüddin not only gave Mehmed armed assistance (led by his own son Süleyman) in his campaigns for empire, but was always ready to attack the eastern provinces of Karaman.

The civil war in Asia Minor lasted only three years. İsa proved no match for Mehmed, but Süleyman's invasion drove him back beyond Ankara till his diplomacy in opening a second front by sending Musa to Europe gave him control of Ottoman Asia for the rest of his reign (1406–21). During this period and the reign of his son Murad II (1421–51) activities in Asia took place in three directions:

### 1. *The reduction of the south-west*

On Süleyman's retirement in 1406 the now powerless emirates of the south-west seem to have acknowledged Mehmed's suzerainty. Germiyan, Aydın and Menteşe were vassals, Saruhan had already been annexed. The position of Teke is doubtful. The main trouble during the next twenty years came from two sources.

First was the restless ambition of Cüneyd-Bey. Already this adventurer had seized Ayasoluk and Aydın till Süleyman removed him to Europe and occupied his energies with the command of Ohri on the Albanian border. In 1412 he was back in Ayasoluk reasserting his independence. Mehmed reduced him to obedience but left him in charge of the city. In 1414 he rebelled again and Mehmed marched against him, taking Kyme, Nif and İzmir, and restoring the former prince of Aydın. The Sultan, recognizing Cüneyd's abilities, generously awarded him the sancak of Niğbolu (Nicomolis), but in 1420 he joined in the rebellion of the 'false' Mustafa, and on the latter's defeat in 1422 he secured the territory of Aydın for the fourth time. In 1424 or 1425 he was defeated at Akhisar in Saruhan, and was shortly afterwards killed at İpsili.

Cüneyd's revolt was purely political, but a rebellion of a more serious nature, being militantly religious and social, was that of Şeyh Bedrüddin Simâvî, who seems to have preached a species of communism together with an encouragement of fraternization between Muslims and Christians. He had been Kadı-asker of Rumeli under Musa, but

Mehmed sent him into retirement. He stayed peaceably at İznik till 1416, when his lieutenants, Börklüce-Mustafa and Torlak-Kemal raised an insurrection in the Karaburun peninsula opposite Chios. The Sheykh then proceeded via Kastamonu and Wallachia into the southern Dobruca, where he established a community in the region of Deli-Orman. Mehmed at last suppressed the rebellion and executed the leaders.

During Murad's reign the south-western emirates were reabsorbed into the empire. Aydın was annexed after Cüneyd's defeat (1425) and Menteşe shortly afterwards (1425/6). Teke followed suit, of necessity, since it was too liable to fall under the influence of Karaman; indeed, it appears that Antalya must have become Ottoman in the time of Mehmed since we find it besieged by a coalition of Teke and Karaman in 1423 or 1424. The date for the annexation of Teke is variously given, but 1426 is the latest possible.

The whole western coast from Antalya in the south round to the still-Genoese Amastris in the north was now securely Ottoman, except for tribute-paying Foça (Genoese) and Bodrum (Petronion), a site near the ancient Halikarnassos which had been fortified by Naillac, Grand Master of the Rhodian Knights, about 1415 as some compensation for the loss of Smyrna. The islands in the Marmara-denizi were Turkish, but those off the Aegean coast were all either Genoese or Rhodian.

Germiyan had been a close friend to Mehmed throughout the civil war, and so ranked officially as an ally rather than as a tributary. It is probable, however, that such vital places on the south-west and south-east routes as Kütahya and Afyon-karahisar were garrisoned by Ottoman troops (especially after Germiyan's unwise share in the revolt of Mustafa) and that the emir contented himself with the rule of Kula and district. When he died (1427/8) he bequeathed his possessions to Murad.

The boundaries of all these emirates as they existed in the early 15th century can be plotted with fair accuracy since, like the kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy, they were absorbed as 'shires' into the Ottoman administrative system, and appear with their established names as sancaks in all the lists which have come down to us from the time of Mehmed II to the 19th century.

## 2. *The widening of the north-east corridor*

The map of Mehmed's territories in 1413 shows clearly how narrow was the link between Ankara and Amasya. With İsfendiyar in occupation of Çankırı and Kalecik, and Karaman holding Kırşehir, only one military road lay between the two extremes of Ottoman Anatolia and this might easily be cut by the notoriously unfriendly powers to north and south. An added danger became apparent when Kara Yusuf of the Karakoyunlu or Black Sheep Türkmens (c. 1388-1420), already master of Azerbaijan, Erzurum and Erzincan, seized the fortresses of Şebinkarahisar and Koyluhisar and attacked Canik. In 1416 Mehmed marched into the territory of Kastamonu and annexed Tosya, Çankırı, Kalecik and Samsun, leaving İsfendiyar as his vassal in a narrow strip of the coastland including Küre, Kastamonu and Sinop. He also recovered Canik but left Şebinkarahisar and Koyluhisar, which had never belonged to him, in the hands of Kara Yusuf. İsfendiyar was so unwise as to support the rebel Mustafa at the beginning of

Murad's reign, and was punished in 1424 by the loss of the valuable mines of Kastamonu (though not apparently of the town itself).

### 3. *The wars with Karaman*

These were fought in 1414, 1415, 1423 (or a year or so later), 1435/6, 1443 and 1444. They usually began with a Karamanian raid and ended with an Ottoman punitive expedition, and the same towns are mentioned in connection with each campaign. It would be tedious, if not impossible, to give the details of these wars, but their results pose two important questions:

(a) If the Karaman-oğulları were defeated on each occasion, why was their kingdom not annexed? There is no adequate answer to that, unless it be that İbrahim-Sultan (1423/4-64) was an amazingly skilful diplomat. Konya was within easy striking distance of Kütahya, via Afyon-karahisar and Akşehir, and from 1419 to 1421 the entire sultanate had been turned into an Egyptian province by the Mamlūk al-Mu'ayyad with very little trouble. Perhaps Mehmed and Murad had some reverence for the rulers of the old Selcuk capital. Whatever the reason, Karaman was allowed to remain as a constant thorn in the Ottoman side which was likely to prick hard whenever Murad was preoccupied elsewhere (e.g. at the time of the troubles with Hunyadi in 1443-4).

(b) How far was the emirate reduced in size by the Ottoman victories? The boundary shown on the map for the year 1451 is constructed from data contributed by three sources:

- (i) Meagre bits of information from the period under survey.
- (ii) An incomplete list of the towns captured by Mehmed II in his conquest of Karaman between 1466 and 1471.
- (iii) The consistency of the lists of sancaks in the eyalet of Karaman as given from the time of Süleyman I down to the 19th century, which affords strong presumptive evidence that the boundaries of the eyalet were traditional; and if so, the tradition must go back to the absorption of Karaman into the Ottoman Empire.

Source (iii) includes in every case Konya, Niğde, Aksaray, Kırşehir, Akşehir, Beyşehir and Kayseri, but *never* Hamid or Alâiye. This gives us a rough outline to which we must add the province of İçel (Cilicia) from the coast east of Alâiye to Selefke which was not within the eyalet of Karaman as it was still largely independent of the Ottomans in 1470. Konya, Niğde and Aksaray formed, of course, the centre of Karamanian power, together with Ereğli and Lârende. Kırşehir is unmentioned in (i) and (ii), so is included only on the strength of the sancak lists. Kayseri is more doubtful; when the Egyptians conquered the emirate in 1419 they gave this town to their ally Nasırüddin of Dulkadir, and he acquired it again during the Ottoman campaign of 1435/6, but for how long we are not told; on the evidence of source (iii) we must presume that it had returned to Karaman some time before 1466 (though later on it was granted as an appanage to Ali Bey, a younger prince of the house of Dulkadir).

Hamid was ceded to Murad II by İbrahim at the end of the war of 1423, and was never

recovered by Karaman, while we have already seen that Antalya was Ottoman before that date. The independence of Alâiye in the 15th century is known from the fact that when Mehmed II sent the news of the fall of Istanbul to many sovereign princes of Asia and Europe he included Lutfî Bey of Alâiye, from whose successor he captured the city in 1471. Akşehir and Beyşehir changed hands many times, but although they were always the first to fall during an Ottoman invasion, and although the sultans might have been expected to copy Murad I's sensible action in annexing the lake-district, the towns were still Karamanian at the time of Mehmed II's first campaign in 1451. As for Beypazarı and Sivrihisar, they are not mentioned again after Tīmūr's gift to Karaman in 1402, but it is clear that they must have returned to Ottoman hands early in the civil war as they were astride vital lines of communication between west and east.

#### IV. THE RESTORATION IN EUROPE (1402-51)

The domination of the Balkan peninsula requires the control of all the *interior* lines by the possession of the strong points guarding the river valleys, the routes and their principal meeting-places, and the vital mountain-passes. The most important of these points is Sofya, which is right in the centre of the peninsula and is the nodal link commanding the watershed between the Nisava and Maritsa valleys; others include Üsküp, controlling the Morava-Vardar trough and the west-east route from Albania to Istanbul; Niş, guarding the fork where the road from Belgrade turns south-east to Istanbul, south to Üsküp or west to Sarajevo; Sliven, Karinova and Aydos, controlling the passes over the eastern Balkan range; and Edirne, which commands the gap between the Balkan and Rhodope Mountains, and protects Istanbul from the land approach. The history of the Ottoman advance in the 14th century which we have traced in Chapter Three shows how far Murad I realized the importance of the geographical factors and how careful he had been to acquire by steady penetration and consolidation the control of all these essential points. They were still in Ottoman hands in 1403, and although Niş was returned to Serbia by Süleyman in 1404 and Mehmed I allowed the Serbs to retain it in consideration of their great help in the civil war, Murad II recaptured it at the first opportunity.

Full control and defence demands something more, however—the secure possession of the *exterior* lines, including all the harbours and ports and in particular the vital points of Constantinople, Salonica, and the Danube from its delta up to and including Belgrade. As a result of the retrocessions to the Christian powers during the civil war practically none of these were Ottoman in 1413 except for Nicopolis and Kavala. Rumeli was ringed round with potential enemies who might at any time unite to attack it, and the whole object of the next hundred years was to eliminate these threats.

The political geography of the period is so confusing owing to the constant interchanges of territory that it will be found most convenient to deal with the various parts of the Balkans in turn, as for the reign of Bayezid.

### I. *The Byzantine Empire*

On the approach of the Timūrid forces to the Sea of Marmara, John VII hastened to send tribute and acknowledge himself a vassal of the conqueror. Fortunately Timūr had no navy, so that Constantinople was safe from attack; and when he retired John began to reap the benefits of the civil war, for Süleyman's anxiety to secure the empire for himself was disturbed by the warnings of Pietro Zeno, lord of Andros and special envoy of Venice, that a coalition of Byzantium, Venice, Genoa and Rhodes could prove fatal to his ambitions. A treaty was signed by Süleyman (undated, but not before 1404, and probably in that year—see No. 82, p. 361), making extraordinary concessions to the parties concerned. The important ones to the Greeks were:

- (i) Exemption from tribute—which meant that the remains of the empire now formed a sovereign state once more.
- (ii) The agreement that Turkish ships should neither enter nor leave the Dardanelles without authority from either the emperor or the 'league'.
- (iii) The cession of Salonica and its neighbourhood to Byzantium.

From Greek sources we learn that Süleyman further conceded part of Macedonia west of the River Struma, Thessaly as far as Zeitouni, and part of the Thracian coast. Now, or a year later, the Thracian gift was defined as the coast all the way from Panidos on the Sea of Marmara to Varna on the Black Sea, together with a strip of the north shore of the Gulf of İzmid (which was not in Süleyman's possession, but the Greeks took advantage of the bequest to recapture the towns of Hereke, Gebze, Darıca, Kartal and Pendik). Finally, the loss of Ottoman sea-power must have carried as its consequence the restoration to the Greeks of the Northern Sporades.

For six years the Palaeologi enjoyed freedom, but they had no strength to expand farther, and between 1411 and 1413 all the European land-gains except Salonica and Zeitun were easily reconquered by Musa, although his fleet was destroyed off the isle of Marmara. Mehmed's need for assistance, however, made him promise to restore to the Emperor Manuel the cessions made by Süleyman, and after his victory at Çamurlu he kept his word. For a few years more the empire was left in peace till in 1419 Manuel refused to give up the fugitive Mustafa (although he interned him on Lemnos), in consequence of which Mehmed re-annexed the five towns on the Gulf of İzmid.

On Mehmed's death Manuel released Mustafa to oppose Murad II and tried to regain Gallipoli. Mustafa won a battle in the plain of Sazlıdere near Edirne but then turned on his allies and refused them admittance into Gallipoli. He was beaten by Murad at Ulubad and executed, and the Sultan immediately took his revenge by besieging Constantinople (June–September, 1422). The city was saved by a revolt in İznik which needed Murad's presence, but next year he sent one army to ravage Thessaly and the Morea and came himself with another to besiege Salonica. The citizens sold it, with the peninsula of Kassandra, to the Venetians, much to Murad's fury; but as a result of his attacks the Greeks once more became tributary and ceded all Thessaly, the rest of Macedonia, and all their recent gains on the Thracian coast, retaining only Silivri, Terkos, Misivri and Ahyolu

(1424). Murad refused to recognize the Venetian occupation of Salonica till 1427 and then only on payment of tribute: in 1430 he besieged and captured it. For the next quarter of a century the emperors lived at peace with their powerful suzerains, and political interest as far as the Byzantines were concerned centred instead in the Peloponnese. We might note in passing that between 1419 and 1434 the islands of Thasos and Samothrace passed from Greek hands into those of the Gattilusii of Genoa.

## 2. Greece (Map 14)

On the eve of Ankara Greece was divided between:

- (a) The *Turkish* province of Thessaly, reaching the Gulf of Corinth at Salona.
- (b) The *Greek* province of Mistra, whose despot Theodore Palaeologus (1384-1407) had recently acquired Corinth (1395) and thus controlled the Isthmus.
- (c) The *Navarrese* principality of Achaea, whose ruler San Superan was nominally a vassal of the King of Naples.
- (d) The *Albanian* house of Spata in control of Aetolia and Akarnania.
- (e) The *Catalans* in the isle of Aegina.
- (f) The *Tocchi* in Cephalonia, Zante, Ithaca, Leukas and the port of Vonitsa.
- (g) The *Zorzi* in the tiny tributary Marquisate of Boudonitsa (Thermopylae).
- (h) The *Florentine Buondelmonti* in Epirus, ruling from Yanina.
- (i) The *Florentine Acciajuoli* in Athens, whose Duke Antonio, tributary to Bayezid, possessed Thebes and Livadia and had just retaken the citadel of Athens from Venice (1402).
- (j) The *Italian* archbishopric of Patras, dependent only on the Pope.
- (k) The *Venetian* colonies: (i) Butrinto, Parga, Saiada, Suboto, La Bastia and Phanari on the coast of Epirus, all dependencies of Corfu; (ii) Modon and Koron in the extreme south-west of the Morea; (iii) Argos and Napoli with the dependencies of Kastri and Thermisi, all acquired in 1394; (iv) Pteleon in Thessaly opposite the important Venetian island of Negroponte.

The next half-century saw a considerable simplification of this patchwork arrangement, as by 1451 six of the eleven had disappeared from the map.

The Despot of *Mistra* was the first to react to the news of Bayezid's defeat. He rounded the eastern end of the Gulf of Corinth and seized Salona (1402), then, realizing that it would be difficult to hold, gave it to the Rhodian Knights in exchange for Corinth, which he had recently sold to them; and this cession was ratified by Süleyman as one of the terms of his treaty with the Christian states shortly afterwards. The Knights soon found it impossible to maintain themselves in Salona, and it probably shared the fate of Thessaly from 1410 onwards. Theodore meanwhile, feeling the importance of his province as the largest relic of the Byzantine Empire, imported numbers of Albanian colonists to help in the double work of defence and repopulation; and when he died (1407) his brother Manuel sent his own young son to succeed him as Theodore II (1407-43) and himself

paid a visit in 1415 during which he constructed the famous six-mile rampart (Hexamilion) across the isthmus, and reduced to order the wild tribes of the Mainote peninsula.

The Hexamilion proved of little value when it received its first trial of strength in 1423. Murad sent Turhan Bey on a punitive expedition in revenge for Manuel's support of Mustafa, and the Turkish general passed the Isthmus without difficulty and ravaged Mistra, Gardiki and Leondari, defeating the Albanians at Davia near the modern Tripolis. A heavy annual tribute was imposed and the Hexamilion had to be left in ruins. The Greeks now tried to improve their security by enlarging their domain, and between 1427 and 1432 Theodore and his brother Constantine achieved the conquest of the Navarrese Principality of *Achaea*. Chalandritsa fell in 1429 and in 1432 the last remnants of the Latin state at Mostenitsa was occupied; the independent city of *Patras* also succumbed in 1429. Meantime the Venetians had secured their corner of the Morea by purchasing Navarino in 1423 and by building the fort of Grisi about the same time as a link between Modon and Koron; they had also rented Patras from its archbishop between 1408-13 and again between 1417-19, but it was no longer in their hands at the time of the Greek conquest.

A second raid by Turhan in 1431 showed the Greeks how vulnerable the Morea was, and Constantine rebuilt the Hexamilion. The news of Hunyadi's victories in 1443 inflamed his ambition, and he crossed the Isthmus, occupied Thebes, and took tribute from Athens. Even after the battle of Varna he refused to evacuate his conquests, so in 1446 Murad stormed the Isthmus, took Corinth and Vasilicata (the ancient Sikyon), and ravaged the country as far as Glarentsa, while Turhan Bey pursued Constantine and his brother Thomas into the far south. Henceforth the Morea was strictly tributary, and when Constantine became the last Emperor of Constantinople the land was divided between his brothers Thomas and Demetrios (1448).

Meanwhile the Duchy of *Athens* had lost much territory. By the treaty of 1404 with Süleyman Venice was awarded a strip of coastline five miles wide opposite the whole south-west length of Negroponte together with the restitution of Athens, but Acciajuoli refused to carry out the Sultan's orders, and in 1405 a compromise was reached by which the duke became a Venetian vassal (for the city of Athens only) and was allowed to retain the forts of Oropos and Sykaminon within the five-mile strip (this strip was still Venetian in 1439, after which it is unmentioned, but as Venice made peace with Murad before his Greek campaign of 1446 in order to save her outposts, it may be presumed to be still Venetian as late as 1451—see No. 82, pp. 362 and 459). The Athenian duchy continued to pay tribute to the Ottomans (as in 1412 and 1416, for example) and the dukes were forced to accompany them on their attacks on the Morea and Salonica. When Antonio died in 1435 Turhan Bey seized Thebes and Livadia, which remained in Turkish hands except for the Greek occupation of 1444-6. Nerio II called in the Sultan's aid against Constantine and remained a faithful vassal till his death in 1451.

To the north of Athens the tiny state of *Boudonitsa* had fallen victim to Musa's campaign of 1411, and although he restored it at the request of Venice in the same year Mehmed I took it again in 1414. The Venetian victory off Gallipoli in 1416 led to a treaty

in which Mehmed promised to return the castle, but Niccolo Zorzi preferred to receive the post of rector (governor) of Pteleon, and the marquisate disappears from history.

On the opposite side of Greece the Albanian family had lost *Lepanto* to Venice in 1407—a port of vital importance on the north shore of the Gulf of Corinth which the Venetians safeguarded by regular annual tribute to the Ottomans. The Spata compensated themselves next year by taking Yanina, but between 1414 and 1418 all their possessions in Epirus, Aetolia and Akarnania had been conquered by Carlo Tocco, Count of *Cephalonia*. The division of Tocco's estates among his heirs in 1429 gave the Turks their opportunity to obtain a footing on the west of the Pindus range, and in 1430 Yanina surrendered and a Turkish colony was settled there, while Carlo II was allowed to keep Arta, Akarnania, and his islands on payment of tribute. When he died in 1449 leaving only a minor, Murad seized Arta and Akarnania; Leonardo III retained the islands, with the mainland points of Vonitsa and Angelokastron, all under Venetian protection.

The map of Greece in 1451, therefore, shows a solidly Turkish mainland, with two tributary principalities in Athens and the Morea; and a coastal ring of Venetian or Venice-protected ports and islands from Corfu and Butrinto round to Negroponte and Pteleon.

The Venetians also possessed the islands of Crete, Cerigo, Cerigotto, Aegina (a protectorate since 1425, but a possession in 1451), Tenos, Mykonos and Delos, together with a more or less real suzerainty over many of the islands in the south-west sector of the Aegean. Their power was in fact formidable, as Mehmed I had discovered when Loredano was provoked into action at Gallipoli in 1416, won a brilliant victory, and bombarded Lâpseki (Lampsacus); by the treaty of 1419 Turkish warships had to remain east of Tenedos, but all efforts to take Gallipoli from the Ottomans failed, as in 1421-2, 1426 and 1429.

The other Aegean islands were frequently subject to Turkish raids, although the Genoese, by keeping on good terms with the sultans, preserved themselves from attack more than most. In 1451 the division was as follows:

- (a) *Byzantine*: Northern Sporades, Lemnos, Imbros. All tributary to Turkey.
- (b) *Genoese*: Chios, Samos, Thasos, Tenedos, Psara, Lesbos and Samothrace. The Gattilusii were tributary to Turkey for their mainland establishments of Ainos (Enoz) and Phocaea (Foça).
- (c) *The Knights of St. John*: In all the islands south-east of Samos.
- (d) *The Duchy of the Archipelago*, ruled by the Crispi family in Naxos, Gyaros, Melos, Kimolos, Santorin, Therasia, Anaphe and Nio. Occasionally tributary to Turkey, as in 1426; sometimes tributary to Venice.
- (e) The remaining isles were divided between ten families. Of Venetian origin, and hence under Venetian protection, were the *Quirini* in Amorgos, *Michieli* in Seriphos, *Grimani* in Stampalia, *Premarini* in part of Keos, and *Loredani* in Antiparos. The rest were independent when it was convenient—the *Sommariipa* in Andros, Paros and Nausa (Andros had been Venetian between 1437 and 1440), *Gozzadini*

in Thermia (Kythnos) and part of Keos, *da Corogna* in Siphnos, Polykandros and the rest of Keos, *Cornari* in Scarpanto, and *Arangio* in Ikaria.

### 3. *Albania* (Map 15)

The second half of the 14th century was the great age of Albanian freedom, and it had witnessed the expansion of the Albanian peoples north into the Zeta (later Montenegro) and south through Epirus to the Corinthian Gulf. Unfortunately no single great leader appeared to weld the tribes into a strong nation, and the early years of the 15th century saw the Ottoman power take advantage of the rivalries between the various princes, while the Tocchi repopled Epirus with Greeks and Venice occupied the most favourable positions along the Adriatic coast. Then, for exactly a quarter of a century (1443–68) came the brief period of brilliance under Skanderbeg before Albanian independence was finally extinguished by Mehmed II.

The first Ottoman invasion of Albania (1385–95) resulted in the permanent occupation of nothing west of the line of lakes from Ohri to Kesriye (Kastoria), but it also had the disruptive effect of weakening the once-powerful house of *Balša*. Before 1385 the family ruled a wide area from its centres in Kroya and Scutari southward to Valona and northward to the outskirts of Ragusa; but George II (1385–1405), alarmed by the Turkish occupation of Scutari, Dulcigno and Kroya (1392–5), sold Scutari and Drivasto to Venice in 1396.

As Venice had already acquired Durazzo in 1392 and Alessio in 1393 she was now a powerful factor in Albanian politics, and early in the next century her expansion continued by the occupation of Cattaro (at the request of the citizens in 1420), Dulcigno (1421), the protectorate over Pastrovecchio and the occupation of the strip of coast connecting Antivari with Budua (1425), Antivari and Budua themselves (1421–3 and again in 1444 after a temporary Serbian occupation) and finally Satti and Dagno (1444–7). Mid-century, therefore, saw the Venetian power in Albania at its height, with control of the coast from the Bocche di Cattaro to Durazzo, and from Butrinto to Parga and Phanari.

During the civil war the Turks made no effort to invade the country, although Venice paid tribute for her coast-towns there as well as for Lepanto; during this interlude new leaders appeared among the Albanian princes. In the centre was a revival of the once-great *Thopia* family in the person of Andrea, ruling in the Matia, while John *Castriota*, first of his house, governed from Petrella and Kroya to the Drin (Drin-eli) in the Dibra region. In the valley of the Semeni and its tributary the Devoll were the *Muzaki*, with their capital at Berat (Belgrad); and to the south again *Araniti Comnenus*, a relative of the Thopias, ruled in the Vijosë basin. The once-important *Zenevisi* had recently lost much of their land opposite Corfu to the Venetians. In the north the most important family was that of *Dukagin*, who ruled not only the region in the double bend of the Drin still known by their name but also the environs of Alessio and the high mountains of Krasnik and Gashi in the north-east as far as Prizren (Vulpiani). In the lower Drin valley were princes of lesser importance such as the *Zaccaria* in the Zadrime, the *Span* near

Drivasto, and the *Pulati* north-east of Lake Scutari, while George and Alexius *Jurasević* (Serbs, not Albanians) were laying the foundations of the future Montenegro in the mountainous Upper Zeta round Njegus (Crnagora).

Soon after Mehmed I's victory over Musa the second Ottoman invasion began in earnest. In 1415 Kroya was captured, to become known as Akçahisar, and in 1417 the Turks reached the sea at Valona (Avlonya) which, with the neighbouring town of Kanina (1420) they took from Araniti Comnenus. Valona was to prove of enormous importance as a naval base during the next two centuries, but for the time being its principal use was as a starting-point for the conquest of southern and central Albania which was safer and more easily reached by sea than by the perilous overland route through the hostile Dibra. With these strongholds secured in the centre and south the Turks were soon able to assert their supremacy over the rival tribes, and in 1423 the Muzaki, Castriota, Thopia and Comneni all recognized the suzerainty of the Sultan. Practically the whole country except the far north became a Turkish province for a few years, and the cadastral survey of the sancak of Avlonya for the year 1431, which has recently been edited and published (No. 190), gives details of the fiefs distributed to the troops over several hundred villages. The conquest was not complete, however, and guerrilla warfare continued. More troops arrived in 1430, but in 1432 Andrea Thopia won a victory; so did Araniti in 1434, and although he failed to drive the Turks from Argyrokastron the Muzaki were successful in their defence of Berat in 1438.

Desultory warfare continued till 1443, when John Castriota's son George, the famous Skanderbeg (İskender Bey to the Turks), escaping from the Ottoman army during Hunyadi's 'long campaign', hastened to Albania, seized Kroya, and soon had the whole of the Matia in rebellion. At the beginning of 1444 he took the fortress of Svetigrad (Kocacık) in the Dibra, and at a great congress of chiefs held at the Venetian town of Alessio in September he was proclaimed Captain-General of Albania. Castriota now carried the war into the mountainous district of the Dibra and Lake Ohri, on the borders of Turkish territory, and there he defeated Ottoman armies in 1444, 1445, 1446 and 1448 (battles of Mount Torviolli, Mokrea, Otonete and Uranik). In 1447 he came to blows with Venice when she seized Dagno from the Zaccaria family, and before the inter-league strife was over Murad appeared in person in the Dibra and retook Svetigrad (summer of 1448). Skanderbeg made peace with Venice in the autumn, receiving a pension in return for the cession of Dagno, but in 1450 the Turks took Berat from the Muzaki, which gave them a hold on the centre of Albania. In the same year Murad led a second campaign, this time against Kroya, but Skanderbeg held out and the Sultan was forced to raise the siege and recognize the failure of his last campaign.

The boundary given on the map for the year 1451 is of course very approximate, but although Skanderbeg continued his series of brilliant victories, the Epirot region and Berat were certainly Turkish at the time, and the main interest during the reign of Mehmed II centres in the districts of the Dibra and Matia.

#### 4. *Ragusa*

At the beginning of the 15th century the republic of Ragusa was at the height of its prosperity. It had escaped from Venetian suzerainty in 1358 when the treaty of Zara recognized the overlordship of Hungary, which became purely nominal after the death of Louis the Great. Ragusa then proceeded to add to its territory, which already included the isle of Lagosta and the peninsula of Sabbioncello, by obtaining from Bosnia the coast linking Stagno with Ragusa (the *Primorje di Stagno*, 1399) and from Balša III the coast stretching south from Ragusa to the *Bocche di Cattaro* (the *Canali*, 1420–2). The republic also attempted to annex the large islands of Lesina, Brazza and Curzola in 1413 but was forced to give them up in 1417, and three years later they became Venetian.

It has already been noticed (p. 44) that as early as 1365 Ragusa entered into commercial relations with Murad I, and these rapidly became more extensive until the republic had centres in Edirne, Filibe, Sofya, Tirnova and Pravadi. In 1430 the goodwill of the Sultan was felt to be so important to Ragusan trade that official recognition of the hinterland was sought and obtained from Murad II, but ten years later he demanded for the first time an annual tribute of 1,000 ducats. There was no option but to pay, and henceforth Ragusa ranks as an Ottoman vassal right down to the last payment in 1804.

#### 5. *Serbia*

The history of Serbia between 1402 and 1451, like that of Albania, displays a bewildering succession of Turkish advances and retreats, but instead of a fiercely hostile Skanderbeg we have two skilful diplomats in the despots Stephen Lazarević (1389–1427) and George Branković (1427–56) who knew when to bow before the storm in order to preserve a remnant of their wealth and dignity.

Branković had succeeded his father as lord of Priština in southern Serbia in 1398, and at first attempted to gain the whole country by an alliance with Süleyman, but after an indecisive civil war with Stephen and a futile battle at Kosovo (1403) the two made peace, and a year later Stephen secured the stronghold of Belgrade from Hungary. In 1410 George supported Musa and Stephen assisted Süleyman, with the result that the victorious Musa ravaged Serbia so thoroughly in 1411 that Branković was disgusted by his cruelty, and both Serb princes aided Mehmed in the campaign which ended at Çamurlu.

For the rest of Stephen's reign Serbia had peace and independence, and the grateful Mehmed is said to have rewarded his ally with an increase of territory. What this included is doubtful, but the likelihood is that the whole Morava valley was restored. We have Bertrand de la Brocquière's testimony (see No. 110) that the Ottomans had recovered Niš in 1427–8, but the former Macedonian province around Üsküp had been too thoroughly settled with Turkish colonists to suppose that it was given back to Serbia; in any case it must still have belonged to Mehmed to allow of his Albanian campaigns.

The death of Lazarević in 1427 plunged Serbia into fifty years of incessant fighting, for in his last year he recognized Hungarian overlordship in return for the peaceful succession of Branković (Stephen being childless) and the cession to Sigismund of Belgrade and Golubac on the Danube. Murad immediately claimed Serbia for himself on the ground

that Stephen's sister had married Bayezid I, and he invaded the country in 1428. Golubac (Göğercinlik) was betrayed to the Turks, and the Serb capital of Kruševac (Alacahisar) was annexed, but Branković was allowed to keep his diminished principality on payment of an annual tribute and the furnishing of regular military contingents. In 1433 further fighting was stopped by George's speedy submission and the promise of his daughter for the Sultan's harem; at the same time the despot obtained permission to build a fort at Semendria (Semendire, Smederovo) to replace Belgrade, and to annex from Bosnia the banat of Osora, between the rivers Bosna and Drina. Brocquière (op. cit.), who passed through the Balkans in that year, found George 'in daily fear of losing Serbia' either to Turkey or Hungary. In 1435 the promised marriage took place, but Murad was annoyed at the strength of Semendria and in 1439 demanded its possession and invaded Serbia. Semendria soon fell, and although Belgrade heroically resisted a siege (April-September, 1440), in 1441 the rich silver mines of Novo Brdo were captured and nearly all Serbia became a Turkish province, while a strong fort was built near Belgrade at Avala (Zrnov).

Branković's share in Hunyadi's 'long campaign' of 1443 (see below, section 8) led to an unexpected revival of Serbian fortunes, for Murad detached Branković from the Hungarian alliance by a restitution of all his lost lands, including Kupinovo, Semendria and Novo Brdo (August, 1444), and for the rest of Murad's reign this policy brought the Turks great advantages, for George not only did not join in the Varna Crusade but by preventing Hunyadi from joining forces with Skanderbeg he contributed largely to the Sultan's victory at Kosovo in 1448.

## 6. *Bosnia*

After the death of Tvrtko I in 1391 the Bosnian Empire collapsed, and the land was torn between civil war and encroachment by Hungarians and Serbs, while the south-west gradually became independent as the 'Duchy of St. Sava' or Herzegovina (from 1435, though the title does not appear before 1446). In 1415 two of the rivals called in Ottoman aid, but as always the Turks proved hard to get rid of, and in 1416 Mehmed I appointed a Turkish governor who ruled from Vrhbosna (Sarajevo) for several years (until c. 1420). Again in 1436 Vrhbosna was occupied and Bosnia and Herzegovina paid tribute, while in 1439 Turkish raids reached the Bosnian capital of Jajce (T. Yayçe). How far Bosnia was able to rid itself of Turkish garrisons before 1451 is difficult to discover, but in 1459 the fortress of Hodiced, east of Vrhbosna, is said to have been 'Ottoman for a long time' (see No. 105, p. 199), and the occupation may have been continuous since 1436.

## 7. *Wallachia*

In 1402 and 1451 Wallachia was tributary to the Sultan. During the interval it had enjoyed periods of independence, but was usually a vassal of either the Magyar (1428, 1444, 1446) or the Ottoman (1413, 1416, 1417, 1423, 1432, 1438, 1448).

Mircea the Great (1386-1418) shook off all external allegiance during the civil war, but his support of Musa caused the vengeance of Mehmed, who exacted tribute in the first year of his reign in Europe. Mircea next supported the 'false' Mustafa, which brought

two Ottoman invasions of his country (1416 and 1417), and Mehmed occupied Giurgiu (Yergöğü), an important stronghold on the north side of the Danube commanding the route across the central plain. In addition he fortified İsakçı near the mouths of the Danube, which makes it clear that henceforth the Dobruca was within the Ottoman dominions, though leaving open the question as to whether it had been Turkish earlier (this occupation of the Dobruca partly resulted from the need to clear up the social experiment of Bedrüddin in the Deli-Orman district).

When Mircea died, the rivalries between his feeble successors led to continued intervention by the two 'protecting' powers, but none of the voivodes command notice till the appearance of Vlad Drakul (1432-46) who, being a Turkish candidate, tended to favour the Ottoman cause, and assisted in two great raids into Transylvania (1432 and 1438). He joined in the 'long campaign' against Murad in 1443, but after the defeat of Varna (the expedition took place against his advice) he held Hunyadi captive for a time, and in 1446 was dethroned by him in revenge. The Hungarian candidate, Dan III, turned traitor at Kosovo, however, and the period closes with the Turk as suzerain of Wallachia.

An important problem which is difficult to clear up on existing evidence concerns the revival of the Banat of Severin (or Szöreny) and the extent of Turkish influence over it. The Banat was the western third of Wallachia (Oltenia, between the Iron Gates and the River Olt), which had earlier formed part of the Hungarian kingdom (it was granted to the Teutonic Knights in 1247) but had been annexed to Wallachia by the first voivode, Bessarab (d. 1352). Louis the Great restored it to Hungary, but before the end of the century it appears as part of Mircea's official possessions, and we are told that when Mehmed I fortified Giurgiu the boyars of the Banat of Severin came to offer homage. At some unknown date the Hungarians seem to have occupied it again (possibly as a result of Sigismund's raid on Niğbolu in 1419), for Drakul's first action on his appointment in 1432 was to overrun this territory. Whether it was attached to Hungary once more in 1446 we do not know, but in any case it must have been difficult to hold as long as the Turks controlled Vidin and a pro-Turk voivode ruled Wallachia. (N.B. The statement in the *Camb. Med. Hist.*, IV, p. 687, that Mehmed I fortified Turnu-Severin at the same time as Giurgiu is almost certainly incorrect: the Iron Gates were not yet in Ottoman control. Possibly Turnu-Nicopolis, opposite Nicopolis on the north bank of the Danube, is meant.)

The sister-principality of Moldavia was as yet outside the Ottoman sphere of influence, but one isolated event—a raid on Moncastro (Cetatea Alba, T. Ak-kirman) in 1421—foreshadowed the future Turkish interest in the grain-producing areas on the north-west coast of the Black Sea.

#### 8. *The Northern Frontier and John Hunyadi*

Throughout the 15th and 16th centuries Ottoman raids on the unconquered countries of the Danube basin grew more and more frequent. They were justified, from the religious point of view, as fulfilling the duty of the gazi state, while from the political angle they not only kept the fighting forces occupied, but prepared the way for further conquest by

terrorizing the inhabitants and by bringing back important information about the neighbouring provinces.

Even during the civil war Möttling in Carniola was raided (1408)—an astonishing feat, as it involved a journey of over 300 miles from the nearest base. In 1417 the Turkish light cavalry—the famous ‘akıncıs’—went even farther and besieged Radkersburg on the frontiers of Styria, though they were frustrated by an Austrian army. In 1419 an attack on the Banat of Temesvár was beaten off by Peterfy, and the emperor Sigismund took his revenge in person by a successful raid into Bulgaria. In 1431 another invasion of Carniola sacked Möttling once more, to be defeated at Rudolphswerth (Novo Mesto). Meanwhile Bosnia and the Dalmatian coast received their share of attention, especially during the Turkish occupation of Vrhbosna.

In 1432 occurred the first raid into Transylvania—a joint Turko-Vlach affair which ravaged the region of Sebeş and Brasov (Kronstadt). A full-scale attack took place in 1438 when Sibiu (Hermannstadt) was besieged, and Medias, Sighișoara (Schössberg) and Brasov were raided; and during the siege of Belgrade in 1440 another razzia was made on Hungary and Transylvania.

Then in 1441 began the great counter-attacks by the Hungarian hero, John Hunyadi, newly appointed voivode of Transylvania. From Belgrade he marched into Serbia and heavily defeated İshak Bey, commander of Semendire. In 1442 he frustrated an invasion of Transylvania by Mezid Bey, who after winning a victory at Szent-Imreh was defeated and killed at Hermannstadt: in the same year Hunyadi twice defeated with tremendous slaughter Şihabüddin on the banks of the river Ialomița in Wallachia and at the pass of Vaskapu (Vasag) inside Hungary. These victories drew off an attack which Murad was planning on Constantinople, and roused Christian hopes everywhere.

While Eugenius IV began preaching a Crusade, Hunyadi started off late in 1443 on his famous ‘long campaign’, accompanied by king Ladislas, George Branković, Vlad Drakul, and a Polish contingent. They marched via Semendire to Niş, defeating the Turks near Aleksinac (3.11.1443), then took Sofya and won another battle between the pass of İzlâdi (Zlatitsa) and the town of Panagyurishte (12.12.1443). By now the cold was so intense and the guerrilla attacks by the Turks so damaging that there was little chance of reaching either Edirne or Filibe, so the retreat took place, during which two more victories were achieved at Melkhtitsa, near Sofya (24.12.1443) and at Yalvaç (near Mt. Kunovitsa, between Şehirköy and Niş, 2.1.1444).

This succession of victories led, as we have already seen, to troubles for the Ottomans in Karaman and Greece and to Murad’s peace with Serbia and an offer of a truce with Hungary. But the offer was rejected by Ladislas, whose appetite for war had been whetted by his success and by the promptings of Cardinal Cesarini. So began the Crusade of 1444, which crossed the Danube at Orsova and marched via Niğbolu through the Dobruca to the Black Sea, then turned south and took Kavarna. At Varna it was met and completely defeated by Murad (10.11.1444) whose passage from Asia the crusading fleet had been unable to prevent. Ladislas was killed, and Hunyadi was captured by Drakul of Wallachia.

After his short imprisonment Hunyadi resumed his crusading plans, but with little enthusiasm on the part of his former allies. So in 1448 he planned a junction with Skanderbeg and invaded Serbia, but his hopes were dashed by Murad's victory at the third battle of Kosovo (18–20th October), and in 1450 the Turks and Magyars signed a truce for three years.

## CHAPTER FIVE

# The Second Period of Expansion (1451–1503)

(Maps 16–19)

### I. THE REIGNS OF MEHMED II AND BAYEZID II

(Maps 16 and 17)

The verdict of history on the career of Mehmed II has been largely coloured by the profound effect of his capture of Constantinople. To the contemporary Western world he became 'Mahomet the Conqueror' and to his own subjects he was 'Mehmed Fatih'; the subsequent conquest of the Morea, Trebizond, Serbia and Bosnia, together with the raids of the dreaded akıncıs on German and Italian soil, and finally the establishment of a bridgehead on the heel of Italy, only served to enhance this reputation, which was undiminished even by his various repulses at the hands of Hunyadi, Corvinus, Skanderbeg, and the Knights of Rhodes. The eighteen campaigns he fought bear witness to his astonishing energy:

1451 (Anatolia), 1453 (Constantinople), 1455 (Serbia), 1456 (Belgrade), 1458 (Morea), 1460 (Morea), 1461 (Trebizond), 1462 (Wallachia), 1462 (Lesbos), 1463 (Bosnia), 1464 (Bosnia), 1466 (Albania), 1467 (Albania), 1468 (Karaman), 1470 (Negroponte), 1473 (eastern Anatolia), 1476 (Moldavia), 1478 (Albania).

Yet in point of fact he was modest in his acquisitions and often made little attempt to follow up a victory; for example, after the defeat of Uzun Hasan in 1473 he seems to have turned his back deliberately on the large eastward gains which were within his grasp. A more interesting evaluation of the event of 1453 would appear to be that he took over the heritage of the Byzantine Empire, and that he spent the rest of his reign in attempting to round off this legacy by pushing his frontiers to the Danube and Taurus, to the Crimea and southern Italy, but with no intention of overstraining his resources by proceeding beyond these limits. The striking coincidence between the empire of the Greeks in A.D. 1000 and the empire of Mehmed in 1481 is shown in *Map 17*, and the parallel is expanded in detail by Toynbee in his *Study of History* (No. 20, Vol. I, pp. 369–71). Babinger, in his *Mehmed der Eroberer* (No. 105, p. 504 of the French translation), shows further that this conception occurred also to Pius II and the Venetian Signory—the latter going so far as to point out in a memorandum to the Sultan in 1480 that he had every right to annex Brindisi, Taranto and Otranto as part of the late Byzantine Empire.

On the other hand, one of the strangest (and least-noticed) features of Mehmed's expansionist policy is the frequency with which it was inspired by civil war and succession quarrels, and the appearance among the rivals of one who appealed to the Sultan, usually with disastrous effects on his country's liberty. So often did this occur that a good case might be made out for exhibiting Mehmed as the supreme opportunist, taking advantage as he did of the rivalry between the Gattilusii in 1455 and 1456, the Moreote Palaeologi in 1456, and the heirs to Serbia in 1458, Karaman in 1465, Dulkadir in 1468, Herzegovina in 1467, Wallachia in 1473, and the Crimea in 1475; though it must be added that this characteristic of Mehmed was inherited, for in precisely similar circumstances had his ancestors obtained their footing in Europe by invitation of Cantacuzenos, while both in Karasi and Bulgaria fraternal strife had been the occasion for Ottoman intervention!

Bayezid II has naturally suffered by comparison with his great father, but the older view of him as a weak and ineffective monarch, unworthy to rank with the rest of the ten first sultans, has changed considerably of recent years (see especially Fisher, in No. 107). He may not have shown the bellicose vigour of his father or of his earlier namesake, but he saw clearly the need for a period of consolidation after the new conquests, and he continued with success Mehmed's policy of absorbing the enclaves of Venetian and Slav territory in the Balkan peninsula, particularly after the death of his brother Cem in 1495 had removed the need for caution with regard to his western enemies.

The year 1503 has been selected for the close of the period under review, rather than the death of Bayezid in 1512, because it marks the end of an epoch. The peace with Venice and Hungary brought to a conclusion a long age of almost continuous fighting on the western fronts, while in the east the appearance of a new Persian monarchy on the Ottoman borders in that year opened a new era.

Until the appearance on the scene of Ismā'il Shāh Safawī, with his programme of oecumenical conquest and forcible conversion to Shi'ism, there is no indication of any Ottoman ambition to expand in Asia, outside the historical limits of Orthodox Christendom, at the expense of other Islamic Powers, just as there is none of any Ottoman intolerance towards the Shi'ah. The military and religious aggressiveness of Ismā'il eventually forced a profound change of policy upon the 'Osmanlis on both these heads. (Toynbee, *op. cit.*, p. 371.)

The following table shows how far the Ottoman empire expanded during the 15th century and reveals the interesting equilibrium between the two beylerbeyiliks of Rumeli and Anadolu in 1503 (the assessment includes only directly administered areas and not vassal-states).

(The details of the numerous campaigns of this period necessitates the use of a multiplicity of geographical names which is often intricate and confusing. Such passages are set in single-spacing for convenience).

<i>Date</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Asia</i>	<i>Total</i>
	(in thousands of square miles)		
1389 (death of Murad I)	50.6	50.2	100.8
1402 (before Ankara)	86.0	181.4	267.4
1404 (retirement of Timūr)	65.1	46.0	111.1
1413 (restoration of unity)	65.1	66.5	131.6
1421 (death of Mehmed I)	76.6	79.7	156.3
1451 (death of Murad II)	102.9	115.1	218.0
1481 (death of Mehmed II)	155.8	172.4	328.2
1503 (peace of Buda)	164.9	176.2	341.1

## II. THE ASIATIC FRONT

The acquisitions in Anatolia were inspired by (a) the desire to eliminate the remaining free states of the Black Sea coastline and (b) the need to destroy the persistently hostile power of Karaman; but the attainment of these aims brought the Ottomans face to face with two more important powers—the Akkoyunlu Türkmén and the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt and Syria, and collision proved unavoidable, although no major wars of conquest were undertaken against either.

### 1. *The Black Sea coastlands*

Previous Ottoman expansion in this direction had left two enclaves—the Genoese trading port of Amastris (Amasra) and the vassal emirate of Kastamonu and Sinop. Farther east, beyond the Ottoman province of Canik, lay the Greek ‘empire’ of Trebizond, which in its heyday had stretched from Amasra to the river Phasis but which had long since dwindled in size and importance till at this time it included little territory beyond the capital city itself. The Comneni had formerly been vassals of the Selcuks and later of the Timūrids but had managed to escape the Ottoman yoke until in 1453 Mehmed demanded a regular subsidy, and this was enforced by an attack on the environs of the town by the governor of Amasya in 1456.

In 1460 the Sultan was ready for an attack on all these tiny states, and the grand vizier Mahmud Paşa assaulted the Genoese town by sea and land; reinforcements were impossible to obtain now that the Dardanelles and Bosphorus were in Turkish hands, and Amastris soon fell. In the following year Mehmed himself marched against the emir of Sinop, İsmail Bey, who gave way without a struggle and was compensated for the loss of his dominions by a grant of lands near Filibe in Rumeli. So ended the 150-year-old rule of the Candar-oğulları in the Kastamonu region, but the family long remained as honourable members of the Ottoman aristocracy (with the exception of İsmail’s brother Kızıl Ahmed, who was to prove a persistent rebel in later years).

It was now the turn of the Comneni. David, last emperor of Trebizond, had put his faith in Uzun Hasan, chief of the Akkoyunlu and lord of Diyarbakir, who had married David’s niece; but Uzun Hasan was not yet powerful enough to measure his strength with the Ottoman, and when Mehmed took from him the strong castle of Koyluhisar

to the south of Trebizond he made peace at Erzincan. David capitulated on the appearance of the Sultan (15.8.1461) although his city was strong enough to have withstood a lengthy siege, and the last fragment of independent Greek rule was absorbed into the empire (except where a chieftain of the Comneni family still maintained a precarious existence at Menkup in the Crimea by courtesy of the Genoese and the Tatars).

As for the former possessions of Trebizond along the eastern coast and its mountainous hinterland, they appear to have been lost long since to the Georgian princes of Samtskhe and Guria. No attempt was made to add them to the Ottoman dominions at this stage, though we read in the Georgian annals that raids were made into Klarjeti and Chaneti (i.e. the valley of the Çoruh) during the reigns of the 'atabegs' Baadur (1466-75) and Kai-Khosro I (1500-2) of Samtskhe and that the latter was forced to calm the pashas of Erzurum and Trebizond 'with submissive words and continual presents'. The more remote principalities of Georgia were as yet undisturbed by Ottoman troops, though under the year 1451 it is recorded that a savage naval raid swept the wild coast of Abkhazeti, north of the eastern extremity of the Black Sea (see Brosset, No. 215).

## 2. *Karaman*

On the receipt of the news of Mehmed's accession Sultan İbrahim of Konya, relying rashly on his opponent's youth and inexperience, fomented a revolt in Mentеше, Aydın and Germiyan, and invaded the Ottoman dominions. He was chased out by İshak Paşa, who took Akşehir and Beyşehir; and when Mehmed took the field in person İbrahim sued for peace. This was once again granted, as the Sultan had more urgent matters on hand in Europe, and tribute was accepted. No annexations were made, but Mehmed took the precaution of moving the seat of the beylerbeyi of Anadolu from Ankara to Kütahya, whence better military roads led to Konya and the lake district.

İbrahim at last seems to have profited from his continual defeats, and for the rest of his reign he afforded Mehmed no further worry. Instead he turned his unappeased ambitions against the Mamlûks of Egypt, occupying the Cilician plain with Adana and Tarsus (1456-7). Once again he was frustrated, and a punitive force restored the former boundary. His old age was much troubled by quarrels between his numerous sons, and on his death in 1464 in his fortress of Kevele a civil war broke out which led to the final ruin of the emirate.

Konya was seized by the eldest son, Pir Ahmed, whereupon his half-brother İshak appealed to Uzun Hasan, who invaded Karaman on his behalf, installed him as ruler, and left with him as adviser Kızıl Ahmed Candaroğlu. İshak, now wishing to ingratiate himself with Mehmed II, offered the lake-cities of Akşehir and Beyşehir, but the sultan instead demanded the re-establishment of the old frontier of Bayezid I along the Çarşamba river, and when this was rejected, ordered an invasion of Karaman. İshak was defeated near Ermenek and the victorious general replaced Pir Ahmed in Konya as the Sultan's vassal, while the towns of Akşehir and Beyşehir with the forts of İlgin and Saklan were annexed outright. İshak fled, but his young son was allowed to retain Selefke on the Cilician coast (1464/5).

In 1468 Pir Ahmed began to display his inherited ambition and desire for independence, so Mehmed determined to put an end to Karaman, and marched in person via Akşehir and Kevele straight on Konya.

A detachment of the army drove İshak from Lârende, decimated the tribe of Turgudlu Türkmens in that neighbourhood, and sent many of the industrious artisans of the province to Istanbul. All Karaman was now annexed with the exception of Selefke, but in 1470 another expedition was necessary to defeat Pir Ahmed and Kasım, another of Ibrahim's sons; the Grand Vizier Rum Mehmed Paşa ruthlessly devastated the region of Lârende and Ereğli, but suffered such a severe defeat at the hands of the Varsak Türkmen tribe that he was removed from office by the angry sultan. His successor İshak Paşa (not to be confused with İshak Karamanoğlu) defeated Kasım at Mut, restored the forts of Mut and Ereğli, took the castles of Varköy, Uçhisar and Ortahisar (none of which can now be identified), and deported the inhabitants of the rebellious city of Aksaray (1471).

Mehmed now determined to wipe out the remaining petty emirates of the south coast. First to fall was Alâiye (Alanya), founded by the Selcuks about 1220 and still ruled by a descendant of the sultans of Rum, who bore the renowned name of Kılıç-Arslan. Gedik Ahmed persuaded the emir to capitulate, and he was rewarded with estates at Gümülcine in Thrace (1471). Now or in the following year the neighbouring strongholds of Alara and Manavgat were annexed, and in 1472 Gedik Ahmed took from the surviving members of the Karaman-oğulları the port of Selefke and the castle of Lula (the Lulon of the Greeks, and the Hışn al-Şaqāliba of the Arabs).

No sooner was the Sultan's aim achieved than the whole problem was reopened by the invasion of Asia Minor by the Akkoyunlu forces, supporting Pir Ahmed, Kasım and Kızıl Ahmed (summer of 1472).

Tokat was taken, then Kayseri, while the districts of Amasya and Ankara were ravaged. Then, while Uzun Hasan watched from Erzincan, the Karaman-oğulları marched through their ancestral dominions as far as lake Beyşehir, only to meet complete defeat at the hands of Daud Paşa and Prince Mustafa at the battle of Kireli (19.8.1472). Pir Ahmed and Kasım fled, the former to die at Tarsus two years later, the latter to fling himself into Selefke. Here he had the good fortune to benefit from the naval crusade sent by the Pope, Venice, Naples and Rhodes which in 1472 raided the Anatolian coast, burnt İzmir, attacked Antalya, and in the following year added to Kasım's possessions the towns of Siğın (Sighino) and Korgos (Korykos), sacking Makri opposite Rhodes before finally retiring.

The situation was largely restored by Gedik Ahmed in 1474, but Kasım seems to have retained his independence in Selefke till his death in 1482/3. During his last years he once again proved a dangerous enemy by the assistance he gave to Bayezid's brother and rival, Cem. In 1481 he raised a revolt in Karaman and attacked the Ottomans near Mut; next year he joined Cem at Adana, and though the allies were foiled in their attempt on Konya they succeeded in occupying Ankara before their final defeat. Cem fled to Anamur and Rhodes, whence he started on his long journey to imprisonment in France and Italy; Kasım returned to Selefke, where on his death Bayezid was able at long last to add to his empire the remaining fragment of the emirate which for a whole century had obstructed the Ottoman advance.

One last flicker of the old spirit was displayed in 1500, when Mustafa Bey Karamanoğlu burnt Lârende and defeated the Ottomans, only to be crushed in 1501 by Mesih Paşa.

### 3. *The struggle with Uzun Hasan*

During the long reign of Shāh Rukh (1405-47), the powerful and enterprising son of Tīmūr, the Türkmen hordes of the Karakoyunlu (Black Sheep) of Azerbaijan, and of the Akkoyunlu (White Sheep) of Diyarbakir, were sources of annoyance rather than of

danger to their neighbours of Persia, Anatolia and Syria. But when on Shāh Rukh's death the Tīmūrid dominions fell apart in civil strife, Cihanşah of the Black Sheep (1435-67) seized the opportunity to found an empire in western Iran and 'Irāq, only to lose the whole in a single battle with his younger rival Uzun Hasan of the White Sheep (1453-78) at Kiği, south-east of Erzincan (II.II.1467).

The fortunes of the Akkoyunlu had been founded by the favour shown by Tīmūr to their prince Kara Osman (d. 1434/5), but the threatening power of Cihanşah made the White Sheep turn for protection to the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt. Early in his reign, however, Uzun Hasan displayed his ambition by capturing from his suzerains Hısn-i Keyf and Karkar (c. 1459-60) and then contemptuously acknowledged their nominal overlordship by sending them the keys of their own cities. At the same time he demanded that Mehmed II should not only take no more tribute from Trebizond, with whose dynasty he had contracted a marriage alliance as we have seen, but should also pay sixty years' arrears of tribute due to him as the successor of Tīmūr!

Now the Ottoman diplomatic correspondence shows that while Shāh Rukh had always been treated with extreme deference by the Osmanlıs, the Türkmen rulers were considered of small account; and Mehmed's reply to this impertinence was to prepare for a campaign against the upstart. In 1461 came the march to Sinop already discussed, after which Mehmed advanced to Koyunluhisar (recently taken by Uzun Hasan from its local lord) and captured it. Uzun Hasan was by no means ready for a conflict, being heavily engaged on his eastern frontier, so he hastily made peace at Erzincan and Mehmed turned north against Trebizond. None the less, Uzun Hasan was unable to resist the appeal made to him in 1464 by İshak of Karaman, though, as we have seen, his success in imposing İshak as a client prince in Konya was short-lived.

The victory over his rival Cihanşah in 1467 trebled Uzun Hasan's power. The petty dynast became ruler of an empire which included most of 'Irāq, two-thirds of Persia, with Armenia and Azerbaijan, its total area at least equalling that possessed by Mehmed; and the European states threatened by the Ottoman advance entertained high hopes from an alliance with this new force. They were to be disappointed. For some years nothing happened, in spite of continuous embassies from Venice and the Papacy. And when at last the clash came, in 1472-3, it proved very much of an anticlimax; each power won a battle, but then, instead of continuing the fight, they both withdrew from the frontier and appeared to ignore the other's existence for the rest of their reigns.

The geography of the campaign is obscure, but it seems that after the advance forces of the Türkmen had been defeated at Kireli in 1472, Mehmed himself marched in the following year via Tokat and Niksar to Koyluhisar and Şebinkarahisar, and thence into the plain of Erzincan. Here the Ottoman vanguard crossed the Euphrates to be defeated in the district of Tercan, and it appears that Mehmed, discouraged by this, was withdrawing northward, from Erzincan towards Trebizond when he met the army of Uzun Hasan in the mountains west of Bayburd and won a complete victory (II.8.1473).

Modern historians still tend to confuse matters by alluding to Mehmed's victory as the 'battle of Tercan' (e.g. Taeschner, not only in his 'Wegenetz', No. 158, Vol. II, p. 6 ff, but also in his article on 'Anadolu' in the new ed. of the *Encycl. of Islam*); and certainly the precise indications of 'Otluk-beli' and 'Üç-ağızlı' given by von Hammer (No. 1, Vol. III, p. 164), and Babinger (No. 105, p. 373) come

to us from later historians such as Sa'düddin; but the account given by an eyewitness, Giovanni Angiolello, who was with the Ottoman army throughout the campaign (No. 113, 80 ff.) shows that the battlefield was well to the north of Tercan (see also Minorsky in *E. Islam*, 1st ed., article 'Uzun Hasan'). Angiolello says:

'Having suffered this defeat [i.e. the Ottoman defeat at the river-crossing], the Turk became very apprehensive, and determined to lead his army back to his country by the shortest route. . . . At the end of about ten days the Turkish forces, having turned away from the river, with the city of Baybret on their right, among the mountains which separate Greater and Lesser Armenia, took their way towards the north-west, entering a valley on the route to Trebizond. At the second halt we made after entering the valley, at the end of August . . . behold, the Persians appeared on the mountains on our right.'

In spite of his brilliant success the Sultan made no effort to follow it up, and contented himself with the annexation of the important citadel of Şebinkarahisar, which remained for a generation the Ottoman outpost on the north-east frontier of Anatolia. Uzun Hasan had also had enough of the war, and all efforts of the Venetian Signory to draw him back into active partnership proved unavailing. Thankful that his defeat had had no material effect on his reputation, he devoted his last few years to his eastern frontier, and during the successful reign of his son Yakub (1479-90) relations with the Ottomans remained friendly and undisturbed. A wide belt of territory between the two powers seems to have been left as a kind of 'no-man's-land', and although the sultan's son Bayezid was ordered in 1480 to invade 'Georgia' and to take the two castles of 'Torul' and 'Mazahilit' (according to the vague notices in the journal of Mehmed Paşa, then Grand Vizier), it is most unlikely that these (unidentifiable) places are to be sought farther afield than the mountains between Sivas and Trebizond (see Babinger, *op. cit.*, p. 489).

The continual wars of succession among the heirs of Yakub aroused little interest in Istanbul: Bayezid did make certain preparations in 1498 for a campaign to assist his son-in-law Ahmed, but affairs in Europe diverted his attention, and nothing was done to prevent the rapid destruction of the entire Akkoyunlu family by Ismā'il Shāh Safavī during the first years of the 16th century.

Owing to this lack of interest in a frontier which was so soon to burst into activity, it is quite impossible to collect sufficient data for the construction of a boundary. The map therefore shows only the *certain* extension of the Ottoman line towards Persia in 1503; we cannot say whether Erzincan, Kemah, Bayburd or Erzurum were Ottoman or not. On the one hand we have the evidence of Giosafa Barbaro (No. 113) that between 1474 and 1478 Bayburd belonged to Uzun Hasan, and the later information from the Turkish chronicles that in 1508 Selim attacked Bayburd and Erzincan. On the other hand Giovanni Angiolello (*op. cit.*) tells us that after his victory of 1473 Mehmed captured Bayburd before returning to the west (1473), and the Georgian annals already noticed mention the raids of the paşa of Erzurum between 1500 and 1502. We might fit all these bits of information together by assuming (a) that Mehmed's acquisition of Bayburd was very temporary, (b) that before the end of the century Bayezid had advanced his frontier to Erzurum, but (c) that between 1502 and 1508 Ismā'il recaptured the Euphrates frontier

as far as Erzincan. The first assumption is likely enough, but the second is most improbable, and the theory put forward already that a wide strip was tacitly regarded as neutral ground has more to commend it in the absence of precise information.

#### 4. *The first war with Egypt*

The alliance of the Ottoman sultans with the chiefs of the Dulkadır (Dhū'l-Qadr) Türkmens continued throughout this period, but the dangerous proximity of the Akkoyunlu had weakened these rulers, and they tended in consequence to rely more on the protection of their ancient suzerains, the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt; and when civil war broke out between the sons of the emir Süleyman the courts of Istanbul and Cairo each tried to assert its influence over this useful buffer state by supporting rival candidates. So in 1465 the Mamlūks installed Şahbudak as ruler of Malatya; but the tribesmen, who disliked him as a fratricide, appealed to Mehmed II, who promptly sent assistance and a diploma of investiture to another brother, Şahsuvar, and the Ottoman and Egyptian troops had their first clash at 'Aynṭāb (Antep) in 1468 or 1469. In spite of the Ottoman victory on this occasion, an embassy from Cairo in 1470 seems to have persuaded the Sultan that Şahbudak was the rightful ruler; but in 1480 yet another brother, Alâüddevlē ('Alā al-Dawla), rose in revolt and succeeded with Ottoman help in expelling Şahbudak.

As the recent conquest of Karaman had already brought the Turkish frontier up to the Taurus Mountains, over against the Egyptian province of Cilicia, there was now no neutral area between the two powerful states, whose administrative systems were alike based on an active military organization; and a clash was inevitable if either meddled in the other's sphere of influence.

The Ottoman activity in Dulkadır territory was quickly countered by the Mamlūk Sultan's support of Bayezid's brother Cem, who fled to Egypt after his initial defeat at the battle of Yenişehir (20.6.1481) and was given asylum for the winter and armed assistance for a renewal of the struggle in the following spring. After Cem's last defeat and flight Bayezid encouraged Alâüddevlē to attack the Egyptian garrisons in the north, and Rumkale and Antep were captured, though the Turks were defeated near Malatya (1482). At the same time a Karamanian chief named Karagöz led some troops into Cilicia, took the cities of Adana and Tarsus, and then entered Bayezid's service, handing over his conquests.

It is improbable that the cautious Sultan would have indulged in aggressive action unless Karagöz had acted first, but he accepted the gift and then opened peace negotiations (1483). The Mamluk Qāit-bāy's reply was to retake the lost towns (1484), so Bayezid in 1485 sent Karagöz at the head of a large army to attack Cilicia, and the war began (1485-91).

Karagöz first secured the pass of Gülek (the Cilician Gates) and the ancient Armenian fort of Partzaperd in the Taurus Mountains, and then occupied the plain, with Adana, Tarsus and the river mouths. The Egyptian army under Özbek defeated the Ottomans near Adana and in a second battle captured their leader Hersekoğlu Ahmed Paşa, but the Mamlūks were unable to recover the mountain

passes, and in 1487 Ottoman troops under Daud Paşa reduced to allegiance the remains of the Varsak and Turgud tribes of the Türkmens (these having fled to the southern slopes of the Taurus for safety after their brutal treatment by Rum Mehmed Paşa in 1470).

In the spring of 1488 Bayezid sent out a military and naval expedition. The army under Ali Paşa took Namrun (the old Byzantine fortress of Lampron), Adana, Tarsus, Anavarza ('Ayn Zarba), Sis, and the whole region of Kozan, but was discouraged by an indecisive battle at Ağacayırı (17.8.1488) between Adana and Tarsus and retired to Ereğli. The fleet, commanded by the restored Hersekoğlu, rashly attacked Cyprus, but was repulsed at Famagusta by the Venetians, who were acquiring control of the island. Özbek recovered the Cilician towns in 1489 and the Egyptians then passed from defence to attack, thanks to the treachery of Alâüddevlê of Dulkadir, who had previously deserted the Ottoman alliance (1487) and now invaded the empire in conjunction with Özbek and sacked Kayseri (1490), capturing the unfortunate Hersekoğlu a second time: but a famine led to the retreat of the Mamlük forces before they could do more damage.

