

Cambridge University Press

0521291631 - History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Empire of the Gazis,

1280–1808 - Volume I

Stanford J. Shaw

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND MODERN TURKEY

*Volume I: Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline
of the Ottoman Empire, 1280–1808*

Cambridge University Press

0521291631 - History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Empire of the Gazis,

1280–1808 - Volume I

Stanford J. Shaw

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND MODERN TURKEY

*Volume I: Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and
Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280–1808*

S T A N F O R D S H A W

*Professor of History
University of California, Los Angeles*



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

0521291631 - History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Empire of the Gazis,

1280–1808 - Volume I

Stanford J. Shaw

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge

The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP

40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA

10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Cambridge University Press 1976

First published 1976

Reprinted 1977 (twice), 1978, 1985, 1987, 1988, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data

Shaw, Stanford Jay.

History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey.

Bibliography: p.

Includes index.

Contents: v. 1. Empire of the Gazis: the rise and decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280—1808.

1. Turkey – History – Ottoman Empire, 1288–1918.

2. Turkey – History 1918–1960.

3. Turkey – History – 1960– I. Title.

DR440.S5 956.1 76-9179

ISBN 0 521 21280 4 hardback

ISBN 0 521 29163 1 paperback

Transferred to digital printing 2002

CONTENTS

Preface	vii
Abbreviations	ix
Note on Pronunciation	xiii
Map of the Growth of the Ottoman Empire to 1683	xiv–xv

Part One. Rise of the Ottoman Empire, 1280–1566

1 The Turks in History	1
Turkish Origins	1
The Göktürk Empire	2
The Great Seljuks and their Successors	4
Anatolia in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries	9
Notes to Chapter 1	11
2 The First Ottoman Empire, 1280–1413	12
Ottoman Origins and the Age of the Gazis, 1250–1389	12
Ottoman Institutions and Society in the Fourteenth Century	22
Collapse of the First Ottoman Empire: Bayezit I (1389–1402), and the Interregnum (1402–1413)	28
Notes to Chapter 2	39
3 Restoration of the Ottoman Empire, 1413–1451	41
Mehmet I, 1413–1421	41
Murat II, 1421–1451	44
4 The Apogee of Ottoman Power, 1451–1566	55
Conquest of a New Empire: The Reign of Mehmet II, 1451–1481	55
Consolidation of the Empire: Bayezit II, 1481–1512	70
Conquest of the East: The Reign of Selim I, 1512–1520	79
The Peak of Ottoman Grandeur: Süleyman I The Magnificent, 1520–1566	87
Notes to Chapter 4	111
5 The Dynamics of Ottoman Society and Administration	112
The Ruling Class	113
The Subject Class	150
Foreign Subjects in the Empire	163
The Sultan as the Center of the Ottoman System	164

Cambridge University Press

0521291631 - History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Empire of the Gazis,

1280–1808 - Volume I

Stanford J. Shaw

Frontmatter

[More information](#)vi *Contents*

The Bases of Personal Relations and Behavior in Ottoman Society	166
Notes to Chapter 5	167
Part Two. Decentralization and Traditional Reform in Response to Challenge	
6 Decentralization and Traditional Reform, 1566–1683	169
The Political and Military Factors of Decline	170
Social and Economic Factors of Decline	171
Traditionalistic Reform Efforts	175
Manifestations of Decline, 1566–1623	175
Rejuvenation under Murat IV, 1623–1640	194
Resumption of Decline, 1640–1656	200
The Köprülü Years, 1656–1683	207
Notes to Chapter 6	215
7 New Challenges and Responses, 1683–1808	217
The War of the Holy League and the Peace of Karlowitz, 1683–1699	217
The New Age of Decline and Traditional Reform, 1683–1808	225
The Turning Point in Ottoman Reform: The New Order of Selim III, 1789–1807	260
Notes to Chapter 7	277
8 Ottoman Society, Administration, and Culture in the Age of Decentralization and Traditionalistic Reform, 1566–1808	280
Administration and Society	280
Cultural Developments	284
Notes to Chapter 8	297
Map of the Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1683–1924	300
Bibliography: Ottoman History to 1808	302
Index	325

Cambridge University Press

0521291631 - History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Empire of the Gazis,
1280–1808 - Volume I

