CONTENTS

Note on Conventions xiii

	Prologue	1
PA]	RT I. EMERGENCE	15
1	The Early Ottomans	17
	Turks and the Byzantine World	17
	Holy Warriors and Marcher Lords	19
	Historical Contingency and Accidents	23
	Material Rewards and Religious Legitimation	26
	Balkan Geopolitics	28
	The Crusade of Nikopol	32
2	Defeat and Recovery	35
	Timur and the Defeat at Ankara	35
	Pillars of Power: Timars and Sancaks	40
	Pillars of Power: The Child Levy and the Standing Army	42
	Strategies of Conquest	46
	Halting the Ottoman Advance: King Sigismund's Buffer States	53
	Danubian Border Defense	61
	The Habsburg-Jagiellonian Rivalry	63
	Europe's Last Offensive Crusade: Varna 1444	65
	Bows, Firearms, and Military Acculturation	68

viii CONTENTS

3	Constantinople	73
	The Conquest of Constantinople	73
	Claiming Universal Sovereignty	79
	A New Imperial Capital	81
	A New Cadre of Viziers	83
	Controlling the Military	88
	A New Palace and the Imperial Council	90
	Ottoman Constantinople and Europe	94
4	Conquests	103
	Belgrade 1456: European Crusade—Ottoman Defeat	103
	Manipulating Internal Strife: From the Morea to the Crimea	106
	Ottoman Threat and Dynastic Rivalry in Central Europe	112
	Challenge from the East: Akkoyunlus and Safavids	119
	The Conquest of the Mamluk Sultanate	129
	Missed Opportunity: The Indian Ocean	133
	European Reactions and Ottoman Naval Preparations	138
	Changing Balance of Power along the Danube	144
PAI	RT II. CLASH OF EMPIRES	149
5	Süleyman in Hungary	151
	Süleyman and the Collapse of the Danubian Defense	151
	Mohács: 1526	159
	The "Greatest Victory"?	169
	Contested Accessions	170
	Damage Control	178

CONTENTS ix

6	Imperial Rivalries	188
	Ottoman-Habsburg Rivalry	188
	Quest for Universal Kingship	197
	Realpolitik and the Partition of Hungary	200
	Ottoman-Safavid Struggle for Supremacy	213
	Trouble in Transylvania	217
	Death at Szigetvár	225
7	Overreach	229
	The Red Sea and the Indian Ocean	229
	Muscovy and the Ottomans	235
	Cyprus and the Battle of Lepanto	240
	After Lepanto	244
	Small Wars: The Bosnian-Croatian Frontier	247
	The Long War in Hungary	251
	Defeat and Consolidation: The Safavid Frontier	258
PA]	RT III. SINEWS OF EMPIRE	263
8	Resources and Military Power	265
	Mapping Empires, Frontiers, and Resources	266
	The Ottoman Army	275
	Ottoman Naval Power	284
	The Gunpowder Revolution and the Ottomans	288
	Habsburg Military Commitments and Border Defense	298
9	Military Transformations	306
	Habsburg Military Transformation	306
	Habsburg War Finance and the Estates	309
	Ottoman Army Growth	215

x CONTENTS

	The Metamorphosis of the Janissaries	321
	Provincial Forces and the Rise of the Kapu Halkı	324
	Ottoman War Finance	328
10	Lawfare and Diplomacy	334
	Competing Titles and Claims of Sovereignty	335
	Instruments of Ottoman Lawfare: Truces and Peace Treaties	339
	From Short-Term Truce to Perpetual Peace	343
	Ad Hoc Embassies and Resident Ambassadors	349
	Language and Diplomacy	358
11	Embassies, Dragomans, and Intelligence	365
	European Embassies as Centers of Espionage	
	in Constantinople	365
	Embassy Dragomans and Intelligence	375
	The Porte's Dragomans and Intelligence	383
	Agents of Many Masters	389
	Ottoman Intelligence Gathering	392
	Intelligence on the Frontiers	395
PAI	RT IV. FRONTIERS AND WARS OF EXHAUSTION	405
12	Borders and Border Provinces	407
	Survey Books and Sovereignty	407
	Border Demarcations	412
	Geography and Border Defense	42
	Border Provinces and Administrative Strategies	425
13	Contested Bulwark of Islam	430
	Fortifications and Garrisons	430
	Guardians of the Frontier	440

CONTENTS xi

	The Cost of Defense	447
	Condominium and the Geography of Sovereignty	453
14	Wars of Exhaustion	460
	War with Venice: Dalmatia and Crete	460
	Transylvania and Its Rebel Princes	466
	Disciplining Vassals and Stabilizing the Northern Frontier	472
	Habsburg-Ottoman Wars	480
	The Last Conquests: Candia and Kamieniec	486
	The Ottoman Siege of Vienna	490
	Wars against the Holy League	495
	Epilogue	511

Acknowledgments 519
Chronology 525
Glossary of Terms 533
Glossary of Place-Names 537
Notes 541
Bibliography 597
Index 647

1

The Early Ottomans

Turks and the Byzantine World

The ancestors of Osman, the eponymous founder of the Ottoman dynasty, arrived in northwestern Asia Minor and settled in the former Byzantine province of Bithynia shortly before 1300. By that time, the Byzantine emperor of Constantinople had long lost control over much of Asia Minor. After the victory of the Seljuk Turks over the Byzantine army in 1071 at Manzikert, a branch of the Great Seljuks of Iran gradually extended its rule in eastern and central Asia Minor, which the newcomers called Rum, the land of the Romans or Greeks. Under the Seljuks and the rival Turkmen dynasty of the Danishmendids (whom the Seljuks eliminated only a century after Manzikert), large numbers of nomadic Turks from Transoxania arrived in Rum, whose upland pasturelands and warm coastlands offered ideal conditions for the pastoralists' way of life.

Conversion to Islam, the religion of the winning party, seems to have been widespread from the eleventh century onward. Despite conversion and the Turkification of the population, the Seljuk sultanate of Rum remained a multiethnic and polyglot polity. Turks were living mainly along the border zones, which they called *uc*, while Greeks and Armenians were partly rural and partly urban, as were the Persians (Tajik) and Arabs. Relations between Greeks and Turks were close and intermarriages relatively common. Some Byzantine aristocratic families—the Komnenoi, Tornikoi, Gabrades, and Mavrozomai—became members

18 CHAPTER 1

of the Seljuk nobility. Greeks worked in the Seljuk administration, while the Byzantine emperors hired Turkish troops. The emperors also launched joint military campaigns with the Seljuks against other rivals. Fleeing Seljuk rulers and rebel princes sought refuge in Byzantium as often as they did among their Muslim brethren in Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Iran. At the same time, rebel Byzantine lords escaped to the Seljuk capital Konya. Despite raids and punitive campaigns, there existed a long-lasting, if uneasy, political cooperation between Byzantium and the Seljuk sultanate of Rum from 1160 until 1261. This amicable relationship was based on the friendship between the Byzantine emperors and Seljuk sultans and their respective political elites, as well as on the influence of the Orthodox Church in Seljuk domains.

The Seljuk sultanate acted as the chief guarantor of the Nicene Empire after the Latin crusaders captured Constantinople in 1204 during the Fourth Crusade, established a Latin empire in Constantinople, divided the former Byzantine lands among themselves, and forced the Byzantine emperors into exile in Nicaea (modern Iznik). During the Nicene era, the Seljuk sultans acknowledged the emperors in Nicaea. In contrast, the Seljuks considered the "Empire of Trebizond" in northeastern Asia Minor and the Despotate of Epirus in Albania and northwestern Greece (the other Byzantine successor states after the Fourth Crusade) only as regional polities of nonimperial dignity. The peoples of Rum under Seljuk rule shared elements of each other's cultures. The beliefs of the Greeks in Seljuk Rum differed from those living under the Byzantine emperors. They also dressed like Turks, used Turkish weapons, and spoke a vernacular with Turkish and Persian loan words. Many Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and Persians in Rum spoke at least two languages. Jelaleddin Rumi (1207–73)—the founder of the mevlevi order of dervishes, originally from Balkh in Central Asia—wrote most of his works in Persian. But he also used Turkish and Greek vocabularies when addressing his poems to the townsfolk of Konya, his chosen new home.¹

The influx of Turkish nomadic peoples—known as Turkmen or Turcoman—into western Asia Minor is closely related to the Mongol invasion of the Middle East in the 1240s and 1250s. A western army of the Mongols invaded and defeated the Seljuks of Rum in 1243 at

THE EARLY OTTOMANS 19

Kösedağ, northeast of Sivas. The Seljuks of Rum became the vassals of the Mongol Ilkhanids. The Ilkhanids established their empire in the vast area from present-day Afghanistan to Turkey after Hülegü Khan (r. 1256–65), the grandson of Chinggis Khan, had conquered and sacked Baghdad, ending the rule of the Abbasid caliphs (750–1258). As the Mongols occupied more and more grasslands for their horses in Asia Minor, the Turkmen tribes moved farther to the west and settled on the Seljuk-Byzantine marches. By the last decades of the thirteenth century, the Ilkhanids and their Seljuk vassals had lost control over much of Asia Minor. In the ensuing power vacuum many local Turkmen tribal chiefs, known as *beg* or *emir*, managed to establish themselves as rulers of small chiefdoms or principalities. The Ottomans, who were only one among the numerous Turco-Muslim emirates, settled in northwest Asia Minor, in the former Byzantine province of Bithynia.

The Ottomans benefited greatly from their new location. After the Byzantines recaptured Constantinople from the Latin crusaders in 1261, the emperors in Constantinople were primarily preoccupied with regaining control over southeastern Europe, while still managing their defenses in Asia Minor against Turkmen attacks. But because of Venetian threats, Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282–1328) followed a more passive policy along the eastern borders. He also attempted to improve Byzantine finances by reducing the size of the army and dismantling the fleet. In the words of the contemporary Byzantine chronicler Pachymeres, writing circa 1310, "the defenses of the eastern territory were weakened, whilst the Persians (Turks) were emboldened to invade lands which had no means of driving them off." 3

Holy Warriors and Marcher Lords

Until the late 1970s, most scholars understood the Ottoman polity as a quintessential Islamic frontier warrior state, whose raison d'être was the holy war or jihad—termed *ghaza* in Ottoman sources—against the "infidels" and the continuous expansion of the Ottoman emirate's frontiers at the expense of its Christian neighbors. Formulated in the 1930s by the Austrian Ottomanist scholar Paul Wittek, the *ghaza* thesis served as an

20 CHAPTER 1

all-embracing elucidation of the rise, evolution, and fall of the Ottoman Empire. Wittek believed that the early Ottomans shared the chivalrous spirit of the *futuwwa* religious "corporations," whose understanding and practice of Islam differed from that of the religious establishment (*ulama*). Situated on the frontier of Byzantium, the Ottoman *ghazis* were strategically positioned to wage such "holy wars." Opportunities for glory served as a magnet for the warriors of the neighboring Turco-Muslim emirates. The ostensibly inexhaustible supply of zealous *ghazi* warriors under the banner of the early Ottoman rulers seemed to explain their military successes.⁴

Scholarship from the late 1970s began to question Wittek's thesis. Critics have argued that what Wittek termed as early Ottoman ghazas were more inclusive political enterprises. In the early fourteenth century, the Muslim Turkmen emirates of Aydın, Karasi, Saruhan, and Ottoman forged alliances and launched military ventures with Christian Catalans, Byzantines, and Genoese. Catalan mercenaries, whom the Byzantines hired to fight the Turkmens, fought both against and alongside the Turks. The Byzantine emperors Andronikos III (r. 1328– 41) and John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347–54) enlisted the help of the Muslim Turkmen emirs of Saruhan, Aydın, and Ottoman against their opponents both in the empire and beyond. Local Byzantine governors cooperated with the Ottomans, while dissatisfied Byzantine generals and soldiers joined the victorious Ottomans. In the late 1340s and early 1350s—during the war between Genoa, on the one hand, and Venice, Aragon, and Byzantium, on the other—the Genoese of Galata sought the assistance of the Ottomans. Galata was a suburb of Byzantine Constantinople north of the Golden Horn and home of a Genoese colony, established almost a century before. In the summer of 1351, the Ottomans supplied the Genoese with a thousand archers to fight against Genoa's Christian enemy.⁶ The Genoese-Ottoman cooperation lasted until the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Genoese ships helped the Ottomans on multiple occasions to maintain communication between their lands in Asia Minor and southeastern Europe, sabotaging Byzantine and Western attempts to block the crossing of Ottoman troops from Asia to Europe.⁷

THE EARLY OTTOMANS 21

The fourteenth century witnessed Ottoman campaigns against fellow Muslim Turks. The Ottomans also annexed the neighboring Turkish emirates of Karasi, Saruhan, Germiyan, and Hamid. Fifteenth-century Ottoman chroniclers portrayed the early Ottomans as *ghazi* warriors, often ignoring these conflicts and the Ottomans' alliances with Christians. These chroniclers claimed that the Ottomans acquired the lands of the neighboring emirates via peaceful means, such as by purchasing it and by marriage. When they mentioned the wars between the Ottomans and their Turkish neighbors, Ottoman chroniclers tried to legitimize them by stating that the Ottomans acted in self-defense. Other chroniclers claimed that the Ottomans were forced to fight because the emirates' hostile policies hindered the Ottomans' holy wars against the Christians.⁸

The heterogeneous nature of the early Ottoman society was a rich source of military and administrative skills. Among the allies of Osman, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, one finds Orthodox Greeks and recent Christian converts to Islam, such as Evrenos and Köse Mihal. Ghazi Evrenos was one of the most famous Ottoman marcher lords. Ottoman chronicles claimed that Evrenos was a Muslim Turk from the neighboring Karasi emirate. However, a recently discovered source suggests that he was of Serbian descent, the son of a certain Branko Lazar, who after his conversion to Islam was known as İsa Beg. Branko Lazar may have joined the Ottomans to extend his original patrimony at the expense of his local Christian rivals. His Serbian origin may explain why the Ottoman ruler Murad I entrusted Evrenos to lead the Ottoman army to the battlefield of Kosovo in 1389. Unlike the newcomer Ottomans, Evrenos had been familiar with the region's geography and politics. 9

