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Stanford J. Shaw

Excerpt

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PART ONE

RISE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, 1280–1566

The rise of the Ottoman dynasty to rule much of Europe and Asia is one of the most remarkable stories in history. In the thirteenth century the Ottomans ruled only one of a number of Turkoman principalities that ringed the decadent Byzantine state in western Anatolia. Within two centuries they had established an empire that encompassed not only the former Byzantine lands of Southeastern Europe and Anatolia but also Hungary and the Arab world, and that empire was to endure into modern times. Who were the Ottomans? Where did they come from? How did they establish their rule? And what was the result for both them and the people whom they came to dominate?

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The Turks in History

Before examining the rise of the Ottoman Empire we must try to find out who the Ottomans were and how they came to western Anatolia in the first place.

Turkish Origins

The Ottomans descended from the mass of nomads who roamed in the area of the Altai Mountains, east of the Eurasian steppes and south of the Yenisei River and Lake Baikal in lands that today are part of Outer Mongolia. These Altaic nomads had a primitive, mobile civilization based on tribal organization, customs, and social sanctions without the formal organs of government and laws characteristic of more advanced societies. Their livelihood came mainly from raising flocks and taking what they could from their weaker neighbors. Temporary leadership was entrusted to *hans*, but the scope of their authority was limited to searching for pastures and to military activities and did not extend to relations among individuals within the tribes or among the tribes themselves. Their Shamanistic beliefs involved worship of the elements of nature through a series of totems and spirits considered to have special powers that could affect man for both good and evil. Man himself was helpless in the face of their power but could secure protection through the intercession of shamans, priests with special power to control and use the spirits. It was a simple religion of

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fear in which the dark elements of nature as interpreted by the shamans rather than the moral considerations of higher religions were the accepted determinants of right and wrong, and the nomadic way was considered the ideal of human existence.

Beginning in the second century before Christ, changing political, military, and climatic conditions in the Altaic homeland sent successive nomadic waves against the settled civilizations located on the borders of the steppes. Those who moved to the south and west toward eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Central Asia came to be known as Oğuz among themselves and, in general, as Turkomans or Turks to those whom they attacked. They swept the settled peoples out of the way and destroyed towns and fields in the process of seeking out fodder and shelter for themselves and their flocks. Then they passed on, allowing the settled peoples who survived to restore their homes and former activities. Thus in most places such incursions left no permanent changes in ethnic or economic patterns. But in those lands where the Turkomans chose to establish their pastures and to remain more permanently, centuries-old systems of agriculture and trade were replaced by pastoral economies and the Turks largely supplanted the settled ethnic elements that preceded them.

For the most part the great mountain ranges of the Hindu Kush, the Elborz, and the Caucasus provided the Middle East with a natural defense line against these incursions. But this line was broken in the northeast in the lands lying between the Hindu Kush and the Aral Sea, bounded in the north by the Jaxartes river and in the south by the Oxus and known generally as Transoxania, the land across the Oxus. Here a natural road led directly from the steppes into Iran. Transoxania was the staging area for the great nomadic invasions of the Middle East. Through here the nomadic waves were funneled, and it was here where the states and empires that ruled the Middle East had to organize their defenses to protect civilization from disruption and destruction.

Up to the eleventh century the great Middle Eastern empires were largely successful in this endeavor. The Oğuz nomads bounced off the northeastern defense tier of Middle Eastern civilization and moved north and west into areas of less resistance in what is today Russia and Eastern Europe. The different waves of migration were exemplified by the Huns in the fifth century and later the Avars, the Magyars, the Bulgars, the Hazars, who ruled an empire that stretched well into the Caucasus and the Crimea between the seventh and tenth centuries, and the Pechenegs, who ruled east of the Caucasus as well as in Bessarabia and Moldavia and all the way to the eastern Carpathians in the ninth century.

