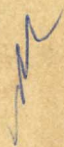


BIBLIOTHECA HISTORICA
ROMANIAE
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MARIA MATILDA
ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA
BULGARU

Dr. Sc. (History)

Nicolae Iorga-
a Romanian
historian
of the Ottoman
Empire



PUBLISHING HOUSE OF THE ACADEMY
OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA

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**NICOLAE IORGA—
A ROMANIAN HISTORIAN
OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE**

Translated by MARY LĂZĂRESCU

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BIBLIOTHECA HISTORICA ROMANIAE
STUDIES

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MARIA MATILDA ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA BULGARU
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NICOLAE IORGA — A ROMANIAN HISTORIAN
OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE



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Motto

Nicolae Iorga is one of those legendary personalities, for ever thrust into the soil of the country and into the history of the human mind.

HENRI FOCILLON



NICOLAE IORGA

PREFACE

CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH THE HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE WAS ELABORATED

The scientific work of Nicolae Iorga who for almost half a century was the outstanding representative of Romanian historical science, is marked by vast proportions and by the variety of the objects of his researches.

Possessing a many-sided spirit which blossomed by a thorough training acquired in the French and German universities, Nicolae Iorga concentrated from the very first his enormous capacity for work on the vast domain of world history ranging from ancient¹ to modern and contemporary history² which he handled with a modern and original scientific method and with innovating insight. But of all the fields of research he tackled during his long and fruitful activity, he granted special importance to the problems of mediaeval history to which he brought new and original contributions enriching it with publications of sources, special studies and vast syntheses.

A mediaevalist by training and vocation³, N. Iorga considerably enlarged this field of research, granting to imperial Byzantium — the inheritor of ancient Rome's cultural and political tradition — a far greater role in world history than the one acknowledged by his predecessors, and introducing a new area into world history: the Balkan Peninsula.

Purposing to follow up the relations between the world of South-East Europe which, he held, represented a single whole, potentialized by the creative power of the Roman element and eagerly aspiring to form an empire — an aspiration taken over by the Bulgarians and the Ser-

¹ Cf. D.M. Pippidi, *Nicolas Iorga, historien de l'antiquité* in "Revue historique du Sud-Est-européen", XXII, 1945, p. 37—66; for the analysis of N. Iorga's work: *Remarks of a Non Specialist in Ancient History. Lessons delivered at the Women's Circle for Cultural Progress*. Bucharest, 1916; *Essai de synthèse de l'Histoire de l'Humanité*, vol. I, Paris, 1926, and *Moyen Age et Antiquité*, in "Scientia, Revue internationale de synthèse scientifique", March, 1936, pp. 187—196.

² Cf. Barbu Theodorescu, *Nicolae Iorga's Historical and Literary Bibliography 1890—1934*, Bucharest, 1935 (5 614 titles), and *Nicolae Iorga's Political, Social and Economic Bibliography*, Bucharest, 1937 (continued to 13 682).

³ M. Berza, *Nicolas Iorga, historien du Moyen Age*, in "Revue historique du Sud-Est européen", XX, 1943, pp. 5—30.

bians — and the disintegrated West which was trying to achieve the same imperial unity⁴, Nicolae Iorga turned his attention to the history of the Ottoman Empire.

Almost two centuries after Dimitrie Cantemir had written his world famous work *Historia incrementorum atque decrementorum Aulæ Othomanicæ*⁵ which, until the appearance of Joseph von Hammer's work⁶, exerted an overwhelming influence on researches concerned with the Turkish world, the great German historian Karl Lamprecht having been charged with controlling the collection of world history started by Heeren and Uckert entrusted the former candidate for a doctor's degree at the Leipzig University⁷, with the task of writing a new history of the Ottoman Empire.

This choice of the young professor of world history of the Bucharest University who had attracted the attention of so eminent scholars as Weigand of Leipzig and of Helmolt himself⁸, was grounded on a number of objective reasons.

⁴ N. Iorga, *Der lateinische Westen und der byzantinische Osten in ihren Wechselbeziehungen. Einige Gesichtspunkte*, in *Studium Lipsiense, Ehrengabe Lamprecht*, 1909, pp. 89—99; idem *Relations entre l'Orient et l'Occident au Moyen Age*, 1923, republished in N. Iorga, *Études Byzantines*, Bucharest, 1939, pp. 159—297.

⁵ The History of the Ottoman Empire, completed in 1716, was published after the death of Dimitrie Cantemir, in the English translation of Abbot N. Tindal under the title: *History of the Growth and Decay of the Othoman Empire*, London, 1734—1735, 2nd edition in 1756. It was translated into French by l'abbé de la Jonquière (D. Cantemir, *Histoire de l'Empire Othoman où se voyent les causes de son aggrandissement et de sa décadence. Avec des notes très instructives par S.A.S. Demetrius Cantemir, prince de Moldavie...*, Paris, 1743, 4 vol.), in German (*Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches nach seinem Anwachsen und Abnehmen... Aus dem Englischen übersetzt*, Hamburg, 1745) and in Romanian by Dr. Jos. Hodosiu (D. Cantemir, *Istoria Imperiului otomanu. Creșterea și scăderea lui*. With very instructive notes by Demetrius Cantemir, edition of the Rom. Academy, Bucharest, 1872, 2 vol.).

⁶ J.v. Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Pest, 1827—1835, vol. I—X.

⁷ N. Iorga passed his exam for a doctor's degree in Leipzig, 1893, with the thesis *Thomas III, Marquis de Saluces...*, Paris, 1893.

⁸ N. Iorga, *Orizonturile mele. O viață de om așa cum a fost* (My Horizons — A Man's Life, as It Actually Was), Bucharest, 1934, II, p. 91.

NICOLAE IORGA'S DOCUMENTATION, HISTORICAL CONCEPTION AND METHOD REGARDING THE HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Nicolae Iorga, a Romanian, and the son of a people who owing to their geographic position and to their history had preserved for centuries close ties with the Eastern peoples and, especially with the Turks, was in a position to have a better knowledge than historians of other nationality, of the Balkan and Eastern World whose influences on the Romanian language and civilization are manifest. Though in Nicolae Iorga's epoch there were illustrious historians such as C. Brockelmann, C. Jireček, E. Gerland, among the German historians there was no expert who could deal better than Nicolae Iorga with the history of this great universal empire which, for several centuries, exerted, in certain periods, a great influence on the politics of Europe, Asia and Africa. The activity carried on by Nicolae Iorga in the field of history was already at the time stupendous and made of him one of the eminent research workers of his epoch.