Köse (Beardless) Mihal, a Byzantine castellan of the small fort of Harmankaya in Bithynia, which controlled strategic communication arteries along the Sakarya River basin, first fought at the side of Osman as a Greek Christian by guiding Osman's troops against the Byzantines. Mihal later converted to Islam and mediated between the Ottomans and the local Byzantine lords. In 1326, as an Ottoman commander, Mihal negotiated the surrender of Prousa (Bursa) to the Ottomans. The latter allowed the town's Byzantine commander to leave for Constantinople,

22 CHAPTER 1

but his chief adviser with whom Mihal negotiated the surrender, a certain Saroz, decided to join the Ottoman conquerors.¹⁰

Ottoman chroniclers of the fifteenth century downplayed the role of the semi-independent warrior lords of the Ottoman marches in the early Ottoman conquests, giving agency to the House of Osman. Yet, these marcher lords played a crucial role in expanding the Ottoman domains and shaping Ottoman rule in southeastern Europe. Until his death in 1417, Ghazi Evrenos was an influential actor in the Ottoman conquests in Rumeli, capturing most of the lands between the Marica River and the Adriatic coast. His light cavalry raiders fought in the battles of Kosovo (1389) against the Serbs and their allies and of Nikopol (1396) against the crusaders. Three of the four most famous marcher lord dynasties—the Evrenosoğulları, Mihaloğulları, and Malkoçoğulları (the Sons of Evrenos, Mihal, and Malkoç/the Serbian Malković family)—were of Christian origin. 11

These frontier lords possessed large hereditary estates and substantial armies of frontier raiders. The Turks called these raiders akinci, "those who flow," from the Turkish verb akin, meaning "to flow." In the words of the fifteenth-century Byzantine chronicler Doukas (d. after 1462), when they heard "the herald's voice summoning them to the attack which in their language is called akin—they descend like a flooding river." The marcher lords often acted independently of the Ottoman rulers. They governed large areas of the southeastern European marches as fellow generals equal in status to the Ottoman sultan rather than military commanders subject to the latter's orders. The role the marcher lords played in the Ottoman succession struggles of 1402–13 illustrates their status and influence. By siding with the Ottoman prince, who seemed to have supported their raids and lifestyle, the marcher lords wielded substantial power. None of the warring Ottoman princes could hold on to their lands in southeastern Europe without their support. 13 Early Ottoman rulers were very much aware of the power of the marcher lords and were thus careful not to increase their status further. This may explain why no marcher lord appears to have ever been appointed to the highest administrative positions (provincial governors-general and vizier) of the Ottoman domains. Nor do they appear to have been given THE EARLY OTTOMANS 23

Ottoman princesses in marriage, despite the Ottoman practice of dynastic marriages, whereby Ottoman rulers forged political alliances with local Turkmen emirs in Asia Minor and vassal Christian rulers in southeastern Europe. 14

The extent to which the raids of the marcher lords and the campaigns of the early Ottomans were religiously inspired is subject to debate. These wars likely meant different things to different segments of the early Ottoman society. Some understood that they fought a religious war; others joined the campaigns for the booty. 15 While the early Ottomans emerged in "a largely multi-confessional context," the military and the ruling elite later adopted "both ghazi legitimation and a more exclusive religious posture. A conquest that did not start as a ghaza became one over the course of time." ¹⁶ Such an approach is a reminder that an emphasis on Ottoman pragmatism, flexibility, inclusiveness, and political shrewdness should not overshadow the importance of religious fervor in the early Ottoman society, especially after the mid-fourteenth century. In the first decades of their emergence, the Ottomans faced Byzantine Christians, with whom the Muslim Turks of Asia Minor had established relationships after living side by side for centuries. The relationships involved wars and rivalry as much as they did cooperation and occasional political alliances. After the Ottomans crossed into southeastern Europe, however, they fought against Bulgarians, Serbs, and European crusaders from Hungary and western Europe. Fighting against these new enemies meant that *ghaza* became an increasingly important part of Ottoman ideology and legitimation. The Turks of western Asia Minor went willingly to war against their Christian enemies, seeking both glory and booty.

Historical Contingency and Accidents

One problem with the *ghaza* thesis is that it is monocausal. Monocausal explanations tend to have great appeal among historians and social scientists in explaining "origins," especially in fields that lack major paradigms. Such explanations suggest inevitability to the way things evolved. However, the emergence of the Ottomans as a significant regional

24 CHAPTER 1

power by the sixteenth century was neither inevitable nor foreseeable in 1300. It involved, as did all complex processes of state formation, a good deal of historical contingency and accidents. Students of the early Ottoman enterprise have long pointed out the propitious location of Osman's small emirate, the power vacuum, and the wars among the Ottomans' neighbors, as well as various natural disasters that aided the emergence of the House of Osman. Historians have drawn attention to the possible relationship between a flood in the spring of 1302 and Osman's first major victory against the Byzantines in the summer of the same year on the plain of Bapheus near modern İzmit. 17 Others have pointed to the possible effects of the Black Death, which arrived in Asia Minor in 1347. Plagues affect urban and coastal populations to a greater extent than pastoral communities in the interior of Asia Minor. Therefore, it is plausible that the Turkish maritime principalities of Menteşe, Aydın, Saruhan, and Karasi suffered more severely from the plague than did the Ottomans, who lived farther from the coast, and whose sparsely populated pastoralist society was often on the move. The plague also could have weakened the military capabilities of the Byzantines, who then hired Turkish troops, including Ottoman mercenaries, a practice that had a long tradition well before the plague. 18

While historical accidents and contingencies were important in the initial Ottoman conquest, the opportunities created by floods, earth-quakes, civil wars, and the power vacuums within and among their neighbors were quickly exploited by the Ottomans. The early Ottomans were shrewd tacticians, and they established their first bridgehead in Europe as a direct consequence of such a policy. In 1347 Ottoman troops, profiting from yet another Byzantine domestic strife, crossed the Dardanelles Straits into Thrace as allies of John Kantakouzenos, commander in chief of the Byzantine army. Kantakouzenos challenged the rule of the underaged emperor John V Palaiologos (r. 1341–91), claiming the throne for himself. Kantakouzenos first enlisted the help of his old ally Umur, the emir of Aydın. But the emir faced a crusading army and thus was unable to assist him. Kantakouzenos then turned to Orhan (r. c. 1324–62), Osman's son and heir. He gave his daughter Theodora in marriage to Orhan in 1346 and with Ottoman help acquired the

THE EARLY OTTOMANS 25

throne as coemperor in 1347. In 1352 war broke out between Emperor John V Palaiologos and Kantakouzenos's son Matthew, the governor in Edirne. John V Palaiologos enlisted the support of the Serbs and Bulgarians, while Kantakouzenos called on his Ottoman son-in-law. In the battle near modern Didymoteicho in northeastern Greece, Kantakouzenos's Ottoman mercenaries soundly defeated the emperor's Serbian and Bulgarian allies. The Ottomans then raided and plundered Thrace. Amid these raids, Orhan's son Süleyman, commander of the Ottoman forces, occupied the town of Tzympe near the Byzantine coastal fortress of Gallipoli on the European shore of the Dardanelles. Ottoman soldiers gradually extended their control over the north shore of the Marmara Sea from Gallipoli to Constantinople. Two years later, when an earthquake destroyed the walls of Gallipoli, Süleyman seized it. John Kantakouzenos lost support in Constantinople, primarily because he received blame for allowing the Ottomans to conquer Byzantine lands in Europe. When John V Palaiologos returned to Constantinople aboard Genoese ships, Kantakouzenos abdicated. But the damage had been done. Gallipoli became the Ottomans' European bridgehead for their raids into Europe. The attacks commenced shortly after Kantakouzenos's abdication, as Orhan had no allegiance or family ties to Emperor John V Palaiologos.¹⁹

The Ottomans turned Gallipoli into a maritime base and a naval arsenal, built on the existing Byzantine dockyards. Their use of Gallipoli as a springboard for raids in Europe demonstrated a significant difference between the Ottomans and the other Turkish emirs in Asia Minor. The latter were contented with pay and plunder and returned the conquered lands to the Byzantines. The Ottomans, by contrast, used their alliance with the Byzantines to acquire strategic sites and territory.

Ottomans-Byzantine relations and Gallipoli's fate illustrate how the Ottomans capitalized on the weakness of their Byzantine neighbors. In 1366, the Ottomans lost Gallipoli to Amadeo of Savoy, who restored it to Byzantium. Sultan Murad I (r. 1362–89) had demanded the restoration of Gallipoli since 1371. Still, he regained it only years later as a consequence of yet another Byzantine civil war. In 1373, while Emperor John V—by this time an Ottoman vassal—and Murad I were campaigning in Asia

26 CHAPTER 1

Minor, their sons Andronikos IV and Savcı plotted against their fathers. The emperor and the sultan joined forces and defeated their rebellious sons. While Murad beheaded Savcı, the emperor spared his son's life. However, obeying Murad's demands, he had Andronikos partially blinded and transferred his right of succession to his younger brother, Manuel. In the summer of 1376, Andronikos IV seized the throne from his father with Genoese and Ottoman help, offering the Ottoman ruler his allegiance and an annual tribute. As a token of his subservience, Andronikos surrendered Gallipoli to Murad.²⁰

Material Rewards and Religious Legitimation

A fourteenth-century text on *ghaza* demonstrates that Ottoman leaders encouraged fighting for both glory and booty, as the latter composed the material base of the warriors of the marches.²¹ Booty was a significant source of revenue for raiders and soldiers. Narrating the attacks against Belgrade and the conquest of Smederevo (1439), the Ottoman chronicler Aşıkpaşazade, who was present during these campaigns, claimed that he purchased nine slave boys from the raiders, whom he later sold for between 200 and 300 akçe per slave.²² These were significant sums in the mid-fifteenth century, when the elite janissaries of the sultan received a daily wage of three to five akçe. Booty and service land grants (timar) remained an essential tool for the Ottoman rulers to motivate their followers. As late as 1484 Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) mobilized for war with the following words: "All those wishing to enjoy the pleasure of *ghaza* and jihad, and those who desire booty, those brave comrades who gain their bread by their sword, and those wishing to receive timar by comradeship, are requested to join me with their weapons and military equipment in this blessed ghaza."23 As a further incentive, the sultan added that in this expedition, he would not claim onefifth of the booty, which was the Muslim ruler's share.

While material rewards were an essential incentive for the soldiers, religion was a useful tool for loyalty creation and legitimation. From the mid-fourteenth century onward, the Ottomans increasingly thought of themselves and their religion as superior to that of the Byzantines. Gregory

THE EARLY OTTOMANS 27

Palamas—archbishop of Thessaloniki (1347–60) and a prisoner held in Orhan's summer camp outside Bursa in 1354—remarked that his captors considered the bishop's captivity "as a proof of the ineffectiveness" of the Christian religion, attributing their victories to Islam's superiority. 24 Recently converted Turkish marcher lords who sided with the Ottoman dynasty had become devout Muslims. Ghazi Evrenos's pilgrimage to Mecca, and his largesse toward the various Sufi brotherhoods—the spiritual guides of the marcher lords and their *akıncı* horsemen—is illustrative in this regard. The region that Evrenos conquered contained 267 dervish convents and 65 soup kitchens. These buildings were initially designed to provide lodging and food for the wandering Muslim dervishes. They also served the needs of traveling merchants, students, and the local poor, both Muslim and Christian, greatly facilitating the acceptance of Ottoman rule among the conquered peoples. 25

The use of religion for legitimation was not unique to the Ottomans. Neither was the 1337 Bursa inscription, Wittek's primary source for his *ghazi* thesis, which titled Osman "the exalted great emir, mujāhid [the one striving in jihad] in the way of God, sultan of the *ghazis*, *ghazi*, son of the *ghazi*."²⁶ Other contemporary emirs of Asia Minor also used such titles. The ruler of Kastamonu, Yavlak Arslan of the Çobanoğlu dynasty (r. c. 1280–91), was titled "the mine of generosity and munificence to the *ghazis*, the eradicator of rebels and destroyer of infidels." On mosque inscriptions and coins, Mehmed Beg of Aydın (r. 1308–34) was "sultan of the *ghazis* and mujāhid." His successor, Umur Beg (r. 1334–48), was titled on his tombstone as *ghazi*. İshak Beg of Saruhan (r. 1362–68) was named "protector of the *ghazis* and mujāhid." Whether these sources used the word *ghazi* to mean "holy warrior" or as an alternative to the pre-Islamic Turkish term *alp* (meaning simply "hero" or "warrior-adventurer") is subject to scholarly debate.²⁸

The Ottoman sultans of the early fifteenth century routinely legitimized their rule by using normative Islamic titles on coins and mosque inscriptions, projecting their images as righteous rulers of Islam who fought for the expansion of Islam's domains. On the Arabic-language inscription of the Hamza Beg or Eski Cami (Old Mosque) of Stara Zagora in Bulgaria—built by Prince Süleyman's subordinate Hamza in

28 CHAPTER 1

1409—Prince Süleyman is titled as "the mighty, righteous and conquering sultan, the sultan of Islam and Muslims, the shadow of God," "the lord (Persian khudawandgar) and commander Süleyman, son of Bayezid, son of Murad, the khan." On the inscription of the Eski Cami in Edirne, Sultan Mehmed I (r. 1413-21) legitimized his rule as a righteous sultan, mujāhid and murābit (that is, the one who guarded Islam's frontiers). The Ottoman ruler is also titled as "victorious (mansūr) with his flag, overwhelming the enemies, spreading justice and beneficence over the inhabitants of the earth, the sultan, son of the sultan, son of the sultan, helper of the earth and the religion." The titles mujāhid and murābit are "closely connected to the piously militant frontier spirit founded in the Salvation History of the first century of Islamic history."²⁹ The Ottoman rulers used religious legitimization against the neighboring Turco-Muslim emirs because the latter employed similar Islamic titles to justify their rule. Islamic legitimacy remained important in later years too, when Ottoman sultans sought religious rulings (fatwa) to justify their wars against Muslim neighbors and rivals.