In 1491 both sides were ready for peace. The Sultan of Tunis offered his mediation, and by the treaty the Cilician towns of Adana and Tarsus and the fort commanding the southern end of the Gülek Pass were returned to Egypt, but (to save Bayezid's prestige) were considered as belonging to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. For exactly a quarter of a century (1491-1516) peace was preserved between the two empires. Once, in 1499, Bayezid planned another campaign, but the outbreak of the Venetian war diverted his scheme, and in 1501 he confirmed the settlement by sending his daughter to marry the elderly Mamluk Qânşüh al-Ghawrî (1500-16).

### III. THE EUROPEAN FRONT

During the first year of his reign Mehmed II remained at peace with the powers of Europe. Treaties were renewed with the sovereign states of Venice, Genoa, Hungary, Rhodes and Serbia, and the position of the vassals in Wallachia and Ragusa and the privileges of the monks of Mount Athos were confirmed. Only Skanderbeg remained in active hostility in Albania, and even there we have no record of important events during 1451.

Such a pacific season was not to recur during Mehmed's lifetime, for each of the next thirty years brought news of fighting, often on several parts of the frontier at once; and even during the twenty-two years of Bayezid's reign which fall within this period we can only find four—1488, 1489, 1491 and 1495—with no record of military activity anywhere in the Balkan peninsula, and these exceptions would doubtless disappear if our evidence of the akıncı raids were more precise.

Map 16 shows clearly the results of this ceaseless energy—the expansion of the sultanate southward into Greece till only Parga, Napoli, Monemvasia and a ring of islands are left to Christendom, and north-westward towards the line of the Sava-Danube.

#### I. *The end of Byzantium*

The famous episode of the siege and capture of Constantinople has been so thoroughly chronicled and discussed in many volumes that we can here dismiss it briefly.

The last agony of the Byzantine Empire began with the construction of a new fort—Rumeli-hisar—on the European side of the Bosphorus, opposite Bayezid I's castle of Güzel-hisar (1452). The remaining Greek towns in Europe were then attacked—Misivri, Ahyolu, Vize and Parenthos fell, and only Silivri and Bivados (Epibatos) resisted until the summer. The siege of the city itself lasted from 2nd April to 29th May, 1453. No help came from the European powers until, too late, a squadron of papal, Venetian and Neapolitan ships arrived at Negroponte to hear the news of the fall of Constantinople.

The immediate benefits of Mehmed's victory, apart from the enormous enhancement of his personal prestige, were (a) the securing of a great arsenal and dockyard for the expansion of his naval schemes, (b) the complete control of the Straits with a consequent stranglehold on European commerce with the Black Sea and its cornlands, and (c) a vast increase in his available funds from the customs-duties and tolls on shipping. In 1462 he built two strong castles to guard the Dardanelles—Kilid ül-Bahr on the European side and Kale-i Sultaniye on the Asiatic shore, while the port of Kadirga Limanı was constructed as a new harbour for the extension of his fleet.

## 2. *The Aegean Islands* (Map 14)

One of the first uses which the Sultan made of his enlarged sea-power was an attempt to gain control of the Aegean. There was some justification for his aggressive attitude in that the former Byzantine islands, which he might expect to inherit as the new lord of Constantinople, had fallen into the hands of Venice and Genoa: the Northern Sporades (Skyros, Skiathos, Skopelos and Chelidromi) had begged for the protection of the Signory, while Lemnos and Imbros had been taken over by the Gattilusii, who already owned Ainos, Thasos, Samothrace and Lesbos.

The Venetians secured their rights for the time being by a treaty in April, 1454, which included their ally the Duke of Naxos, and the Genoese felt that an increase of tribute, paid in 1453 not only by the Gattilusii but also by the company of the Mahone for Chios, Samos and Phocaea, would similarly suffice to protect them from attack. But when in 1455 the Knights of St. John refused to pay for their Dodecanese Islands Hamza Bey was sent with a squadron into the Aegean: he cruised to Lesbos, ravaged Chios, and attacked the Hospitallers' island of Kos, but lost part of his fleet off Chios on the return journey. In the same year Dorino Gattilusio of Lesbos died, and his son Domenico was forced not only to pay a heavy succession duty but also to cede Thasos (Taşöz); and a second expedition gave the Sultan the Genoese colonies of Old and New Phocaea (Eski- and Yeni-Foça) on the coast of Saruhan.

Early in 1456 Mehmed took advantage of succession quarrels among the other branch of the Gattilusii and came in person to the capture of Ainos (Enoz), while his fleet took Imbros (İmroz), Samothrace (Semendirek) and Lemnos (Limni). Meanwhile a Papal squadron led by Cardinal Scarampo had sailed from Rome and succeeded in chasing the Turkish garrisons from Lemnos, Samothrace and Thasos. In 1459 Mehmed recovered the three islands, and in 1460 he accorded to Demetrios Palaeologus, ex-despot of Mistra, the revenues of Enez, İmroz and Limni and part of those of Taşöz and Semendirek, though Demetrius cannot have enjoyed his wealth for long as he died in 1470 in comparative poverty. In 1462 the Sultan found a pretext for despoiling in person the last of the Gattilusii of the island of Lesbos (Midilli), and in 1475 the Mahone were bereft of Samos (Sisam) and Psara. Of all the Genoese possessions in the Aegean only the large island of Chios remained, under strict vassalage, until far into the next century (1566).

The rest of the Aegean Islands were much harassed by the prolonged war with Venice of 1463-79. Alviso Loredano attacked Limni in 1463, Giustiniani twice failed at Midilli in 1464, and in the same year Giacomo Loredano took for Venice Limni and Bozcaada (Tenedos), while Venieri sailed boldly through the Dardanelles. Two years later Capello seized İmroz, Taşöz and Semendirek (1466) and in 1469 Canale reoccupied Limni and İmroz and burnt Enoz and Yeni-Foça, though he was severely repulsed at Eski-Foça.

Mehmed now decided on a vigorous stroke against Venice by attacking the great island of Negroponte (Euboea, T. Eğriboz). Already in 1469 raiders had burnt Stoura and Vasilikon near Chalcis, and in the following year the Sultan marched with his army through Thessaly while Mahmud Paşa and the fleet took İmroz, and after failing in an attack on Limni and Skyros entered the Doro channel at the south end of Euboea. Chalcis fell on the 12th of July, and the rest of the island, with the strong castles of Karystos, Aidepsos and Oreos, soon followed, as did the mainland stronghold of Pteleon with its dependency, Gardiki.

In 1472 appeared the allied fleets of the Papacy, Naples, Rhodes and Venice, which devastated Delos and Lesbos and sacked Antalya and İzmir, while Antonello burnt the arsenal at Gallipoli; but the crusade achieved no permanent conquests, and the rest of the war saw few notable happenings in this theatre except perhaps in 1477 when the Venetians took Psara and the Turks ravaged Limni and the Duchy of Naxos. By the peace of 1479 the Sultan recovered Limni, Taşöz and Semendirek, and thus all the northern Aegean was in Ottoman hands except for the Venetian Sporades and the Genoese Chios.

When Mehmed had dealt with Venice to his satisfaction, it was the turn of Rhodes, whose Grand Master again refused tribute and sought the alliance of Cairo and Tunis. The two campaigns against the island (December, 1479 and May, 1480) were repulsed, however, as were the attempts on Telos, north-west of Rhodes (1479) and the main land fort of Bodrum (1480).

During Bayezid's reign there was little except diplomatic activity in the Aegean Islands, this being occasioned by the large share taken by the Knights of St. John in the intrigues surrounding Cem. Twice, however, during the Venetian War of 1499-1503 Midilli was attacked, by the Venetians in 1500 and by their French allies in 1501. The treaty which ended the war brought no alterations in the political situation.

### 3. Greece (Map 14)

To complete the conquest of the Grecian lands the Ottomans had to eliminate the four remaining powers—the Duchy of Athens, the Despotat of the Morea, the County of Cephalonia, and the Venetian colonies.

(a) *Athens* was an easy prey, being annexed in 1456, together with the fort of Sykamion and the isle of Panaia (Pyrrha) near Negroponte, although the last duke, Franco Acciajuoli, was compensated for a time with Thebes and Boeotia as a vassal state. In 1460 he was executed, and the Duchy was extinguished after an existence of 250 years.

(b) *The Morea* proved much more troublesome, and four major campaigns were necessary to put an end to the Palaeologi. When Constantine had left the peninsula in 1448 to become the last emperor of Constantinople the Morea was divided between his brothers Demetrius and Thomas. They failed to see the need for union in face of the threat from the Turks, and by their constant intrigues and jealousies brought on their own heads the final catastrophe.

As early as the autumn of 1452 Mehmed dispatched the old warrior Turhan Bey and his sons Ahmed and Ömer with the idea of preventing any help being sent from the Morea to Constantinople. They forced the Hexamilion and crossed Arcadia to Ithome in Messenia, where they took Neokastron. Siderokastron resisted successfully, however, and a detachment retreating northward was defeated by the Greeks in the pass of Dervenaki, Ahmed Bey being captured.

In 1454 the behaviour of the despots led to a revolt, headed by Manuel Cantacuzenos and the Albanian settlers; Ömer defeated the rebels and released his brother, but a second rebellion in October had to be suppressed by Turhan in person. The Palaeologi promised obedience, but neglected to pay tribute for several years in succession, so in the spring of 1458 Mehmed led a large army via Macedonia, Thermopylae and Plataea to the Hexamilion. While part of his forces invested Corinth the Sultan marched to Nemea, sacked Phlious, took Tarsos from the Albanians, then captured Akova and Roupele, was forced to raise the siege of Pazanike, then proceeded to Tegea, captured Palaïomoukhli, struck north-west across country, took Patras, dispatched some troops to overrun the western coasts, and returned to Corinth along the gulf, capturing Vostitsa on the way. On 6th August the citadel of Acrocorinth surrendered, and the Sultan demanded from the despots a heavy tribute and the cession of all the districts he had traversed, including Corinth, Patras, Vostitsa and Kalavryta—about a third of the whole peninsula.

The despots, having profited nothing by this, quarrelled again in 1459, and Thomas seized Karytaina, St. George, Bordonia, Kastritsa, Kalamata, Zarnata, Leuktron and most of the Mainote peninsula from his brother, and Kalavryta and Leondari from the Turks, although he failed to recover either Patras or Corinth. Hamze Zenevisi, sent to raise the siege of Patras, defeated Thomas at Leondari, but had to return for reinforcements, while Thomas again attacked Patras without success. He now asked Mehmed for peace terms, but they proved so unacceptable that he sought a reconciliation with Demetrius.

It was too late, for in the early spring of 1460 Zağanos Mehmed Paşa invaded the Morea, and had just raised the siege of Achaea (near Patras) when the Sultan came on a second visit, determined this time to put an end to the despotat. From Corinth he proceeded to the capital city of Mistra, near the ancient Sparta, where Demetrius surrendered. His principality became Turkish, with the exception of Monemvasia, an impregnable fortress on the south-east coast which placed itself under the protection of the Pope; and Mehmed turned on Thomas, who fled to Corfu. Bordonia, Kastritsa, Leondari, Gardiki, St. George, Kyparissia, Karytaina, Androussa and Ithome in turn surrendered; and after he had inspected the defences of the Venetians at Modon and Koron, the Sultan marched via Elis to Patras. Meanwhile Zağanos had reduced the castles of the north-west, including Chlomoutsi, Kalavryta, Santameri, Grevena, Kastrimenon and Listrina, and Mehmed found only the strong fortress of Salmenikon, between Patras and Vostitsa, still holding out. It resisted successfully for a year, falling in 1461, long after the Sultan had returned via Vostitsa, Lake Pheneus and Phlious to Corinth and Athens.

(c) Before he quitted Greece, Mehmed ordered a detachment to be sent against Leonardo III Tocco, Count of *Cephalonia*, whose fortresses of Vonitsa and Angelokastron, with the territory connecting them, had been undisturbed since the loss of Arta in 1449, but who had incurred the Ottoman displeasure by his support of Skanderbeg. All Akarnania, under the title of Karlı-eli or 'Carlo's country' (after Carlo I Tocco) now became Turkish, except Vonitsa, the single strongpoint on the south-west of the Gulf of Arta, which held out until after the peace with Venice in 1479, when the Sultan found another excuse for attacking his vassal Leonardo (this time it was an imagined slight to a minor Ottoman official). The Count's dominions, which included Cephalonia, Zante, Ithaca and Leukas (Santa Maura), had prospered of late owing to the large number of industrious refugees from the war-harassed mainland who found a welcome.

A single expedition, led by Gedik Ahmed, now Paşa of Avlonya, sufficed to add the whole territory, including Vonitsa, to the empire, but in the following year (1480) young Antonio Tocco recovered Zante and Cephalonia by a surprise attack. The Venetians drove him out of Zante in 1482 and from Cephalonia in 1483, but in a treaty with Bayezid in 1485 they promised to return the latter island to Turkey and agreed to pay tribute for Zante. During the war of 1499-1503 Venice captured Cephalonia (1500) and Santa Maura (1502), but Bayezid refused to make peace unless the last-named was restored to him. By the peace of 1503 Venice retained Zante and Cephalonia on payment of an annual tribute of 500 ducats (maintained until 1699), and in the same year the republic began the repopulation of Ithaca (Val di Compare), which had been deserted ever since Gedik Ahmed's harrying of the island in 1479.

(d) *The Venetian colonies.* By the end of 1461 only Vonitsa (to Tocco), Monemvasia (still papal) and the Venetian colonies at Butrinto, Parga, Lepanto (Naupactus), Modon, Koron, Navarino, Argos, Nauplia and Pteleon remained uncaptured on the Greek mainland, and Mehmed II quickly found a pretext for intervention to further his policy of wiping out these points. But the aggression led to a prolonged war with Venice (1463-79) during which the Ottoman armies, though finally successful, had to face serious reverses and the temporary loss of much that had already been won.

The fighting began in November, 1462, with an unsuccessful Ottoman attack on Lepanto (T. İnebahtı), and in the spring of 1463 the paşa of the Morea seized Argos and ravaged the territory of Modon. In July Venice declared war and her commanders recovered Argos (August) and took Vostitsa, Karytaina, Santameri and Geraki, rebuilt the Hexamilion and attacked Acrocorinth, though the Turks raised the siege and recovered Argos. They were unable to suppress the native rising in the Taygetus Mountains, and the Mainote Peninsula, but during 1464 most of the castles were recaptured, and the Venetian attack on Mistra failed. For better protection Venice now took over from the papacy the fort of Monemvasia. In 1466 two Venetian attacks on Patras were unsuccessful, and the most striking event was Capello's sudden capture of Athens, though this had to be speedily relinquished as untenable: the Venetian hold on Vostitsa likewise seems to have been insecure, as it had to be captured again in 1469, to be finally lost in 1470, the year of the Ottoman conquest of Negroponte. At the same time Venice lost Belvedere (Pontikokastron, near Katakolon), but managed to repel an attack on Nauplia, while she burnt Kalamata castle to avoid its capture by the Turks. In 1477 the second attack on Lepanto was beaten off after a three-months siege, and by the peace of January, 1479, Venice retained all her former possessions except Argos; the fortress of Thermisi, opposite Hydra, with Kastri, was included in the territory of Nauplia, and Monemvasia, with the region of Vatika, was recognized as still Venetian, but all the other captured Morean castles were returned to Mehmed.

During the next war, 1499-1503, most of the remaining outposts on the mainland were lost to Venice. First, Lepanto was besieged by Bayezid in person, and after his fleet had been four times victorious off the west coast (battles of Sapienza, Belvedere, Chiarenza and Capo di Pappas) the city fell (28.8.1499), and the Sultan constructed the forts of Rhion and Antirrhion to guard the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf. In 1500 Modon fell, followed by Navarino and Koron, and although Nauplia and Monemvasia resisted all attacks, the fortress of Vatika was captured by the Ottomans. The recovery of Navarino by Venice proved only temporary (1500-1), and by the peace treaty she retained only Cephalonia, Zante, Ithaca, Monemvasia (without Vatika) and Napoli (with Thermisi and Kastri, but without Damala).

For a generation Greece and the Aegean were to have an unusual period of peace before the final attack on the last Venetian outposts in the reign of Süleyman I.

#### 4. *Albania* (Map 15)

During the second half of the 15th century events in Albania fall into two phases: (a) the period of Skanderbeg's continued leadership (1451–68), during which he battled successfully both against the invading armies of the Turks and against the difficulties raised by rivals in his own country; and (b) the period of Turkish conquest (1474–1503), when Venice proved herself incapable of checking the advance and lost the leadership bequeathed by Skanderbeg and also most of her own possessions on the coast.

Castriota as a commander ranks high in military history as the only persistent foe of the Ottomans in their heyday who was also ever-victorious. He foiled two attacks led by Murad II, as we have seen, and then proved a match for the Conqueror himself, who, like his father, was defeated in two campaigns (1466 and 1467).

The run of Albanian successes continued: two in 1452, the battle of Mokrea in 1453, the capture of Berat in 1455, another battle in 1456, one in the plain west of Mount Tomoritsa in September, 1457, the capture of Satti in 1459, two battles in the Dibra and a successful invasion of Macedonia as far as Üsküp in 1462, two more victories in 1464, two in the Dibra and near Tirana in 1465, the defeat of Mehmed at Kroya in 1466, and of Balaban near Kroya and the repelling of the Sultan's second campaign in 1467. Against this remarkable sequence we have only to record Skanderbeg's failure to take the Turkish fort of Elbasan in the year of its construction (1466).

Yet in spite of this brilliance in the field, Castriota could do no more than hold his own; reference to the map will show that apart from the Üsküp campaign all these victories took place within the very narrow area of North Albania. The league of all the princes had dissolved amid the jealousies of some of his rivals, and in 1451 he was obliged to secure some external assistance by recognizing Alfonso V of Naples as his overlord. In 1456 Venice weakened his cause by appointing Araniti Comnenos as Captain of the country, and though the republic soon realized the need for supporting Skanderbeg as the true centre of national resistance, the death of Alfonso in 1458 deprived him of a valuable and near-by ally and the Turks of a foe whose proximity to their port of Avlonya was at times highly dangerous to this vital naval base in the Adriatic.

Nor did the constant victories rob the Ottomans of the territory they held in southern Albania. The truce of 1461 and the peace of April, 1463, were more to their advantage than to that of the mountaineers, and the reinforcements left behind after Mehmed's first campaign of 1466 served to tighten the net. By the beginning of 1467 only Kroya remained as the centre of the rebellious area, and if the double defeat of Balaban and his master relieved the threat for a while, Skanderbeg's death in January, 1468, proved the beginning of the collapse.

Venice now assumed the leadership of the revolt, but some Albanian chiefs submitted to the Sultan, and we find the names of Skoura and Dukagin appearing henceforth in the lists of Ottoman officers.

The campaign began in 1474 when Hadım Süleyman Paşa invested Scutari (T. İskenderiye), but after six weeks he was forced to raise the siege, and succeeded only in destroying the castle of Dagno.

In 1477 Gedik Ahmed Paşa besieged Kroya, which resisted valiantly for over a year until it surrendered in June, 1478, to the Sultan himself. Mehmed then proceeded to besiege Scutari, which held out against all attacks, so he retreated in September, leaving his generals to capture Zabljak, Drivasto and Alessio, while Gedik Ahmed continued to encircle Scutari. This stronghold resisted successfully until it was given up to Mehmed by the peace of 25.1.1479, which also relinquished to the Turks the guerrilla stronghold of Chimara in the south, but left Antivari, Budua, Dulcigno and Durazzo as the remaining Venetian colonies on the Albanian coast. Of these Durazzo was lost in 1501 during the next war, but the Turks infiltrated into the coastal districts around the surviving Venetian ports, all that the republic still held of her once almost continuous Albanian littoral. She seems at some time subsequent to 1479 to have recovered Alessio (Leş), but this was again surrendered by the negotiations of 1506 which delimited the frontiers suggested in 1503.

Farther south, opposite Corfu, Venice lost one or two of her dependencies such as Butrinto and Sopoto, but these changed hands so often that it is difficult to trace their precise fortunes. In fact, although the hills of northern Epirus were nominally under Ottoman rule from the beginning of Mehmed's reign, they contained pockets of resistance which were constantly giving trouble and were likely to call in Venetian assistance; so we find Bayezid attacking Chimara in 1490 and Tepedelen in 1492, while in the mountains south-east of Scutari the Roman Catholic Mirdites managed to preserve their autonomy under a prince of the house of Doda.

### 5. *Serbia*

At the beginning of Mehmed's reign he treated with Serbia as a sovereign state, but after the capture of Constantinople he demanded tribute from the aged despot, George Branković. This being refused, the Sultan led the first of the campaigns in which Serbian independence was to be extinguished (1454).

The fort of Ostrovica (Sivricehisar), near the mining district of Rudnik, was taken, but Semendria (Smederovo, T. Semendire) resisted a siege, while Firuz Bey was beaten at Kruševac by a joint Serbo-Hungarian army. Hunyadi then devastated the region of Niš and Şehir-köy and burnt Vidin, while the Macedonian Serbs won a victory near Vranja, although defeated in another engagement nearer Üsküp.

The second campaign (1455) brought to the Sultan the remainder of southern Serbia, with the rich gold and silver mines of Novo Brdo, though thanks to the Ottoman policy of removing the local population the mines quickly fell into disuse, and today hardly a trace remains visible of the once wealthy centre. Among other towns captured were Prizren (Pirzerin) in the south of the plain of Kosovo, and Bihor in Zagoria, while Turkish garrisons are found in Priština and as far to the north-west as Trepča on the Bosnian frontier.

For a third year in succession Mehmed invaded Serbia (1456), this time taking Kruševac (Alacahisar), while a flotilla ascended the Danube to Vidin. The siege of Belgrade was the main object of this campaign, but after six weeks (June-July) it was abandoned owing to the heroic resistance of Hunyadi—his last act of valour in the cause of

Christendom, as he died a month later, to be followed by Branković before the end of the year.

The despot's son and successor, Lazar, hastened to send tribute to the Porte (1457) but himself died at the beginning of 1458, and the country was soon a prey to civil strife between his two blind brothers, Stephen (who inclined towards Hungary) and Gregory (pro-Turk), a third candidate being Thomas of Bosnia, who reoccupied the Banat of Osora and the castle of Srebrnica, securing his gains by a treaty with the Sultan (February, 1458).

Stephen meanwhile gained the despotat, whereupon Mehmed sent an army under Mahmud Paşa to support Gregory, and in a summer campaign the fortified monastery of Resava and the citadels of Viće-  
vac, Zrnov (Avala) and Golubac, as well as Brankovac, Ostrovica and Rudnik were captured, leaving only Semendire untaken. A detachment then crossed the Sava and burnt Mitrovica, but was defeated by the young king of Hungary, Matthias Corvinus (1458-90), who now assumed his father's mantle as the champion of the Danube front of Christendom. He then invaded Serbia, and early in 1459 gave the despotat to Stephen Tomasević, heir to the Bosnian crown; both Bosnia and Serbia were to be Hungarian vassals, renouncing any allegiance to the Sultan. Mehmed reacted vigorously to this interference with his suzerain rights, and a swift campaign brought the fall of Semendire, together with Viceslav and Šernov.

The whole of Serbia was now Ottoman except for Belgrade; but the possession of this vital point by Hungary proved a continual source of annoyance to the Turks, for from it could issue raiding parties seeking revenge for the devastation of their own country by the *akıncı* forces, as happened in 1494 and 1500, when Semendire and Vidin were attacked and their environs ravaged. Mehmed attempted to lessen the danger by constructing forts on the Danube, such as Šabac (Böğürdelen), built in 1470-1; but Corvinus captured the town in 1476, and although the Sultan destroyed the outlying castles, it remained in Hungarian hands.

## 6. *Bosnia and Herzegovina*

The Kingdom of Bosnia shared the fate of Serbia at this time in being reduced to vassalage, then extinguished, and finally partitioned between Turkey and Hungary.

At the outset of Mehmed's reign Bosnia, like Serbia, was still a sovereign state, but it is certain that the Ottomans had already penetrated into many of the valleys, as they had garrisons at Trepča near Pec, in Foča, and in Hodiced not far from Vrhbosna. We have already noted the Bosnian recovery of Osora and Srebrnica and the treaty of vassalage with Turkey in 1458, and the transfer of suzerainty to Hungary in the following year. The next move came in 1462 when the Sultan demanded tribute from both Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the cession from the latter of the fort of Klobuk among other strong places. Stephen of Bosnia refused tribute, whereupon the Sultan conquered the country in a single campaign (spring of 1463).

He marched from Vučitrn across the River Sitnica to Mitrovica and Sjenica, then through the Drina region to the royal castle of Bobovac and on to Jajce (Yayçe). His troops chased Stephen to Ključ on

the north-west frontier, capturing him and the citadel, while Mehmed returned through Herzegovina. His cavalry proved useless in this stony countryside, however, and he failed to take the capital, Blagaj.

Towards the end of the year Corvinus, who regarded Bosnia as a dependency of the Hungarian crown, besieged and took Jajce, which the Sultan failed to recover in a second campaign in 1464. After Mehmed's retreat Zapolya and the Hungarians captured Srebrenica, but failed to drive the Turks from Zvornik. The part of Bosnia preserved for Christendom for another half-century was organized by Corvinus into the Banats of Srebrenica and Jajce, and for a short time the latter included part of the lower Narenta valley with the fort of Počiteli, while in 1472 the Banats were temporarily united into a revived 'Kingdom of Bosnia' whose ruler was Nicolas Ujlaky. In 1481 the Turks captured Pozrednica, and in 1496 they took from the Hungarians the Narenta valley; from then on the Magyar-Ottoman frontier ran roughly as shown on the map [see Map 16, and an enlargement of part of it on Map 28] with Sinj, Vrlika, Cetina, Knin, Jezero, Jajce, Banyaluka, Tešanj, Srebrenica and Sokol as Hungarian outposts.

Meanwhile the Hungarian victories of 1463-4 and the success of the local guerrilla bands saved Herzegovina for a time, and Duke Stephen recovered most of his territory; but on his death his sons quarrelled, and one of them went over to the Turk, becoming famous in Ottoman history as Hersekoğlu Ahmed Paşa. Foča on the Drina became the headquarters of the sancak of Hersek, and a steady advance was made towards the north-west until in 1481 Risano was captured, and in 1483 Bayezid II annexed the remainder of the duchy, including the small but useful port of Castelnuovo (Hersek-nova) on the Bocche di Cattaro. Meanwhile the former Herzegovine coastline of the Craina, stretching from the mouth of the Narenta to that of the Cetina, had been taken over in 1467 by Venice in order to forestall the Turks; but in 1490 (or 1496) the castle of Narenta was captured by the Ottomans, followed in 1499 by Makarska; and by the peace of 1503 they occupied the entire Craina except for the Venetian port of Almissa.

### 7. *Montenegro*

The principality of Crnagora (T. Karadağ) was founded early in the 15th century by Stephen Crnojević who had revolted against the weak rule of Serbia (c. 1427) and established himself in the barren limestone mountains of the Upper Zeta, where he made his capital at Zabljak, behind the shelter of the Venetian coastline. In 1455 he acknowledged Venetian suzerainty, and so did his son, Ivan the Black (1466-90), both being recognized as the republic's 'Captains and Voivodes' of the Upper Zeta. But when Mehmed burnt Zabljak in 1478 and Venice gave up Scutari in the following year Ivan moved his capital to Cetinje, while the Turks occupied the former Crnojević lands to the north of lake Scutari.

In 1496 Ivan's son George was driven out by the Turks, who placed his brother Stephen in control, but three years later they annexed Montenegro to the sancak of İskenderiye, and the Ottoman possession of the country was confirmed by Venice early in 1504. Montenegro was never completely subdued, however, and the Turkish hold weakened so rapidly that the year 1503 probably marks the highest peak of Ottoman occupation in this area.

### 8. *The North-west Frontier (Map 18)*

One of the principal features of this half-century of Turkish history is the development on an ever-increasing scale of the raids across the frontier by the dreaded 'akıncıs', or

light cavalry. Their hereditary chief was the leader of the Mihaloğlu family, usually based on Silistre, but Malkoç-oğlu Bâlibey of Semendire and İshak Paşa of Bosnia appear as the most redoubtable leaders. At first the raids were chiefly directed across the ill-defined frontier with Hungary, but the strength of Corvinus' fortifications and the comparative ease of Magyar retaliation diverted their attention to the Adriatic coast and the almost unprotected confusion of the Hapsburg duchies of Carniola, Styria and Carinthia. In this region, and in the Venetian territory of Istria, the raiders found an undefended and wealthy source of booty and slaves, and from 1469 scarcely a year passed without new records of desolation and devastation. The evidence is voluminous and detailed, but the compilation of an exhaustive list of the raids and of the towns destroyed or ravaged would be monotonous and of no great value. The maps indicate the areas attacked during the period and the routes followed by several of the more outstanding incursions, but a summary of the *akıncı* activity may be appended as of some use.

- (a) *Dalmatia*. Raided in 1467, 1468, 1471, 1480, 1481, 1491, 1497, 1498, 1500, 1501. All the Venetian coastal towns—Zara, Nona, Sebenico, Traù, Spalato—suffered heavily, especially during the war of 1499–1503, and by the turn of the century the rural districts were largely in Ottoman hands.
- (b) *Istria and the Venetian mainland*. Raided in 1469 (Friuli), 1473 (Gorizia on Isonzo), 1476 (Istria and Görz), 1477 (across bridge of Görz to the Isonzo and Tagliamento rivers), 1478 (Friuli, Isonzo, Val Canale), 1480 (Val Canale), 1497 (Friuli), 1499 (across Tagliamento to Vicenza—the farthest point reached).
- (c) *The Hapsburg Duchies*. Raided in 1469 (Carniola, Carinthia to Möttling and Laibach), 1470 (Carniola), 1471 (Carniola and Styria), 1472 (ditto), 1473 (Carinthia to the Wörther-See, and Styria to Weitenstein and Schönstein), 1474, 1475, 1476 (three great raids this year), 1478 (Carinthia to the Ober Drau-Thal), 1480 (Carinthia, Carniola and Styria to Judenberg and as far as the forest of Rottenmann and Bruck-on-Mur), 1491, 1492, 1493, 1494 (raiders chased out of Styria by the Emperor Maximilian), 1497.
- (d) *Hungary*. It is obvious that all the raids in groups (b) and (c) above must have passed first of all through Croatia, and this unhappy country was the most devastated part of Hungary. Modruš, Corbavia, Agram and Varaždin are often mentioned in the sources, and they had particular attention paid to them in the years 1458 (Mitrovica on the Sava burnt), 1468 (Segn and Modruš), 1474 (Kreuzen, Kopreinitz, Varaždin and the coast), 1479 (raid on the fair of Nedeljanec near Varaždin), 1493 (Turkish victories at Udbina and Corbavia, and raid on the coast near Senj), and 1502 (Požega and Valkon districts).

Few attempts on central Hungary are recorded (1474 to Grosswardein and the plain of the White Körös; 1476 Temesvár raided but invaders repulsed by a Hungarian victory at Pozsezsena on Danube; 1481 a similar raid defeated near Bécse in the Banat); but Transylvania was more accessible, especially via the Wallachian plain, and received a large-scale inroad in 1479 via Orsova, the Iron

Gates, the valleys of Hátszeg and Strel into the valley of the Maros, to meet a heavy defeat at Kenyermezö: other expeditions are recorded in 1483, 1493 and 1497.

#### IV. THE CONTROL OF THE BLACK SEA COUNTRIES

Mehmed I and Murad II had been content to achieve a frontier along the Danube from the Iron Gates to the sea; and the security of this boundary was maintained by akıncı garrisons under the command of the Mihal-oğulları at the important crossing-places, such as Vidin, Rahova, Niğbolu, Turnu-Nicopolis, Rusçuk, Tutrakan, Yergöğü, İsakçı and Enisale; and these kept under surveillance the vassal-state of Wallachia (Eflâk) which in turn controlled the northern arm of the Danube estuary by the possession of Kilia (Kili).

But Mehmed II's ambitions reached farther afield; and it so happened that his perhaps nebulous desire to push his frontiers round both shores of the Black Sea was crystallized and activated by several other factors:

(a) His hostility towards the Genoese. He had already destroyed their power in the Aegean, and saw every advantage in replacing their commercial activities in the Black Sea by his own.

(b) The rise of a strong ruler in Moldavia in the person of Stephen the Great, who became a dangerous enemy by his capture of Kilia and by his insistent meddling in Wallachian politics.

(c) The quarrels over the succession to the Khanate of the Crimea in 1474-5. When one party invited the Sultan to arbitrate he not only granted the request but sent an expedition which made him overlord of the Khanate.

##### 1. *Wallachia and Moldavia*

The two Rumanian principalities, founded alike in the early 14th century, had both become dependencies of Hungary in the time of Louis the Great, and the Magyar kings continued to claim suzerainty over them during the 15th century; but whereas Wallachia had fallen under Ottoman control, the sister-state of Moldavia had become an appanage of the great Jagellon dynasty of Poland-Lithuania. By mid-century, however, the Polish hold had weakened, and when the Ottoman naval raid of 1454 (see Section II, below) touched at the Moldavian port of Moncastro (Rum. Cetatea Alba; T. Ak-kirman), Mehmed realized the value of extending his influence north to the river Dniester, and in 1455 he demanded tribute from the Moldavian prince, Petru III Aaron, a feeble ruler who readily acceded to the request.

Meanwhile John Hunyadi was endeavouring to reassert Magyar influence over Wallachia, and in 1456 installed as Voivode Vlad III, known like his father as 'Drakul' (the Devil), or better still, from his favourite method of wholesale execution, as 'Tepeş' (the Impaler). Mehmed paid little attention at first, having removed Vlad's brother as a hostage, and the Impaler was allowed to rule in his own savage way as long as tribute

arrived regularly: but when this was neglected, and the Sultan became aware in 1461 of a secret treaty between Wallachia and Hungary, he sent Hamze Paşa of Vidin to claim tribute.

The Paşa was promptly impaled, and Vlad crossed the Danube, ravaging all north Bulgaria from Enisale to Rahova, and capturing Hırsova, Tutrakan, Marten, Yergöğü, Rusçuk, Turnu-Nicopolis, Ziştova, Samovit and Gigen (winter of 1461-2).

Mehmed left Istanbul on a campaign of vengeance (April, 1462), travelling by sea to the mouth of the Danube, where Vlad had repulsed an attempt by Stephen of Moldavia to capture Kilia. İbrail (Braila) was burnt, and the Sultan crossed into Wallachia, where his troops found few towns to sack in this predominantly pastoral land. Vlad won the first engagement, but the Ottoman army made its way to Târgovişte, the capital, and the Impaler's brother Radu was installed as prince on payment of an annual tribute of 12,000 ducats, while Vlad found first exile and then imprisonment in Hungary.

Radu IV (1462-73) proved a submissive vassal as far as Turkey was concerned, but his feebleness turned to the advantage of Stephen of Moldavia, known justly as 'the Great' (1457-1504). This ambitious patriot freed himself from Polish and Ottoman suzerainty alike, and soon extended his boundaries to the south by taking Kilia from its Vlakho-Magyar garrison (1465). In 1469, while all Stephen's resources were engaged in the repelling of a great invasion of Tatars, Radu and the Mihâl-oğulları seized the opportunity to attack Kilia, building a fortress at Sulina in the Danube delta. In revenge for this Stephen captured İbrail in 1470, and Radu hastily fortified his frontier by building Craciuna on the River Putna and Teleacin farther south. In 1473 Stephen crossed the Milcov, then the boundary between the principalities, beat Radu at Cursul-Apei (in the region of Râmnicu-Sărat), and placed on the Wallachian throne Laiota Bessarab, taking advantage of the momentary absence of the Mihâl-oğulları on the campaign against Uzun Hasan.

During the next twelve months confusion reigned in Wallachia as Turks and Moldavians invaded the country in turn, but in 1475 the Sultan determined to put an end to the disputes, and claimed from Stephen arrears of tribute plus Kilia. A large-scale invasion by Hadım Süleyman Paşa followed, but this was heavily defeated by Stephen at Vaslui, near the confluence of the rivers Bârlad and Racova (10.1. 1475) and the province of Putna was annexed to Moldavia. But later in the year Gedik Ahmed, returning from his victorious Crimean campaign, seized Ak-kirman; and in 1476 the Sultan himself invaded Moldavia and defeated Stephen at the battle of Razboieni in the Valea Alba, or Paraul Alb, near Cetatea Neamţului (26.7.1476), while Mehmed's new vassal, Mengli Giray of the Crimea, ravaged the north-east province (not yet known as 'Bessarabia'). The Tatars failed to take the fortresses of Hotin and Suceava, and the Sultan was so far unable to exploit his victory that before the end of the year Stephen's Hungarian allies (who had arrived too late to help him) managed to reinstate Vlad the Impaler for a short time on the Wallachian throne (1477). His successor, Laiota Bassarab, returned to the Ottoman allegiance, and in 1481 led the akıncı warriors on a raid into Moldavia as far as Bacău, but Stephen repelled the invaders and, in turn, burnt Bucharest.

Bayezid II determined early in his reign to secure his northern frontier, and in 1484 demanded tribute from Stephen. This was refused, so the Sultan took Kilia in July with Wallachian aid, and Cetatea Alba in August with the help of Mengli Giray: the two important forts, one guarding the north bank of the Danube delta and the other controlling the mouth of the Dniester, effectively cut the Moldavian principality's approach to the sea, although there is no evidence that the coastline between the two places was annexed to the Ottoman Empire before 1538.

In the following year (1485) Vlad IV of Wallachia advanced with Iskender Mihaloğlu and Bali-bey

Malkoçoğlu as far as Suceava, which they burnt, but they were defeated by Stephen at Katlabukh with aid from Casimir of Poland, whose overlordship he now acknowledged. In a third campaign (1486) the Turks reached Scheia on the River Sereth in the district of Roman, but fled on Stephen's approach.

Later on, however, Stephen, wishing to acquire the Polish province of Pokucie (in Bukovina), returned to the Ottoman alliance, and after many vicissitudes of fortune, which scarcely concern us here, was freed from the Polish suzerainty in 1499; and in the Ottoman treaty with Hungary and Poland of 1503 the vassal-status of the Danubian principalities to the Porte was officially laid down. Stephen paid 4,000 ducats annually, but Radu's tribute was fixed at 8,000 ducats, while he had to visit Istanbul every three years to have his appointment confirmed. In 1504 Stephen died, recommending to his son Boğdan obedience to the Sultan as the most powerful of Moldavia's neighbours.

## 2. *The Crimea and the Slav Frontier*

In the middle of the 15th century the political situation on the northern shore of the Black Sea had reached a climax of confusion, mainly through the disintegration of the Khanate of the Golden Horde which had for two centuries controlled the whole of the steppe country of the Ukraine and the lower Don and Volga basins, and which had maintained some degree of good order and stability in relation to its subordinate Russian principalities on the north and the commercial colonies of Genoa on the coast.

The western Ukraine was lost in the 14th century to the rapidly expanding power of Lithuania, which reached the Black Sea near the mouth of the Bug in 1363. Next came Tīmūr's invasion of 1395, which not only gave a shattering blow to the unity of the Horde but also destroyed the few cities it contained and ruined the prosperity of the Genoese colonies by diverting much of the trade with the Far East from the Black Sea-Caspian route to that via Persia. In 1399 the lower Bug basin was recovered by the Tatars, and became grazing ground for part of the Nogay horde, but in 1412 Vitovt of Lithuania built forts and trading stations along the right bank of the Dnieper from Kiev to the Black Sea; some Tatar groups, known as 'Kazaks' (i.e. 'free adventurers', and hence 'frontiersmen') were enrolled by him to garrison these forts, and when native Ukrainians were also used for the same purpose, they likewise became known as 'Cossacks'. The main fort so established was Cherkasy, half-way between Kiev and the Dnieper cataracts.

By mid-century the collapse of the Golden Horde was complete; the weakening remnant still ruled from Saray, but the steppe-country now included as its two most powerful masters the Khans of Kazan (from 1445 onwards) and the Khan of the Dnieper-Don basins. The Grand-Dukes of Lithuania and Moscow, desirous of protecting their lands from Tatar inroads by encouraging rivalries and divisions among the nomads, then took a hand. Vasili II of Moscow planted a sub-khanate of Tatars under Russian protection at Gorodets on the Oka (1452/3), the main advance-post to deal with the nomadic incursions (Gorodets was later renamed Kasimov in honour of its first ruler, Kasim); while Casimir of Poland-Lithuania sponsored Hacı-Giray, another prince of the house of Çingiz-Khan, in his successful attempt to wrest the Crimea from the Dnieper horde (1449).

The new ruler of the Tauric steppes entered into friendly relations with the fast-decaying Genoese colonies which covered most of the southern Crimea and included

Kherson (Sevastopol), Cembalo (Balaklava), Yalta, Soldaia (Sudak), Kaffa (Kefe) and Bosporo (Kerç), together with Copa and Matrida on the Taman shore, and an isolated station at Tana, near the future Azov, at the mouth of the Don.

This was the political situation when in the summer of 1454 Mehmed II sent out the first Ottoman expedition to the Crimea. It failed to take Moncastro (Ak-kirman) in Moldavia, but captured Sebastopol and forced Kaffa to agree to an annual tribute of 3000 ducats in return for the right to export a limited quantity of corn through the Bosphorus.

In 1475 a dispute arose between Mengli Giray (1469-75 and 1478-1515), son of Hacı-Giray, and the Tatars residing in Kaffa. Mehmed was asked to arbitrate, and he welcomed the opportunity, particularly as Mengli Giray was on good terms with the Genoese; and there was also a rival claimant to the khanate whom the Sultan could support if necessary. Gedik Ahmed commanded the fleet, which took Kaffa in June, then Sudak, Balaklava, Inkerman, Sebastopol, Kerç, Tana, and finally Menkup (the former Theodoros), where Alexander, last of the Trebizond Comneni, maintained his shadowy independence.

The Genoese colonies having all been annexed, Mehmed now saw the value of establishing yet another vassal-state, and in 1478 Mengli Giray was taken from his prison in Istanbul and reinstated in the Crimea as the Sultan's subordinate. It is difficult to determine from the existing evidence exactly how much territory was directly annexed to the new sancak of Kefe, but it seems probable that most of the former Italian colonies were included, and in addition the Porte received the right to maintain a garrison in Kozlov (Eupatoria) on the western coast. Towards the end of Mehmed's reign (c. 1480) the chronicles allude to a naval expedition sent against the 'Çerkes country', but this can have been nothing more than a voyage of reconnaissance along the shore between the Taman peninsula and the western ridge of the Caucasus Mountains. (cf. von Hammer, No. 1, Vol. III, p. 252).

The Crimean venture, though it has received comparatively little attention from historians (except in Russia) was undoubtedly one of the most important and far-sighted of all the Conqueror's undertakings, and it proved to the mutual advantage of both suzerain and vassal. For while on the one hand the Krim Khans could usually be relied on to provide troops for the Sultan's wars or to create valuable diversions by timely raids on enemy territory, on the other hand the mantle of protection afforded by Istanbul saved the Crimea for over two centuries after the sister-khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan had been absorbed by Russia.

At the time of Mengli Giray's reinstatement as vassal khan (1478) the power of the Krim Tatars was severely limited; in fact it scarcely extended beyond the peninsula itself. Across the wide belt of steppe country north of the Perekop isthmus ranged the Tatars of the Dnieper-Don horde under Seyyid Ahmed; to the west a part of the Nogays occupied the lower reaches of the Bug, and to the east along the Volga were the remains of the Golden Horde under Ahmed Khan (1460-81). At first Seyyid Ahmed was the greater danger, and in 1476 he ravaged the Crimea until warned off by a stern letter from

Mehmed; on his disappearance shortly afterwards there was a momentary revival of the Volga Tatars, whose power once again spread west to the Ukraine. Mengli Giray's chief ambition was to extend his control from the Crimean base, safely protected by the Ottoman Empire, northwards over the steppe-country, and he found a ready ally in Ivan III of Russia.

At the moment the Volga Horde was too strong, so he turned his attention to the western Ukraine, and in alliance with Ivan burnt Kiev in 1482. Then, when with his assistance Bayezid had turned Kili and Ak-kirman into Ottoman outposts, Mengli Giray seized the opportunity to overrun and annex the whole seacoast from Ak-kirman to Perekop, and this was now lost to Lithuania for ever. Casimir's reply was to call to his help the Volga Horde, which ravaged the Crimea in 1485 until the Sultan warned their leader against further attacks on his vassal, and suggested that the nomads might instead raid Lithuania with profit; this they did for five years until their power was halted by Poland in the battle of Zaslav in 1491.

In 1492 the three allies, Russia, Turkey and the Krim Tatars, held a conference at Ak-kirman at which Mengli Giray was appointed to be Russia's representative at Istanbul. Poland and Lithuania were naturally disturbed at this coalition, which was so clearly anti-Jagellon in intent; already the Turkish policy in Moldavia had bereft Poland of a vassal-state, but she was not anxious for war, and the truces of 1489 and 1490 were renewed in 1493 and for three more years in 1494, while Mengli Giray was restrained by Bayezid from raiding Polish territory. He therefore transferred his attentions to Lithuania, and defeated the forces of the Grand-Duke Alexander at Wiszniewiec in Volhynia (August, 1494).

The truce with Poland ended in 1497, and king Albert planned a great campaign to restore his Black Sea front, to put an end to the Turco-Tatar invasions, and to destroy the anti-Jagellon alliance. So he invaded Moldavia, while his Lithuanian brother rebuilt Braclaw and planned to destroy Mengli Giray's new fortress of Tiabin on the Dnieper. Neither scheme succeeded: Alexander's march was foiled by Russian intervention, while Albert was defeated by Stephen of Moldavia at Kozmin in Bukovina.

In return for this attack, the year 1498 saw the first Turkish campaign in Poland, when in conjunction with the Krim Tatars the raids reached Soroki, Braclaw, Derecsny (Derazhnya), Halicz, Gliniany, Żydaczów, Drogobych, Sambor, Sanok, Jaroslaw, Przeworsk and Kanczuga. Albert realized that a war with Turkey was unprofitable for Poland for some time to come, but the peace negotiations were delayed till 1502-3.

In the meantime Stephen seized Pokucie while Mengli Giray had not only ravaged Lithuania in two more campaigns and had sent his sons on a raid which reached Opatów beyond Sandomierz in Poland, but had also defeated Alexander's ally, Şeyh Ahmed of the Volga Tatars, and had achieved his life's ambition of destroying Saray and the Golden Horde (1502).

By the end of the period, therefore, the vassal khanate had extended its authority, and with it the influence of the Porte, from the narrow limits of the Crimean Peninsula over the whole range of the steppe country from the Dniester to the Volga. The obvious repercussion of this change would be that from henceforth Moscow was likely to be an enemy rather than an ally.

## V. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF TURKEY IN THE 15TH CENTURY

These are shown diagrammatically on Map 19 in the same way as in Map 11, but although most of the details have already been mentioned, the increasing complexity of Ottoman foreign policy in the last half of the century needs a few additional notes by way of elucidation and summary.

1. *The Papacy and the Crusades*

The fall of Constantinople and the progress of Ottoman annexations alarmed the West to such an extent that for fifty years continual efforts were made to inspire a joint effort of Christendom against militant Islam. The heroes of the frontier—Hunyadi, Corvinus, Skanderbeg and Stephen the Great—spent much of their time in diplomatic attempts to organize international action, but only the Pope was able, from his position as spiritual president of the West, to cajole and persuade rulers with less geographical contact with the Turks to offer any help; and even the Papacy achieved but little.

Calixtus III (1455–8) sent a fleet to the Aegean Sea (see above, p. 84), but its successes had no lasting effect, and his successor, Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius) wore himself out trying to jolt the European conscience into action. He was seconded by the heretic King George Podiebrad of Bohemia, but the rivalries of the princes who had promised assistance prevented any joint action, and Pius died a disappointed man at Ancona, whither he had gone to bless the departure of his hoped-for crusade (1464).

In 1470 the fall of Negroponte inspired Paul II to rally the Italian states into the League of Lodi, but the cynical attitude of Milan and Florence meant again that nothing was done. Meanwhile much hope rested on the possibility of an alliance with Uzun Hasan, and as we have seen (pp. 79 and 85) a crusade of Papal, Venetian, Neapolitan and Rhodian vessels actually sailed in 1472, to commit much damage in the Aegean and on the Anatolian coast before the news of the battle of Otlukbeli destroyed the chance of any co-operation with the Akkoyunlu, despite the constant embassies undertaken by Angiolello, Barbaro, Contarini and Caterino Zeno.

The civil war between Bayezid II and his brother (1481–2) and Cem's flight to Rhodes renewed Western hopes, and during the exile's long imprisonment in France and Italy (1482–95) the possession of such an important hostage was used on many occasions as a threat to Bayezid's security, and undoubtedly acted as a brake on his activities; but no attempt was made to send Cem back to Turkey with an army, though Innocent VIII (1484–92) tried to arouse new zeal, and called a congress in Rome to discuss proposals (1490). Then the suggested leader, Corvinus, died in that year, and his successor, Ladislas II (1490–1516), was a feeble prince.

For a time it seemed likely that Charles VIII of France might be the pivot of a new crusade, and his march on Naples in 1494 was proclaimed as the first stage on the way to Constantinople; but the construction by Venice of an anti-French league (also ostensibly for use against the Turk) caused his abrupt retreat.

The last league was formed in 1500, when the three Jagellons of Poland, Lithuania, and Bohemia-Hungary (a powerful dynastic alliance if it had been directed by a capable leader) were joined by France and even (in 1502) by Henry VII of England. Once again nothing was achieved.

The peace of Buda (August, 1503) included Turkey, Moldavia, Ragusa, Venice, the

Papacy, Bohemia-Hungary, Poland-Lithuania, Rhodes, Spain, Portugal, and England, and ranks as the first great international settlement of modern times.

## 2. *The invasion of Italy (1480-1)*

This brief episode—Mehmed's last success—though feared by the Pope and Naples ever since the Ottomans had secured Avlonya as a naval base, came suddenly at the end of July, 1480. Otranto was captured, and from this bridgehead the Turks raided Brindisi, Lecce and Taranto, but in October they were forced back into Otranto by Ferrante of Naples and only a small garrison continued to hold out. Mehmed's attention was first diverted by Rhodes and then ended by death (4.5.1481) and in the summer Otranto surrendered.

For some years the possibility of a renewed invasion was envisaged, and in 1486 the town of Osimo actually offered itself to Bayezid but Lorenzo de' Medici forestalled any action on his part. Raids from Avlonya were not unknown, however; e.g. in 1488-9 Pesaro and Ancona were attacked.

## 3. *The western Mediterranean*

Mention must be made of one striking employment of the Turkish navy when in response to an appeal for help from Granada, engaged in the final struggle with Castile, Bayezid dispatched Kemal Reis to harry the Spanish coast. The fleet was also employed in 1487 and after the fall of Granada in 1492 to rescue numbers of refugees and to ferry them across to North Africa. This was the first Ottoman venture into the western Mediterranean, but it foreshadowed the great achievements of Turkish sailors in the next century, of which only the first falls within this period—the raid of Kemal Reis to the Balearic Isles, Sardinia and Pianosa (near Elba) in 1501.

## CHAPTER SIX

# From Sultanate to Empire (1503–20)

(Maps 20 and 21)

### I. SELIM I AND THE NEW IMPERIALISM

IN the short space of three years (1514–17) the equilibrium reached by the painstaking efforts of Mehmed II and maintained by the caution of Bayezid II was shattered. The sultanate—nicely balanced between Europe and Asia, with its fulcrum on the Bosphorus—had become an empire, already of vast proportions, and faced with new problems and responsibilities that could only be solved by further expansion and continual fighting.

The blame for this transformation does not lie entirely at Selim's door. The decision to move eastward beyond the limits laid down by his grandfather was forced on him by the grave danger from Persia; the conquest of Egypt and the dominance of the Arab world were at least partly due to the necessity for occupying Cilicia and northern Syria as protection against the still militant Safavid; the first step towards the control of the Barbary coast was the result of a lucky windfall that no ruler could be expected to refuse; and the fact that none of his acquisitions were made at the expense of Christendom resulted solely from Selim's unexpectedly early death while at the height of his vigour.

None the less, the results of his reign were unfortunate, as Toynbee had shown in his brilliant analysis of the period (No. 20, Vol. I, pp. 346–402). A permanent barrier was set up between Anatolia and Iran, with a hostile frontier which burst into flames at frequent intervals on the political plane and dried up all contact on the cultural level; and the southern acquisitions proved no adequate compensation, as the Turks gained little but prestige and a granary. 'The Ottoman and the Arabic Society were ill-assorted partners, and the partnership always remained uncomfortable and unfruitful so long as it lasted' (Toynbee, *op. cit.*, p. 396).

### II. THE STRUGGLE WITH ISMĀ'ĪL SHĀH SAFĀVĪ

The replacement of the last of the Akkoyunlu by the first of the Safavids in the opening decade of the 16th century was of tremendous significance in Ottoman and Islamic history. No longer was Iran ruled by a Türkmen family of like religion and customs to those of the Osmanlis, with whom disputes would be purely dynastic and therefore comparatively mild, but it was in the possession of a fanatical heretic, Shāh Ismā'īl (1499–1524).

This energetic zealot laid the foundations of modern Persia and provided the decaying Shī'ī heresy with a powerful new impetus and a centrally organized state. He inherited nothing but the leadership of a small religious body in Gilān, on the south-western shore of the Caspian Sea, and began his career of conquest in 1499 or 1500 by defeating and killing the Shāh of Shirvān (T. Şirvan) and annexing his territory, including the towns of Baku and Shamākhā (Şamahı). In 1501/2 he was victorious over the last of the Akkoyunlu at the battle of Şurur, near Nahçıvan, as a result of which he was crowned in Tabrīz; 'Irāq was overrun, Fārs followed in 1503, Kirmān and Yazd in 1504, Baghdād in 1508, and in 1510 the great Özbek chief Muhammad Khān Sheybāni was destroyed with his army at Tāhirābād near Merv, and Khurāsān up to the Oxus was annexed to the new empire. The climax of Ismā'īl's career came in 1511 when his Qizilbāsh (Kızılbaş) warriors helped his ally Bābur to recover Samarkand, but Bābur was defeated in 1512 by the Özbeks and in 1513 Ismā'īl made peace with their new chief, Ubaydallāh Khān, leaving Transoxiana to the nomads. This admission of failure on his north-eastern frontier was the result of the Shāh's need to prepare for the oncoming war with Selim.

This had been provoked by Ismā'īl in several ways. In the political sphere he had taken advantage of the pacific tendencies and old age of Bayezid II to make two incursions across the Ottoman frontier (probably in 1505 and 1507) in the direction of Şebīn-karahisar and even as far as Ankara, with the object of isolating Alāüddevlē of Dulkadır, who had seized the opportunity afforded by the fall of the Akkoyunlu to bestride the Euphrates and occupy the cities of Harput and Amid (Diyarbakir). Ismā'īl defeated him and absorbed the upper valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates.

Secondly, he made use of Bayezid's tolerant attitude towards the Shī'a to encourage the spread of the heresy in the Ottoman dominions, where his propagandist and political agent, Shāh Kuli, was in receipt of a pension from the Sultan for some years. In the spring of 1511 Shāh Kuli (Şah-kulu, or Şeytan-kulu to the Ottomans) broke into open rebellion, inspired by the success of his missionary activities and by the favour shown him by Bayezid's son Korkud, already at enmity with his brothers Ahmed and Selim over the succession question. If Shāh Kuli had succeeded, the whole course of Ottoman and Persian history would have been mightily affected; as it was, the rebellion was a formidable affair.

Shāh Kuli marched from Teke to Konya, which he failed to capture, but he defeated the imperial forces at Afyonkarahisar and took Kütahya, only to be killed while proceeding eastward at the battle of Sarmısaklı near Kayseri. The revolt would have stood a better chance of success had Ismā'īl been able to help, but he was heavily engaged on the Khurāsān frontier, and only a remnant of the rebel army, led by Shāh Kuli's lieutenant Ustaca-oğlu managed to cut its way through to Tabrīz. There it seems to have been enrolled in the Qizilbāsh forces; at least, one of the corps in that army was named 'Ustājlū'. It is significant that other corps were named after Hamid, Teke, and the Turgud Türkmens of the Taurus Mountains, from which we may surmise with Toynbee [op. cit., p. 368] that Ismā'īl made ready use of the malcontents and refugees from some of the Ottoman provinces.

During these troubles Bayezid's youngest son, Selim, had been governor of Trebizond

(Trabzon), whence he had raided Persian territory as far as Erzincan and Bayburd (1508) and had temporarily occupied Erzincan in 1510. Now he determined to fight for the throne. Sailing to Kefe, he raised troops and supplies with the help of his father-in-law, Mengli Giray, and marched on Istanbul (1511). Defeated at Çorlu in Thrace, he was allowed to escape to the Crimea, but in 1512 he returned, and the imperial slave household, realizing the need for a strong man in power, forced the abdication of Bayezid, who died shortly afterwards.

The trial of strength with Ismā'īl, now unavoidable, opened in 1514, the Shāh taking the offensive by sending Selim's refugee nephew Murad on a cavalry raid to Sivas with Ustaca-oğlu. The failure of the earlier revolt discouraged any attempt at a general rising, however, and the Sultan ordered the extermination of the Shi'i population in Anatolia; 40,000 are said to have been killed, and the rest were transported to Europe. Then Selim marched via Konya and Sivas into Persian territory, which was laid waste by Ismā'īl's orders. On 22nd August, 1514, the Shāh was totally defeated, in spite of the comparative freshness of his army, at the battle of Çaldıran, near Khoy (T. Hoy), north of lake Urmiya (not to be confused, as in many atlases, with Çıldır near Kars, nor with the modern town of Çaldıran, north-east of lake Van). A fortnight later Selim entered Tabrīz in triumph.

The possibilities were now tremendous, as Toynbee has pointed out.

Selīm was able to enter Tabrīz not merely as a conqueror but as a liberator; for his first act was to recon-vert to the service of the Sunnah the mosques which had been arbitrarily converted to the service of the Shi'ah, when Ismā'īl had signalized his original triumph by imposing his own religion by main force upon the Sunni majority of the Tabrīzīs. With Shāh Ismā'īl discredited by his first great military disaster, and with the majority of his subjects waiting to welcome Ismā'īl's conqueror as the victorious champion of their own persecuted faith, Selīm, at this moment, had the entire Iranic world at his feet. He might have marched on, eastward, unopposed by hostile armies and warmly received by public opinion, from Tabrīz to Merv, along the road trodden by Ismā'īl four years before; and if the 'Osmanlı had now appeared in place of the Safawī on the borders of Transoxania and had offered himself to the Transoxanians, in his turn, as a saviour of the Iranic Civilization from the barbarism of the Eurasian Nomad Uzbegs, it is certain that the Transoxanians would have greeted Selim with open arms as a second Tīmūr; for when Sunni Orthodoxy was united in the same person with cultural superiority and military invincibility, their allegiance to such a prince could hardly be in doubt. [Op. cit. pp., 385-6.]

Yet the results of Çaldıran were singularly disappointing; in fact the immediate gains were almost nil. For the janissaries, mostly European in origin, mutinied at the suggestion that they should winter in Karabağ, the favourite quarters of the nomadic hordes of Çingiz-Khān and Tīmūr; and Selim was forced to retreat via Erivan, Alaşkird, Pasin and Bayburd, to camp at Amasya. A slight extension of his frontier to include Erzincan, Erzurum and Bayburd, and tribute from Mzechabuki the Great, Georgian Prince of Samtskhe (who sent him the keys of İspir), was all that the Sultan obtained from his brilliant victory, while his enemy was given time to recover and to organize fresh armies for the campaign of 1515.

Selim himself marched no more against Ismā'īl, but contented himself in the spring of 1515 with a short campaign against Kemah, an important Qizilbāsh garrison-town which

could interrupt communications between Sivas and Erzurum (the record of his journey notes that the Persian frontier was crossed at a point half-way between Sivas and Kemah, showing that it had certainly advanced over the 'no-man's-land' which probably existed in 1503—see above, p. 81). Kemah fell, and some of the frontier-chiefs made their submission; the ruler of Çemişgezek was received honourably, but the lord of Arapgir (Arabgir) was flung into the Euphrates owing to his pro-Iranian sympathies, and it seems likely that his town was annexed.

A much more important addition to the empire was due to a master-stroke of diplomacy rather than further campaigning. Realizing that his janissaries could be neither spared nor trusted to garrison the frontier against Iran, but that at the same time the Euphrates-Tigris highlands were seething with discontent against Ismā'īl's intolerant heresy, Selim sent an agent into Kurdistan to persuade the numerous chieftains of the advantage of Ottoman rule. This was İdris of Bitlis, himself a Kurd; and his political mission was so successful that the whole area between the western bend of the Euphrates and the headwaters of the Zāb rivers was firmly attached to the empire by bonds of varying tightness. The organization he created is discussed in Chapter Eight; it is sufficient to state here that the 'self-garrisoning' of Kurdistan not only afforded protection to the Ottoman gains with very little trouble to the empire itself, but made it increasingly difficult for Ismā'īl and his successors to control Mesopotamia, so that it fell with comparative ease into the hands of Süleyman I after a single campaign.

İdris did not, of course, work single-handed. He was backed by a strong Ottoman detachment led by one of Selim's most capable generals, Bıyıklı Mehmed Paşa of Erzincan, who occupied Amid and Harput, and became the first Beylerbeyi of Diyarbekir. Ismā'īl sent an army to recover the lost territory, but Amid withstood a year's siege and was then relieved by Bıyıklı Mehmed with the help of the Kurdish princes of Çemişgezek, Çapakçur, Palu, Bitlis, Hısn-i Keyf and Sasun. The district between Harput and Amid now firmly under control, the Ottoman army turned south and besieged Mardin, but the citadel was too strongly held, and the new Persian army led by Ustaca-oğlu's brother Karahan relieved the town. Then Karahan was defeated and killed by Bıyıklı Mehmed Paşa at the battle of Kargandede (south of Mardin) in May, 1516, and although the fortress of Mardin held out till 1517, the victory led to the submission of Ergani, Siverek, Birecik, Hısn-i Keyf, Miyafarkın, Siirt, Nusaybin, Mosul, Urfa (Ruhā; Edessa), Raqqa and Kirkūk, while the chiefs of Çermik, Eğin, Atak, Bitlis, Hizan, Urmiya, Cizre (Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar) and İmadiye (İmādiyya) entered the Ottoman sphere, as did the Arabs of the middle-Euphrates grasslands; the most powerful of the rulers of Kurdistan, the lord of Ardalān, seems also to have acknowledged Selim's suzerainty at this time.

The only attempt to upset the régime in Asia Minor came in 1519, when a certain Şeyh Celâl (Şah-veli) raised a revolt at Turhal near Amasya, proclaimed himself Mahdi and moved eastward, to be intercepted and slain by Ali Bey of Dulkadır.

### III. THE CONQUEST OF SYRIA AND EGYPT

During the 250 years of its existence the Mamlūk Empire of Egypt and Syria had successfully maintained its position as the leading state of the Arab world. Its culture was still high, its boundaries unimpaired, and its soldiery had lost little of the old vigour, being,

like that of the Ottomans, recruited constantly from fresh drafts of slaves. The military system had two disadvantages, however, when compared with that of the Osmanlıs: the ruling caste had set its face sternly against innovations, so that the army had nothing to rival the Ottoman artillery, muskets, and 'battlelancer' formation; and the absence of a hereditary monarchy encouraged any slave to aim at the throne, even by treachery to his former master. In addition, during the twenty-five years since Qā'it-bāy's defeat of Bayezid II, Egypt had suffered a grave loss of both prestige and wealth through the Portuguese discovery of the Cape route to India and their challenge to the Mamlūks for supremacy in the Red Sea.