CHAPTER 1

THE EXPLORING OF SOURCES AND THE PUBLICATION OF DOCUMENTS REGARDING THE OTTOMAN EAST

While still studying at the Paris, Berlin and Leipzig universities, N. Iorga began to examine records and libraries with the object of preparing a history of the late crusades which, in his conception, exceeded the limits established by the traditional chronology,

extending as late as 1526¹, as well as a history of the relations between the Turks and Christian Europe². But, the main object of his researches was especially to collect the material necessary for the writing of a new history of the Romanians, considered from the angle of its connections with world history, and set in the South-Eastern Europe geographic area where it developed.

Besides the French archives where he found the abundant documentary material necessary for his vast thesis for the "École des Hautes Études", *Philippe de Mézières et la croisade au XIV^e siècle*³, which was highly appreciated by the great historians in the West⁴, N. Iorga examined numerous archives and libraries in Germany. In Berlin, at the State Archives where before him Papiu Ilarian had worked under the protection of J.W. Zinkeisen, the historian of the Ottoman Empire, N. Iorga found documents dating from the "modern crusade" epoch of John Sobieski, king of Poland, and explored the whole correspondence of the Prussian envoys to Constantinople⁵. In the State Archives in Dresden he examined the diplomatic correspondence of 17th century Turkey⁶ and found two 15th-century Venetian chronicles of great importance for the relations with the Turkish East. In Munich he discovered rich and interesting recorded evidence regarding the invasions of the Turks in the valleys of the Styrian Alps and the decisions taken by the diets aimed at stemming the Ottoman peril⁷.

N. Iorga pursued the reconstitution of the attempts at organizing a crusade later than the admitted epoch; he therefore studied systematically the archives in Italy, during several of his travels. In Venice he found material regarding the relations of the republic of Venice with the Moslem East, down to the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, failing only to examine the rich material in

¹ N. Iorga *Orizonturile mele. O viață de om așa cum a fost* (My Horizons—A Man's Life as It Actually Was). Bucharest, 1934, I, p. 23.

² N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^e siècle*, Paris, 1899, II, p. VIII.

³ This work published in 1896 in Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences philologiques et historiques, fasc. 110, was preceded by a thorough analysis of the letters of Philippe de Mézières, published in "Revue historique", XLIX, Paris, 1892, pp. 1—36, under the title *Une collection de lettres de Philippe de Mézières*.

⁴ Reinhold Rohricht points out in *Mittheilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 1900, p. 209, that N. Iorga's work was hailed by the scientific world with joy and gratitude.

⁵ N. Iorga, *Orizonturile mele. O viață de om...*, I, p. 234.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 241.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 243.

the "Archivio Notarile"⁸. In Rome he studied the pontifical accounts⁹ and in Florence and Naples king Alphonso of Aragon's Catalan accounts and all the books where he would have found some "scrap of oriental information"¹⁰.

Under the guidance of Cornelio Desimoni, the historian of the relations of the republic of San Giorgio with Famagosta, Nicolae Iorga investigated at Genoa the reports sent by the Genoese ambassadors to the Porte and particularly the "Syndicamenta Peyre"¹¹ — accounts partly overlooked by Vigna — though they comprised information on the relations between the Genoese colony and the Turkish East. The "Oficium Romaniae" supplied him with a mass of reference information.

Under the guidance of Joseph Gelcich, the publisher of an important collection of Ragusan documents¹², Nicolae Iorga investigated the archives of the Dalmatian republic which were full of information on the history of the Ottoman Empire¹³ with which the merchants of Ragusa kept up close relations and developed their business safely due to the tribute they paid to the Porte and to the gifts sent to the Sultan and to his high officials.

The indefatigable researcher explored the archives of Hungary, Poland, Sweden and Holland too. In the Hague he discovered the invaluable correspondence of the Dutch ambassadors to Constantinople, one book of which was shown him by the scholar Theodor Morren¹⁴.

The results of all this steady research work were included in several collections which have preserved to this day, more than half a century after their publication, their entire documentary importance.

With the assistance of the scholar Charles Kohler, the chief editor of the well-known periodical "Revue de l'Orient latin", N. Iorga started publishing a long series of *Notes et Extraits pour servir à l'Histoire des Croisades au XV^e siècle*¹⁵. The first two vo-

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 281.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*. pp. 248—249. Nicolae Iorga was twice in Florence and Naples (*Ibidem*, p. 282) to complete the information regarding the late crusades.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 249.

¹² J. Gelcich, *Diplomatarium relationum Republicae Ragusanae cum Regno Hungariae*, Budapest, 1887.

¹³ N. Iorga, *Orizonturile mele. O viață de om așa cum a fost* (My Horizons — A Man's Life as It Actually Was), I, pp. 286—288.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 295.

¹⁵ The collection was published in six series in the years 1899—1916. The first two volumes are extracted from "Revue de l'Orient latin", IV—V and VI—VIII.

lumes, brought out beginning with 1897, comprised numerous political documents of particular importance for the history of the relations between Venice, Genoa and other Christian states and the Ottoman Turks in the period 1395—1453, as well as account books of the Apostolic Camera, of the Camerlinghi of Florence and of king Alphons of Naples, which helped to throw light on the financial aspects of the anti-Ottoman expeditions.

When N. Iorga supplemented the publication of the political documents with materials mostly Ragusan of the years 1540—1453, he included in the third volume of his collection¹⁶ treatises such as the accounts, based on sources, of the conquest of Constantinople (1453)¹⁷ written by Henri de Sommern, a clerk in holy orders in Rome, or Niccolo Sagundino's description of the Turks' deeds¹⁸. He did not omit apocryphal works written deliberately to arouse the Christians' interest for the "anti-Ottoman crusade", such as, for example, the fabulous story of the conquest of Constantinople written by the monk Simion in 1454¹⁹, or the rhymed complaints composed after the fall of the capital of Byzantium²⁰, or the plans drawn up in view of organizing a "holy war"²¹.