Religious legitimation also remained paramount for the Byzantine imperial propaganda. John VI Kantakouzenos framed his wars against the Turkmen emirates as a struggle between the pious Byzantines and the evil "Ismaelites" and "barbarians," the "natural enemies" of Byzantium. Byzantine authors presented Byzantium's defensive wars against the Ottomans in a similar fashion, emphasizing Byzantine moral and cultural superiority. While this rhetoric aimed at attracting western European military aid, it also served to exonerate John VI Kantakouzenos from the charge that his hiring the Ottomans as mercenaries against his rivals contributed to the Ottoman expansion in southeastern Europe.³⁰

Balkan Geopolitics

In the first half of the fourteenth century, three powers ruled over much of the Balkan Peninsula: the Byzantine Empire, Serbia, and Bulgaria. Serbia emerged as the most powerful of the three, controlling vast lands from the Danube in the north to the Gulf of Corinth in the south under Stephen Dušan (r. 1331–55). Dušan's brother-in-law, John Alexander

THE EARLY OTTOMANS 29

(r. 1331–71), ruled Bulgaria. However, by the time the Ottomans started their conquests in the peninsula in earnest, all three powers had been weakened. The Byzantine Empire had been engulfed in a civil war. Serbia broke up into competing principalities following disintegration under Dušan's son and heir Uroš (r. 1355–71), and the extinction of the Nemanjić dynasty (1371). Tsar Alexander partitioned Bulgaria between his two sons and lost northeastern Bulgaria to Dobrotica—a powerful lord of perhaps Turkish descent—after whom these lands came to be known as Dobrudja.³¹

King Louis I of Hungary (r. 1342–82) used the weakening of his southern neighbors to force them to accept Hungarian suzerainty. After the death of Dušan, two Serbian magnate families quarreled in the region of Braničevo in northern Serbia. By 1361, the region had seceded from Serbia and was ruled by the Hungarian king's Serbian vassal. The same year, Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović (r. 1371–89), who ruled parts of northern and eastern Serbia, accepted Hungarian suzerainty. King Louis also recovered the Bosnian territories that his father had lost, making Tvrtko I of Bosnia (ban 1353-77, and king 1377-91) his vassal.³² The Hungarian king also arranged a marriage between Tvrtko and Dorothy, the daughter of John Stracimir of the Tsardom of Vidin. Since Stracimir was Louis's vassal, the marriage strengthened the Hungarian king's influence in both kingdoms.³³ His suzerainty over parts of Serbia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria brought Louis I closer to the Ottomans. Realizing the Ottoman threat, Louis signaled his intention to participate in a crusade against them. In 1366, the Byzantine emperor John V Palaiologos visited Louis's capital Buda. He pleaded for help against the Ottomans, promising to comply with papal instructions regarding church union. However, the pope soon suspended the crusade because the Greeks did "not appear to want union by choice alone and through religious zeal," but were "driven to it so as to get your help," wrote the pope to the Hungarian king.³⁴

By about 1369, the Ottomans had conquered northern and central Thrace. By capturing Adrianople (Edirne)—located at the confluence of the Marica and Tundža Rivers—they gained access to Thrace and Bulgaria. That the sultan chose the city as the center of his court signaled

30 CHAPTER 1

Ottoman plans to stay in Europe.³⁵ Having crushed the Serbian forces at the battle of Černomen (T. Çirmen, 26 September 1371), Ottoman raiders overran Macedonia, conquering the lowlands as far as Samakov by about 1375. These events forced the Serbian princes of Macedonia, the Bulgarian tsar John Šišman of Trnovo, and the Byzantine emperor John V Palaiologos to accept Ottoman suzerainty. The Ottoman victory in 1371 was more significant in opening the Balkan Peninsula to the Ottomans than the better-known battle of Kosovo in 1389.³⁶

Following the Serbian princes' defeat in 1371, Pope Gregory XI urged Louis I to resist the Ottomans. However, two months later, the pope expressed his hopes that the Hungarian king would help him in his war against the Visconti. While King Louis demonstrated a genuine interest in leading a crusade against the Ottomans, he soon defaulted on his promise. However, when the rumor spread that Vaicu of Wallachia had sided with the Ottomans, Louis marched against him in 1375. In Wallachia, the Hungarians clashed with Ottoman troops who supported the Wallachians. To secure his realm's southeastern borders against Wallachian and Ottoman incursions, Louis built and reconstructed several forts. However, these could not stop Ottoman raids into Transylvania, which had traditionally played the role of Hungary's eastern frontier province. Despite his limited success against the Ottomans, King Louis gained a reputation as a devote son of Christ who campaigned against the pagan Lithuanians and the schismatics and heretics of Serbia, eliciting titles from the popes like "champion of Christ" (athleta Christi), "very devout prince and most illustrious son of God's holy Church," and "most Christian prince and heroic hammer of the infidels." 37

Following the death of Louis I in 1382, Prince Lazar regained his independence by taking advantage of the succession struggles for the Hungarian crown between the Angevin claimants and Sigismund, son of Emperor Charles IV of Germany. However, sometime before 1386, Lazar arranged the marriage of his daughter Theodora to Nicholas II Garai (Nikola Gorjanski). Ban of Croatia and Slavonia and leader of the pro-Sigismund baronial faction, Garai played an essential role in persuading his father-in-law to acknowledge King Sigismund's (r. 1387–1437) suzerainty in 1389. Significant control of the pro-Sigismund in 1389.

THE EARLY OTTOMANS 31

In 1386 Murad conquered Niš and thus gained access to the northern section of the Roman military road leading to Prince Lazar's Serbia in the Morava River valley. However, either before or shortly after the Ottoman conquest of Niš, Prince Lazar managed to temporarily stop the Ottomans near Pločnik, southwest of Niš. ⁴⁰ Pločnik was an Ottoman setback, as was Şahin Pasha's defeat at the hands of the Bosnians of Tvrtko at Bileća before or on 27 August 1388. Şahin's defeat at Bileća provoked Murad to retaliate in the spring of 1389. ⁴¹

The Ottoman chronicler Neşri believed that the troops of Prince Lazar fought with the Bosnians at Bileća. But Sultan Murad had good reasons to attack Lazar, as the latter's acknowledgment of Hungarian suzerainty threatened Ottoman interests. ⁴² The armies of Murad and Lazar met on 15 June 1389 at the battle of Kosovo Polje, near present-day Priština. While Lazar was captured and executed, the Serbian Miloš Obilić murdered the sultan. After the battle, Stephen Lazarević (c. 1377–1427), Lazar's son and successor, became the vassal of the new Ottoman ruler, Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402), while Stephen's sister, Olivera, married Bayezid. For more than a decade, Stephen Lazarević fought alongside his Ottoman overlord against Hungary, Wallachia, the European crusaders, and Timur (Tamerlane). The sultan rewarded his vassal's services by giving him the lands of his Serbian rival. ⁴³

As Sultan Bayezid I's vassal, Stephen Lazarević was compelled to allow Ottoman soldiers into his castles, including Golubac on the border river Danube. Ottoman and Serbian raids into Hungary's southern counties became yearly occurrences. For the first time since the Mongol invasion in 1241, Hungary's border regions suffered from regular foreign attacks, increasingly with devastating consequences. In retaliation, King Sigismund led his armies into Serbia annually between 1389 and 1392, when the sultan was fighting against the Karamans in Asia Minor. Sigismund's forces captured several Serbian forts and fought the Ottoman and Serbian troops in the district of Braničevo, southeast of Belgrade. 44

In 1393, the Ottomans conquered Trnovo, annexing Danubian Bulgaria and sending Tsar Šišman to Nikopol on the Danube as Sultan Bayezid's vassal. In 1394 Bayezid invaded southern Hungary and Wallachia, and ousted the pro-Hungarian voivode Mircea the Elder (r. 1386–1418),

32 CHAPTER 1

replacing him with his own vassal, Vlad the Usurper (r. 1394–97). At the battle fought in the fall of 1394 at the mountain pass of Rovine, Mircea and his allies defeated the retreating Ottoman army, killing Ottoman begs and the Ottoman-vassal Serbian princes Marko "Kraljević" and Constantine Dejanović. Bayezid managed to cross the Danube at Nikopol aboard ships provided by Tsar Šišman. Back on Ottoman-controlled lands, the sultan—suspicious of the Bulgarian tsar's collusion with Mircea and King Sigismund—ordered Šišman's execution. ⁴⁵ Most of modern Macedonia fell under Ottoman rule after Rovine. The better part of the region, however, was included in the frontier lands of the marcher lords Paşa Yığıt, his heir İshak Beg (1414–39), and İsa Beg (1439–63), İshak's son. ⁴⁶

Despite his defeat at the battle of Rovine, Bayezid managed to depose the pro-Hungarian Wallachian voivode and installed his own vassal. The deposed Mircea fled to Sigismund, and in March 1395 he and his boyars acknowledged Hungarian suzerainty, promising to participate in Sigismund's planned crusade. Sigismund restored Mircea into the voivodeship in the summer. By the fall, however, the Ottomans had their man back in Wallachia. Ottoman control over Wallachia, Bulgaria, and two strategic Danubian crossings at Nikopol and Vidin sped up the preparations for the crusade. 47

The Crusade of Nikopol

Ottoman conquest in southeastern Europe reinvigorated the idea of the crusade, especially in Byzantium, whose monarchs and envoys had traveled in Europe from Buda to London, hoping to secure military and financial aid against the Ottomans. Owing to a four-year truce in the Hundred Years' War, French and English knights were available for the crusade. In the end, western European participation in the crusade remained rather limited. Although Pope Boniface IX supported the crusade, he called the peoples of Dalmatia, Bosnia, Croatia, and Slavonia into arms not against the "infidel Turks" but against his own rival, Benedict III, the pope in Avignon. 48

Only a few thousand European knights—from France-Burgundy, England, Germany, and Bohemia—joined the crusade. The French-

THE EARLY OTTOMANS 33

Burgundian heavy cavalry of about a thousand men was the largest army. The backbone of the crusader army was the Hungarian troops, numbering perhaps ten thousand men. With a thousand Wallachian mounted archers and woodland fighters provided by Mircea, the crusader army could have reached fifteen thousand fighting men.⁴⁹ The majority of the troops consisted of heavy cavalry, but the Hungarians and Wallachians also fielded mounted archers. While these were better suited to fight the Ottoman light cavalry, Ottoman archers were superior owing to their outstanding composite reflex bows and better firing technique.⁵⁰

Historians have criticized Sigismund for wasting time capturing Ottoman castles along the Danube. However, the crusaders' slow movement reflected a strategy aimed not at expelling the Ottomans from Europe but at expanding the Hungarian zone of influence in southeastern Europe so that the advance of the enemy could be halted beyond the borders of the kingdom. Whatever Sigismund's goals may have been, the crusade ended in disaster. The defeat came as a result of the French knights' insistence to lead the charge despite their ignorance of the enemy's tactics. The Ottoman infantry's fortified positions stopped the French heavy cavalry's charge, and the knights' retreat swiftly degenerated into a rout. S2

Barely escaping with his life, King Sigismund fled via the Black Sea to Constantinople and then to Hungary by sea. The rest of the Hungarian army, led by Sigismund's governor of Transylvania, returned home via Wallachia. In 1397, the Hungarians managed to unseat the Ottoman vassal Wallachian voivode, who had assaulted the crusaders on their return to Hungary. They restored Mircea to the voivodeship, this time for good. They having seized the territories of the Bulgarian tsardom of Vidin from his ruler in 1396, the Ottomans now were bordering Hungary and Wallachia along the Danube River.

Called "a *ghazi* river" by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ottoman chroniclers and "the mother of rivers" by the seventeenth-century Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi, the Danube henceforth defined the northern border of the sultan's domains. For the Ottomans on the frontier, the Danube separated the lands of Islam from those of the "infidel." ⁵⁴

34 CHAPTER 1

The Ottomans organized the conquered territories to the south of the Danube into the districts (sancak) of Nikopol (T. Niğbolu), Vidin, and Silistra (T. Silistre). They conquered Silistra in 1388, appointing the marcher lord Mihaloğlu Firuz Beg as its first sancak governor. However, the voivode Mircea retook the border town several times until Mehmed I subdued him into vassalage in 1417 and reconquered Silistra in 1419. Silistra, Vidin, and Nikopol served as Ottoman springboards for crossborder raids into Hungary, Wallachia, and Moldavia until the conquest of Hungary in the middle of the sixteenth century. ⁵⁵

INDEX

Italic page numbers indicate illustrations.