Stanford J. Shaw

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

P R E F A C E

The story of Ottoman history is a complicated and complex one. It involves not only the Ottoman dynasty itself but also the many peoples who operated and ruled the empire and were ruled by it – the Turks, the Arabs, the Serbs, the Greeks, the Armenians, the Jews, the Bulgars, the Hungarians, the Albanians, and many others. It constitutes the history of the major religious groups among the subjects, the Muslims, the Jews, and the Christians. It takes into account relations between the Ottomans and their neighbors in Europe and Asia, complicated stories of wars, conquests, diplomacy, and territorial losses that much later were called the Eastern Question. It includes the history of the political, administrative, and social institutions incorporated into this multinational and multicultural empire. It demands discussion of the rise and fall, the birth, efflorescence, and decline of the empire.

To undertake such a task requires considerable choice and selection. The work has been divided into two volumes. This, the first, discusses the Ottoman Empire from its foundations through its apogee in the sixteenth century and subsequent decline until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Its companion volume, *Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808–1975*, will continue the story through the major reform efforts made during the nineteenth century to save the empire, its collapse as a consequence of World War I, and the birth of the Republic of Turkey in the subsequent half-century. The main themes of Ottoman history such as the evolution of central institutions and leadership, foreign relations, and social and economic change, have been emphasized, while provincial developments are included mainly to demonstrate specific issues or problems faced by the empire. Of course, Ottoman history has been discussed many times before, and in considerable detail, but always from the European perspective, through the light of European prejudice, and largely on the basis of European sources. Based on both Ottoman and European sources, this work attempts to balance the picture without introducing the distortions that have previously characterized much of the West's view of the Ottomans.

A book on Ottoman history confronts unusual difficulties regarding transliteration and place names. Because the Ottoman language was written in the Arabic script, scholars have been forced to adapt various methods of transliterating it into Western languages, usually based on their own native tongues. Modern Turkey has complicated matters by developing its own method of spelling, which in some instances is quite different from that used in the West. In addition, Europe has tended to retain the older classical place names in preference to those used by the Ottomans, while the different nationalities that have emerged from the empire in modern times also have assigned names of their own to former Ottoman cities and provinces. Any effort to present all the variants would complicate an already complicated text. Reciting all the Greek and Latin names alone would distort a half-millennium of history. To simplify

Cambridge University Press

0521291631 - History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Empire of the Gazis,

1280–1808 - Volume I

Stanford J. Shaw

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

viii *Preface*

matters as much as possible, therefore, this text has adapted the standard modern Turkish spellings and place names except when their European forms are unusually familiar to the English-speaking reader. The variants of these names will be found in the index along with a glossary of technical terms and important individuals discussed in the book. Terms have been translated according to their original significance in the Ottoman administrative framework; the often misleading modern literary meanings sometimes given in dictionaries have been avoided.

This work is the product of almost 20 years of research in the Ottoman archives as well as other collections in Europe and the United States. I would like to express my most sincere gratitude to the directors and staffs of the following archives and libraries: in Istanbul the Prime Minister's Archives (*Baş Vekâlet Arşivi*), in particular Midhat Sertoğlu, Rauf Tuncay, Turgut İşıksal, and Ziya Eşrefoğlu; the Topkapı Palace Museum archives and library, especially Haluk Sehsuvaroğlu, Hayrullah Örs, Kemal Çığ, and Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı; the Istanbul Municipal Library, Istanbul University Library, Istanbul Archaeological Museum Library, Süleymaniye Library, Bayezit General Library, and Hakkı Tarık Us Library; in Ankara the Turkish National Library (*Millî Kütüphane*) and the Library of the Turkish Historical Society; the British Museum, the Public Record Office, and the Commonwealth Relations Office in London; the Haus- Hof- und Staats-Archiv and the Austrian National Library in Vienna; the Bibliothèque Nationale, Archives Nationales, Archives du Ministère de la Guerre (Château de Vincennes), and Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (Quai d'Orsay), Paris; the Harry Elkins Widener Library, Harvard University; and the University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

I would like to pay tribute to my teachers, colleagues, and friends who have contributed to this volume in one way or another: Ömer Lütfi Barkan (University of Istanbul), Hamilton A. R. Gibb (Oxford University and Harvard University), Tibor Halasi-Kun (Columbia University), Halil Inalcık (Ankara University and the University of Chicago), Bernard Lewis (University of London and Princeton University), Gustav E. von Grunebaum (University of California, Los Angeles), T. Cuyler Young (Princeton), and Paul Wittek (University of London). My research would not have been possible without the generous assistance of the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Guggenheim Foundation, the Social Sciences Research Council, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Research Institute in Turkey, and the Research Committee of the Academic Senate, University of California, Los Angeles.