These works which attracted the notice of Karl Krumbacher, the founder of German Byzantinism, and the admiration of the learned historians E. Gerland²² and R. Röhrich²³, enlarged the documentation basis of the history of the late crusades, throwing new light upon the evolution of the relations between the states in Southern and Western Europe, and the Ottoman Turks. The publication of these documents of particular value for the history of the Ottoman Empire in the 15th century showed N. Iorga to be, while still quite young, a real connoisseur in this field.

Though the last three volumes of *Notes et Extraits*²⁴ were to be published later, between 1915 and 1916, Nicolae Iorga used in his *History of the Ottoman Empire* numerous documents referring

¹⁶ Published in Bucharest in 1899.

¹⁷ N. Iorga, *Notes et Extraits*, III, pp. 309—315.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 316—323.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 332.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 335—345.

²¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 342—345.

²² In his review published in "Deutsche Literaturzeitung", 1901, pp. 739—741. E. Gerland states that Iorga's publication surpasses in importance the collection of Karl Hopf.

²³ Cf. "Mittheilungen des Institutes für österreichische Geschichtsforschung", 1900, pp. 369—370.

²⁴ *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^e siècle*, IV-ème série (1453—1476), Bucharest. 1915, 379 p.; V-ème série (1476—1500), Bucharest, 1915, 351 p.; VI-ème série (1501—1517), Bucharest. 1916, 219 p.

to the years 1340—1547 which he found in the archives of the dukes of Candia, as well as in the libraries in Vienna, Munich, Dresden, etc. and made use of them before being able to publish them.

Even the collections devoted by Nicolae Iorga to the history of the Romanians, considered from the angle of its relations with world history, supplied him with abundant and remarkable material for the investigation of the Ottoman Empire.

The Collection *Acte și fragmente cu privire la istoria românilor*²⁵, the result of the same archives researches as *Notes et Extraits*, circulated documentary information, reports drawn up by envoys, correspondence between the sultans and Christian sovereigns, travelers' notes, etc., which posed a number of new problems and interpretations concerning not only the history of the Romanian-Turkish relations, but the history of the Ottoman Empire too and its relations with Germany, Hungary, Poland.

We mention inter alia the "crusade" at Nicopol (1396)²⁶, the expedition of Timur against Bayazid I and the conquest of the citadel of Sivas (1401)²⁷, the battles of Podul Înalt (1475)²⁸ and Mohács (1526)²⁹, the Polish-Turkish peace of 1621³⁰, the Turkish campaign of 1663 in Hungary³¹, as well as the Turkish reports from the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries³². Special mention should be made of the letters of Sultans Mehmed II Fatih (1452)³³, Murad IV (1573)³⁴, Ahmed I³⁵, the letter of the grand vizier Mehmed Sokoli³⁶ and of the correspondence between Emperor Maximilian I (1574)³⁷, the kings of Poland, Stephan Báthory (1578)³⁸ and Sigismund III Vasa (1612)³⁹ and the Porte, or of the letter addressed by chancellor Zamoyiski to Sinan Pasha (1595)⁴⁰.

²⁵ Published in 3 volumes in Bucharest in the years 1895—1897.

²⁶ *Acte și fragmente* (Documents and Fragments), III, pp. 176—179.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 4—5. The document was republished in "Revue historique du Sud-Est européen", 1937, pp. 90—91, together with two other documents regarding the same campaign (*ibidem*, pp. 89—90, 91, 92) published previously in the collection *Notes et Extraits*, I, p. 112 and 116.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, III, pp. 91—92, 92—93.

²⁹ *Acte și fragmente* (Documents and Fragments), I, pp. 107—108.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 193—194.

³¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 251—252, 252—260.

³² Published in volume II of this collection.

³³ *Ibidem*, III, pp. 23—27.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, I, pp. 18—20.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 185—186.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 16—17.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 28—29.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 183—184.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 146.

The collection includes also firmans and orders (*buiuraltu*) published in translations ⁴¹.

Due to the wealth and variety of these documents, the collection *Acte și fragmente* was highly appreciated by distinguished foreign specialists such as P. Pierling ⁴².

Designed to constitute the basis of a new political, economic and social history of the Romanian countries, the collection *Studii și Documente* ⁴³ (Studies and Documents) comprises too documentary information regarding the history of the Ottoman Empire. We mention, as example, the letter of Emperor Rudolph II addressed to Sultan Ahmed I (1611) ⁴⁴, the letter of Mustapha Pasha to the Polish chancellor ⁴⁵, the correspondence of the imperial internunci and envoys to the Porte ⁴⁶, reports of the Venetian bailie (*bailii*) at Constantinople ⁴⁷ (1621), the series of Polish deeds regarding the Turkish campaign in Poland in 1620—1621 ⁴⁸, excerpts from a collection of letters of King Sigismund III preserved in Leipzig, Spanish reports to the Council of Ten in Venice (1525) ⁴⁹, letters and reports on the Turkish-Polish ⁵⁰ and Turkish-German wars at the end of the 17th century ⁵¹, culminating with the siege of Vienna (1683), which Șerban Cantacuzino took part in ⁵², the reports of the Wallachian envoys (*kapukehaia*) in Constantinople ⁵³ containing news on the abuses perpetrated by the Turks in Wallachia after the *Règlement Organique*, letters on the raids of the Turks in Oltenia by the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries ⁵⁴, and others.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, II, pp. 612—615, 615—617, 738—740.

⁴² N. Iorga, *Orizonturile mele...*, I, p. 258.

⁴³ *Idem*, *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor* (Studies and Documents Regarding the History of the Romanians), 25 volumes, Bucharest, 1901—1913.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, vol. XX, pp. 392—394.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 210—211.

⁴⁶ Cf. the letters of the internuntius Mihail Starzer (1614) on the Turkish-German relations (*Ibidem*, pp. 3, 5, 10—12, 13, 17, 23—24, 45—46, 49, 188, 411, 433, 439, 499—450, 456, 457, 458, 483); letter of the orator Jacob Kurz of 1615 (*Ibidem*, pp. 44—45) and the letter of Archduke Matthias of 1616 (*Ibidem*, pp. 464—474).