Abbas I (Safavid shah), 213, 247, 258-60, 436 Abbas II (Safavid shah), 260, 261 Abbasid caliphs, 19, 35, 43, 130, 213, 545n1 Aceh, 234-35 Adriatic, Hungarian defense and, 116, 301, 304; Ottomans and, 22, 285, 430, 460; Ottoman-Venetian frontier along, 412, Ragusa and, 60; Venice and, 242, 341, 412, 418, 495, 505 Aegean Sea/islands, 53, 81, 97, 141, 193, 287, 412, 459, 462 Africa/North Africa, 112, 137-38, 141, 191, 194, 235, 242, 246, 266, 285, 408, 530 ahdname (treaty, "capitulation"), 98, 181, 211, 254, 334, 342, 417, 490. See also lawfare, Ottoman Ahmed (prince, son of Bayezid II), 122-23 Ahmed I, Sultan, 254, 257, 328, 364 Ahmed II, Sultan, 328, 345 Ahmed III, Sultan, 332, 345, 504, 505 Ahmed Pasha (2nd vizier, beylerbeyi of Egypt), rebellion of, 133, 157-59, 229 Ahmed Pasha, Gedik (admiral, grand vizier), 79, 111, 286 Ahmed Pasha, Hersekzadze (grand vizier), 87-88, 367 Ahmed Pasha, Köprülüzade Fazıl (grand vizier), 347-48, 388, 481; and conquest of Candia, 486-87; and conquest of Podolia, 487-88; and war with Habsburgs, 480-86 Ahmed Pasha, Seydi (beylerbeyi of Bosnia and Buda), 465-66, 477, 592n14

165; in Süleyman's campaign against Hungary, 153, 154; transformed under Mehmed II, 89 Akkerman, 111, 240, 285, 528, 537, 567n24 Akkoyunlu (White Sheep) Turkmen Confederation, 7, 47, 89, 110, 126, 457; Mehmed II's defeat of, 119-20; tax codes of, 49. See also Uzun Hasan Alaüddevle (Dulkadır emir), 121, 129; laws of, 457 Albania, 18, 49, 50, 53, 413, 465 Aleppo, 138, 194, 216, 326, 450, 476, 482; gunpowder production in, 293; Great Mosque of, 130; Habsburg interpreter from, 382; hereditary sancaks of, 457; Ottoman conquest of, 130; Ottoman province of, 154, 215, 261, 427, 447, 450; road networks and, 399; sipahis in, 571n24; survey books of, 270; treasury of, 93, 234, 450, 452; Venetian consuls in, 368 Alexander the Great, 36, 100-101, 138, 188, 387 Algiers, 93, 141-42, 195, 205, 242, 285, 300, 336, 530 Ali, Hadım (beylerbeyi of Buda), 220–21, 224 Ali Beg, Mihaloğlu (sancakbeyi of Smederevo), 90, 108 Ali Pasha, Kadızade (beylerbeyi of Buda), 443-44; and peace of Zsitvatorok, 256-57, 363

akıncı (raiders), 22, 27, 56, 281; marcher

lords and, 88; Mohács campaign and, 163,

648 INDEX

Ali Pasha, Köse (Varvar/Vardar), 477, 480 Ali Pasha, Müezzinzade (admiral), 241, 243 Ali Pasha, Semiz (grand vizier), 224, 225-26, 366, 371, 415 Ali Pasha, Uluc (Kılıç Ali, admiral), 242, 568n37; and battle of Lepanto, 243; and rebuilding of navy, 244-45 Amiroutzes, George, 87, 100, 109–10, 267 Anadolu/Anatolia (province), establishment of, 41; governors of, 87, 153 Anadolu Hisarı, 75, 81 Angelović, Mahmud. See Mahmud Pasha, Angelović Angelović, Michael, 87, 107-8 Ankara, battle of (1402), 36–37, 40, 46, 54, 58 Anna, Jagiellon (queen of Bohemia and Hungary, spouse of Ferdinand), 118-19, 171-72, 174, 529 Apafi, Michael (prince of Transylvania), 363, 417, 479, 497 Arabs, 2, 17, 102, 157, 396, 457 archers, 20, 33, 42, 68-69 Armenia/Armenians, 17, 18, 83, 237, 247, 377; ghulams in Persia, 259; Ottoman-Safavid rivalry and, 216 arquebuses/arquebusiers, 71-72, 126, 130, 131, 186, 244, 289, 316; Habsburg, 298, 306, 307; janissaries armed with arquebuses, 290 artillery fortress, 277, 288, 291, 306 Asia Minor, 2, 9, 23, 255, 265, 320; Black Death in, 24; Celali rebellions in, 258; Turco-Muslim emirates in, 3; Turkic tribes in, askeri (Ottoman ruling class), 92, 280, 321 Asquier, Michel d, 378, 379, 380, 381 Astrakhan, khanate of, 236, 237, 238 Augsburg, imperial diets held in, 143, 217, 312; Religious Peace of (1555), 27; War of the League of (Nine Years' War), 501 Austria, 2, 13, 119, 249, 508–9; border defenses of, 348; dynastic unions and, 112-113; Hungary as buffer against Ottomans, 118; Inner Austria, 301, 312; Ferdinand I's rule

in, 172; Lower Austria, 312, 315, 575n24.

See also Habsburg Empire

Aydın, emirate of, 20, 24, 39, 284, 542n18;
dynastic marriage and, 47; Greek as
language of diplomacy in, 101; as Ottoman
sancak, 49

Azak (Azov), 112, 236–37, 239, 503; captured
by Cossacks, 240; captured by Muscovy
(1696), 502; as "Islam's strong bulwark,"
504; Ottoman garrison in, 408, 431

Azerbaijan, 9, 124, 137, 194, 450; OttomanSafavid rivalry and, 216, 247, 259; Shirvanshah dynasty, 47; Turkmen confederations
in, 119

Bâb-i 'Âli. See Sublime Porte (the Porte) Baghdad, 19, 35, 39, 49, 213-14, 216; cannon foundry in, 292; as capital of Abbasid caliphate, 214; gunpowder production in, 293; Ottoman conquest of, 214, 259, 375, 487, 530; Ottoman garrison in, 279; road network and, 399; Safavid conquest of, 121, 259; as salyaneli province, 425; treasury of, 93, 261, 450 bailo (Venetian ambassador-consul), 94-97, 123, 183, 184, 290, 340; border demarcations and, 413; dragomans and, 375-76, 387; espionage and, 366-71; intelligence gathering and, 394, 399, 402, 461 Bali Beg, Yahyapaşazade, 145, 152, 159, 183, 555n3 Banjaluka, 109, 184, 409; as center of the sancak of Bosnia, 109 Barbary corsairs, 112, 210, 286 Barbatus, Josephus (Yusuf ibn Abu Dhaqn), 378-379, 382, 383 Barcsay, Ákos, 475, 476, 478 Basra, 259, 440; affair of, 261; and Afrasiyabs, 261; and border demarcation, 418; cannon foundry in, 292; fleet in, 234; as hereditary

INDEX 649

Báthory, Sigismund, 252, 253, 254 Báthory, Stephen, 164, 357, 358, 471, 493 battle: of Ankara (1402), 36-37, 526; of Belgrade (1717), 508; of Černomen (1371), 30; of Chaldiran (1514), 9-10, 126-28, 529; of Giorgiu (1595), 253; of Jam (1528), 128; of Kahlenberg (1683), 492-94; of Kosovo (1389), 22, 30-31, 526; of Kosovo (1448), 43, 72, 527; of Kösedağ (1243), 525; of Lugos (1695), 502; of Marj Dabiq (1516), 10, 130-33, 529; of Manzikert (1071), 17, 525; of Merv (1510), 124; of Mezőkeresztes (1596), 253-54; of Mohács, 2, 161-65, 170, 530; of Mühlberg (1547), 210; of Nagyharsány (1687), 497; of Nikopol (1396), 33, 36, 526; of Otlukbeli (1473), 120; of Pavia (1525), 161, 199, 529; of Petrovaradin (1716), 506-7; of Raydaniyya (1517), 10, 131-33, 529; of Romhány (1593), 251; of Rovine (1394), 32, 544n45; of Sisak (1593), 249; of Slankamen (1691), 501; of Szászfenes (1660), 477; of Székesfehérvár (1593), 251; of Szentgotthárd (Mogersdorf, 1664), 486; of Varna (1444), 43, 68, 72, 105; of Warsaw (1657), 472; of Zenta (1697), 502-3; of White Mountain (1620), 531. See also specific naval battles Bavaria, troops from, 299, 492-93, 508 Bayezid I, Sultan, 31, 35, 41, 63, 335; debacle at Ankara (1402), 36-37, 54; marriage to Olivera Lazarević, 48; naval power of, 284; Timur and, 35-37 Bayezid II, Sultan, 26, 80, 111, 133, 267, 367; border demarcations and, 413; diplomacy of, 344-45; divan (Imperial Council) and, 94; intelligence gathering and, 397-398;

Bayezid II, Sultan, 26, 80, 111, 133, 267, 367; border demarcations and, 413; diplomacy of, 344–45; divan (Imperial Council) and, 94; intelligence gathering and, 397–398; Mamluks and, 120; naval power of, 286; revenues of, 146; Sephardic Jews welcomed by, 81; Shah Ismail and, 121; titles used by, 335; truce with Matthias I Hunyadi, 144 Bélay, Barnabas, 125, 143, 144
Belgrade, 26, 54, 56, 142, 144; cannon foundry in, 292; castle of, 185; defense of

(1440), 65; defenses of, 146; "Imperial Road" to Constantinople, 350; imperial siege of (1717), 507-8; Kara Mustafa executed in, 494; mapping of, 267; Mehmed II's siege of (1456), 103-6; Murad II's siege of (1440), 63, 65, 71, 527; Ottoman attack (1492), 145; Ottoman garrison in, 408, 586n3; under Ottoman rule, 204; Süleyman's conquest of (1521), 154, 421, 468, 556n22; Treaty of (1739), 348, 509 Bethlen, Gabriel (Gábor), 315, 359, 444, 514 beylerbeyi (provincial governor-general), 41, 276, 336, 350, 429, 442-44, 458 Black Sea, 9, 52, 81, 237, 297; geopolitics and, 98-99; littoral of, 265, 284; Ottoman garrisons along, 407; as "Ottoman lake," 111; Venetian dominance in, 96 Bocskai, Stephen, 252, 254-57, 314-15, 347, 475, 514 Bohemia, 2, 32, 162, 312, 513, 514; anti-Habsburg uprising (1618-20), 315; dynastic unions and, 113; Hussites in, 53, 64, 72 borders/border provinces: administrative strategies and, 425-27, 428, 429; border defenses of Hungary, 61–68, 116; border demarcations, 412-21, 513; geography and border defense, 421–25; Habsburg border defenses, 301-5, 309; local militias in, 459; sancak governors and, 440–46; sovereignty at sea and, 418-19; survey books and, 407-12 Bosnia, 3, 29, 32; as buffer state, 58; dynastic marriage and, 47; Hungarian Catholic campaigns in, 59; Ottoman conquest of (1464), 90, 106, 108–9; Ottoman garrisons in, 407, 431, 437-38; sancak governor of, 142, 147, 152, 153, 182, 226, 350; sancak of, 49, 270; timar holders in, 546n37 Branković, George, 54, 56, 63, 65, 105, 581n106; death of, 107; double vassalage of, 57; Murad II's peace treaty with, 66, 67 Branković, Lazar, 55, 57, 107

Branković, Mara, 48, 57, 66

650 INDEX

Bratutti, Vincenzo (Vinko Bratutović), churches, 8, 73-74; and Venetians, 19, 39, 379-81, 585n97 94-96, 542n6; western European military Buda, 29, 47, 125, 350; Akkoyunlu envoys in, assistance sought by, 73 47, 115; Byzantine monarchs and envoys in, 29, 32; cannon foundry in, 292; gunpow-Caffa, 122, 384; Genoese colony of, 75, 99, 110; der production in, 293; under Habsburg Ottoman conquest of (1475), 111; Ottoman control, 185; Habsburg sieges of, 188, garrisons in, 431, 432; sancak governor of, 201-2, 203, 208, 254; Habsburg spies and 237, 239; and slave trade, 112; soldiers in secret correspondents in, 373, 375, 390-92; the sancak of, 237, 431, 567n24 Jews of, 166-67, 558n50; law codes of, 49; Cairo, 38, 80, 135-36, 229-32, 234, 399; Long War and, 253, 254; Ottoman garrison Ahmed Pasha rebellion and, 159, cannon in, 279, 408, 572n29, 586n3; sancak of, foundry in, 292; gunpowder production 270; Süleyman's conquest of (1541), 140, in, 293; Ottoman conquest of, 131; shadow 165-67, 170, 204-5, 217, 441, 447 caliph in, 35, 335, 54511 Buda province, 426–27, 429; forts in, 431; Çandarlı Halil Pasha. See Halil Pasha, Çandarlı governors of, 442-44; and governors' Candia, siege of (1648-69), 440, 462-64, tasks, 247-48, 256, 349-50, 395-97, 417; 473, 485, 486-87. See also Crete, Ottomanmilitary of, 208, 432-33, 436-37, 446; and Venetian war in (1645–1669) revenue registers of, 409–10; revenues of, capitulations, 98, 533; and France, 242, 345; as tool of Ottoman lawfare, 339 441, 447-52; treasury of, 93 Bulgaria, 3, 7, 29, 125, 350, 489; Balkan geo-Carinthia, 119, 182, 312 politics and, 28–29, 30; Bulgarian language, Carniola, 109, 118, 119, 182, 312 101, 361; Byzantine Empire and, 25; cartography/maps: and Habsburgs, 266-67, dynastic marriage and, 47; Eski Cami (Old 302-3, 397, 425, 513, 516; and Ottomans, Mosque of Stara Zagora), 27; Orthodox 100, 137, 139, 267-70, 268, 285, 395, 397, Church in, 445; Ottoman control over, 554n89; and Venetians, 395 31, 32, 33, 49; voynuks from, 51 Castaldo, Giovannni Battista, 218, 219, 220, bureaucracy, 3, 7, 93, 276 221, 222, 398 Bursa, 21, 53, 57, 122, 476; inscription of (1337), Catherine of Bosnia (Katarina Kotromanić), 27; sancak governor of, 87 57, 60, 65 Busbecq, Ogier Ghiselin, 12, 354, 585n97 Catholic Church, 59, 73, 129 Byzantine Empire, 9, 79, 360; alliance with Celal, Sheikh, 138, 256 Ottomans, 20, 24-26; civil wars, 8, 24-26, Celali rebellions, 258, 280, 316, 319, 347, 443, 29; eliminated by Mehmed II's conquest, 460; Abaza Hasan revolt compared to, 477; 1, 94, 511; firearms use by armies of, 70; Sheikh Celal and, 256 and Genoese, 20, 95–97, 542n6; Ottoman Cem, Prince (brother of Bayezid II), 120, appropriation of Byzantine legacy, 99; 344-45, 398, 557n26 Central Asia, 2, 7, 18, 43, 335 Ottoman conquest of, 9, 21, 24–26, 73–78, 110, 525-28; and Ottoman pretenders, Černović, Michael, 355, 369-71 38-39, 68, 526; Palaiologos family, 106-7, Chaldiran, battle of (1514), 9, 126, 127, 128, 286; pronoia revenue grants, 40; Turkish troops hired by, 24; Turks and, 17-19; Charles IX (king of France), 242, 337, 370 and union of the Orthodox and Latin Charles of Lorraine, 491, 493, 495, 497