I would like to express particular gratitude to my wife, Ezel Kural Shaw, who has critically revised many sections of this work, particularly those dealing with Ottoman institutions, society, and culture, and whose analytic mind and knowledge of Ottoman history have made significant contributions in its preparation.

S T A N F O R D J . S H A W

Los Angeles, California

August 1976

Cambridge University Press

0521291631 - History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Empire of the Gazis,

1280–1808 - Volume I

Stanford J. Shaw

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

ABBREVIATIONS

Adıvar, <i>İlim</i>	Abdülhak Adnan-Adıvar, <i>Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim</i> , İstanbul, 1943.
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
Aktepe, <i>Patrona Isyani</i>	M. Münir Aktepe, <i>Patrona Isyani</i> (1730), İstanbul, 1958.
Anderson	M. S. Anderson, <i>The Eastern Question, 1774–1923</i> , London, 1966.
Ata	Tayyarzade Ahmet Ata, <i>Tarih-i Ata</i> , 5 vols., İstanbul, 1291–3/1874–6.
Benedikt	Heinrich Benedikt, <i>Der Pascha-Graf Alexander von Bonneval 1675–1747</i> , Graz-Köln, 1959.
Berkes	Niyazi Berkes, <i>The Development of Secularization in Turkey</i> , Montreal, 1964.
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> .
BVA	Başvekâlet Arşivi, also called the Başbakanlık Arşivi. The Prime Minister's Archives, İstanbul. For information on the collections cited see S. J. Shaw, "Archival Sources for Ottoman History: The Archives of Turkey," <i>JAOS</i> , 80 (1960), 1–12.
Cahen	Claude Cahen, <i>Pre-Ottoman Turkey</i> , London, 1968.
Cevdet ¹	Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, <i>Tarih-i Cevdet</i> , 1st ed., 12 vols., İstanbul, 1270–1301/1858–83.
Cevdet ²	Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, <i>Tarih-i Cevdet: Tertib-i Cedit</i> , 2nd ed., 12 vols., İstanbul, 1303/1885–6.
Çelebizade Asım	Küçükçelebizade Ismail Asım, <i>Tarih-i Çelebizade Asım, Raşit tarihine zeyil</i> , İstanbul, 1282/1865–6.
Danişmend	Ismail Hami Danişmend, <i>Izahî Osmanlı Tarihi kronolojisi</i> , 4 vols., İstanbul, 1947–61; repr. in 5 vols., İstanbul, 1971–2.
de Testa	Baron Ignatz de Testa, ed., <i>Recueil des traités de la Porte Ottoman avec les puissances étrangères depuis 1536</i> , 11 vols., Paris, 1864–1911.
EI ¹	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , ed. Th. Houtsma et al., 4 vols., and Supplement, Leiden, 1931–38.
EI ²	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition</i> , ed. H.A.R. Gibb, B. Lewis, et al., Leiden, 1960 to date.
Enveri	Trabzonî Sadullah Enveri, <i>Tarih-i Enveri</i> , TKS ms. Hazine 5994.