The Göktürk Empire

Most of the nomads moved on to the west when they were unable to penetrate the Oxus defense line, but a few settled along the borders of the Middle East, were assimilated and civilized by its antecedent culture, and eventually became its revivers and defenders against the continued attacks of their uncivilized brethren. This stage of assimilation lasted as long as the Middle East defense line held under the leadership of the Abbasid Empire of Baghdad from the seventh century to the beginning of the eleventh century. Its first manifestation was the earliest known Turkish political entity, the Göktürk Empire, which lasted from 552 to 744, extending from the Black Sea across Asia along the northern borders of Mongolia and China almost to the Pacific Ocean. This empire was in fact little more than a confederation of nomadic tribes with a level of civilization mainly reflecting that of its components. The great difference between it and what preceded was the subordination of the tribes and their

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temporary *hans* to a kind of central authority that was left in the hands of a dynasty of tribal chiefs. The empire had no real capital, boundaries, or laws beyond the decrees of the Göktürk chiefs. The rulers had no permanent residence – only summer and winter quarters where they camped while searching for grazing lands for their flocks. The people continued to practice the rites of Shamanism as they had done in the past. Their culture advanced just beyond the use of stone clubs and arrows to a point where they began to tip their weapons with metal. The significance of this empire was its manifestation of the first evidence of some kind of contact between the nomads and the settled civilizations to the south, namely, the outlines of state organization and the idea of dynasty.

Soon after its inception the Göktürk Empire was divided into two parts, the eastern and western empires, both of which accepted the nominal suzerainty of the rulers of northern China in the seventh century. In 682 the western group, centered in the Semirechye, regained its independence and preserved it until 744, leaving the earliest inscriptions in the Turkish language to have survived into modern times, found on the Orhon and Yenisei rivers in Central Asia. It traded actively with its civilized neighbors and for a time entered a military alliance with Byzantium against the Sasanids of Iran.

For three centuries after the final collapse of the western Göktürk empire in the mid-eighth century, the areas of its dominions in Transoxania were partitioned among its constituent tribes and other newly arrived Altaic nomads including the Oğuz in Transoxania and the Karluks, who dominated the area from the Jaxartes to the northeast and were the immediate neighbors of the Arabs. The Uygurs lived on the upper basin of the Yenisei from about 745 to 840, after which they were displaced by the Kirgiz, while the Kipchaks took over the area from the Irtush down to the Jaxartes from the late ninth to the twelfth centuries. None of these ever achieved the extent or permanency of the Göktürk Empire, but all evidenced the results of contact with the advanced Islamic civilization to the south. Thus for three centuries two cultures came into contact along the Oxus river; the traditional Middle Eastern settled civilization embodied in the Muslim empires of Iran and Iraq and the nomadic civilization of the Göktürks and their successors. What were the principal means of contact, and what were the results?

The first and most obvious means was military conflict as the nomads continued their efforts to cross south of the Oxus and raid the settled areas and the Muslims developed an active defense policy by penetrating Transoxania and establishing forts and walls maintained by a military guard system. Along this frontier both sides developed colonies of permanent guards who on the Muslim side were called *gazis*, fighters for the faith against the infidels. On both sides of the frontier these groups came to live the same kind of borderline existence, adopting each other's weapons, tactics, and ways of life and gradually forming a common military frontier society, more similar to each other than to the societies from which they came and which they defended.

A second means of contact was provided by trade and commerce. The Göktürk Empire and its successors lay across international caravan routes between the old civilized centers of Europe and the East. While the initial nomadic conquests disrupted these routes, the Göktürks and their successors later found that they could benefit more by allowing and even encouraging the passage of caravans through their territory, collecting from them in return the clothing, utensils, and weapons developed in the civilized countries. This, in turn, pushed the Göktürks closer to the settled civilization of their neighbors.

The third means of contact and transmission was that provided by the missionary

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activity undertaken by the settled states to convert and “civilize” the heathen nomads. Zoroastrians came from Sassanian Iran, Manicheans from Soghdia, Buddhists from China, and Muslims from Iran and Iraq. The latter were not sent by the orthodox Muslim states themselves, as there never was an official policy to force or even encourage conversions of large groups of non-Muslims. It was the more zealous and energetic sufi mystics of Iran who sent active missionaries across the Oxus. Therefore, the nomads were exposed and converted mainly to the more heterodox forms of Islam, a fact of considerable importance later on when their leaders assumed control of the orthodox Islamic states. The missionaries sometimes traveled with the nomads but more often established colonies to diffuse their beliefs. Conversion meant more than mere changes in one’s religious beliefs. It brought an acceptance of the entire civilizations that the new religions represented, in particular of their moral codes, especially the abandonment of the fierce practices associated with Shamanism, and replacement of the nomadic and warrior life with a more settled existence. The Turks adopted the written alphabets of the missionaries for their own language, leaving Turkish inscriptions. Since the missionaries were willing to reconcile their teachings with old nomadic beliefs and practices, the religions and manners practiced by these nomads in the name of Christianity or Islam or Buddhism were often far removed from those of the settled lands.