INDEX 651

Charles V (Holy Roman emperor), 157, 161, 170, 171, 271, 336, 352, 394; as archenemy of Francis I, 513; crowned by Pope Clement VII, 188; as defender of Christendom, 194; diplomacy of, 353; Franco-Ottoman alliance at war with, 205, 206-7; languages spoken by, 358; military forces of, 188, 189, 299-300, 561n2; portraits, 190, 211; revenues of, 273; universal kingship and, 198–99 Christianity/Christians, 3, 27, 51, 53, 104, 121, 295; conversion to Islam, 21, 50, 86; divisions within, 143; Europe as "bulwark of Christendom," 8, 54; exemptions from the child levy, 45 Cilli, Ulrich II, 57, 65 Circassia/Circassians, 112, 237, 238, 445; ghulams (military slaves in Persia), 259; Ottoman statesmen from, 465 Clement VII, Pope, 159, 176, 188, 189, 352 Cognac, League of, 161, 176-77, 185, 357, condominium (joint sovereignty), 453-59 Constantine XI (Byzantine emperor), 1, 73, 75-76, 78 Constantinople (Istanbul), city of, 1, 44-45, 52; and brain gain, 293, 512; as Byzantine capital, 39; as center of diplomacy and espionage, 97, 340, 365-75; geostrategic importance of, 81, 82-83; Latin Empire of (1204-61), 18, 19, 96; Latin Quarter, 367; major buildings and sites, 84–85; naval arsenal in, 139, 244, 269, 286; as new imperial capital for Ottomans, 81-83; Ottoman conquest of (1453), 1, 9, 20, 73-78, 468, 511; Ottoman sieges of, 71; Pera suburb, 75, 88, 96, 97, 550n49; relations with European states after conquest, 94-102; Seven Towers (Yedikule), 84-85, 91, 99, 357; strategic location of, 511 Constantinople, Treaty of (1700), 339, 348, 364, 504 corsairs (privateers, pirates), 112, 141, 210, 229, 231, 286 Corvinus, John, 116, 117, 171

Corvinus, Matthias. See Matthias I Hunyadi Cossacks, 111–12, 472, 473, 487; Don, 235, 236, 239, 240; Zaporozhian, 112, 237, 240, 469 Council of Ferrara–Florence, 73, 109 Crete, Ottoman-Venetian war in (1645–69), 260, 319, 347, 349, 395, 438, 460–66; background to, 460–61; Dalmatian front, 464–66; first battle of the Dardanelles, 462; second and third battles of the Dardanelles, 463; fourth battle of the Dardanelles, 464 Crimean Tatars/khanate, 99, 197, 236, 237, 281–82, 551n30; Astrakhan campaign and.

Crimean Tatars/khanate, 99, 197, 236, 237, 281–82, 551n30; Astrakhan campaign and, 239; civil war among, 110–11, 551n24; mobilized for Ottoman military campaigns, 281–82; as Ottoman vassals and allies, 159, 236; Polish-Lithuanian alliance with, 469, 470, 472; in proxy conflicts, 235; Russia freed from tribute obligations to, 504; Russo-Ottoman war (1677–81) and, 489; in siege of Vienna (1683), 491, 493; slave trade and, 286; in Transdanubia, 207; Transylvania attacked by, 473, 475

Croatia, 8, 32, 60, 109, 162, 408; bans/banate of, 30, 116–17, 146, 171; border/frontier of, 248, 266, 299, 301–12, 483; Croatian Estates, 173–75, 301–2, 313, 359; Habsburg border defenses in, 301–5, 309; Habsburg fortresses in, 434; Ottoman attack and raids and, 109, 125, 145, 178, 195, 248–49; Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry and, 195; union with Hungary, 174–75, 559n74

Cyprus, 101, 142, 156, 376; battle of Lepanto and, 240–43; Ottoman Cyprus campaign, 239, 277, 286

Dalmatia, 32, 59, 109, 114, 156, 413. See also Crete, Ottoman-Venetian war in (1645–69) Damascus, 137–38, 154–55, 214, 354, 399, 442; Ottoman conquest of, 130; Ottoman province of, 131, 399, 326, 412, 427, 450; sipahis of, 571n24; surveys of, 131, 270; treasury of, 93, 191

652 INDEX

Dan II, 58, 59 Danube River, 6, 171, 180, 224, 256, 500-502, 506; as border of Ottoman Empire, 33; Hungarian border defenses along, 56, 61-63; Ottoman map of castles and palisades along, 68; debasement, of Ottoman coinage, 74, 329, 527 defter (register), 94, 534; of Halil Beg, 410-11 defterdar (treasurer), 93, 534; and financial bureaucracy, 330-31 Despotate of Morea, 57, 106-7 diplomacy. See lawfare/diplomacy, Ottoman divan (Imperial Council), 91-94, 165, 197, 390 Dobrudja, 29, 38, 58 Doria, Andrea (Genoese admiral), 193, 206, 300 dragomans (translators, diplomatic interpreters): as agents of many masters, 389-92; of European Christian powers, 375-83, 512; frontier intelligence gathering and, 398-99; of the Porte, 383-89 Dulkadır, emirate of, 47, 49, 129, 129-33 Dušan, Stephen (tsar of Serbia), 28, 29, 108 Edirne (Adrianople), 25, 53, 75, 340; as center of sultan's court, 29-30; janissary rebellion in (1446), 74; Mehmed II's New Imperial Palace in, 90-91; Murad II's court in, 51 Edirne, Treaty of (1444), 67; (1568), 247, 416, 417, 420; (1713), 349 Eger castle and province, 221, 253, 301, 303, 304, 408, 424, 426, 436, 451, 454, 500 Egypt, 10, 131, 515; coastal forts in, 430; Mamluk rebellion in Ottoman Egypt, 157, 159; Mamluk rule in, 7, 43, 120, 283; as Ottoman province, 141; revenues from, 132-33, 553n76; as richest Ottoman province, 240; as salyaneli province, 425. See also Cairo Ernst, Archduke, 248, 411, 569n57 Érsekújvár, siege of (1663), 481–82, 482

Erzincan, 47, 110, 121

Eugene of Savoy, 503, 506, 507–8, 518 Evliya Çelebi, 33, 269, 586n2 Evrenos Beg, 21, 22, 27, 43, 58

fatwas (religious rulings), 28, 93, 129 Ferdinand I (archduke of Austria), 2, 119, 170, 189, 200, 271; border defenses of, 301, 303-5, 312-13; border demarcations and, 415; and Charles V, 161, 177, 182, 185, 188-89, 191, 206; death of, 226; diplomacy of, 351, 362; diplomatic overtures toward Ottomans, 182-84, 189, 201; as elected monarch, 172-74; Hungarian crown claimed by, 176-78, 182, 513; intelligence gathering and, 396-97; and John I Szapolyai, 171–81, 193, 196, 201; languages spoken by, 358; marriage to Anna Jagiellon, 118-19, 172; military forces of, 299; Ottoman names/titles for, 337, 338, 578n15; portrait, 175; resources and revenues of, 271-75, 310-12; siege of Buda (1541), 201-2, 203; struggle to control Transylvania, 220–21, 222, 224; tribute paid to the Porte, 211–13, 416; truce with Süleyman, 191–93; war finance and, 310 Ferdinand II (Holy Roman emperor), 301, 373, 467, 468 Ferhad Pasha, 131, 250, 320, 326 Firishta, Muhammad Kasim, 133, 553n79 France, 32, 141, 142, 154, 242, 266, 346; Arras tapestries, 36; Valois dynasty, 10, 298, 299, 345, 513 Francis I (king of France), 11, 139, 140, 148, 157, 193, 352; anti-Habsburg alliance and, 177, 179, 180; as archenemy of Charles V, 513; captured at battle of Pavia (1525), 161, 199, 336; death of, 210; diplomacy with Ottomans, 345, 353; languages spoken by, 358; at war with Charles V, 205, 207 Frederick III (Holy Roman emperor), 64, 103, 113-14 Friar George (George Martinuzzi), 196, 197, 200, 202, 352, 562n19; Buda defended by,

INDEX 653

201; castles of, 421; civil war in Transylvania and, 218; Csanád castle of, 219; death of, 220, 565n86; *dragomans* and, 376; Transylvania under Ottoman vassalage and, 209; treaty with Ferdinand I, 217, 398

Gallipoli, 25-26, 46, 53, 232; Ottoman naval

base at, 137, 284, 286; sancak of, 287 Garai (Gorjanski noble family), marriages and members of, 30, 60, 113 Genoa, Republic of, 20, 75; in Holy League, 242; treaty with Byzantine Empire, 95-96 geopolitics, 1, 9, 28-32 George (György) II Rákóczi, 315, 470-78, 570n67, 593n25, 593n35, 594n47 Georgia/Georgians, 45, 247, 450-51 Germiyan, emirate of, 21, 39; dynastic marriage and, 47, 48; as Ottoman sancak, 49 ghaza (holy war, jihad), 7, 19, 20, 26, 80; importance in Ottoman ideology, 23; material rewards and, 26 ghazi warriors, 7, 20, 21, 153; border defenses and, 408; at sea, 136, 141, 193, 285; Shah Ismail and, 121; Wittek's ghazi thesis, 27, 543n26

Giovio, Paolo, 167, 189, 352
Giray, Devlet (khan of Crimea), 238, 239, 568n26
Golden Horn, 20, 74–75, 77, 83, 86, 96, 286, 511
Golubac, 56–57, 63, 546n49
Grassi, Girolammeo, 373, 374–75
Greece/Greeks, 17–18, 49, 53, 76
Greiffenklau, Alexander von, 374, 382, 383
Gritti, Andrea, 88, 179, 353, 366–67
Gritti, Lodovico (Alvise), 179–80, 184, 186, 386–87, 560n86; death of, 193; Süleyman's crown-helmet and, 191

Habardanecz, John, 183, 184, 362 Habsburgs, 137; border demarcations with Ottomans, 415–17; claim to Hungarian crown, 116; Danubian monarchy, 2; France at war with, 148; geographical

extent of lands ruled by, 273; Hungary ruled by, 247; intelligence apparatus of, 371-75, 402, 403; Jagiellonian rivalry with, 63-65; John I Szapolyai's alliance with Ottomans against, 178-87; mapping of border areas, 267; marital alliances and, 46; military cartography and, 301; military commitments and border defense of, 298–305; military transformations, 306-9; military treatises and academies, 516; secret service of, 11; Thirty Years' War and, 466; Valois rivalry with, 10, 298, 299, 345, 513; war finance and the Estates, 309-15. See also Holy Roman Empire; Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry Hagia Sophia church, 74, 78, 84-85, 167;

Hagia Sophia church, 74, 78, 84–85, 167; "red apple" and, 79; transformed into Aya Sofya mosque, 82

Halil Beg, Çandarlızade, 409, 410, 411, 413

Halil Pasha, Çandarlı (grand vizier), 66, 68, 74, 83, 86, 550n64

Hasan Kafi, Akhisari, 12, 316, 570n67

Hasan Pasha, Abaza 444, 476–77, 592n14

Hasan Pasha, Sokollu/Mehmedzade, 251,

442-43

Hasan Pasha, Telli/Derviş, 248–50; and death at Sisak, 249
Hasan Pasha, Yakovalı, 444–45, 480–81
Hayreddin (Hızır Barbarossa), 141, 194–95, 206–7, 230–31, 345
Herzegovina (the land of Herceg), 87, 109,

153, 465
Holy League, 98, 195, 243
Holy League (1538), 194
Holy League (1571), 242–43
Holy League (1684–99), 319, 320, 495–97, 500–509; Habsburg reconquest of Hungary, 498–99; Ottoman-Safavid peace treaty (1692) and, 345; reconquest of Buda by imperial forces, 495, 496

Holy Roman Empire, 2, 53, 113, 117, 148, 271, 305, 346, 478; geographical extent of, 273; map, 272; population of, 273

654 INDEX

Hungarian Estates, 64, 116–17, 118, 172; Ferdinand I and, 172; Habsburg border defense system and, 312–13; Habsburg-Ottoman condominium and, 453–54; Habsburg peace treaty with Ottomans and, 209, 212; Habsburg reconquest of Hungary and, 500, 514

Hungary, 12, 49, 103; balance of power along Danube and, 144-48, 147; Belgrade in defense system of, 104–5; border defenses of, 142; buffer states and, 54; civil war in, 171; collapse of Danubian defense system, 151-57, 159; Danubian border defenses of, 61-68, 421-23; defeat at Mohács, 159-68; dynastic marriage and, 47; in dynastic union with Poland, 113; Habsburg border defenses in, 301-5, 309; Habsburg-Jagiellonian rivalry in, 63–65; janissaries garrisoned in, 279, 572nn27 and 28; Lower Parts of, 108, 116, 146; military forces, 62-63, 70; Ottoman garrisons in, 407; Ottoman provinces in, 426-27; partition of, 193, 196-97, 200-213; "refugee counties" in, 455; St. Stephen Crown, 2, 64, 65, 114, 172, 176, 178, 186, 218; suzerainty over Serbia, 56