Even so, it is difficult to account for Selim's attack on Egypt (a not-unfriendly power, in spite of his claims to the contrary, which were mere excuses) at a time when the Persian war was still unfinished, except on the assumption that he needed to control the district between the triangle Adana-Malatya-Aleppo in order to form a second line of communication with his new possessions in Kurdistan via the Euphrates-crossing at Birecik (the capture of the Cilician ports would also give him a valuable sea-route from Istanbul to Payas, which was much swifter than the long overland passage). It is most unlikely that he planned the conquest of Egypt from the outset; he had no reason to assume that his janissaries would like the desert any more than the steppes of Karabağ (strangely enough, they did prefer it—and settled happily on frontier-posts far up the Nile). The probability is that he was led on by the unexpected results of his first victory.

The initial step was the revival of the Ottoman claims on Dulkadır. This state was still ruled, under Egyptian supremacy, by Alâüddevle, lord of Elbistan, but it seems that his nephew Ali Bey, son of that Şehsüvar whose claims had been supported by Mehmed II, had been granted the sancaks of Bozok and Kayseri by the Ottomans. These were now withdrawn (though apparently in exchange for Çirmen, near Edirne), but Qānsūh al-Ghawri (1500-16), the Mamlūk Sultan, asked Selim to return them to Dulkadır (1514). Selim replied in a conciliatory vein, but next year, when his capture of Kemah found him in the region of Alâüddevle's northern boundary at Divriği, he demanded tribute. The Türkmen chief took no notice, so Selim marched on Elbistan from Sivas while Sinan Paşa defeated and killed Alâüddevle at the battle of Turna-dağ near Göksun (1515).

Selim sent the late ruler's head to Cairo and established Ali Bey as his vassal in Elbistan; the boundaries of Dulkadır at this time, however, seem to have been circumscribed within narrow limits, as the Egyptians were in control of all the Euphrates outposts (in Selim's route-march in the following year the Egyptian frontier is stated as being between Elbistan and Malatya).

In the summer of 1516 Selim set out for Syria, advancing various pretexts such as the refuge given by Egypt to fugitive Osmanlı princes, and the supposed secret alliance between Qānsūh and Ismā'īl. When he reached Ereğli, instead of marching south through the Cilician Gates he proceeded east via Kayseri to Elbistan and across the frontier towards Malatya. Taeschner (No. 158, Vol. II, p. 32) assumes that this was a detour in order to avoid the Mamlūk vassal-state of the Ramazan-oğulları in Adana and Tarsus; but this is most unlikely, not only because their power was relatively insignificant, but also since the

family had already given assurances of their friendship to Selim, and one of their number, Mahmud Bay, was present in the Ottoman army throughout the campaign, to fall later at Raydāniyya. The long march was, in fact, an essential part of the move; it was undertaken (a) to cut off the northern Egyptian garrisons, (b) to secure the Euphrates crossing against the arrival of possible assistance from Persia, and (c) to permit a junction with the forces of Bıyıklı Mehmed Paşa of Diyarbekir. When the latter arrived, the Sultan took Malatya and marched to the capture of 'Aynṭāb (Antep). This led to the surrender of the other fortresses, including Divriği and Darende in the north, Mişar and Kuri near Malatya, and Behesni, Kâhta, Gerger and Rumkale in the bend of the Euphrates. All the routes out of Anatolia to the east were now in Selim's possession except that through Cilicia, which could be left for the moment as it was of little value without Antioch (Antakya) and Aleppo.

The rest of the campaign needs little comment; it was astonishingly simple in strategy. The Sultans met at Marj Dābiq, in the plain north of Aleppo, where Selim won a complete victory, partly as a result of the treachery of Hayr Bey, governor of Aleppo (24th August, 1516); and al-Ghawri was killed. Selim captured the puppet caliph al-Mutawakkil, and after a fortnight in Aleppo passed on through Ḥamā and Ḥimş to Damascus, where he stayed for nearly three months, receiving the homage of many Arab and Lebanese chiefs, and awaiting a reply from the new Mamlūk Sultan Tūmān Bāy to his offer of the viceroyalty of Egypt under Ottoman suzerainty. The emirs in Cairo forced Tūmān Bāy to refuse, so the Turkish march was resumed through Palestine, where the advance guard under Sinan Paşa had already defeated the Egyptians at Khān Yūnis near Gaza. After two short pauses while Selim visited Jerusalem and Hebron, the Sinai desert was crossed by the north coastal route, and the Mamlūks received a final shattering defeat at Raydāniyya, outside Cairo, on January 22nd, 1517.

After a short but courageous resistance, during which the Ottoman garrison in Cairo was massacred and Selim's troops worsted in a skirmish near Gizeh, Tūmān Bāy was betrayed and hanged (13.4.17). Selim then visited Fuwwa, Rosetta and Alexandria, and spent the summer on the isle of Rawḍa, near Cairo. He set out on the return journey in September, and after four months' sojourn in Damascus and two in Aleppo, returned to Istanbul at the beginning of August, 1518.

During the three periods of encampment in Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo he had arranged the reorganization of his conquests. The two Mamluk traitors, Hayr Bey and Canbirdi Gazali (Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī) were entrusted respectively with the beylerbeyiliks of Mısır (Egypt) and Syria (Şam). The entire empire of the Mamlūks was now absorbed into the Ottoman realm. Sawākin on the Red Sea was occupied in 1520, and before that date the Bosniak janissaries had pushed the former frontier four hundred miles up the Nile from the first to the third cataract.

The semi-independent tribes of the Libyan and Syrian deserts, and the autonomous Druzes and Maronites of the Lebanon accepted in general the change of masters, but some of the chiefs contrived by more timely submission to profit over their rivals. So, for instance, Fakhr al-Dīn Ma'n, lord of the Shūf, was recognized as the leading chieftain of the mountain of Lebanon (Sulṭān al-barr), while the Buḥturid Tanūks, who remained

loyal to the Mamlūks, lost their former position in the region. Several Arab chiefs rebelled in 1518, led by Ibn al-Hanūsh of Ṣaydā and the Biqā', and Ibn al-Ḥarfūsh, a Shi'ite of the Biqā', but Gazali of Damascus with the beys of Tripoli (Trablsu-Ṣam) and Ḥimṣ (Humus) defeated them at Baalbek and sent their heads to Istanbul.

#### IV. THE BEGINNING OF OTTOMAN POWER IN ARABIA

At the opening of the 16th century the political map of Arabia was much as it had been since the collapse of the Caliphate. From the head of the Persian Gulf to the Yemen the coast was ringed by a series of small sultanates and sheykhdoms, which only emerged from petty obscurity in the cases of 'Umān and San'ā; the vast interior right up to the Syrian border and the Euphrates was unknown, having had no history since the disappearance of the Carmathian power in the 11th century; and the Red Sea littoral and the Ḥijāz with its Holy Cities acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mamlūks of Egypt. This Egyptian authority, first claimed by the Ṭūlūnids (868-905), might often be vague and shadowy, but it was none the less inescapable, for several reasons:

(a) Geographically, the Ḥijāz, especially its long coastline (the Tihāma), looks west to the Red Sea rather than east to the Najd, and is easily controlled by any power which commands the sea. Until the advent of the Portuguese this power was always Egypt.

(b) Economically, the Ḥijāz is dependent on the Egyptian granary for much of its food, which gave the rulers of Cairo a powerful weapon in case of recalcitrance.

(c) The great pilgrim-routes from Syria and Egypt to Mecca and Medina had to be safeguarded by a military escort, which gave the Mamlūks frequent opportunities of watching over the Ḥijāz.

(d) Family disputes and jealousies prevented the Sharīfs of Mecca and Medina from extending their purely local authority; indeed it was often only possible to maintain their position by having Egyptian confirmation and approval.

The last Mamlūks tried to tighten this hold on the coastlands. Since about 1425 they had garrisoned Jidda, and early in the 16th century they embarked on an aggressive campaign, only to be foiled, first by the maritime supremacy of the newly arrived Portuguese, and next by the Ottoman conquest of Egypt, which put an end to the Slave Dynasty even while its last admiral, Ḥusayn, was occupying Zabīd and Ta'izz in the Yemen Tihāma and destroying the Ṭāhirid rule there (1517).

The reasons given for Egyptian domination operated even more strongly with the Nile Delta under the firm control of a new and vigorous power. Barakāt II, Sharīf of Mecca, made an immediate submission to Selim and sent him the keys of the Holy Places, being rewarded with the rule of Mecca, Medina, Jidda and the Ḥijāz, under Ottoman suzerainty. (Note, however, that the Ḥijāz did not then extend right up to the Gulf of 'Aqaba, whose eastern shore belonged to Egypt until 1886; the Ḥijāz boundary ran from Wajh east to the Ḥarrat Khaybar.)

The protectorate of the cities of Mecca and Medina, inherited from the Mamlūks

with the title of 'Servant of the Holy Places' (Khādīm al-Haramayn al-Sharīfayn) had great prestige-value for the Ottoman Sultans throughout the Arab world. As for the title of 'Caliph' it was of far less importance; the orthodox Muslim knew that only a descendant of the Quraysh clan could truly claim to be the successor of the Prophet, while the political significance of the word had disappeared since it had been adopted by many other Islamic rulers. The old story that al-Mutawakkil bequeathed the title to Süleyman I on his death in 1538 has long been exploded, and it seems that the khutba had been recited in the name of an Ottoman 'caliph' on several earlier occasions; Rüstem Paşa, for instance, in his history says that Selim had already ordered it at Tabrīz in 1514 and Aleppo in 1516 (No. 135, pp. 38 and 49), and he makes one strange reference to the 'Caliphate' of Murad II (p. 69), while Arnold, in his book on 'The Caliphate' finds an occasion still earlier when Murad I had been addressed by the Emir of Karaman as 'the chosen Khalīfa of the creator'. (No. 144, p. 130.)

#### V. THE FIRST ACQUISITIONS IN NORTH-WEST AFRICA

Since Bayezid II had sent his fleet to help transport refugee Moors from Granada to North Africa the Ottomans had only appeared in the western Mediterranean on a few sporadic raids. Relations with the Muslim states of the African coast were friendly if occasional; certainly there was no intention of extending the Porte's sphere of influence to cover any of them.

But at the beginning of the 16th century the three kingdoms which had once shared the whole country from the Atlantic to Syrtis were in such a state of decay that they controlled little beyond the environs of their respective capitals—the Marīnids in Fās (Fez), the 'Abd al-Wādids in Tlemcen, and the Ḥafṣids in Tunis. Algiers and Tripoli were independent republics, the former since 1438, the latter since 1460. Constantine, Bône and Collo were only loosely attached to Tunis, and were often independent under collateral Ḥafṣid princes. The entire hinterland, often up to the walls of the few cities, was controlled by various powerful Arab or Berber tribes. Among the former were the Banū Sulaym along the Tripoli coast, the Shābbiyya with their headquarters at Qayrawān and their power reaching from the gates of Tunis to Constantine, the Tha'aliba behind Algiers, and the Dawāwida between Constantine and the Shott al-Hodna. Among the Berbers two strong kingdoms had emerged—the sultanate of Kuko in the Jurjura Mountains, in touch with Europe through the port of Azefun, and the emirate of the Mokrānī north of the Hodna, with a principal stronghold at Qal'at Banī 'Abbās (kingdom of Labbes).

The weakness of the Muslim states, and the reprisals taken by the coast pirates in revenge for the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, encouraged Isabella of Spain to take action. Melilla was captured in 1496, and on Isabella's death in 1504 her husband, Ferdinand of Aragon, sent his captain de Cordova on several expeditions. The capture of Mers el-Kebir in 1505, Oran (Wahrān) in 1509, and Bugia (Bijāya) and Tripoli in 1510 led to

the submission of other strongpoints including Algiers (Jazā'ir), Mostaganem, Shershel, Dellys and Tenes, and a garrison was placed at Peñon d'Argel, a fortified islet near Algiers. Ferdinand's well-known parsimony prevented the further extension of the Spanish domain, but the conquerors were not interested in the interior, and contented themselves with this imposing chain of forts, together with tribute from a few near-by tribes such as the Banī Amer near Oran.

Suddenly there came the challenge from the Barbarossa brothers, Turks (or Greeks) from Lesbos, who decided that the coasts of Ifrīqiyya offered more prospects than the waters of the Aegean. The elder, Arūj (T. Oruç), was given the freedom of the ports of Tripoli as early as 1504, whence he took captive two papal galleys off Elba shortly afterwards. In 1512 the dethroned king of Bugia asked for his help against the Spaniards, but Arūj was wounded in the attack on the city, and his brother Khayr al-Dīn (T. Hayrūddin) was defeated by the Genoese at Goletta (Ḥalq al-Wād), the fort at the entrance to Tunis harbour.

Arūj then persuaded the Hafsid ruler that his help would be useful against Spanish encroachments, and he was granted the government of the island of Jerba, from which famous base he proceeded to extend his power.

In 1514 a second attack on Bugia failed, but he captured and fortified Jijeli; next year he killed the Sultan of Kuko and captured Shershel; in 1516 he was invited to Algiers by the inhabitants, angry at the loss of their piracy since the Spanish had controlled the town. Arūj then beat off a Spanish attempt to recapture Algiers, led by Diego de Vera, and in the same year (1516) he took Medea and Miliana; in 1517 Tenes fell, then Qal'at Banī Rashīd. Arūj now turned his attention farther west, entered Tlemcen, reduced the Banī Amer and the Banī Snassen, and garrisoned Ujda and Debdu, more than half-way to Fez.

The Spanish decided on a major effort to remove this rival, and in 1518 they retook Qal'at Banī Rashīd and in conjunction with the Arabs forced Arūj from Tlemcen. He was killed in the struggle, but de Comares, the Spanish commander, instead of pressing home his advantage, retired to Oran, and the opportunity was lost for 300 years.

Arūj's mantle now descended on his brother Khayr al-Dīn, and he immediately appealed for help to Selim, offering homage (1519). The Sultan, now back in Istanbul planning a great naval adventure (probably against Rhodes) readily accepted the proposal, and appointed Khayr al-Dīn to be Beylerbeyi of Cezayir (= Jazā'ir), sending to his support 2,000 janissaries. At the moment the new province was small in extent, consisting only of Jerba, Algiers, Jijeli, Shershel and Tenes, and the last two were lost in 1519-20 when Khayr al-Dīn was defeated in Kabylia by a joint force from Tunis and Kuko. But the few strongpoints controlled by Barbarossa, soon to be joined by many others, were to prevent the Spanish from dominating the western Mediterranean, and were to prove a constant menace to the shores of Christendom for centuries to come.

## VI. THE EUROPEAN FRONT

From 1503 until 1520 the energies of the Sultans were turned towards the east and south;

and the European powers on the Ottoman frontiers—Venice, Hungary, and Poland—were careful not to draw attention to themselves by aggressive action. The events of the period were therefore slight, and can be dismissed in a single paragraph.

*Firstly*, Ottoman power was directly extended in three ways: *Moldavia* was drawn more closely within the Turkish orbit when, on the death of Stephen the Great (1504), the rivalry between his sons ended in the victory of the Sultan's candidate, Bogdan II, who submitted in 1513 to the payment of an annual tribute of 11,000 piastres; in *Dalmatia* the infiltration of the Muslims continued, and a fort was established at Karin near the Adriatic shore; and the *Venetians*, masters of Cyprus since 1489, agreed in 1517 to transfer to Selim the tribute they had paid for the island to the Mamlūks. *Secondly*, the truce of 1503, which had been intended for a period of seven years, was renewed frequently—by Venice in 1506 (when she finally relinquished Alessio), 1511, 1514 and 1517, by Hungary in 1507, 1511 and 1513, and by Poland in 1511. *Lastly*, the raids over the frontiers of Christendom by the *akıncıs* and the Tatar nomads continued notwithstanding the truce: thus the Bosniak Turks attacked Šabac, Požega, Carniola and Scardona in 1513, Croatia in 1514, 1517 and 1518, and Corbavia in 1517; while the Krim hordes devastated Poland in 1502-5, Lithuania in 1506, and Russia in 1507, 1512, 1514, 1516 and 1517.

Yet if these bare facts are scanty and unimpressive, the reign of Selim witnessed the setting of the stage for dramatic events of a far-reaching magnitude. Leo X's plans for a crusade in 1514 may have come to nothing, like those of his predecessors, but the enthusiasm with which the Hungarian peasantry greeted his appeal only to find their oppressive feudal masters lacking in zeal led to a terrible revolt whose vindictive suppression weakened still further the decadent Magyar bulwark against the Turk. Again, the Ottoman conquest of Egypt may have come too late to challenge with any success the Portuguese supremacy in the Indian Ocean, but it led to the Turkish mastery in the Mediterranean which was to have a profound effect on the European Balance of Power, likewise disturbed during the same period by Charles V's inheritance of Spain with Austria and the Burgundies, by his election to the Empire, and by his brother's marriage to Anna of Hungary who was to bring the reversion of that unhappy kingdom within the Hapsburg orbit. Finally, the changed policy of the Krim Tatars when in 1512 they began to regard Muscovy as the enemy instead of an ally against the Jagellons of Poland-Lithuania foreshadowed the long struggle between Russia and Turkey which was to endure for four centuries.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

# The Climax and Breakdown of the Imperial Achievement (1520–1606) (Maps 21–23)

SÜLEYMAN the Magnificent (1520–66), son and successor of Selim I, brought the Ottoman Empire to the zenith of its power. Forty years after his death the seeds of decay were already so apparent that the English ambassador, Sir Henry Lello, reported on his return from Istanbul in 1607 that the empire's collapse was imminent and that it might easily be overthrown by the Christian powers.

The full analysis of the causes of disruption lies outside the scope of this work, but certain of these reasons fall within the province of physical and human geography, and the present chapter attempts to discuss them by grouping the evidence under a few convenient headings, leaving a more detailed treatment of the imperial administration and frontier fluctuations for the following chapters.

### I. SÜLEYMAN I AND HIS SUCCESSORS

'Kanunî Sultan Süleyman' was granted the longest reign of any Ottoman Sultan in which to prove his greatness as a legislator and conqueror. He was the tenth of his dynasty, and of his nine predecessors all had displayed energy or wisdom while seven had been distinguished for both. Of his twenty-six successors only Murad IV (1623–40) and Mahmud II (1808–39) possessed both characteristics; the rest had little of either, only Osman II, Mustafa III and Selim III displaying rare flashes of the old spirit.

Yet in a royal family whose slave-mothers were constantly introducing fresh and alien blood, decay is far from being as inevitable as when marriages take place within a fairly close aristocratic circle. The decadence of the Osmanlı line was due to other causes. From the time of Ahmed I (1603–17) onwards it can be ascribed to the way in which the sultans were reared in the harem with no outlet for their abilities and no chance to gain experience in the provinces in the same way as all the earlier rulers (Mehmed III was the last Sultan who had been governor in his father's reign). But the initial step towards this state of affairs had been taken by Süleyman himself; spared the need for a fratricidal blood-bath at his accession since his brothers had predeceased his father, he yet committed the incredible mistake of slaughtering the two of his sons (Mustafa and Bayezid) who showed

every evidence of upholding the prestige of the line of Osman, in favour of Selim, who was not only unworthy of the throne in every respect but passed on his complete lack of ability to his son and grandson.

The effect of this striking contrast between Süleyman and his successors on the political geography of the empire can be seen in two ways. First, the leadership of the campaigns devolved upon the grand viziers, with a consequent lack of continuity and persistence, as a single failure might lead to dismissal; while the army could not be expected to show the same enthusiasm if the Padişah was insufficiently interested to lead it himself. Secondly, the absence of a strong guiding hand at the top led to much local discontent and an increasing number of serious revolts in all parts of the empire.

### I. *The Campaigns* (Map 22)

Süleyman accompanied his army on thirteen campaigns, and we have details of the first eight of these preserved in his diary. Here are summaries of the expeditions, with opening and terminal dates:

- (i) *Belgrade* (18.5.1521-19.10.1521) via Filibe and Niş, and return via Semendire.
- (ii) *Rhodes* (16.6.1522-30.1.1523) via Kütahya and Denizli and return via Alaşehir.
- (iii) *Mohács* (23.4.1526-13.11.1526) via Belgrade, Peterwardein and Eszék to Mohács: battle 29.8, then on to Ofen (Buda, T. Budin) and return via Szegedin and Bécse.
- (iv) *Vienna* (10.5.1529-16.12.1529) via Mohács, Ofen, Komorn and Győr, and return.
- (v) *Güns* (25.4.1532-21.11.1532) via Eszék, Babócsa and Rum, and on to Styria, returning via Pettau, Varaždin and Požega.
- (vi) *Persia* (11.6.1534-8.1.1536) via Konya, Sivas, Erzurum and Erciş to Tabrīz, then on to Sultāniyye, Dargazīn, Qaşr-i Shīrīn and Baghdād, where he stayed from 30.12.1534-31.5.1535 (except for a short pilgrimage to Ḥilla and Karbalā). On 1.4.1535 he began the northward march to Kurdistan, staying a month near Irbīl, then crossing the Zagros to Tabrīz again. In July he once more pursued the Shāh to Dargazīn, returning to Tabrīz in August, then marched via Khoi and Lake Van to Amid, Urfa, Aleppo, Adana, and Konya to Istanbul.
- (vii) *Corfu* (17.5.1537-22.11.1537) via Filibe, Üsküp, Elbasan and Avlonya, returning via Manastır and Selânik (Salonica).
- (viii) *Moldavia* (9.7.1538-27.11.1538) via Babadağı, Jassy, to Suceava and back.
- (ix) *Hungary* (20.6.1541-27.11.1541) to Ofen and back.
- (x) *Hungary* (23.4.1543-16.11.1543) via Eszék, Siklős and Ofen to Gran and Tata and back via Pest.
- (xi) *Persia* (29.3.1548-21.12.1549) taking the previous route to Tabrīz, then to Van, Muş, Bitlis, Amid, Ergani, Harput, back to Amid, then to Urfa and Birecik to winter in Aleppo, visiting Ḥamā, Ḥimş and Antioch. His subsequent moves are obscure, but he reached Erzurum on 10.9.1549, and was back in Istanbul in December.

- (xii) *Persia* (28.8.1553–31.7.1555) via Kütahya to Ereğli (where he executed prince Mustafa) and Aleppo for the winter. In April 1554 he went via Amid to Erzurum and on to Kars, Karabağ, and Nahçıvan, then back to Erzurum, Sivas and Amasya, where he stayed for the second winter till peace was arranged with Persia.
- (xiii) *Szigetvár* (1.5.1566–6.9.1566) via Siklős and Pécs. He died at the siege of Szigetvar on the night of 6/7.9.1566.

The total duration of these campaigns adds up to ten years and three months, but if this amount seems considerable, we have to remember not only that twenty-one months were spent in winter quarters, but that these ten years out of forty-six represent the entire proportion of his reign that Süleyman spent outside his capital and its vicinity. In fact, he seems to have been little interested in touring the provinces of his empire; and the map of his travels, besides indicating their extent, shows how rarely he departed from the few main routes; he journeyed between Istanbul and Belgrade thirteen times, and always by the main highroad, except when a short section of it was impassable owing to floods.

None the less, his energy and enterprise were notable, and in vivid contrast to the indolence of his descendants. Selim II (1566–74) and Murad III (1574–95) only bestirred themselves to go hunting, and Mehmed III (1595–1603) was dragged on the Keresztes campaign of six months in 1596 by the vigorous persuasion of his ministers; having won a striking victory by no effort of his own he rested on his laurels till his death.

Meanwhile, the control of the major campaigns was in the hands of the grand viziers. Süleyman himself had entrusted much of the hard work of fighting to his chief ministers, and often they had preceded him with an army which achieved important victories which he could then follow up with greater ease. Piri Mehmed (grand vizier, 1518–23) went on the Belgrade and Rhodes campaigns; İbrahim (1523–36) was sent to quell the revolts in Egypt in 1524–5 and Anadolu in 1526–7, was at Mohács and Vienna, in Hungary in 1532, and ahead of the Sultan at Tabrîz and Baghdād in 1534; Ayas Mehmed (1536–9) went to Corfu in 1537, and it was on his advice that Süleyman abandoned the siege; Kara Ahmed (1553–5) fought a hard campaign on his own in Hungary in 1553 and obtained great successes in Samtskhe in 1554; Sokollu Mehmed (1565–79) was on the last expedition to Szigetvár, but had already gained much experience in Hungary in 1552.

After Sokollu Mehmed had brought the Hungarian campaign to a successful conclusion, there were no major military expeditions during the rest of his tenure of office, but the long wars with Persia (1578–90) and Hungary (1593–1606) made or marred the fortunes of a number of the sixteen grand viziers (in twenty-six terms of office) who controlled the government between 1579 and 1606, including Koca Sinan (twice dismissed on account of failure in Georgia in 1582 and Wallachia in 1595, dying in 1596 during his fifth period of rule), Osman (chosen in 1584 on account of his brilliant victories in the east, and died there in 1585), and Ferhad (who brought the Persian war to a successful conclusion, but was later dismissed and executed for failure in Hungary).

2. *The Rebellions*

The few revolts in Süleyman's reign fall into three groups:

- (a) Two early attempts to take advantage of his inexperience.  
On the death of Selim, the traitor Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī, whom he had appointed to the government of Damascus, made himself independent under the title 'al-Malik al-Ashraf', but Aleppo refused to join him, and Süleyman's army under Ferhad Paşa killed the rebel at Qābūn, the plain outside Damascus (27.I.1521). Hayr Bey of Egypt had remained loyal during this disturbance, but his successor, Ahmed Paşa, annoyed that he had been fobbed off with Egypt when he expected the post of grand vizier, proclaimed himself Sultan of Egypt in 1523-4 with the assistance of some of the powerful Arab tribes. Ahmed was soon murdered, however, and the grand vizier İbrahim was sent to pacify the country.
- (b) Disturbances in eastern Anatolia, 1526-8.  
These seem to have been connected with the remnants of the Shī'ī heresy and were possibly inspired by Persia. The most serious trouble was caused by Kalender-şah in the Sivas region and by Zünnûn (Dhū'l-Nûn) Baba in Bozok, but other rebellions occurred among the Türkmens of İçel, Tarsus and Adana.
- (c) Family troubles.  
The murder of prince Mustafa in 1553 was followed by the appearance of a false Mustafa in the Dobruca and Salonica in 1555; and in 1559 the favour shown by Süleyman to his son Selim drove prince Bayezid into open rebellion, but he was defeated at Konya by Sokollu Mehmed and fled to Persia, to be murdered two years later.

Of all these revolts only those in the first group really threatened the unity of the empire, and they were dealt with so promptly as to cause little anxiety.

But during the forty years after Süleyman's death rebellions multiplied in every corner. We may dismiss as due only to local patriotism the revolts in the Yemen (1566 and 1597) and Başra (1567)—both recently acquired provinces—but the numerous others are symptomatic of a general discontent with the government. They may again be grouped in three divisions:

- (a) Repeated insurrections on the part of the janissaries and sipahis (cavalry) of the army.  
Usually these took place in Istanbul and were caused by inaction and arrears of pay, but on some occasions the garrisons in the outposts took part in the disturbances, as in Egypt in 1589 and Tabrīz in 1592.
- (b) Outbreaks of the Christian populations in the Balkan peninsula.  
Due to the inefficiency of the central government, the increase in the number of absentee landlords, and an apparent growth of religious intolerance between Muslim and Christian (see Vaughan: No. 4, pp. 215-19). The wild and unsubdued tribes of the Maina in the extreme south of the Morea rebelled in 1568, and in

1602 the Moreotes rose under the Metropolitan Dionysios of Larisa. The Albanians attacked Sopoto in 1570–2, joined with the Serbs to burn Kiprovac in 1596 and offered their allegiance to Venice in 1602 (it was refused, of course; the Christian powers were not yet ready to take advantage of such proposals, as was shown earlier when the Emperor Rudolf declined an approach from Herzegovina in 1594). A revolt in Bosnia was defeated at Gackopolje in 1597, but a rising of the Serbs settled in the Banat of Temesvár proved much more difficult to control.

(c) The great insurrections in Anatolia.

These were formidable affairs, and the first was apparently due to Çağala-zade's brutal treatment of the Asiatic feudal levy which was supposed to have run away at the battle of Keresztes. Its leader was Abdülhalim Bey, popularly known as Kara Yazıcı; he raised a revolt in 1599, defeated the imperial army at Kayseri in 1600 and assumed control of large parts of Asia Minor. He was beaten near Elbistan in 1601 and died, but his brother Deli Hasan took Tokat, and although unsuccessful in an attempt on Kütahya, soon controlled a vast area including Sivas, Erzurum, Karaman, Merzifon and Kastamonu. The new grand vizier Yavuz Ali Paşa, took strong action, curbed a revolt in Damascus on his way home from Egypt, and forced Deli Hasan to submit; but after Yavuz Ali died in 1604 rebellions occurred all over the provinces of western Asia. Kalenderoğlu held Aydın and Saruhan, Yusuf Paşa rose in Menteşe, Muslu-Çavuş in Selefke, Cemşid bestrode the Taurus from Konya to Adana, Canbulat-oğlu the Kurd proclaimed his independence in Aleppo, and Fakhr al-Dīn seized more and more power in the Lebanon. This chain of rebels was not finally crushed until 1608, while the authority of Fakhr al-Dīn remained undiminished till 1613.

## II. THE RESUMPTION AND EXHAUSTION OF THE 'GAZI' MISSION

Selim I had spent his short career fighting Muslims, whether orthodox or heretic. His son began his reign by attempting to redress the balance, and returned to the holy war against the infidel. Süleyman's policy in this respect can be traced in two clearly marked stages.

### I. *From 1520–40*

During this period his object was to continue along the lines laid down by Mehmed II by achieving a secure northern frontier along the Drave–Danube line, buttressed by vassal-states on the far side, and by wiping out the Christian enclaves and outposts still remaining to the south.

The capture of Belgrade in 1521 was the master-stroke which secured the Danube frontier. It had been preceded by a successful advance against some of the Bosnian forts still in Hungarian hands, and was succeeded inevitably by the fall of those that remained, as the Turks descended from the Bosnian plateau into the valleys of Croatia and Slovenia.

In the east the citadels of Orsova and Severin, guarding the Iron Gates, fell in 1524, and in the west the last great outpost of Corvinus—Jajce (Yayçe)—was taken in 1527/8. The three imposing invasions of Hungary which followed the fall of Belgrade, and whose culminating points were the battle of Mohács in 1526 and the sieges of Vienna in 1529 and Güns in 1532, were in no way intended to lead to the annexation of any territory north of the Drave—Danube, as is indicated by the fact that on each of these occasions Süleyman relinquished many strategic points which he might easily have retained. His object was rather to weaken Hungary, and to secure at least one if not both of the rival claimants (John Zapolya and Ferdinand of Austria) as a compliant vassal.

Meanwhile, his attacks on the southern outposts of Christendom continued successfully, with one exception. Rhodes and its adjacent islands (not forgetting Bodrum, the last Christian citadel on the mainland of Asia Minor) fell in 1522, and a war was engineered with Venice in 1537 in order to achieve maritime supremacy in the Aegean and Adriatic. The attack on Corfu in that year failed, but Hayrüddin's victory off Preveza in 1538 brought much prestige to the Ottoman navy, and his great raids in the Aegean in 1537 and 1538 robbed Venice of all her islands there except Tenos and Crete, while by the peace of 1540 she was forced to give up her last possessions in Greece—Napoli and Monemvasia (which had defied all the efforts made to take them).

## 2. From 1540-66

After 1540 the Sultan was forced into action designed to bring Hungary under direct control. The main reason for this was that since his accession Turkey had for the first time been drawn into the arena of European power-politics. These were enormously complicated, and fortunately concern us only indirectly; the ramifications of the Hapsburg-Valois-Tudor-Osmanlı rivalries have been dealt with fully and competently in Chapter III of Dorothy Vaughan's *Europe and the Turk* (No. 4, pp. 104-86).

The important point which Süleyman realized was that the vast power of Charles V gave his brother Ferdinand a preponderance of influence in Hungary as compared with that of Zapolya which could be counterbalanced only by repeated large-scale invasions on the part of the Turk; and when on Zapolya's death in 1540 he was succeeded by an infant son, the scales were tipped so heavily in Ferdinand's favour that invasions without annexations would be sheer waste of time, men and money. The two campaigns of 1541 and 1543 were deliberately designed, therefore, to drive a firm wedge between Ferdinand and young Sigismund Zapolya, while the Hapsburgs were forced to fight on two fronts by Turkey's open alliance with France in the western Mediterranean; but it is important to notice that the new beylerbeylik of Budin was as yet limited to the region between the middle-Danube plain and lake Balaton, with Gran as the apex of the triangle. The peace of 1547 left Ferdinand as a tribute-paying ruler of the highlands in the west and north, while Zapolya was in nominal charge not only of Transylvania but also of the lowlands between the Danube and the Tisza.

The situation was upset in 1550 when Martinuzzi, the real ruler of Transylvania, gained the consent of the Diet to hand over the country to Ferdinand. Again Süleyman's

hand was forced, and Sokollu Mehmed's campaign of 1551 was successful in its aim of widening the wedge; first the base was lengthened by the conquest of the Banat and the setting up of a new beylerbeylik of Tımsıvar (Temesvár); then in 1553 the Ottomans advanced for the first time into the northern mountains and annexed a considerable strip of territory which made it more difficult for the Hapsburgs to communicate with Transylvania. Süleyman's last campaign, during which he died, was originally intended to secure these northern acquisitions by the capture of Eger, a strong Hapsburg fort which threatened the Tisza valley, but his attention was drawn to an even more annoying citadel—Zriny's castle of Szigetvár, from which attacks could be made on the vital Drave-Danube base-line. The protagonists died during the struggle, but Szigetvár fell to the Turks.

### 3. *The last period (1566–1606)*

The treaty-line secured by Sokollu Mehmed at the beginning of 1568, though it was to be exceeded at several points later on, marks roughly the limit of continuous Ottoman occupation. It had grave disadvantages from the point of view of defence; and to overcome these by the attainment of control of the mountain forts needed a great and sustained effort. When this was made, after some twenty-five years of uneasy truce, in the war of 1593–1606, the leadership was too uncertain and the foe was too strong to permit of a successful advance. The treaty of Zsitvatorok (1606) shows the Ottomans as in possession of Erlau and Kanizsa, but the hills north-east of Nógrád have been lost, and the forest-ranges west of lake Balaton are still held by the Hapsburgs. The raids of the *akıncıs* might continue well into the 17th century and occasion frontier disputes and diplomatic protests every few years, but not only were they mere pin-pricks as compared with the devastating sweeps of Süleyman's forces into Styria and Moravia, but they were more than answered by the counter-attacks of the Hungarian Imperialists and the *Uscoks* of the Dalmatian coast. The 'gazi' impulse might still exist, but whereas in the 15th and early 16th centuries the initiative and mastery had rested with the Muslims, there was by the beginning of the 17th century a stalemate over a belt of no-man's land.

## III. THE ZENITH AND DECAY OF OTTOMAN SEA-POWER

The acquisitions of Selim I in Syria, Egypt and Algiers gave the Ottomans new provinces to which a sea-approach was much quicker than the land-routes (it was, of course, quite impossible to send an army to Algiers by land in those days). Defence and trade, therefore, called for a command of the sea-passages (another reason for Süleyman's attack on Rhodes, lying as it did across the vital route from Istanbul to Alexandria). A strong navy thus became as essential to the safety of the Empire as a strong army; and as in Elizabethan England the demand brought forth both the ships and the men, so that technique and performance alike reached astonishing heights during the century.

For several decades the supremacy in the Mediterranean rested with the Turks, but

ultimate failure was due, among other reasons, to the fact that they were never quite strong enough nor far-sighted enough to control the Straits of Gibraltar and so become an Atlantic Power, while they were too late to forestall the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, though Süleyman made several attempts to destroy their power.

In connection with these ventures into the Indian Ocean, it is important to note that they were certainly not aimed at the extension of Ottoman rule to India, in spite of the assertions of many historians, such as Vambéry (Introduction to No. 272 : p. VI: 'Suleiman . . . aimed at the subjugation of the whole of the then existing Moslem East') and Longworth Dames (No. 273, p. 14: 'there can be no doubt that Sulaiman regarded a foothold on the Gujarat coast as a necessary step towards the foundation of an Indian Empire'). Such an idea was quite out of keeping with Süleyman's whole policy, which was much more realistic and modest. The true reason was given by Denison Ross in his comments on Longworth Dames' article, when he quotes the Sultan's order to Süleyman Paşa before the 1538 expedition set off (No. 274, p. 14):

'You will make preparations in Suez for a holy war, and having equipped and supplied a fleet . . . cutting off the road and blocking the way to Mekka and Medina you will avert the evil deeds of the Portuguese infidels and remove their flags from the sea.'

This 'gazi' motive for the venture is confirmed by a letter sent from Mecca by Asaf Khan to the vizier of Gujarat in 1539, saying that the Sultan had reproved Süleyman Paşa after his failure in these words (op. cit., loc. cit.):

'I only sent you to drive the Franks out of Diu and to help the Lord of that city, not in order that you might tyrannise over the Musulmans of India, nor in order that you might behave . . . as you acted towards . . . the Lord of Aden.'

### I. *The Phases of Ottoman Sea-Power*

We may distinguish the following :

- (i) 1522-34. An initial period of unco-ordinated and sporadic activity, lasting from the fall of Rhodes to the appointment of Hayrüddin.
- (ii) 1534-45. The first period of greatness, marked by the alliance between Hayrüd-din and Francis I, the sea-raids on the Italian and Spanish coasts, the battle of Preveza, and the annexation of the Venetian outposts. In the Indian Ocean occurred the capture of Aden and the failure of the Ottoman expedition to Diu (1538).
- (iii) 1545-50. A lull in the naval struggle, occasioned by the Treaty of Crépi between Francis and Charles (1545), the Treaty of Adrianople between Süleyman and Ferdinand (1547), and the Second Persian War (1548-9).
- (iv) 1550-60. The second period of vigorous action, which centred chiefly round the control of 'that vital area, the Sicilian narrows' (Vaughan, op. cit., p. 146). Powerful fleets set out annually from Istanbul for the western Mediterranean and in co-operation with the French, incessant raids were made on the Hapsburg domains in Spain, Italy, and the islands in between, Tripoli was annexed, and the Spanish attempt on the corsair stronghold of Jerba was frustrated. Renewed efforts against the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean came to nothing, but the

Ottoman hold on the Red Sea was strengthened by the occupation of part of the Eritrean coast.

- (v) 1560–69. Another lull, due largely to Ottoman pre-occupation with other affairs, and broken only by the large-scale but unsuccessful offensive against Malta in 1565.
- (vi) 1569–77. The last great period opened with the taking of Tunis by the Ottomans, resulting in the construction of a league between Venice, Spain, and the Papacy which led to the great Christian victory at Lepanto (7.10.1571). This destroyed the legend of Turkish naval invincibility, but the league immediately collapsed, Uluç Ali rebuilt the fleet, Cyprus was conquered, and Venice forced into a humiliating peace which enlarged Ottoman Dalmatia. In 1573 Don John of Austria recaptured Tunis, but Uluç Ali recovered it finally in the next year, and Ottoman influence for a moment spread as far west as Fez.
- (vii) 1577 onwards. Another period of sporadic activity, during which the official fleet decayed and left the Barbary corsairs to take over their work in the west. Occasional raids were made in the Indian Ocean as far south as Mombasa, but by the turn of the century Ottoman power in the Mediterranean had so far declined that the navies of such small states as Malta and Tuscany were raiding and pillaging in the Aegean and as far east as Cyprus.

## 2. *The Sailors*

The most famous name in Ottoman naval history is that of Barbaros Hayrüddin Hızır Paşa, better known as Khayr al-Dîn, Khairuddin, or Barbarossa. He had been Beylerbeyi of Cezayir since his official appointment in 1519, but in 1534 Süleyman called him to Istanbul to undertake the reconstruction of the Imperial fleet, and he became *Kapitan-Paşa* (or *Kapudan-Paşa*) from then until his death in 1546 at an advanced age.

After a brief but undistinguished tenure of the office by the future general and grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa, the command of the fleet was held in turn by two fine sailors, Koca Sinan Paşa (1550–4), and Piyale Paşa (1554–68), who both obtained great reputations for daring exploits. Ali Paşa (1568–71) was defeated at Lepanto, but his successor, Kılıç Ali Paşa, better known as Uluç Ali (Eulj Ali, or Occhiali), restored the navy to something like its former heights during his long command (1572–87).

The interest of the Turks in the Indian Ocean necessitated the appointment of a second command for eastern waters; and so the office of '*Mısır Kaptanı*' or '*Hind Kaptanı*' was created in 1525 for Selman Reis, among whose successors were Süleyman Paşa and Piri Reis.

The latter was a nephew of that Kemal Reis who had assisted the Granadines in the reign of Bayezid II; Piri's long career began with his construction of the famous map of the world presented to Selim I: and in 1525 he wrote for Süleyman the handbooks with maps of the Aegean and the Mediterranean, entitled '*Kitab-i Bahriye*'. He was executed in 1554 after the failure of his expedition against the Portuguese.

Yet a third principal post existed for a while towards the end of the century during the short period of Ottoman power on the Caspian shore. This was variously entitled *Demirkapı /*

Bahr-i Şirvan / Hazer Kaptanlığı', the first, and perhaps the last, holder of the office being one Mehmed Bey (created August, 1579).

Two other notorious sailors must be included in the list, even though they never held the highest offices. These were Turgud (better known as Dragut), a famous pirate and the first Beylerbeyi of Trablusu-Garb (Tripoli in Africa); and Sidi Ali Reis, known for his expedition to India, his record of the same ('Mir'etü'l-memâlik'), and his work on the Indian Ocean (Muhit).

#### IV. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DURABLE FRONTIER ON THE EAST

Selim I had driven a wedge into the Safavid Empire which offered a double threat, first to the Mesopotamian plain to the south, and secondly to the already insecure hold of the Shāhs over their restive Georgian vassals to the north. The accession of a minor, Tahmāsp (1524-76), to the throne of Persia brought some years of peace, but causes of friction were never far away; we have already noticed the Shī'ī rebellions in Anatolia in 1526-28, possibly inspired from Iran, and on the opposite side occurred the revolt of Dhū'l-Fiqr Khān in Baghdād (1530), when the keys of the city were sent to Süleyman. The rebel was killed, however, and Tahmāsp strengthened the fortifications of the principal citadels of 'Irāq. (Süleyman had previously increased the area under his direct rule by annexing outright the vassal-state of Dulkadir, on the suspicion of the treason of Şehsüvar-oğlu Ali Bey (1522).)

The first war (1534-6) was occasioned by the decision of two vassals of the rival powers to change sides; so in 1532/3 Ulama Khān of Azerbaijan fled to the Sultan, while Şeref-Han of Bitlis went over to the side of the Shāh. Süleyman sent his vizier İbrahim to restore the situation in Kurdistan, and in the summer of 1534 İbrahim conquered a large area between Erzurum and lake Van, which was annexed to Turkey. He then went on to Tabrīz, whither Süleyman followed him. The western part of Azerbaijan was occupied, and two more Persian vassals, the rulers of Şirvān (Şirvan) and Gilān, sent tokens of submission. The Sultan pursued Tahmāsp south-east towards Hamadān, then struck west over the Zagros range, and before the end of the year the 'Irāq plains with Baghdād were in his possession. In 1535 he moved north to secure the submission of the region of Şehrīzor and southern Kurdistan, and he forced the Shāh, who had ventured back into the Van area, to retire again.

The result of this expedition was the firm acquisition of Kurdistan and central Mesopotamia, though Başra and the south did not send homage until 1538. Azerbaijan was soon lost, as Tahmāsp recovered Tabrīz even while Süleyman was marching home; and the Shāh then set about securing his northern frontier by sacking Tiflis and reducing his Georgian vassals. The kings of Kartli and Kakheti were outside the Ottoman sphere of influence, but when a Persian general ravaged Samtskhe, and Bagrat of Imereti conquered the country in 1535, the atabeg appealed to Istanbul. Süleyman, recalling that Samtskhe had been a vassal in his father's time, sent aid; the first army was defeated (1541), but a second expedition was more successful, and Samtskhe returned to the Ottoman allegiance (1545).

In 1548 Tahmāsp was again in Georgia, and again he attempted to force Samtskhe into submission, so Süleyman marched east for a second war (1548–9). As before, the occupation of Tabrīz was temporary, but the campaign brought the district between lakes Van and Urmiya under Ottoman control, and Süleyman also decided to annex the parts of Samtskhe nearest to Erzurum, though this took several years of subsidiary campaigning (1550–4).

The third war (1553–5) was occasioned by renewed encroachments on the part of Tahmāsp, whose son defeated the beylerbeyi of Erzurum and recovered the Van area. This time Süleyman marched into the district north of the Aras, ravaging Nahçıvan and Karabağ, and the result of the expedition was the acquisition of the strong fortress of Kars and its neighbourhood up to the Arpaçay.

The frontier established by these wars and by the treaty of Amasya in 1555, though ill defined, proved a sensible one, as it ran across the highest mountain chains from those which divide east from west Georgia, through Armenia and by way of the western slopes of the Zagros down to the Persian Gulf.

From the foregoing account it will be seen that since the capture of Baghdād in 1534 the focal point of the struggle had shifted to the north; indeed, apart from the direct annexation of Başra in 1546, Mesopotamia played little part in the course of events until its re-annexation by Persia in 1623. The chief cause for dispute between Turkey and Persia lay in the intrigues and rivalries of the various Georgian princes and their appeals to the Sultan against the Shāh and vice versa.

So it was a civil war in Samtskhe which brought about the great Turko-Persian war of 1578–90, a complicated affair in which the Ottomans had the upper hand, thanks to the brilliant generalship of Lala Mustafa, Özdemir-oğlu Sinan Paşa and Ferhad Paşa, added to the internal dynastic upheavals of the Safavids. For a time the frontier of Süleyman was far exceeded; Kartli, Azerbayjan, Shīrvān, Dāghistān and the Zagros heights were for short periods annexed outright, and the Ottoman sphere of influence extended over the entire Caucasus and much of the Caspian shore.

This effort strained the imperial resources to the utmost; the mountainous nature of the terrain made communication with the new gains impossible during the winter; and between 1603 and 1612 the genius of Abbās the Great proved more than a match for the feeble successors of the great soldiers just mentioned. By 1612 Süleyman's boundaries had been restored, except for a continuing Ottoman suzerainty over Dāghistān and Tarku (which could still be maintained via the Kuban steppes); while from 1623 until 1638 it was Persia's turn to overstep the normal limits by her occupation of Baghdād.

#### V. ADVANCE AND RETREAT ON THE DESERT FRINGE

The Ottomans showed little interest in the desert regions on their southern frontier in Africa and Arabia, and were generally content with a purely nominal supremacy over the nomad tribes, many of whom were completely unaware that the Sultan claimed to be

their overlord. The extensions of Turkish rule that were made in this direction during the 16th century were due to several causes :

(a) The need to control the coastline, especially at strategic points required as naval bases. This was one reason for the reduction of Aden by Süleyman Paşa, the attacks by Piri Reis on Muscat, Ormuz, Qaṭif, and other Arabian ports under Portuguese influence, and the wresting of Tripoli, Tunis, and the Algerian harbours from Spanish domination.

(b) The gazi impulse, which was very pronounced under Süleyman (see above, p. 117), and which was another reason for all the events mentioned in the previous paragraph.

(c) The desire to control the hinterland. This arose only if it was of value (i) for its own sake (as in the case of the Yemen and Tunis), or (ii) because of its position on a trade-route (e.g. Tudmur in the Syrian desert and the various points on the way from Aleppo to Baṣra via the right bank of the Euphrates), or (iii) because of its religious significance (the pilgrim-routes from Damascus and the Yemen to the Holy Cities were carefully maintained, though there is no evidence during the period under review that any effort was made to control the route from Baghdād across the Najd). On the other hand, the unproductive desert immediately behind Trablusu-Garb in Africa was totally neglected as far as the record shows, though admittedly this is the province concerning which evidence is most scanty.

(d) Individual enterprise. To this we may attribute such rare expeditions into the desert as those of Sala Reis to Tuggürt and Wārgla (1552) and of Derviṣ Bey (1592) and Ramazan Bey (1609) to the oases of Fezzān.

After the death of Süleyman, Ottoman energies were concentrated on the northern and eastern frontiers, and the nomadic tribes were not only less rigidly supervised but are found encroaching on the settled areas. By 1600 the Euphrates trade-route was almost entirely at the mercy of the local sheykhs, some of them wielding great power over a wide area, as for instance Abū Rishah of 'Āna. The frontier against Nubia had likewise receded to the first cataract, and the three beylerbeyliks of the Barbary coast were almost independent of the Porte. Only in the Yemen did the Turks make an effort to maintain their footing; the rebellions of 1567 and 1597 were sternly crushed, but in 1605 a third revolt led to a partition of the country between the Turks and the Imām by the truce of 1608, and after its expiration a long war began which led to the expulsion of the Ottomans from the Yemen in 1636.

## VI. FAILURE ON THE NORTHERN STEPPES

The Ottoman control of the Black Sea was not seriously challenged during the 16th century, although from 1579 onwards the raids of the Zaporozhian Cossacks grew more frequent and daring. The shadow of the future Russian challenge, however, was clearly seen when Ivan the Terrible annexed the khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan in 1552 and 1555, and these mid-century events changed the policy of the Sultans in respect to the steppe-lands.

### 1. *From 1515 until about 1560*

The Ottomans were more concerned to hold in check the ambitions of the Crimean vassals than to worry about the yet-distant power of Russia. The Giray dynasty was a valuable ally, and several members of the family came with their Tatar hordes to help the Sultan in Hungary (1532, 1541, 1543) and Moldavia (1538); but the khans were for ever meddling with the affairs of Kazan and Astrakhan, and trying to install their relations on the thrones of those states; and while Süleyman might be gratified that any success in this direction enlarged the number of his own nominal vassals, there was a distinct danger that if the Kırım Khans reunited the former lands of the Golden Horde they would become altogether independent of Istanbul. For instance, Mehmed Giray I (1515–23), who had been a personal enemy of Selim I and was distrusted by Süleyman, placed his brother in Kazan in 1521 and conquered Astrakhan in 1523. Although he was robbed of the fruits of victory by immediate assassination, his successors continued their intrigues, and Süleyman deposed Sahib Giray in 1551 when his power grew too menacing. It is apparent that the Kırım policy was not entirely actuated by ambition, as the Khans realized only too well that Moscow was their real enemy, and they made repeated raids across the steppes into Russian territory, but it is noteworthy that on several occasions the rulers of Moscow were warned of an impending attack by messages either from Istanbul or from the paşas of Kefe.

As far as direct rule was concerned, the Porte was content to govern the small strip of land along the southern edge of the Kırım peninsula, together with Taman on the Kuban side of the straits of Kerç and the town of Azak (Azov). In 1538, however, Süleyman marched into Moldavia, and annexed a wide band of territory on the Black Sea to link up his garrisons in Kili, Ak-kirman and Bender.

### 2. *1560–70*

About 1560 the Turks began to realize the danger from Russia, and Süleyman conceived the bold plan of uniting the Don to the Volga by means of a canal. This was first mooted in 1563 and attempted by Sokollu Mehmed in 1569. It was a daring but not impossible scheme, which would have resulted in Turkish control of the lower Volga and the Caspian, and it would have provided a direct link with the Özbek enemies of Persia in Transoxania. But it was now the turn of the Kırım Khans to frustrate the unification of the Deşti Kıpçak, and Devlet Giray's lack of enthusiasm for a project which would certainly have tightened Ottoman control over his possessions led to its abandonment.

### 3. *After 1570*

Turks and Tatars alike having failed to control the steppes, they found themselves on the defensive, as the Russians initiated a policy of fortifying one strong point after another as they pushed the frontier south, while the Cossacks, hitherto allies of the Tatars in attacks on Russia, now found it more profitable to direct their raids southward; and as they adapted themselves easily to the use of boats, unlike the nomads who were only

happy on horseback, they were able to make use of the great rivers which cut the steppes from north to south, and so to penetrate easily to the Black Sea. Henceforth, Sultans and Khans had to work more closely together against the common danger; and not only did the Tatars bring repeated assistance to the campaigns in Hungary, but they lent valuable aid in the Persian wars, one result of which was to increase Ottoman influence in the Caucasus by the frequent use of the route from Taman to Derbend across the steppes of the Kuban and the Terek.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

# The Political Geography of the Imperial Administration

(Map 24)

### I. DIRECT GOVERNMENT

THE division of Ottoman territory into smaller administrative units can be traced back to the reign of Orhan, and until the reforms of the 19th century these units were of two kinds:

(a) *Civil and Judicial Areas*. These were municipal or rural units of small size, known as *kazas* (each administered by a *kadı*), and subdivided into *nahiyes*. Although there are a number of published documents showing the lists of *kazas* and *nahiyes* in several provinces, we have at present no complete list for the whole empire earlier than the reign of Mahmud II, though continued research into the imperial archives may soon produce the necessary evidence.

(b) *Military Areas*. These were the districts of the feudal cavalry, known as *sancaks* or *livas* (Ar. *liwā*), and governed by a commander—the *sancakbeyi* or *mirliva*; the *sancaks* were grouped in *eyâlets* or *beylerbeyiliks*, controlled by a *beylerbeyi*. As a *sancak* extended over the territory of several *kazas*, the tendency later on was for the *beylerbeyis* and *sancakbeyis* to assume some responsibility for the civil administration of their districts, so that the relationship of *eyâlet*–*sancak*–*kaza*–*nahiye* begins to correspond to that of *province*–*country*–*rural district*–*parish*. But during the period we are considering the military function of the *sancak* was of overriding importance, and its division into feudal units of *ziamets* and *timars* (fiefs with annual revenues of over and under 20,000 aspers respectively) cuts right across the *kaza* boundaries, and since the *sancakbeyis* might at any time be required to serve on frequent expeditions some hundreds of miles from their domains, they were often of little use to the civil administration for a considerable proportion of the year.

Within most of the *eyâlets* and *sancaks* land was set apart for the revenues (*hâss*) of the governor, whether *beylerbeyi* or *sancakbeyi*, although in certain provinces the governors received a fixed annual income instead (*saliyane*). In addition, some land was usually assigned to contribute to the Sultan's revenues (*hâss-i padişah*), and some also for the benefit of religious and pious foundations (*vakf*).

Some confusion arises during this period over the use of the words *vilâyet* and *vali*. Later on, these terms became synonymous with *eyâlet* and *beylerbeyi*, but in the 15th century the *vilâyet* might be

equivalent to a *nahiye*, and even in the 16th century its exact meaning is often in doubt so that we shall avoid it here except in direct references to sources.

The first *sancaks* appear to be those created by Orhan *c.* 1340 or earlier: (i) Sultan-öyüğü (later Sultan-önü)—the cradleland of the emirate; (ii) Hudavendigâr-eli—the 'royal' land of Bursa and İznik; (iii) Koca-eli—the feudal domain of Akçakoca in the north of the Sakarya valley; and (iv) Karasi-eli—the newest acquisition in the west (from which, however, the capital city of Bergama was detached and treated as an enclave of Hudavendigâr until at least the time of Kâtib-Çelebi).

Murad I arranged his Asiatic conquests in several more *sancaks* (see p. 52), and also instituted the great division of the sultanate into the two *beylerbeyilik*s of Rumeli and Anadolu (*c.* 1365). The Ottoman dominions continued to be apportioned between these two provinces for over a century; and in spite of extensive conquests and the increased number of *sancaks* (forty-eight in 1481 and ? sixty-one by about 1500) we only find mention of one more *eyâlet*—that of Karaman—before the end of the 15th century.

The numerous expeditions and conquests of the next hundred years called for an increase in the number of military commands, and we can count sixty-two *beylerbeyilik*s during the last forty years, although the maximum at any given moment seems to have been forty-four.

Map 24 shows the position in the year 1609—midway between our terminal dates of 1606 for Europe and 1612 for Asia, and the year in which Kuyucu Murad Paşa (grand vizier 1606–11) drew up for Ahmed I a document on the state of the empire which included a complete list of the *beylerbeyilik*s and *sancaks*. This valuable inventory is the principal basis on which the map has been constructed, but our information on the military divisions of the empire at its height is obtained from six sources:

- (a) The list of 1609, compiled for the grand vizier by Ayn-i Ali, and reproduced by Belin (No. 151, pp. 238 ff) and von Tischendorf (No. 152). These authors discuss it solely as a record of feudal tenure, however, and make no criticism of its accuracy. From our point of view it is interesting because it gives full lists of the governments, together with the annual value of the revenues of each *beylerbeyi* (except in the 'saliyane' provinces). It gives a total of thirty-two *eyâlets*, including nine of the 'saliyane' type; and twenty-four of these are further divided into 279 *sancaks*. The list of provinces is not entirely accurate, as it omits the *eyâlets* of Adana, Eğri, Kanije and Silistre, which we know from source (f) below to have existed in 1609; but Adana was a very recent addition (1608), and Eğri, Silistre, and Kanije were sufficiently new to have been considered as still not fully separated from Budin and Rumeli.
- (b) A list given by von Hammer (No. 1, Vol. VI, pp. 274 ff) of the twenty-one governments at the end of Süleyman I's reign. Several of the omissions can be explained, but not those of Bosna and Erzurum, which are clearly inaccurate.
- (c) A list given by von Hammer (Vol. VII, p. 289) of the forty *eyâlets* at the end of Murad III's reign (1595). This is also inaccurate, as it contains not only Şan'ā,

which was no longer, and Şaydā, which was not yet, a separate province, but Mecca, which never had been ruled by a beylerbeyi, and Candia, which was not even remotely part of the empire for fifty years to come.

- (d) A list given by Leunclavius at the end of his 'Pandects' and compiled about 1588-9 (No. 7, pp. 919-22). This is important, as it gives many of the temporary eyâlets which appeared and vanished during the Persian wars of 1578-1603, with the dates of their formation. It includes thirty-nine provinces, with no vital omissions and only two clear inaccuracies when Tokat appears as well as Sivas, and Dulkadır as well as Maraş; the actual total is thus only thirty-six.
- (e) Evilya-Çelebi (No. 161) gives two lists at the beginning of his work. On p. 88 of Vol. I he purports to give the provinces as recorded in the Kanun-name of Süleyman I, but his source was worthless and erratic, and the totals at the foot of the columns of sancaks, ziamets and timars are erroneous. The second list begins on p. 90, and is of considerably more value; it records forty-one eyâlets, of which thirty-four are divided into 317 sancaks, and it appears to have been compiled with some care from the extensive knowledge he had acquired by personal investigation. It is, of course, much later in date than the other sources, having been written about 1670 (it records details of the eyâlet of Girid = Crete, first established in 1669, but does not mention Podolia, created in 1672).
- (f) Additional material has been obtained from the Turkish histories and especially from the useful chronology of Danişmend (No. 5). These often refer to the beylerbeyis who took part in various campaigns, mentioning their provinces, and from these we can fill in many of the gaps in the list.

The sifting of this material results in the following tentative inventory of eyâlets arranged alphabetically in three groups. The capital letters indicate the sources.

(S—list of Süleyman I; L—list of Leunclavius; M—list of Murad III; A—list of Ahmed I; E—list of Evliya; X—references in additional material; The attached figures in brackets show the sancak totals as given in L, A and E.)

#### A. Eyâlets in existence in 1609

1. *Adana*: M(5). X. An hereditary sancak of the Ramazan-oğulları throughout most of the 16th century, which explains both its exclusion from (SL) and its inclusion in (M), as although its ruler was referred to simply as 'bey' (e.g. (X) in 1579 and 1598) he was not responsible to anyone but the Sultan. The family disappeared at the time of the great rebellions of 1604-7, and in (A) Adana is given as a sancak in Halep eyâlet. *Enc. of Islam* (No. 15a) states that Adana became a separate province in 1608; from (X) we find mention of a vali in 1627 and a beylerbeyi in 1630.

2. *Anadolu*: S. L(12). M. A(14). E(11). X. One of the original pair, in the time of Murad I (c. 1365).

3. *Bağdad*: S. L. M. A(19). E(18). X. Saliyane. Established 1535.

4. *Basra*: S. L. M. A. E. X. Saliyane. Annexed 1546. First mention of eyâlet 1552.

5. *Bosna*: L(9). M. A(8). E(9). X. Absence from (S) strange, though at times the eyâlet

of Budin seems to have been superior to that of Bosna. Certainly not a beylerbeylik till after Süleyman's conquests. Vali first mentioned 1521, and beylerbeyi 1525.

6. *Budin*: S. L(15). M. A(19). E(8). X. Established 1541.

7. *Cezayir*: S. L(14—called 'Denizi'). M. A(13). E(13). X. The domain of the Kaptan Paşa, but no record of any control of territory before 1534, when Hayrüdün was appointed. Probably established after his Aegean conquests, 1537–8.

8. *Cezayir-i Garb* (Algiers): S. L. M. A. E. X. Saliyane. Established 1519.

9. *Çıldır*: L (with date 1579). M. A(13). E(14). X. Georgian princes of Samtskhe were called beylerbeyis from 1578 onwards, and were hereditary beys from 1625–c. 1750, but an Ottoman official appears in 1581, and another as beylerbeyi of Ahıska in 1603 (see no. 38 below).

10. *Diyarbakır*: S. L(12). M. A(24). E(23). X. Established 1515.

11. *Eğri* (Eger): X(5) only. Beylerbeyi appointed in year of its conquest, 1596. Appears in (A) as a joint sancak with Kanije (which is impossible), and in (E) as a sancak of Budin. We can correct (A) from another list of Ahmed's reign (quoted in Salamon: No. 191) which gives Eger as an eyâlet of five sancaks.

12. *Erzurum*: L. M. A(12). E(12). X. Conquered 1514 at latest. Beylerbeyi first mentioned in (X) in 1534, but probably established earlier. Absence from (S) inexplicable.

13. *Habeş* (Abyssinia): S (called Mekke and Medine). L (Chebetz). M (Cidde = Jidda). A (with Jidda and Sawākin). E. X. Saliyane in (A); (E) says a tributary Sultan supervised by an officer sent by the Porte every three years. Established 1554, though sancakbeyis of Cidde and Sawākin appear from 1517 onwards and may have been appointed as beylerbeyis before 1554 (Leo Afric. III, p. 904, says Sultan had five viceroys in Africa, including one at Sawākin).

14. *Halep* (Aleppo): S. L. M. A(9). E(9). X. Saliyane. Conquered 1516. First mention of a beylerbeyi 1521.

15. *Kanije* (Kanizsa): E(5). X. Beylerbeyi in year of conquest 1600. (For absence from A, see 11 above). Salamon's list gives an eyâlet of four sancaks.

16. *Karaman*: S. L(7). M. A(7). E(6). X. Established c. 1470.

17. *Kars*: L(date 1579). M. A(6). E(6). X. Established 1579. First mention of beylerbeyi 1587. No evidence of a beylerbeyi after its first conquest by Süleyman.

18. *Kefe* (Kaffa): L. M. A. E(7). X. Mention of a vali in 1511 and 1569, and sancakbeyi in 1579. Beylerbeyi first appears in 1581, but its status probably varied, as the district, though scattered, was limited in area.

19. *Kıbrıs* (Cyprus): L. M. A(8). E(8). X. Beylerbeyi in year of conquest, 1571. Does not appear as part of Kaptan Paşa's domain till c. 1660 (see Alastos, No. 171).

20. *Lahsa* (al-Ḥasā): L(Laxa). A. E. X. Saliyane in (A) but in (E) is called a hereditary government sending a monthly present to the beylerbeyi of Baghdād. Beylerbeyi named for 1579, but his appointment was probably as nominal as the reference in (a). Turkish direct rule over Qatıf was from 1550–4 only.

21. *Maraş* or *Dulkadır*: S. L(4). M. A(5). E(4). X. Probably established in 1522 on death of last hereditary bey of the Dulkadır. Beylerbeyi first mentioned in 1539.