Nomads also came to civilized centers to sell animal products and to buy some of the artifacts of civilization. Many came in the employ of caravans and as slaves, bodyguards, or members of the armies of the later Abbasid caliphs, subsequently rising to powerful positions in the Abbasid government and army in the tenth century. Some ultimately established their own dynasties in the borderlands of the declining Abbasid Empire, as did the Karahanids, who took over Transoxania from the mid-tenth century until the beginning of the thirteenth century; the Gaznevids, who built an empire in Horasan, southern Iraq, and Afghanistan at about the same time; and the Great Seljuks, who took over the heartland of Islamic civilization as guardians of the caliphs from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. Each of these Turkish dynasties revived and reinvigorated Islam, defending it from their uncivilized brothers still flowing from the steppes, but each lasted for only a short time before breaking up, leaving the Middle East in an increasing state of anarchy as well as in danger of new and ever more destructive nomadic invasions from the north and the east.

The Great Seljuks and Their Successors

Most important in terms of their influence over the Ottomans were the Seljuks, a group of Oğuz warriors that apparently entered the Middle East in the tenth century. The Seljuks rose originally as mercenary guards in the service of the Karahanids. Later they acted to defend towns in Horasan and Transoxania against nomads and military adventurers. And, finally, they assumed the role of protectors of the later Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad against threats to their dominions. In 1055 the real founder of the Seljuk dynasty, Tuğrul Bey, forced the Abbasid caliph to make him protector of orthodox Islam and to recognize him as sultan, or temporal ruler. The Seljuks were not the first military protectors of the powerless later caliphs, but they were the first to complete the process of regularizing and institutionalizing the relationship.

With northern Iran entirely under Seljuk control and Iraq professing submission, the Seljuks were confronted with the problem of consolidating their rule and restor-

ing order and prosperity in the Middle East while providing their nomadic vassals with the booty and grazing lands they demanded. Were the Seljuks still leaders of nomadic Turkomans, or were they now rulers and protectors of the civilization they had conquered? It was the latter role that came to dominate, leading to conflicts between the Seljuk rulers and their nomadic commanders and followers, who were dissatisfied with the restrictions imposed on them to save the settled populations of the area. The Seljuk leader, as sultan, assumed most of the caliph's authority to legislate and rule in matters concerning administrative, military, and secular questions not directly regulated in the Muslim law. The caliph remained more as a spiritual leader with the power to regulate matters of personal behavior and individual relationships. As temporal rulers of the Islamic state the Seljuks took over, restored, and elaborated the traditional Perso-Islamic administrative apparatus developed in late Abbasid times, relying largely on Persian ministers who emphasized their own culture, reviving the Persian language and largely eliminating Arabic in government and culture alike, using Persians in most of the administrative positions of the empire, even those in areas inhabited mainly by Arabs.

In return for caliphal recognition the Seljuks became champions of orthodoxy in the Islamic world and leaders of the movement to eradicate the political, military, and religious influence of Shiism. Shias were routed out of administrative positions and replaced by orthodox officials. To provide the latter in sufficient quality and numbers the Muslim educational system was reorganized and centered in the mosque schools and higher *medrese* schools, which strengthened the orthodox religious institution. The sufi mystic movement, which was fulfilling the popular need for a more personal religion, was reconciled with the interpretations of the orthodox establishment. The sufi orders now were recognized as orthodox and spread all over the empire to counteract the efforts of the heterodox Shias to capture the masses.

What was to be done with the Turkoman nomads who were driving out the settled populations of eastern Iran and Azerbaijan to the northwest and establishing their own pastoral economy? As long as the nomads formed the main element of the Seljuk army, their demands for booty and fodder could not be entirely ignored. But controlling them was very difficult. The Seljuk solution provided the key to the sultans' success in maintaining power and organizing their administration. They first used their position as sultans to institute a new regular salaried army of *mamluk* slaves brought from the highlands of the Caucasus and of prisoners taken in the conquests. Once the new army gave the Seljuks a sufficient military alternative to the Turkomans, they solved the remainder of their problem by using it to drive the Turkomans out of Iran and Iraq into the territories of their enemies.