x *Abbreviations*

Ergin, <i>Belediye</i>	Osman Nuri Ergin, <i>Mecelle-i Umur-u Belediye</i> , 5 vols., Istanbul, 1912–17.
Ergin, <i>Maarif</i>	Osman Nuri Ergin, <i>Türkiye Maarif Tarihi</i> , 5 vols., Istanbul, 1939–43.
Evliya Çelebi	Evliya Çelebi, <i>Seyahatname</i> , Istanbul, 10 vols., 1896–1938.
Fisher	Alan Fisher, <i>The Russian Annexation of the Crimea, 1772–1783</i> , Cambridge, 1970.
Gibb and Bowen	H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, <i>Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East</i> , vol. I in 2 parts, London and New York, 1950–7.
Gibb, <i>Ottoman Poetry</i>	E. J. W. Gibb, <i>A History of Ottoman Poetry</i> , 6 vols., London, 1900–1909.
Holt, <i>Egypt and the Fertile Crescent</i>	P. Holt, <i>Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516–1922</i> , London and Ithaca, 1966.
Hurewitz, <i>Diplomacy</i>	J. C. Hurewitz, <i>Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: A Documentary Analysis</i> , 2 vols., Princeton, N.J., 1956.
IJMES	<i>International Journal of Middle East Studies</i> , ed. S. J. Shaw, 1970 to date.
IA	Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, <i>Maarif Vekâleti, Islam Ansiklopedisi</i> , Istanbul and Ankara, 1940 to date.
Inalcık, "Bursa"	Halil Inalcık, "Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant," <i>JESHO</i> , 3 (1960), 131–47.
Inalcık, "Methods"	Halil Inalcık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," <i>Studia Islamica</i> , 2 (1954), 103–29.
Iorga	N. Iorga, <i>Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches</i> , 5 vols., Gotha, 1908–13, repr. 1962.
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> .
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i> .
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> .
JRCAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society</i> .
Kâtip Çelebi, <i>Fezleke</i>	Mustafa b. Abdullah Kâtip Çelebi, Hacı Halife, <i>Fezleke-i Kâtip Çelebi</i> , Istanbul, 2 vols., 1286–7/1869–70.
Kâtip Çelebi, <i>Düstur</i>	Mustafa b. Abdullah Kâtip Çelebi, Hacı Halife, <i>Düstur ül-amel li-Islah al-Halel</i> , Istanbul, 1280/1863.
Kâtip Çelebi, <i>Balance</i>	Mustafa b. Abdullah Kâtip Çelebi, Hacı Halife, <i>The Balance of Truth</i> , tr. Geoffrey Lewis, London, 1957.
Koç Bey	Mustafa Koç Bey, <i>Nizam-i Devlete müteallik Göriceli Koç Beyin . . . Murad-i Rabiyyaya verdiği Risaledir</i> , Istanbul, 1277/1860–1.
Lewis	Bernard Lewis, <i>The Emergence of Modern Turkey</i> , 1st ed., London and New York, 1961; 2nd ed., 1968.
Muahedat Mecmuası	Mesut Paşa, ed., <i>Muahedat Mecmuası</i> , 5 vols., Istanbul, 1292–8/1876–82.
Mehmet Halife, <i>Tarih-i Gilmani</i>	Mehmet Halife, <i>Tarih-i Gilmani</i> , Istanbul, 1340.
Naima	Mustafa Naima, <i>Ravzat ul-Hüseyin fi hülâsat ul-abbar ul-hafikin. Tarih-i Naima</i> ; 1st ed., 2 vols., Istanbul, 1147; 2nd ed., 6 vols., Istanbul, 1280. Partly tr. as <i>Annals of the Turkish</i>

Cambridge University Press

0521291631 - History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Empire of the Gazis,