22. *Mısır*: S. D(16). M. A(13). E(12). X. Saliyane. Established 1517.
23. *Musul* (Mosul): S. M. A(6). E(5). X. Still a sancak in 1546. First beylerbeyi mentioned in 1624; although found in (S) its absence from (L) is significant, and it was probably not permanently an eyâlet till late in the 16th century.
24. *Rakka* or *Ruhā* (*Urfa*): M. A(7). E(8). X. First beylerbeyi mention 1594. Probably late 16th-century foundation.
25. *Rumeli*: S. L(21). M. A(24). E(16). X. One of the original pair, in the time of Murad I, c. 1365.
26. *Silistre*: E(10). X. Still a sancak of Rumeli in 1583. Seems to have been elevated in status for the benefit of its first beylerbeyi—the Krim Khān—in 1599. Mentioned again 1608, but not in (A). Appears in 1620 as eyâlet of Özü (Oczakow), and under both names in (E).
27. *Sivas*: S. L(Tokat 5). M. A(7). E(10). X. Probably established early in Süleyman's reign. First mentioned as eyâlet in 1526.
28. *Şam* (Syria): S. L. M. A(10). E(12). X. Established 1516/17.
29. *Şehrizor* (Kirkük): L(Sheherezul). M. A(21). E(22). X. Bey mentioned 1549 but eyâlet not established till later. First beylerbeyi appears in 1578.
30. *Tımışvar*: S. L(8). M. A(6). E(6). X. Established in year of conquest, 1552.
31. *Trablusu-Garb*: S. L. M. A. E. X. Saliyane. Established in year of capture, 1551.
32. *Trablusu-Şam*: L. M. A(5). E. (7). X. Bey mentioned in 1521, but not a beylerbeyi till 1585. Probably established in 1570s.
33. *Trabzon*: S. L(Batin). M. A. E(6). X. Valis in 1511 and 1585, but no berlerbeyi named till 1588. Seat of eyâlet seems to have moved to Batum, as (L) gives this instead of Trabzon, and (X) gives beylerbeyis in 1617 and 1625.
34. *Tunus* (Tunis): L. M. A. E. X. Saliyane. Established in year of 2nd capture, 1574.
35. *Van*: S. L. M. A(14). E(19). X. Established in year of conquest, 1548.
36. *Yemen*: S. L. M(Zabīd and Şan'ā given separately). A(9). E. X. Saliyane. Established 1517–18 and again by 1539. Divided into two eyâlets 1567, but reunited by 1569, so (M) is out of date. Fully independent by 1636, and (E) notes that it was governed by an Iman.

#### B. Eyâlets which had disappeared before 1609

37. *Abhaz* (Abkhazeti) or *Sohumkale*: L (Sokhum 1580). E (*Gürcistan*—four sancaks). X. The west part of Georgia, nominally annexed but never properly conquered 1578. (E)'s *Gürcistan* covers the same territory of Mingrelia and Imereti.
38. *Ahuska*: X. Appears briefly in 1603, and was either detached from, or co-extensive with Çıldır.
39. *Boğdan* (Moldavia): X. A very temporary creation in 1595.
40. *Dağistan*: L (Temircapi—Shāmkhāl Khān, 1578). M. X(7). Created 1578. Sometimes known as Demirkapı, as in L. No beylerbeyi mentioned, but Osman Paşa was Serdar of Şirvan and Dağistan.
41. *Eflāk* (Wallachia): X. As Boğdan, 1595 only.
42. *Erivan*: L (Revan, 1582). X. Existed from 1583–1604. Beylerbeyi sometimes held Van also.

43. *Faş* (Poti): L only (Fassa—1579). This is a doubtful case; although we know that Poti was captured in 1579, it is nowhere else mentioned as an eyâlet. May be another name for Trabzon—Batum.

44. *Gence* (Ganja): X only. Beylerbeyi pre-1600. Occupied 1588–1604.

45. *Gori*: X only. Beylerbeyi 1588. Probably replaced Tiflis after 1586.

46. *Kakheti*: X only. In 1578 Alexander of Kakheti was appointed hereditary beylerbeyi of his own kingdom, but the country was never conquered or occupied.

47. *Lori*: X only. 1584. In South Georgia.

48. *Nahçivan*: X only. Beylerbeyi in 1603. Reference in 1591 to beylerbeyi of Erivan and Nahçivan, and possibly Nahçivan was never a separate eyâlet.

49. *Şan'â*: M. X. One of the temporary divisions of Yemen, 1567–9.

50. *Sigetvar*: X only. Beylerbeyi in 1596: transferred to Kanije later.

51. *Şamahı* (Shamākhā): L (Somakie, 1583). X. Only one mention of beylerbeyi is in 1583, which seems to confirm (L), but this may be a coincidence, and the reference may be to Şirvan, of which Şamahı was the capital: in which case (L)'s Somakie and Shirvan are duplicates as in the example of Sivas—Tokat.

52. *Sirvan*: L. M. X(14). Beylerbeyi 1578–1604.

53. *Tabriz*: X only. Beylerbeyi 1585–1603.

54. *Tiflis*: L(1578). M (Gürcistan). X. Beylerbeyi 1578–86.

55. *Tumanis* (Dmanisi): X only. 1584. In South Georgia.

56. *Yanık* (Györ): X only. Beylerbeyi 1594–8, when it was recaptured by Austria.

(36a). *Zabid*: M. X. Temporary division of Yemen, 1567–9.

*Semendire* is given in M only, but there is no evidence to support the inclusion. *Semendire* was usually a sancak of Rumeli or Budin.

### C. Eyâlets established between 1609 and 1683

57. *Girid* (Crete): M (erroneous). E(3). X. Established 1669/70.

58. *Mora* (Morea): E(4). X. (E) explains that it was recently taken from Cezayir. Still a sancak in 1584, but in 1684 is in charge of a serdar. No beylerbeyi mentioned.

59. *Podolia-Ukraine*: X only. 1674–99. No beylerbeyis but several serdars.

60. *Sayda* (Sidon): M (erroneous). E(4). X. Established 1660 after the Druze revolt.

61. *Uyvar* (Neuhäusel): E(6) only. Conquered in 1663.

62. *Varad* (Grosswardein): E(5). X. Conquered in 1661.

## II. VASSAL STATES

At the end of 1362 or early in 1363 John V. Palaeologus signed a treaty with Murad I in which he promised military aid against the Sultan's enemies. From this time onwards the number of states which surrendered some degree of their independence increased steadily, until by the end of the 16th century the empire was cushioned by a ring of subordinates.

The bonds which linked them to Istanbul were, however, of astonishingly varied degrees of tightness, and as in many cases we have little or no information on the exact nature of those bonds, classification becomes difficult. To illustrate the problem by pushing it to the point of absurdity we might pose it thus: When the Czar of Muscovy paid the annual instalment of a regular tribute to his superior, the Khān of the Krim Tatars, who was a faithful feudal lord of the Osmanlı Sultan, who paid blackmail money to the Arab sheykh of 'Āna on the Euphrates to preserve his dominions from attack, what was the legal relationship of Ivan the Terrible to Abū Rishah?

A useful piece of historical research in a virgin field would be the full investigation of the constitutional position of the Ottoman vassal-states, but here we have space only for a preliminary and incomplete clearing of the surface. The first point that occurs is that as yet no complete list of names is possible, as we have such scanty information about the numerous tribes that bordered the empire on the south, and who must have had some kind of agreement with their local beys, if not with the Porte.

Another problem is the method of classification. We can arrange the vassals in chronological order of dates of submission, or according to their *raison d'être*, or according to their degree of subordination. The first is perhaps the least profitable, and would not, in the present state of our knowledge, be sufficiently accurate to warrant the attempt; the others are worth summarizing, the second for its geographical and the third for its historical interest.

#### I. *Classification according to reasons for subordination.*

(i) *Military value.* Most of the larger vassal-states fall into this category. Transylvania, Moldavia, Wallachia, the Crimea, and the districts of Kurdistan all formed an outer band on the Ottoman frontiers against Christendom and the Shī'a, important both for attack and defence. During the centuries of expansion, the vassal-states were subordinated as a preliminary stage towards their absorption into the empire (e.g. Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia); in the centuries of decay they acted as useful buffers against the invading armies of Russia and Austria.

(ii) *Commercial value.* In many cases tribute was found to be of more use than annexation because of the encouragement of trade and because the tribute money swelled the treasury without costing the administration any expense. Chios, Ragusa, and the Duchy of Naxos were invaluable in this respect while Imereti and Mingrelia were important sources of timber, iron, and, particularly, slaves.

(iii) *Prestige value.* This, of course, applied to all, but especially was it the case with regard to the protection of the Holy Cities. The Venetian tribute for Cyprus and Zante was also due to the fact that Turkey had absorbed the former controlling powers of Egypt and Epirus, and thus regarded herself as assuming the suzerain rights; she did the same in respect of 'Imperial' Hungary by right of her conquest of the rest of the country.

(iv) *Nuisance value.* This was a negative reason. Some small patches of territory were not worth the effort of conquest and complete control, so a lesser degree of subordination was permitted, as in Montenegro and the Lebanon.

## 2. *Classification according to the Constitutional Position*

This arrangement is perhaps the more interesting, as it shows how the degrees of suzerainty shaded off almost imperceptibly from areas where control was only just short of complete integration with the central administration, to those where 'tribute' might be translated by the dignity-preserving word 'gift'. For 'convenience of reference we shall first summarize the position, and then give more precise details about specific cases.

There were three main types of vassal states, arranged in descending order of central control:

### (i) *Those within the 'eyâlet' framework of government.* Of four types:

(a) Areas within the normal 'sancak' system, but with special privileges or local autonomy. Some of these were officially recognized, such as the monks of the Athos and Sinai peninsulas, the Albanians of the Mirdita (allowed to elect their own leader in the 16th century; he resided at Oros), the Greeks of Madenochoria (east of Salonica), and the Serbs of Kladuva and Negotino. Others were allowed unofficial autonomy because of the difficulty of subduing them, e.g. the Mainotes of the Morea, the Suliotes of Epirus, the Vlakhs of the Pindus, and the Albanians of Tomoros, Liaparia, Chimara, and the Drin valley.

(b) Sancaks whose beys were always local, and therefore outside the normal rule whereby a sancakbeyi could be removed from one province to another. Several of the Kurdish lords of Diyarbekir, Van and Şehrizer held this privilege from 1515 onwards.

(c) Hereditary sancaks. In 1606 several Kurdish sancaks were of this type; and the eyâlet of Çıldır (Samtskhe) was hereditary from 1578 to the middle of the 18th century. Adana was under the Ramazan-oğulları till c. 1608, and certain Arab chiefs, actually autonomous, were treated as hereditary sancakbeyis, e.g. the sheykhs of 'Āna from c. 1570 and those of al-Ḥasā and Başra from c. 1612. We should probably place in this category the princes of Montenegro (sancak of Karadağ), and it seems (though precise evidence is lacking) that some of the Bosniak sancaks became hereditary during the 17th and 18th centuries.

(d) Eyâlets whose ruler was appointed by the Porte, but whose government was virtually independent. In 1606 this applied to the three North African provinces of Cezayir, Tunus and Trablusu-Garb (autonomous since 1587), and by the middle of the 17th century it had become true of Egypt likewise.

### (ii) *Vassal states retaining their own internal administration.* Of five types:

(a) Regions over which the Sultan retained the rights of nominating and deposing the ruler, of claiming assistance in war, of controlling foreign relations, and of garrisoning certain forts. Such states might be tribute-paying, as Moldavia and Wallachia, or subsidized, as the Crimea (see note 2 below).

(b) Regions over which the Sultan retained rights of approving the ruler, of military assistance and tribute and controlling foreign relations, but without

garrison rights. Transylvania was the only one which remained in 1606, but formerly Moldavia and Wallachia had enjoyed this greater measure of autonomy.

(c) States paying tribute (see note 1 below) for the whole of their territory, and recognizing Ottoman suzerainty. These included in 1606 Ragusa, the Lebanon and some Arab tribes of the Syrian border, but formerly Chios, Naxos, and the Balkan principalities were of this type.

(d) States recognizing Ottoman suzerainty, but without paying regular tribute. Some members of this class might even be subsidized, as were the Sharīf of Mecca and some of the more aggressive Arab tribes (e.g. Abū Rishah before he was formally created sancakbeyi of 'Āna). Unsubsidized were such rulers as the Shāmkhāl of Tarku, still an Ottoman vassal in 1606, and formerly, for brief periods, the Khan of Kazan (1523), the Emirs of Gīlān (1534 and 1591), Şirvan (1534), and Ardalān (c. 1516), and the Sultan of Fez (1578).

(e) Secondary vassals. Some tribes were drawn within the Ottoman sphere of influence by their dependence on rulers already listed above, e.g. the various hordes of the Nogays, usually obedient to the Krim Khān, and the Çerkes tribes of the northern Caucasus, rarely obedient to the Krim Khān; while various Berber and Arab tribes were from time to time constrained to pay tribute to the beylerbeyis of North Africa.

(iii) *Territories of foreign and sovereign states.* Of two types:

(a) States paying tribute for part of their possessions. In 1606 the only such state was Venice, which owed regular tribute for Zante (abolished in 1699), but formerly Venice had paid tribute for Cyprus (1517-71) and for some of her Albanian possessions; and the Hapsburgs paid for their section of Hungary (1547-1606). By the peace of 1612 the Shāh agreed to pay a 'silk tribute' for the districts he had just wrested from the Sultan in Armenia and the Caucasus.

(b) States paying 'protection money' for freedom from raids. These were Poland-Lithuania (fairly regular till 1699) and Russia (frequently till 1592, and thereafter occasionally till 1700). The money was paid to the Krim Khan except between 1672-8 when Poland paid it direct to the Sultan. This 'Danegeld' (known in Lithuania as the 'Orduinschchina' or 'Horde-tax') was a relic of the days of Mongol supremacy; and the prestige of the Giray family's Chingizid lineage dwindled only slowly, as can be seen from the humble way in which Ivan III addressed Mengli Giray as a superior; and late in the 16th century Sigismund III of Poland accepted letters of investiture from the Khān in respect of Lithuania.

#### Note 1. *Tribute*

It is very difficult to construct a table of the amounts paid to the Sultan at any given date, as the authorities contradict each other. The only certainty is that the figure tended to increase, partly because the Sultans demanded more as they became more powerful, and partly because of the fall in the value of money during the 16th century. Thus Ragusa

paid 500 ducats p.a. in the 14th century for permission to trade in the Aegean, 1,000 ducats p.a. in 1440 as tribute for her territory, 1,500 in 1459, 9,000 in 1471 and 12,500 before 1579; Chios was paying 4,000 p.a. in 1415, 6,000 in 1453 and 10–12,000 by 1558. The only stable figure appears to have been the 30,000 ducats p.a. paid by Austria for Imperial Hungary.

Note 2. *Three examples of the terms of vassalage*

(a) *Mecenkerd* was a sancak in Erzurum eyâlet which had formed part of the domains of Pir Hüseyin, Emir of Çemişgezek. When he died (c. 1545) his sixteen sons asked Süleyman to annex the town of Çemişgezek outright and apportion the rest of the province for their benefit into two sancaks and fourteen ziamets and timars, under the condition that in case of vacancy these fiefs should never fall into alien hands. Mecenkerd was granted to the eldest son, but later the Sultan broke the agreement and handed the sancak to the brother of the beylerbeyi of Erzurum. The Emir of Pertek protested at the breach, and Süleyman promptly returned Mecenkerd to the Kurdish family (No. 221, Vol. II, part I, p. 9).

(b) *Moldavia* became a regular vassal-state under Bogdan II, son of Stephen the Great, in 1513, when he promised 11,000 piastres p.a. and military aid in return for a guarantee of his frontiers, and the right of free election. In 1541 the tribute was increased, and Petru Rareş was forced to accept a guard of 500 janissaries, but it was agreed that no mosques and no military fiefs or colonies should be established in Moldavia, and that it should always be ruled by a prince of the Greek Orthodox faith.

(c) *The Crimea*. The agreement between Mehmed II and Mengli Giray, revised by later clauses, was detailed and elaborate (see Howorth, Vol. II., quoting Peyssonnel, *Commerce of the Black Sea*, II, 228–30, Langles' appendix to the French translation of Forster's *Voyage to Bengal*, 403–6, and 'Abdu'l-Ja'far account of the Krim Khāns, translated by Kazimirski in *Journal Asiatique* XII, 351–3). The main clauses were as follows:

- (i) The Sultan retained the power of appointing and deposing the Khān, but the succession was limited to the house of Giray, of which no Khān was to be put to death. The last agreement was broken only once, by Murad IV when he strangled İnyet Giray in 1636; the deposition clause was used frequently—out of fifty-two reigns during the 300 years of Ottoman suzerainty (1475–1774), thirteen Khāns died in office, four resigned of their own accord, and thirty-five were deposed, including second and third depositions of the same ruler.
- (ii) The Sultans could call on the Khān for military assistance at any time, but should pay the army, provision it, and allow the Tatars to keep their booty. This proved of great use to the Ottomans; the Tatars assisted in the Hungarian campaigns of 1532, 1541, 1543, 1566, 1594, 1596, 1598, 1599, 1602, 1657, 1658, 1661, 1663, 1689, 1691, 1692 and 1695, in Moldavia in 1538, in Poland in 1621 and 1672, against Russia in 1641, 1642, 1675 and 1678, and in the Persian wars in 1578, 1579, 1618, 1635, 1639 and 1725, besides making frequent raids across the steppe-frontiers on their account.

- (iii) The Sultan retained Kefe and Menkup, with the right of garrisoning Kozlov, but the Khāns could strike their own money, and the Tatars had the right of free trade in the Black Sea.
- (iv) The Sultan's name should come first in the khuṭba (this was not observed till the reign of İslām Giray II (1584–8).
- (v) The Sultan should pay for the upkeep of 4,000 guards for the Khān.

### III. THE EXTENT OF THE EMPIRE

It is possible to calculate the area of the sultanate down to the year 1514 with a reasonable degree of accuracy, but the conquests of the 16th century in Egypt, Arabia, Syria and Mesopotamia present a problem, as we have no means of assessing the amount of territory under direct rule in those areas. The following table and the accompanying graph are based, therefore, on a calculation of the minimum amount of land under central control, including only those vassal states classified above (pp. 131–32) as being within the 'eyâlet' structure. The graph is calculated on an assessment at intervals of two years down to 1606, while the table gives only the figures for the end of each reign during the same period. For the sake of interest and comparison the graph is extended to cover the last three centuries, but the period after 1606 has been calculated with less precision. The most surprising feature is perhaps the extent of the recovery in Asia during the 19th century, reaching a peak of direct government even greater than that of Süleyman I.

AREA UNDER THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT  
(in square miles)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Asia</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Africa</i>	<i>Total</i>
1300	3,500	—	—	3,500
1326	7,200	—	—	7,200
1362	28,100	4,000	—	32,100
1389	50,200	50,600	—	100,800
1402	181,400	86,000	—	267,400
1413	70,500	66,100	—	136,600
1421	79,700	79,600	—	159,300
1451	115,100	102,900	—	218,000
1481	178,400	156,600	—	335,000
1512	176,200	164,900	—	341,100
1520	310,500	164,900	101,500	576,900
1566	462,700	224,100	191,000	877,800
1574	464,300	231,900	206,000	902,200
1595	545,400	233,600	195,500	974,500
1603	510,600	232,400	195,500	938,500
1606	423,400	232,400	195,500	851,300

The area of the tributary states is much more difficult to calculate, but a rough estimate for the years 1481, 1520, 1566 and 1606 gives us the following very approximate figures (not, of course, including the countries paying 'protection money', and allowing only a minimum reckoning of 50,000 square miles for the Krim Khān's sphere of influence):

<i>Date</i>	<i>Vassals</i>	<i>Total (with direct government)</i>
1481	50,000 sq. miles	385,000 sq. miles
1520	210,000    „	777,000    „
1566	350,000    „	1,227,000    „
1606	220,000    „	1,071,000    „

## CHAPTER NINE

# The Ottoman Provinces in the 16th Century

(Maps 24–36)

THE political geography of the empire in the 16th century has been summarized on maps 20, 21 and 23 (opp. pp. 100, 110 and 116). In this chapter it is explained in greater detail by means of a series of large-scale maps of the provinces. On these maps will be found :

- (a) The approximate provincial boundaries of 1609, except in the cases of Rumeli, Arabia, and the Barbary States, where for specific reasons other dates have been selected.
- (b) A sufficient number of place-names, routes, and boundaries as at different dates, to illustrate the history of the empire during the century following the accession of Selim I.

The accompanying text is in the form of brief notes providing explanations and additional information which could not be given on the maps without undue overcrowding.

### Map 24 (opp. p. 124)

#### THE POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN 1609

This map has already been explained in Chapter Eight, but it may be regarded as a key to the more detailed maps of the provinces.

### Map 25. ANADOLU

#### *Source Material :*

- (a) The list of 1609 (see p. 125), which gives the eyâlet and sancak divisions.
- (b) Kâtib-Çelebi's description of Anadolu (No. 147, ii), which gives many of the important towns and districts in each sancak; those that can be traced are shown on the map, which reveals an interesting scarcity of names in Menteşe and the region between Eskişehir and Ankara.
- (c) Taeschner's 'Wegenetz' (No. 158), which gives full details, with a large map, of all the routes used in the 16th century.

*The Provincial Divisions* remained remarkably constant throughout Ottoman history, and a comparison of the list of 1609 with those given by Kâtib-Çelebi (c. 1650), Evliya-Çelebi (c. 1670) and von Hammer (c. 1830) shows that little change took place in 250 years. The exceptions can be noted :

- (a) Evliya omits, probably by an oversight, the sancaks of Hudavendigâr, Sultan-önü, and Çankırı from Anadolu eyâlet, adds Keskin, Tokat, and Zile as sancaks to Sivas, and gives no details at all for Maraş.

(b) Adana is (? wrongly) included in Halep eyâlet in the list of 1609, while Sis and Tarsus are given by Evliya as in both Adana and Kıbrıs provinces. According to Kâtib-Çelebi both towns were in Adana eyâlet in 1650, but he notes also that Adana was sometimes only a sancak of Halep.

(c) Kıbrıs, created a province in 1571, with the mainland attachments as shown on the map, changed its status frequently. It was a sancak of the Kaptan Paşa's province of Cezayir from c. 1660–1703, and again from 1784 onwards; it was a fief belonging to the Grand Viziers from 1703–45 and from 1748–84; and for the short period 1745–8 it was again an eyâlet.

A comparison with Map 16 (opp. p. 75) will show how many of the sancak names dated back to the time of Mehmed II and even earlier. The list of Mehmed's twenty Asiatic sancaks, which included Midilli, has been preserved (see No. 105, p. 531 of the French translation), and indicates an even distribution of the military divisions over the whole area. Another list is given by Petancius of Sebenico (tr. Iorga, No. 106, Vol. V, pp. 334–5) for the reign of Bayezid II. It states the total number of sancaks as thirty-six, but only names twenty, and not all are recognizable; Amasya, Trebizond, Caffa, Castamon, Brussa, Sarchan, Caraman, Aydin, Mentés, and Mitili are obvious; 'Domusli vel Seteli' must be Denizli and Antalya, 'Emitili' is Hamid-eli, 'Kermenenguri' may be either Germiyan or Ankara, 'Charasarchanghari' either Afyon-karahisar or Çankırı, but we can make nothing of 'Usucasan', 'Baliassiria-engheri', 'Saya', 'Muselimchaffa' (not Kefe, which is given in the European list), or 'Iischup'.

For the geographical distribution of the disaffected areas of the early 17th century see Map 23 (opp. p. 116).

#### Maps 26 and 27. RUMELI

Map 26, *Rumeli*, is based solely on the interesting article by Tayyib Gökbilgin in 'Belleten' No. 20 (1956), which gives details of a small defter relating to the time of the grand vizier İbrahim Paşa. The editor remarks that internal evidence shows that the document must have been compiled before 1529, but the absence of any reference to the forts captured in 1526–7 (e.g. Jajce, Banyaluka and Turnu-Severin) suggests that it was written by 1526 at latest. As İbrahim's ministry began in 1523 we can narrow the date of the work to within a year or so on either side of 1525.

The map shows the twenty-seven livas or sancaks, and includes all the 184 places named in the text except five doubtful ones—İnepazarı, Nogerik, Železnik, İplana, and a second Foça. The strangest omission from the document concerns the north Aegean islands, none being mentioned except Midilli; this island is given as part of Rumeli, but with a note that the city of Midilli was held by the sancakbeyi of Rhodes, although the latter island was not within the eyâlet.

Map 27. *Rumeli and Bosna according to Kâtib-Çelebi, c. 1650*. This is based on von Hammer's translation of the European part of the 'Cihannüma'. Most of the 426 places there named are indicated by dots on the map, together with the boundaries of the thirty-two sancaks. Note the occurrence of considerable areas without dots—in the Rhodope and Balkan Mountains, and in Montenegro—and also the extensive districts allotted to the Kaptan-Paşa, and therefore not strictly within the eyalet of Rumeli (No. 4 on the map).

The numbers on the map refer to the following sancaks:

- |                |               |                 |
|----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. Silistre    | 8. Mora       | 15. Dukagin     |
| 2. Kırk-kilise | 9. İnebahtı   | 16. İskenderiye |
| 3. Vize        | 10. Karlı-eli | 17. Ohri        |
| 4. Gelibolu    | 11. Yanya     | 18. Üsküp       |
| 5. Selânik     | 12. Delvina   | 19. Köstendil   |
| 6. Tırhala     | 13. Avlonya   | 20. Sofya       |
| 7. Eğriboz     | 14. Elbasan   | 21. Niğbolu     |

- |                |               |            |
|----------------|---------------|------------|
| 22. Çirmen     | 26. Vulçitrin | 30. Kırka  |
| 23. Vidin      | 27. Pirzerin  | 31. Kilis  |
| 24. Semendire  | 28. Bosna     | 32. Hersek |
| 25. Alacahisar | 29. İzvornik  |            |

Map 14. *Greece and the Aegean* has been placed earlier in the book (opp. p. 65) in order to illustrate the details of 15th-century history, but it also shows the progress of the Ottoman conquest through the naval campaigns of Hayrüddin in 1537 and 1538 and the annexation of the Duchy of Naxos and of Chios in 1566 down to the capture of Tenos from the Venetians in 1715.

#### Map 28. DALMATIA AND BOSNIA

This large-scale map has been included in the series in order to illustrate more clearly the extent of the Adriatic coast under Ottoman sovereignty in the 16th century. This reached its maximum between the Venetian Wars of 1570–3 and 1645–69, during which interim the territory of the republic included only the islands and the cities of Zara, Sebenico, Traù, Spalato and Almissa.

Most historical atlases persist in awarding to Venice throughout this period the territory which was not finally acquired until 1721, after the third successive advance since 1645. These three lines are indicated on the map, and are based on a sketch-map in the *Enciclopedia Italiana* (art. 'Dalmatia'), and amended by the details given by Vojnović (No. 175).

The divisions of Bosna eyâlet are based on the list of 1609 and the work of Kâtib-Çelebi.

#### Map 29. THE DANUBE LANDS

The map indicates the successive advances of the Ottoman frontier, and gives sufficient place-names to illustrate the complicated story of Hungary under Turkish rule as described by von Hammer and Iorga.

The boundaries between the three divisions of Hungary—the Turkish and Austrian provinces and Transylvania—were constantly shifting, and the lines drawn on the map are more than usually approximate. The Zsitvatorok frontier of 1606 was more lasting than most, but its accuracy cannot be guaranteed as the written treaty makes no mention of any place-names, while the Ottoman sancak-lists continue to include places recaptured for Christendom (e.g. Füleki, Szécsény and Nógrád are in the lists of Ahmed I's reign although certainly Austrian at that time).

The provincial divisions are based on the list of 1609 as corrected by the supplementary list given by Salamon (No. 191).

Süleyman's routes are plotted from a careful study of the diaries of his campaigns as translated in the appendices to von Hammer's history.

The three Rumanian principalities of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania were by no means consistently loyal to the Porte during this period, but in general they found it more to their profit to lean towards the Ottomans, as Hapsburg and Pole tended to be harsher masters when given the opportunity, and none of the three was yet strong enough to achieve complete independence, although Michael the Brave came near it when for a short period of less than a year (1600) he united them under his single sway.

The Ottomans annexed only small portions of territory in the principalities. In Wallachia it is clear that Orsova, Severin, Turnu-Nicopolis and Giurgiu, all on the north bank of the Danube, were strongly fortified by the Mihal-oğulları, and from these outposts they must have controlled much of the surrounding countryside, but I can find no evidence to support Spruner-Menke's inclusion in the eyâlet of Rumeli of large parts of south and west Wallachia (Map 90). The whole of Wallachia was directly annexed by

Süleyman I in 1521, but the experiment was a failure and lasted only a year or so. In 1595 both Wallachia and Moldavia were turned into eyâlets as punishment for a rebellion, but in the same year the Ottomans were heavily defeated and thrown beyond the Danube, and the former position was restored in 1596. The amount of territory transferred from Moldavia to the sancak of Ak-kirman by Süleyman I in 1538 is doubtful, but the annexed region was soon afterwards settled by the Bucak Tatars under the hegemony of the Kırım Khân, who often held Ak-kirman and was even appointed as beylerbeyi of Silistre in 1599.

### Map 30. THE BLACK SEA AND THE NORTHERN STEPPES

The two important features illustrated by the map are:

- (a) The extensive raids made by the Tatars into Russia, Poland, and Lithuania.
- (b) The progress of the Russians in their attempt to ward off these attacks by building a series of outposts across the steppes.

A comparison of the frontiers of 1500 and 1609 shows how the Tatar activities were more and more restricted, and gives point to Gazi Giray's complaint in 1602 that the Muscovites meant to enclose him with walls.

The limits of direct Ottoman rule are uncertain, but the south coast of the Crimean peninsula, with the ports of Kozlov, Taman and Azak, were usually controlled by the Paşa of Kefe.

The Kırım Khân's direct rule was confined to the rest of the peninsula, but his authority over the Nogay hordes of the Kuban and Bucak steppes was maintained by means of seraskers or viceroys. Note that the district north of Oczakow was not yet known as Edisan (Yedisan), in spite of the label given in almost all atlases; the Edisan horde was a fragment of the Nogays of the Kuban, and it did not move across to the lower Bug area until after 1724.

The Russo-Cossack reprisals for the Tatar raids were only just beginning at the close of our period, and the Cossack depredations on the Black Sea coast reached its full momentum in the 1620's. The first Russian venture into the Caucasus region was a failure, and after a severe defeat by the Shamkhal or Tarku in 1604 the Russians abandoned their fort of Koïsa, and the limits of Russian influence remained on the Terek line until the expeditions of Peter the Great more than a century later.

The routes of the raids and counter-raids, and the names and foundation-dates of the steppe outposts are taken from the excellent maps given in Vol. III of the recent *History of Russia* by Nasonov and others (No. 326).

### Map 31. THE CAUCASUS

1. *Trabzon Eyâlet*. No sancaks are given in the 1609 list, but all later ones include Batum and Künye (Gonya), and Evliya adds Gümüştane. The west frontier was at Giresun and the east limit was Batum and Chaneti (Evliya, II, pp. 40 and 51). Sohumkale was possibly within the province after its capture in 1578, but it is unmentioned by Evliya although he travelled right along the coast to Taman in 1641-2. Batum and Künye were fortified by the Turks c. 1550, when they absorbed Chaneti.

2. *Erzurum Eyâlet*. The sancak lists are fairly consistent; the places mentioned are all underlined on the map except Tekman, whose position is doubtful (north-east of, and near Erzurum, in a lake-district, says Kâtib-Çelebi). Kâtib and von Hammer add Alaşkird and Bayezid, but in 1609 these belonged to Van province. Tortum (western Tao), İspir and Pasin (Basiani) were parts of Samtskhe till 1545, when they were annexed to Turkey as a result of the victory of Zivin (this battle is called Sokhoista in the Georgian annals; the researches of Brosset and Allen failed to identify the place, but they must have overlooked the mention of Zivin by Rüstem Paşa—see No. 135, paşa. 136).

3. *Çıldır Eyâlet*. The sancak lists give a most confusing array of names, many of them double-barrelled but the identifiable ones are underlined on the map. Pertegrek, Artvin, and Shavsheti were hereditary sancaks according to the list of 1609 and Evliya, and from 1625 onwards the entire eyâlet was a hereditary possession of the now-Muslim atabegs of Samtskhe. During the eighty years after the battle of Zivin the region was gradually absorbed into the empire—Tao in 1550, Klarjeti, Ardanuchi, Shavsheti, Ajara and Ardahan to the Arsiani Mountains before 1556, and the north-east of Samtskhe with the region of Ahuska (Akhaltzikhe) during the Georgian campaign of 1578. Throughout the Persian war the atabegs veered from one side to the other, and Ottoman officials were often appointed as beylerbeyis of Çıldır, but by the turn of the century the Georgian family submitted to Turkish suzerainty, and their loyalty was rewarded with the hereditary government of the eyâlet. According to the Georgian annals the district of Ajara was reoccupied by Guria about 1609.

4. *The Georgian Principalities*. The once-powerful kingdom of Georgia split into fragments in the mid-15th century, and although the various sections contrived to maintain a good deal of independence in their mountain fastnesses, their rivalries prevented them from uniting against frequent attacks by the great neighbouring states, and at different times they all experienced different degrees of Turkish authority.

- (i) *Samtskhe* was the only principality which became a permanent province of Turkey as the eyâlet of Çıldır.
- (ii) *Imereti* was nominally in control of the princes of Guria, Mingrelia, Abkhazeti and Svaneti, but these were more often independent, and tended to call in the Turk whenever the king of Imereti threatened to tighten his suzerainty. Consequently, from about 1559 onwards these districts were forced to recognize Ottoman supremacy and to pay tribute, and the beylerbeyi of Çıldır was authorized by the Porte to maintain its rights over the whole region. Apart from the occupation of Batum and Sohumkale the Turks made no attempt to control the wild coastline until the middle of the 18th century, when for a short time Abkhazeti was brought more closely within the Ottoman sphere.
- (iii) *Kartli* was conquered in 1578–9 and became the eyâlet of Tiflis, but the country was difficult to subdue, and king Simon (Svimon) recovered Lori in 1582 and Tiflis in 1583. Lori was regained in the same year, but Simon immediately overran the whole land except Lori and Gori (both made eyâlets in the place of Tiflis); but he recovered these also in 1590 and 1599 respectively. Then he was defeated, and Lori was Turkish again from 1600–1, when the last relics of Ottoman influence vanished, and Kartli re-entered the Persian sphere of influence.
- (iv) *Kakheti* was only nominally an eyâlet in 1578, when king Alexander was rewarded for his services in the war by being made beylerbeyi of his own country!

5. *The Muslim Khanates* were also occupied during the Persian war of 1578–90 and the interval of peace before Abbas I's campaign in 1603–4.

- (i) *Shîrvân* was an eyâlet from 1578–1604 (its khân had already been a vassal of Süleyman I for some years after 1533, as was also his neighbour, the khân of Gîlân).
- (ii) *Eriuan and Nahçivan* were occupied from c. 1582–1604.
- (iii) *Ganja and Karabağ* were certainly occupied from 1588–1604, and were probably conquered as early as 1582.
- (iv) *Dāghistān* was conquered in 1578 and remained an eyâlet till the beginning of the next century. It was specifically recognized as within the Ottoman sphere by the treaty with Persia in 1612, but was probably no longer directly governed by the Porte, but possibly regarded as under the protection of the vassal-state of—
- (v) *Tarku*, ruled by the Shāmkhāl. This coastal emirate, which at this time extended its influence over Kumukh and Avaria, was attainable via the route across the Kuban steppes, and it remained tributary to the Porte from 1578 until the middle of the 17th century.

## Map 32. SYRIA, MESOPOTAMIA AND KURDISTAN

The provincial divisions shown on the map were fixed during the course of the 16th century and thereafter remained fairly constant for 200 years. The boundaries of the empire towards the desert and the Iranian plateau, on the other hand, fluctuated greatly, and tended to advance or recoil as the central government grew strong or weak. Teixeira and Sherley, travelling along the Euphrates at the beginning of the 17th century, found large districts under the control of Abū Rishah, an Arab of unknown tribe, though the Porte preserved its dignity by granting him the sancak of 'Āna (which was his, anyway). The desert fringe collapsed completely soon after the close of our period, when the Shammar emerged from north Arabia and began to push their way across the Euphrates.

Diyarbakir, Şehrızor and Van were the eyâlets which together included most of Kurdistan, and many of the sancaks were either governed by Kurdish beys appointed by the Porte, or had their own hereditary Kurdish rulers. The map indicates this division as recorded in the list of 1609, supplemented by information from the 'Şeref-name' or 'Şerefüddin' of Bitlis. Kilis, in Halep eyâlet, was also a Kurdish sancak during the 16th century.

The provinces of Urfa or Ruhā (Rakka) and Musul were of fairly late construction (*post* 1580), and were carved out of the eyâlets of Diyarbakir and Baghdād.

The Persian frontier was never defined till the late 19th century, but it is clear from the number of sancaks on the edge of the Pusht-i-Kūh that Ottoman rule extended farther into Iran than it did 200 years later. Western Azerbaijan, with Tabrīz, was twice occupied by Süleyman I, and was a Turkish eyâlet from 1585-1603, while Lūristān, though never properly conquered, was nominally attached to Baghdād province from 1587-1603. The Kurdish chief of Ardalān recognized Ottoman suzerainty on occasion, but by 1609 the whole of the frontier from 'Imādiyya through Rawāndūz to the Jabal Ḥamrīn was virtually independent.

The former Mamlūk territory of Syria and Palestine was brought closely under Ottoman control in the 16th century, and generally experienced a period of prosperity before stagnation and decay set in after 1600. The desert frontier was ill defined, but the safety of the pilgrim-route necessitated a fair amount of supervision over the desert tribes. A graver anxiety to the central government was the bid for independence on the part of the Lebanese peoples, whose district is shown on a larger scale on the next map.

## Map 33. THE LEBANON

The region lying between the peaks of Lebanon and the Beirut-Tripoli coastline became during the later Middle Ages a refuge for certain heterodoxies of both Islam and Christendom. The *Maronites*, an offshoot of the ancient Syrian Church, established themselves between Batrūn and Bisharri; the *Nuṣayrīs*, an Ismā'īlite sect, occupied the district north-east of Tripoli; and the *Druzes*, another Ismā'īli group, gradually infiltrated into south Lebanon, behind Beirut.

Timely submission to the conquering Selim brought a recognition of their authority over their respective districts, and a renewal of their privileges, and the Maronites continued to live peaceably under the rule of their own muqaddams, who saw that tribute was sent regularly to the Porte.

The leaders of the Druzes were the 'Assāfs of Kisrawān and Jubayl, and the Ma'ns of the Shūf. In Süleyman's reign the former were the most prominent, but they were replaced by the Sayfās of Tripoli about 1590, and these were in turn overthrown by the ambitious Fakhr al-Dīn II of the Shūf, who embarked on a career of aggrandizement which by about 1610 had given him possession of a province which embraced far more than the Lebanon itself. The Ottoman government, having put down the serious revolts in Anatolia behind which Fakhr al-Dīn had risen to power almost unnoticed, decided to

curb his ambitions, and he was driven into exile in 1613, only to return in 1618 to even greater achievements than before, till Murad IV put an end to his rule in 1635.

Under Fakhr al-Dīn central Syria enjoyed great prosperity, as he carefully fostered its commerce, entered into treaty relations with the Italian trading cities, and guarded the vital routes across his territory by a series of strategically-situated forts.

Map 34. EGYPT AND ARABIA  
and  
Map 35. THE NILE DELTA

The maps show the political situation at the height of Ottoman power in the area about the year 1560.

1. *Mısır* was annexed in 1517, and soon afterwards the Turks pushed the frontier as far south as the third cataract, defeating an attack by the powerful Funj confederacy at Hannek, and maintaining Bosniak garrisons at Ibrīm, Aswān and Šāy. The divisions of the country under Süleyman I (into provinces under 'kāshifs', not 'sancaks') were, according to the list given by Barkan (No. 155): in the Delta: Buḥayra, Manūfiyya, Gharbiyya, Daqahliyya, Sharqiyya, Qāṭiyya (Qaṭyā), Bilbays and Qalyūb; in Upper Egypt: Jiza (Gizeh), Fayyūm and Bahnasāwiyya, Ushmūnayn, Manfalūt, Aṭfiḥ, Ša'id and Alwāḥ (? al-Wāḥāt). The oases (al-Wāḥāt) were normally attached to the great province of Ša'id, but a different division, shown on the map, is found in 1609, by which time the southern frontier had receded to Aswān. The Sinai peninsula was always regarded as part of Egypt, whose frontier towards Syria was at al-'Arish.

2. *Šan'ā*. The Yemen was conquered, after an initial campaign in the 1530's, between 1539 and 1546, and remained an Ottoman province, in spite of repeated insurrections, down to the expulsion of the Turks in 1636. Map 23 shows the Ottoman losses to the native Imāms by the year 1609.

3. *Habeş*. Sawākin and Zayla' were occupied in Selim's reign, and these, with the port of Jidda, were controlled by a sancakbeyi responsible to the governors of Egypt. Zayla' was lost before 1540, but the Red Sea coast was dominated by the Turks in spite of Portuguese attacks, and in 1554 Süleyman created the eyālet of Habeş for Özdemiş Paşa, who occupied Maşawwa' and Arkiko. Twice, in 1557 and 1578, the Ottomans advanced on to the Eritrean plateau and captured Debaroa, but they were driven out on both occasions, and peace was made with Abyssinia in 1589. Arkiko and Maşawwa' remained in Turkish possession for some years more, but by about 1650 it was becoming difficult to persuade governors to rule such a remote province, and Maşawwa' was handed over to a local Beja chief, who acted as the Porte's representative under the supervision of the Paşa of Jidda.

4. *The Hicaz*. Throughout the period this was an Ottoman protectorate, and the 16th century was its Golden Age; the donations of the sultans enabled the three Sharifs who ruled between 1495 and 1601 to complete many constructional works for the benefit of their people and of the pilgrims.

5. *From Aden to the Persian Gulf*. The Ottomans made several attempts to oust the Portuguese from their holdings in Qatīf (1550), Muscat (1551 and 1581), Ormuz (1552) and Bahrein (1559). All were unsuccessful, and the claim to al-Ḥasā was usually only nominal, though it still ranks as an eyālet in all the 17th-century lists. Aden itself was captured in 1539 by Süleyman Paşa on his journey to Diu, lost and regained in 1550, and lost once more to the Imām of the Yemen in 1627. The south coast of Arabia had periodic visits from Ottoman fleets (e.g. Piri Reis in 1551), and the Sultan of Shiḥr still paid annual tribute to the beylerbeyi of Šan'ā as late as 1614, but Ottoman supremacy was less real than that of the Portuguese, even though several rulers of the small emirates of the Aden Protectorate may still claim descent from 16th-century Turks (see Serjeant, No. 263).

Map 23 illustrates one late Ottoman venture into new regions. This was the series of expeditions undertaken by Mir Ali, who, after sacking Muscat in 1581, twice raided the Portuguese possessions in

East Africa (1586 and 1589), taking Mogadishu, Brava, Lamu, Jumbo and Mombasa, whose sultan for three years was tributary to the Porte. On his second expedition Mir Ali was caught between the Portuguese fleet and a negro insurrection, and forced to surrender.

#### Map 36. THE BARBARY COAST

The map shows the extremely limited areas that were firmly controlled by the Turks in North Africa during this century. It should be compared with Maps 21 and 23 which give the approximate frontiers for the years 1520, 1566 and 1606. The expeditions to Tuggūrt, Wārgla, Ghadāmes and the Fezzān were very rare, and during the intervals these oases enjoyed their usual independence. Fez was occupied by the Ottomans in 1554 and 1578, both times in order to seat one of two rival candidates on the throne; Abū Marwān acknowledged the Sultan's suzerainty on the second occasion, but he recovered his independence as soon as his allies had left, and the river Muluia marks the normal frontier of Turkish power in the west.

Uluç-Ali was the last of the great Beylerbeyis who combined the rule of Cezayir with the office of Kaptan-Paşa, and on his death in 1587 the three provinces not only became formally separate from each other, but they enjoyed a degree of autonomy which progressed towards virtual independence of the Porte by the middle of the 17th century.



## Index

The Index contains names of geographical importance only. The Arabic numerals refer to the text, the Roman ones to the maps.

Where different names exist for a same place, or there are variant forms of a same name, cross-references are given. References in parentheses at the end of an entry take the reader to the master-entry under which information may be found as to the different names and their various forms, and the languages and periods to which they belong. For the various languages the following abbreviations have been used:

(A.)	Arabic	(It.)	Italian	Other abbreviations used are:			
(Alb.)	Albanian	(P.)	Persian	B.	Banu	L.	Lake
(Bulg.)	Bulgarian	(Pol.)	Polish	C.	Cape	N.	Nahiye
(Ge.)	German	(Roum.)	Roumenian	E.	Eyâlet, Beylerbeylik	P.	Pass
(Georg.)	Georgian	(Russ.)	Russian	Em.	Emirate	R.	River
(Gk.)	Greek	(Sl.)	(general) Slavonic	J.	Jabal	S.	Sancak
(Hung.)	Hungarian	(T.)	Turkish	Km.	Kingdom	V.	Vilâyet

- Abhâ XXXIV-B2  
 Abhaz E. 128  
 (see Abkhazeti)  
 Abkhazeti (Georg.), Abhaz (T.),  
 Abkhazia 78, 128, 140, XVI-D2,  
 XXIII-B1, XXX-C2, XXXI-B2  
 Abkhazia: see Abkhazeti  
 Ablistene 27  
 (see Elbistan)  
 Abû 'Arîsh XXI-C3, XXIII-C1,  
 XXXIV-B2  
 Abydos 26, VI-A1, VIII-B2  
 Abyssinia 127, 142, XXI-C3,  
 XXXIV-A2  
 (See Habeş)  
 Achaea 86, XIV-A2  
 —, Principality of 40, 50, 65, 66,  
 VIII-A2, X-A3, XII-B2  
 Acre: see 'Akkâ  
 Acrocorinth 86, 87  
 Adala VIII-B2, XXV-A2  
 Adalia 26, 27, 32, VI-B2  
 (see Antalya)  
 'Adan: see Aden  
 Adana 78, 79, 82, 83, 104, 111, 113,  
 114, 137, VIII-D3, X-D3, XIII-  
 D3, XVI-D3, XX-A1, XXI-B2,  
 XXIII-B2, XXXII-A2  
 — E. 125, 126, 131, 137, XXIV,  
 XXV-C2, XXXII-A2  
 — S. 126  
 Adelsberg XVIII-A2, XXIX-A3  
 Aden, 'Adan (A.) 117, 121, 142,  
 XXI-C3, XXIII-C1, XXXIV-B2  
 Adilcevaz XXXI-B3, XXXII-B1  
 — S. XXXII-B1  
 Adıyaman: see Hısn-i Mansur  
 Adramyttion: see Edremid  
 Adrianople 39, 42, 117, VIII-B1  
 (see Edirne)  
 Aegean Sea 16, 29, 31, 39, 42, 47, 61,  
 67, 84, 85, 87, 93, 98, 108, 115, 118,  
 133  
 Aegina 65, 67, VIII-A2, X-A3,  
 XIII-B3, XIV-B2  
 Aetolia 65, 67  
 Afyon-karahisar, Akroinon (Gk.),  
 Karahisar-i Sahib (older T.) 27,  
 30, 31, 55, 57, 61, 62, 101, VII-B2,  
 VIII-C2, X-C3, XII-C2, XIII-C3,  
 XVI-C3, XX-A1, XXI-B2,  
 XXIII-B2, XXV-B2  
 — S. 137, XXV-B2  
 Ağaçayırı 83  
 Agakis XXXII-B1  
 — S. XXXII-B1  
 Agathopolis 43, X-B2  
 (see Ahtopol)  
 Ağlasun (T.), Sagalassus (Gr.) VIII-  
 C3, XXV-B2  
 Ağrafa XIV-A2, XXVI-B2  
 Agram (Ge.), Zagreb (Sl.), 92,  
 XVI-A1, XVIII-B2, XXIX-A3  
 Ağras XXV-B2  
 Ağrıboz: see Eğriboz  
 Ahar XXXI-C3, XXXII-C1  
 Ahıska/Ahısha (T.), Akhaltsikhe  
 (Georg.) 140, XXXI-B2  
 — E. 127, 128  
 Ahlât 28, VI-D2, XXXI-B3,  
 XXXII-B1  
 — S. XXXII-B1  
 Ahtopol (T.), Agathopolis (Gk.) 43,  
 X-B2  
 Ahyolu (T.), Anchialos (Gk.) 43, 64,  
 84, XVI-C2, XXVI-B1  
 Aidepsos 85, XIV-A2  
 Ainos 45, 67, 84, X-B2, XII-B2,  
 XIII-B2, XIV-B1  
 (see Enoz)  
 Aitos 43  
 (see Aydos)  
 Ajara 140, XXXI-B2  
 'Ajlün XXXII-A3, XXXIII-A3  
 — S. XXXII-A3  
 Akarnania 65, 67, 86  
 (see Karlı-eli)  
 Akçahisar (T.), Croia (It.), Kroya 49,  
 69, XXVI-A1  
 — V. XV-AB2  
 Akça-Kızanlık XXVI-B1  
 Akçşehir XXV-B1  
 Akçay R. 27, 54  
 Akhaldaba XXXI-C2  
 Akhalkalaki (Georg.), Ahalkalek (T.)  
 XXXI-C2

- Akhalsikhe 140, XXXI-B2  
(see Abuska)
- Akhisar (T.), Thyateira (Gk.) 60, VIII-B2, XXV-A2  
another Akhisar 37, IX-B1
- \*Akkā (A.), Acre XXXII-A3, XXXIII-A3
- \*Akkār XXXIII-B1
- Ak-kirman (T.), Bielgorod (Sl.), Cetatea Alba (Roum.), Moncastro (It.) 72, 93, 94, 96, 97, 122, XVI-C2, XXI-B1, XXIII-B1, XXVI-B1, XXIX-E2, XXX-B2
- Akova 51, 86, X-A3, XIV-A2
- Akroinon 26, 27, VI-B2  
(see Afyon-karahisar)
- Akrotiri: see Eğridir
- Aksaray (T.), Axara (Gk.) 54, 57, 62, 79, VI-B2, VII-C2, VIII-D2, X-D3, XII-C2, XVI-C3, XX-A1  
— S. XXV-BC2
- Akşehir (T.), Philomelion (Gk.) 27, 31, 52, 54, 57, 62, 63, 78, VII-B2, VIII-C2, X-C3, XII-C2, XIII-C3, XVI-C3, XX-A1, XXV-B2  
— S. 52, XXV-B2
- Aktaş XXV-B1, XXXI-C2
- Akti XXXI-D2
- Akyazı IX-C1, XXV-B1
- Ala Dağ XXV-B2
- Alacahisar (T.), Kruševac (Sl.) 71, 89, XXVI-A1  
— S. 138, XXVI-A1
- Alaşım XXV-C1
- Alāiye (older T.), Alanya (T.) 28, 30, 32, 33, 52, 55, 57, 62, 63, 79, VI-B2, VII-B3, VIII-C3, X-C3, XII-C2, XIII-C3, XVI-C3, XXV-B2
- Alanya 79, XXV-B2  
(see Alāiye)  
— S. XXV-B2
- Alara 79, XVI-C3
- Alaşehir [in NE Anatolia] VI-C1  
— (T.), Philadelphia (Gk.) 53, 54, 111, X-B3, XXV-A2
- Alaşkird 102, 139, XX-C1, XXXI-B3, XXXII-B1  
— S. XXXII-B1
- Alasonya (T.), Elason (Gk.) XIV-A1, XXVI-B2
- Alatyr XXX-C1
- Alba Julia XXIX-D3
- Albania, Arvanid (older T.), Arnavutluk (T.) 8, 16, 44, 45, 48, 49, 57, 60, 63, 65, 66, 68-70, 75, 83, 88, 89, 132, XII-A2, XV
- Aleksinac 73, XIII-B1, XVI-B2
- Aleppo, Ḥalab (A.), Halep (T.) 25, 104, 105, 107, 111-114, 121, 127, VI-C2, XX-B1, XXI-B2, XXIII-B2, XXXII-A2  
— S. XXXII-A2
- Alessio, Leş 68, 69, 89, 109, X-A2, XII-A1, XIII-A2, XV-A1, XVI-B2
- Alexandria, Iskandariyya (A.), İskenderiye (T.) 105, 116, XX-A2, XXI-B2, XXIII-B2, XXXIV-A1, XXXV
- Algiers 107, 108, 116, 121, 127, XXI-A2, XXIII-A2, XXXVI-C1  
(see Cezayir)
- Almissa 91, 138, XIII-A1, XVI-A2, XXVIII-B2
- Altai Mts. 22, 23
- Altıntaş XXV-B2
- Altoluogo: see Ayasuluk
- Altun Köprü XXXII-C2
- Alvincz XXIX-D3
- Alwāh 142  
(see al-Wāhāt)
- \*Amādiyya: see İmādiyya
- \*Amāra XXXII-C3
- Amaseia: see Amasya
- Amasra (T.), Amastris (Gk.), Samastro (It.) 77, XVI-C2, XXV-B1
- Amastris 29, 38, 56, 61, 77, VI-B1, VII-C1, VIII-D1, X-C2, XII-C1, XIII-C2  
(see Amasra)
- Amasya (T.), Amaseia (Gk.) 55, 59, 60, 61, 77, 79, 103, 112, 120, VI-C1, VII-D1, VIII-E2, X-D2, XII-D2, XIII-D2, XVI-D3, XX-B2, XXI-B2, XXIII-B1, XXV-C1  
— S. 137, XXV-C1
- Amid, Āmid (A.), later Diyarbekir (T.) 101, 103, 111, 112, XVI-D3, XX-B1, XXI-C2, XXIII-B1, XXV-D2, XXXII-B1  
— S. XXXII-B1
- Amisos 27, VI-C1  
(see Samsun)
- Amorgos 67, VIII-B3, XIV-C3
- Amorium 18, 26, 27, VI-B1
- Amphissa 50  
(see Salona)
- Āmū-Daryā R. 23
- J. 'Amūr XXXVI-C2
- \*Āna 121, 130, XXIII-B2, XXXII-B2  
— S. 131, 132, 141, XXXII-B2
- Anabolu (T.), Napoli (It.), Nauplion (Gk.), Nauplia XIV-A2
- Anadolu (T.), Anatole (Gk.), [western] Anatolia 10, 54, 112, XIII-BC2, XVI-CD3, XXI-B2, XXIII-B1, 2  
(see also Asia Minor)  
— E. 76, 78, 125, 126, 136, XXIV, XXV-AB1, 2, XXX-B2
- Anamur 79, VII-C3, VIII-D3, XVI-C3, XXV-B3
- Anaphe 67, VIII-B3, XIV-C3  
(see Namfio)
- Anatolia 4-6, 9, 10, 17, 21, 25, 56, 57, 59, 75, 76, 80, 81, 100, 102, 104, 113, 114, 119, 141  
(see also Anadolu and Asia Minor)
- Anavarin (T.), Navarino XIV-A3, XXVI-B2
- Anavarza, 'Ayn Zarba (A.) 83, XVI-D3, XXV-C2
- Anchialos 43, 47, X-B2, XIII-B2  
(see Ahyolu)
- Ancona 98, 99, XVI-A2
- Ancyra 26, 27  
(see Ankara)
- Andra (T.), Andros (Gk.) XIV-B2
- Andravidia XIV-A2
- Andros 64, 67, VIII-A2, X-B3, XIII-B3, XIV-B2  
(see Andira)
- Androussa 86, XIV-A3
- Angelokastron 67, 86, XIII-A2, XIV-A2, XVI-B3  
(see Engeli-kasrı)
- Angelokoma 36, IX-B2  
(see İnegöl)
- Anjar XXXIII-B2
- Ankara (T.), Ancyra (Gk.), Engüri (older T.) 18, 21, 27, 29-32, 39-42, 46, 48, 51, 54-57, 59-61, 65, 77-79, 101, 136, VI-B1, VIII-D2, X-C2, XII-C2, XIII-C2, XVI-C3, XX-A1, XXI-B2, XXV-B1  
— S. 52, 137, XXV-B1
- Antakya (T.), Antioch (Gk.) 105, XXV-C3, XXXII-A2
- Antalya (T.), Adalia 27, 32, 33, 52, 57, 61, 63, 79, 85, 137, VII-B3, VIII-C3, X-C3, XII-C2, XIII-C3, XVI-C3, XXV-B2
- Antep 82, 105, XVI-D3, XX-B1, XXV-C2, XXXII-A2  
(see 'Ayntāb)  
— S. XXV-C2
- Antikythera: see Cerigotto
- Antilebanon XXXIII-B1, 2
- Antioch [on the Meander R.] 27, VI-A2, VII-A2, VIII-B2  
— [on the Orontes R.] 25, 105, 111, VI-C2  
(see Antakya)
- Antiparos 67, XIV-B3
- Antirrion 87, XIV-A2
- Antivari 68, 89, XIII-A2, XV-A1, XVI-A2, XXVIII-C2
- Apamea 26, 27, VI-A2  
(see Dinayır)
- Apollonia 25, VI-A1
- Apolyont-Gölü IX-A2
- \*Aqaba XXXIV-A1  
—, Gulf of 106
- Arabgir 103  
(see Arapkir)
- Arabia 11, 14, 17-20, 106, 120, 134, 136, 141, 142
- Arad XXIX-C3
- Aragon 107, XI
- Aral Sea 23

- Arapkir 103, XX-B1, XXV-D2  
(= Arabgir)
- Aras (T.), Araxes (Gk.), R. 120
- Araş XXV-B1
- Araxes R.: see Aras R.
- Arbe XXVIII-A1
- Arcadia 86
- Archipelago, Duchy of the 67
- Ardabil XXXI-D3, XXXII-C1
- Ardahan 140, XXXI-B2
- Ardalân 103, 132, 141, XX-C2, XXI-C2, XXIII-BC2, XXXII-C2
- Ardanuç: see Ardanuchi
- Ardanuchi (Georg.), Ardanuç (T.) 140, XXXI-B2
- Arđ-i Rüm: see Erzurum
- Ard Ova XXV-C1
- Areshi, Ereş XXXI-C2
- Argesul R. X-B1
- Argirikasrı V. XV-B3  
(see Ergiri)
- Argos 51, 65, 87, VIII-A2, X-A3, XIII-B3, XIV-A2, XVI-B3  
(see Arhos)
- Argyrokastron 69, XV-B3  
(see Ergiri)
- Arhos (T.), Argos (Gk.), XIV-A2, XXVI-B2
- al-'Arîsh 142, XXXIV-A1
- Arka XXV-D2
- Arkadiopolis 39  
(see Lüleburgaz)
- Arkiko 142, XXI-C3, XXIII-C1, XXXIV-B2
- Armenia, Km. of 28, 53, 56, 80, 81, 120, 132, VI-C2, VII-C3, VIII-DE3
- Armutlu 38, IX-A1
- Arnoldstein XVIII-A1
- Arpaçay R. 120
- Arpaz VIII-B2
- Arqa XXXIII-B1
- Arşani Mts. 140, XXXI-B2
- Arta [in Epirus] 45, 67, 86, X-A2, XIII-A2, XIV-A2, XV-B3, XVI-B3  
(see Narda)
- , Gulf of 86
- [in Albania] XV-A2
- Artik XXXI-C3
- Artvin 140, XXV-D1, XXXI-B2
- Arvanid S. XV
- Arzan al-Rüm 25  
(see Erzurum)
- Arzano XXVIII-B1
- Ascalon: see 'Asqalân
- Arzen R. XV-A2
- 'Aşî (A.), Orontes R.: see Orontes R.
- Asia Minor 2, 4, 5, 9, 11, 18, 23-26, 28, 33, 40, 47, 51, 53, 56-58, 60, 79, 103, 114  
(see also Anadolu, Anatolia)
- Aşkale XXV-D1, XXXI-B3
- Aspindza XXXI-B2
- 'Asqalân (A.), Ascalon XXXII-A3
- Assos VII-A2, VIII-B2  
(see Behram-kale)
- Astrakhan, Ejderhan (T.) 122, III, XXI-C1, XXIII-B1, XXX-C2
- , Khanate of 24, 96, 121, 122, XXX-C2
- Astypalaia VIII-B3, XIV-C3  
(= Stampalia)
- Aswân 142, XXI-B3, XXIII-B2, XXXIV-A1
- Asyüt/Usyüt (A.) XXXIV-A1
- Atak 103, XX-B1, XXXII-B1
- Aţfîh XXXIV-A1, XXXV
- prov. 142, XXXIV-A1, XXXV
- Athens, Atina (T.) 51, 65, 66, 86, 87, VIII-A2, X-A3, XII-B2, XIII-B3, XIV-B2, XVI-B3
- , Duchy of 50, 65-67, 85, X-A3
- Athos Mt., cezire-i Aynaroz (T.) 47, 83, 131, X-B2, XIV-B1, XVI-B3
- Atina XIV-B2, XXVI-B2  
(see Athens)
- Atranos 37, VII-A1, IX-A2, XXV-A1  
(see Edrenos)
- Atsquri XXXI-B2
- Attica 29, 40, 50
- Atyra VIII-C1
- J. Aures XXXVI-D2
- Austria 109, 115, 118, 129, 130, 133, XVI-A1, XVIII-AB1, XIX, XXI-AB1, XXIII-AB1, XXIX-A2  
(cf. Nemçe)
- Avala, Havale (T.), Zrnov 71, 90, XIII-A1, XVI-B2, XXIX-C3
- Avaria 140
- Avlonya (T.), Valona 69, 87, 88, 99, 111, XIII-A2, XV-A2, XVI-A2, XXVI-A2
- S. 69, 137, XXVI-A2
- Arnik XXXI-B3, XXXII-B1
- Avrathisar (T.), Kilkis (Gk.) 44, X-A2, XXVI-B2
- Avroman: see Hawrâmân
- Axara: see Aksaray
- Aya-Mavra (T.), Leukas (Gk.), Santa Maura (It.) XXVI-A2
- Ayancık XXV-C1  
(= İstifan)
- Ayas XXV-C2, XXXII-A2
- Ayaş XXV-B1
- Ayasoluk (T.), Altoluogo (It.), Selçuk (mod. T.) 31, 33, 53, 54, 59, 60, VII-A2, VIII-B2, X-B3, XXV-A2
- Ayazmend VIII-B2, XXV-A1
- Aydın (town): see Güzel-hisar
- [-eli] 17, 29-33, 38, 53, 54, 57, 59-61, 78, 114, VIII-B2, X-B3, XII-BC2, XIII-BC3
- S. 137, XVI-C3, XXV-A2
- Aydonat XXVI-A2
- Aydos (T.), Aitos (Gk.) [in Anatolia] 38, VIII-C1, IX-B1
- [in Bulgaria] 43, 45, 63, X-B2, XXVI-B1
- Aynabahtı: see İnebahtı
- Aynaroz (cezire-i): see Athos Mt.
- 'Ayn Beydâ XXXVI-D1
- 'Ayn Mahdî XXXVI-C2
- 'Ayntâb (A.), Antep (T.) 26, 27, 82, 105, VI-C2
- 'Ayn Zarba 83  
(see Anavarza)
- 'Ayn Zerqâ' XXXII-A3
- Ayvalık VIII-B2
- Azak (T.), Azov, Tana 122, 139, XVI-D1, XXI-B1, XXIII-B1, XXX-B2
- Azefun 107, XXXVI-C1
- Azerbaijan 23, 61, 79, 80, 119, 120, 141, XXIII-BC1, XXXII-C1
- Azov 96, 122  
(see Azak)
- 'Azzâz XXXII-A2
- Baalbek, Ba'labakk (A.) 106, XX-B2, XXXII-A2, XXXIII-B2
- Babadâğı 111, XXIX-E3
- Babaeski 42, X-B2
- Babócsa 111, XXIX-B3
- Bacău 94, XVI-C1, XXIX-E2
- Bács XXIX-B3
- Baden XXIX-A2
- Badra XXXII-C3
- Badracık (T.), Neopatras (Gk.) XIV-A2, XXVI-B2
- Baf XXV-B3
- Bafra VI-C1, XXV-C1
- Bağdad E. 126, XXIV  
(see Bağhdâd)
- Bağhdâd (A.), Bağdad (T.) 23, 101, 111, 112, 119-121, XXI-C2, XXIII-B2, XXXII-C3, XXXIV-B1
- S. XXXII-C3
- E. 127, 141, XXXII-BC2, 3, XXIV-B1
- Bahçesaray XIII-C1, XVI-C2, XXX-B2
- Bahnasâ XXXIV-A1
- Bahnasâwiyya (province of Bahnasâ) 142
- Bahrayn (A.), Bahrein 142, XXI-C2, XXXIV-C1
- Bahr-i Hazer: see Caspian Sea
- Bahriyya Oasis XXXIV-A1
- Baja XXIX-B3
- Bajmócz XXIX-B1
- Baku 101, XXIII-C1, XXXI-D3
- Ba'labakk: see Baalbek
- Balaklava, Cembalo (It.) 96, XVI-C2
- Balassagyarmat XXIX-B2
- Balat (T.), Miletus (class. Gk.), Palatia (med. Gk.) 31, 32, VII-A2, VIII-B3, X-B3