⁴⁷ Cf. the reports of the bailo G. Giustiniani of 1621 (*Ibidem*, pp. 42—43).

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 149—159.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 154—155.

⁵⁰ For the Turkish expeditions in 1663—1664 and 1672—1678 cf. *Studii și Documente*, IX, p. 159 and foll.; p. 165 and foll.

⁵¹ Cf. *Studii și Documente*, XI, pp. 131—182; XX, pp. 61—145.

⁵² *Ibidem*, pp. 132—133, 136—137.

⁵³ Cf. a report dating from the time of Șerban Cantacuzino (*Ibidem*, III, pp. 96—97) as well as the reports of Aristarchi of 1835 (*ibidem*, XI, 7—38).

⁵⁴ *Studii și Documente*, VIII, p. 107 and foll.; p. 115 and foll.; p. 119 and foll.; p. 137 and foll.; p. 145 and foll.; p. 152 and foll.

The volume published by Nicolae Iorga in the *Hurmuzachi Collection* ⁵⁵ comprises a series of other documents designed to enrich the history of the political and economic relations between the Romanian countries and the Porte and to contribute new data concerning the relations between the Ottoman Empire and Hungary, Germany, Poland and Russia.

Continuing his activity with regard to the anti-Ottoman "crusade", N. Iorga published — besides certain separate documents he found in the archives of the Transylvanian towns regarding the battles of Ioan of Hunedoara (John Hunyadi) with the Turks (1440, 1456) ⁵⁶ — the plans of the battles against the Turks in the 15th century, mentioning the part the Romanians were to play ⁵⁷, then a number of reports on the expedition of the Turks in Transylvania ⁵⁸, Moldavia and Wallachia ⁵⁹ in the time of Petru Rareș ⁶⁰, Ștefan Tomșa ⁶¹ and Michael the Brave ⁶²; documents regarding the Ottoman policy designed to invade Hungary ⁶³ as well as the relations between the Porte and Ferdinand I of Habsburg ⁶⁴, and Poland ⁶⁵; letters of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent in connection with events in Transylvania ⁶⁶ and Hungary; the letters of certain Ottoman high officials such as the *beglerbeg* Hasan Pasha of Timișoara ⁶⁷; the correspondence between Catherine de' Medici ⁶⁸ and the Grand viziers Ibrahim Pasha, Sinan Pasha and with admiral (*kapudan*) Uludj Ali Pasha, as well as valuable information on the vassalage relationship between the Romanian countries and

⁵⁵ Volume X (1673—1884) Bucharest, 1897; XI (1517—1612), Bucharest, 1900; XII (1594—1602), Bucharest, 1903; XIV/1 (1320—1716), Bucharest, 1915; XIV/2 (1716—1777), Bucharest, 1917; XIV/3 (1592—1837), Bucharest, 1936; XV/1 (1358—1600), Bucharest, 1911; XV/2 (1601—1825), Bucharest, 1917.

⁵⁶ *Hurmuzaki*, XV/1, p. 34, doc. no. 57; p. 35, no. 61; p. 37, no. 62 and 64; p. 39, no. 67, 68; p. 40, no. 71; p. 43, no. 75—76; p. 45, no. 80.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, XI, p. 1, nr. 1 (12 November 1517).

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, XV/1, p. 12, no. 13; p. 14, no. 18; p. 17, no. 24; p. 20, no. 29; p. 21, no. 30—31; p. 61, no. 107; p. 62, no. 109; p. 67, no. 117; p. 102, no. 182; p. 115, no. 206; p. 119, no. 215; p. 183, no. 251; p. 250, no. 452; p. 255, no. 465; p. 492, no. 915.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 261, no. 477; p. 407, no. 761.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, XI, p. 37, no. 48.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 70, no. 87, 104.

⁶² *Ibidem*, vol. XII, passim.

⁶³ *Hurmuzaki*, XI, p. 52, no. 74.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 49, no. 68; p. 57, no. 84.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 83, no. 129; p. 84, no. 130.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 575, no. 2; p. 43, no. 58.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 362, no. 501.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 104—105, no. 166—169.



the Porte materialized through the payment of the tribute ⁶⁹, the sending of military contingents ⁷⁰, the delivery of products.

In volume X of the same collection, which William Miller studied with steady interest, N. Iorga published the reports of the Prussian consuls ⁷¹ who, trained at the school of Frederic II showed great insight and understanding in desciphering the political relations between the Ottoman Empire, Prussia, and Austria, during one of the most important periods in the history of Eastern Europe, materialized in the victories won by the Russian armies, which exerted a deep influence on the situation of the peoples subjugated by the Turks, thoroughly undermining the Ottoman Empire.

Mention should also be made of the publication of documents found in the archives of the former ruling families Callimachi⁷², Cantacuzino ⁷³, Brancoveanu ⁷⁴, Știrbei ⁷⁵, as well as of the documents of Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza which comprise certain data on the relations between the Romanian countries and the Turks as suzerain power.

In the study of these relations the volume *Documente și cercetări asupra istoriei financiare și economice a Principatelor române* ⁷⁶ (*Documents and Researches on the Financial and Economic History of the Romanian Principalities*) is particularly important,

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 198, no. 326; p. 214, no. 348, p. 69, no. 141.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 193, no. 319.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, X, p. 1, doc. no. 2 and foll.

⁷² In vol. I of *Documente privilegiate la familia Callimachi* (Documents regarding the Callimachi Family) (Bucharest, 1902), Nicolae Iorga published the reports of the Austrian consuls in Jassy and Bucharest (pp. 39—321) with data on the passing of certain Ottoman high officials through Moldavia, on the rate of exchange of coins in Constantinople etc. (pp. 101—102), reports of the French consuls in Jassy and Bucharest (pp. 325—276, 379—384) mentioning the secret articles of the Peace of Bucharest of 1812 (pp. 344—346). In vol. II (Bucharest, 1903) he published the comprehensive reports of the Austrian envoys to the Porte in the years 1774—1821 (pp. 387—555), reports of the Prussian envoys (pp. 561—572), the Dutch (pp. 595—611) and Swedish ones (pp. 615—659).