But these solutions created a new financial problem. How were the bureaucrats and soldiers to be paid? Clearly, the booty that had satisfied the nomads could no longer be relied on. But the state was not yet strong enough to establish direct rule and levy sufficient taxes to meet its obligations. The solution was a system of indirect revenue assignment (*ikta*), developed originally in Iran by the Buyids as a means of tax collection and now used also as the primary unit of administration. The essential premise of the system was the idea that all wealth (though not necessarily all property) belonged to the ruler. To exploit it he acted not through salaried officials of state, but rather by superimposing the *ikta* units, each of which gave its possessor the right to administer a source of wealth and to collect its revenues. Officers of the new army and officials of the administration were given these *iktas* in return for performing their duties, thus as the equivalent of a salary. This relieved the treasury of the problem of finding money to pay its soldiers and civil servants and also gave the *ikta*

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holders an interest in preserving the prosperity of agriculture and trade. They could no longer ravage the land and move on as the nomads had done in the past.

With the new army and bureaucracy organized and financed, the Turkomans could be and were pushed out of the settled areas of Iran and Iraq as rapidly as possible. At the end of the eleventh century the Seljuks actually seem to have wanted the nomads to move against the Fatimids in Egypt as a further means of ending the heterodox threat against Islamic orthodoxy. But the more natural road for the Turkomans was to the north and west. The plateaus of Iran and Iraq running into the highlands of eastern Anatolia seem to have been far more convenient conduits to pastures than were the mountains of southwestern Iran and the deserts of Syria and Sinai. In addition, the Byzantine and Armenian states in Anatolia appeared to be much weaker and offered the prospect of much more booty than did that of the Fatimids. The Seljuks opposed the Turkoman pushes into Anatolia because of their own efforts to ally with the first Crusaders and even with the Byzantines against the Fatimids, and they made little effort to follow up the early Turkoman onslaughts with formal occupation. Eventually, however, the momentum of the Turkomans carried the Seljuks along.

Indeed, times were propitious for a Seljuk move into Anatolia. The Christian defenses there were extremely weak. The regular Byzantine army was weakened by internal political dissension and military revolts. The Armenian vassal chiefs who defended much of the southeastern frontier also were fighting among themselves and generally were unwilling to accept Byzantine direction. Moreover, the Byzantine defense system consisted of a few large garrisons stationed in widely separated forts, and it was not too difficult for the nomads to slip past them. The Christians relied mainly on heavy armor, pikes, and axes and found it almost impossible to compete successfully with the mobile nomadic cavalymen who used the bow and arrow with deadly effectiveness. And, finally, Byzantine economic policy and religious strife left the populace largely unwilling to support the efforts of their masters against invaders, whoever they might be.

The Turkoman raids began in 1048, pillaging Armenia, Erzurum, and Trabzon to the north and the valley of the Murat Su to the south. The Seljuk sultan Tuğrul Bey led a campaign into the same areas in 1054 while the Turkomans raided farther and farther west each year. The centralizing policies of Sultan Alp Arslan (1063–1072) caused more Turkomans to flee Seljuk rule in Iran. Since most of them entered Anatolia in flight, they were willing to hire themselves out as mercenaries, helping Armenian and Byzantine feudal nobles and princes against each other as well as against Turkoman raids, but this situation made the Christians even more vulnerable.

As soon as Alp Arslan settled his position in Iraq, he undertook a new campaign (1065) in eastern Anatolia to consolidate his control over the frontier Turkomans as well as the Christian princes in the area. Byzantine efforts to stop the invasion by raiding along the upper Euphrates into Syria were beaten back (1068–1069) while the nomads raided farther and farther into western Anatolia. Alp Arslan still hoped to make a truce with the Byzantines so that he could concentrate against the Fatimids; but when he heard that Emperor Romanus Diogenus was leading a new offensive to the east, he moved north for a direct confrontation with the Byzantine army, the first time that the Turks had risked such a battle. The two armies came together at Manzikert, north of Lake Van (August 19, 1071), where one of the great momentous battles of history took place. Turkish maneuverability and superiority with the bow and arrow, combined with dissension in the Byzantine army, caused the latter to flee while the emperor was captured. Because Alp Arslan still considered the Fatimids as