- Balaton L. 115, 116  
 Balearic islands 99, XXI-A2  
 Balıkesir (T.), Balıkesri (older T.) 32, 59, VII-A1, VIII-B2, XII-B2, XXV-A1  
 Balıkesri: see Balıkesir  
 Bälis XXXII-A2  
 — S. XXXII-A2  
 Balkan Mts. 42, 43, 45, 46, 48, 63, 137, X-B2  
 — peninsula, the Balkans 2, 9, 17-19, 21, 24, 41, 48, 63, 71, 76, 83, 113  
 Balya XXV-A1  
 Balyabadra (T.), Patras XIV-A2, XXVI-B2  
 Bana XXVI-B1  
 Banaz (T.), Panasion (Gk.) 27, XXV-A2  
 Bandırma (T.), Panormos (Gk.) VIII-B1  
 Banī Suwayf XXXIV-A1, XXXV  
 Bāniyās XXXIII-A2  
 Banyaluka 91, 137, XVI-A2, XXVIII-B1, XXIX-B3  
 Bapheus 37, IX-B1  
 (see Koyunhisar)  
 Bar XXIX-E1  
 Barbary Coast (Barb. States) 15, 19, 100, 118, 121, 136, 143, XXXVI  
 Barcs XXIX-B3  
 Baris: see İsparta  
 Barka XXI-B2, XXIII-B2  
 Barla (T.), Parlais (Gk.) VIII-C2, XXV-B2  
 Barlad XXIX-E2  
 Bârlad R. 94, XXIX-E2  
 Bartin XXV-B1  
 J. Bârük XXXIII-A2  
 Basiani 139  
 (see Pasin)  
 Basra E. 126  
 (see Başra)  
 Başra (A.), Basra (T.) 113, 119-121, XXI-C2, XXIII-C2, XXXII-C3, XXXIV-B1  
 — E. XXXII-C3  
 — S. 131, XXXII-C3, XXXIV-B1  
 Bassein XXI-D2  
 Bât-Monostor XXIX-B3  
 Batmos (T.), Patmos (Gk.): see Patmos  
 Batrûn (A.), Bostrys (Gk.) 141, XXXIII-A1  
 Batum 128, 129, 139, 140, XXIII-B1, XXV-D1, XXX-C2, XXXI-B2  
 Bayat S. XXXII-C3  
 Bayburd (T.), Paypert 25, 28, 80, 81, 102, VI-D1, XVI-D3, XX-B1, XXV-D1, XXXI-B3  
 Bayezid, Doğu Bayezid XXXI-C3, XXXII-B1  
 — S. XXXII-B1  
 Bayındır VIII-B2, XXV-A2, XXV-B1  
 Bazar-i Blağay XXVI-A1  
 (see Blagaj)  
 Bázias XXIX-C3  
 (= Pozsezsena)  
 Beç (T.), Vienna: see Vienna  
 Bécse 92, 111, XVI-B2, XXIX-C3  
 Becskerek XXIX-C3  
 — S. XXIX-C3  
 Behesni, Besni 26, 27, 56, 105, VI-C2, X-D3, XX-B1, XXV-C2, XXXII-A1  
 Behram-kale (T.), Assos (class. Gk.), Makhramion (med. Gk.): see under Assos  
 Bela Crkva XXIX-C3  
 (=Weisskirchen)  
 Belaya Tserkov XXIX-E1  
 (see Byalov Czerkow)  
 Belgrad  
 (= Belgrade, q.v.) XXVI-A1  
 (= Berat, q.v.) 68, XXVI-A2  
 ( „ ) V. XV-AB2  
 Belgrade, Belgrad (Sl., T.) 49, 63, 70, 71, 73, 75, 89, 90, 111, 112, 114, 115, X-A1, XII-A1, XIII-A1, XVI-B2, XXIII-B1, XXIX-C3  
 (for Belgrade in Albania, see Berat)  
 Bellezma XXXVI-D1  
 Belokoma 36, IX-B2  
 (see Bilecik)  
 Belvedere 87, XIV-A2  
 (see Pontikokastron)  
 Belz XXIX-D1, XXX-A1  
 Belzec XXIX-CD1  
 Bender (T.), Tighin 122, XVI-C1, XXI-B1, XXIX-E2, XXX-B2  
 Benderereğli: see Ereğli III  
 Benkovac XXVIII-A1  
 Berat (Alb.), Belgrad (Sl., T.), Belgrade [in Albania] 45, 68, 69, 88, X-A2, XIII-A2, XV-B2, XVI-B2  
 Berdichev XXIX-E1  
 Bereg XXIX-C2  
 Bergama (T), Pergamum (Gk.) 32, 59, 125, VII-A2, VIII-B2, X-B3, XII-B2, XXV-A1  
 Bergri XXXI-C3, XXXII-B1  
 — S. XXXII-B1  
 Berkofça XXVI-B1  
 Beroia X-A2  
 (see Karaferye)  
 Berruaghia XXXVI-C1  
 Berzencze XXIX-B2  
 Besni XXXII-A1  
 (see Behesni)  
 Bessarabia 94  
 (cf. Bucak)  
 Betlen XXIX-D2  
 Beypazarı 57, 63, XII-C2  
 Beyrut 141, XXI-B2, XXIII-B2, XXXII-A2, XXXIII-A2  
 — S. XXXII-A2  
 Beyshehir 31, 32, 34, 52-55, 62, 63, 78, VII-B3, VIII-C3, X-C3, XIII-C3, XVI-C3, XXV-B2  
 — S. XXV-B2  
 —, Lake 79  
 Bielev XXX-B1  
 Bielgorod [in the Ukraine] XXX-B1  
 — [on the Dniester] XII-C1  
 (see Ak-kirman)  
 Biga 39, 52, VII-A1, VIII-B2, X-B2, XVI-B3, XXV-A1  
 Bigadiç VIII-B2, XXV-A1  
 Bihaç XXIII-A1, XXVIII-A1, XXIX-A3  
 Bihlište XXVI-A2  
 Bihor 89  
 Bijapur IV  
 Bijaya (A.), Bugia (It.) 107  
 Bijelina XXVIII-C1  
 Bilbays XXXV  
 — prov. 142, XXXV  
 Bilecik (T.), Belokoma (Gk.) 36, VIII-C2, IX-B2, XXV-B1  
 Bintvisi XXXI-C2  
 Biqâ' 106, XXXII-A2, XXXIII-B1, 2  
 Bira: see Birecik  
 Birecik (T.), Bira (A.) 103, 104, 111, XXV-C2, XXXII-A2  
 — S. XXXII-A2  
 Bireznik XXVI-B1  
 Birgi (T.), Pyrgion (Gk.) 29, 31, 33, VII-A2, VIII-B2, XXV-A2  
 Birgoz XXVI-B1  
 Bisharri 141, XXXIII-B1  
 Biskra XXI-A2, XXIII-A2, XXXVI-D2  
 Bistritz XXIX-D2  
 Bithynia 25, 29, 35, 36  
 Bitlis 103, 111, 119, 141, XX-C1, XXI-C2, XXIII-B1, XXXI-B3, XXXII-B1  
 Bitola: see Monastir [in Macedonia]  
 Bivados (T.), Epibatos (Gk.) 84, XVI-C2  
 Bizerta XXI-A2, XXIII-A2, XXXVI-E1  
 Bizya 43  
 (see Vize)  
 Bjelovár XXIX-B3  
 Black Sea 2, 12, 23, 28, 29, 37, 38, 43, 45, 47, 48, 52, 55-57, 64, 72, 73, 77, 78, 84, 93, 95, 97, 121-3, 134, 139  
 Blagaj (Sl.), Bazar-i Blağay (T.) 91, XVI-A2, XXVIII-B2  
 Bliđa XXXVI-C1  
 Bobovac 90, XXIX-B3  
 Bodrum (T.), Petronion (Gk.) 61, 85, 115, VIII-B3, XIII-B3, XIV-C3, XVI-C3, XXI-B2  
 Boeotia 85  
 Boğdan (T.), Moldavia 128, XXIV, XXX-A2

- Boghni XXXVI-C1  
 Böğürdelen (T.), Šabac (Sl.),  
 Sabacz (Hung.) 90  
 Bohemia 98, 99, XXI-AB1, XXIII-  
 AB1, XXIX-AB1  
 Bolayır 39, VIII-B1  
 Bolu 31, 40, VI-B1, VII-B1, VIII-  
 C1, X-C2, XII-C2, XXV-B1  
 — S. XXV-B1  
 Bolvadin (T.), Polybotos (Gk.) 27,  
 30, 31, VII-B2, VIII-C2, XXV-  
 B2  
 Bolus XXV-C1  
 Bolvan XXVI-A1  
 Bone XXI-A2, XXXVI-D1  
 Bor VI-B2, XXV-C2  
 Bordonia 86, XIV-A3  
 Borislav XXX-B1  
 Borj Sebau XXXVI-C1  
 Borszczów XXIX-D1  
 Bosancea XXIX-D2  
 Bosna (Sl., T.), Bosnia XVI-A2,  
 XXIII-AB1, XXIV  
 — R. 71, XXVIII-BC1  
 — E. 125, 127, 137, 138, XXVII,  
 XXIX-B3, XXX-A2  
 — S. 138, XXVI-A1  
 Bosna-Saray/Saray-Bosna/Saray (T.),  
 Vrhbosna/Sarajevo (Sl.) XXVIII-  
 C1  
 — S. XXVIII-BC1  
 Bosnia 44, 45, 48, 49, 70, 71, 73, 75,  
 89-92, 114, 130, 131, 138, X-A1,  
 XI, XII-A1, XIII-A1, XVI-A2,  
 XXI-B2, XXVIII  
 (see Bosna)  
 Bosphorus 38, 77, 84, 96, 100  
 Bosporo 96  
 (see Kerç)  
 Bostrys: see Batrûn  
 Botoşani XXIX-D2  
 Boudonitsa 51, VIII-A2, X-A3,  
 XIII-B2, XIV-A2  
 (see Mudoniç)  
 —, Marquisate of 50, 65, 66,  
 VIII-A2  
 Boyabat XXV-C1  
 Boyalı XXV-B1  
 Boyana R. 49, X-A2  
 Bozcaada (T.), Tenedos (Gk.) 85,  
 XIV-B1  
 Bozdoğan VIII-B3, XXV-A2  
 Bozkar XXV-B2  
 Bozoğlu XXV-B1  
 Bozok, now Yozgat 113, XX-A1,  
 XXI-B2, XXV-C1  
 — S. 104, XXV-C1, 2  
 Bozüyük VIII-B3, IX-B2  
 Braclaw 97, XVI-C1, XXIX-E1,  
 XXX-B2  
 Brăila 94, XXIX-E3  
 (see İbrail)  
 Brankovac 90  
 Brasov (Sl.), Kronstadt (Ge.) 73,  
 X-B1  
 Brava 143, XXIII-C1  
 Brazza 70, XXVIII-B2  
 Brežice (Sl.), Rann (Ge.) XXIX-A3  
 Bribir XXVIII-A1, XXIX-A3  
 Brindisi 75, 99, XVI-A2  
 Broos XXIX-C3  
 (see Szászvaros)  
 Bruck [-on-Mur] 92, XVIII-B1  
 Brünn XXIX-B1  
 Brusa: see Bursa  
 Brvenik XXVI-A1  
 Bucak (T.) = (southern) Bessarabia  
 139, XXIII-B1, XXIX-E2, XXX-  
 B2  
 Bucegea XXIX-D2  
 Bucharest 21, 94, XVI-B2, XXIX-  
 D3  
 (see Bükreş)  
 Bucureşti: see Bucharest  
 Buczacz XXIX-D1  
 Buda 21, 49, 76, 77, 98, 111, XVI-  
 B1, XXI-B1  
 (see Budin)  
 Budin (T.), Buda (Hung.), Ofen  
 (Ge.) 111, XXIII-B1, XXIX-B2  
 — E. 115, 125, 127, 129, XXIII-  
 B1, XXIV, XXIX-B2, 3, XXX-  
 A2  
 Budua 68, 89, XIII-A2, XIV-A1,  
 XVI-A2, XXVIII-C2  
 Bug R. 95, 96, 139, XVI-C1  
 Bugia 107, 108, XXI-A2, XXIII-A2,  
 XXXVI-D1  
 (see Bijäya)  
 Buğayra 142, XXXV  
 Bukhārā, Khanate of 24, III, IV  
 Bukovica XXVIII-B1  
 Bukovina 95, 97  
 Bükreş (T.), Bucureşti (Roum.),  
 Bucharest: see Bucharest  
 Buldan VIII-C2  
 Buldur: see Burdur  
 Bulgaria 21, 40, 42-46, 48-50, 73,  
 76, 94, 130, VIII-B1, X-B1  
 Burayda XXXIV-B1  
 Burdur/Buldur (T.), Polydorion  
 (med. Gk.) VIII-C3, X-C3  
 Burgas 43, VIII-B1, X-B2  
 (see Burgaz)  
 Burgaz (T.), Burgas (Bulg.), Pyrgos  
 (med. Gk.) 43, 44  
 Burgundy 109, XI, XXI-A1, XXIII-  
 A1  
 Bursa (T.), Prousa (Gk.), Brusa  
 (older T.) 34-37, 53, 54, 57, 59,  
 125, 137, VII-A1, VIII-C2, IX-A2,  
 X-C2, XII-C2, XIII-C2, XVI-C3,  
 XXV-A1  
 Bu Saada XXXVI-C2  
 Butrinto 65, 67, 68, 87, 89, XIII-A2,  
 XV-B3  
 Büyük Çekmece 47, X-B2  
 Bužim XXVIII-A1, XXIX-A3  
 Byalov Czerkow (Pol.), Belaya  
 Tserkov (Russ.) XXX-B1  
 Byzantium, Emp. of 5, 18, 27, 42, 47,  
 64, 65, 75, 83, 84  
 (= Byzantine Emp.)  
 Caesarea 26  
 (see Kayseri)  
 Çağa XXV-B1  
 Çağın XXIX-B3  
 Cairo, al-Qāhira (A.) 56, 82, 85, 104-  
 106, XX-A2, XXI-B2, XXIII-B2,  
 XXXIV-A1, XXXV  
 Çal XXV-A2  
 (= Demirciköy)  
 — Dağı XXV-A2  
 Çaldıran 24, 102, XX-C1, XXI-C2,  
 XXXI-C3  
 Calle XXXVI-E1  
 Călugăreni XXIX-D3  
 Çamurlu 44, 59, 64, 70, X-A2, XII-B1  
 Çan XXV-A1  
 Çanakkale/Kale-i Sultaniye 32, 39,  
 XXV-A1  
 Canali, the 70  
 Candar-oğulları, Em. of 29, 32, 55,  
 VII-C1, VIII-D1  
 Candia 126  
 (see Girid)  
 Canik 27, 31, 32, 34, 55, 61, 77,  
 VI-C1, VII-D1, VIII-E1, X-D2,  
 XII-D1, XIII-D2, XVI-D2  
 — S. XXV-C1  
 Çankırı (T.), Gangra (Gk.), Kángırı  
 (older T.) 17, 27, 32, 55, 56, 61,  
 VII-C1, VIII-D1, X-C2, XIII-C2,  
 XXV-B1  
 — S. 136, 137, XXV-BC1  
 Çapakçur 103, XX-B1, XXV-D2,  
 XXXI-B3, XXXII-B1  
 Capodistria XVIII-A2  
 Cappadocia 25, 26  
 Çardak 26  
 (see Myriokephalon)  
 Caria 28  
 Carinthia 92, XVI-A1, XVIII-AB1  
 Carmel Mt. XXXIII-A3  
 Carniola 73, 92, 109, XVI-A1,  
 XVIII-AB2  
 Carrhae: see Harrân  
 Çarşamba 31, X-D2  
 — R. 54, 78, X-C3  
 Çartalo V. XV-B2  
 Caspian Sea, Bahr-i Hazer (T.) 17,  
 23, 95, 101, 120, 122  
 Castelnovo 91, XIV-A1, XVI-A2,  
 XXVI-A1, XXVIII-C2  
 (see Hersek-nova)  
 Castile 99, XI  
 Çatalca (T.) [in Greece], Pharsala  
 (Gk.), 51, X-A2, XIV-A1, XXVI-  
 B2  
 — [in Thrace], Metra (Gk.) 43, 44  
 Cataracts [of the Nile] XXI, XXXV  
 Cattaro 68, X-A2, XIII-A1, XV-A1,  
 XVI-A2, XXVIII-C2  
 —, Bocche di 68, 70, 91

- Caucasus Mts. (Caucasia) 12, 19, 20, 96, 120, 123, 132, 139  
Çay XXV-B2  
Cazin XXVIII-A1, XXIX-A3  
Çekirge IX-A2  
Cembalo 96, XIII-C1, XVI-C2  
(see Balaklava)  
Çemişgezek 28, 103, 133, VI-C2, XX-B1, XXV-D2, XXI-A3, XXXII-A1  
— S. XX-B1, XXXII-A1  
Ceneviz (T.), Genoa: see Genoa  
Cephalonia 87, X-A3, XVI-A3  
—, County of 65, 67, 85, 86, XIII-A2, 3  
Čerević XXIX-B3  
Cerigo 67, XIV-A3  
(see Çuha-adası)  
Cerigotto (It.), Antikythera (Gk.) 67, XIV-AB3  
Çerkeş XXV-B1  
Çermik 103, XX-B1, XXXII-A1  
Cernauti XXIX-D2  
Cernov X-B1  
Çeşme VIII-B2  
Cetatea Alba 72, 93, XIII-C1, XXIX-E2  
(see Ak-kirman)  
Cetatea Neamțului 94  
Cetina 91, XVI-A2, XXVIII-B1, XXIX-A3  
— R. 91, XXVIII-B1  
Cetinje 91, XV-A1, XXVIII-C2  
Cetraro XXI-A2  
Ceuta XXXVI-A1  
Cezayir = Cezayiri Bahri Sefid (the islands of the Aegean) 127, 129, 137, XXIV, XXV-A1, 2  
— = Cezayiri Garb (T.), Jazā'ir (A.), Algiers: see Algiers  
— = Cezayiri Garb (T.), Jazā'ir (A.), Algeria 127, 131, 143, XXIV  
Chaba XXXVI-E2  
Chalandritsa 66, XIV-A2  
Chalcedon IX-A1  
(see Kadıköy)  
Chalcis 85, VIII-A2, X-A3, XIV-B2  
(see Eğriboz)  
Chalki XIV-C3  
(see Herke)  
Chalkidike 47  
Chaneti 78, 139, XVI-D2, XXXI-B2  
Chariopolis 43, VIII-B1  
(see Hayrabolu)  
Chelae IX-B1  
(see Şile)  
Chelidromi 84  
Cherkask XXIII-B1, XXX-BC2  
Cherkasy 95, XVI-C1, XXI-B1, XXX-B1  
Chernigov XXX-B1  
Chernomen 44  
(see Çirmen)  
Chiarentza 87  
(= Glarentsa)  
Chiliodromia XIV-B1, 2  
Chimara 89, 131, XVI-A3  
(see Himara)  
China 23  
Chios 50, 61, 67, 84, 85, 130, 132, 133, 138, VIII-B2, X-B3, XIII-B3, XIV-BC2, XVI-B3, XXI-B2  
(see Sakız)  
Chliara VIII-B2  
(see Kırkağaç)  
Chlomoutsi 86, XIV-A2  
(see Holumiç)  
Chrysopolis VIII-A1, X-B2  
Cidde 127  
(see Jidda)  
Çıldır 102, XXXI-B2  
— E. 127, 128, 131, 140, XXIV, XXX-C2, XXXI-B2  
Cilicia 25, 26, 28, 56, 58, 62, 78, 82, 83, 100, 104, 105  
(see İçel)  
Cilician Gates 29, 82, 104  
(see Gülek P.)  
Cilli XVIII-B1, 2, XXIX-A2  
Cinbi (older T.), Tzympe (Gk.) 39  
Çine VIII-B3  
Çiprofça XXVI-B1  
Circassia XXXI-B1  
Çirmen (T.), Chernomen (Gk.) 40, 42, 44, 104, X-B2, XXVI-B1  
— S. 138, XXVI-B1  
Çirpan XXVI-B1  
Çitluk XXVIII-B2  
Çitroz (T.), Pydna (Gk.) 48, X-A2  
Cizre 103, XX-C1, XXXII-B2  
(see Jazira)  
Clazomenae 25, VI-A2  
Cluj, Klausenburg (Ge.) XXIX-D2  
Çölemerik XXXII-B1  
Collo XXI-A2, XXXVI-D1  
Colonea VI-C1  
(see Şebin-karahisar)  
Constantine 107, XXI-A2, XXXVI-D1  
—, prov. of XXXVI-DE1  
Constantinople 25, 28, 37, 40, 44, 47, 59, 63, 64, 66, 73, 75, 83-86, 89, 98, VI-A1, VII-B1, VIII-C1, IX-A1, X-BC2, XI, XII-C2, XIII-C2  
(see İstanbul)  
Copa 96, XIII-D1, XVI-D2  
Corbavia 92, 109, XVI-A2, XVIII-A1, XXIX-A3  
(see Krbava)  
Cordova 107  
Corfu 65, 67, 68, 86, 89, 111, 112, 115, X-A2, XII-A2, XIII-A2, XV-B3, XVI-A3, XXI-B2, XXIII-B1  
Corinth 65, 66, 86, VIII-A2, X-A3, XII-B2, XIII-B3, XIV-A2, XVI-B3  
(see Korintos)  
—, Gulf of 65, 67, 68, 87  
Çorlu (T.), Tzouroulos (Gk.) 39, 42, 102, X-B2, XXVI-B1  
Çoruh R. 78  
Çorum (T.), Nikonion (Gk.) 27, 55, VI-C1, VIII-D1, X-D2, XXV-C1  
— S. XXV-C1  
Cozmeni XVI-B1, XXIX-D1  
Craciuna 94  
Cracow XXI-B1, XXIX-C1, XXX-A1  
Craina 91, XXVIII-B2  
Craiova X-A1  
Crete 67, 115, 126, 129, XIII-B3, XIV-B3, XXI-B2, XXIII-B2  
(see Girit)  
Crimea 19, 75, 76, 78, 95-97, 102, 122, 130, 131, 139  
(see Kırım)  
—, Khanate of the 12, 24, 93, 94, 133  
Crivoscia XXVIII-C2  
Crnagora 69, 91, XXVIII-C2  
(see Karadağ)  
Crnik XXIX-B3  
Croatia 92, 109, 114, XVI-A1, 2, XVIII-B2  
Croia: see Akçahisar  
Csanád XXIX-C3  
— S. XXIX-C3  
Cseh XXIX-C2  
Csetnek XXIX-C1  
Csurgó XXIX-B2  
Çubuk Ova 56, 57, 59, XXV-B1  
Çuha-adası (T.), Kythera (Gk.), Cerigo (It.): see Cerigo  
Cursul Apei 94  
Curtea de Argeş 50, X-B1, XXIX-D3  
Curzola 70, XXVIII-B2  
Cyprus 30, 32, 33, 52, 58, 83, 109, 118, 127, 130, 132, XI, XIII-C3, XVI-C3, XX-A2, XXI-B2  
(see Kıbrıs)  
Cyzicus 25, 37, VI-A1, VII-A1, VIII-B1  
Dabica XXIX-D2  
Dadiya, now Datça VIII-B3  
Dadybra 27  
(see Divriç)  
Dāghistān 120, 140, XXIII-B1, XXXI-D2  
(see Dağıstan)  
Dağıstan (T.), Dāghistān (P.) E. 128  
Dagno 68, 69, 88, XV-A1  
Dahra XXXVI-BC1  
Dākhla Oasis XXXIV-A1  
Dakibya 38, IX-B1  
(see Gebze)  
Dalaman R. 18, 27, 28, 33  
Dalmatia 8, 73, 92, 109, 116, 118, 138, XXVIII  
Damala 87, XIV-A2  
Daman XXI-D2

- Damanhūr XXXV  
 Dāmār XXXIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Damascus, Dimashq/Shām (A.),  
 Şam (T.) 105, 106, 113, 114, 121,  
 XX-B<sub>2</sub> XXI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>2</sub>,  
 XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>, XXXIII-B<sub>2</sub>  
 — S. XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Damietta XXXIV-A<sub>1</sub>, XXXV  
 (see Dimyāt)  
 Dāmūr XXXIII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Danias 47, X-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Danişmend-Eski (= Babaeski ?)  
 XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Dankov XXX-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Danube R. 2, 45, 46, 48, 49, 63, 70,  
 72, 73, 75, 83, 89, 90, 92-94, 114-  
 16, 138, 139, XXIX  
 (see Tuna)  
 Daqahliyya 142, XXXV  
 Darahiya (T.), Tracheia (Gk.) VIII-  
 B<sub>3</sub>  
 Dárda XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>  
 Dardanelles 39, 40, 64, 77, 84, 85  
 Darendé 56, 105, VI-C<sub>2</sub>, X-D<sub>3</sub>,  
 XX-B<sub>1</sub>, XXV-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Dargazîn 111, XXI-C<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-  
 C<sub>2</sub>  
 Darica (T.), Ritzion (Gk.) 38, 64,  
 IX-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Dārum XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Dasht-i Qipchāq 23  
 (see Deşti-Kıpçak)  
 Datça: see Dadiya  
 Davia 66, XIII-B<sub>3</sub>, XIV-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Dayr al-Qamar XXXIII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Dayr az-Zōr XXXII-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Dazkırı XXV-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Debar XV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Debaroa 142, XXI-C<sub>3</sub>, XXIII-C<sub>1</sub>,  
 XXXIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Debdu 108, XXXVI-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Debra Damo XXIII-C<sub>1</sub>, XXXIV-  
 B<sub>2</sub>  
 Debreczen XXI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>,  
 XXIX-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Deh Balad XXXII-C<sub>3</sub>  
 — S. XXXII-C<sub>3</sub>  
 Deli-Orman 61, 72, XIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Dellys 108, XXI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXXVI-C<sub>1</sub>  
 Delos 67, 85, VIII-A<sub>3</sub>, XIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Delta of the Nile 106, 142, XXXIV-  
 A<sub>1</sub>, XXXV  
 Delvina (T.), Delvinon (Gk.) XXVI-  
 A<sub>2</sub>  
 — S. 137  
 Delvinon: see Delvina  
 Demirci VIII-C<sub>2</sub>, XXV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Demirciköy XXV-A<sub>2</sub>  
 (= Çal)  
 Demir-kapı S. XXXII-C<sub>2</sub>  
 — E. 128  
 Denizli (T.), Toñuzlu (older T.) 4,  
 27, 31, 32, 111, 137, VI-A<sub>2</sub>, VII-A<sub>2</sub>,  
 VIII-C<sub>2</sub>, X-C<sub>3</sub>, XXV-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Denmark XXIII-A<sub>1</sub>
- Derazhnya 97, XVI-C<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-E<sub>1</sub>  
 (see Derecsny)  
 Derbend 123, XXIII-C<sub>1</sub>, XXX-C<sub>2</sub>,  
 XXXI-D<sub>2</sub>  
 Derecsny (Pol.), Derazhnya (Russ.) 97  
 Dergene XXV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Dermis XXVIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Derteng S. XXXII-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Dervenaki 86, XIV-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Derventa XXVIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Deşti-Kıpçak (T.), Dasht-i Qipchāq  
 (P.), Dikie Poly (Russ.) 23, 122,  
 XVI-CD<sub>1</sub>  
 Devceser XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Develi-karahisar 55, XXV-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Devoll (Devol) R. 45, 68, X-A<sub>2</sub>,  
 XV-AB<sub>2</sub>  
 Devrek XXV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Dhū'l-Qadr 82  
 (see Dulkadir)  
 Dibra Mts. 68, 69, 88, XV-B<sub>1</sub>, 2  
 Dicle (T.), Dijla (A.), Tigris (R.): see  
 Tigris R.  
 Didymoteichon 42, VIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 (see Dimetoka)  
 Dijla R.: see Tigris R.  
 Dikie-Poly XVI-CD<sub>1</sub>  
 (see Deşti-Kıpçak)  
 Dimashq: see Damascus  
 Dimetoka (T.), Didymoteichon  
 (Gk.) 42, X-B<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Dimyāt (A.), Damietta XXXV  
 Dinar: see Dinayır  
 Dinayır (older T.), Apamea (Gk.),  
 Dinar (T.) 27  
 Dıraç (T.), Duraç (Sl.), Durrës  
 (Alb.), Durazzo XVI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-  
 A<sub>1</sub>  
 Diu 117, 142, XXI-D<sub>2</sub>  
 Divény XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Divriği (T.), Tephrike (Gk.) 25, 28,  
 56, 104, VI-C<sub>1</sub>, X-D<sub>2</sub>, XX-B<sub>1</sub>,  
 XXV-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Divrik, (= the Gr. Dadybra?) 27,  
 28, VI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Diyadin XXXI-C<sub>3</sub>, XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Diyarbekir (town) 101  
 (see Amid)  
 — (the region) 77, 79, 105, 131,  
 XXI-C<sub>2</sub>  
 — E. 103, 127, 141, XXIV, XXV-  
 D<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>, 2  
 Djakovo XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>  
 Dmanisi 129, XXXI-C<sub>2</sub>  
 (= Tumanis)  
 Dnieper R. 95, 97, XVI-C<sub>1</sub>  
 Dniester R. 93, 94, 97, XVI-BC<sub>1</sub>  
 Dobra R. XXIX-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Döbrököz XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Dobruca (T.), Dobruja 45, 48, 49, 61,  
 72, 73, 113, XXI-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Dobruja 45, X-B<sub>1</sub>  
 (see Dobruca)  
 Docea 18  
 (see Tokat)
- Dodecanese Islands 30, 84  
 Doğu Bayezid: see Bayezid  
 Domaniç VIII-C<sub>2</sub>, IX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 — D. 36, IX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Dombóvár XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Dömeke (T.), Domokos (Gk.) XIV-  
 A<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Domokos 51, VIII-A<sub>2</sub>, X-A<sub>3</sub>, XIV-  
 A<sub>2</sub>  
 (see Dömeke)  
 Don R. 95, 96, 122, XXX-BC<sub>1</sub>, 2  
 Donets R. XXX-B<sub>1</sub>, 2  
 Dongola XXXIV-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Doró channel 85  
 Dört Divan XXV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Dorylaeum 26, 35, VI-B<sub>1</sub>, IX-C<sub>2</sub>  
 (see Eşkisehir)  
 Dračevica XV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Drama 44, VIII-A<sub>1</sub>, X-B<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Drave R. 114, 115, 116, XVI-A<sub>1</sub>,  
 XVIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Drégely XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Dreznica XXVIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Drin R. 49, 68, 131, X-A<sub>2</sub>, XV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 — -eli 68  
 Drina R. 71, 90, 91, XXVIII-C<sub>1</sub>  
 Drivasto 68, 69, 89, X-A<sub>2</sub>, XIII-A<sub>2</sub>,  
 XV-A<sub>1</sub>, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Drogobych 97, XVI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-  
 D<sub>1</sub>  
 Duare XXVIII-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Dubica XXVIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>  
 Dubniça XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Duboçac XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>  
 Dubrovnik (Sl.), Ragusa 44  
 Dukagin Mt. XV-AB<sub>1</sub>  
 — S. 137  
 Dulcigno 45, 68, 89, X-A<sub>2</sub>, XIII-A<sub>2</sub>,  
 XV-A<sub>1</sub>, XVI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXVIII-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Dulkadir (T.), Dhū'l-Qadr (A.) 56,  
 58-60, 62, 76, 82, 83, 101, 103, 104,  
 119, X-D<sub>3</sub>, XII-D<sub>2</sub>, XIII-D<sub>2</sub>, 3,  
 XVI-D<sub>3</sub>, XXI-B<sub>2</sub>  
 — E. 126, XXIV, XXV-CD<sub>2</sub>,  
 XXXII-A<sub>1</sub>, 2  
 Dulük 26, 27, VI-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Durağan XXV-C<sub>1</sub>  
 Duraç: see Durazzo  
 Durazzo 45, 68, 89, X-A<sub>2</sub>, XII-A<sub>2</sub>,  
 XIII-A<sub>2</sub>, XV-A<sub>2</sub>, XVI-A<sub>2</sub>  
 (see Dıraç)  
 Duvno XXVIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Durrës: see Durazzo  
 Düzce XXV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Džakova XV-B<sub>1</sub>
- Ebros R.: see Maritsa R.  
 Echmiadzin XXXI-C<sub>3</sub>  
 Ecsed XXIX-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Edessa [in Asia] 28, 103, VI-C<sub>2</sub>  
 (see Ruha)  
 —, Crusading State of 26  
 — [in Macedonia] 48  
 (see Vodina)  
 Edincik VIII-B<sub>1</sub>

- Edirne (T.), Adrianople (Gk.), Edrene (older T.) 42, 59, 63, 64, 70, 73, 104, X-B2, XII-B2, XIII-B2, XVI-B2, XXVI-B1  
— S. XXXVI-B1
- Edisan 139  
(= Yedisian)
- Edremid (T.), Adramyttion (Gk.) 32, 39, VII-A2, VIII-B2, X-B2, XXV-A1
- Edrenos (older T.), Atranos (Gk.), Orhaneli (mod. T.) 37, VIII-C2
- Eflâk (T.), Wallachia 93, XXX-A2  
— E. 128, XXIV
- Eflâni XXV-B1
- Eger 116, 127, XXI-B1, XXIII-B1, XXIX-C2  
(see Eğri)
- Egerszeg XXIX-B2
- Eğil XX-B1
- Eğin (now Kemaliye) 103, XXV-D2, XXXII-B1
- Eğirdür: see Eğridir
- Eğri (T.), Eger (Hung.), Erlau (Ge.) XXIX-C2  
— E. 125, 127, XXIV, XXIX-BC2, XXX-A2
- Eğriboz/Eğribos/Ağriboz (T.), Chalcis (class. Gk.), Egripos (med. Gk.), Negroponte (It.) (town) XXVI-B2  
— (T.), Euboea (Gk.), Negroponte (It.) (island) 85, XIV-AB2, XVI-B3  
— S. 137, XXVI-B2
- Eğridir/Eğirdür (T.), also Felekâbad, Akrotiri (Gk.) 29, 32, 52, 57, VII-B2, VIII-C2, X-C3, XII-C2, XXV-B2  
— S. 52
- Eğrigöz 52, X-C2
- Egripos: see Chalcis
- Egypt 2, 15, 17, 23, 56, 57, 62, 77, 82, 83, 100, 103-6, 109, 112-14, 116, 130, 131, 134, 142, XVI-D3, XXI-B2, XXIII-B2, XXXIV, XXXV  
(see Mısır)
- Ejderhan: see Astrakhan
- Ekzamil (T.), Hexamilion (Gk.) 39  
Elason XIV-A1  
(see Alasonya)
- Elba 99, 108
- Elbasan 88, 111, XV-B2, XVI-B2, XXVI-A1  
— S. 137, XXVI-A1
- Elbistan (T.), Ablistene (Gk.) 26, 27, 104, 114, VI-C2, X-D2, XX-B1, XXV-C2, XXXII-A1
- Elets XXX-B1
- Elis 86
- Elkhovo 42, X-B2  
(see Kızılâğaç-Yenicesi)
- Elmalı VIII-C3
- Emesa: see Hims
- Emet VIII-C2
- Empire, The [Austrian] XI, XIX, XXI-AB1, XXIII-A1
- Endires XXV-C1, XXXI-A3
- Enez: see Enoz
- Engeli-kasrı (T.), Angelokastron (Gk.) XXVI-A2
- Engüri: see Ankara
- England 98, 99, 116, XI, XXIII-A1
- Enisala 93, 94, XXIX-E3
- Enns XXIX-A2
- Enoz (older T.), Ainos (Gk.), Enez (T.) 67, 84, 85, XIV-B1, XVI-B3, XXVI-B1
- Enzersdorf XXIX-AB2
- Eperies XXIX-C1
- Ephesus 28, 29, 31, 60, VI-A2, XII-B2  
(see Ayasoluk)
- Epibatos 84  
(see Bivados)
- Epirus 44, 45, 65, 67-69, 89, 130, 131, XII-A2
- Erçek XXXI-C3, XXXII-B1  
— S. XXXII-B1
- Erciş 111, XXXI-B3, XXXII-B1
- Erdel (T.), Transylvania XXIV
- Erdevik XXIX-B3
- Erdod XXIX-C2
- Ereğli (T.), Heraclea (Gk.)  
— I [in S. Anatolia, now Konya Ereğlisi] 62, 79, 83, 104, 112, VI-B2, XIII-C3, XVI-C3, XX-A1, XXV-B2  
— II [in Thracia, now Marmara Ereğlisi] 47, XXVI-B1  
— III [in N. Anatolia, now Karadeniz Ereğlisi], Heraclea Pontica (Gk.), Benderereğli (older T.) 28, X-C2, XXV-B1
- Ereş XXXI-C2  
(see Areshi)
- Eretna dominions 32, VIII-E2
- Ergani 103, 111, XX-B1, XXXII-B1  
— S. XXXII-B1
- Ergene XXVI-B1  
— Su R. X-B2
- Ergin-/Argiri-/Ergiro-(-kasrı) (T.), Argyrokastron (Gk.), Gjinokastër (Alb.): see under variant forms
- Ergiro-kasrı XXVI-A2  
(see Ergiri)
- Eritrea 118, 142
- Eriwan 102, XX-C1, XXI-C2, XXIII-B1, XXXI-C3, XXXII-B1  
(see Revan)
- E. 128, 129, 140, XXXI-C3
- Erlau: see Eğri
- Ermenak: see Ermenek
- Ermenek (T.), Germanicopolis (Gk.), Ermenak (older T.) 32, 55, 78, VII-C3, VIII-D3, X-C3, XXV-B2
- Ermeni-beli 59
- Ernsthofen XXIX-A2
- Ersekujvár XXIX-B2  
(see Uyvar)
- Erzincan 28, 32, 33, 51, 56, 61, 77, 79, 80-82, 102, 103, VI-C1, X-D2, XII-D2, XIII-D2, XVI-D3, XX-B1, XXI-C2, XXV-D1, XXXI-A3, XXXII-B1  
— prov. of X-D2
- Erzurum (T.), Theodosiopolis (Gk.), Arzan al-Rûm (A.), Arđ-i Rûm (P.) 25, 28, 33, 61, 78, 81, 103, 111, 112, 114, 119, 120, 139, VI-D1, XIII-D2, XVI-D3, XX-B1, XXI-C2, XXIII-B1, XXV-D1, XXI-B3, XXXII-B1  
— E. 125, 127, 133, 138, XXIV, XXV-D1, XXXI-AB3, XXXII-AB1
- Eski-Foça 84, 85, XIV-C2  
(see Foça)
- Eskihisar (T.), Niketiatos (Gk.) 38, VIII-B3
- Eski Mosul XXXII-B2  
— S. XXXII-B2
- Eskişehir (T.), Dorylaeum (Gk.) 26, 35, 36, 136, VII-B2, VIII-C2, IX-C2, X-C2, XX-A1, XXV-B1
- Eski-Zağra (T.), Zagora/Stara Zagora (Sl.) 42, X-B2, XXVI-B1
- Eğme XXV-A2
- Espaperd XXXII-B1  
— S. XXXII-B1
- Esseg: see Eszég
- Estergon (T.), Esztergom (Hung.), Gran (Ge.): see Esztergom
- Eszék 111, XXI-B1, XXIX-B3  
— S. XXIX-B3
- Esztergom XXIX-B2  
(see Estergon)
- Euboea 85  
(see Eğriboz)
- Eueakassia 43
- Eupatoria 96  
(= Kozlov)
- Euphrates R. 26, 51, 56, 80, 81, 101, 103-6, 121, 130, 141, VI-C1, 2, XXXII-B2  
(see Fırat)
- Ezbider XXV-D1, XXX-A3
- Fälciu XXIX-E2
- Famagusta 83, XIII-C3, XVI-C3  
(see Mağosa)
- Farâfira Oasis XXXIV-A1
- Fâs 101, XXI-C2
- Fâs (A.), Fez 107
- Faş (T.), Poti (Georg.), Phasis (Gk.) 129
- Fatsa XXV-C1
- Fayyûm XXXIV-A1, XXXV  
— prov. 142, XXXIV-A1, XXXV
- Fehér Körös R. XXIX-C2  
(= White Körös)
- Fehring XXIX-A2
- Feistritz XXIX-A2

- Felekâbad 32, 52  
(see Eğridir)
- Fener (T.), Phanari (Gk.) XIV-A1, XXVI-B2
- Ferecik (T.), Pherrai (Gk.) 44, X-B2, XXVI-B1
- Ferjiua XXXVI-D1
- Ferrara XVIII-B2
- Feslikan 33, VIII-C2
- Fethiye: see Meğri
- Fez 107, 108, 118, 143, XXI-A2, XXIII-A2, XXXVI-A2  
(see Fäs)
- , Sultanate of 132, XI, XIX, XXIII-A2
- Fezzän 121, 143, XXIII-A2
- Filibë (T.), Philippopolis (Gk.), Plovdiv (Sl.) 42, 59, 70, 73, 77, 111, X-B2, XVI-B2, XXVI-B1
- Filôrina (T.), Florina (Gk.), Lerin (Sl.) XXVI-A2  
— S. XXVI-A2
- Finika: see Finike
- Finike 29, 32, 33, 52, VII-B3, VIII-C3, X-C3, XXV-A2
- Fiume XVIII-B2  
(see Rijeka)
- Firat (T.), Furât (A.): see Euphrates R.
- Fiskos (older T.), Marmaris (T.): see Marmaris
- Florence 98, XXI-A2
- Florina: see Filôrina
- Foça (T.), Phocaea (Gk.) [in Anatolia] 33, 53, 61, 67, XIII-B3, XVI-B3, XXV-A2  
(see also Eski-/Yeni-Foça)
- , Foča [in Bosnia] 90, 91, 137, XVI-A2, XXVI-A1, XXVIII-C1
- Földvár XXIX-B2
- Fondi XXI-A2
- Fonyodfürdo XXIX-B2
- Formentara XXI-A2
- France 79, 98, 115, XI, XIX, XXI-A1, XXIII-A1
- Francovilla 49, X-A1  
(see Nagy Olosz)
- Freisach XVIII-B1
- Freistadt XXIX-B2
- Friedberg XXIX-A2
- Friuli 92, XVI-A1
- Füleik XXIX-B2  
— S. 138, XXIX-B2
- Fünfkirchen XXIX-B3  
(see Pécs)
- Funj confederacy 142, XXIII-B2, XXXIV-A2
- Furât: see Euphrates
- Fuwwa 105, XX-A2, XXXV
- Gabela XXVIII-B2
- Gačko XXI-B2, XXIII-B1, XXVIII-C2
- Gačkolje 114
- Gafsa, Qafsa XXI-A2, XXXVI-E2
- Gagra XXX-C2
- Gail-Tal XVIII-A1
- Gaiokoma IX-C2  
(see Geyve)
- Gallipoli 39, 43, 44, 64, 66, 67, 85, VIII-B1, XIV-C1  
(see Gelibolu)
- Gangra 27, VI-B1, VII-C1  
(see Çankırı)
- Ganja (P.), Gence (T.), now Kirovabad XXXI-C2  
— E. 129, 140, XXXI-C2, 3
- Ganos 39, VIII-B1  
(see Gaziköy)
- Gardiki 66, 85, 86, XIII-A3, XIV-A3
- Gashi Mts. 68, XV-B1
- Gaza 105, XX-A2, XXXII-A3  
(see Ghazza)  
— S. XXXII-A3
- Gaziköy (T.), Ganos (Gk.) 39
- Gebze (T.), Dakibyza (Gk.), Geğbüze (older T.) 38, 64, IX-B1, XIII-C2, XXV-A1
- Gediz VIII-C2, XXV-A2
- Geğbüze: see Gebze
- Gelati XXXI-B2
- Gelenbe VIII-B2
- Gelgiraz XXV-C1
- Gelibolu (T.), Kallipolis (Gk.), Gallipoli 43, X-B2, XIII-B2, XIV-C1, XVI-B3, XXV-A1, XXVI-B2  
— S. 137, XXVI-B2
- Gemlik (T.), Kios (Gk.) 37, 38, 57, IX-A2, XII-C2, XXV-A1
- Genç XXV-D2, XXXII-B1
- Gence XXXI-C2  
(see Ganja)  
— E. 129
- Genoa, Genoese colonies 64, 65, 77, 83, 84, 95, 96, XI, XIX, XXI-A1, 2, XXIII-A1  
(see Ceneviz)
- Georgia 51, 58, 78, 81, 112, 120, 128, 129, 140, XIX  
(see Gürcistan)
- Geraki 87, XIV-A3
- Gercanis XXV-D1, XXXI-A3
- Gerede 31, 40, 51, VI-B1, VII-BC1, VIII-D1, X-C2, XXV-B1
- Gerger 105, XVI-D3, XX-B1, XXV-D2, XXXII-A1
- Germanicea 27  
(see Maraş)
- Germanicopolis: see Ermenek
- Germany 75
- Germiyan 28-31, 33, 35, 37, 38, 52-54, 57, 59-61, 78, VII-B2, VIII-C2, IX-BC2, X-C3, XII-C2, XIII-C2, 3  
— S. 52, 137
- Geyve (T.), Gaiokoma (Gk.) 35, 37, VIII-C1, IX-C2
- Ghadames, Ghdâms 143, XXI-A2, XXIII-A2,
- Gharbiyya 142, XXXV
- Ghazir XXXIII-A1
- Ghazza (A.), Gazze (T.), Gaza (Gk.): see Gaza
- Ghdâms: see Ghadames
- Gherghita XXIX-E3
- Gigen 94, XVI-B2, XXIX-D3
- Gilân 101, 119, 132, 140, XXI-C2, XXXII-C2  
— S. XXXII-C2
- Gibraltar, Straits of 117
- Giresun (T.), Kerasus (Gk.) 31, 139, VIII-E1, X-D2, XXV-D1, XXXI-A2
- Girid (T.), Candia (It.), Crete 126, 129, XIV-B3
- Girme XXV-B3
- Giurgiu 72, 138, XXIX-D3  
(see Yergögü)
- Gizeh XX-A2, XXXIV-A1  
(see Jiza)
- prov. 142, XXXIV-A1
- Gjinokastër: see Ergiri
- Glamoç XXVIII-B1
- Glarentsa 66, XIV-A2  
(= Chiarentza)
- Gleisdorf XXIX-A2
- Gliniany 97, XVI-B1, XXIX-D1
- Göksu 47
- Göksun (T.), Kokussos (Gk.) 104
- Golconda IV
- Golden Horde, Khanate of the 24, 95, 122, XI, XII-C1, XIII-CD1
- Göle XXXI-B2
- Goletta 108, XXIII-A2, XXXVI-E1  
(see Halq al-Wâd)
- Göhlisar 32, VII-B3, VIII-C3
- Gölpazarı IX-C2
- Golubac 49, 70, 71, 90, X-A1, XIII-B1, XVI-B2, XXVI-A1, XXIX-C3  
(see Güğercinlik)
- Gomel XXX-B1
- Gonobitz XVIII-B1  
(see Konjice)
- Gonya 139, XXXI-B2  
(= Künye)
- Gora XXIX-A3
- Gorajda (T.), Goražda (Sl.) XXVI-A1
- Goražda: see Gorajda
- Gördes VIII-B2, XXV-A2
- Gori 129, 140, XXXI-C2
- Görice XXVI-A2
- Gorizia (It.), Görz (Ge.) 92, XVIII-A2
- Görz: see Gorizia
- , County of XVI-A1, XVIII-A1, 2
- Gorjan XXIX-B3
- Gorodets 95  
(= Kasimov)
- Gottschee XVIII-B2, XXIX-A3
- Göynük 29, 32, 33, 35, 38, VII-B1, VIII-C2, IX-C2

- Gračanica XXVIII-C<sub>1</sub>  
 Gradiška XXVIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>  
 Gran 111, 115, XXI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>,  
 XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 (see Estergon)  
 — S. XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Granada 99, 107, XI, XIX  
 Graz XXIX-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Greece 6, 45, 47, 51, 57, 65, 67, 73,  
 83, 85-87, 115, 138, XIV  
 Gremi XXXI-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Grevena 86  
 Grisi 66, XIV-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Grobnik XVIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XXIX-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Grombalia XXXVI-E<sub>1</sub>  
 Grosswardein 92, XVI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXI-  
 B<sub>1</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-C<sub>2</sub>  
 (see Várád)  
 Güğercinlik (T.), Golubac (Sl.) 71  
 Gujarat 117, XXI-D<sub>2</sub>  
 Gülek XXV-C<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 — P. 82, 83, XVI-D<sub>3</sub>  
 (= Cilician Gates)  
 Gülnar XXV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Gümtülcine (T.), Komotene (Gk.)  
 42, 79, X-B<sub>2</sub>, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-  
 B<sub>1</sub>  
 Gümüş [W. of Kütahya] VIII-C<sub>2</sub>  
 — [N. of Kütahya] XXV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 — [in Amasya S.] XXV-C<sub>1</sub>  
 Gümüşşane 34, 139, VI-CD<sub>1</sub>,  
 XXV-D<sub>1</sub>, XXXI-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Güns 111, 115, XXI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Gürcistan (T.), Georgia 128, 129,  
 XXIV  
 Güre XXV-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Guria 78, 140, XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXX-C<sub>2</sub>,  
 XXXI-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Gurk R. XVIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XVIII-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Gurkfeld XVIII-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Gúta XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Güzel-hisar [on the Bosphorus] 47,  
 84, XVI  
 —, the modern Aydın VIII-B<sub>2</sub>,  
 X-B<sub>3</sub>, XXV-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Gyalla XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Gyalu XXIX-D<sub>2</sub>  
 Gyaros 67, XIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 (see Şeytanlık)  
 Győr 111, 129, XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 (see Yanık)  
 Gyula XXIX-C<sub>2</sub>
- Habash: see Habeş  
 Habeş/Habeşistan (T.), Habash (A.),  
 Abyssinia E. 127, 142, XXIV  
 Hacihamza XXV-C<sub>1</sub>  
 Hacıköy XXV-C<sub>1</sub>  
 Haç Ovası (T.), [Mező-] Keresztes  
 (Hung.): see Keresztes  
 Haçramawt XXXIV-BC<sub>2</sub>  
 Hagios Eustratios XIV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hâ'il XXXIV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hainburg XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Hılab XX-B<sub>1</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 — E. XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 (see Aleppo)  
 Halep XXV-C<sub>3</sub>  
 — E. 126, 127, 137, 141, XXIV,  
 XXV-C<sub>2</sub>, 3  
 (see Aleppo)  
 Halicz 97, XVI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-D<sub>1</sub>,  
 XXX-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Halikarnassos 61  
 Halq al-Wād/Halq al-Wādī (A.)  
 Goletta (It.), La Goulette (Fr.) 108  
 Halys R. 26, VI-BC<sub>1</sub>  
 (see Kızıl Irmak)  
 Hama XXV-C<sub>3</sub>  
 (see Hamā)  
 Hamā (A.), Hama (T.) 105, 111, XX-  
 B<sub>2</sub>, XXI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 — S. XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Hamadān 119, XXI-C<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-C<sub>2</sub>,  
 XXXII-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Hamid [-eli] 30-33, 52-54, 57, 62,  
 101, VII-B<sub>2</sub>, 3, VIII-C<sub>3</sub>, X-C<sub>3</sub>  
 — S. 137, XXV-AB<sub>2</sub>  
 J. Hamrīn 141, XXXII-BC<sub>2</sub>  
 Hamza XXXVI-C<sub>1</sub>  
 Hamzabey XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Hanakiya XXXIV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hani XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hannek 142, XXXIV-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Hapsburg dominions 92, 109, 117,  
 XVIII, XXI, XXIII, XXX-A<sub>1</sub>, 2  
 Harmançık XXV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Harput 28, 101, 103, 111, VI-C<sub>2</sub>,  
 XX-B<sub>1</sub>, XXI-C<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>,  
 XXV-D<sub>2</sub>, XXXI-A<sub>3</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>1</sub>  
 — S. XXXII-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Hārārān (A.), Carrhae (Gk.) 28, VI-  
 C<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 — S. XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Hārāt Khaybar 106, XXXIV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hârşova XXIX-E<sub>3</sub>  
 (see Hırsova)  
 Hartberg XXIX-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Haruniye (T.), Hārūniyya (A.) XXV-  
 C<sub>2</sub>  
 Harzan XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 al-Ḥasā/Lahsā (A.), Lahsa (T.) 127,  
 131, 142, XXI-C<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-C<sub>2</sub>,  
 XXXIV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hasankale XXXI-B<sub>3</sub>, XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hasankeyf: see Hisn-i Keyf  
 Hasanpatrik XXV-D<sub>2</sub>  
 Haşbayyā XXXIII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Hasköy (T.), Khaskovo (Sl.) XXVI-  
 B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hasya XXXIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hátzeg 93, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXIX-C<sub>3</sub>  
 Hatvan XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 — S. XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Havale: see Avala  
 Havza 31, VIII-E<sub>1</sub>, X-D<sub>2</sub>  
 Hawıza XXXII-C<sub>3</sub>  
 Hawrāmān (P.), Avroman XXXII-  
 C<sub>2</sub>  
 — S. XXXII-C<sub>2</sub>
- Ḥayfā XXXIII-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Haymana XXV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hayrabolu (T.), Chariopolis (Gk.)  
 43, X-B<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Ḥays XXXIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Hazo XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hebron, Khalīl/Khalīl ur-Rahmān  
 (A.) 105, XX-A<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Helenopolis IX-B<sub>1</sub>  
 (see Yalova)  
 Hendek VIII-C<sub>1</sub>, IX-C<sub>1</sub>  
 Heraclea [in Thracia] 43, 47, X-B<sub>2</sub>  
 (see Ereğli II)  
 — [-Pontica] 28, 29, 38, 52, VI  
 B<sub>1</sub>, VII-B<sub>1</sub>, VIII-C<sub>1</sub>  
 (see Ereğli III)  
 Hereke 64, VIII-C<sub>1</sub>, IX-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Herke (T.), Chalki (Gk.) XIV-C<sub>3</sub>  
 Hermannstadt 73, XIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-  
 D<sub>3</sub>  
 (see Sibiu)  
 Hermon Mt. XXXIII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Hersek IX-B<sub>1</sub>  
 — (T.), Herzegovina XVI-A<sub>2</sub>  
 — S. 91, 138, XXVI-A<sub>1</sub>, XXVIII-  
 BC<sub>2</sub>  
 Hersek-nova (T.), Castelnuovo, Nova  
 91, XVI-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Herzegovina 71, 76, 90, 91, 114,  
 XIII-A<sub>1</sub>, XV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 (see Hersek)  
 Hetur XXIX-D<sub>2</sub>  
 Hexamilion 39, VIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 (see Ekzamil)  
 — rampart 66, 86, 87, XIV-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Hicaz XXIV  
 (see Hicāz)  
 Hidvég XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Hierapolis VII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Hijāz (A.), Hicaz (T.) 106, 142, XXI-  
 C<sub>3</sub>, XXXIV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hilla 111, XXXII-C<sub>3</sub>, XXXIV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 — S. XXXII-C<sub>3</sub>  
 Hımara N. (T.), Chimara XV-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Hımş (A.), Emesa (Gk.), Humus  
 (T.), Homs 105, 106, 111, XX-B<sub>2</sub>,  
 XXI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>, XXXIII-  
 B<sub>1</sub>  
 — S. XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Hıms XX-BC<sub>1</sub>, XXXI-B<sub>3</sub>, XXXII-  
 B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hırsova (T.), Hârşova (Roum.) 94,  
 XVI-C<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hisarönü XXV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hişn Kayfā: see Hisn-i Keyf  
 Hisn-i Keyf/Hasankeyf (T.), Hişn  
 Kayfā (A.) 80, 103, XX-B<sub>1</sub>,  
 XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 — S. XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hisn-i Mansur (T.), Hişn-i Mañşūr  
 (A.), now Adıyaman XXV-D<sub>2</sub>,  
 XXXII-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Hişn Mañşūr: see Hisn-i Mansur  
 Hişn al-Şaqāliba (A.), Lulon (Gk.),  
 Lula 79

- Hizan 103, XX-C<sub>1</sub>, XXXI-B<sub>3</sub>, XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 — S. XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hodiced 71, 90  
 Hodiçor XXV-D<sub>1</sub>, XXXI-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Hodna Mts. 107, XXXVI-CD<sub>1</sub>  
 —, Shott al- 107, XXXVI-CD<sub>1</sub>  
 Höflein XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hohentauern XVIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Holumiç (T.), Chlomoutsi (Gk.) XIV-A<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Homa XXV-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Homs: see Hims  
 Honaz (T.), Khonai (Gk.) 27, VIII-C<sub>3</sub>, XXV-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Hoşab XXXIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 (= Mahmudiye)  
 Hotin 94, XVI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-D<sub>1</sub>, XXX-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Hoy (T.), Khoy (P.) 102, XX-C<sub>1</sub>, XXXI-C<sub>3</sub>  
 Hoyran XXV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Hram XXVI-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Hromy XXX-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hudavendigâr [-eli] IX-AB<sub>2</sub>  
 — S. 39, 125, 136, XXV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Hudayda XXXIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Hudna: see Hodna  
 Hufuf XXXIV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hüla XXXIII-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Humus 106, XXV-C<sub>3</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 (see Hims)  
 Hungary 12, 17, 19-21, 48, 70-73, 76, 83, 90-95, 97, 99, 108, 109, 111, 112, 115, 122, 123, 130, 132, 133, 138, X-A<sub>1</sub>, XI, XII-AB<sub>1</sub>, XIII-AB<sub>1</sub>, XVI-AB<sub>1</sub>, 2, XVIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XIX, XXI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 (see Macaristan)  
 Hunyad [Bánffy-] XXIX-C<sub>2</sub>  
 — [Vajda-] XXIX-C<sub>3</sub>  
 Hurpışta XXVI-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Hüseyin Gazi XXV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Hüseyin Ova XXV-C<sub>1</sub>  
 Hüttenberg XXIX-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Hydra 87
- Ialomıta R. 73, XXIX-E<sub>3</sub>  
 Ibaraz XXIX-D<sub>1</sub>  
 Ibb XXXIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İbrail (T.), Brăila (Roum.) 94, XVI-C<sub>2</sub>, XXIX-E<sub>3</sub>  
 İbrim 142, XXXIV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 İçel (T.), Cilicia 62, 113, XXI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>2</sub>  
 — S. XXV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Iconium 25, VI-B<sub>2</sub>  
 (see Konya)  
 İda Mt.: see Kaz Dağı  
 İfrāqiyya 108  
 İgal XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İgg XVIII-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İğneada 43, X-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İhtiman 44, 46, X-A<sub>2</sub>, XII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>
- İkaria 68, VIII-B<sub>2</sub>, X-B<sub>3</sub>, XIV-C<sub>2</sub>  
 İkervâr XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İleros (T.), Leros (Gk.) XIV-C<sub>3</sub>  
 İlgün 78, XVI-C<sub>3</sub>, XX-A<sub>1</sub>, XXV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İlica XXVI-A<sub>1</sub>  
 İl-Khanid Empire 28, 29, 38, VII-CD<sub>2</sub>  
 İlok XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>  
 İmadiye 103  
 (see 'İmādiyya)  
 'İmādiyya/'Amādiyya (A., P.), İmadiye (T.) 103, 141, XX-C<sub>1</sub>, XXXII-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İmbros 39, 47, 48, 67, 84, VIII-B<sub>1</sub>, X-B<sub>2</sub>, XIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XIV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 (see İmroz)  
 İmereti 119, 128, 130, 140, XXI-C<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXX-C<sub>2</sub>, XXXI-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İmotski XXVIII-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İmralı (T.), Kalolimna (Gk.) 38, IX-A<sub>1</sub>  
 İmroz (T.), İmbros (Gk.) 39, 84, 85, XIV-B<sub>1</sub>, XVI-B<sub>3</sub>  
 İnceğiz (T.), İncüğez (older T.) 44, 59, XII-C<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 İncirli (T.), Nisyros (Gk.) XIV-C<sub>3</sub>  
 İncüğez: see İnceğiz  
 İndia 24, 104, 117, 119  
 Indian Ocean 14, 109, 117, 118  
 İne (T.), İos (Gk.), Nio (It.), XIV-B<sub>3</sub>, XXV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 İnebahtı/Aynabahtı (T.), Naupactus (Gk.), Lepanto (It.) 87, XIV-A<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>2</sub>  
 — S. 137  
 İnebolu XXV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 İnegöl [in Aydın-eli] VIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XXV-A<sub>2</sub>  
 — (T.), Angelokoma (Gk.) [in Hudav.] 36, 59, VIII-C<sub>2</sub>, IX-B<sub>2</sub>, XXV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 İnepazarı [I] XXV-C<sub>1</sub>  
 — [II] 137  
 İnhisar IX-C<sub>2</sub>  
 İnkerman 96  
 İnönü 36, VIII-C<sub>2</sub>, IX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İoannina: see Yanya  
 İos VIII-A<sub>3</sub>, XIV-B<sub>3</sub>  
 (see İne)  
 İpek (T.), Peç (Sl.) XXVI-A<sub>1</sub>  
 İplana 137  
 İpsala 39, 42, VIII-B<sub>1</sub>, X-B<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 İpsili 60, XIII-B<sub>3</sub>  
 İran 23, 25, 80, 100, 103, 119, 141, XXIII-C<sub>1</sub>, 2, XXXIV-C<sub>1</sub>  
 see also Persia  
 'İraq 23, 80, 101, 119, XXI-C<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-BC<sub>2</sub>  
 İrbil 111, XXXII-B<sub>2</sub>  
 — S. XXXII-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İrig XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>  
 Iron Gates 72, 92/93, 93, 115
- İsaccea XXIX-E<sub>3</sub>  
 (see İsakçı)  
 İsakçı (T.), İsaccea (Roum.) 72, 93, XIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-E<sub>3</sub>  
 İsauria 28, VI-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İsfahān XXI-C<sub>2</sub>  
 İsfirlik XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 İshaklı XXV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İşıklı XXV-A<sub>2</sub>  
 İşkâdos/İşkâtos (T.), Skiathos (Gk.) XIV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 İskandariyya XXXV  
 (see Alexandria)  
 İskarapar V. XV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 (= İskrapar)  
 İskeçe (T.), Xanthi (Gk.) 44  
 İskenderiye (T.), Škodra (Alb.), Scutari (Gk.) [in Albania] 49, 88, XXVI-A<sub>1</sub>  
 — S. 91, 137, XXVI-A<sub>1</sub>  
 — [in Egypt]: see Alexandria  
 İskenderun XXV-C<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 İskilip XXV-C<sub>1</sub>  
 İskire (T.), Skyros (Gk.) XIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İskrapar XXVI-A<sub>2</sub>  
 (= İskarapar)  
 İslām Kirman XXX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İslimye (T.), Sliven (Sl.) 42, X-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İsmil XXV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İsonzo R. 92, XVIII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 İsparta (T.), Baris (Gk.) 32, 52, 57, VIII-C<sub>3</sub>, X-C<sub>3</sub>, XII-C<sub>2</sub>, XXV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İspir 102, 139, XX-B<sub>1</sub>, XXV-D<sub>1</sub>, XXXI-B<sub>3</sub>  
 İstanbul (T.), Constantinople 63, 79, 81, 82, 94-97, 102, 104-6, 108, 110-13, 116-19, 122, 130, XVI-C<sub>2</sub>, XX-A<sub>1</sub>, XXI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXV-A<sub>1</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İstanköy (T.), Kos (Gk.) XIV-C<sub>3</sub>  
 İstanoz 33, 52, VIII-C<sub>3</sub>, X-C<sub>3</sub>, XXV-A<sub>2</sub>  
 İstendil/İstendin (T.), Tenos (Gk.) XIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İsthmus [of Corinth] 65, 66  
 İstifa (T.), Thebes XIV-A<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İstifan XXV-C<sub>1</sub>  
 (= Ayançık)  
 İştıp 45, X-A<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 İstria 92  
 İtaly 75, 79, 98, 117  
 İthaca 65, 86, 87  
 (= Val di Compare)  
 İthome 86, XIV-A<sub>3</sub>  
 İvanec XXIX-A<sub>2</sub>  
 İvraça XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 İvrānye (T.), Vranja (Sl.) XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 İvrindi VIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XXV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 İzdin (T.), Lamia (Gk.), Zeitouni (med. Gk.) 51, XIV-A-XXVI 2, B<sub>2</sub>  
 İzlâdi (T.), Zlatitsa (Sl.) P. 73, XIII-B<sub>2</sub>