⁷³ In *Genealogia Cantacuzinilor* (Genealogy of the Cantacuzins) (Bucharest, 1902), Nicolae Iorga published the register of the correspondence with the Russians during the 1769—1774 war, belonging to Ban Mihai Cantacuzino and his brother Pirvu Cantacuzino.

⁷⁴ In *Documente privilegiate la Constantin Vodă Brncoveanu, la domnia și sfârșitul lui* (Documents regarding Prince Constantin Brancoveanu, his reign and his end), Bucharest, 1901, Nicolae Iorga published the Brancoveanu correspondence with the Austrians including news on the campaign at the Pruth (1711) and fragments of the Dutch correspondence at Constantinople (1689—1717) (pp. 105—115).

⁷⁵ In *Coroșdența lui Știrbei Vodă* (Correspondence of Prince Știrbei), Bucharest, 1914, Nicolae Iorga published 196 deeds extracted from the correspondence between Știrbei and the Turks in the period 1849—1856 (pp. 469—622).

⁷⁶ Extracted from *Economia Națională* (National Economy), Bucharest 1900.

especially as regards the pecuniary charges (*kharadj* and *pesh-kesh*), the payments in kind and in labour. Besides the “*sămile*” (accounts) of the Moldavian treasury at the end of the 18th and early half of the 19th centuries, Nicolae Iorga published short abstracts of heretofore unknown Turkish firmans preserved in the original in the archives at Constantinople and to be found in copies accompanied by translations in French, at the library of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania⁷⁷. Nicolae Iorga filed them under three rubrics on “the boundaries between the Romanian Countries and the Porte”⁷⁸, “trade and supplies”⁷⁹, and “affairs mostly political”⁸⁰.

Even after writing his vast Ottoman synthesis, N. Iorga’s permanent interest in the Turkish East made him collect documentary evidence which he published in Romanian specialty reviews, such as “Bulletin de la section historique de l’Académie Roumaine”, “Bulletin de l’Institut pour l’étude de l’Europe sud-orientale”, “Revista istorică” (Historical Review) and “Revue historique du sud-est européen”, as well as in the annex to special studies such as *Les aventures «Sarrazines» des Français de Bourgogne au XV^e siècle*⁸¹.

Among the most important documents edited by N. Iorga after the publication of his *History of the Ottoman Empire* we mention three treaties written in Italian and Latin concluded between Murad I and Genoa (1387)⁸², between Süleyman and Byzantium and the Christian League (1403)⁸³, and between Mehmed II and Hungary (1452)⁸⁴, the important privilege granted by this sultan to Pera (1453) published after the original in Greek and the contemporary Italian translations of Marino Sanudo and Zorzi Dolfin⁸⁵, a treaty between the Turks and Venice worded in Greek (1446)⁸⁶, a Burgundian treatise on the battles fought against the Turks at Rhodes, in the Black Sea and on the coast

⁷⁷ Library of the Academy, Turkish file DLXXIX, DLXXX, DLXXXI.

⁷⁸ N. Iorga, *Documente și cercetări asupra istoriei financiare și economice a Principatelor române* (Documents and research on the financial and economic history of the Romanian Principalities), pp. 174–179.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 177–180.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 181–183.

⁸¹ In *Mélanges d’histoire générale*, Cluj, 1926.

⁸² N. Iorga, *Le privilège de Mahomed II pour la ville de Péra* (1^{er} Juin 1453) in “Bulletin de la section historique de l’Académie roumaine”, 1914, no. 1, pp. 24–26.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, pp. 26–29.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 29–33.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 11–17.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 18–21.

of Barbary (1444–1445)⁸⁷, a letter of Bartolomèo of Genoa on the battles between Turks and Christians on the Danube (February 3, 1445)⁸⁸, a letter from Constantinople on the events in Serbia and Wallachia (December 7, 1448)⁸⁹, a deed of Petru Aron regarding the homage of Moldavia (1456)⁹⁰, a letter of Antonio da Palagio on the conflict between the sultan of Egypt and the Hospitallers Knights of St. John of Rhodes (February 9, 1466)⁹¹ and even an analysis of a Greek inscription dating from the time of Sultan Musa (1407–1408) from the region of Ohrida⁹².

The variety of these sources and of others⁹³ published by N. Iorga proves that throughout his fruitful activity as editor of documents the historian was constantly concerned with continually enriching the contemporary evidence regarding the history of the Ottoman empire, under all its aspects.

EDITING OF CHRONICLES REGARDING THE HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The great interest N. Iorga felt for the history of the Ottoman Empire is also illustrated by his steady activity as editor of narrative sources.

In some of his collections of documents he included excerpts from Turkish chronicles previously translated into European languages and which had attracted his attention already at the time he was gathering materials in foreign archives.

⁸⁷ N. Iorga, *Les aventures «Sarrazines» des Français de Bourgogne au XV^e siècle*, pp. 26–31.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 31–38.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 38–41.

⁹⁰ N. Iorga, *Privilegiul lui Mohamed al II-lea pentru Pera* (1 iunie, 1453) (The Privilege of Mohamed II to the Town of Pera, June, 1, 1453), Bucharest, 1913, extracted from the Annals of the Romanian Academy, Mem. Hist. Section, s. II, vol. XXXVI, pp. 82–91.

⁹¹ *Idem*, *Les aventures «Sarrazines» des Français de Bourgogne*, pp. 44–52.

⁹² *Idem*, *Une inscription grecque sous le sultan Mousa 1407–1408 dans la région d'Ohrida*, in "Revue historique du Sud-Est européen", 1933, pp. 11–12.

⁹³ *Idem*, *Une lettre du Sullan au roi de Pologne sur un conflit de frontière à Akkermann (Moncastrø)* in "Bulletin de l'histoire pour l'étude de l'Europe sud-orientale", 1916, pp. 103–104; *idem Actul lui Mohamed al II-lea pentru negustorii din Cetatea Albă* (1475) (Deed of Mohamed II for the merchants of Cetatea Albă (1475)) in "Revista istorică", 1924, p. 105; *idem Ordinul lui Selim al II-lea către Alexandru I al Țării Românești (1572)* (Order of Selim II to Alexandru I of Wallachia (1572)), in "Revista istorică", 1925, pp. 153–155; *idem Quelques renseignements contemporains sur la campagne du sultan Mohamed IV en Pologne* in "Revue historique du Sud-Est européen", XII, 1927, pp. 126–127.