Hunyadi, John (János), 59, 63–68, 113, 343; at Kosovo (1448), 72, 74; military tactics learned from Hussites, 66, 72; at siege of Belgrade (1456), 103–6, 167; victories against the Ottomans, 65–66 Husain al-Kurdi, Amir, 133, 135, 553n79 Hussites, 53, 64, 66, 71, 72

İbrahim, Sarhoş (Drunk), 444, 468
Ibrahim, Sultan, 347, 461, 464
Ibrahim Beg (Joachim Strasz, dragoman), 384, 385–86, 398, 584n46
Ibrahim Müteferrika, 12, 517, 518
Ibrahim Pasha (grand vizier), 159, 161, 167, 171, 190, 200, 336; border demarcations and, 416; on cost of Ottoman rule in Hungary, 169; dragomans and, 386;

execution of, 168, 193; intelligence gathering and, 394; languages spoken by, 361–62; Ottoman alliance with King John and, 178, 180, 182, 183, 185; palace in Istanbul, 168; Selman Reis and, 229–31; statues taken from Buda, 167–68; Süleyman's crown-helmet and, 191; in war with Safavids, 213–14

India, 133, 230, 231–32 Indian Ocean, 10, 229–35, 419; missed opportunity for Ottomans in, 133, *134*,

135–38; Portuguese expansion in, 133 intelligence gathering, 6, 11, 512; *dragomans* of European powers, 375–83; *dragomans* of the Porte, 383–89; European embassies in Constantinople and, 365–75; on the frontiers, 395–99, 402–3; Habsburg, 312; Ottoman, 392–95; road networks and, 399, 400–401, 402; on Safavid power, 127–28

Iran, 18, 128, 237, 246, 261, 513; frontier towns in, 270; "Persian Iraq," 214; Seljuks in, 17; Turkmen confederations in, 119, 283.

See also Safavid dynasty

Iraq, 124, 132, 137, 194, 285, 407; cannon foundries in, 292, 296; Safavid tax regulations in, 49; Shiism in, 10, 213; spies in, 396; Süleyman's campaigns in, 193–94, 232, 270; Ottoman governance in, 3, 49, 215, 216, 259, 426, 513; Treaty of Zuhab (1639) and, 259; Uzun Hasan and, 119 Isa Beg (Branko Lazar), 21, 90, 109 Isabella Jagiellon (queen of Hungary), 200, 201, 202, 204, 218, 352; collapse of Habsburg rule in Transylvania and, 222; death of, 225; recalled from Poland, 223; Transylvania restored to, 384; Treaty of Nyírbátor (1549) and, 217

Islam, 7, 20, 53; belief in superiority of, 27; border defenses and, 408–9, 586n1; conversion of Christians to, 21, 50, 461; conversion of Turks to, 17. *See also* Shiite Islam; Sunni Islam INDEX 655

546n29; avoidance of pitched battles, 151; Safaviyya religious order led by, 120; Shiite Islam and, 120-21 Ivan IV ("the Terrible"), Tsar, 12, 236, 338 Jaice, 118, 178; Hungarian conquest of (1434), 60; Hungarian recapture of (1463), 114; Ottoman attacks on, 145, 555n113; Ottoman conquest of, 109 janissaries, 37, 39, 104, 185, 261, 280, 567n24; agha of, 92, 321, 329; as archers, 68-69, 72; at battle of Mohács, 163-64, 298; in Buda province, 208; "civilianization" of, 281, 322; in Crete campaign, 462, 464-65; defections to Safavid Iran, 128; garrisoned in fortresses, 279, 320, 432, 439-40, 576n36, 589n30; in Holy League wars, 504, 506, 507; Laws of the Janissaries (1606), 44; metamorphosis of, 321–24; pensioners (mütekaids), 323; protection of the sultan as main function, 42; rebellion in Edirne (1446), 74; rebellions by, 250, 476; salaries paid to, 331; in siege of Candia, 486; in siege of Kamieniec, 487; in siege of Vienna (1683), 493; as "slave army," 43; in standing army, 89, 549nn36 and 37; strength of, 277, 278, 279, 317, 317–18, 319, 572n38; succession struggles and, 122-23, 215; at Varna (1444), 68; in Venetian wars, 505 Jerome of Zara, 192-93, 360, 362 Jews, 76, 81, 295, 331, 367–68; of Buda, 166–67, 558n50; Ottoman intelligence gathering and, 392-93; Sephardi, 388 John Albert Jagiellon, 116, 117, 118, 344 John I Szapolyai (king of Hungary), 11, 118, 125-26, 169, 177-78, 191, 310, 376; alliance with Süleyman against Habsburgs, 178-87, 559n78; at battle of Mohács, 162, 557n35; elected king by Hungarian Estates, 172, 175; in Francis I's anti-Habsburg war, 176-78; languages spoken by, 359; Ottoman names/ titles for, 337; treaty with Ferdinand I, 196-97

Ismail (Safavid shah), 47, 124, 138, 259, 344,

John Sigismund [John II] Szapolyai (elected king of Hungary), 352, 370; border demarcations and, 420; collapse of Habsburg rule in Transylvania and, 222; dragomans and, 398; languages spoken by, 359; as Ottoman vassal/ally, 225; portrait, 223; recalled from Poland, 223; titles of, 247; Transylvania restored to, 384 John VI Kantakouzenos (Byzantine emperor), 8, 20, 24, 28, 106 John V Palaiologos (Byzantine emperor), 24, 25, 29, 30 Juan de Austria, Don, 242, 243, 245 Jurišić, Nicholas (Nikola), 173, 190, 196, 351, 361 Kamaran Island, 135, 229, 231, 233 Kanizsa, 303, 304, 443-44; siege of (1600), 254; Habsburg fortresses in, 434 kapukulu troops, 42, 88, 277, 278, 282 Karakoyunlu (Black Sheep) Turkmen Confederation, 47, 110, 119 Karaman, emirate of, 39, 47, 110, 343; beylerbeyi of, 41; dynastic marriage and, 47; Greek as language of diplomacy in, 101; Murad II and, 67 Karasi, emirate of, 20, 21, 24, 49 Karlowitz, Peace Treaty of (1699), 330, 338-39, 488, 595n82; border demarcations and, 412, 420-21; duration of, 348; terms of, 503-4 Kastrioti George (Skanderbeg), rebellion of, 51, 67-68 Kazan, khanate of, 236, 237, 335 Kemal Reis, 133, 137, 285 Kemény, John (János), 472, 478, 479 Khmelnytsky, Hetman Bohdan, 469, 471, 488 Khotyn campaign (1621), 324, 468, 487 Kilia, 71, 111, 285 Kindsberg, Johann Christoph von, 402, 585n97 Kinizsi, Paul (Pál), 116, 144, 145 Kosovo, battle of (1389), 22, 30, 31

Kosovo, battle of (1448), 43, 72, 74

656 INDEX

Kreckwitz, Friedrich von, 355–56, 357, 371–72, 373

Kurds/Kurdistan, 45, 121, 215, 216, 247, 396; condominium (joint sovereignty) and, 457; Ottoman conscription of nomads, 501; Safavid recapture of, 259

Ladislaus V of Hungary, 64, 103, 104
Łaski, Jerome (Hieronim), 179–80, 182, 199, 201, 202, 354
lawfare/diplomacy, Ottoman, 6, 13, 98, 334, 339, 512; ad hoc embassies and resident ambassadors, 349–58; competing titles of monarchs, 335–39; European Christian disunity fostered by, 242; language and diplomacy, 358–64; truces and treaties as instruments of, 339–43
Lazar Hrebeljanović, Prince, 29, 30–31, 544n40
Leopold I (Holy Roman emperor), 347, 379, 381, 382, 477, 478, 479; Holy League and, 495; siege of Vienna (1683) and, 491

Leo X, Pope, 128, 129, 130, 138, 139, 143, 148 Lepanto, battle of (1571), 279, 286, 287; Ottoman conquest of Cyprus and, 240–43; rebuilding of Ottoman fleet after,

levends (privateers), 255, 316, 418, 574n80; impersonation of janissaries by, 280; local militias organized against, 459, 591n91; as mercenaries, 324; numbers of, 326

Long Ottoman-Habsburg War (1593–1606), 12, 250, 251–58, 307, 355, 433, 452; border demarcations and, 417; changes in military technology and, 315–16; collapse of Ottoman finances and, 451; development of Ottoman military and, 319; financing of, 331; janissary corps and, 319; local self-defense/public safety and, 455–56; Ottoman drive on Vienna, 424; Ottoman-Habsburg treaty interrupted by, 346

Louis I (king of Hungary and Poland), 8, 29, 30, 113; crusading plans of, 54; death of, 30, 59, 543n38

Louis II (king of Hungary and Bohemia), 2, 130, 144, 154; death at battle of Mohács (1526), 160, 161–62, 164, 170–71, 387, 513; Ottoman assault on Hungarian capital anticipated by, 159, 160–61; portrait, 160

Louis XIV (king of France), 483, 490, 506

Mahmud (Sebold, *dragoman*), 384–85, 387–88, 395, 398

Mahmud Pasha, Angelović (grand vizier), 86–87, 101, 108, 110

Malvezzi, Giovanni Maria, 218, 376, 410

Mamluks, 7, 10, 120, 283; claims over Asia Minor, 35; naval war with Portuguese in Indian Ocean, 133, 135, 137; Ottoman wars against, 88; rebellion against Ottoman rule, 157, 159; Selim I's conquest of, 129–33, 143;

slave soldiers of, 43; tax codes of, 49 Manuel II Palaiologos (Byzantine emperor), 38, 39, 54, 57

marcher lords, Turkish, 27, 32, 39, 40, 88;

child levy (devsirme) and, 44; Hunyadi's

campaigns against, 66; Mihaloğu dynasty of, 90; Ottoman military and, 42
Marj Dabiq, battle of (1516), 9, 10, 291
Marmara Sea, 25, 74, 269
marriages, dynastic, 23, 46–48
Marsigli, Luigi Ferdinando, 425, 439, 516
Martinuzzi, George. See Friar George
Mary of Habsburg (queen of Hungary),
165–66, 170, 171, 173, 174

Matthias I Hunyadi (king of Hungary), 104, 106, 108, 113, 345; anti-Ottoman crusades and, 120; border defenses and, 116; death of, 116, 144, 146; library of, 166, 167; palace of, 167

Maximilian I (Holy Roman emperor), 125, 140, 171, 311, 338; death of, 148; dynastic treaties with Wladislas I, 114, 117–18; languages spoken by, 358; plan to conquer Ottoman Empire, 143

Maximilian II (Holy Roman emperor), 228, 242, 288, 301, 303, 338, 411, 516; border

INDEX 657

demarcations and, 420; death of, 346, 347, 357–58; diplomacy of, 351, 352, 355; diplomatic espionage and, 371; *dragomans* and, 389; tribute paid to the Porte, 247

Maximilian II Emanuel (elector of Bavaria), 492; and battle of Nagyharsány (1687), 497; and reconquest of Buda (1686), 495

Mecca, Holy City of, 10, 27, 82; annual pilgrimage to, 197–98; under Ottoman rule, 131–32, 137

Medina, Holy City of, 10, 132, 137, 198 Mediterranean, 9, 79, 97, 102, 229; as frontier, 2; geopolitics and, 98–99; power balance in, 9, 94, 98; slave trade and, 112; strategic ports in, 82–83; trade networks, 10, 60 Mehmed I, Sultan, 27–28, 39, 40, 46, 55

Mehmed II, Sultan, 3, 9, 57, 67, 68, 157, 267; Akkoyunlu (White Sheep) Turkmens and, 119-20; border demarcations and, 413; claim of universal sovereignty, 81, 102, 512; as Conqueror of Constantinople, 1, 14, 78, 79, 511, 548n15; court culture of, 100; Crimean Tatars and, 110-11; death of, 120; divan (Imperial Council) and, 91-94; forced resettlement policy and, 52; giant cannon of, 70-71, 75, 76, 83, 105, 167, 292; Italian city-states and, 98-99; "Law Code" of, 37, 545n8; Mamluk sultans and, 79-80; military reform and, 88-90; Mircea the Elder defeated by, 39; as model for Ivan "the Terrible," 12; naval power of, 285; new cadre of viziers for, 83, 86-88; New Imperial Palace in Constantinople and, 90-91; siege of Belgrade (1456), 103-6; siege of Constantinople by, 75, 76–77;

Mehmed IV, Sultan, 14, 466, 471, 491, 500, 593n36

titles used by, 335; urban rebuilding

projects of, 82, 99

Mehmed Beg, Yahyapaşazade, 183, 202, 208–9, 560n98

Mehmed Pasha, Baltacı, and defeat of Peter the Great, 348, 503–4 Mehmed Pasha, Köprülü (grand vizier), 444, 463–65, 471, 473, 592n8; Crete campaign and, 479; war against Rákóczi, 475–76, 594n47

Mehmed Pasha, Sokollu, 218–21, 225–28, 246, 251, 269, 352; appointed grand vizier, 225, 355; Astrakhan campaign of, 238–40; border demarcations and, 415; conquest of Cyprus and, 240; as *damad* (the sultan's son-in-law), 88; Habsburg diplomatic espionage and, 372; languages of diplomacy and, 361; rebuilding of fleet after Lepanto and, 244; Serbian Orthodox Patriarchate and, 445; Venetian diplomatic espionage and, 368

Memibegoğlu/Memibegović family, 444, 481. *See also* İbrahim, Sarhoş (Drunk); Hasan Pasha, Yakovalı