- İzmid (T.), Nicomedia (Gk.), İznikmid (older T.) 38, IX-B<sub>1</sub>, X-C<sub>2</sub>, XII-C<sub>2</sub>, XVI-C<sub>3</sub>, XX-A<sub>1</sub>, XXV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 —, Gulf of 64  
 İzmir (T.), Smyrna (Gk.) 31, 53, 57-60, 79, 85, XII-B<sub>2</sub>, XIII-B<sub>3</sub>, XIV-C<sub>2</sub>, XVI-B<sub>3</sub>, XXV-A<sub>2</sub>  
 İznik (T.), Nicaea (Gk.) 35, 36, 57, 61, 64, 125, IX-B<sub>2</sub>, X-C<sub>2</sub>, XII-C<sub>2</sub>, XIII-C<sub>2</sub>, XVI-C<sub>3</sub>, XX-A<sub>1</sub>, XXV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 —Gölü IX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 İznikmid: see İznikmid  
 İzvornik (T.), Zvornik (Sl.) XXVI-A<sub>1</sub>  
 — S. 138, XXVIII-BC<sub>1</sub>
- Jabar XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Jabla XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 — S. XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Jadiska XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>  
 Jaffa XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Jajce 71, 90, 91, 115, 137, XIII-A<sub>1</sub>, XVI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXVIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>  
 (see Yayçe)  
 Jaroslaw 97, XVI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-C<sub>1</sub>, XXX-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Jasenovac XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>  
 Jaşsan XXXII-C<sub>3</sub>  
 Jassy 111, XVI-C<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-E<sub>2</sub>  
 Jawf XXXIV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Jayzân XXXIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Jazâ'ir 108  
 (see Cezayir)  
 Jazira[t Ibn 'Umar] (A.), Cizre (T.) 103, XXXII-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Jazzân XXXIII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Jeil Sultan XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Jemmal XXXVI-E<sub>1</sub>  
 Jengula XXXII-C<sub>3</sub>  
 — S. XXXII-C<sub>3</sub>  
 Jenö XXIX-C<sub>2</sub>  
 — S. XXIX-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Jerba 108, 117, XXI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-A<sub>2</sub>, XXXVI-E<sub>2</sub>  
 Jerid XXXVI-E<sub>2</sub>  
 Jerusalem 105, XX-A<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>, XXXIV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 (see Quds)  
 — S. XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Jezero 91, XVI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXVIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>  
 Jidda (A.), Cidde (T.) 106, 127, 142, XXI-C<sub>3</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XXIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Jijeli 108, XXI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-A<sub>2</sub>, XXXVI-D<sub>1</sub>  
 Jirja XXXIV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Jisr b. Ya'qûb XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Jîza (A.), Gîzeh 142  
 Jubayl 141, XXXIII-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Judenberg 92, XVIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Jufa XXXVI-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Julfa XXXI-C<sub>3</sub>, XXXII-C<sub>1</sub>  
 Jumbo 143, XXIII-C<sub>1</sub>
- Jun 'Akkâr XXXIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Jüniya XXXIII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Jurjura Mts. 107, XXXVI-C<sub>1</sub>
- Kabylia 16, 108, XXIII-A<sub>2</sub>, XXXVI-CD<sub>1</sub>  
 Kadıköy (T.), Chalcedon (Gk.) IX-A<sub>1</sub>, XXV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Kadirga Limanı 84  
 Kaffa 96, 127, XIII-D<sub>1</sub>  
 (see Kefe)  
 Kağızman XXXI-B<sub>3</sub>  
 Kâhta 28, 56, 105, VI-C<sub>2</sub>, X-D<sub>3</sub>, XX-B<sub>1</sub>, XXV-D<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Kakheti 119, 129, 140, XXI-C<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXXI-C<sub>2</sub>, Kakhi XXXI-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Kalamata 86, 87, XIV-A<sub>3</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Kalavrita (T.), Kalavryta (Gk.) XIV-A<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>2</sub>, Kalavryta 86, XIV-A<sub>2</sub>, XVI-B<sub>3</sub>  
 (see Kalavrita)  
 Kalecik 61, XIII-C<sub>2</sub>, XXV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Kale-i-Kili XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 (= Kili)  
 Kale-i Sultanîye 84, XVI-B<sub>3</sub>, XXV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 (= Çanakale)  
 Kalimnoz (T.), Kalymnos (Gk.) XIV-C<sub>3</sub>  
 Kalitra XIII-C<sub>1</sub>  
 Kalkandelen XXVI-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Kallipolis: see Gelibolu  
 Kalolimne 38, VIII-C<sub>1</sub>, IX-A<sub>1</sub>  
 (see İmralı)  
 Kalusz XXIX-D<sub>1</sub>  
 Kalymnos VIII-B<sub>3</sub>, XIV-C<sub>3</sub>  
 (see Kalimnoz)  
 Kamarân Is. XXXIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Kamengrad XXVIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Kaminiac XVI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-D<sub>1</sub>, XXX-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Kanczuga 97, XVI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-C<sub>1</sub>  
 Kandıra (T.), Kandora (Gk.) 38, VIII-C<sub>1</sub>, IX-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Kandora IX-B<sub>1</sub>  
 (see Kandıra)  
 Kângırî: see Çankırı  
 Kaniev XXX-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Kanije (T.), Kanizsa (Hung.) E. 125, 127, 129, XXIV, XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>, 3  
 Kanina 69, XV-A<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-A<sub>2</sub>  
 — V. XV-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Kanizsa 116, 127, XXIII-A<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 (see Kanije)  
 — S. XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Kapı Dağı XXV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Kápolna XXIX-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Kapornak XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Kaposvár XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Karaağaç 52, VIII-C<sub>2</sub>, X-C<sub>3</sub>, XXV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 (= Şarkî Karaağaç)
- Karabağ 41, 102, 104, 112, 120, 140, XX-C<sub>1</sub>, XXI-C<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-BC<sub>1</sub>, XXXI-CD<sub>3</sub>, XXXII-C<sub>1</sub>  
 Karaburun 61, VIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XIII-B<sub>3</sub>  
 Karacahisar (T.), Melangeia (Gk.) 36 IX-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Karacaşehir XXV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Karacasu VIII-B<sub>3</sub>  
 Karacaviran XXV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Karád XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Kara Dağ [in Mesopotamia] XXXII-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Karadağ (T.), Crnagora (Sl.), Montenegro (It.) 91, 131, XXVIII-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Karadeniz-Ereğlisi 52  
 (see Ereğli III)  
 Karaferye (T.), Beroia (Gk.) XVI-B<sub>3</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Karahisari-Sahib 30 (see Afyonkarahisar)  
 Karaman 18, 30, 32, 33, 40, 46, 51, 52, 54, 57-63, 73, 75-80, 82, 107, 114, VII-C<sub>3</sub>, VIII-D<sub>3</sub>, X-C<sub>3</sub>, XII-C<sub>2</sub>, XIII-C<sub>3</sub>, XVI-CD<sub>3</sub>, XIX  
 — town: see Lârende  
 — E. 62, 125, 127, 137, XXIV, XXV-BC<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Karamürsel 38, IX-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Karand XXXII-C<sub>2</sub>  
 — S. XXXII-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Karánsebes XXIX-C<sub>3</sub>  
 Karapınar XXV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Karasi[-eli] 29, 30, 33, 38, 39, 52, 58, 59, 76, VII-A<sub>2</sub>, VIII-B<sub>2</sub>, IX-A<sub>2</sub>, X-B<sub>2</sub>  
 — S. 125, XXV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Karasu Yenicesi 42  
 (= Yenice-i Karasu)  
 Kratekin 37, IX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Karbalâ 111, XXXII-B<sub>3</sub>, XXXIV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Kargandede 103, XX-B<sub>1</sub>, XXXII-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Kargî XXV-C<sub>1</sub>  
 Karin 109, XXVIII-A<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Karınabad: see Karınova  
 Karınova/Karınabad (T.), Karnobad 43, 50, 63, X-B<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Karitena (T.), Karytaina (Gk.) XIV-A<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Karkar 80, XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 — S. XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Karlı-eli (T.), Akarnania (Gk.) 86, XXVI-A<sub>2</sub>  
 — S. 137  
 Karlócza: see Karlovci  
 Karlovac XXIX-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Karlovci (Sl.), Karlócza (Hung.), Karlowitz (Ge.) XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>  
 Karlowitz 21, 49  
 (see Karlovci)  
 Karnobad: see Karınova  
 Karpathos XIV-C<sub>3</sub>  
 (see Kerpe)  
 Karpension XIV-A<sub>2</sub>

- Karpuzlu XXV-A2  
 Kars [in Dulkadir E.] X-D3, XIII-D3, XVI-D3, XXV-C2  
 — S. XXV-C2  
 — [in Armenia] 102, 112, 120, XXI-C2, XXIII-B1, XXXI-B2, 3, XXXII-B1  
 — E. 127, XXIV, XXX-C2, XXXI-B2, 3  
 Kartal 64, IX-A1, XIII-C2  
 Kartli 119, 120, 140, XXI-C2, XXIII-B1  
 Karystos 85, VIII-A2, X-B3, XIV-B2  
 (see Kızılhisar)  
 Karytaina 86, 87, XIV-A2  
 (see Karitena)  
 Kaschau XXIX-C1  
 Kashgaria 23, III  
 Kashira XXX-B1  
 Kashmir III, XXI-D2  
 Kasimov 24, 95, XXX-B1  
 (= Gorodets)  
 Kasos XIV-C3  
 Kassandra, Peninsula of 64, XIII-B2  
 Kastamonu/Kastamoni (T.), Kastamone (Gk.) 18, 26, 27, 29, 31-33, 49, 50, 53, 55, 57, 61, 62, 77, 114, VI-B1, VII-C1, VIII-D1, X-C2, XIII-C2, XVI-C2, XXV-B1  
 — S. 137, X-CD2, XII-C1, 2, XIII-C2, XXV-BC1  
 Kastoria 45, 67, X-A2  
 (see Kesriye)  
 Kastri 65, 87, XIII-B3, XIV-A3  
 Kastriemonon 86  
 Kastritsa 86  
 Katakolon 87  
 Katlabukh 95, XVI-C2, XXIX-E3  
 Kavala 44, 63, XIV-B1  
 Kavarna 73, XIII-B1, XXIX-E3  
 Kawkabān XXXIV-B2  
 Kayseri (T.), Caesarea (Gk.), Kayseriye (older T.) 26, 29, 30, 33, 37, 55-57, 62, 79, 83, 101, 104, 114, VI-C2, VII-C2, VIII-E2, X-D3, XII-D2, XIII-D2, XVI-D3, XX-B1, XXI-B2, XXIII-B2, XXV-C2, XXXII-A1  
 — S. 104, XXV-C2  
 Kayseriye: see Kayseri  
 Kayson 26, 27, VI-C2  
 Kaz Dağı (T.), Ida Mt. (Gk.) XXV-A1  
 Kazan 122, XXI-C1, XXIII-B1, XXX-C1  
 —, Khanate of 24, 95, 96, 121, 122, 132, III, XXI-C1, XXX-C1  
 Kea VIII-A2  
 Keçiborlu (T.), Sublaion (Gk.) 27, VIII-C2, XII-C2, XXV-B2  
 Keçivan XXXI-B3  
 Kedağara, now Vezirköprü XXV-C1  
 el-Kef XXXVI-E1  
 Kefe (T.), Kaffa 77, 96, 102, 122, 134, XVI-D2, XXI-B1, XXIII-B1, XXX-B2  
 — E. 127, XXIV, XXX-B2, XXXI-A1  
 — S. 96, 137, 139  
 Kékkö XXIX-B2  
 Kelkit XXV-D1, XXXI-A3  
 Kemah 28, 56, 81, 102-4, VI-C1, X-D2, XII-D2, XVI-D3, XX-B1, XXI-C2, XXV-D1, XXXI-A3, XXXII-A1  
 Kemaliye: see Eğin  
 Kemer [W. coast of Anat.] VIII-B2, XXV-A1  
 — [S. coast of Anat.] VIII-C3  
 Kenyermezö 93, XVI-B2, XXIX-D3  
 Keos 67, 68, XIV-B2  
 (= Zia)  
 Kerak-al-Shobak XXXII-A3  
 — S. XXXII-A3  
 Kerasus 31  
 (see Giresun)  
 Kerç (T.), Bosporo (It.), Kerch 96, 122, XIII-D1, XVI-D2, XXI-B1, XXIII-B1, XXX-B2, XXXI-A1  
 Kerch: see Kerç  
 Keresztes 112, 114, XXIX-C2  
 (see Haç Ovası)  
 Kerpe (T.), Karpathos (Gk.), Scarpanto (It.) XIV-C3  
 —, Cape XXV-B1  
 Kersun XXX-B2  
 Keşan VIII-B1, X-B2  
 Keşişdağı (older T.), Uludağ (T.), Mt. Olympus [of Bithynia] 37, IX-A2  
 Keskin 136  
 Kesriye (T.), Kastoria (Gk.) 68, X-A2, XXVI-A2  
 Kestel IX-B2  
 Kevele 78, XVI-C3  
 Khābūr R. XXXII-B2  
 — S. XXXII-B2  
 Khalil, Khalil al-Rahmān: see Hebron  
 Khānaqīn XXXII-C2  
 Khān Yūnis 105, XX-A2, XXXII-A3  
 Kharadros 26, VI-B2  
 Khārja Oasis XXXIV-A1  
 Khaskovo: see Hasköy  
 Khaybar: see Hārrat Khaybar  
 Kherson 96  
 (= Sevastopol)  
 Khertvisi XXXI-B2  
 Khiva, Khanate of 24, III, IV  
 Khokand, Khanate of 24  
 Khonai 18, 27, VI-A2  
 (see Honaz)  
 Khoy 102, 111, XX-C1, XXXI-C3, XXXII-C1  
 (see Hoy)  
 Khudāfarin XXXI-C3, XXXII-C1  
 Khulo XXXI-B2  
 Khurāsān 23, 101, XXI-CD2  
 Khūzistān XXXII-C3  
 Khwārazm, Empire of II  
 Kıbrıs (T.), Cyprus XXIII-B2, XXIV, XXV-B3  
 — E. 127, 137, XXIV, XXV-B2, 3, XXXII-A1, 2  
 — S. XXV-B3  
 Kıbrısçık XXV-B1  
 Kiev 95, 97, XVI-C1, XXI-B1, XXIII-B1, XXIX-E1, XXX-B1  
 Kiği 80, XVI-D3, XX-B1, XXV-D2, XXXI-B3, XXXII-B1  
 — S. XXXII-B1  
 Kili (T.), Kilis 93, 97, 122, XXIX-E3, XXX-B2  
 see also Kale-i Kili  
 Kilis 93, 94, XIII-C1, XVI-C2, XXI-B1, XXIX-E3  
 (see Kili)  
 Kilid ül-Bahr 84, XVI  
 Kilife XXIII-C2  
 Kilis [in Syria] 141, XXXII-A2  
 — (T.), Klis (Sl.) S. [in Dalmatia] 138, XXVIII-B1  
 Kilikis: see Avrathisar  
 Kimolos 67, XIV-B3  
 Kios 37, 38, IX-A2  
 (see Gemlik)  
 Kiprovac 114  
 Kıracoğa XXVI-A1  
 Kiraz XXV-A2  
 Kirchberg XXIX-A2  
 Kireli 79, 80, XVI-C3, XXV-B2  
 Krka (T.), Krka (Sl.) S. 138, XXVIII-A1  
 Kırkağaç (T.), Chliara (Gk.) VIII-B2  
 Kırk Dilim Dağı XXV-C1  
 Kırk-kilise, now Kırklareli 43, X-B2, XXVI-B1  
 — S. 137  
 Kirkük 103, XX-C2, XXI-C2, XXIII-B2, XXXII-C2  
 (see Kirkük)  
 — S. XXXII-C2  
 Kirkük (T.), Kirkük (A.) 128, XXXII-C2  
 Kirmān 23, 101, XXI-C2  
 Kirmānshāh XXXII-C2  
 Kirmasti (T.), Kremaste (Gk.) 39, VIII-B2, IX-A2, XXV-A1  
 Kırşehir 29, 56, 57, 61, 62, VII-C2, VIII-D2, X-D2, XII-C2, XIII-C2, XVI-C3, XXV-C2  
 — S. XXV-BC2  
 Kis-Komárom XXIX-B2  
 Kis Sebes XXIX-C2  
 Kısrawān 141, XXXIII-A1  
 Kiveri XIV-A2  
 Kızı Kirman XXX-B2  
 Kızıl Adalar IX-A1  
 Kızılbaş-Yenicesi (T.), Elkhovo (Sl.) 42, X-B2, XXVI-B1  
 Kızılca XXXII-C2  
 — S. XXXII-C2

- Kızılhisar (T.) [in Anatolia] VIII-C3  
 — XIV-B2, XXVI-B2  
 (= Karystos (Gk.))  
 Kızıl İrmak (T.), Halys R. (Gk.) 26,  
 28, 29, 38  
 Kızıl-Kaya XXV-B2  
 Kladanj XXVIII-C1  
 Kladuva 131, XXIX-C3  
 Klagenfurt XVIII-A1, XXIX-A2  
 Klan XXIX-A3  
 Klarjeti 78, 140, XVI-D2, XXXI-B2  
 Klausenburg XXIX-D2  
 (see Cluj)  
 Klek XXVIII-B2  
 Klis XXVIII-B1  
 (see Kilis)  
 Klisura V. XV-B1, 2  
 Ključ 90, XVI-A2, XXVIII-B1,  
 XXIX-B3  
 Klobouk XXIX-B1  
 Klobuk 90, XVI-A2, XXVIII-B2  
 Klöch XXIX-A2  
 Klosterneburg XXIX-A2  
 Knin 91, XVI-A2, XXVIII-B1,  
 XXIX-A3  
 Kobelsdorf XXIX-A2  
 Kocacık (T.), Svetigrad (Sl.) 69  
 Koca-eli 37, IX-BC1  
 — S. 39, 125, XXV-AB1  
 Kocahisar (T.), Trikokia (Gk.) 37  
 Koçhisar XXV-B1  
 Koisa 139, XXX-C2, XXXI-D2  
 Kokussos: see Göksum  
 Kolomea XVI-B1, XXIX-D1,  
 XXX-A2  
 Kolonna XXI-B1, XXIII-B1,  
 XXX-B1  
 Kolosz XXIX-D2  
 Koloveiro 43  
 Komorn 111, XXIX-B2  
 Komotene 42  
 (see Gümlüçine)  
 Koniç XXVI-A1  
 Konçe XXVI-A2  
 Konjice (Sl.), Gonobitz (Ge.) XXIX-  
 A2  
 Konya (T.), Iconium (Gk.) 21, 25, 27,  
 32, 37, 51-57, 62, 78-80, 101, 102,  
 111, 113, 114, VII-B2, VIII-D3,  
 X-C3, XII-C2, XIII-C3, XVI-C3,  
 XX-A1, XXV-B2  
 — S. XXV-B2  
 Konya Ereğlisi: see Ereğli I  
 Kopanica XXIX-B3  
 Koppány XXIX-B2  
 — S. XXIX-B2  
 Kopreinitz (Ge.), Koprivnica (Sl.)  
 92, XVI-A1, XVIII-B2, XXIX-  
 B2  
 Koprivnica: see Kopreinitz  
 Köprühisar IX-B2  
 Köprüköy XXXI-B3  
 Köprülü XXVI-B1  
 Köprü-su R. 52, X-C3  
 Kopyczincz XXIX-D1  
 Korça XV-B2  
 Kördüs: see Korintos  
 Korgos (T.), Korykos (Gk.) 79  
 Korintos (older T.), Corinth (Gk.),  
 Kördüs (later T.) XIV-A2, XXVI-  
 B2  
 Körmend XXIX-B2  
 Koron 50, 51, 65, 66, 86, 87, X-A3,  
 XII-B2, XIII-A3, XIV-A3,  
 XVI-B3, XXVI-B2  
 Korykos 58, 79, XII-C2, XIII-C3,  
 XVI-C3  
 (see Korgos)  
 Kos 84, VIII-B3, XIII-B3, XIV-C3,  
 XVI-B3  
 (see İstanköy)  
 Köse Dağ 28, VI-C1  
 Köşk VIII-B2, XXV-A2  
 Kosova (T.), Kosovo (Sl.): see  
 Kosovo  
 Kosovo 35, 41, 46, 48, 49, 59, 70-72,  
 74, 89, X-A2  
 — Polje 46, X-A2  
 (see Kosova)  
 Kostajnica XXVIII-B1, XXIX-A3  
 Köstendil (T.), Velbužd (Sl.) 44, 46,  
 50, X-A2, XXVI-B1  
 — S. 137  
 Kotaion 18, 26, 27, VI-A1  
 (see Kütahya)  
 Koturçay XXXI-C3, XXXII-C1  
 — S. XXXII-C1  
 Kotyora 31  
 (see Ordu)  
 Kovás XXIX-D2  
 Köyceğiz VIII-B3  
 Koyluca XXV-A1  
 Koyluhisar 61, 77, 80, XII-D2,  
 XIII-D2, XVI-D3, XXV-C1,  
 XXXI-A3  
 (= Koyunluhisar)  
 Köysancak XXXII-C2  
 — S. XXXII-C2  
 Koyunhisar (T.), Bapheus (Gk.) 37,  
 IX-B1  
 Koyunluca (T.), Seriphos (Gk.) XIV-  
 B3  
 Koyunluhisar: see Koyluhisar  
 Kozan 83  
 Kozarac XXVIII-B1  
 Kozlov 96, 134, 139, XVI-C2,  
 XXI-B1, XXXIII-B1, XXX-B2  
 (= Eupatoria)  
 Kozmin 97  
 Krapina XVIII-B2  
 Krasnik Mts. 68, XV-B1  
 Krasznahorka XXIX-C1  
 Kratova (T.), Kratovo (Sl.) XXVI-  
 B1  
 Kratovo 46, 48, X-A2  
 (see Kratova)  
 Krbava (Sl.), Corbavia (It.) XXVIII-  
 A1  
 Kremaste: see Kirmasti  
 Kreuzen 92, XVIII-B2  
 Kırım (T.), Crimea 122, III, IV,  
 XIII-CD1, XXIV, XXIX-E2,  
 XXX-B2  
 — Khanate 122, XXI-BC1, XXX-  
 B2, XXXI-AB1  
 Kris XXIX-A3  
 Krka: see Kırka  
 — R. XXVIII-AB1  
 Kronstadt 71, 89, XIII-B1  
 (see Brasov)  
 Kroya 45, 49, 68, 69, 88, 89, X-A2,  
 XIII-A2  
 (see Akçahisar)  
 Krupa XXVIII-AB1, XXIX-A3  
 Krupanj XXVIII-C1  
 Krupina XXIX-B2  
 Kruševac 71, 89, XIII-A1, XVI-B2  
 (see Alacahisar)  
 Kuba XXXI-D2  
 Kuban 120, 122, 123, 139, 140,  
 XXX-B2, XXXI-AB1  
 Küçük Çekmece 47, X-B2  
 Küçük-Kaynarca 21  
 Küdüs: see Jerusalem  
 Kuka XXXVI-C1  
 Kuko 107, 108, XXI-A2  
 Küüllövár XXIX-D2  
 Kula 31, 52, 61, VII-A2, VIII-C2,  
 X-B3, XXV-A2  
 Kulb XXXII-B1  
 Kulpa R. XVIII-B2, XXIX-A3  
 Kuluz (T.), Volos (Gk.), Volo: see  
 Volos  
 Kumanovo X-A2  
 Kunovitsa M. 73  
 Künye 139, XXV-D1, XXXI-B2  
 (= Gonya)  
 Kupa R. XXVIII-A1  
 Kupinovo 71, XIII-A1  
 Kupreš XXVIII-B1  
 Kurbağalı XXV-B1  
 Kurdistan 9, 13, 19, 103, 104, 111,  
 119, 130, 141, XXIII-B1, 2  
 Kurdlar Saray XXV-C1  
 Küre 61, XIII-C2, XXV-B1  
 Kuri 105, XX-B1  
 Kursk XXI-B1, XXIII-B1, XXX-  
 B1  
 Kurşunlu XXV-B1  
 Kuruçay XXV-D1, XXXI-A3  
 Kurveleş M. XV-AB3  
 Kuşadası VIII-B2  
 Kütahya (T.), Kotaion (Gk.) 17, 27,  
 29, 31, 37, 52, 57, 59, 61, 62, 68, 78,  
 101, 111, 112, 114, VII-B2, VIII-  
 C2, X-C2, XII-C2, XIII-C2,  
 XVI-C3, XX-A1, XXI-B2,  
 XXIII-B2, XXV-A1  
 — S. XXV-AB1, 2  
 Kutaisi XXXI-B1  
 Kuzıçan XXV-D2, XXXI-B3,  
 XXXII-B1  
 Kyme 60, XIII-B2  
 Kyparissia 86, XIV-A3  
 Kythera: see Çuha-adası

- Kythnos 68, XIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
(= Thermia)
- La Bastia 65
- Labbes, Km. of 107, XXI-A<sub>2</sub>,  
XXIII-A<sub>2</sub>
- Labwa XXXIII-B<sub>1</sub>
- Lâdik (T.), Laodicea (Gk.) [in Kara-  
man] XXV-B<sub>2</sub>  
— [in Sivas E.] XXV-C<sub>1</sub>  
— [near Denizli]: see Laodicea
- Ladyzhin XXIX-E<sub>1</sub>
- Laghwat XXXVI-C<sub>2</sub>
- Lagosta 70, XXVIII-B<sub>2</sub>
- La Goulette: see Hâlq al-Wâd
- Laḥj XXXIV-B<sub>2</sub>
- Laḥsa, Laḥsa XXIV  
(see al-Ḥasā)  
— E. 127, XXXIV-B<sub>1</sub>
- Lahtokasrı N. XV-B<sub>3</sub>
- Laibach 92, XVIII-B<sub>2</sub>  
(= Ljubljana)
- Lajjūn XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>  
— S. XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>
- Lamia: see İzdin
- Lampron 83  
(= Namrun)
- Lampsacus 37, 67  
(see Lâpseki)
- Lamu 143, XXIII-C<sub>2</sub>
- Laodicea [ad Lycum] 26, 27, VI-A<sub>2</sub>  
(see Lâdik)
- Lâpseki (T.), Lampsacus (Gk.) 67,  
XIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XXV-A<sub>1</sub>
- Lârende, now Karaman 32, 53, 54,  
57, 62, 79, VI-B<sub>2</sub>, VII-C<sub>3</sub>, VIII-  
D<sub>3</sub>, X-C<sub>3</sub>, XII-C<sub>2</sub>, XIII-C<sub>3</sub>,  
XVI-C<sub>3</sub>, XXV-B<sub>2</sub>
- Larisa 50, 114, VIII-A<sub>1</sub>, X-A<sub>2</sub>,  
XIV-A<sub>1</sub>  
(see Yenişehir)
- Latakia XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
— S. XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>
- Lebanon 13, 105, 114, 130, 132, 141,  
XXXIV  
— M. 105, 141, XX-AB<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-  
B<sub>2</sub>, XXXIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
(= Sulṭān al-Barr)
- Lecce 99, XVI-A<sub>2</sub>
- Lefke (T.), Leukas (Gk.) 29, 36, 37,  
VIII-B<sub>1</sub>, VIII-C<sub>2</sub>, IX-B<sub>2</sub>, X-C<sub>2</sub>,  
XXV-B<sub>1</sub>
- Lefkoşe XXV-B<sub>3</sub>
- Lehistan (T.), Poland XXIV
- Leitsch XVIII-A<sub>2</sub>
- Lemberg XVIII-B<sub>1</sub>
- Lemnos 47, 48, 64, 67, 84, VIII-B<sub>2</sub>,  
X-B<sub>2</sub>, XIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XIV-B<sub>1</sub>  
(see Limni)
- Leondari 51, 66, 86, X-A<sub>3</sub>, XIII-A<sub>3</sub>,  
XIV-A<sub>3</sub>  
(= Veligosti)
- Lepanto 67, 68, 87, 118, X-A<sub>3</sub>, XII-  
B<sub>2</sub>, XIII-A<sub>2</sub>, 3, XIV-A<sub>2</sub>, XVI-B<sub>3</sub>  
(see İnebahtı)
- Lerin: see Filôrina
- Leros VIII-B<sub>3</sub>, XIV-C<sub>3</sub>  
(see İleros)
- Leş 89, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>  
(see Alessio)
- Lesbos 45, 67, 75, 84, 85, 108,  
VIII-B<sub>2</sub>, X-B<sub>2</sub>, 3, XIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XIV-  
C<sub>1</sub>  
(see Midilli)
- Lesina 70, XXVIII-B<sub>2</sub>
- Leskofça XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>
- Leukas IX-B<sub>2</sub>  
(see Lefke)  
— 65, 86  
(see Aya Mavra)
- Leuktron 86, XIV-A<sub>3</sub>
- Léva XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>
- Liaparia 131
- Libya 105
- Lichtenwald XVIII-B<sub>2</sub>
- Lika R. XXVIII-A<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-A<sub>3</sub>
- Likhi Mts. XXXI-BC<sub>2</sub>
- Lilienfeld XXIX-A<sub>2</sub>
- Limni (T.), Lemnos (Gk.) 84, 85,  
XIV-B<sub>1</sub>, XVI-B<sub>3</sub>
- Limnia 31
- Linz XXIX-A<sub>2</sub>
- Lippa XXIX-C<sub>3</sub>  
— S. XXIX-C<sub>3</sub>
- Listrina 86, XIV-A<sub>2</sub>
- Litāni R. XXXIII-A<sub>2</sub>
- Lith XXXIV-B<sub>2</sub>
- Lithuania 95, 97, 98, 109, 132, 139,  
XII-C<sub>1</sub>, XVI-BC<sub>1</sub>, XXI-B<sub>1</sub>  
(See also: Poland-Lithuania)
- Livadia 65, 66, VIII-A<sub>2</sub>, X-A<sub>3</sub>,  
XIV-A<sub>2</sub>  
(see Livadiya)
- Livadiya (T.), Livadia (Gk.) XIV-  
A<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>2</sub>
- Livny XXX-B<sub>1</sub>
- Ljubetz XXX-B<sub>1</sub>
- Ljubinje XXVIII-C<sub>2</sub>
- Ljubljana: see Laibach
- Ljubuški XXVIII-B<sub>2</sub>
- Lofça XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>
- Loka XVIII-A<sub>2</sub>
- Lopadion 37, 39, IX-A<sub>2</sub>  
(see Ulubad)
- Lori 129, 140, XXXI-C<sub>2</sub>
- Lösenstein XXIX-A<sub>2</sub>
- Loznica IX-A<sub>1</sub>
- Lublin XXIX-C<sub>1</sub>, XXX-A<sub>1</sub>
- Lüblüce 37, IX-A<sub>2</sub>
- Luck XXX-A<sub>1</sub>
- Lugos XXIX-C<sub>3</sub>
- Luhayya XXXIV-B<sub>2</sub>
- Lula 78  
(see Hişn al-Şaqāliba)
- Lüleburgaz (T.), Arkadiopolis (Gk.)  
39, 42, X-B<sub>2</sub>
- Lulon 79, XVI-D<sub>3</sub>  
(see Hişn al-Şaqāliba)
- Lüristān 141, XXIII-C<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-  
C<sub>3</sub>
- Lüttenberg XVIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-A<sub>2</sub>
- Lvov XVI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-D<sub>1</sub>, XXX-  
A<sub>1</sub>
- Lycia 25
- Ma'an XXI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>2</sub>,  
XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>, XXXIV-A<sub>1</sub>
- Ma'arrat an-Nu'mān XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
— S. XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>
- Macaristan (T.), Hungary XXIV
- Macedonia 21, 42, 44, 45, 48, 50,  
64, 70, 86, 88
- Machov, Banat of 49, X-A<sub>1</sub>
- Macin XXIX-E<sub>3</sub>
- Madenochoria 131
- Madina (A.), Medine (T.), Medina:  
see Medina
- Madīnat al-Fayyūm XXXV
- Magnesia 29  
(see Manisa)
- Mağoşa (T.), Famagusta XXV-B<sub>3</sub>
- Mahas XXXIV-A<sub>2</sub>
- Mahdiyya, Mahdia XXI-A<sub>2</sub>,  
XXXVI-E<sub>1</sub>
- Mahmūdābād XXXI-D<sub>3</sub>
- Mahmudiye XXXI-C<sub>3</sub>, XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>  
(= Hoşab)
- Maina, the Mainote Peninsula 66,  
86, 87, 113, 131, XIV-A<sub>3</sub>
- Majdan XXVIII-B<sub>1</sub>
- Makarska 91, XXVIII-B<sub>2</sub>
- Makhramion: see Assos
- Makka (A.), Mekke (T.), Mecca:  
see Mecca
- Makri 79  
(see Meğri)
- Makronesi XIV-B<sub>2</sub>
- Mākū XXXI-C<sub>3</sub>, XXXII-C<sub>1</sub>
- Malatya (T.), Melitene (Gk.) 26, 27,  
56, 82, 104, 105, VI-C<sub>2</sub>, VIII-E<sub>2</sub>,  
X-D<sub>3</sub>, XIII-D<sub>3</sub>, XVI-D<sub>3</sub>, XX-  
A<sub>1</sub>, XXV-D<sub>2</sub>, XXXI-A<sub>3</sub>,  
XXXII-A<sub>1</sub>  
— S. XXV-CD<sub>2</sub>
- Malâzgird (T.), Manzikert 24,  
XXXI-B<sub>3</sub>, XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>
- Malindi XXIII-C<sub>2</sub>
- Malkara 39, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>  
(see Muğalkara)
- Malta 118, XXI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-A<sub>2</sub>
- Maltepe (T.), Pelekanon (Gk.) 38,  
IX-A<sub>1</sub>
- Malwa 24, III
- Mamahatum XXV-D<sub>1</sub>, XXXI-B<sub>3</sub>
- Mamistra VI-C<sub>2</sub>
- Mamlük Emp. 58, 103, 105, VIII-  
E<sub>3</sub>, X-D<sub>3</sub>, XI, XII-D<sub>2</sub>, XIII-  
CD<sub>3</sub>, XIX
- Manastir (T.), Monastir/Bitola (Sl.)  
45, 111, X-A<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-A<sub>1</sub>
- Manavgat 32, 79, VIII-C<sub>3</sub>, X-C<sub>3</sub>,  
XVI-C<sub>3</sub>  
— çay R. 52
- Manbij XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
— S. XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>

- Mandalī XXXII-C<sub>3</sub>  
Mandalyat VII-A<sub>3</sub>  
Manfalūt XXXIV-A<sub>1</sub>  
— prov. 142, XXXIV-A<sub>1</sub>  
Manisa (T.), Magnesia (Gk.) 29, 33,  
VII-A<sub>2</sub>, VIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XXV-A<sub>2</sub>  
Maṣūriyya [in Mesopotamia]  
XXXII-C<sub>3</sub>  
— S. XXXII-C<sub>3</sub>  
— [in Egypt] XXXV  
Mantineia XIV-A<sub>2</sub>  
Manūfiyya XXXV  
— prov. 142, XXXV  
Manyas VIII-B<sub>2</sub>  
Manzikert 24, VI-D<sub>1</sub>  
— (see Malāzgard)  
Maraba XXXIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
Marand XXXI-C<sub>3</sub>, XXXII-C<sub>1</sub>  
Maraş (T.), Mar'ash (A.), Germani-  
cea (Gk.) 26, 27, 56, VI-C<sub>2</sub>,  
X-D<sub>3</sub>, XIII-D<sub>3</sub>, XVI-D<sub>3</sub>, XXV-  
C<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>1</sub>  
— E. 126, 127, 136  
— S. XXV-C<sub>2</sub>  
Mar'ash: see Maraş  
Marczali XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mardin 103, XX-B<sub>1</sub>, XXI-C<sub>2</sub>,  
XXXII-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mārib XXXIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
Maribor XVIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-A<sub>2</sub>  
Maritsa R. 40-42, 44, 45, 63, X-  
B<sub>2</sub>  
— (see Meriç)  
Mariwan XXXII-C<sub>2</sub>  
— S. XXXII-C<sub>2</sub>  
Marj Dābiq 105, XX-B<sub>1</sub>, XXXII-  
A<sub>2</sub>  
Marmara VIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XXV-A<sub>2</sub>  
— Isl. 64, VIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXV-A<sub>1</sub>  
— Denizi (T.), Sea of —, Pronon-  
tis 29, 32, 37, 38, 40, 43, 47, 52, 61,  
64, IX-A<sub>1</sub>  
— Ereğlisi: see Ereğli II  
Marmaris VIII-B<sub>3</sub>  
Maronea 44, X-B<sub>2</sub>  
Maros R. 93, XVI-B<sub>1</sub>, 2, XXIX-  
CD<sub>2</sub>, 3  
Maros Vásárhely XXIX-D<sub>2</sub>  
Marten 94, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXIX-D<sub>3</sub>  
Mártonos, XXIX-C<sub>3</sub>  
Maşawwa' 142, XXI-C<sub>3</sub>, XXIII-C<sub>1</sub>,  
XXXIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mascara XXXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
Mashgara XXXIII-A<sub>2</sub>  
Maşyaf XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
Mati R. XV-A<sub>1</sub>  
Matia Mts. 68, 69, XV-B<sub>2</sub>  
Matn XXXIII-A<sub>2</sub>  
Matrida 96, XIII-D<sub>1</sub>, XVI-D<sub>2</sub>  
Mawşil (A.), Musul (T.), Mosul: see  
Mosul, Musul  
Mayyāfāriqin: see Miyafarkın  
Mazagran XXXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
Mazaraki XV-B<sub>3</sub>  
Mazgard XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>  
Mazuna XXXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
—, prov. of XXXVI-BC<sub>1</sub>  
Meander R. 18, 26, 28-32, VI-A<sub>2</sub>  
Mecca 83, 106, 117, 126, 132, XXI-  
C<sub>3</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XXXIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
— (see Makka)  
Mecenkerd 133, XXXI-B<sub>3</sub>  
Mecidözü XXV-C<sub>1</sub>  
Medea 108, XXXVI-C<sub>1</sub>  
Mediana XXXVI-D<sub>1</sub>  
Medias 73, XIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-D<sub>2</sub>  
Medina 83, 106, 117, XXI-C<sub>3</sub>,  
XXIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XXXIV-B<sub>1</sub>  
— (see Madīna)  
Medine 127  
— (see also Medina)  
Medzhibozh XXIX-E<sub>1</sub>  
Meğri (older T.), Makri (Gk.), now  
Fethiye XVI-C<sub>3</sub>  
Mejed al-Bab XXXVI-E<sub>1</sub>  
Mejerdā R. XXXVI-E<sub>1</sub>  
Mekke 127  
— (see also Mecca)  
Melangeia 36, IX-C<sub>2</sub>  
— (see Karacahisar)  
Meleda XXVIII-B<sub>2</sub>  
Melilla 107, XXI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXXVI-A<sub>1</sub>  
Melitene 26, 27  
— (see Malatya)  
Melkhtitsa 73  
Melos 67, VIII-A<sub>3</sub>, XIV-B<sub>3</sub>  
Melrir, Shott XXXVI-D<sub>2</sub>  
Menavişe/Menekşe (T.), Monemva-  
sia: see Monemvasia  
Mendehorya XXV-A<sub>1</sub>  
Menderes (T.), Meander R.: see  
Meander  
Menekşe: see Monemvasia  
Menemen VIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XXV-A<sub>2</sub>  
Menkup (T.), Theodoros 78, 96,  
134, XIII-C<sub>1</sub>, XVI-C<sub>2</sub>, XXX-B<sub>2</sub>  
Menlik XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
Menteşe 4, 5, 28-34, 53, 54, 57, 59,  
60, 61, 78, 114, 136, VII-A<sub>3</sub>,  
VIII-BC<sub>3</sub>, X-BC<sub>3</sub>, XII-BC<sub>2</sub>,  
XIII-BC<sub>3</sub>  
— S. 137, XVI-C<sub>3</sub>, XXV-A<sub>2</sub>  
Merga XXXII-C<sub>2</sub>  
Meriç (T.), Ebros (Gk.), Maritsa (Sl.)  
R.: see Maritsa R.  
Mers el-Kebir 107, XXXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
Merv 101, 102, XXI-D<sub>2</sub>  
Merzifon (T.), Phazemon 31, 55, 114,  
VIII-E<sub>1</sub>, X-D<sub>2</sub>, XXV-C<sub>1</sub>  
Mesavlion 59  
Mesembria 43, 47, X-B<sub>2</sub>, XII-B<sub>1</sub>,  
XIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
— (see Misivri)  
Mesopotamia 13, 23, 103, 119, 120,  
134, 141  
Messenia 86  
Methone: see Modon  
Methymna XIV-C<sub>1</sub>  
— (see Molova)  
Metković XXVIII-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mezistre (T.), Mistra XIV-A<sub>3</sub>,  
XXVI-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mezö-Keresztes: see Keresztes  
Midilli (T.), Mitylene (Gk.), town  
XVI-B<sub>3</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>2</sub>  
— (T.), Lesbos (class. Gk.),  
Mitylene (later Gk.), island 84, 85,  
137, XIV-C<sub>1</sub>, XVI-B<sub>3</sub>, XXV-A<sub>1</sub>  
— S. 137, XXVI-B<sub>2</sub>  
Midye 43, X-B<sub>2</sub>  
Miğalkara (older T.), Malkara (T.)  
XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
Mihaliç (T.), Miletopolis (Gk.) 39,  
57, VIII-B<sub>2</sub>, IX-A<sub>2</sub>, XXV-A<sub>1</sub>  
Mikulince XXIX-D<sub>1</sub>  
Mila XXXVI-D<sub>1</sub>  
Milan 98, XI, XXI-A<sub>1</sub>, XXIII-A<sub>1</sub>  
Milâs (T.), Mylassa (Gk.) VII-A<sub>3</sub>,  
VIII-B<sub>3</sub>, X-B<sub>3</sub>, XII-B<sub>2</sub>, XXV-A<sub>2</sub>  
Milcov R. 94  
Miletopolis IX-A<sub>2</sub>  
— (see Mihaliç)  
Miletus 31, 32  
— (see Balat)  
Miliana 108, XXXVI-C<sub>1</sub>  
Mingrelia 128, 130, 140, XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>,  
XXX-C<sub>2</sub>, XXXI-B<sub>2</sub>  
Minya XXXIV-A<sub>1</sub>  
Miran XXXII-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mirdita 131, XV-AB<sub>1</sub>, 2  
Mişar 105, XX-B<sub>1</sub>  
Misinli 39, 42, X-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mısır (T.), Mişr (A.), Egypt E. 105,  
128, 142, XXIV, XXXIV-A<sub>1</sub>  
Misis XXV-C<sub>2</sub>  
Misivri (T.), Mesembria (Gk.) 43,  
64, 84, XVI-C<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
Mistra 66, 86, 87, X-A<sub>3</sub>, XIII-B<sub>3</sub>,  
XIV-A<sub>3</sub>, XVI-B<sub>3</sub>  
— (see Mezistre)  
—, prov. of 40, 47, 51, 65, 84,  
VIII-A<sub>2</sub>, 3, XII-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mitrovica (Sl.), Mitrowitz (Ge.) 49,  
90, 92, X-A<sub>1</sub>, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>  
Mitrowitz: see Mitrovica  
Mitylene, town XIV-C<sub>1</sub>  
—, island: see Lesbos  
— (see Midilli)  
Miyafarkın (T.), Mayyāfāriqin (A.)  
103, XX-B<sub>1</sub>, XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>  
— S. XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>  
Miyāne XXXII-C<sub>2</sub>  
Mocha XXI-C<sub>3</sub>, XXIII-C<sub>1</sub>,  
XXXIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
Modon 50, 51, 65, 66, 86, 87, X-A<sub>3</sub>,  
XII-B<sub>2</sub>, XIII-A<sub>3</sub>, XIV-A<sub>3</sub>,  
XVI-B<sub>3</sub>  
— (see Moton)  
Modrene 37, IX-C<sub>2</sub>  
— (see Mudurnu)  
Modruš 92, XVI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXIX-A<sub>3</sub>  
Mogadishu 143, XXIII-C<sub>1</sub>  
Mogul Empire XXI-D<sub>2</sub>  
Mohács 111, 112, 115, XXI-B<sub>1</sub>,  
XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>

- Mohács S. XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>  
Mokráni Em. 107  
Mokrea 69, 88, XV-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mokshany XXX-C<sub>1</sub>  
Moldavia 19, 72, 75, 93-98, 109, 111, 122, 128, 130-3, 138, 139, X-B<sub>1</sub>, XII-B<sub>1</sub>, XIII-BC<sub>1</sub>, XVI-C<sub>1</sub>, XIX, XXI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-DE<sub>2</sub>, XXX-AB<sub>2</sub>  
    (see Boğdan)  
Molodi XXI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
Molova (T.), Methymna (Gk.) XXVI-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mombasa 118, 143, XXIII-C<sub>2</sub>  
Monastir [in Tunisia] XXI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXXVI-E<sub>1</sub>  
    — [in Macedonia] 45  
    (see Manastır)  
Moncastro 72, 93, 96  
    (see Ak-kirman)  
Monemvasia 51, 83, 86, 87, 115, VIII-A<sub>3</sub>, X-A<sub>3</sub>, XIV-A<sub>3</sub>, XVI-B<sub>3</sub>  
    (see Menavişe)  
Mongolia 22, 23  
Montenegro 68, 69, 91, 130, 131, 137, XVI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXVIII-C<sub>2</sub>  
    (see Karadağ)  
Montpreis XVIII-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mór XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mora (T.), Morea, Peloponnesus  
    — E. 129  
    — S. 137, XXVI-B<sub>2</sub>  
Morača R. XV-A<sub>1</sub>  
Morava R. 63, 70  
Moravia 116  
Morea 45, 50, 51, 64-67, 75, 76, 85-87, 113, 129, 131, XIII-AB<sub>3</sub>  
    (see Mora)  
Moscow XXI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXX-B<sub>1</sub>  
    — [Grand-Duchy of] 95, 97, 122, XIX  
    (see Moskova)  
Moskova (T.), Moscow, Muscovy XXIV  
Mostaganem 108, XXXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
Mostar XXVI-A<sub>1</sub>, XXVIII-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mostenitsa 66  
Mosul 103, 128, XXI-C<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-B<sub>2</sub>  
    (see Mawşil)  
    — S. XXXII-B<sub>2</sub>  
Moton (T.), Methone (Gk.), Modon XIV-A<sub>3</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mötting 58, 73, 93, XII-A<sub>1</sub>, XIII-A<sub>1</sub>, XVI-A<sub>1</sub>, XVIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XXIX-A<sub>3</sub>  
Mtskheta XXXI-C<sub>2</sub>  
Mudanya IX-A<sub>2</sub>, XXV-A<sub>1</sub>  
Mudoniç (T.), Boudonitsa (med. Gk.), corresponding to the ancient Thermopylae XIV-A<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mudurnu (T.), Modrene (Gk.) 28, 31, 37, 38, 40, VII-B<sub>1</sub>, VIII-C<sub>2</sub>, IX-C<sub>2</sub>, X-C<sub>2</sub>, XXV-B<sub>1</sub>  
Muganlı XXXI-C<sub>2</sub>  
Mughān XXXI-D<sub>3</sub>  
Muğla VII-A<sub>3</sub>, VIII-B<sub>3</sub>, X-B<sub>3</sub>, XXV-A<sub>2</sub>  
Mukallā XXXIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mulua R. 143, XXXVI-A<sub>2</sub>  
Munkács XXIX-C<sub>2</sub>  
Munya XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>  
Mur R. 92, XVIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
Murány XXIX-C<sub>1</sub>  
Murom XXX-B<sub>1</sub>  
Mürted XIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mürted Ova XXV-B<sub>1</sub>  
Muş 111, XXXI-B<sub>3</sub>, XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>  
    — S. XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>  
Muscat 121, 142, XXI-D<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-C<sub>2</sub>, XXXIV-C<sub>1</sub>  
Muscovy 24, 109, 130, 139, XXI-BC<sub>1</sub>  
    (see Moskova)  
Musul XX-C<sub>1</sub>, XXXII-B<sub>2</sub>  
    (see Mawşil)  
    — E. 128, 141, XXIV, XXXII-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mut 79, XVI-C<sub>3</sub>, XXV-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mutnik XXIX-A<sub>3</sub>  
Muzaia XXXVI-C<sub>1</sub>  
Muzakiye N. XV-A<sub>2</sub>  
Muzayrib XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>, XXXIII-B<sub>3</sub>  
Mykonos 67, XIII-B<sub>3</sub>, XIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mylasa: see Milās  
Myriokephalon (Gk.), Çardak (T.) 26, VI-B<sub>2</sub>  
Mysia 29  
Nabaṭiyya XXXIII-A<sub>2</sub>  
Nabk XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>, XXXIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
Nāblus XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>  
    — S. XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>  
Nadin XXVIII-A<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-A<sub>3</sub>  
Nadir-Derbend P. 45  
Nádudvár XXIX-C<sub>2</sub>  
Naglazinze 49  
Nagy-Banya XXIX-D<sub>2</sub>  
Nagy-Kálló XXIX-C<sub>2</sub>  
Nagylak XXIX-C<sub>3</sub>  
Nagy Olosz (Hung.), Francovilla 49, X-A<sub>1</sub>  
Nagyvárad: see Várad  
Nahçivan (T.), Nakhichevan 101, 112, 120, 129, 140, XXXI-C<sub>3</sub>, XXXII-C<sub>1</sub>  
Nahr al-Kalb XXXIII-A<sub>2</sub>  
Najaf XXXII-C<sub>3</sub>, XXXIV-B<sub>1</sub>  
Najd 106, 121, XXXIV-B<sub>1</sub>  
Najrān XXXIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
Nakhichevan: see Nahçivan  
Nakhiduri XXXI-C<sub>2</sub>  
Nakşa (T.), Naxos (Gk.) XIV-B<sub>3</sub>  
Namfio (It.) Anaphe (Gk.) XIV-C<sub>3</sub>  
Namrun 83, XVI-D<sub>3</sub>  
    (= Lampron)  
Naples, Km. of 65, 79, 85, 98, 99, XVI-A<sub>2</sub>, XIX, XXI-AB<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-A<sub>1</sub>  
Napoli 65, 83, 87, 115, VIII-A<sub>2</sub>, X-A<sub>3</sub>, XIII-B<sub>3</sub>, XIV-A<sub>2</sub>, XVI-B<sub>3</sub>  
    (see Anabolu)  
Narda (T.), Arta (Gk.) XXVI-A<sub>2</sub>  
Narenta R. 91, XXVIII-BC<sub>1</sub>, 2  
    —, Castle of 91  
Narman XXXI-B<sub>3</sub>  
Našice XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>  
Nāšira (A.), Nazareth: see Nazareth  
Naupactus 87  
    (see İnebahtı)  
Nauplia: see Anabolu, Napoli  
Nausa 67  
Navarino 66, 87, XIII-A<sub>3</sub>, XIV-A<sub>2</sub>  
    (see Anavarin)  
Naxos VIII-A<sub>3</sub>, X-B<sub>3</sub>, XII-B<sub>2</sub>, XIII-B<sub>3</sub>, XIV-B<sub>3</sub>, XVI-B<sub>3</sub>  
    —, Duchy of 40, 67, 84, 85, 130, 132, 138, VIII-A<sub>3</sub>, X-B<sub>3</sub>, XIV-B<sub>3</sub>  
    (see Nakşa)  
Nazareth XXXIII-A<sub>3</sub>  
    (see Nāšira)  
Nazilli 4, 32, VII-A<sub>2</sub>, VIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XXV-A<sub>2</sub>  
Neapolis XIV-A<sub>3</sub>  
    (= Vatika)  
Nedeljanec 92  
Nefta XXXVI-D<sub>2</sub>  
Negotino 131  
Negroponte 50, 65-67, 75, 84, 85, 87, 98, VIII-A<sub>2</sub>, X-AB<sub>3</sub>, XIII-B<sub>2</sub>, 3, XIV-AB<sub>2</sub>  
    (see Eğriboz)  
Nemea 86, XIV-A<sub>2</sub>  
Nemçe (T.), the Austrian Empire (Sl. Nemec = German) XXIV  
Nemirov XXIX-E<sub>1</sub>  
Neocaesarea VI-C<sub>1</sub>  
    (see Niksar)  
Neugrad: see Nógrád  
Neuhäusel 129, XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
    (see Uyvar)  
Neokastron 86  
Neopatras 51, X-A<sub>3</sub>, XIV-A<sub>2</sub>  
    (see Badracık)  
Netherlands, Spanish XXIII-A<sub>1</sub>  
Neuhaus XXIX-A<sub>2</sub>  
Neumarkt XVIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
Neu-Zerin XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
Nevesinje XXVIII-C<sub>2</sub>  
Nevrokop XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
Nicaea 25, 27, 35-38, VI-A<sub>1</sub>, VII-B<sub>1</sub>, VIII-C<sub>2</sub>, IX-B<sub>2</sub>  
    (see İznik)  
Nicomedia 37, 38, VI-A<sub>1</sub>, VII-B<sub>1</sub>, VIII-C<sub>1</sub>, IX-B<sub>1</sub>  
    (see İzmid)  
    —, Gulf of 38  
Nicopolis 41, 46-51, 55, 60, 63, X-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-D<sub>3</sub>  
    (see Niğbolu)  
    —, Little 49

- Nif (T.), Nymphaion (Gk.) 31, 33, 60, VII-A<sub>2</sub>, VIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XIII-B<sub>3</sub>
- Niğbolu (T.), Nicopolis (Gk.) 46, 48, 72, 73, 93, XIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-D<sub>3</sub>
- S. 60, 137, XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>
- Niğde (T.), Tyana (Gk.) 27, 33, 54, 62, VI-B<sub>2</sub>, VII-C<sub>3</sub>, VIII-D<sub>3</sub>, X-D<sub>3</sub>, XIII-C<sub>3</sub>, XVI-D<sub>3</sub>, XX-A<sub>1</sub>, XXV-C<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>1</sub>
- S. XXV-C<sub>2</sub>
- Nihāvand XXXII-C<sub>2</sub>
- Niketiatos 38  
(see Eskihisar)
- Nikolsburg XXIX-B<sub>1</sub>
- Nikonias 27  
(see Çorum)
- Niksar (T.), Neocaesarea (Gk.) 56, 58, 60, 80, VI-C<sub>1</sub>, VIII-E<sub>2</sub>, X-D<sub>2</sub>, XII-D<sub>2</sub>, XVI-D<sub>3</sub>, XX-B<sub>1</sub>, XXV-C<sub>1</sub>
- Nile R. 104, 105  
— delta: see Delta of the Nile
- Nio 67, XIV-B<sub>3</sub>  
(see Ine)
- Niš (T.), Niš (Sl.) 41, 45, 59, 63, 70, 73, 89, 111, X-A<sub>1</sub>, XII-B<sub>1</sub>, XIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>
- Nisava R. 63
- Nisyros VIII-B<sub>3</sub>, XIV-C<sub>3</sub>  
(see İncirli)
- Nizhni Novgorod XXX-C<sub>1</sub>
- Njegus 69
- Nogeric 137
- Nógrád (Hung.), Novigrad (T.), Neugrad (Ge.) 116, XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
— S. 138, XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>
- Nona 92, XVI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXVIII-A<sub>1</sub>
- Nova XXVI-A<sub>1</sub>  
(see Hersek-nova)
- Novabirda (T.), Novo Brdo (Sl.) XVI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-A<sub>1</sub>
- Novgorod-Seversk XXI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXX-B<sub>1</sub>
- Novigrad [in Bosnia] XXVIII-A<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-A<sub>3</sub>  
— [in Slovenia] XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>  
— [in Hungary]: see Nógrád
- Novo Brdo 71, 89  
(see Novabirda)
- Novo Mesto (Sl.), Rudolphswerth (Ge.) 73
- Nubia 121
- Nukha XXXI-C<sub>2</sub>  
(= Sheki)
- Nusaybin 103, XX-B<sub>1</sub>, XXXII-B<sub>2</sub>  
— S. XXXII-B<sub>2</sub>
- Nyiregyháza XXIX-C<sub>2</sub>
- Nyitra XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
— R. XXIX-B<sub>1</sub>
- Nymphaion 31  
(see Nif)
- Nyssa 28, VII-A<sub>2</sub>  
(see Sultanhisar)
- Ober-Drau Tal 92, XVIII-A<sub>1</sub>
- Ober-Laibach XVIII-A<sub>2</sub>
- Obertin XXIX-D<sub>1</sub>
- Obrovač XXVIII-A<sub>1</sub>
- Obrovác XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>
- Oczakow 128, 139, XXI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXX-B<sub>2</sub>  
(see Özü)
- Odayev XXX-B<sub>1</sub>
- Ofen 111, XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
(see Budin)
- S. XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>
- Ogras 50
- Ohri (T.), Okhrida (Sl.) 45, 60, 68, X-A<sub>2</sub>, XIII-A<sub>2</sub>, XV-B<sub>2</sub>, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-A<sub>1</sub>  
— L. 69  
— S. 137, XXVI-A<sub>1</sub>
- Oka R. 95
- Okhrida 45  
(see Ohri)
- Olimos XXV-B<sub>3</sub>
- Olmütz XXIX-B<sub>1</sub>
- Olofça XXVI-A<sub>1</sub>
- Olovo XXXVIII-C<sub>1</sub>
- Olt R. 72, XXIX-D<sub>3</sub>
- Oltenia 72
- Olti XXXI-B<sub>3</sub>
- Mt. Olympus 37, IX-A<sub>2</sub>  
(see Keşişdağı)
- Ónod XXIX-C<sub>2</sub>
- Opatów 97, XVI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-C<sub>1</sub>
- Oradea: see Várad
- Oran 107, 108, XXI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-A<sub>2</sub>, XXXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
(see Wahrān)
- Orchei XXIX-E<sub>2</sub>
- Ordu (T.), Koryora (Gk.) 31, 55, VIII-E<sub>1</sub>, X-D<sub>2</sub>, XXV-C<sub>1</sub>, XXXI-A<sub>2</sub>
- Ordubād XXXI-C<sub>3</sub>, XXXII-C<sub>1</sub>
- Orel XXX-B<sub>1</sub>
- Oreos 85, XIV-A<sub>2</sub>
- Orhaneli 37, IX-A<sub>2</sub>  
(see Edrenos)
- Or-kapı XXX-B<sub>2</sub>  
(= Perekop)
- Ormuz 121, 142, XXI-CD<sub>2</sub>, XXXIV-C<sub>1</sub>
- Oronin XXIX-D<sub>1</sub>
- Orontes R. XXXIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
(see 'Āsī)
- Oropos 66, XIV-B<sub>2</sub>
- Oros 131
- Orsova 73, 92, 115, 138, X-A<sub>1</sub>, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXIX-C<sub>3</sub>
- Ortahisar 79
- Ortakçı XXV-A<sub>2</sub>
- Ösek (T.), Eszék (Hung.), Osijek (Sl.), Esseg (Ge.): see Eszék
- Osijek: see Eszék
- Osimo 99, XVI-A<sub>2</sub>
- Oskol XXX-B<sub>1</sub>
- Osmancik 27, 54, 55, VI-C<sub>1</sub>, VII-C<sub>1</sub>, VIII-D<sub>1</sub>, X-D<sub>2</sub>, XXV-C<sub>1</sub>
- Osora, Banat of 71, 90, XIII-A<sub>1</sub>
- Ossiach L. XVIII-A<sub>1</sub>
- Ostrog XXX-A<sub>1</sub>
- Ostrovac XXVIII-A<sub>1</sub>
- Ostrovica 89, 90  
(see Sivricehisar)
- Ostrožac XXIX-A<sub>3</sub>
- Osum R. XV-AB<sub>2</sub>
- Otlukbeli 80, 98, XVI-D<sub>3</sub>, XXV-D<sub>1</sub>, XXXI-B<sub>3</sub>
- Otonete 69
- Otranto 75, 99, XVI-A<sub>3</sub>
- Oxus R. 23, 101
- Ozora XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>
- Özü (T.), Oczakow 128
- Pago XXVIII-A<sub>1</sub>
- Palaiomoukhli 86, XIV-A<sub>2</sub>
- Palamut XXV-A<sub>2</sub>
- Palatia: see Balat
- Palestine 17, 105, 141
- Palmyra XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
(see Tudmur)
- Palota XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>
- Palu 103, XX-B<sub>1</sub>, XXV-D<sub>2</sub>, XXXI-B<sub>3</sub>, XXXII-B<sub>1</sub>
- Panagyurishte 73
- Panaia 85  
(= Pyrrha)
- Panasion 27, VI-A<sub>2</sub>  
(see Banaz)
- Panaskirt XXXI-B<sub>2</sub>
- Panidos 39, 47, 64, VIII-B<sub>1</sub>, X-B<sub>2</sub>, XII-B<sub>2</sub>
- Pankota XXIX-C<sub>2</sub>
- Panormos: see Bandırma
- Pápa XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>
- Papal States XI, XVI-A<sub>2</sub>, XIX, XXI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-A<sub>1</sub>
- Paphlagonia 38
- Pappas, C. 87, XIV-A<sub>2</sub>
- Para (T.), Paros (Gk.) XIV-B<sub>3</sub>
- Paraul Alb 94  
(= Valea Alba)
- Parenthos 84
- Parga 65, 68, 83, 87, XIII-A<sub>2</sub>, XV-B<sub>3</sub>, XVI-B<sub>3</sub>
- Párkány XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>
- Parlais: see Barla
- Paros 67, VIII-A<sub>3</sub>, X-B<sub>3</sub>, XIV-B<sub>3</sub>  
(see Para)
- Partzaperd 82, XVI-D<sub>3</sub>
- Pasin (T.), Basiani 102, 139, XX-B<sub>1</sub>  
— Mts. XXXI-B<sub>3</sub>
- Pastrocchio 68
- Patara VI-A<sub>2</sub>
- Patmos VIII-B<sub>3</sub>, XIV-C<sub>2</sub>  
(see Batnos)
- Patras 65, 66, 86, 87, X-A<sub>3</sub>, XIII-A<sub>3</sub>, XIV-A<sub>2</sub>, XVI-B<sub>3</sub>, XXI-B<sub>2</sub>  
(see Balyabadra)
- Pavlo Kurtik V. XV-AB<sub>2</sub>
- Paxos XV-B<sub>3</sub>
- Payas 104, X-D<sub>3</sub>, XX-B<sub>1</sub>, XXV-C<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>