his primary objective, he did not use the victory to make further organized attacks into Anatolia. But whether he intended it or not, the victory destroyed the old Byzantine border defense system and organized resistance against the Turkomans, opening the gates for the latter to enter in increasing numbers as they sought to evade the organized governmental controls being extended by the Seljuks. The Turkomans, therefore, stepped up the attack, devastating agriculture and trade and paralyzing Byzantine administration. Within a few years all of Byzantine Anatolia east of Cappadocia was occupied by the nomads except for a few forts in the Taurus mountains and Trabzon, on the Black Sea, which was to hold out for centuries. Continued Byzantine internal disputes and feudal anarchy also enabled the Turkomans to raid westward all the way to Iznik (Nicaea) and the Bosphorus, though here they were unable to settle down to the extent that they had in the east.

At this point some of the Turkomans were led by their own *hans*. Others submitted to the authority of individual Seljuk princes, military commanders, and others who sought to make their fortunes on the western frontiers rather than accepting the authority of the sultan in Iraq. Some of these established their own small states and left them to heirs, thus founding their own dynasties. In Cilicia one of these, Süleyman, son of Tuğrul's cousin Kutlumuş, led a group of Turkomans that helped several Byzantine emperors and princes and in return was recognized as ruler of much of south-central Anatolia, forming the base of the Seljuk Empire of Rum, which later rose to dominate most of Turkoman Anatolia.

While Anatolia was gradually transformed into a Turkish dominion, the Great Seljuk Empire, now centered at Isfahan, reached its peak. Alp Arslan was killed a year after Manzikert during a campaign against the Karahanids and was succeeded by his son Malikşah (1072–1092), whose reign inaugurated the decline. Because of his youth the new sultan had to rely heavily on his father's trusted chief minister, Nizam ul-Mülk. The establishment of the Seljuks of Rum posed a threat to Malikşah, who responded by establishing his dominion in northern Syria and reaching the Mediterranean. With the help of the Byzantines he also extended his power into Anatolia, gaining the allegiance of most of the Turkomans against the Rum Seljuks, who were left in control of only a few areas of central and eastern Anatolia from their capital, Konya.

These activities prevented Nizam ul-Mülk from consolidating the Seljuk Empire as he had hoped to do. The Fatimids remained in Egypt and southern Syria and extended their disruptive Shia missionary activities throughout the sultan's dominions. The Seljuks also were undermined by the activities of a new Shia movement that arose within their own boundaries, that of the Ismaili Assassins founded by Hasan al-Sabbah from his fortified center at Alamut, south of the Caspian Sea. He began a successful campaign of assassination and terror against political and religious leaders of the Seljuk state. In addition, the Seljuks were weakened by the old nomadic idea that rule had to be shared among all members of the ruling dynasty. The sultan gave large provinces to members of his family, and they began to create their own armies and treasuries. Malikşah also compensated his *mamluk* officers with similar feudal estates where they built autonomous power and thus prepared for the day when a weakening of the central authority would enable them to establish independent states. Finally, divisions between the orthodox establishment of the sultans and the heterodox Turkoman tribes became increasingly serious. Alp Arslan had solved this problem by pushing the tribes into Anatolia. But this outlet was cut off when the Seljuks of Rum rose in Cilicia along with petty Armenian states and the Crusaders in northern Syria. The Turkomans, therefore, now remained in the Great

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Seljuk possessions, continuing their attacks on the settled populations and resisting Nizam ul-Mülk's effort to strengthen orthodoxy as the basis of the Seljuk Empire. As long as Malikşah and Nizam ul-Mülk lived, these disruptive tensions were controlled. But with their deaths in 1092 anarchy and dissolution soon followed. The Middle East fell into a new era of anarchy and foreign invasion that lasted through most of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the east the Great Seljuks were replaced by a number of small Turkoman states, some ruled by tribal chiefs with nomadic armies, others by Seljuk princes under the tutelage and domination of military chiefs appointed as regents (*atabegs*) by the decaying sultanate. In Anatolia the Seljuks of Rum managed to extend their rule though they were cut off from their Iraqi homeland by the arrival in 1099 of the Crusaders, who established their own kingdoms in Cilicia and at Antioch and Edessa. The last Great Seljuk ruler was Sultan Sancar, son of Malikşah, who gained control (1096) of the province of Horasan, in the northeast, shortly after the death of his father. To him fell the task of defending the Middle East against the Mongol hordes that now threatened it from Transoxania, but after his death in 1157 there was little left to stand in their way. At the same time, a strong and able caliph, al-Nasir (1180–1225), rose in Baghdad. Ending the last ties with the Seljuks, al-Nasir suppressed many of the independent Turkomans in Iraq and established direct caliphal rule once again, even getting the Assassins of Alamut to refrain from their terroristic policies in return for recognition of their autonomy. He also continued the Seljuks' work of reviving Islamic orthodoxy through the sufi mystic orders, using the *futuwwah* brotherhoods originally formed by lower-class artisans in the large cities as guilds and mutual-aid organizations, absorbing them into the sufi system, giving them religious ideals into which they could channel their energies, and making them into a kind of chivalric society and an instrument through which Islamic society could revitalize itself in the age of political disruption.