Menteşe, emirate of, 24, 39, 284, 542n18; Greek as language of diplomacy in, 101; as Ottoman *sancak*, 49

mercenaries, 114, 147, 176, 207, 299, 319;
Byzantine Empire and, 20, 24, 25, 28, 283; Celali rebels, 256; Habsburg and imperial, 117, 182, 185, 205, 206, 252, 299, 455; *hajdú* soldiers, 314–15, 475; Muscovy and, 236; Rome sacked by, 177

Mezőkeresztes, battle of (1596), 253–54, 256, 267, 316. See also Long Ottoman-Habsburg War

Mihailović, Konstantin, 78, 104, 114–15, 548n14

Mihrimah (daughter of Süleyman I), 202, 215, 569n57

Mircea the Elder, 31–32, 33, 39, 58

Mohács, battle of (1526), 1, 9, 159–68, 172, 228, 231, 276, 384; factors in Ottoman victory, 290–91; fifteenth anniversary of, 202; as "Islam's greatest victory," 169–70; numbers of troops mobilized for, 282; strength of Hungarian army at, 307; unintended consequences of Süleyman's victory, 181

658 INDEX

Moldavia, 12, 47, 111, 115; border demarcations with Ottomans, 412, 414; as Ottoman vassal, 197; Transylvanian princes and, 473, 475 Montecuccoli, Raimondo, 479, 484, 485, 516 Morea (the Peloponnese), 53, 327, 505–6,

Morea (the Peloponnese), 53, 327, 505–6, 518; border demarcation in, 413; Despotate of, 57, 68, 106–107; Ottoman conquest of (1460), 8, 106–7

Mughal Empire, 9, 260, 261 mujāhid (fighters of jihad), 7, 27, 28 Murad dragoman (Valentine [Balázs] Somlyai), 385, 387, 389, 398

Murad I, Sultan, 21, 25, 31, 47, 284; janissary corps and, 42; marriage to Thamara, 48; military judge appointed by, 92; population transfer policy and, 52; *sancaks* and, 41

Murad II, Sultan, 39, 40, 63, 87, 335; death of,

74, 107; forced resettlement policy and, 52; marriage to Mara Branković, 48, 57; Orthodox-Catholic Decree of Union and, 73; peace treaty with Hungarians, 66–67; Transylvanian campaign, 59 Murad III, Sultan, 246, 250, 322, 347, 411 Murad IV, Sultan, 259, 267, 328, 468, 487 Murad Pasha, Koca/Kuyucu (grand vizier), 258, 570n81

Muscovy, 6, 12, 13, 112, 172; Cossack alliance with against Poland-Lithuania, 469; emergence as new rival for Ottomans, 235–40; Ottomans' first war with, 488–90; as "Third Rome," 80. See also Russia Mustafa, "False," 38, 39, 58

Mustafa II, Sultan, 328, 502, 503

Mustafa Pasha, Merzifonlu Kara (grand vizier), 489, 490–94, 494

Mustafa Pasha, Sokollu, 226–27, 338, 442, 448

Nagyharsány, battle of (1687), 329, 497, 500 Nassí, Joseph, 241, 392–93, 568n31 navy, Ottoman, 87, 265, 284–88, 461; campaign against Habsburgs in Mediterranean, 193–95; Cyprus campaign and, 241; defeated at Lepanto (1571), 242; Imperial Naval Arsenal, 269; *kapudan* pasha (grand admiral of Ottoman navy), 92, 194, 287; Red Sea and Indian Ocean campaigns, 229–35; resurgence after Lepanto, 244–47, 351; rise of Ottoman naval power and, 138–43; river flotillas, 297, 327, 328; war with Portuguese in Indian Ocean, 135–38. *See also* Ottoman military power Negroni, Andrea, 377, 378, 443, 583n32 Neşri, 31, 387, 544n40 Nikopol, 49, 238; crusade of (1396), 32–34, 53, 62, 66; marcher lord of, 66 Nogay hordes, 112, 237, 238, 239 Novo Brdo, 67, 71, 104

Orhan (2nd Ottoman ruler), 8, 24, 25, 26–27; janissary corps and, 42; marriage to Theodora, 8, 24, 46

Orthodox Church, 8, 18; in Bosnia, 59; Decree of Union with Catholic Church (1439), 73, 74, 109; patriarchate restored by Mehmed II, 101; in Serbia, 108, 445

Osman, House of, 2, 7–8, 68, 132, 409; diplomacy and, 339; dynastic marriage and, 47; emergence of, 24; *khan* and *khakan* titles, 335; military and, 40; restored power of, 46

Osman I, 2, 17, 21, 24, 27, 35
Osman II, Sultan, 328, 367–68, 487
Osman III, Sultan, 332, 351, 467–68, 487
Ottoman Empire: civil wars, 53; claim of universal sovereignty, 79–81; collapse during World War I, 3; dynastic rivalry in central Europe and, 112–119; founding of, 2; geographical extent under Süleyman, 274; last conquests of, 486–90; mapping of, 268; marcher lords and, 40, 42; Muscovy as new rival, 235–40; narrative of Ottoman decline, 12; population of, 273; road networks of, 399, 400–401, 402; "second" Ottoman Empire, 14; small wars on Bosnian-Croatian frontier, 247–51; strategy

INDEX 659

of gradual conquest, 169, 558n60; succession wars [interregnum] (1402–13), 37, 46, 58; territorial expansion of, 4–5; trade routes and, 1. *See also* Sublime Porte (the Porte)

Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry, 6–7, 10, 46, 137, 188–97, 235, 517; Austro-Ottoman war (1716–18), 309, 507–9; Austro-Turkish war (1737–39), 509; balance of power, 514–15; battle of Mohács and, 170; development of Ottoman military and, 317; interdependence and, 11; as major theme in international politics, 265–66; military balance of power, 12, 298, 518; peace treaties, 210–12, 345–46, 349, 353, 368; in Transylvania, 217–25, 479–86; universal kingship and, 198; war of 1593–1606, 455. See also Long Ottoman-Habsburg War

Ottoman military power, 265; army growth, 315-20; artillery, 70-71, 72, 75, 76-77, 76, 126; azab (peasant infantry), 42-43, 163, 281, 286, 572n34; balance of power along Danube and, 146–48, 147; child levy (devsirme), 43-46, 74, 86, 321, 322, 463; decline of, 6, 12, 258, 515-18; defense spending costs, 447-52; firearms, 70, 71, 83, 283, 288, 290-92; fortifications and garrisons, 430-33, 434-35, 436-40; gunpowder revolution and, 288-98, 294, 573n71; helmets and armor, 69; Imperial Cannon Foundry, 46, 83, 292, 331; kapu halkı ("troops of the gate"), 324–28; kapukulu (standing army), 42, 88, 277, 278, 280; lack of military treatises and academies, 516-17; light cavalry, 33, 62; martoloses (armed men), 51; müsellem (volunteer peasant cavalry), 42, 545n17; provincial mercenary troops, 256; siege warfare, 300; size of army, 236; strength and structure of standing army, 275-84, 278; vagrant irregular soldiers (levend), 280; voynuks (fighting men, soldiers), 51;

war finance, 328–33; *yaya* (peasant footmen), 42, 52, 545n17, 572n37. See also *akıncı*; archers; janissaries; navy, Ottoman; *sipahis*; *timariot* cavalry

Ottoman-Safavid rivalry, 10, 120–29, 151, 192, 193, 235; Abbas I's victories over Ottomans, 258–59; border demarcations and, 417–18; development of Ottoman military and, 317; long war (1623–39), 328; struggle for supremacy in Mesopotamia, 212–16; Sunni–Shiite split within Islam and, 513; thirty years' war (1603–12, 1615–18, 1623–39), 466; universal kingship and, 198; Volga region and, 238; war of 1578–90, 246–47, 417, 450

Ottoman Turks, 2, 19, 22, 23–24 Ottoman-Venetian war (1416), 284 Ottoman-Venetian war (1499–1503), 88, 285, 395, 529

Ottoman-Venetian war (1537–40), 232 Ottoman-Venetian war (1570–73), 393, 399, 460

Ottoman-Venetian war (1714–18), 505–6 Ottoman-Venetian war (Cretan War, 1645–69), 260, 319, 347, 349, 395, 438, 460–66

Panagiotes Nikousios, 382, 388, 390
papacy, 8, 74, 142, 194; crusade against
Ottomans (1453), 103; Western schism and, 53
Passarowitz, Treaty of (1718), 348, 409, 507
Pavia, battle of (1525), 161, 199, 298, 336
peasants, 190, 248, 255, 326, 470; forced resettlement policy and, 52–53; Iranian, 259; local militias of, 458–59; military conscription/recruitment of, 249, 280, 314, 316; taxes collected from, 116, 275, 450, 453; uprisings of, 172
Peçevi, Ibrahim, 249–50, 258, 569n60
Pécs, 104, 108, 248, 445
Persians, 2, 17, 18, 19, 335
Pertev Pasha, 226, 242

Pest, 201, 205-6, 254

660 INDEX

Peter the Great, 12, 339, 348, 356, 504 Petrović, Peter (ban of Temes), 200, 201, 204, 218, 219, 422 Philip II (king of Spain), 242, 246, 266, 271, Piri Reis, 136-37, 231, 233-34, 267, 269, 285 plague, 24, 106, 154, 241, 542n18 Poland, 8, 113, 197 Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 3, 12, 64, 111, 172, 240, 331, 503; border demarcations with Ottomans, 414-15; Cossack uprising against (1648), 469–70; Ottoman diplomacy with, 344; Tatars and Cossacks as challenge to, 111–12, 236; Transylvanian princes and, 469; Union of Lublin (1569), 113 Porte, the. See Sublime Porte (the Porte) Portugal/Portuguese Empire, 10, 133, 135-37, 194, 215, 246; Morocco attacked by (1578), 246; Ottoman challenge in Indian Ocean and, 230–35; peace negotiations with the Porte, 419 prebendal system. See timar (service land grants) system Preveza, naval battle of (1538), 194-95, 232, 234 Protestant princes, 210, 266, 315, 346; Charles V at war with, 217, 271, 353; Ottoman help sought by, 11 Protestant Reformation, 129, 172-73, 513

Qansuh al-Ghawri (Mamluk sultan), 129, 130, 131, 133, 135

Qizilbash tribes, 9, 121, 122, 260, 283, 546n29; as backbone of Safavid army, 259; cavalry in Safavid military, 126, 128; civil war among, 213; followers of Shah Ismail, 151; rebellion under Sheikh Celal, 138

Ragusa, Republic of (Dubrovnik), 60, 87, 104, 340, 360, 361; diplomatic missions of, 349–58; Ottoman intelligence gathering and, 397
Raydaniyya, battle of (1517), 9, 10, 291

Red Sea, 10, 136, 229-35 Renaissance, European, 1, 76, 99, 102 Rhodes, 139, 157, 234, 468 Rijm van Estbeek, Charles (Karel), 355, Rozsnayi, David, 363, 390, 5811106 Rudolf II (Holy Roman emperor), 249, 251, 257, 311, 341, 358, 516; Counter-Reformation reforms of, 254; diplomacy with Ottomans, 346-47; Ottoman names/ titles for, 338 Rum (land of the Romans/Greeks), 2, 17, 18-19, 335 Rumeli (Rumelia), 22, 38, 100, 320, 427; collapse of Ottoman rule in, 58; Ottomanheld forts in, 71; revenues from, 326; timariot cavalry in, 42; vlachs in, 51 Russia, 348-49, 356-57, 420-21. See also Muscovy Russo-Ottoman war (1677–81), 488–90 Russo-Ottoman war (1710-11), 324, 348 Russo-Ottoman war (1768-74), 292, 332 Rüstem Pasha (grand vizier), 202, 210, 215, 346, 353, 370-71, 398, 564n60

Šabac castle, 115, 116, 145, 155, 156, 185 Safavid dynasty, 7, 13, 192; cavalry-dominated army of, 282; dynastic marriage and, 47; Habsburg relations with, 395; military forces/capabilities of, 259–60, 297; rise of, 120–22. *See also* Iran; Ottoman-Safavid rivalry; Persians

Safaviyya dervish order, 38, 47, 120, 121 Salm, Nicholas (Niklas Graf II zu Salm), 176, 217, 224

Samarkand, 123, 124, 552n51
sancaks (districts), 34, 40–41, 327; accommodation (istimalet) policy and, 49; border administration and, 426–27, 429, 588n59; in Bosnia, 109; coastal, 141; ocaklık (family estate), 457; revenues of, 325; sancak commanders (sancakbeyi), 276; sancak governors and intelligence gathering, 395