- Paypert 25  
     (see Bayburd)  
 Pazanike 86  
 Pazarçık [in Alanya S.] XXV-B2  
     — [in Maraş S.] XXV-C2,  
     XXXII-A2  
 Pazarköy [W. of İznik] XXV-A1  
     — [SE of Çanakkale] XXV-A1  
 Peç 90, XVI-B2  
     (see İpek)  
 Peçin VIII-B3  
 Pécs (Hung.), Fünfkirchen (Ge.)  
     XXIX-B3  
     — S. XXIX-B3  
 Pelekanon 38, IX-A1  
     (see Maltepe)  
 Pella 45  
     (see Vardar Yenicesi)  
 Pellene VIII-A1  
 Peloponnesus 40, 47, 65  
     (see Mora)  
 Pemba XXIII-C2  
 Pendik 64, IX-B1  
 Penek XXXI-B3  
 Peniaş XXXI-C3, XXXII-B1  
 Peñon d'Argel 108  
 Peñon de Velez XXI-A2, XXXVI-  
     A1  
 Perekop 96, 97, XVI-C2, XXI-B1,  
     XXIII-B1, XXX-B2  
     (= Or-kapı)  
 Perchtoldsdorf XXIX-A2  
 Pergamum 26, 32, VI-A1  
     (see Bergama)  
 Persia 17, 21, 23, 28, 29, 76, 80, 81,  
     95, 100-2, 104, 111-13, 119, 120,  
     122, 140, XVI-D3  
     (see also Iran)  
 Persian Gulf 106, 120, 142  
 Pertegrek 140, XXXI-B2  
 Pertek 133, XXV-D2, XXXI-A3,  
     XXXII-A1  
 Perušić XXVIII-A1  
 Pesaro 99, XVI-A2  
 Pest 111, XXI-B1, XXIII-B1,  
     XXIX-B2  
 Peterwardein 49, 111, X-A1  
     (see Petrovaradin)  
 Petralha XV-B2  
 Petrella 68, XV-A2  
 Petrinja XXIX-A3  
 Petronion 61  
     (see Bodrum)  
 Petrovac XXVIII-B1  
 Petrovaradin (Sl.), Peterwardein  
     (Ge.) XXI-B1, XXIX-B3  
 Petta XXIII-C2  
 Pettau 49, 111, XVIII-B1  
 Phanari [in Epirus] 65, 68, XIII-A2,  
     XV-B3  
     — [in Thessaly] XIV-A1  
     (see Fener)  
 Pharsala 51, X-A2, XIV-A1  
     (see Çatalca)  
 Phasis: see Faş  
     — R. 77  
 Phazemon 31  
     (see Merzifon)  
 Pheneus L. 86, XIV-A2  
 Pherrai VIII-B1  
     (see Ferecik)  
 Philadelphia 29, 31, 38, 47, 53, 54,  
     VI-A2, VII-A2, VIII-B2, X-B2  
     (see Alaşehir)  
 Philippopolis 42, VIII-B1, X-B2  
     (see Filibe)  
 Philokrene 38, IX-B1  
     (see Tavşancıl)  
 Philomelion 26, 27, VI-B2  
     (see Akşehir)  
 Phlios 86, XIV-A2  
 Phocaea [, Old] = Eski-Foça 25,  
     29, 33, 53, 67, 84, VI-A1, VII-A2,  
     VIII-B2, X-B3, XIV-C2  
     —, New = Yeni-Foça XIV-C2  
     (see Foça)  
 Phurni XIV-C2  
 Pianosa 99  
 Piatra-Neamţ XXIX-D2  
 Pınarhisar 42, 43, X-B2  
 Pindus Mts. 67, 131  
 Pirepolye (T.), Prijepolje (Sl.)  
     XXVI-A1  
 Piriştina (T.) Piriştina (Sl.) XXVI-A1  
 Pirlpe (T.) Prilep (Sl.) 45, X-A2,  
     XXVI-A1  
 Pirmaz VIII-C3  
 Pirot 46, X-A1  
     (see Şehirköy)  
 Pirzerin (T.), Prizren (Sl.), Vulpiani  
     89, XVI-B2, XXVI-A1  
     — S. 138, XXVI-A1  
 Piskopi (T.), Telos (Gk.) XIV-C3  
 Piteşti XXIX-D3  
 Planina XVIII-A2  
 Plataea 86  
 Platamon XIV-A1  
 Platana XXV-D1  
 Pljevlja XXVIII-C2  
 Ploesti XXIX-D3  
 Plošnik 45, X-A1  
 Plovdiv: see Filibe  
 Počiteli 91, XVI-A2, XXVIII-B2  
 Podgorač XXIX-B3  
 Podgorica XIII-A1, XV-A1, XVI-  
     A2, XXVIII-C2  
     (see Podgoriçe)  
 Podgoriçe (T.), Podgorica (Sl.)  
     XXVI-A1  
     (see Podgorica)  
 Podhajce XXIX-D1  
 Podima 43, X-B2  
 Podolia 126, 129  
 Podraznica XXIX-B3  
 Poimannenon VI-A1  
 Pojega (T.), Posega (Hung.), Požega  
     (Sl.) S. XXVIII-BC1  
 Pokucie 95, 97, XVI-B1, XXIX-D2  
     Pola XVIII-A2  
 Poland 95, 97, 98, 108, 109, 132, 133,  
     139, XVI-B1, XXI-B1, XXIII-B1,  
     XXIX-CD1  
     (see Lehistan)  
     — -Lithuania 93, 95, 99, 109, 132,  
     XI, XIX, XXX-AB1, 2  
     (see also: Lithuania)  
 Polinos XIV-B3  
 Polybotos 26, 27, VI-B2  
     (see Bolvadin)  
 Polydorion: see Burdur  
 Polykandros 68, VIII-A3, XIV-B3  
 Pomorzany XXIX-D1  
 Pontikokastron (Gk.), Belvedere (It.)  
     87  
 Popelnja XXIX-E1  
 Popovopolje XXVIII-BC2  
 Porsukçay IX-C2  
 Porto Farina XXXVI-E1  
 Portugal 99, XXI-A1, 2, XXIII-A1  
 Posega: see Požega  
 Poti 129, XXXI-B2  
     (see Faş)  
 Pottenstein XXIX-A2  
 Pozanti VI-B2  
 Požarevac XXIX-C3  
 Požega 49, 92, 109, 111, XVI-A2,  
     XXVIII-B1, XXIX-B3  
     (see Pojega)  
 Pozrednica 91  
 Pozsezsena 92, XXIX-C3  
     (= Báziás)  
 Pravadi 45, 70, X-B1, XXVI-B1  
     (= Provadia)  
 Predil P. XVIII-A1  
 Premedi XXVI-A2  
 Pressburg XXIX-B2  
 Preveza 115, 117, XIII-A2  
 Priboj XXVIII-C1  
 Prijepolje XXVIII-C2  
     (see Pirepolye)  
 Prilep 44, 45  
     (see Pirlpe)  
 Piriştina 48, 70, 89, X-A2, XVI-B2  
     (see Piriştina)  
 Prizren 44, 68, 89, X-A2, XV-B1  
     (see Pirzerin)  
 Prokoplje 45  
 Prolog, Tower of XXVIII-B1  
 Propontis 37, 47, VIII-BC1, IX-A1  
     (see Marmara Denizi)  
 Provadia 45  
     (= Pravadi)  
 Prozor XXVIII-B1  
 Prousa IX-A2  
     (see Bursa)  
 Pruth R. XVI-BC1  
 Pryene 29, VII-A2, VIII-B2  
     (see Samsun)  
 Przeworsk 97, XVI-B1, XXIX-C1  
 Psara 67, 84, 85, VIII-B2, XIV-B2,  
     XVI-B3  
 Pteleon 50, 65, 67, 85, 87, VIII-A2,  
     X-A3, XIII-B2, XIV-A2, XVI-  
     B3  
 Puka XV-B1

- Pusht-i Kūh 141, XXXII-C<sub>3</sub>  
 Putna R. 94, XVI-BC<sub>2</sub>, XXIX-E<sub>3</sub>  
 —, Prov. of 94  
 Putnok XXIX-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Pydna 48  
     (see Çitroz)  
 Pyrgion 29  
     (see Birgi)  
 Pyrgos: see Burgas  
 Pyrrha 85  
     (= Panaia)
- Qā' XXXIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Qabb Ilyās XXXIII-B<sub>2</sub>  
 al-Qābūn 113  
 Qafsa: see Gafsa  
 al-Qāhira XXXV  
     (see Cairo)  
 Qal'at Banī 'Abbās 107, XXXVI-D<sub>1</sub>  
 Qal'at Banī Rashīd 108  
 Qal'at al-Senam XXXVI-E<sub>1</sub>  
 Qalyūb 142  
 Qalyūbiyya XXXV  
 Qandahār XXI-D<sub>2</sub>  
 Qannūbin XXXIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Qāqūn XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Qara XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Qāsim XXXIV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Qaşr-i Shirīn 111, XXXII-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Qat XXI-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Qatanā XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Qatīf 121, 127, 142, XXIII-C<sub>2</sub>,  
     XXXIV-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Qāṭiyya 142  
     (= Qatya)  
 Qatrānī XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Qatya XXXIV-A<sub>1</sub>, XXXV  
     (= Qāṭiyya)  
 — prov. 142, XXXIV-A<sub>1</sub>,  
     XXXV  
 Qāwiyā 31  
 Qayrawān 107, XXI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-A<sub>2</sub>,  
     XXXVI-E<sub>1</sub>  
 Qazaniya XXXII-C<sub>3</sub>  
 — S. XXXII-C<sub>3</sub>  
 Qinā XXXIV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Qinnasrīn XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Quds (A.), Kudūs (T.), Jerusalem: see  
     Jerusalem  
 Qunaytira XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Qunfūdha XXXIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Qurna XXXII-C<sub>3</sub>  
 — S. XXXII-C<sub>3</sub>  
 Qūş XXXIV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Quşayr [in Egypt] XXI-B<sub>3</sub>, XXIII-  
     B<sub>2</sub>, XXXIV-A<sub>1</sub>  
 — [in Syria] XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Quṭayfa XXXIII-B<sub>2</sub>
- Raab XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
     (see Yanık)  
 Raab R. XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Raban 27  
 Rabensburg XXIX-B<sub>1</sub>
- B. Rabi'a S. XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Rača XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>  
 Racova R. 94  
 Rada XXXIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Radkersburg 73, XIII-A<sub>1</sub>, XVIII-B<sub>1</sub>,  
     XXIX-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Radomir XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Ragusa 44, 68, 70, 83, 98, 130, 132,  
     X-A<sub>2</sub>, XI, XII-A<sub>1</sub>, XIII-A<sub>1</sub>,  
     XVI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXIV,  
     XXVIII-C<sub>2</sub>  
     (see Dubrovnik)  
 Rahba XXXII-B<sub>2</sub>  
 — S. XXXII-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Rahova 93, 94, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXIX-D<sub>3</sub>  
 Rahoviç S. XXVIII-AB<sub>1</sub>  
 Rajputana XXI-D<sub>2</sub>  
 Rakka: see Raqqa  
 — E. 128, 141, XXV-D<sub>2</sub>, 3,  
     XXXII-AB<sub>2</sub>  
 Rakovica XXVIII-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Ramla XXXII-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Râmnicu-Sărat 94, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXIX-  
     E<sub>3</sub>  
 Rann XVIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XXIX-A<sub>3</sub>  
     (see Brežice)  
 Raqqa 28, 103, VI-C<sub>2</sub>, XX-B<sub>2</sub>,  
     XXI-C<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
     (= Rakka)  
 — S. XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Ra's al-'Ayn XXXIII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Ra's Ba'labakk XXXIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Ra's an-Nāqūra XXXIII-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Rasanza XXVIII-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Razboieni 94, XVI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-D<sub>2</sub>  
 Rashīd (A.), Rosetta XXXV  
 Rashkov XXIX-E<sub>2</sub>  
 Rawāndūz 141, XXXII-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Rawḍa 105  
 Raydāniyya 105, XX-A<sub>2</sub>, XXXV  
 Red Sea 14, 104-6, 118, 142  
 Red Tower P. XXIX-D<sub>3</sub>  
     (= Turmu Roşu)  
 Regensburg XXI-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Reggio XXI-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Reifnitz XVIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XXIX-A<sub>3</sub>  
 Resava 90, XXVI-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Revan (T.), Erivan: see Erivan  
 Rheneia XIV-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Rhion 87, XIV-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Rhodes 3, 33, 54, 64, 79, 83, 98, 99,  
     108, 111, 112, 115-17, VI-A<sub>2</sub>,  
     VII-A<sub>3</sub>, VIII-B<sub>3</sub>, X-B<sub>3</sub>, XII-C<sub>2</sub>,  
     XIII-B<sub>3</sub>, XIV-C<sub>3</sub>, XXI-B<sub>2</sub>,  
     XXIII-B<sub>2</sub>  
     — S. 137  
 Rhodope Mts. 42, 63, 137, X-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Riegersburg XXIX-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Rijeka (Sl.), Fiume (It.) XV-A<sub>1</sub>,  
     XXVIII-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Rinase XXVI-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Rinya R. XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>, 3  
 Rio Salado XXXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Rioni R. XXXI-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Risano 91, XVI-A<sub>2</sub>, XVIII-C<sub>2</sub>
- Ritzion 38, IX-B<sub>1</sub>  
     (see Darica)  
 Riva 47, X-C<sub>2</sub>  
 Rize XXV-D<sub>1</sub>, XXXI-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Rodoni C. XV-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Rodos (T.), Rhodes XIV-C<sub>3</sub>, XXV-  
     A<sub>2</sub>  
 Rodosçuk (older T.), Tekirdağ (T.),  
     Rodosto XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Rodosto 39, 47, VIII-B<sub>1</sub>, X-B<sub>2</sub>  
     (see Rodosçuk)  
 Rogatica XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>  
 Rohatyn XXIX-D<sub>1</sub>  
 Rohitsch XVIII-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Roman 95, XXIX-E<sub>2</sub>  
 Rome 84, 98, XXI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-A<sub>1</sub>  
 Rosen-Tal XVIII-AB<sub>1</sub>  
 Rosetta 105, XX-A<sub>2</sub>, XXXIV-A<sub>1</sub>,  
     XXXV  
     (see Rashīd)  
 Rottenmann 92, XVIII-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Roupele 86  
 Rovine 50  
 Rudnik [in Bosnia] 45, 89, 90, X-A<sub>1</sub>,  
     XVI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-A<sub>1</sub>  
 — [env. Kosovo] X-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Rudolphswerth 73, XIII-A<sub>1</sub>, XVIII-  
     B<sub>2</sub>  
     (see Novo Mesto)  
 Ruhā (A.), Urfā (T.), Edessa (Gk.)  
     103, XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
     — E. 128, 141  
 Rum, Km. of 4, 27, 79  
 — (= vilāyet-i Rum in NE  
     Anatolia) 27, 33  
 — [town on the Raab] 111,  
     XXXIX-B<sub>2</sub>  
 Rumahiya XXXII-C<sub>3</sub>  
     — S. XXXII-C<sub>3</sub>  
 Rumania 1, 19, 50, 93  
 Rumeli (T.), Rumelia 11, 17, 42, 44,  
     45, 59, 60, 63, 77, 136, 137, XIII-  
     B<sub>2</sub>, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>,  
     XXIV, XXVI  
     — E. 76, 125, 128, 129, 137, 138,  
     XXVII, XXIX-CD<sub>3</sub>, XXX-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Rumelia: see Rumeli  
 Rumeli-hisar 84, XVI  
 Rumkale 82, 105, XVI-D<sub>3</sub>, XX-B<sub>1</sub>,  
     XXV-C<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>  
 Rusçuk 93, 94, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>,  
     XXIX-D<sub>3</sub>  
 Rus-kasrı XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>  
 Russia 21, 23, 24, 96, 97, 109, 122,  
     130, 132, 133, 139, XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>,  
     XXX-BC<sub>1</sub>, XXXI-C<sub>1</sub>  
 Ryazan XXI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXX-  
     B<sub>1</sub>  
 Ryazhsk XXX-B<sub>1</sub>
- Şabac 90, 109, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXVIII-C<sub>1</sub>,  
     XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>  
     (see Böğürdelen)  
 Sabacz: see Şabac  
 Şabanözü XXV-B<sub>1</sub>

- Sabbioncello 70, XXVIII-B2  
 Şa'da XXI-C3, XXIII-C1, XXXIV-B2  
 Şafad XXXII-A3, XXXIII-A3  
 — S. XXXII-A3  
 Safranbolu VIII-D1, X-C2, XXV-B1  
 Sagalassus: see Ağlasun  
 Sağman XXXI-A3, XXXII-A1  
 J. Sahari XXXVI-C2  
 Şāhiliyya XXXII-B3  
 — S. XXXII-B3  
 Saïada 65, X-A2, XIII-A2, XV-B3  
 Şa'îd prov. 142, XXXIV-A1  
 Saint George 86  
 Sakarya (T.), Sangarios (Gk.) R. 31, 36-39, 125, IX-C1  
 Sakız (T.), Chios (Gk.) XIV-B2, XXV-A2  
 Saklan 78  
 Salamiyya XXXII-A2  
 — S. XXXII-A2  
 Salgôtarján XXIX-B2  
 Şālihiyya XXXV  
 Sāliyāne XXXI-D3  
 Salmenikon 86, XIV-A2  
 Salona (It., T.), Amphissa (Gk.) 51, 65, VIII-A2, X-A3, XIV-A2, XXVI-B2  
 —, County of 50, VIII-A2  
 Salonica 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, 63-66, 111, 113, 131, VIII-A1, X-A2, XII-B2, XIII-B2, XIV-A1  
 (see Selānik)  
 Salzburg, Archbishopric of XVIII-A1  
 Şam (T.), Shām (A.)  
 city: see Damascus  
 E. : 105, 128, XXIV, XXXII-A2, 3, XXXIV-AB1  
 Şamahu (T.), Shamākhā 101, 129, XXXI-D2  
 Samakov (T.), Samokov (Sl.) 44, 45, 59, VIII-A1, X-A2, XXVI-B1  
 Samandira 38, IX-B1, XXV-A1  
 Samanūd XXXV  
 Samara XXX-C1  
 Samarkand 60, 101, XXI-D1  
 Samastro VI-B1  
 (see Amasra)  
 Samāwa XXXII-C3, XXXIV-B1  
 — S. XXXII-C3  
 Sambor 97, XVI-B1, XXIX-C1, XXX-A1  
 Samokov: see Samakov  
 Samos 67, 84, VI-A2, VIII-B2, X-B2, XIII-B3, XIV-C2, XVI-B3  
 (see Sisam)  
 Samothrace 47, 48, 65, 67, 84, VIII-B1, X-B2, XIII-B2, XIV-B1  
 (see Semendirek)  
 Samovit 94, XXIX-D3  
 Samsat VI-C2, XXV-D2, XXXII-A2  
 — S. XXV-D2  
 Samsun (T.), Amisos (Gk.) 27, 31, 55, 61, VI-C1, VII-D1, VIII-E1, X-D2, XII-D1, XIII-D2, XVI-D2, XXV-C1  
 — (T.), Pryene (Gk.) VIII-B2  
 Samtskhe 78, 102, 112, 119, 120, 127, 131, 139, 140, XVI-D2, XX-BC1, XXI-C2, XXIII-B1, XXXI-B2  
 Şan'ā 106, XXI-C3, XXIII-C1, XXXIV-B2  
 — E. 125, 128, 129, 142, XXXIV-B2  
 Şanamayn XXXII-A3, XXXIII-B3  
 Sandıklı 30, VII-B2, VIII-C2, XXV-B2  
 Sandomierz 97, XVI-B1, XXI-B1, XXIX-C1  
 Sangarios R. 29, 31, 36, VI-B1, IX-C1  
 (see Sakarya)  
 Sanok 97, XVI-B1, XXIX-C1  
 S. Andrea XVIII-B1  
 S. Leonhard XXIX-A2  
 S. Paul XVIII-B1  
 Santa Maura 86, 87, X-A3, XVI-B3  
 (see Aya Mavra)  
 Santameri 86, 87, XIV-A2  
 Santorin 67, XIV-B3  
 (= Thera)  
 Sapanca XXV-B1  
 — G. IX-B1  
 Sapienza 87, XIV-A3  
 Sapozhok XXX-B1  
 Sarajevo 63, 71  
 (see Bosna-Saray)  
 Saratov XXX-C1  
 Saray [-Bosna] XXVI-A1  
 (see Bosna-Saray)  
 — [in Thrace] 43, X-B2  
 — [on the Volga] 95, 97  
 Sarayköy VIII-C2  
 Sardinia 99  
 Sardis 31, VI-A2  
 (see Sart)  
 Sarıkamış XXXI-B3  
 Şarkı Karaağaç: see Karaağaç  
 Şarköy VIII-C2  
 Sarmın XXXII-A2  
 Sarmısaklı 101, XX-B1, XXI-B2  
 Sart (T.), Sardis (Gk.) 31, 33, VII-A2, VIII-B2, XXV-A2  
 Saruhan 17, 29-31, 33, 53, 54, 57, 59, 60, 114, VII-A2, VIII-B2, X-B3, XII-B2  
 — S. 84, 137, XVI-C3, XXV-A2  
 Sasun 103, XX-B1, XXXII-B1  
 Satanov XXX-D1  
 Satti 68, 88, XV-A1  
 Sava, Save R. 49, 83, 90, 92, XVI-A2, XVIII-A1, B2  
 Savoy XI, XXI-A1, XXIII-A1  
 Sawākin 105, 127, 142, XXI-C3, XXIII-B2 and C1, XXXIV-A2  
 (= Suakin)  
 Sawj-Bulaq XXXII-C2  
 Şāy 142, XXXIV-A2  
 Şaydā (A.), Sidon 106, XX-A2, XXXII-A3, XXXIII-A2  
 — E. 126, 129  
 — S. XXXII-A3  
 Sazlıdere 64, XIII-B2  
 Scardona 109, XXVIII-A1, XXIX-A3  
 Scarpanto 68, XIII-B3, XIV-C3  
 (see Kerpe)  
 Scheia 95  
 Schönstein 92, XVIII-B1  
 Schössberg 73, XIII-B1  
 (see Segesvar)  
 Scutari [in Anatolia] 38, VIII-C1, IX-A1  
 (see Üsküdar)  
 — [in Albania] 49, 68, 88, 89, 91, X-A2, XII-A1, XIII-A2, XV-A1, XVI-B2, XXVIII-C2  
 (see İskenderiye)  
 —, Lake 69, 91  
 Sebaste 25, 26  
 (see Sivas)  
 Sebau R. XXXVI-C1  
 Sebuu XXXVI-B2  
 Sebenico 92, 138, XVI-A2, XXVIII-A1, XXIX-A3  
 Sebeş 73, XXIX-D3  
 Şebin-karahisar (T.), Colonea (Gk.) 28, 33, 34, 56, 58, 61, 80, 81, 101, VI-C1, X-D2, XII-D2, XIII-D2, XVI-D3, XX-B1, XXV-D1, XXXI-A3  
 Sech XXIII-B1, XXX-B2  
 Seckau XXIX-A2  
 Seferihisar VIII-B2  
 Segesd XXIX-B2  
 Segesvár (Hung.), Sighişoara (Roum.), Schössberg (Ge.) XXIX-D2  
 Şehirköy (T.), Pirot (Sl.) 46, 59, 73, 89, X-A1, XII-B1, XIII-B1, XVI-B2, XXVI-B1  
 Şehir Pazar XXXII-C2  
 — S. XXXII-C2  
 Şehrizor (T.), Shahrazür (A.) 119, 128, 131, 141, XXI-C2, XXIII-BC2, XXIV, XXXII-C2  
 — S. XXXII-C2  
 — E. XXXII-BC2  
 Selānik (T.), Thessalonica/Salonica (Gk.), Solun (Sl.) 47, 111, XIV-A1, XVI-B3, XXI-B2, XXIII-B1, XXVI-B2  
 — S. 137  
 Selefke/Silifke (T.), Seleuceia (Gk.) 58, 62, 78, 79, 114, VI-B2, VIII-D3, X-D3, XII-C2, XIII-C3, XVI-C3, XXV-B2  
 Selendi VIII-C2, XXV-A2  
 Seleuceia: see Selefke  
 Selimiye VIII-B3  
 Selishtë XV-B2

- Sellye XXIX-B3  
Selymbria 47, X-B2  
(see Silivri)  
Semendire (T.), Smederovo (Sl.),  
Semendire 71, 73, 89, 90, 92, 111,  
129, XVI-B2, XXVI-A1, XXIX-  
C3  
— S. 138, XXVI-A1, XXIX-C3  
Semendirek (T.), Samothrace (Gk.)  
84, 85, XIV-B1, XVI-B3  
Semendra VIII-C1  
Semendria 71, 89  
(see Semendire)  
Semeni R. 68, XV-A2  
Semlin XXIX-C3  
— S. XXIX-C3  
Semma XXXVI-B2  
Senj 92, XVI-A2  
Senta XXIX-C3  
Şerbateşti XXIX-D3  
Serbia 70, 71, 73-76, 89, 90, 130,  
XII-A1, XIII-AB1, XV-AB1,  
XVI-B2  
Serbian Emp. 40, 42, 44, 45, 48, 59,  
63, 70, 71, 83, 91, VIII-A1, X-A1  
Sereth R. 95, XVI-B1  
Serfiçe XXVI-B2  
Seriphos 67, VIII-A3, XIV-B3  
(see Koyunluca)  
Şernov 90  
Serrai 44, VIII-A1  
(see Siroz)  
Servantigâr XXV-C2, XXXII-A2  
Sevastopol 96, XVI-C2  
(= Kherson)  
Severin 72, 115, 138, XXI-B2  
— (= Szöreny), Banat of 72  
Seydişehir 31, 52, VII-B3, VIII-C3,  
X-C3, XIII-C3, XXV-B2  
Seyitgazi VIII-C2, X-C2, XXV-B1  
Şeytanlık (T.), Gyáros (Gk.) XIV-  
B2  
Sfax XXI-A2, XXXVI-E2  
Shaburan XXXI-D2  
Shahara XXXIV-B2  
Shahrazûr: see Şehrizor  
Shalif R. XXXVI-BC1  
Shâm  
city: see Damascus  
E.: see Şam  
Shamâkhâ 101, 129, XXIII-C1,  
XXXI-D2  
(see Şamah)  
Shamkhor XXXI-C2  
Shaqîf Arnûn XXXIII-A2  
Shaqîf Tîrîn XXXIII-A2  
Shargorod XXIX-E1  
Sharqiyya 142, XXXV  
Shatsk XXX-B1  
Shavsheti 140, XXXI-B2  
Sheki XXXI-C2  
(= Nukha)  
Shershel 108, XXI-A2, XXXVI-C1  
Shihr 142, XXI-C3, XXIII-C1,  
XXXIV-B2  
Shîrvân 101, 119, 120, 129, 140,  
XXI-C2, XXIII-BC1, XXX-C2,  
XXXI-D2, 3, XXXII-C1  
(see Şirvan)  
Shkumbi R. XV-A2  
Shûf 105, 141, XXXIII-A2  
Shusha XXXI-C3  
Sibiu (Roum.), Hermannstadt (Ge.)  
73  
Sibyla VI-B2  
Sıçanlı Ova XXV-B2  
Sicily 117, XXI-A2, XXIII-A2  
Siderokastron 86, XIV-A3  
Sidon 129  
(see Şaydâ)  
Sidrekapsı XXVI-B2  
Sigeth: see Szigetvár  
Sigetvar (T.), Szigetvár (Hung.),  
Sigeth (Ge.) 129  
Sighino 79  
(see Siğin)  
Sighişoara 73  
(see Segesvár)  
Siğin (T.), Sighino 79, XVI-C3  
Siirt 103, XX-C1, XXXII-B1  
— S. XXXII-B1  
Sikhne 44, XXXII-A2  
(see Zihna)  
Sikinos VIII-A3, XIV-B3  
Siklôs 111, 112, XXIX-B3  
— S. XXIX-B3  
Sikyon 66  
(= Vasilicata)  
Şile (T.), Chelae (Gk.) 38, 47, IX-B1,  
X-C2, XXV-A1  
Silesia XXIX-B1  
Silifke: see Selefke  
Silitre (T.), Silitria 92, XVI-C2,  
XXVI-B1, XXIX-E3  
— E. 125, 128, 139, XXIV,  
XXIX-E2, 3, XXX-AB2  
— S. 137, XXVI-B1  
Silitria 46, 49, 50, X-B1  
(see Silitre)  
Silivri (T.), Selymbria (Gk.) 47, 64,  
84, XVI-C2, XXVI-B1  
Simav 31, 52, VII-A2, VIII-C2, X-  
C3  
Simontornya XXIX-B2  
— S. XXIX-B2  
Sinai 105, 131, 142, XXXV  
Sind XXI-D2  
Sındırgı VIII-B2, XXV-A1  
Sinj 91, XVI-A2, XXVIII-B1,  
XXIX-A3  
Sinjâr XX-C2, XXXII-B2  
— S. XXXII-B2  
Sinn XXXII-B2  
Sinop (T.), Sinope (Gk.): see Sinope  
Sinope 27-29, 32, 33, 49, 55, 59, 61,  
77, 80, VI-C1, VII-C1, VIII-E1,  
X-D2, XII-C1, XIII-D2, XVI-D2,  
XXV-C1; XXX-B2  
(see Sinop)  
Siphnos 68, VIII-A3, XIV-B2  
Şira (T.), Syros (Gk.) XIV-B2  
Şirebirniça (T.), Srebrnica (Sl.)  
XXXVI-A1  
Siret XXIX-D2  
Sirok XXIX-C2  
Siroz (T.), Serrai (Gk.) 44, 51, 54, X-  
A2, XIII-B2, XXVI-B1  
Sirucik XXXII-C2  
— S. XXXII-C2  
Şirvan (T.), Shîrvân 101, 119, 128,  
129, 132  
Sirya XXXI-B3, XXXII-B1  
Sis 83, 137, X-D3, XVI-D3, XXV-  
C2  
— S. XXV-C2  
Sisak XXIX-A3  
Sisam (T.), Samos (Gk.) 84, XIV-  
C2  
Şişman X-B1  
Sitnica R. 90  
Sivas (T.), Sebastea (Gk.) 25, 26,  
33, 46, 52, 55, 56, 58, 60, 81,  
102-4, 111-14, VI-C1, VII-D2,  
VIII-E2, X-D2, XII-D2, XVI-D3,  
XX-B1, XXI-B2, XXIII-B1,  
XXV-C1, XXXI-A3, XXXII-  
A1  
—, prov. of X-D2  
— E. 126, 128, 129, 136, XXIV,  
XXV-C1, 2, XXX-B2, XXXII-  
A1  
— S. XXV-C1, 2  
Siverek 103, XX-B1, XXV-D2,  
XXXII-A1  
— S. XXXII-A1  
Sivricehisar (T.), Ostrovica (Sl.) 89  
Sivrihisar 33, 57, 63, VIII-C2, X-  
C2, XII-C2  
— S. 52  
Sjenica 90, XVI-B2  
Skiathos 84, XIV-A1  
(see İskâdos)  
Şkodra 49  
(see İskenderiye)  
Skopelos 84, XIV-B2  
Skoplje 44, 46, 48, X-A2  
(see Üsküp)  
Skutari: see Scutari  
Skyros 84, 85, X-B3, XIV-B2  
(see İskire)  
Slankamen 49, XXIX-C3  
Slatina [in Slovenia] XXIX-B3  
— [in Wallachia] XXIX-D3  
Sliven 42, 63, X-B2  
(see İslimiye)  
Slovenia 114  
Smederovo 71, 89  
(see Semendire)  
Smolensk XXI-B1  
Smotrich XXIX-D1  
Smyrna 25, 29, 31, 53, 57, 61, VI-A2,  
VII-A2, VIII-B2, X-B3  
(see İzmir)  
Socotra XXI-D3  
Sofia: see Sofya

- Sofya (T.), Sofia 40, 45, 59, 63, 70, 73, X-A2, XII-B1, XIII-B1, XVI-B2, XXVI-B1  
 — S. 137, XXXVI-B1  
 Söğüt 36, VII-B1, VIII-C2, IX-B2, X-C2  
 Sohumkale (T.), Sokhumi (Georg.) 139, 140, XXIII-B1, XXX-C2, XXXI-B2  
 — E. 128  
 Sokhumi: see Sohumkale  
 Sokhoista 139  
 Sokol 91, XVI-B2, XXVIII-C1  
 Soldaia 96  
 (= Sudak)  
 Soliman XXXVI-E1  
 Solnok (T.), Szolnok (Hung.): see Szolnok  
 Solun: see Salonica, Selänik  
 Soma XXV-A1  
 Somalia XXIII-C1  
 Somkheti XXXI-C2  
 Somoskö XXIX-B2  
 Sönbeki (T.), Syme (Gk.) XIV-C3  
 Sonisa XXV-C1  
 Sopoto 89, 114, XXI-B2, XXIII-B1  
 — N. XV-B3  
 Sopron XXIX-B2  
 Soroki 97, XVI-C1, XXIX-E1  
 Sotin XXIX-B3  
 Sözebolu (T.), Sozopolis (Gk.) 43, 44  
 Sozopolis [in Anatolia] 27, VI-B2 (see Uluborlu)  
 — [in Bulgaria] 43, X-B2 (see Sözebolu)  
 Spain 99, 107, 109, 117, 118, XIX, XXI-A1, 2, XXIII-A1  
 Spalato 92, 138, XIII-A1, XVI-A2, XXVIII-B2  
 Spanish Netherlands XXIII-A1  
 Sparta 86  
 Sperlonga XXI-A2  
 Sporades, Northern 47, 48, 64, 67, 84, 85, VIII-A2, X-AB2, 3, XIII-B2, XIV-B2, XVI-B3  
 Srebernik XXIX-B3  
 Srebrnica 90, 91, XVI-A2, XXVIII-C1, XXIX-B3 (see Sirebirnica)  
 Stagno 70, XXVIII-B2  
 —, Primorje di 70, XXVIII-BC2  
 Stampalia 67, XIV-C3 (= Astypalaia)  
 Stara Zagora X-B2 (see Eski-Zagra)  
 Stavros VIII-C3  
 Steyr XXIX-A2  
 Stirnica X-A2  
 Stockerau XXIX-A2  
 Stoura 85  
 Strel R. 93  
 Strovilos VIII-B3  
 Struma R. 64, X-A2  
 Strumica X-A2 (see Usturumca)  
 Stryj XXIX-D1  
 Stuhlweissenburg XXIX-B2 (see Székesfehérvár)  
 Styra XIV-B2  
 Styria 49, 73, 92, 111, 116, XVI-A1, XVIII-B1  
 Suakin: see Sawäkin  
 Şubayba XXXIII-A3  
 Sublaion 27, VI-A2 (see Keçiborlu)  
 Suboto 65, XV-B3  
 Suceava 94, 95, 111, XVI-B1, XXI-B1, XXIX-D2  
 Sudak 96, XIII-C1, XVI-D2, XXX-B2 (= Soldaia)  
 Suez 117, XXI-B2, XXXIV-A1, XXXV  
 Sufel-Wad XXXVI-D2  
 Süfiyân XXXI-C3, XXXII-C1  
 Suğla XXV-A2  
 Suhopolje XXIX-B3  
 Sukkot XXXIV-A2  
 Sulak R. XXXI-C2  
 Sulina 94, XVI-C2, XXIX-E3  
 Sultanhisar (T.), Nyssa (Gk.) VIII-B2, XXV-A2  
 Sultaniyye 111, XXI-C2, XXXII-C2  
 Sultan-öntü S. 39, 125, 136, XXV-AB1 (= Sultan-öyüğü)  
 Sultan-öyüğü 39, 125, IX-B2 (= Sultan-öntü)  
 Šumen 45, X-B1 (see Şumnu)  
 Şumnu (T.), Šumen (Sl.) 46, XXVI-B1  
 Şür (A.), Tyre XXXIII-A2  
 Surami XXXI-C2  
 Surány XXIX-B2  
 Surer-Rozlan XXXVI-C1  
 Sürmene XXXI-B2  
 Suruç XXXII-A2  
 — S. XXXII-A2  
 Şurur 101  
 Susa XXI-A2, XXXVI-E1  
 Svaneti 140, XXX-C2, XXXI-B2  
 Svetigrad 69, XIII-A2, XV-B2 (see Kocacik)  
 Svinari XXVIII-B1  
 Svištov XVI-B2, XXIX-D3 (see Zıştova)  
 Sweden XXIII-A1  
 Switzerland XXI-A1, XXIII-A1  
 Sykaminon 66, 85, XIV-B2  
 Syme XIV-C3 (see Sönbeki)  
 Syr-Darya R. 23  
 Syria 13, 25-27, 56, 77, 80, 100, 103, 104, 106, 116, 121, 128, 132, 134, 141, 142 (see also Şam)  
 Syrmium 49  
 Syros XIV-B2 (see Şira)  
 Syrtis 107  
 Szabadszállás XXIX-B2  
 Szamos R. XXIX-C2  
 Szamos Ujvár XXIX-D2  
 Szarvas XXIX-C2  
 Szászvár XXIX-B2  
 Szászvaros (Hung.), Broos XXIX C3  
 Szatmár XXIX-C2  
 Szécsény XXIX-B2  
 — S. 138, XXIX-B2  
 Szeged: see Szegedin  
 Szegedin/Szeged 111, XXI-B1, XXIX-C2  
 — S. XXIX-C2  
 Szegszard XXIX-B2  
 — S. XXIX-B2  
 Székelyhid XXIX-C2  
 Székesfehérvár (Hung.), Stuhlweissenburg (Ge.) XXI-B1, XXIX-B2  
 — S. XXIX-B2  
 Szent-Gothárd XXIX-A2  
 Szent György XXIX-B2  
 Szent-Imre 73, XIII-B1  
 Szent Lőrincz XXIX-B3  
 Szent Márton XXIX-B2  
 Szerencs XXIX-C2  
 Szigetvár 112, 116, XXI-B1, XXIII-B1, XXIX-B3 (see Sigetvár)  
 — S. XXIX-B3  
 Szikszó XXIX-C2  
 Szlatina XXIX-C3  
 Szolnok XXIX-C2 (see Solnok)  
 — S. XXIX-C2  
 Szombat XXIX-C2  
 Szombathely XXIX-B2  
 Szöny XXIX-B2  
 Szöreny (= Severin), Banat of 72, XIII-B1  
 Tabassaran XXXI-D2  
 Tabriz 101, 102, 107, 111-13, 119, 120, 129, 141, XX-C1, XXI-C2, XXIII-B1, XXXI-C3, XXXII-C1  
 Tagliamento R. 92, XVIII-A2  
 Tāhīrābād 101  
 Tā'if XXXIV-B2  
 Ta'izz 106, XXI-C3, XXIII-C1, XXXIV-B2  
 Takrit XXI-C2, XXXII-B2  
 — S. XXXII-B2  
 Tālish XXXI-D3  
 Tall Bāshir 28, VI-C2 (see Tel Başir)  
 Taman 96, 122, 123, 139, XXI-B1, XXIII-B1, XXX-B2, XXXI-A1  
 Tana 96, XIII-D1, XVI-D1 (see Azak)  
 Tangier XXXVI-A1  
 Tao 139, 140, XXXI-B2, 3

- ̤arābulus (A.), Tripolis (Gk.),  
 Trablus (T.), Tripoli:  
 — (in Syria = ̤arābulus al-  
 Shām, Trablusu-Şam) XXXII-A2  
 — (in Tripolitania = ̤arābulus al-  
 Gharb, Trablusu-Garb): see Tripoli  
 Taraklı 32, 38, VII-B1, VIII-C2,  
 IX-C2  
 Taraklı Yenicesi 57  
 Taranto 75, 99, XVI-A2  
 Tarczal XXIX-C2  
 Târgovişte 94, XVI-B2, XXIX-D3  
 Targu-Neamt XXIX-D2  
 Tarhala XXV-A1  
 Tarku XXX-C2, XXXI-D2  
 —, State of 120, 132, 139, 140,  
 XXI-C1, 2, XXIII-B1, XXIV,  
 XXXI-CD2  
 Tarnopol XXIX-D1  
 Târnovo 46  
 (see Tirnova)  
 Tarsos 86, XIV-A2  
 Tarsus 78, 79, 82, 83, 104, 113, 137,  
 VI-B2, XIII-C3, XVI-D3, XXV-  
 C2, XXXII-A2  
 — S. XXV-C2  
 Tartarus Mts. XXVIII-A1  
 ̤artūs XXXII-A2  
 Tarvis XVIII-A1  
 Taşköprü XXV-C1  
 Taşöz/Taşoz (T.), Thasos (Gk.) 84,  
 85, XIV-B1, XVI-B3  
 Tata 111, XXIX-B2  
 Tatar Pazarcık X-B2, XXVI-B1  
 Tauric steppes 95  
 Taurus Mts. 21, 51, 75, 82, 83, 101, 114  
 Tavan XXX-B2  
 Tavas 4, 33, 34, VII-A3, VIII-C3,  
 X-C3, XXV-A2  
 Tavşancıl (T.), Philokrene (Gk.) 38,  
 IX-B1  
 Tavşanlı 52, VIII-C2, X-C2, XXV-  
 A1  
 Tavusker XXXI-B2  
 ̤awīla XXXIV-B2  
 Taygetus Mts. 87  
 Taymā' XXXIV-B1  
 Taza XXXVI-A2  
 Tebessa XXXVI-E1  
 Tegea 86, XIV-A2  
 Teke 30, 32, 33, 52-54, 57, 59-61,  
 101, VIII-C3, X-C3, XII-C2,  
 XIII-C3  
 — S. XVI-C3, XX-A1, XXI-B2,  
 XXV-AB2  
 Tekfurınarı 37, IX-C1  
 Tekirdağ 39  
 (see Rodosçuk)  
 Tekman 139  
 Tekye XXV-C1  
 Telavi XXXI-C2  
 Tel Başır (T.), Tall Bāshir (A.) XXV-  
 C2, XXXII-A2  
 Teleacin 94, XVI-B2, XXIX-D3  
 Tel Hamdun XXV-C2  
 Telos 85, VIII-B3, XIV-C3  
 (see Piskopi)  
 Temesvár 92, 116, XVI-B2, XXI-  
 B1, XXIII-B1, XXIX-C3  
 (see Timuşvar)  
 —, Banat of 73, 114, 116, XIII-B1,  
 XVI-B2  
 — S. XXIX-C3  
 Temma Saharij XXXVI-C1  
 Temnikov XXX-C1  
 Temrük XXX-B2, XXXI-A1  
 Temür-hisar XXVI-B1  
 Tenedos 67, 85, VIII-B2, XIV-B1  
 (see Bozcaada)  
 Tenes 108, XXI-A2, XXXVI-C1  
 Tenos 67, 115, 138, VIII-A2, X-B3,  
 XIII-B3, XIV-B2, XXI-B2,  
 XXIII-B2  
 (see İstendil)  
 Tepedelen 89, XVI-B3, XXVI-A2  
 Tephrike 25  
 (see Divriği)  
 Tercan 80, 81, XVI-D3, XXV-D1,  
 XXXI-B3  
 Terek R. 123, 139, XXX-C2,  
 XXXI-C1  
 Terka XXX-C2, XXXI-C1  
 Terkos/Terkoz 64, XIII-C2, XXVI-  
 B1  
 Terme (T.), Themiskyra (Gk.) 31,  
 55, VIII-E1, X-D2  
 Terska XXX-C2, XXXI-C1, 2  
 Teşanj 91, XVI-A2, XXVIII-B1,  
 XXIX-B3  
 Testur XXXVI-E1  
 Tetyushi XXX-C1  
 Thasos 47, 48, 65, 67, 84, VIII-A1,  
 X-B2, XIII-B2, XIV-B1  
 (see Taşöz)  
 Thebes 65, 66, 85, VIII-A2, X-A3,  
 XIII-B3, XIV-A2, XVI-B3  
 (see İstifa)  
 Themiskyra 31  
 (see Terme)  
 Theodoros 96  
 (see Menkup)  
 Theodosiopolis 25  
 (see Erzurum)  
 Thera VIII-A3, XIV-B3  
 (= Santorin)  
 Therasia 67, XIV-B3  
 Thermia 68, VIII-A2, XIV-B2  
 (= Kythnos)  
 Thermisi 65, 87, XIII-B3, XIV-A2  
 Thermopylae 50, 65, 86  
 (cf. Mudoniç)  
 Thessalonica: see Salonica, Selânik  
 Thessaly 29, 47, 48, 50, 64, 65, 85  
 X-A2, XII-B2, XIII-AB2  
 Thrace 6, 21, 25, 29, 31, 42, 44, 59,  
 64, 79, 102  
 Thyateira VII-A2  
 (see Akhisar)  
 Thyraea 29  
 (see Tire)  
 Tiahin 97, XVI-C1, XXX-B2  
 Tiberias XXXIII-A3  
 —, Sea of XXXIII-A3  
 Tibnin XXXIII-A3  
 Tiflis 119, 129, 140, XXIII-B1,  
 XXXI-C2  
 Tighin XVI-C1, XXIX-E2  
 (see Bender)  
 Tigris R. 101, 103, XXXII-B2  
 (see Dicle)  
 Tihâma 106  
 Tihany XXIX-B2  
 Timuşvar (T.), Temesvár (Hung.),  
 Timişoara (Roum.) XXIV  
 — E. 116, 128, XXIX-C2, 3,  
 XXX-A2  
 Tinis XXXII-B1  
 Tirana 88, XV-A2, XVI-B2  
 Tire (T.), Thyraea (Gk.) 29, VII-A2,  
 VIII-B2, X-B3, XXV-A2  
 Tırhala (T.), Trikkala (Gk.) 51, X-  
 A2, XIV-A1, XVI-B3, XXVI-  
 B2  
 — S. 137, XXVI-B2  
 Tirnova (T.), Târnovo (Sl.) 46, 48,  
 70, XI-B2, XXVI-B1  
 Tisza R. 115, 116, XVI-B1, XXIX-  
 C2, 3  
 Titeri XXXVI-C1  
 — Mts. XXXVI-C1  
 Tizi Uzu XXXVI-C1  
 Tlemcen 107, 108, XXI-A2,  
 XXXVI-B2  
 —, prov. of XI, XIX  
 Tmogvi XXXI-B2  
 Tokat (T.), Docea (Gk.) 18, 52, 56,  
 58, 60, 79, 80, 114, 126, 128, 129,  
 136, VI-C1, VII-D1, VIII-E2,  
 X-D2, XII-D2, XIII-D2, XVI-  
 D3, XX-B1, XXI-B2, XXIII-B1,  
 XXV-C1  
 Tokaj XXIX-C2  
 Tolga XXXVI-D2  
 Tolna XXIX-B2  
 Tomorinçe V. XV-B2  
 Tomoritsa Mts. 88  
 Tomoros 131  
 Toñuzlu: see Denizli  
 Toplice R. 45, X-A1  
 Toplice XXIX-A2  
 Torretta XXVIII-A1  
 Tortum 139, XXXI-B3  
 Torviolli Mts. 69  
 Tosya 18, 61, VIII-D1, X-D2,  
 XIII-C2, XXV-C1  
 Tozer XXXVI-E2  
 Trablusu-Şam 106  
 — E. 128, XXIV, XXV-CD3  
 Trablusu-Garb E. 119, 121, 128, 131,  
 XXIV  
 (see ̤arābulus)  
 Trabzon (T.), Trebizond 102, 128,  
 XVI-D2, XX-B1, XXIII-B1,  
 XXV-D1, XXXI-B2

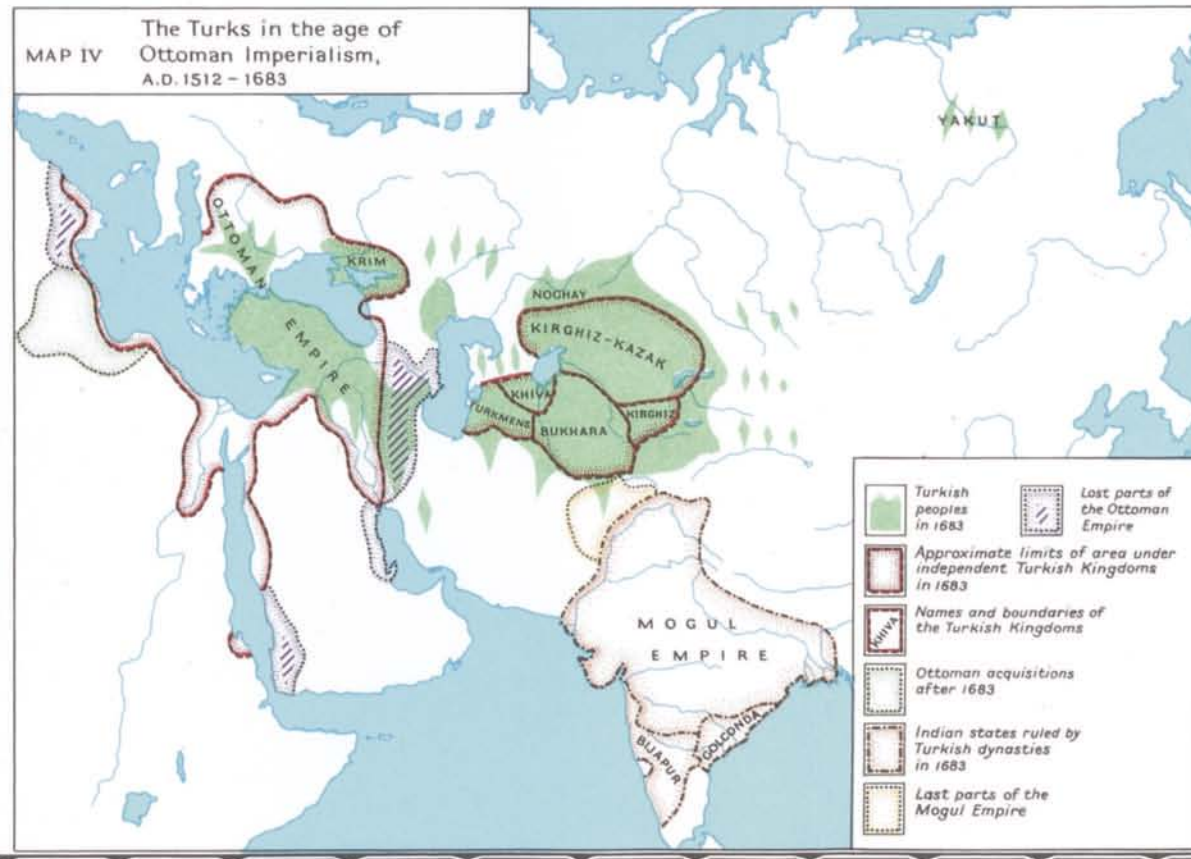
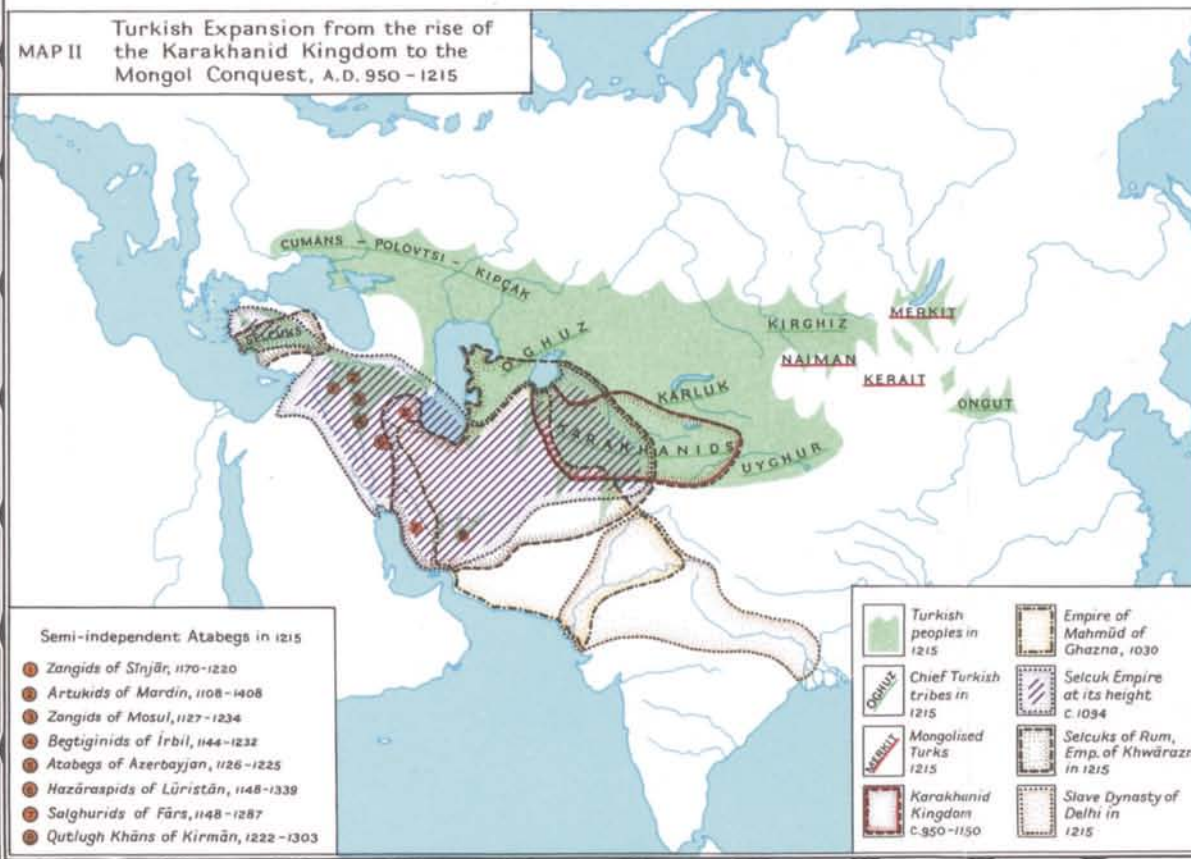
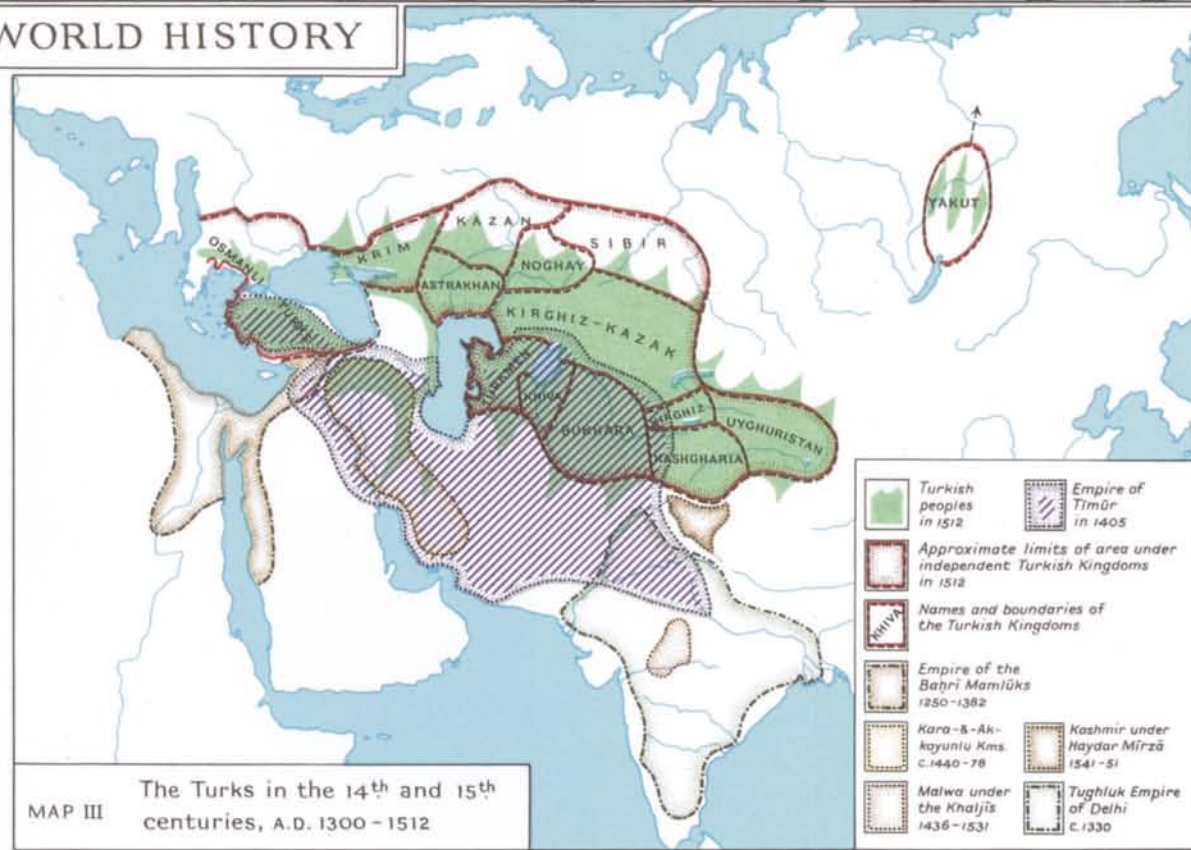
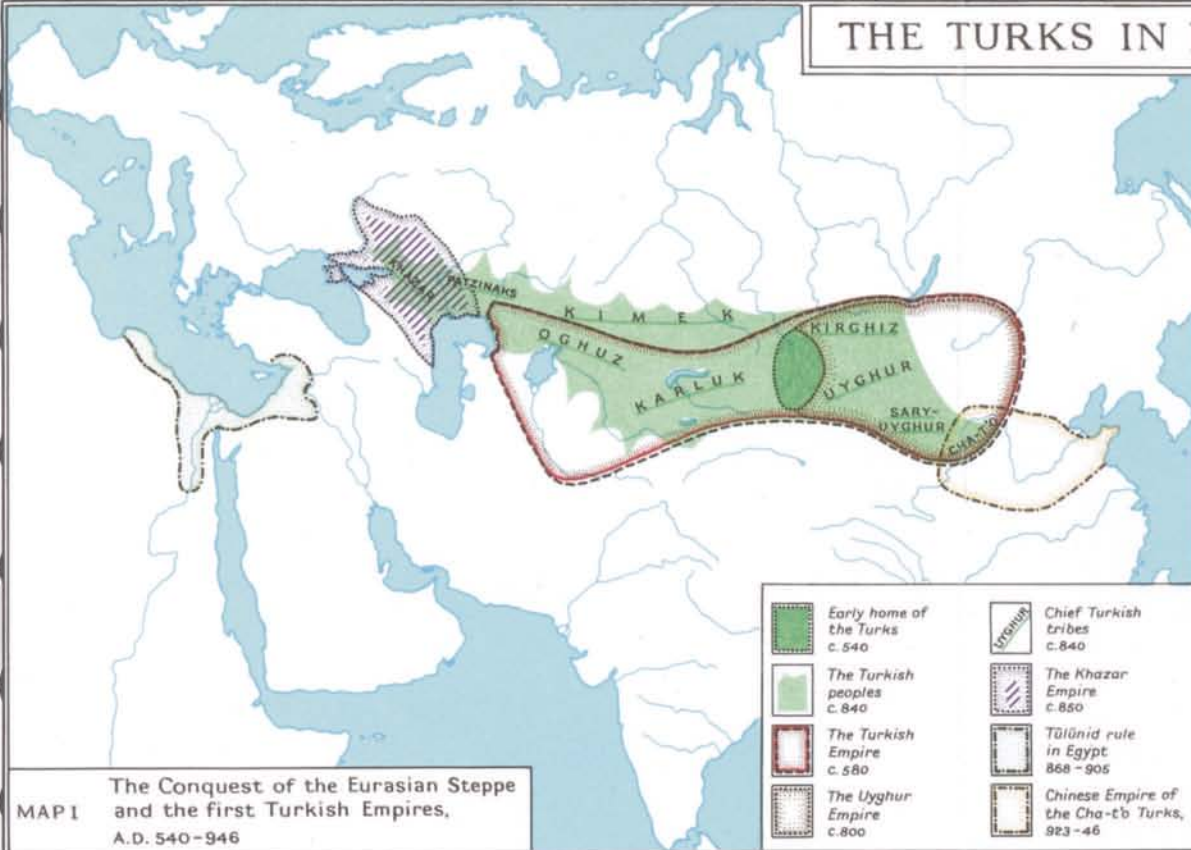
- Trabzon E. 128, 129, 139, XXIV, XXV-D<sub>1</sub>, XXX-C<sub>2</sub>, XXXI-AB<sub>2</sub>
- Tralles 28, VII-A<sub>2</sub>
- Transoxania 101, 102, 122
- Transylvania 19, 72, 73, 92, 115, 116, 130, 132, 138, XVI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-CD<sub>2</sub>, XXX-A<sub>2</sub> (see Erdel)
- Traù 92, 138, XIII-A<sub>1</sub>, XVI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXVIII-B<sub>2</sub>
- Travnik XXVIII-B<sub>1</sub>
- Trebínje XXVIII-C<sub>2</sub>
- Trebizond 57, 75, 77, 81, 101, 137, VI-D<sub>1</sub>, X-D<sub>2</sub>, XII-D<sub>1</sub>, XIII-D<sub>2</sub> (see Trabzon)
- Emp. 25, 26, 31, 51, 55, 56, 58, 77, 78, 80, VI-CD<sub>1</sub>, VII-D<sub>1</sub>, VIII-E<sub>1</sub>, XI, XII-D<sub>1</sub>, XIII-D<sub>2</sub>
- Trembowla XXIX-D<sub>1</sub>
- Trepča 89, 90, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>
- Trialeti P. XXXI-C<sub>2</sub>
- Trikkala 51, XIV-A<sub>1</sub> (see Tirhala)
- Trikokkia 37 (see Kocahisar)
- Tripoli [in Syria] 106, 141, XX-B<sub>2</sub>, XXI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>, XXXIII-A<sub>1</sub> (see Tarābulus)
- [in Tripolitania] 107, 108, 117, 119, 121, XXI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-A<sub>2</sub> (see Tarābulus)
- Tripolis [in Syria and Tripolitania]: see Tarābulus
- [in the Peloponnesus] 66
- Tržac XXVIII-A<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-A<sub>3</sub>
- Tsarisin XXX-C<sub>1</sub>
- Tudmur (A.), Palmyra 121, XX-B<sub>2</sub>, XXI-C<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>2</sub> — S. XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>
- Tuggürt 121, 143, XXI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-A<sub>2</sub>, XXXVI-D<sub>2</sub>
- Tula XXI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXX-B<sub>1</sub>
- Tumanis 129 (= Dmanisi)
- Tumenisht XV-A<sub>2</sub>
- Tuna (T.), Danube R.: see Danube R.
- Tunca R. 42
- Tunis 107, 108, 118, 121, XXI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXIII-A<sub>2</sub>, XXXVI-E<sub>1</sub> — [region] 83, 85, 107, 121, 128, XI, XIX, XXXVI-E<sub>1</sub>, 2 (see Tunus)
- Tunus (T.), Tunis E. 128, 131, XXIV
- Ťur XXI-B<sub>2</sub>
- Turgutlu VIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XXV-A<sub>2</sub>
- Turhal 103, XX-B<sub>1</sub>, XXV-C<sub>1</sub>
- Turkestan 23
- Turkey 1, 10, 19, 24, 67, 71, 87, 90, 94, 97, 98, 109, 115, 119, 120, 140
- Turna-dağ 104, XX-B<sub>1</sub>
- Turnu-Nicopolis 72, 93, 94, 138, XXIX-D<sub>3</sub>
- Turnu Roşu XXIX-D<sub>3</sub>
- Turnu-Severin 72, 137, XIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXIX-C<sub>3</sub>
- Turov XXX-B<sub>1</sub>
- Tuscany 118, XXIII-A<sub>1</sub>
- Utakan 93, 94, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXIX-E<sub>3</sub>
- Tuzla VIII-B<sub>2</sub>, XXVIII-C<sub>1</sub>
- Tyana 27 (see Niğde)
- Tyre XXXIII-A<sub>2</sub> (see Şür)
- Tyrol XVIII-A<sub>1</sub>
- Tzamos VI-C<sub>2</sub>
- Tzouroulos 39, VIII-B<sub>1</sub> (see Çorlu)
- Tzympe 39, VIII-B<sub>1</sub> (see Çinbi)
- Üç-ağızlı 80
- Uçhisar 79
- Udbina 92, XVI-A<sub>2</sub>, XXVIII-A<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-A<sub>3</sub>
- Udvarhely XXIX-D<sub>2</sub>
- Ugocsa XXIX-C<sub>2</sub>
- Ujda 108, XXXVI-B<sub>2</sub>
- Ujiçe (T.), Užice (Sl.) XXVI-A<sub>1</sub>
- Újvár: see Ersekujvár
- Ukraine 95, 97, 129
- ‘Ulā XXXIV-B<sub>1</sub>
- Ulubad (T.), Lopadion (Gk.) 37, 39, 59, 64, VIII-B<sub>2</sub>, IX-A<sub>2</sub>, XII-C<sub>2</sub>, XIII-BC<sub>2</sub>, XXV-A<sub>1</sub>
- Uluborlu (T.), Sozopolis (Gk.) 27, 32, VIII-C<sub>2</sub>, XII-C<sub>2</sub>, XXV-B<sub>2</sub>
- Uludağ 37, IX-A<sub>2</sub> (see Keşişdağı)
- Ulukişla XXV-C<sub>2</sub>
- Ulus XXV-B<sub>1</sub>
- Uman [in the Ukraine] XXIX-E<sub>1</sub>
- ‘Umān 106, XXI-D<sub>2</sub>, XXXIV-C<sub>1</sub>
- Umurlu XXV-B<sub>1</sub>
- Una R. XXVIII-A<sub>1</sub>
- ‘Unayza XXXIV-B<sub>1</sub>
- Ungvár XXIX-C<sub>1</sub>
- Uniste XXVIII-B<sub>1</sub>
- United Provinces XXIII-A<sub>1</sub>
- Ūnye XXV-C<sub>1</sub>
- Uranik 69
- Urfa 103, 111, XX-B<sub>1</sub>, XXI-C<sub>2</sub>, XXV-D<sub>2</sub>, XXXII-A<sub>2</sub> (see Ruhā)
- E. 128, 141, XXIV
- S. XXXII-A<sub>2</sub>
- Ürgüb XXVI-A<sub>1</sub>
- Urla VIII-B<sub>2</sub> (see Vurla)
- Urmia 103, XX-C<sub>1</sub>, XXXII-C<sub>2</sub> — L. 102, 120
- Uşak VIII-C<sub>2</sub>, XXV-A<sub>2</sub>
- Uşmünayn 142, XXXIV-A<sub>1</sub>
- Uşnū XXXII-C<sub>2</sub>
- Üsküdar (T.), Scutari (Gk.) IX-A<sub>1</sub>, X-C<sub>2</sub>, XX-A<sub>1</sub>, XXV-A<sub>1</sub>
- Üsküp (T.), Skoplje (Sl.) 46, 48, 63, 70, 88, 89, 111, X-A<sub>2</sub>, XV-B<sub>1</sub>, XVI-B<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-A<sub>1</sub> — S. 137
- [in Anatolia] XXV-B<sub>1</sub>
- Usturumca (T.), Strumica (Sl.) XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>
- Uşyüt: see Asyüt
- Uyghuristan III
- Uyvar (T.), Újvár/Ersekujvár (Hung.), Neuhäusel (Ge.) 129
- Užice XXVIII-C<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-B<sub>3</sub> (see Ujiçe)
- Vác XXIX-B<sub>2</sub> (= Waitzen)
- Vahka VI-C<sub>2</sub>
- Vakuf XXVIII-B<sub>1</sub>
- Val Canale 92, XVIII-A<sub>1</sub>
- Val di Compare 87 (= Ithaca)
- Valea Alba 94 (= Paraul Alb)
- Valjevo XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>
- Valkon 92
- Valona 68, 69 (see Avlonya)
- Valpovo XXIX-B<sub>3</sub>
- Valuyki XXX-B<sub>1</sub>
- Van 111, 119, 120, 131, XXI-C<sub>2</sub>, XXXI-B<sub>3</sub>, XXXII-B<sub>1</sub> — E. 128, 139, 141, XXIV, XXXII-B<sub>1</sub> — L. 24, 111, 119, 120
- Várad/Nagyvárad (Hung.), Varad (T.), Grosswardein (Ge.), Oradea (Roum.) 129, XXIX-C<sub>2</sub>
- Varay XXV-C<sub>1</sub>
- Varaždin (Sl.), Warasdin (Ge.) 92, 111, XVI-A<sub>1</sub>, XVIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XXI-B<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-A<sub>2</sub>
- Varcar Vakuf XXVIII-B<sub>1</sub>
- Vardar R. 45, 48, 63, X-A<sub>2</sub>
- Vardar Yenicesi/Yenice-i Vardar (T.), Pella (Gk.) 42, 45, X-A<sub>2</sub>, XXVI B<sub>2</sub>
- Vardzia XXXI-B<sub>2</sub>
- Varköy 79
- Varna 46, 48, 64, 66, 71, 72, 73, X-B<sub>1</sub>, XII-B<sub>1</sub>, XIII-B<sub>1</sub>, XVI-C<sub>2</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>1</sub>
- Vasag 73 (= Vaskapu)
- Vasilikata 66, XIII-B<sub>3</sub> (= Sikyon)
- Vasilikon 85, XIV-B<sub>2</sub>
- Vaskapu 73, XIII-A<sub>1</sub> (= Vasag)
- Vaslui 94, XVI-C<sub>1</sub>, XXIX-E<sub>2</sub>
- Vasvár 19, XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>
- Vathi XIV-C<sub>2</sub>
- Vatika 87, XIV-A<sub>3</sub>, XXVI-B<sub>2</sub> (= Neapolis)
- Vayonetya N. XV-B<sub>3</sub>
- Végleshuta XXIX-B<sub>2</sub>
- Veglia XXVIII-A<sub>1</sub>
- Velbužd 44, X-A<sub>2</sub> (see Köstendil)