As he did not possess a knowledge of Turkish he was unable to continue systematically detecting of the news included in the Ottoman chronicles to be found in the repositories of the archives and libraries in the West and was also unable to translate himself after the original. He was consequently obliged to content himself with the reproduction of fragments of Turkish chronicles translated into Western languages which he had access to, and which, in his opinion, constituted important sources for the investigation of the history of the Romanian countries and their relations with the Ottoman Porte.

It is on the basis of the collection of fragments of Ottoman chronicles regarding the history of Hungary, translated by the well-known Hungarian expert in Turkish, J. Thúry, in his work *Török történetirók*⁹⁴ published under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences of Hungary, that N. Iorga inserted in his collection *Studii și documente* an excerpt of the work of the Ottoman chronicler Mehmed Neshri (d. 1520) on the expedition of Mezet bey in Transylvania (1438)⁹⁵ and another one on the dethroning of Vlad Dracul⁹⁶ from the translation into Romanian by I. Moisil. In this way N. Iorga was able to get in touch with one of the most authorized representatives of the old Turkish historiography whose work known as *Ta'rikh-ial-i Osman* (History of the Ottoman Nation) exerted a deep influence on subsequent chroniclers such as 'Ali, Sa'd ed-Din, Solakzade and Münejdümbashi⁹⁷.

It was also in his *Studii și documente* that Nicolae Iorga published a fragment from an anonymous chronicle of 1486, on the expedition of Mehmed II against Vlad "the Impaler" (Tepeș)⁹⁸.

During his investigations in the Marcian library of Venice, N. Iorga discovered an Italian translation of the Ottoman Chronicle of Husein Vedjihi (d. 1071 H = 6/IX 1660 – 27.VIII.1661), made by Giacomo Tarsia, the interpreter of the *bailo* of Venice at Constantinople Giovanni Morosini (1655). Nicolae Iorga reproduced whole pages of this chronicle⁹⁹ in Italian, which until the

⁹⁴ J. Thúry, *Török történetirók*, I, Budapest, 1893, pp. 29–72.

⁹⁵ N. Iorga, *Studii și documente*, III, pp. XI–XII.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. XII.

⁹⁷ Cf. Fr. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig, 1927, p. 39 and foll.

⁹⁸ N. Iorga, *Studii și documente*, III, p. XXX–XXXI.

⁹⁹ Manuscripts of the chronicle of Husein Vedjihi are preserved in the National Library of Venice (No. 1069); in the University Library in Leiden (cod Warn. 894) and in the libraries Nur-i osmaniye (no. 3198); Hamidiye (no. 917) and Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (no. 225) in Constantinople.

present has been left unpublished in the Turkish original ¹⁰⁰ though it supplements the chronicles of Na'ima and of Rashid ¹⁰¹. N. Iorga selected the parts regarding the reigns of Matei Basarab and Vasile Lupu and their alliance with George Rákóczy II and published them in the work *Manuscrite din biblioteci străine relative la istoria românilor* (Manuscripts in foreign libraries relating to the history of the Romanians) ¹⁰².

During the investigations carried on in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, N. Iorga discovered a manuscript of the French translation of the chronicle of Mustafa Na'ima (d. 1716) known as *Ta'rikh-i Na'ima* (History of Na'ima). Based on the chronicles of Husein Vedjihi, Kara Čelebi-zade, Sharikh-ul-manarzade Ahmed, Hadjdji Khalifa and 'Abdi Pasha, Na'ima's chronicle gives a detailed description of the events in the Ottoman Empire in the period 1591—1660 (1000—1070 H) ¹⁰³, displayed in a causal linking. In the collection *Acte și fragmente*, N. Iorga published a few short passages referring to the history of the Romanians, with information until 1653, under the title *Journal de l'histoire de Turquie* ¹⁰⁴, remarkable for the impartiality of the description of the events and for a lively, colourful style.

Nicolae Iorga also studied the translations of Ottoman chronicles subsequently published by certain experts in Turkish history such as Fr. Giese ¹⁰⁵, Th. Seif ¹⁰⁶, L. Forrer ¹⁰⁷. He summarised books relating to the history of the Romanian Countries and also published short excerpts in Romanian translation accompanied by the German texts as footnotes. On this occasion he corrected the mistakes of identification caused by the lack of knowledge of the Romanian toponymy and dwelt longer on the importance

¹⁰⁰ Fr. Babinger, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰² The chronicle of Husein Vedjihi, covering the period 1638—1659 was published by N. Iorga after the manuscript kept in the San Marco Library, Venice (It. cl. VI, cod. 84). Cf. N. Iorga, *Manuscrite din biblioteci străine relative la istoria românilor* (Manuscripts in the Foreign Libraries relating to the History of the Romanians) in "Annals of the Rom. Academy, Mem. Hist. Sect." s.I, vol. XXI (1897—1899), pp. 54—62.

¹⁰³ Fr. Babinger, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

¹⁰⁴ N. Iorga, *Acte și fragmente* (Deeds and Fragments), I, pp. 55—63.

¹⁰⁵ Fr. Giese, *Die allosmanischen anonymen Chroniken*, Breslau-Leipzig, 1922, 1925.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. extract of Shükrullah, *Behğel ül-tevarikh*, in "Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte", ed. by Fr. v. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, vol. II, Vienna-Hanover, 1925, p. 63 and foll.

¹⁰⁷ Dr. Ludwig Forrer, *Die osmanische Chronik des Rustem Pascha*, in *Türk. Bibl.*, vol. XXI, Leipzig, 1923.

of the Ottoman chronicles as source for the history of the Romanians ¹⁰⁸.