1280–1808 - Volume I

Stanford J. Shaw

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Abbreviations* xi

Noradounghian	<i>Empire from 1591 to 1659 of the Christian Era</i> , by C. Fraser, London, 1832.
Pakalın	Gabriel Noradounghian, ed., <i>Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman</i> , 4 vols., Paris, 1897–1903.
Raşit	Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, <i>Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü</i> , 3 vols., İstanbul, 1946–55.
REI	Mehmet Raşit, <i>Raşit Tarihi</i> , 5 vols., İstanbul, 1867.
Shaw, French Revolution	<i>Revue des Etudes Islamiques</i> .
Shaw, Between Old and New	Stanford J. Shaw, <i>Ottoman Egypt in the Age of the French Revolution</i> , Cambridge, 1964.
Shaw, Between Old and New	Stanford J. Shaw, <i>Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire Under Sultan Selim III, 1789–1807</i> , Cambridge, Mass., 1971.
Shaw, "Archival Materials"	Stanford J. Shaw, "Ottoman Archival Materials for the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: The Archives of İstanbul," <i>IJMES</i> , 6 (1975), 94–114.
Shaw, Financial	Stanford J. Shaw, <i>The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517–1798</i> , Princeton, N. J., 1962.
Silâhdar	Fındıklı Silâhdar Mehmet Ağa, <i>Silâhdar Tarihi</i> , 2 vols., İstanbul, 1928; 2nd ed., Ankara, 1947.
Suphi	Mehmet Suphi, Mustafa Sami, and Hüseyin Şakir, <i>Tarih-i Suphi, Sami ve Şakir</i> , İstanbul, 1783.
Thomas, Naima	Lewis V. Thomas, <i>A Study of Naima</i> , New York, 1972.
TKS	Topkapı Saray Museum and Archives, İstanbul.
TM	<i>Türkiyat Mecmuası</i> , İstanbul.
TV	<i>Tarih Vesikalari</i>
TOEM	<i>Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası</i> .
TTEM	<i>Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası</i> .
Uzunçarşılı, Beylik	Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, <i>Anadolu beylikleri ve Akköyunlu, Karakoyunlu devletleri</i> , Ankara, 1937; 2nd ed., Ankara, 1969.
Uzunçarşılı, Çandarlı	Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, <i>Çandarlı Vezir Ailesi</i> , Ankara, 1974.
Uzunçarşılı, İlmiye	Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, <i>Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı</i> , Ankara, 1965.
Uzunçarşılı, Kapukulu	Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, <i>Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları</i> , 2 vols., Ankara, 1943–4.
Uzunçarşılı, Merkez	Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, <i>Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı</i> , Ankara, 1948.
Uzunçarşılı, OT	Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, <i>Osmanlı Tarihi</i> , 4 vols., Ankara, 1947–59.
Uzunçarşılı, Saray	Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, <i>Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı</i> , Ankara, 1945.
Vasif	Ahmet Vasif Efendi, <i>Tarih-i Vasif</i> , 2 vols., Cairo, 1830 (for years 1753–74 only; subsequent vols. only in ms. form: vol. I (1188/1774–1198/1784), TKS Hazine 1406; vol. II (1197/1783–1202/1788), İstanbul Archaeological Museum, ms. 355;

Cambridge University Press

0521291631 - History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Empire of the Gazis,

1280–1808 - Volume I

Stanford J. Shaw

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xii *Abbreviations*

	vol. III (1203/1788–1309/1794), Istanbul University Library, ms. TY 5980;
	vol. IV (1209/1794–1214/1799), Istanbul University Library, ms. TY 5979;
	vol. V (1214/1799–1217/1802), Istanbul University Library, ms. TY 6012;
	vol. VI (1217/1802–1219/1804), Millet Library, Istanbul, Ali Emiri ms. 609.
von Hammer, GOR	Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, <i>Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches</i> , 10 vols., Pest, 1827–35; repr. Graz, 1963.
von Hammer, <i>Staatsverwaltung</i>	Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, <i>Des Osmanischen Reiches Staatsverwaltung . . .</i> , 2 vols., Vienna, 1815; repr., Hildesheim, 1963.
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> .
Zinkeisen	Johann Wilhelm Zinkeisen, <i>Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa</i> , 7 vols., Hamburg, 1840, Gotha, 1854–63; repr. Darmstadt, 1963.

Cambridge University Press

0521291631 - History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Empire of the Gazis,

1280–1808 - Volume I

Stanford J. Shaw

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

NOTE ON PRONUNCIATION

The modern standard Turkish spelling system has been employed in this book with only a few exceptions. The Latin letters used in this system are pronounced about the same as their English equivalents, with the following exceptions:

<i>Letter</i>	<i>English pronunciation</i>
c	j
ç	ch
ğ	lengthens preceding vowel; thus <i>ağ'a</i> is pronounced a-a
ı	like the a in <i>serial</i> or io in <i>cushion</i>
j	zh
ö	like the German ö
ş	sh
ü	like the German ü
v	lighter than English v