- Velestinon XIV-A1  
 Veligosti 51  
     (= Leondari)  
 Velika XXIX-B3  
 Venedik (T.), Venice, Venetian Republic XXIV  
 Venetian Republic XVIII-A1, 2  
 Venice XVI-A1, XVIII-A2, XXI-A1, XXIII-A1  
     (see Venedik)  
 — [, Republic of] 8, 64-70, 76, 79-81, 83-89, 91, 92, 98, 108, 109, 114, 115, 117, 118, 132, 138, XI, XVI-A1, XVIII, XIX, XXI-A1, XXIII-A1  
 Verisan XXXI-B3  
 Veszprém XXIX-B2  
 — S. XXIX-B2  
 Vezirhan IX-B2  
 Vezirköprü XXV-C1  
     (= Kedağara)  
 Viçe XXXI-B2  
 Vicenza 92, XVI-A1, XVIII-A2  
 Viceslav 90  
 Vičevac 90  
 Vidin 46, 48, 50, 72, 89, 90, 93, 94, X-A1, XII-B1, XIII-B1, XVI-B2, XXVI-B1, XXIX-C3  
 — S. 138, XXVI-B1  
 Vienna 21, 111, 112, 115, XXI-B1, XXIII-A1, XXIX-A2  
     (see Beç)  
 Vijosë R. 68, X-A2, XV-A2  
 Vilagos XXIX-C2  
 Villach XVIII-A1, XXIX-A2  
 Viranşehir XXV-B1  
 — (= Zibatra) XXV-C2  
 Virovitica XXIX-B3  
 Visegrád XXIX-B2  
 Višegrad (T.), Višegrad (Sl.) XXVI-A1, XXVIII-C1  
 Vitrintsa XIII-B3, XIV-A2  
 Vize (T.), Bizya (Gk.) 43, 59, 84, X-B2, XII-B2, XVI-C2, XXVI-B1  
 — S. 137, XXVI-B1  
 Vizvár XXIX-B3  
 Vladimir XXX-B1  
 Vlachia VIII-A2  
 Vočín XXIX-B3  
 Vodena 48, X-A2  
     (see Vodina)  
 Vodina (T.), Vodena (Sl.), Edessa (Gk.) XXVI-B2  
 Vodizze XXVIII-A1  
 Volga R. 95, 96, 97, 122, XXX-C1, 2  
 Volhynia 97, XVI-C1  
 Völkermarkt XVIII-B1, XXIX-A2  
 Volo: see Volos  
 Volos XIV-A1  
     (see Kuluz)  
 Vona XXV-C1  
 Voniça (T.), Vonitsa (Gk.) XXVI-A2  
 Vonitsa 65, 67, 86, 87, XIII-A2, XVI-B3  
     (see Voniça)  
 Voronezh XXX-B1  
 Vostitsa 86, 87, XIV-A2  
 Vrana XVI-A2, XXVIII-A1, XXIX-A3  
 Vranja 89, XVI-B2  
     (see Ívranye)  
 Vrbac R. XXVIII-B1  
 Vrgorac XXVIII-B2  
 Vrhbosna 71, 73, 90, XIII-A1, XVI-A2, XXIX-B3  
     (see Bosna-Saray)  
 Vrljka 91, XXVIII-B1, XXIX-A3  
 Vršac XXIX-C3  
 Vučitrn 90, XVI-B2  
     (see Vulçitrin)  
 Vukovar XXIX-B3  
 Vulçitrin (T.), Vuçitrn (Sl.) XXVI-A1  
 — S. 138, XXVI-A1  
 Vulpiani 68, XIV-B1  
     (see Pirzerin)  
 Vurla (older T.), Urla (T.), XXV-A2  
 Waag R. XXIX-B1  
 Wabra XXXIV-B1  
 Wadi Sahel XXXVI-D1  
 Wādī al-Taym XXXIII-A2  
 al-Wahāt 142, XXI-B3, XXIII-B2, XXXIV-A1  
 Wahrān (A.), Oran 107  
 Waidhofen XXIX-A2  
 Waitzen XXIX-B2  
     (= Vác)  
 Wajh 106, XXXIV-A1  
 Wallachia 19, 46, 48-50, 59, 61, 71-73, 75, 76, 83, 92-94, 112, 128, 130-32, 138, 139, X-B1, XII-B1, XIII-B1, XVI-B2, XIX, XXI-B2, XXIII-B1, XXIX-DE3  
     (see Eflāk)  
 Warasdin: see Varaždin  
 Wārgla 121, 143, XXI-A2, XXIII-A2, XXXVI-D2  
 Wāsiṭ XXXII-C3, XXXIV-B1  
 Weinitz XXIX-A3  
 Weissenfels XVIII-A1  
 Weisskirchen XXIX-C3  
     (= Bela Crkva)  
 Weitenstein 92, XVIII-B1  
 Weiz XXIX-A2  
 Weyer XXIX-A2  
 White Körös R. 92, XVI-B1  
     (= Fehér Körös)  
 Windischgrätz XVIII-B1  
 Wippach XVIII-A2  
 Wiszniewiec 97, XVI-B1, XXIX-D1  
 Wörther-See 92, XVIII-A1  
 Xanthi 44, VIII-A1, X-B2  
     (see Ískeçe)  
 Yaban Ova XXV-B1  
 Yaikse R. XXX  
 Yalova (T.), Helenopolis (Gk.), Yaylakabad (older T.) VIII-C1, IX-B1, XXV-A1  
 Yalta 96, XIII-C1, XVI-C2  
 Yalvaç 52, 73, VIII-C2, X-C3, XIII-B1, XXV-B2  
 Yaman (A.), Yemen (T.): see Yemen  
 Yanbolu 42, X-B2  
 Yanbu' XXI-C3, XXIII-B2, XXXIV-B1  
 Yanık (T.), Györ (Hung.), Raab (Ge.) 129  
 Yanina 45, 65, 67, X-A2, XIII-A2, XV-B3  
     (see Yanya)  
 —, Desp. of X-A2  
 Yanya (T.), Ioannina (Gk.), Yanina 45, XXVI-A2  
 — S. 137, XXVI-A2  
 Yarhisar 36, IX-B2, XXV-A1  
 Yarmolinsky XXIX-D1  
 Yayçe (T.), Jajce (Sl.) 71, 90, 115  
 Yaylakabad: see Yalova  
 Yazd 101, XXI-C2  
 Ybbsitz XXIX-A2  
 Yedisan 139  
     (= Edisan)  
 Yemen 14, 106, 113, 121, 142, XXI-C3, XXXIV-B2,  
     (see Yaman)  
 — E. 128, 129, XXIV  
 Yenice-i Karasu XXVI-B1  
     (= Karasu Yenicesi)  
 Yenice-Kızılağaç: see Kızılağaç-Yenicesi  
 Yenice-i Vardar: see Vardar Yenicesi  
 Yenice-i Zağra XXVI-B1  
 Yeni-Foça 84, 85, XIV-C2  
     (see Foça)  
 Yenipazar XXVI-A1  
 Yenişehir (T.), [in Aydın S.] VIII-B2, XXV-A2  
 — [in Bolu S.] XXV-B1  
 — [in Hudav. S.] 36, 37, 82, VIII-C2, IX-B2, X-C2, XVI-C3, XXV-A1  
 —, Larisa (Gk.) 50, X-A2, XIV-A1, XXVI-B2  
 Yenisei R. 23  
 Yepifan XXX-B1  
 Yergöğü (T.), Giurgiu (Roum.) 72, 93, 94, XIII-B1, XVI-B2, XXVI-B1, XXIX-D3  
 Yılan Kalesi XXV-C2  
 Yozgat: see Bozok  
 Zab [in Algeria] XXXVI-D2  
 Zāb, Great [R.] 103, XX-C1, 2  
 —, Little [R.] 103, XX-C2  
 Zabadāni XXXII-A3  
 Zabīd 106, 128, 129, XXI-C3, XXIII-C1, XXXIV-B2

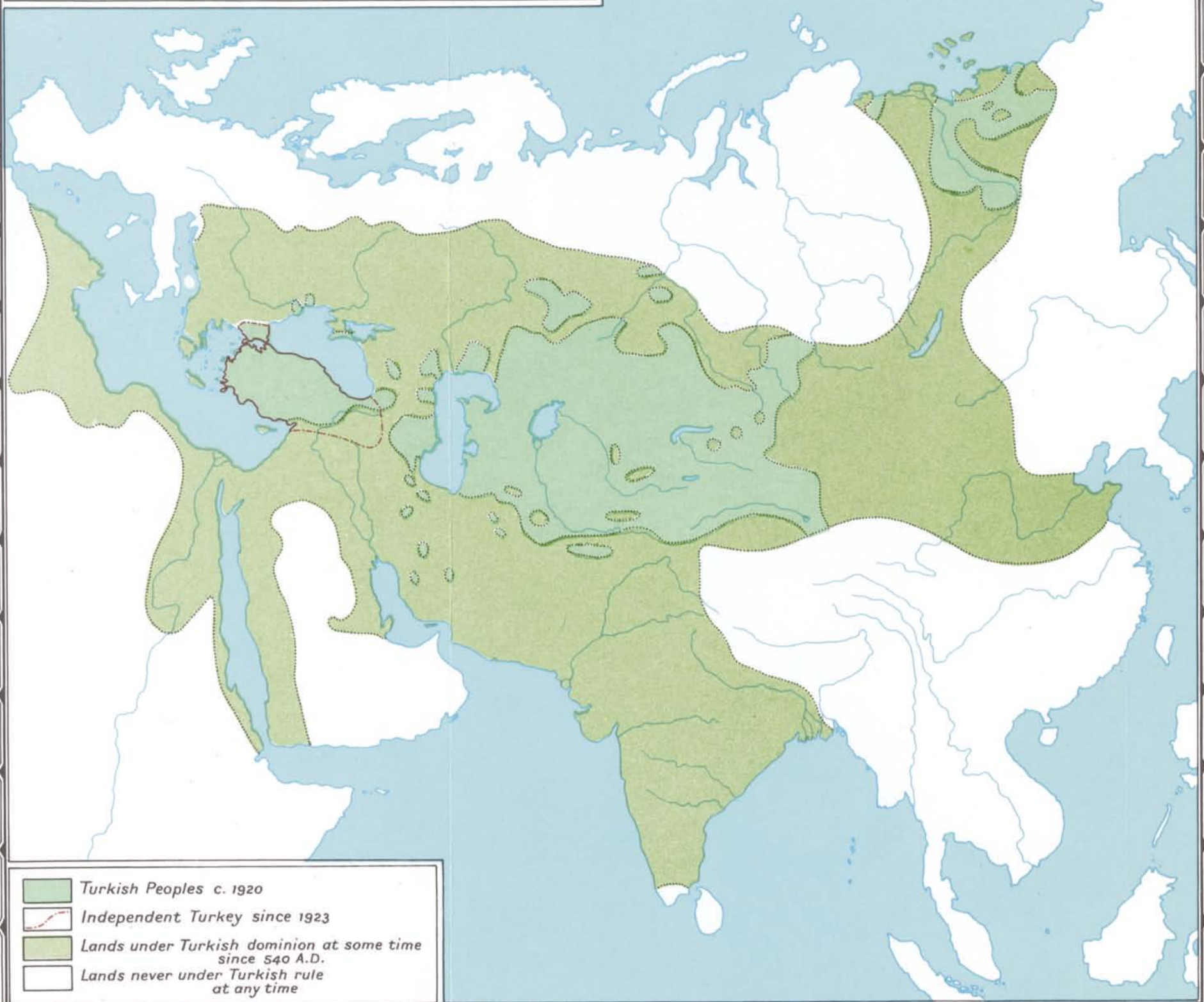
- Zabljak 89, 91, XV-A1, XVI-A2, XXVIII-C2  
 Zadrina Mts. 68, XV-A1  
 Zaghuan XXXVI-E1  
 Zagora 42  
   (see Eski-Zağra)  
 Zagoria 89  
 Zagorje XXIX-A2  
 Zağra: see Eski Zağra, Yenice-i Zağra  
 Zağra Yenicesi: see Yenice-i Zağra  
 Zagreb XXIX-A3  
   (see Agram)  
 Zagros Mts. 111, 119, 120  
 Zákány XXIX-B2  
 Zaklise (T.), Zakynthos (Gk.), Zante (It.): see Zante  
 Zakynthos: see Zante  
 Zangābād S. XXXII-C2  
 Zanjān XXI-C2, XXXII-C2  
 Zante 65, 86, 87, 130, 132, X-A3, XVI-B3, XXIII-B2  
   (see Zaklise)  
 Zanzibar XXIII-C2  
 Zaplana XXVI-A1  
 Zara 70, 92, 138, XII-A1, XIII-A1, XVI-A2, XXI-B2, XXVIII-A1, XXIX-A3  
 Zara Vecchia XXVIII-A1  
 Zaraisk XXI-B1, XXIII-B1  
 Zarnata 86, XIV-A3  
 Zarşad XXXI-B2  
 Zaslav, Zaslav 97, XVI-C1, XXIX-D1  
 Zauwawa XXXVI-C1  
 Zayla' 142, XXI-C3, XXIII-C1, XXXIV-B2  
 Zegan XXXI-C2  
 Zeitouni 64, XII-B2, XIII-B2  
   (see İzdin)  
 Železnik 137  
 Zemonico XXVIII-A1  
 Zeng XXVIII-A1  
 Zeta Mts. 68, 69, 91  
 Zeytun XXV-C1  
 Zia XIV-B2  
   (= Keos)  
 Zibatra XXV-C2  
   (= Viranşehir)  
 Zihna (T.), Sikhne (Gk.) 44, XXVI-B1  
 Zile 136, XXV-C1  
 Zinkow XXIX-E1  
 Zirknitz XVIII-B2, XXIX-A3  
 Zištova (T.), Svištov (Sl.) 94, X-B1, XVI-B2, XXVI-B1  
 Zivin 139, 140, XXXI-B3,  
 Zlatitsa P. 73  
   (see İzlâdi)  
 Zloczow XXIX-D1  
 Zohab XXXII-C2  
 Zok XXXII-B1  
 Zollfeld XVIII-B1  
 Zrinj XXIX-A3  
 Zrnov 71, 90  
   (see Avala)  
 Zsámbo-Krét XXIX-B1  
 Zsitvatorok 21, 116, 138, XXIII-B1  
 Zubzi XXVIII-C2  
 Zur XXXII-A2  
 Zuravno XXIX-D1  
 Zvaniev XXIX-D1  
 Zvornik 49, 91, X-A1, XVI-A2, XXVIII-C1, XXIX-B3  
   (see İzvornik)  
 Żydaczów 97, XVI-B1, XXIX-D1



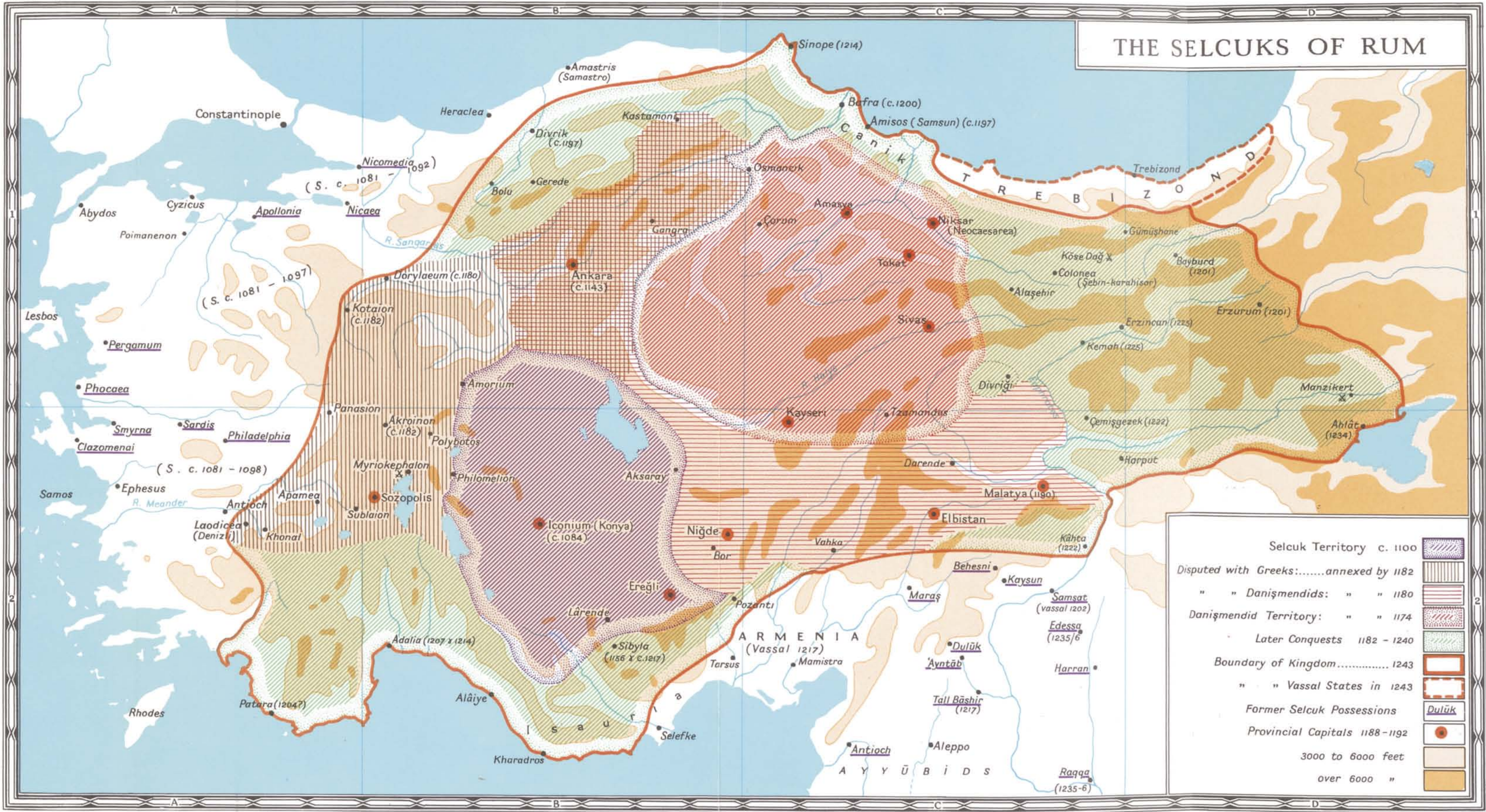
# THE TURKS IN WORLD HISTORY



THE TURKS IN HISTORY  
AND AT THE PRESENT DAY



# THE SELCUKS OF RUM



Selcuk Territory c. 1100	
Disputed with Greeks:.....annexed by 1182	
" " Danismendids: " " 1180	
Danishmendid Territory: " " 1174	
Later Conquests 1182 - 1240	
Boundary of Kingdom..... 1243	
" " Vassal States in 1243	
Former Selcuk Possessions	
Provincial Capitals 1188-1192	
3000 to 6000 feet	
over 6000 "	

# THE TURKISH EMIRATES c. 1300 - 1320



# ASIA MINOR AND THE AEGEAN SEA

c.1360  
showing the conquests of  
Osman I and Orhan

## I THE OSMANLI TURKS

- Traditional Principality of Ertuğrul
- Conquests of Orhan 1326-62
- Traditional Conquests of Osman before 1300
- Lands probably under Orhan's rule in 1362
- Conquests of Osman 1300-1326
- Direction of conquests and raids (with dates)

## II OTHER ISLAMIC STATES

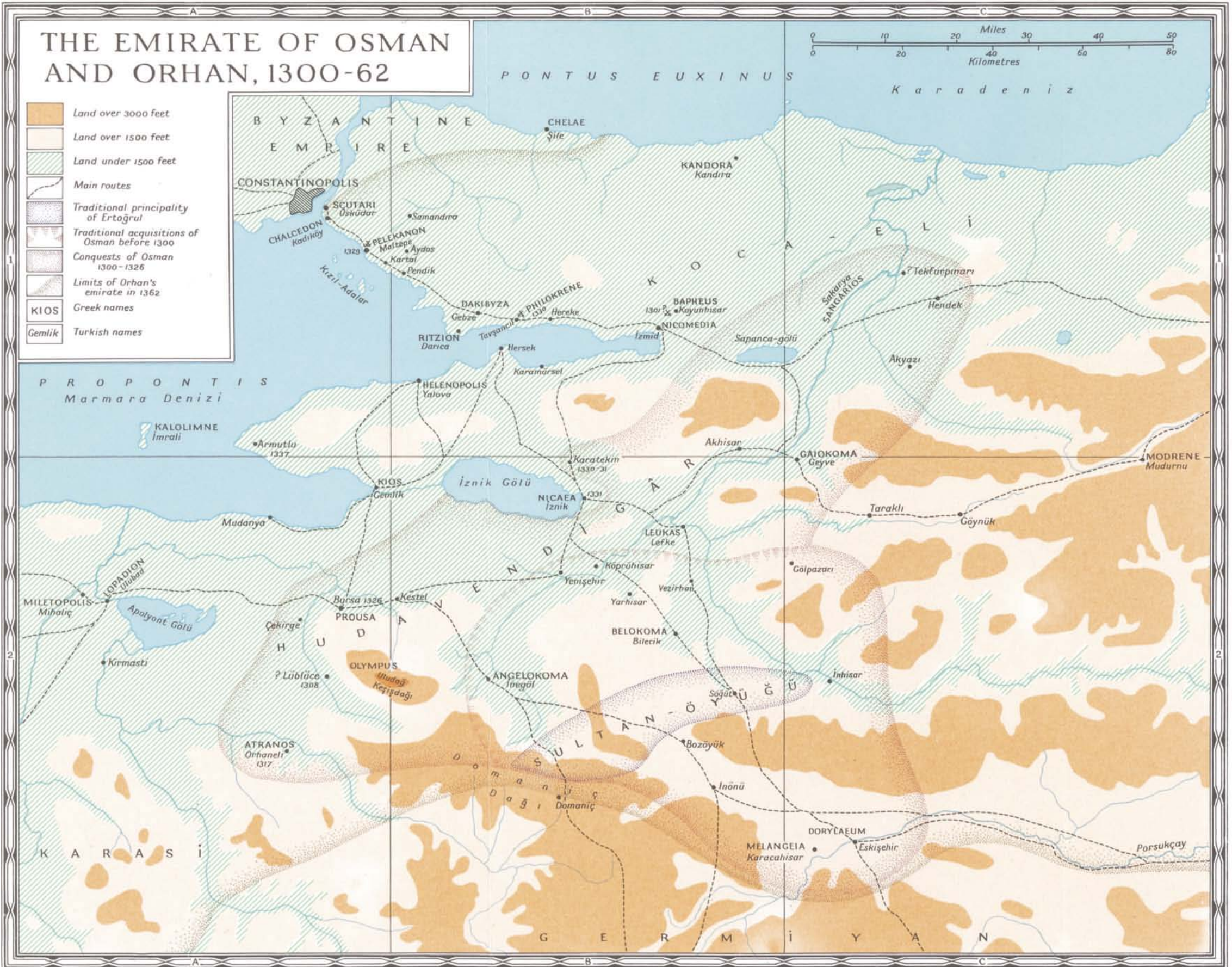
- Established Domains c. 1360
- Spheres of Influence (often conflicting)
- Small autonomous emirates
- Principal raids of non-Osmanli Turks

## III CHRISTIAN STATES

- Byzantine Empire
- Other Christian States
- Genoese Possessions
- Venetian Possessions



An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire – Pitcher

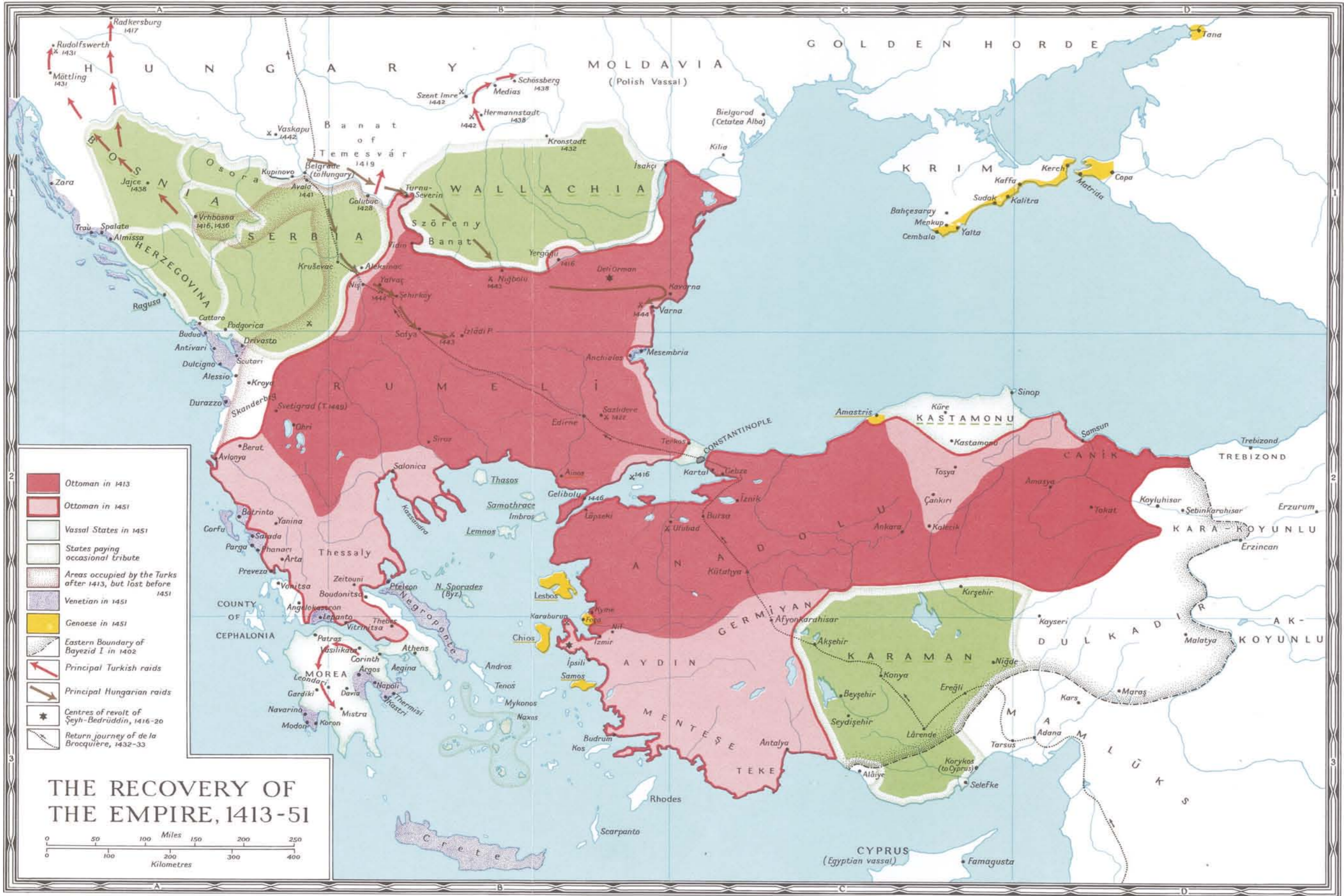




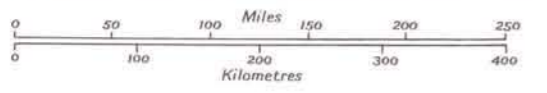
An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire – Pitcher

# THE CIVIL WAR 1402 - 13





# THE RECOVERY OF THE EMPIRE, 1413-51







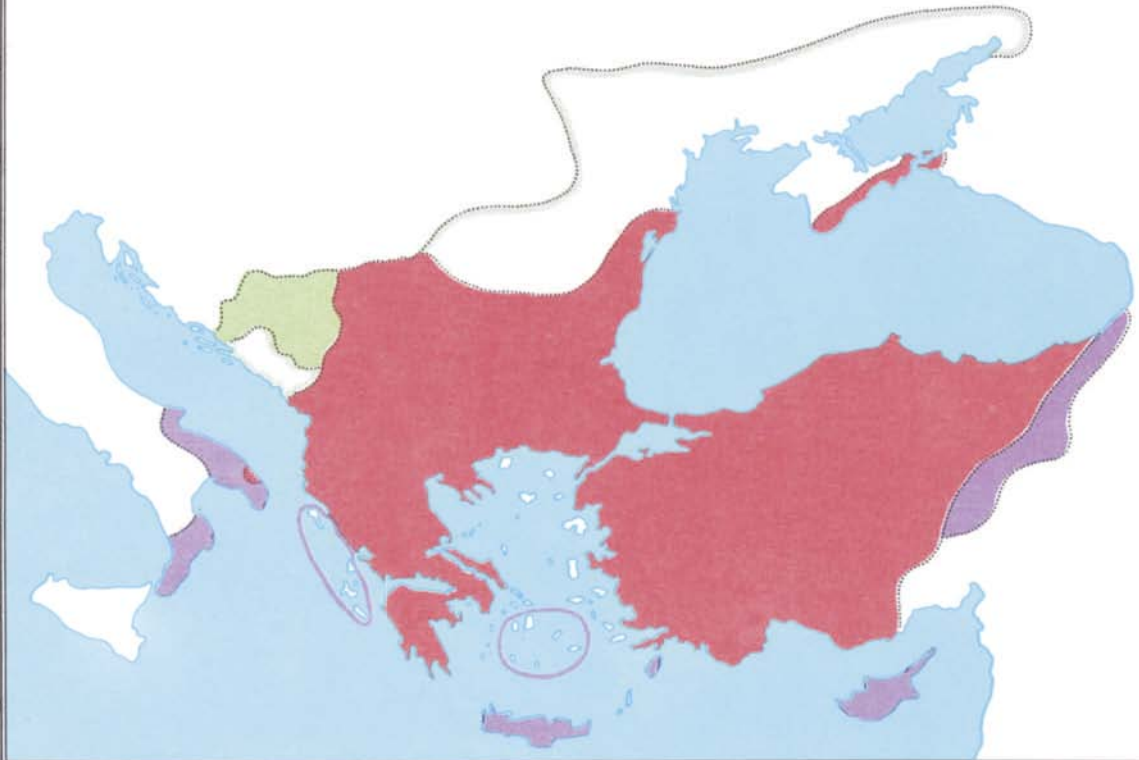
# THE CONQUESTS OF MEHMED II AND BAYEZID II (to the peace of Buda) 1451-1503



An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire – Pitcher

MAP XVII

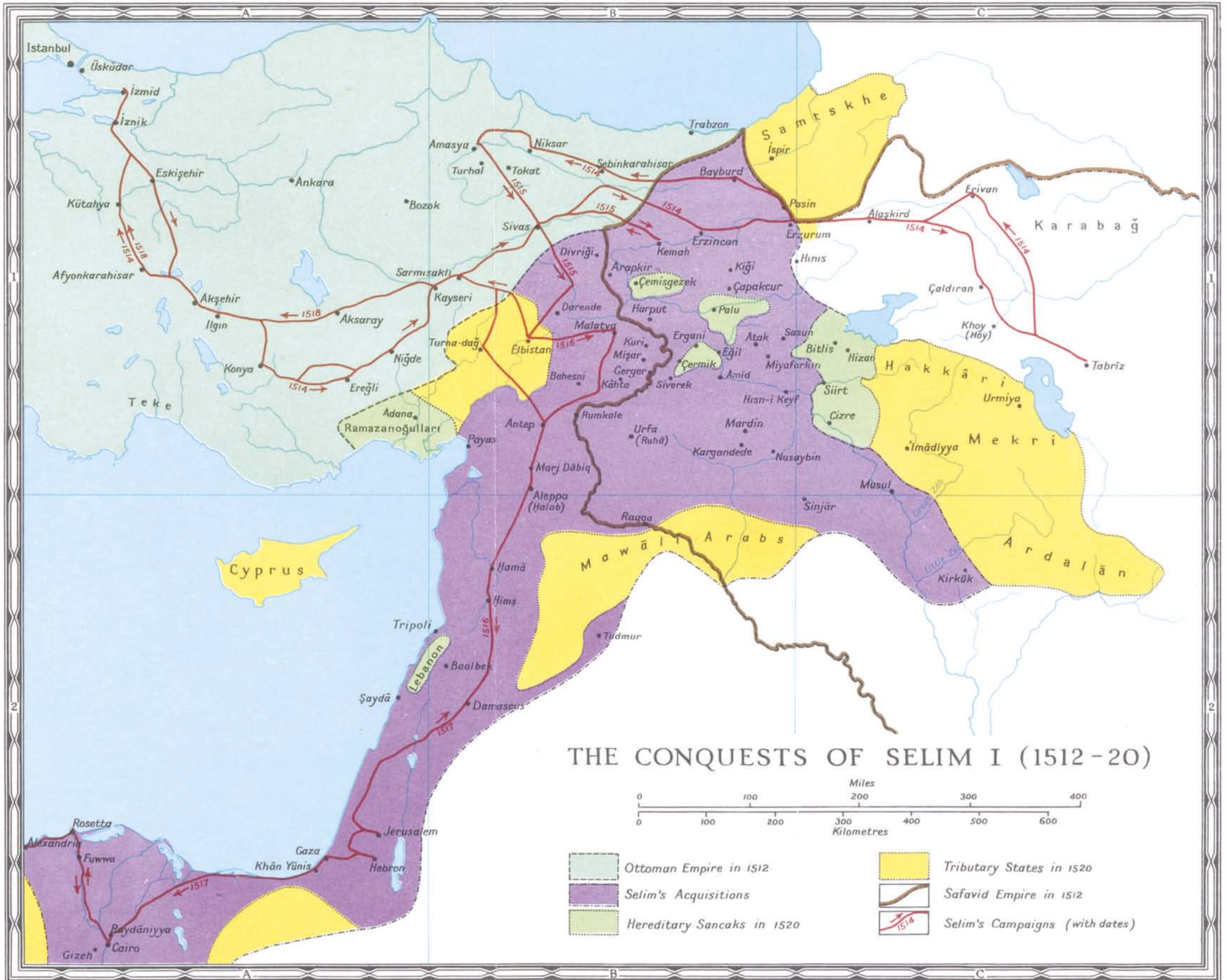
THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE COMPARED  
WITH THE EMPIRE OF MEHMED II



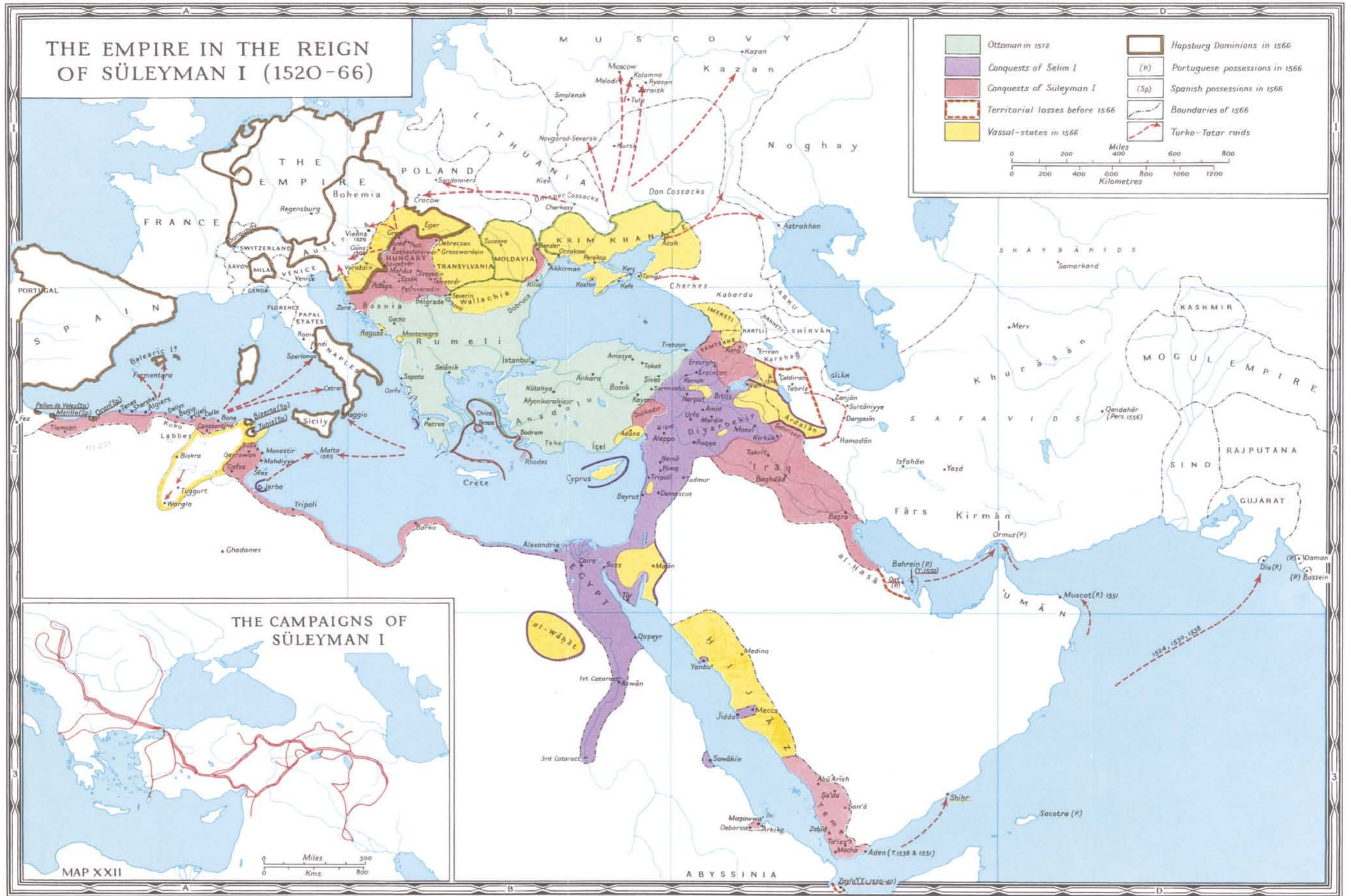
Byzantine Empire { in Asia c. 650-950 A.D.  
in Europe c. 1015-1186 A.D. Mehmed's Empire in 1481 { zones of influence







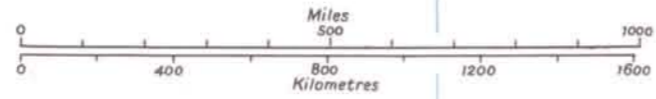
# THE EMPIRE IN THE REIGN OF SÜLEYMAN I (1520-66)



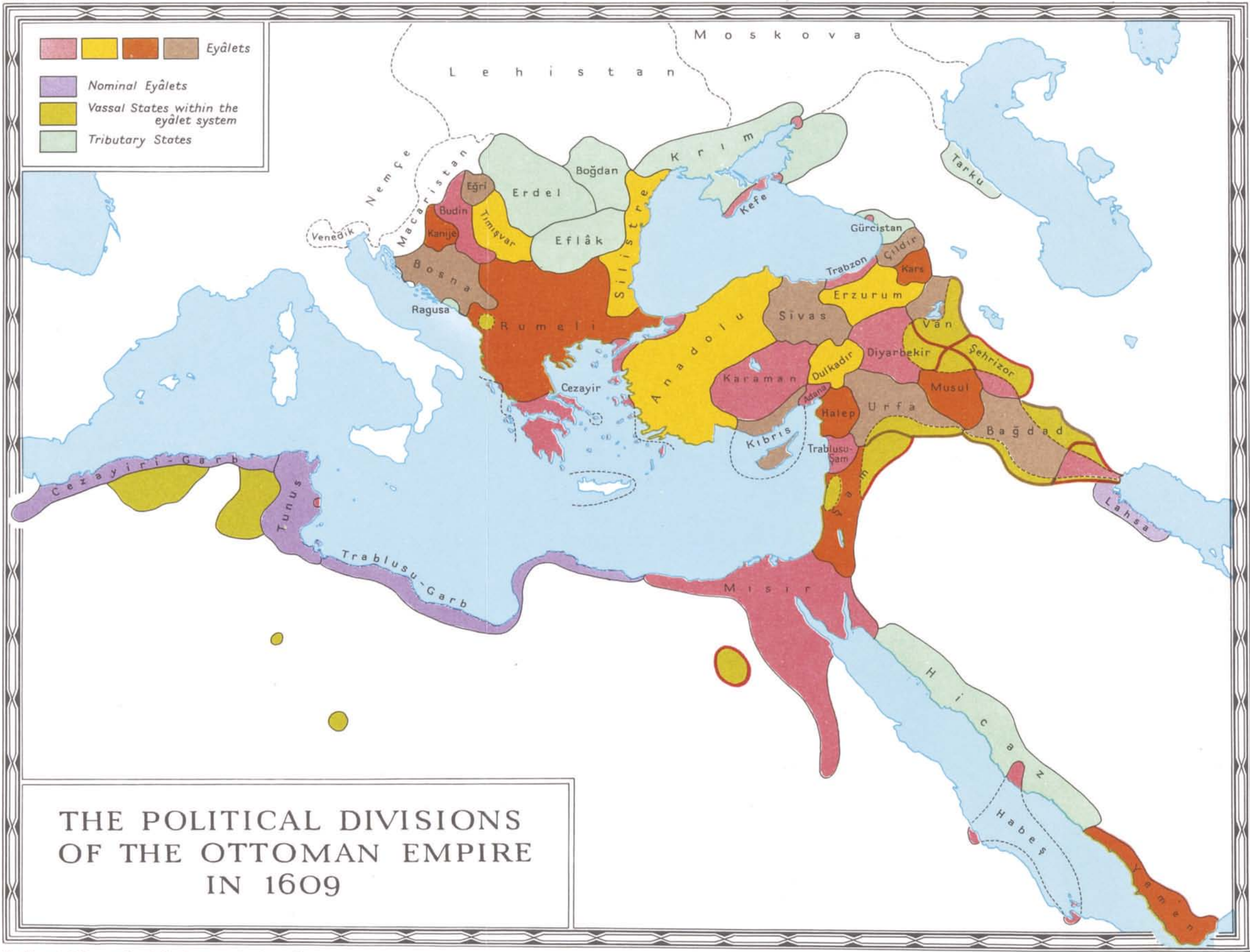
# THE EMPIRE FROM 1566 TO 1612



- Ottoman Boundary in 1566
- " " " 1612
- Gained and lost, 1566 - 1612
- Vassal-states in 1612
- Nominal possessions in 1612
- Areas of revolt, 1600 - 1612
- Hapsburg possessions 1612
- Other Boundaries of 1612

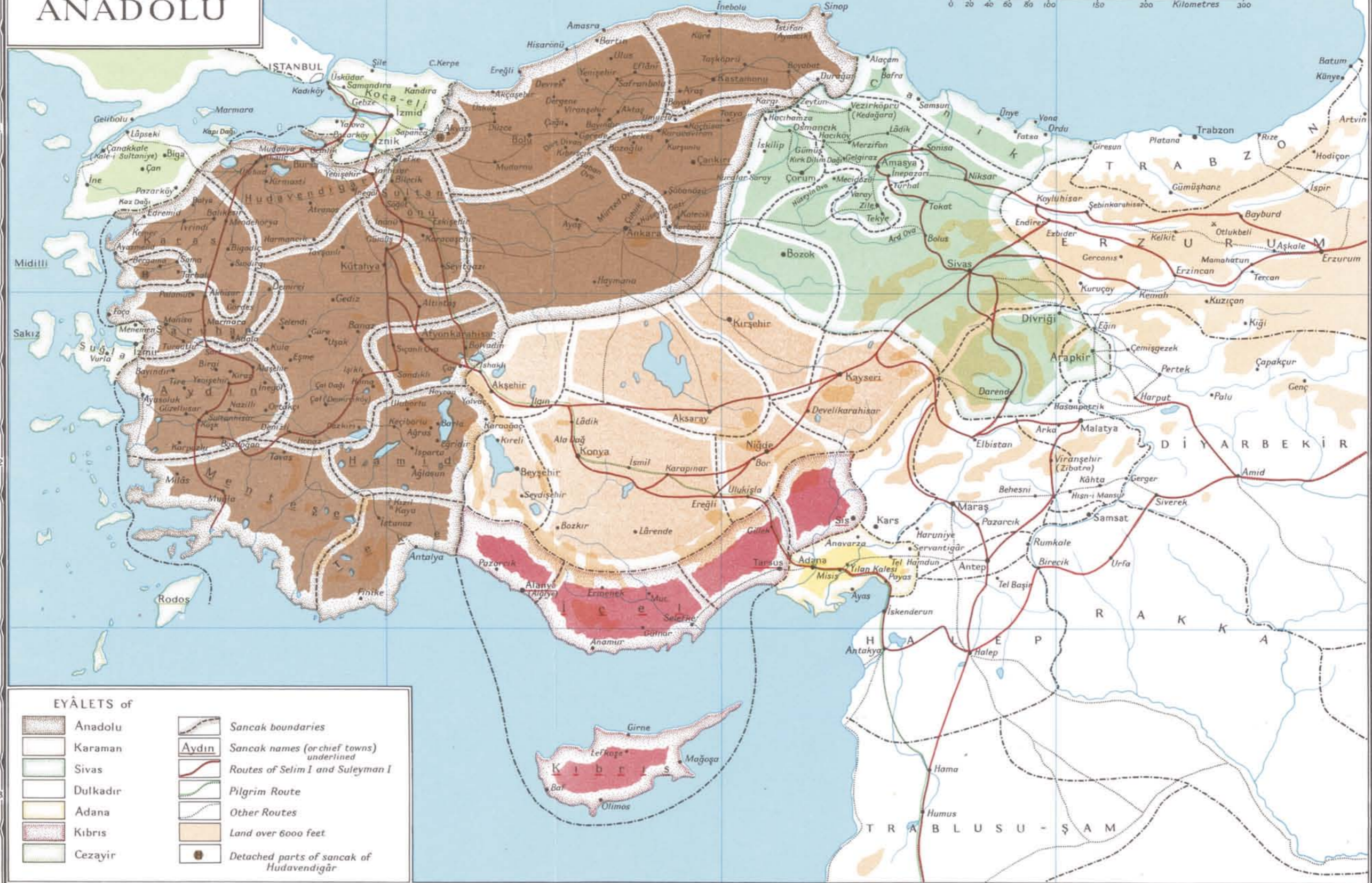
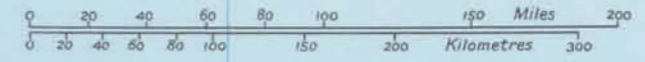


Continuation of Southern Arabia and East coast of Africa on the same scale



THE POLITICAL DIVISIONS  
OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE  
IN 1609

# ANADOLU



**EYÄLETS of**

	Anadolu		Sancak boundaries
	Karaman		Sancak names (or chief towns) underlined
	Sivas		Routes of Selim I and Suleyman I
	Dulkadir		Pilgrim Route
	Adana		Other Routes
	Kibris		Land over 6000 feet
	Cezayir		Detached parts of sancak of Hudavendigâr





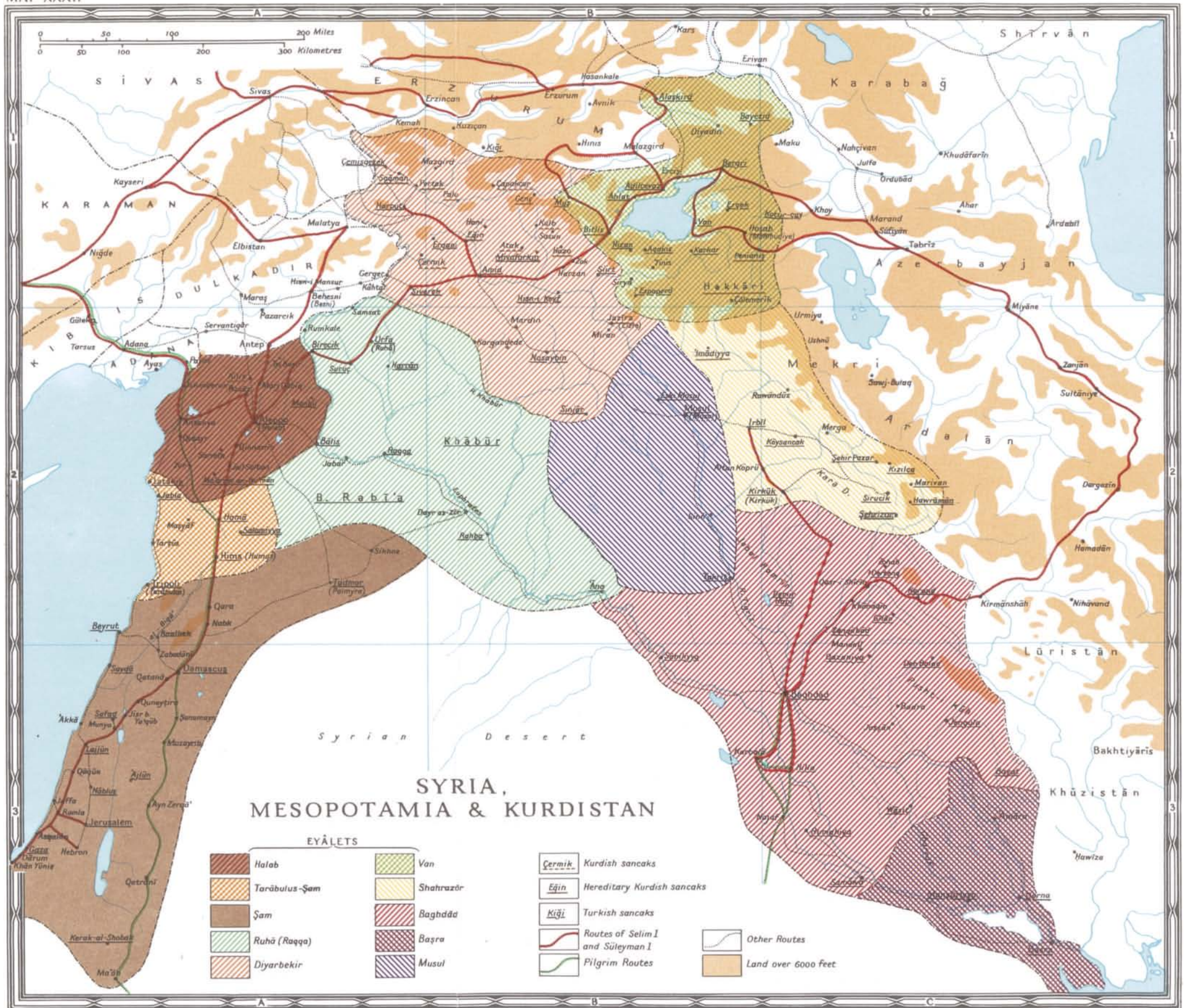


# THE BLACK SEA AND THE NORTHERN STEPPES

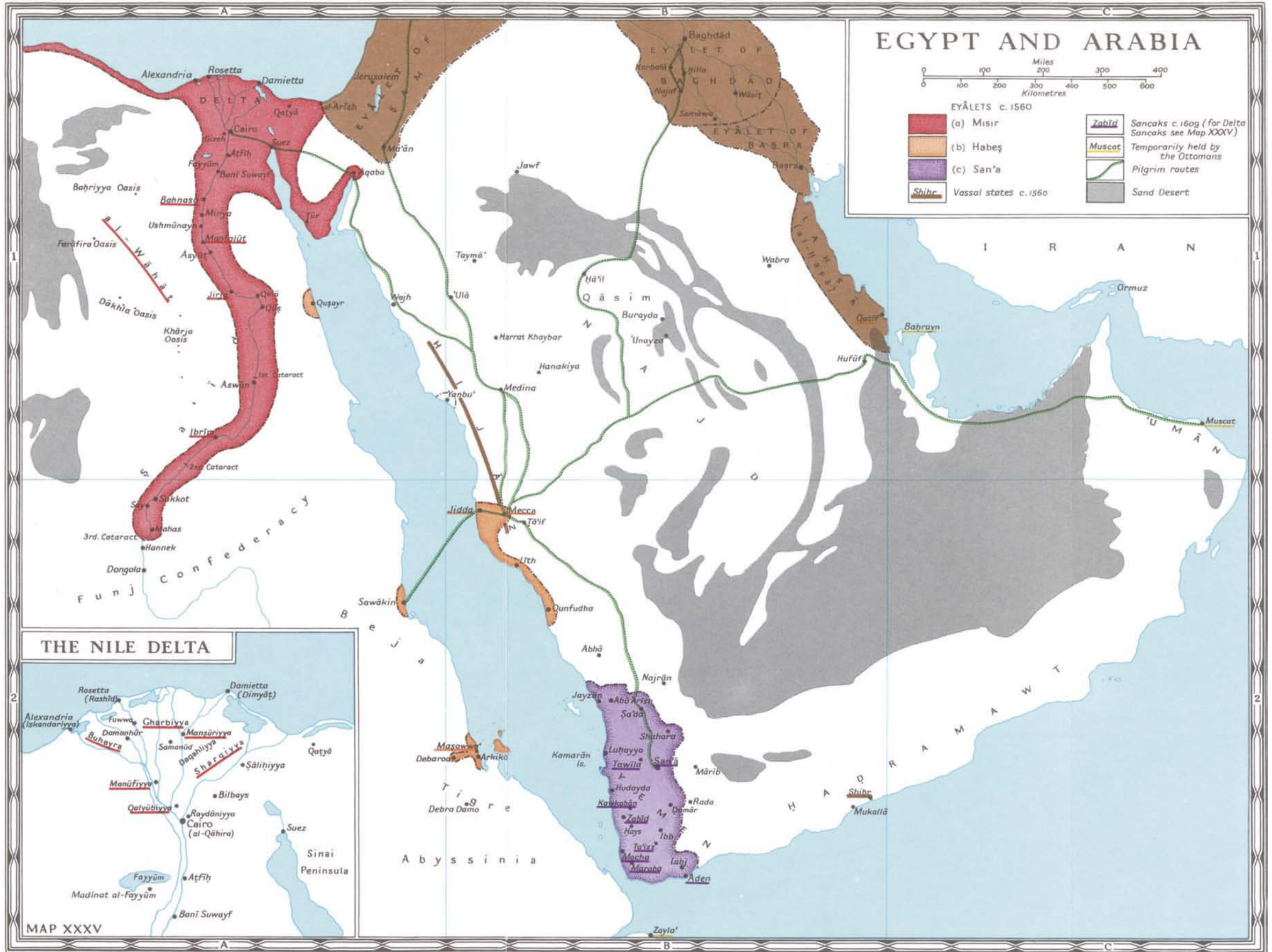
-  Limits of settled land on the steppe frontier c.1500
-  Ottoman Empire in 1609
-  Vassal States in 1609
-  Other boundaries in 1609
-  Russo-Cossack outposts in 1609 (with dates of foundation)
-  Turko-Tatar Raids
-  Russo-Cossack Raids and Campaigns

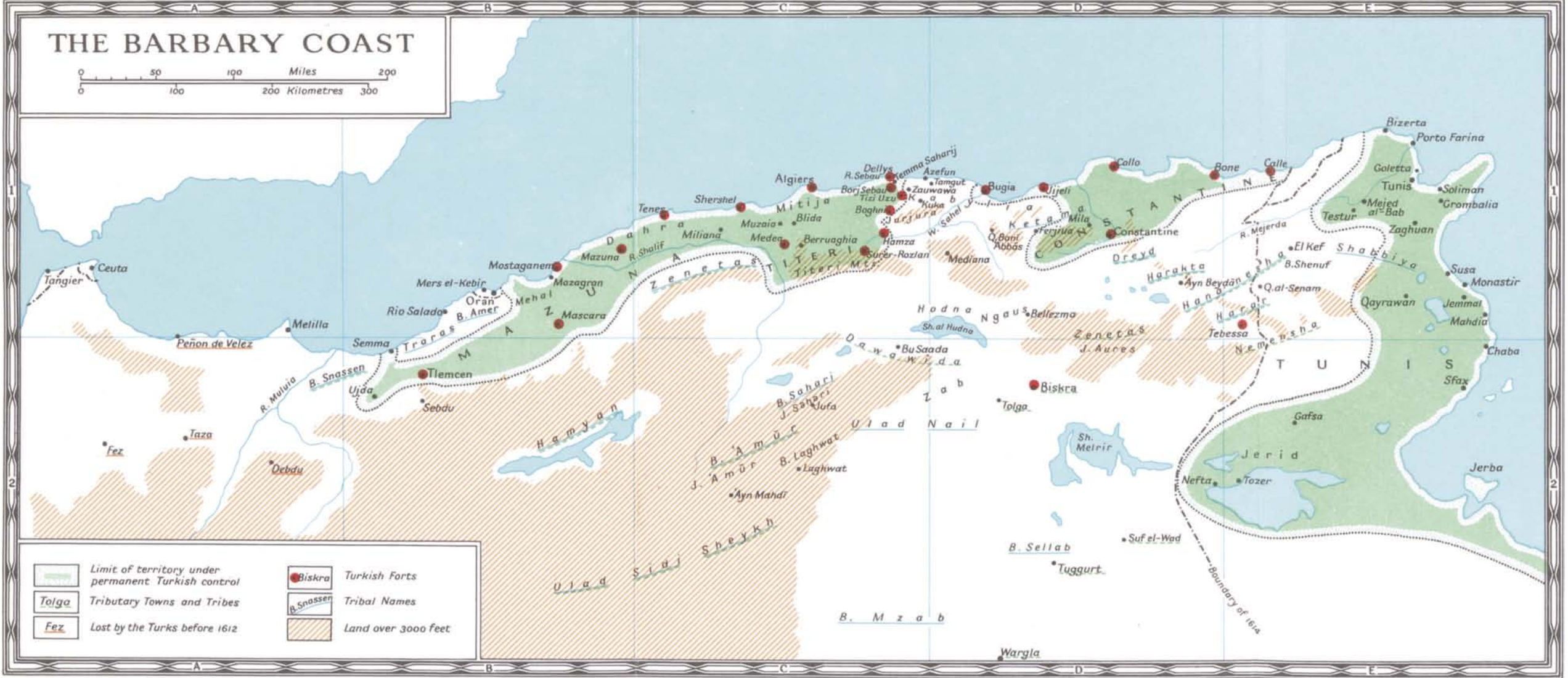












An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire – Pitcher