Nicolae Iorga supplemented his information regarding the relations between the Ottoman East and Hungary and Venice by inserting in his collections *Acte și fragmente* and *Studii și documente* excerpts from the *Gräfliche Zillische Cronnica* on the battle of Varna (1444) ¹⁰⁹, from the *Cronica Dolfina* and the *Cronica Zancaruola* ¹¹⁰, from the *Chronicle of Venice* by Francesco Lungo ¹¹¹ as well as from the *Annali Veneti* by Stefano Magno ¹¹², based on documents lost today.

There is also an account dating from the 17th century on the history of the Ottoman Empire from the most ancient times to the reign of Mehmed IV (1648—1687) which N. Iorga attributed to Spathar Nicolae Milescu and which he published in volume IX of the collection *Studii și documente* ¹¹³, together with *Istoria autentică a lui Carol al XII-lea, regele Suediei în timpul șederii sale în Turcia, la Bender* ¹¹⁴ (The Genuine History of Charles XII, King of Sweden, during his stay in Turkey at Bender) written about 1739—1740 by Alexandros Amiras who, in his capacity as king's interpreter had first-hand information on the Swedish-Turkish relations.

But the edition of his *Cronica expediției turcilor în Moreia* (Chronicle of the Expedition of the Turks in Morea) (1715) ¹¹⁵ is particularly important. It was written on the basis of three Romanian manuscripts preserved in the Library of the Romanian Academy ¹¹⁶ and attributed by the editor to Constantin Dioichitos, a Greek by birth who being conversant with the Turkish language

¹⁰⁸ N. Iorga, *Cronicile turcești ca izvor pentru istoria românilor* (The Turkish Chronicles as Sources for the History of Romanians) in "Annal. of the Rom. Academy, Mem. Hist. Sect.", s. III, vol. IX, 1928, pp. 1—22.

¹⁰⁹ *Acte și fragmente* (Deeds and Fragments), III, pp. 15—16; cf. also the story in verse of Martin Beheim on the participation of Vlad Dracul in the battle of Varna in *Studii și documente* (Studies and Documents), III, pp. LXX—LXXXII. N. Iorga published also extracts from the "Progenia della cassa de'octomani" (sic) with information on the Turkish-Hungarian relations in 1444, 1458, 1460 and 1484 in *Acte și fragmente* III, pp. 12—15.

¹¹⁰ *Studii și documente* (Studies and Documents), III, p. IX, XVII, and XVIII.

¹¹¹ *Acte și fragmente* (Deeds and Fragments), III, pp. 83—86.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, pp. 86—91.

¹¹³ *Studii și documente*, IX, pp. 190—207.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 41—111. The Italian text is accompanied by abundant notes and an annex comprising 16 original documents in French, German, Dutch (1713—1715) (*ibidem*, pp. 112—124).

¹¹⁵ N. Iorga, *Chronique de l'expédition des Turcs en Morée (1715) attribuée à Constantin Dioikêtès*, Bucharest, 1913.

¹¹⁶ Library of the Academy, Rom. Mss., no. 264, 139 and 3512.

and with Turkish customs took part in the expedition¹¹⁷ accompanying, in the capacity of overseer of equerries, the Romanian mission designed to supply the Ottoman army with horses, led by the Great Paharnic Stroe Leurdeanu.

Written at a time when the literary tradition of the epoch of Constantin Brancoveanu and of Stolnic Constantin Cantacuzino was still alive, this chronicle which aimed at informing the princely court of the events occurring in that "remote spot of renewed Ottoman rule"¹¹⁸ is superior due to the precision, impartiality and especially to the wealth of its details, to the vast report written by the French interpreter Benjamin Brue¹¹⁹ — a fact N. Iorga set off in the preface and notes enriching the edition. The originality and accuracy of the information make of this chronicle a most important source of knowledge regarding the expedition of the Grand Vizier Djin 'Ali Pasha.

Nicolae Iorga's interest in the problems of the Turkish East made him re-publish in 1927 a source he had used in his work on the history of the Ottoman Empire, namely, the chronicle dictated after contemporary letters by Walerand de Wavrin to his uncle Jehan de Wavrin, containing the account of the Burgundian expedition on the Danube¹²⁰, illustrated by the siege of the Turkish citadels of Silistra, Turtukaia, Giurgiu, Rusciuk and Turnu.

The same year, 1927, N. Iorga published two shorter treatises after an 18th century manuscript: *Pentru începutul Țarigradului*¹²¹ (On the Beginnings of Constantinople) and *Pentru robia prea slăvitei cetăți a Țarigradului*¹²² (On the Bondage of the All-

¹¹⁷ Cf. Dr. Economidis, Γλωσσικαὶ καὶ Λαογραφικαὶ εἰδήσεις ἐν τῷ "Ἡμερολόγιῳ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Διοικητοῦ, in *Εἰς μνήμην Κ. Ἀμάντου*, Athens, 1960, pp. 147–166.

¹¹⁸ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. V.

¹¹⁹ *Journal de la campagne que le Grand Vesir Ali Pacha a faite en 1715 pour la conquête de la Morée, Paris, 1870.*

¹²⁰ Jehan de Wavrin, *La campagne des croisés sur le Danube (1445)* (Extrait des "Anciennes Chroniques d'Angleterre"), "Nouvelle édition", Paris, 1927, p. 92. Cf. and *Cronica lui Wavrin și românii* (Wavrin's Chronicle and the Romanians) in "Buletinul Comisiei istorice a României" (Bulletin of the Historical Commission of Romania), 1927, pp. 57–148.

¹²¹ N. Iorga, *Une source négligée de la prise de Constantinople*, in "Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie roumaine", XIII, 1927, pp. 11–15. N. Iorga held that the author of this first opuscle who seems to have known Constantinople and was acquainted with the Greek chronicles, such as Doroteus of Monembasia — is Stolnic Constantin Cantacuzino.