With the death of al-Nasir and the extinction of the Great Seljuk line the Middle East fell mostly to two new Mongol invaders from the east. In the mid- and late twelfth century most of the Mongols were driven out of northern China. Those Mongols who fled westward formed the Kara Hitay Empire, which took much of Transoxania in the late twelfth century in succession to the Seljuks. Other Mongols stayed in China, forming confederations and alliances against the continued attacks of their enemies from north and south. In 1205 the united Mongol confederation came under the leadership of one Temugin, who took the title Genghis Han (Great Han) to manifest his claim and ambition of uniting all the Mongols and, perhaps, all the Altaic peoples under his leadership. Between 1206 and 1215 he incorporated most of the Asian steppes between northern China and Transoxania into his empire, in the process adding large numbers of Turkomans to his army while building a society devoted almost entirely to war. He next aimed at moving back into China, but when he was unable to establish a peaceful relationship with the Hvarezmşahs who had displaced both the Great Seljuks and the Kara Hitays in Transoxania, he responded with an attack that overwhelmed the Middle East in a relatively short time. In the end the invasion was stopped not by the Middle East's military defenses, but rather by periodic crises within the Mongol Empire caused by the deaths of Genghis Han and his successors. In 1242 the Mongols defeated the Seljuks of Rum and forced them to recognize the Mongol Great Han as suzerain. After a temporary retreat in 1252 the Mongol prince Hulagu returned to take Iraq, ravaging Baghdad and killing the last Abbasid caliph (1258) before going on into Syria. In response to the Mongol threat Egypt fell under the Mamluk slave dynasty (1250–1517), which

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defeated Hulagu's garrisons at Ayn Calut (1260) and in Syria and Palestine, thus marking the high point of Mongol expansion but leaving them in control of the rest of the Middle East as well as of Central Asia and northern China in one of the greatest empires the world has ever known. Soon afterward the Great Mongol Empire itself broke into sections divided among the relatives of the last Great Han.¹ The one in Iran, Iraq, and Anatolia founded by Hulagu took the name Ilhanid (provincial *han*) and lasted from the mid-thirteenth century to the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Ilhanids restored relative order and security in the area. They continued and extended the ethnic and economic changes begun by the Seljuks, driving out the settled natives in the northern parts of the Middle East and replacing them with pastoral nomads, most of who were Turkomans rather than Mongols. While including substantial Christian and Muslim elements, they were mainly Buddhist and they allowed relative freedom to all the major religious groups. Eventually, however, they converted to Shia Islam and thereafter assumed the Seljuk role of reviving and spreading Islam. Militarily, the Ilhanids used Iran and Iraq as bases for new attacks against the Mamluks (1250–1517) of Egypt and Syria and defended Middle Eastern civilization against the non-Muslim Mongol Çağatay hordes that tried to follow them in from the north. Politically, the Ilhanids joined the Mamluks in restoring internal unity in the Middle East, but the same nomadic concept of dynasty and rule that had caused previous Turkish empires to break up eventually caused the Mongols also to decline and collapse after less than a century of rule, leaving the Middle East again in anarchy. The question was whether it would again be subjected to a destructive invasion from the outside. In the end it was not. A new empire emerged from within the Middle East, this time not from the heartlands of the old Islamic caliphates but from the frontier in western Anatolia settled by the Ottomans at the end of the thirteenth century. How did thirteenth-century Anatolian society and institutions contribute to the development of the Ottoman Empire and its rescue of the Middle East?