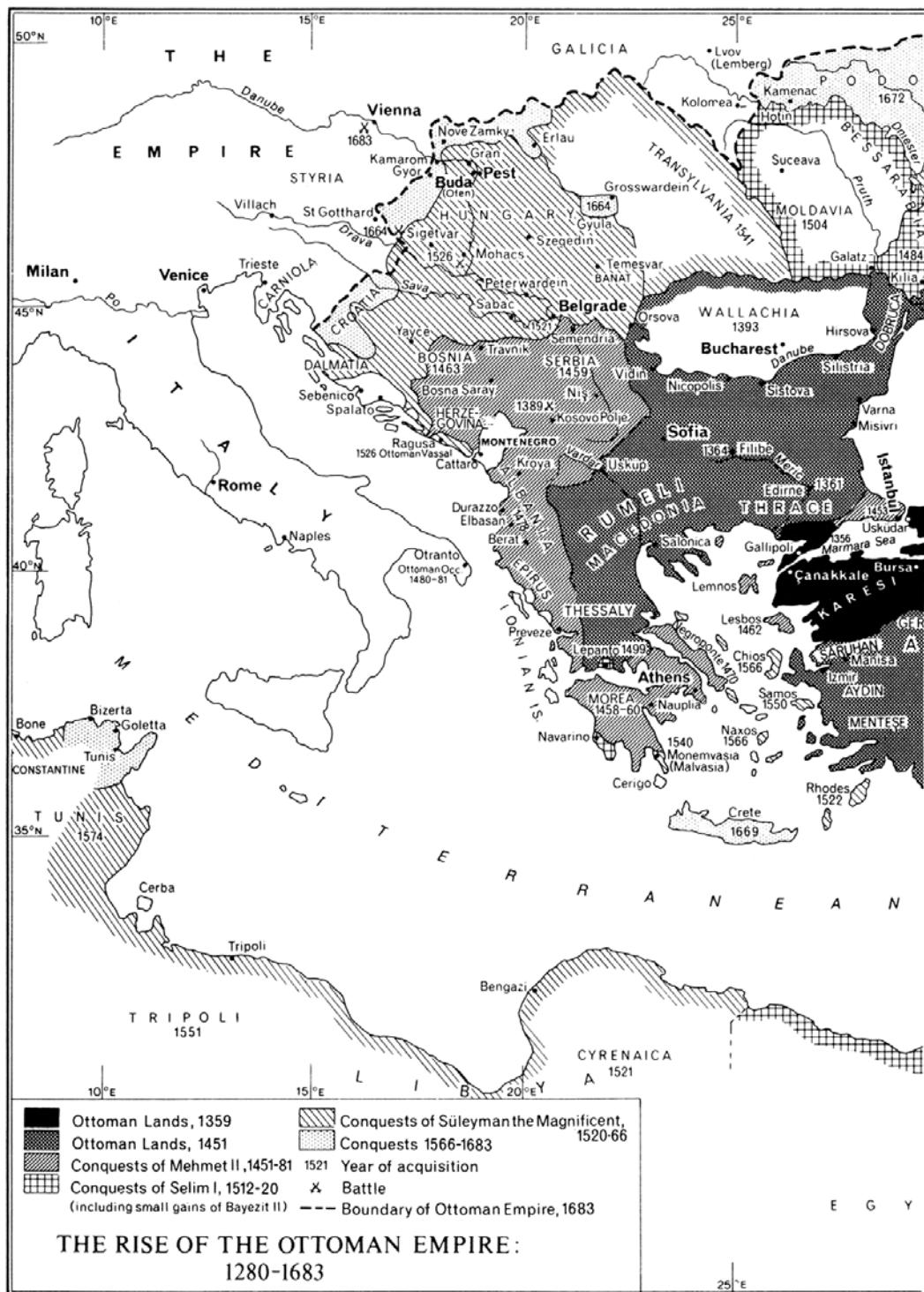
The modern Turkish tendency to change the final Ottoman letters d and b into t and p has been followed, thus Murat, Mahmut, and *kitap*, but these letters return to d and b when followed by vowels, as Mahmudu and *kitabı*. Arabic terms used in Ottoman Turkish have been given their Turkish pronunciations and spellings, thus *mültezim* and *mütevelli* rather than *multazim* and *mutawalli*.

Cambridge University Press

0521291631 - History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Empire of the Gazis,
1280–1808 - Volume I

Stanford J. Shaw

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

0521291631 - History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Empire of the Gazis,
1280–1808 - Volume I

Stanford J. Shaw

Frontmatter

[More information](#)