INDEX 661

Saruhan, emirate of, 20, 21, 24; dynastic marriage and, 47; as Ottoman sancak, 49; population transfer policy (sürgün) and, 52 Schmalkaldic League, 210, 217, 300 Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn, Johann Rudolf, 347, 374, 379, 380, 381 Schwendi, Lazarus Freiherr von, 302, 306, 415-16, 516 Selim I, Sultan, 47, 80, 88, 285, 344, 360; Akkoyunlu (White Sheep) Turkmens and, 120; border demarcations and, 587n26; death of, 145; European fear of Ottoman power and, 138–39, 142–143; janissaries and, 122-123, 322; Mamluk Sultanate conquered by, 129-33, 137; Safavids and, 137-38; titles used by, 335; wars with Safavids and Mamluks, 124 Selim II, Sultan, 228, 234, 235, 323, 338, 352; Astrakhan campaign and, 238; Cyprus campaign and, 241, 568n31 Seljuk Turks, 17-18, 35, 40, 101, 214 Selman Reis, 135, 136, 137, 553n79, 554n85; argument for attack on Yemen and the Portuguese, 229-31; death of, 231 Serbia, 3, 29, 53, 87; conquest of, 8; Despotate of, 56; dynastic marriage and, 47; Ottoman conquest of (1459), 90, 106, 107-8; timar holders in, 50, 546n37 Severin, 58, 59, 144, 421; Banate of, 61; Hungarian defense and, 59, 61, 116, 146, 156, 555n113 Shaybani, Muhammad, 123, 127, 552n51 Shaybanid Uzbeks, 7, 123, 247 Shiite Islam, 3, 9, 513; holy sites in Iraq, 213; Safavid dynasty and, 247, 266; solidified in Persia and Iraq, 10; Twelver Shiism, 120, 121; Zaidis in Yemen, 231, 233 Sigismund I (king of Poland), 118, 125, 159-61, 172, 179, 200 Sigismund of Luxemburg (king of Hungary), 8, 30, 60, 543n38; buffer states of, 53-61; campaign against Hussites, 64; crusade

of Nikopol and, 33; Danubian border defenses and, 61; death of, 59, 63, 547n63 Silistra, 53, 89-90; Ottoman conquest of, 34, 39; sancak of, 34, 237, 238, 270 Sinan Pasha (admiral), 129, 195, 245, 248 Sinan Pasha, Koca (grand vizier), 249, 251-52, 254, 320, 326, 356; Habsburg diplomatic espionage and, 372; on revenues from Georgia, 450–51; taxation in border areas and, 411, 414 Sinop: Cossack raid on (1614), 240; emirate of, 47, 110; Ottoman naval base at, 287 Sinzendorf, Joachim von, 377, 397, 399 sipahis (provincial cavalry), 41, 42, 45, 69, 162, 256; in border provinces, 425, 429; in Crete campaign, 462; deserters and no-shows for military service, 324-25; geographical distribution of, 571n24; hass estate revenues and, 449; in siege of Candia, 486; strength of, 278, 437; timar system and, 275–76, 324, 440. See also timariot cavalry Sisak, battle of (1593), 249, 250, 252 Šišman, John (tsar of Bulgaria), 30, 31–32, 48, 543n31 Siyavuş Pasha (grand vizier), 248, 250, 329 Skanderbeg. See Kastrioti, George [Gjergj] slaves/slavery, 26, 112, 248; concubines, 47; Crimean Tatars and, 472; galley slaves in Ottoman navy, 286; military slavery, 43, 259, 259-60; ransom and, 409 Slavonia, 32, 109, 116, 176; Habsburg border defenses in, 303; Habsburg fortresses in, 434; Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry and, 195 Smederevo, 50, 63, 67, 144; forts in, 71; Ottoman capture of (1459), 108; Ottoman garrison in, 432; Ottoman siege of (1454), 103; sancak governor of, 66, 90, 147, 152, 196; shipbuilding in, 297; Süleyman's conquest of, 156 Sobieski, Jan (king of Poland), 381, 488, 490, 492, 493 soft power, 6, 12, 334

662 INDEX

368-69, 593n30 Spain/Spanish Empire, 3, 141, 142, 246, 373; armies in Flanders, 306; Dutch Revolt and, 255, 346; in Holy League, 242; intelligence apparatus of, 392, 402, 403; mapping of, 266 Speyer, Treaty of (1570), 247, 420, 473 Stephen Lazarević, 31, 37, 54, 56 Sublime Porte (the Porte), 11, 157, 230, 334, 345, 380; Crimean Tatars as client polity of, 236; intelligence gathering and, 383-89, 403; non-Muslim subject of, 101-2; origin of name, 92; trade relations of, 97-98; tribute paid to, 211; vassals disciplined by, 472-80. See also Ottoman Empire Süleyman, Prince (son of Orhan), 25, 27-28, 55, 58 Süleyman I, Sultan ("the Magnificent"), 9, 10, 92, 111, 122, 253, 319, 421; battle of Mohács and, 161, 165, 167, 169-70, 181, 228, 231; border defenses and, 409; border demarcations and, 413; collapse of Hungary's Danubian defense and, 151-157, 158, 159; conquest of Iraq, 132; death and tomb of, 228, 277, 352, 566n99; diplomacy of, 344, 345-346; *dragomans* of, 389; extent of empire under, 274; final campaign of, 225-228; finances under, 447; four-tier crown-helmet of, 191, 192, 562n5; intelligence gathering and, 402; John I Szapolyai's alliance with, 178-87; military forces of, 282-83, 327, 430; naval power of, 234, 285; Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry and, 188-97; Ottoman-Safavid rivalry and, 213–16; partition of Hungary and, 201; portrait, 152; reconquest of Transylvania and, 217-25; revenues of, 146, 275; siege of Vienna by, 1, 186; titles used by, 336, 337; universal kingship and, 197-200; Volga region and, 238 Sunni Islam, 3, 9, 121, 247, 513

Syria, 17, 130, 131, 154; Celali rebellions in,

258; Mamluks in, 7, 43, 120, 283; as Ottoman

Soranzo, Giovanni (Venetian bailo), 354,

province, 141; Ottoman soldiers stationed in, 430; reorganized Ottoman administration in, 215; revenues from, 132–33
Szapolyai, John. See John I Szapolyai
Szapolyai family, 171, 204, 222
Szentgotthárd/Mogersdorf, battle of (1664), 347, 486, 490
Szigetvár, siege of (1566), 279, 301, 303, 352, 487
Szigetvár castle, 224–28, 301, 303, 304
Szilágyi, Michael, 105, 108, 549n40

Tahmasb I (Safavid shah), 128, 193, 198, 210, 214, 283, 546n29; death of, 246; ghulams and, 259; Qizilbash tribes and, 213

Talovac brothers, 61, 63, 547n63

Tatars, 37, 52, 236. See also Crimean Tatars/khanate

taxation, 93, 210, 247, 277, 447; border demarcations and, 415; cizye (poll tax), 330, 448–49, 451, 453, 454, 590n62; double taxation under joint sovereignty, 453, 454–55, 458; Habsburg, 310, 313; Hungarian, 61, 116, 140, 449–50, 454; malikane

(life-tenure tax farm), 320, 332–33; military

raids on borders and, 409; Ottoman-Safavid rivalry and, 213; pre-Ottoman tax regulations preserved, 48, 49; survey books and, 410-11, 412; tax exemptions, 45, 51; tax-exempt military (askeri) class, 280, 321; tax farmers (mültezim), 277, 320, 323, 329, 425, 446; tax incentives for repopulation, 501; timar system and, 40; war-time taxes (avarız), 325–26, 329 Temesvár, 409, 439; castle of, 300; imperial siege of (1716), 507; Ottoman conquest of (1552), 226, 279, 301 Theodora Kantakouzenos, 8, 24, 46 Thessaloniki, 39-40, 52, 63, 71 Thirty Years' War, 307, 315, 347, 379, 466 timar (service land grants) system, 26, 40, 46, 93, 132, 281, 432; Christian timar

holders, 50, 546n37; deterioration of, 515;

military deserters' prebends confis-

INDEX 663

cated, 256; military forces financed by, 275

timariot cavalry, 40, 41, 44, 51, 66, 154, 328; at battle of Mohács, 162–63, 557n38; in Black Sea littoral, 237–38; declining military value of, 329; lost functions of, 322–23; Prince Bayezid rebellion and, 280; strength of, 281, 282, 515; succession struggles and, 324. See also sipahis

Timur (Tamerlane), 31, 35-37

Topkapı Palace, 100, 138, 350, 500; archives of, 267; domed chamber of, 95; Library, 137; on map of Constantinople, 84–85; as New Imperial Palace, 91; Tower of Justice, 96

Transylvania, 30, 33, 56, 162, 176; civil war in, 218; Ferdinand I's capture of, 178, 311; Habsburg alliance in Long War, 252–54; Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry in, 217, 354–55; Ottoman intelligence gathering and, 397; Ottoman raiders in, 59, 63; as Ottoman vassal, 197, 204–5; Protestant princes of, 315; rebel princes of, 466–80; royal governors (*voivode*) of, 65; tribute paid to padishah, 208

treaties and truces, 11, 56, 74, 144, 157, 342-43; of Amasya (1555), 216; of Andrusovo (1667), 495; of Belgrade (1739), 348, 509; of Bologna (1530), 200; of Buchach (1672), 488; of Constantinople (1590), 417; of Constantinople (1700), 339, 532; of Crépy (1544), 209; duration of, 343-49; of Edirne (1444), 67; of Edirne (1568), 247, 355, 420; of Fontainebleau/Paris (1528), 177-78; of Gyarmat (1625), 347, 468; hierarchy among European diplomats, 340-41; of Karlowitz (1699), 338, 420, 532; of Komárom (1618, 1629), 347, 364; of London (1518), 148; of Madrid (1526), 161; Moldavian-Habsburg, 197; of Nerchinsk (1689), 420; of Nikolsburg (1621/22), 467; of Nyírbátor (1549), 217; of Nymphaion (1261), 95; Ottoman "diplomatic

unilateralism," 341-42; of Passarowitz (1718), 508, 532; with Poland, 160; of Pozsony (1626), 468; rivals of Ottomans divided and weakened by, 339, 512; of Speyer (1570), 247, 420, 473; strategic use of, 160; of Szászsebes (1551), 218; of Szőny (1627, 1642), 347; of Tata (1426), 56, 527; of Tordesillas (1494), 528; of Tutora (1595), 257, 360; of Vasvár (1664), 490; of Várad (1444), 67; of Várad (1538), 196–97; Venetian–Habsburg, 200; of Vienna (1624), 468; of Westphalia (1648), 531; of Wiener Neustadt (1463), 114, 116; of Zsitvatorok (1606), 257-58, 363-64; of Zuhab (1639), 259, 531. See also lawfare/ diplomacy, Ottoman

"Trebizond, Empire of," 18, 46–47, 87, 109–10

Trnovo, 30, 31, 49

"Turkish threat," 113, 117, 118, 129, 159; Luther and, 142–43; papacy and, 138

Turkmens, 36; condominium (joint sovereignty) and, 457–58; confederations of, 9, 18, 20; forced resettlement of, 52, 53; Ottoman conscription of nomads, 501

Tursun Beg, 91, 104, 107, 562n23 Tvrtko I of Bosnia, 29, 59, 543n32

Ukraine, 197, 470, 472, 487–89, 495, 593n36 Union of Catholic and Orthodox churches, 73, 74, 109–10 Üveys Pasha of Buda, 207, 411, 448, 440

Üveys Pasha of Buda, 397, 411, 448, 449 Uzbeks, 7, 123, 124, 126, 128, 258, 260 Uzun Hasan, 7, 47, 89, 110, 115; empire of, 119; legal code of, 457; Mehmed II's defeat of, 120

Valois dynasty (France), 10, 298, 299, 345, 513 Várad, Treaty of (1538), 196, 201, 204 Várdai, Paul (Pál, archbishop of Esztergom), 186, 389, 390 Varna, Crusade of (1444), 43, 59, 65–68, 72,

664 INDEX

Venice, Republic of, 3, 6, 20, 39-40, 75, 207; anti-Habsburg alliance and, 161, 179; border demarcations with Ottomans, 412-14; fear of Ottoman invasion, 156; firearms use by armies of, 70; in Holy League, 242; intelligence apparatus of, 365-69, 392, 402, 403; Ottoman alliance with, 125; Ottoman conquest of Bosnia and, 108-9; Ottoman conquest of Cyprus and, 241-42; peace treaties with Ottoman Empire, 154, 157, 349; "perpetual peace" with the Porte, 245, 345; response to Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, 94–95; rise of Ottoman naval power and, 138; rivalry with Genoa, 95-96; secret service of, 11; sovereignty at sea and, 418; struggle for Dalmatia and, 59-60; trading colonies in Pontic region, 237; Uzun Hasan and, 47. See also Ottoman-Venetian wars

Vidin, 29, 32, 33, 90, 543n31; forts in, 71; sancak of, 238, 297; timar holders in, 50 Vienna, first siege of (1529), 1, 3, 185–86, 188 Vienna, second siege of (1683), 3, 440, 490–94 Vrančić, Anthony (Antun), 351–52, 361, 390, 579n56

Wagenburg (wagon laager, *tabur*) military tactic, 71–72, 126, 127, 130, 283
Wallachia, 30, 31, 32, 56, 142; as buffer state, 58; Transylvanian princes and, 473, 475; voivodeship of, 32, 33, 58

Wijs, Albert de, 354, 359, 371, 377
Wladislas I Jagiellon (king of Hungary;
Władysław III, king of Poland-Lithuania),
64–65, 66, 67, 68
Wladislas II Jagiellon (Władysław, king of
Bohemia and Hungary), 130, 144, 171, 255,
344; dynastic treaties with Maximilian I,
117–19; Hungarian Estates and, 116–17;
Hungarian-Ottoman peace and, 125
Władysław III Jagiellon (*Warneńczyk*, king of
Poland-Lithuania), 64, 113. See also Władislas
I Jagiellon

Werbőczy, Stephen, 172, 200, 202

Yahyapaşazade Mehmed. See Mehmed Beg, Yahyapaşazade Yemen, 3, 229–30, 233, 235, 409, 425, 515 Yunus Beg (dragoman), 193, 383–84, 385, 386, 388, 394–95, 398, 583n44

Zrínyi, Count Nicholas, 195, 224, 227–28, 479, 484, 485, 516
Zsitvatorok, Peace of (1606), 443, 474, 481
Zsitvatorok, Treaty of (1606), 257, 258, 316, 337, 340, 583n32; border demarcations and, 416; faulty translation of, 378; languages written in, 363–64, 582n111; renewals of, 347, 466
Zuhab (Kasr-i Şirin), Treaty of (1639), 259, 345
Zvornik, 142, 297, 408

A NOTE ON THE TYPE

This book has been composed in Arno, an Old-style serif typeface in the classic Venetian tradition, designed by Robert Slimbach at Adobe.