Anatolia in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

In the transitional stage from Byzantine to Turkish hegemony, Anatolia combined elements of the High Islamic civilization of the great caliphates with the radically different hybrid culture peculiar to border provinces (*uc*) or marches.² The authority of the sultan was represented by an emir, or commander of the frontier province, who was both an administrative and a military commander and often was a member of one of the leading families of Konya. In contrast to this official organization, on the local level the real centers of power in the marches were the Turkoman tribes. The commanders, called beys, led the struggle against the infidel and were therefore gazis, or fighters for the faith of Islam. Despite Seljuk claims to the contrary, these march beys were independent of the Seljuk march emirs except for whatever personal bonds of loyalty might have existed.

The march provinces were mixed ethnically and religiously. Here were not only nomads but also city dwellers of many races and religions driven from the turmoil in the East, men and women who came in search of new lives on the frontiers of Islam. While nomadic warriors lived on the borderlands, the towns in the area were influenced by both Byzantine and High Islamic civilization, became cultural centers, and served as capitals for leaders who tried to establish some kind of stable control over the tribes. Thus within the marches there developed the same sort of conflict between High Islamic settled civilization and anarchical nomadic society that was

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found in the older lands of Islam. The heterodox forms of Islam popular among the nomads, and especially mystic Sufism, became the most important and widespread popular religion in Turkish Anatolia. The Turkomans brought with them mystic leaders whom the Great Seljuks were happy to get rid of because of their influence over the people. All over Anatolia these leaders were able to establish their orders and extend them into confederations that, with the related artisan guilds, came to comprise a strong and vital substructure of society that cushioned the mass of the people against the political and military turmoil of the time. Turkish Anatolia took over and partly reflected a living Christian culture and tradition. While some Christians were displaced or killed in the course of the Turkish occupation of Anatolia, most remained in their places, preserving their old traditions and religions, and some converted to Islam and mixed racially and culturally with the invaders. Their ways of living and governing were adopted by the nomads as part of the process of settling down. Some Turkoman mystic orders even occupied Christian holy places, creating the spectacle of Christians and Muslims worshiping at the same shrine side by side.

Turkish Anatolia was not, however, merely Byzantium with an Islamic and Turkish veneer. The basic institutions of government and society under the Seljuks of Rum were those developed in the old Islamic caliphates, as revitalized and transmitted by the Great Seljuks. The Turkomans also retained the practices and traditions of statecraft and warfare developed from the time of the Göktürk Empire in Central Asia. In the long run these Islamic and Turkish elements came to predominate in the new amalgam of civilization that emerged in Turkish Anatolia.³

The Turkoman Principalities

Many of the Turkoman beys and their followers not only fought the infidel but also mixed into the struggles then endemic within the Seljuk empire of Rum, sometimes using the booty of conquest to build their own independent principalities as the Seljuks and then the Mongols weakened. One of the earliest of the Turkoman leaders in western Anatolia was Menteşe Bey, a gazi leader in the southwestern coastal marches who raided the Byzantine coasts. To the northeast the powerful Germiyan dynasty was founded around Kütahya in 1286, and it attracted large numbers of Turkomans by leading their resistance to Mongol rule. The Germiyan commanders sent into the valleys of the Menderes (Meander) and Gediz (Hermon) rivers as far as the Aegean coast were so successful against the Byzantines that they were able to establish their own independent principalities. Thus rose the dynasty of Aydın, originally established around Smyrna (Izmir), which under the founder's second son, Umur Bey, became a major sea power by building a fleet that raided the coast of Byzantine Thrace and at times intervened as mercenaries in the Byzantine struggles for the throne. Around 1313 other Germiyan commanders established the Saruhan dynasty in northern Lydia with its capital at Magnesia (Manisa). Saruhan also became an Aegean sea power and regularly engaged in battle the dukes of Naxos and the Genoese islands in the area. The last principality established by the Germiyan commanders was that of Karesi, which built a sizable state in Mysia with its capital at Paleocastro (Balıkesir), including Pergamum (Bergama), the coastal districts of Edremit and Çanakkale, and the entire Marmara coastal area as far as the Dardanelles, though it did not develop such a naval presence in the Aegean as did Aydın and Saruhan.⁴

Compared with the Aydın, Saruhan, and Karaman principalities, the Ottoman (Osmanlı) principality established by Osman and his descendants seemed, at first,