¹²² "Pentru robia prea slăvitei cetăți Țarigradului, care să numia Constantinopol, care și Roma Noao să chiamă fie care l'au robit al doilea Turcesc Mahamet, alt sultan al optulea, la anul dela Hs. 1453". (On the bondage of the old glorious city of Tzarigrad, named also Constantinople, named New Rome which the second Turkish Mahomet enslaved, another sultan, the eighth, in the year 1453).

glorious City of Constantinople) which is a narration in the popular style of the conquest of the Byzantine capital by the Turks, made easier by the indifference of the Western nations, the quarrels of the Greeks and the disloyalty of the "boyars" to the emperor. N. Iorga considered this latter narration to be a translation made by Stolnic Constantin Cantacuzino after a text initially Greek which, in its turn had been the source of the Slav version preserved in manuscript form at the Chilandar monastery ¹²³. The historian greatly appreciated the originality of this narrative source which renders the spirit of the population of Constantinople ¹²⁴ during the memorable siege of 1453.

The publication of these narrative sources enriched the documentary material discovered and edited by Nicolae Iorga for the thorough study of the problems of Ottoman world.

STUDIES PREPARATORY TO THE HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The publication of so abundant and varied sources was a thorough preparation for the handling of problems of world history directly connected with the Turkish East. There was the problem of the crusades that he had been greatly interested in, already at the time when he was studying in Paris and, closely connected with it, the problem of the settling of the Turks in Europe and their relations with the Byzantine Empire.

Resuming the idea expressed by the French historian J. Delaville-Le-Roulx ¹²⁵ who was the first to acknowledge and maintain that the crusade expeditions did not come to an end in the 13th century with the admitted crusades, it was, however, the merit of N. Iorga to have introduced this thesis into historiography through his well known work *Philippe de Mézières (1327-1405) et la Croisade au XIV^e siècle*.

In this work of vast proportions and of particular prestige, as well as in the notes published in the well-known "Revue de

¹²³ Its title was *Skazaniia o vziatii Tzar-grada bezbojnim turetzkim Sallanom* (Description of the conquest of Constantinople by the pagan sultan of the Turks). The source was used also by the Serbian historian Tchedomil Mijatovitch in his work *Constantine or the Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks*, London, 1892, p. 233, in which he quotes Sreznievski's edition of the "Memoires of the Academy of Petersburg", 1854, I, p. 99 and foll.

¹²⁴ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹²⁵ *La France en Orient au XIV^e siècle*, I-II, Paris, 1885-1886.

l'Orient latin" ¹²⁶, Nicolae Iorga pointed out that in the 15th and 16th centuries the crusades for the liberation of the Holy Lands were replaced by "crusades" against the Ottoman Turks waged for the reconquering of the provinces the Christians had lost.

N. Iorga considers that the so-called anti-Ottoman crusades which the Romanians also took part in under the leadership of Mircea the Ancient, Vlad Dracu and Ioan of Hunedoara, played a great part in world history through their attempt to stop the Ottoman advance.

In his only work devoted to the Byzantine Empire ¹²⁷, which the great French student of Byzantin lore Charles Diehl considered one of the best histories of Byzantium ¹²⁸, N. Iorga studied the relations between the Byzantines and the Turks since the appearance on the plateau of Armenia of the first bands of Seldjucs who were highwaymen ¹²⁹ and exacted a tribute both from population in the country-side and from people living in towns, taking advantage of the weakness of the imperial armies to win the victory of Mantzikert (1071) ¹³⁰ and lay the basis of the sultanate of Nicaea ¹³¹, the chief town which was not to be reconquered until the first crusade.

Nicolae Iorga followed up their relations with the native population who redeemed their peace and faith by paying a tribute to the Turkish emirs, "the masters of Asia" ¹³². He followed up their relations with the Palaeologi who, back in Constantinople, were trying in vain to reconquer, with Latin help, Asia Minor. N. Iorga holds that the Turkish penetration in Asia Minor and the setting up of the emirates were made possible by the suppression of the privileges granted by the emperors to the warriors settled on the border (*ακρίται*) and by the transferring of the best Byzantine troops from Asia to Europe ¹³³. However, he overlooked two essential factors that account for the Turkifying of Asia Minor: the holy war (*ghaza*) waged by the semi-nomad warlike Turkomans and the emigration towards the Western ports

¹²⁶ N. Iorga, *Un projet relatif à la conquête de Jérusalem (1609)* in "Revue de l'Orient latin", II, 1894, pp. 1-7; Idem, *Une lettre apocryphe sur la bataille de Smyrne (1349)*, R.O.L., III, 1895, pp. 1-3; Idem, *Un auteur de projets de croisades: Antonio Marini*, R.O.L., IV, 1896, pp. 445-457.

¹²⁷ N. Iorga, *The Byzantine Empire*, London, 1907.

¹²⁸ Cf. Diehl, *Histoire de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris, 1920, p. 236.

¹²⁹ N. Iorga, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 127, 129.

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 128.

¹³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 135.

¹³² *Ibidem*, pp. 135-137.

¹³³ N. Iorga, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 194.

of Asia Minor caused by the Mongolians' taxation and territorial policy ¹³⁴, besides a number of internal quarrels ¹³⁵. He is right, however, when he emphasizes the difference between the emirs of Aidin, Sarukhan and Mentеше and the former Seldjuk sultans whose higher level of civilization could vie with that of the Byzantines ¹³⁶. That accounts for the friendly relations between certain Seldjucs and the Byzantines. Such is the case of Izz ed Dîn Keykans who asked for aid at Constantinople. As a matter of fact the institution of the Turkopols did not disappear and in crises caused by the Turks, there was some Turkish leader who offered his services to the basileus.

In *The Byzantine Empire* we again come across one of Nicolae Iorga's theses. He held that the penetration of the Turks in the Balkan Peninsula and the foundation of their earliest military colony at Tzympe, the starting point of the Turkish state in Thrace, were the consequences of the competition between the Cantacuzeni and the Palaeologi families for the Byzantine throne ¹³⁷.

In his study *Latins et Grecs d'Orient et l'établissement des Turcs en Europe* ¹³⁸ N. Iorga resumes and enlarges upon this thesis. Relying on abundant documents in which the information derived from Byzantine chronicles is supplemented by Venetian and Genoese documents, N. Iorga points out that Süleyman Pasha, the son of Orkhan, settled in Tzympe (Cinbi) (1352) as an ally of John VI Cantacuzenus, the rival of John V Palaeologus, and he organized here a bridgehead for the expansion of the Turks in the Balkan Peninsula. Their settlement was subsequently facilitated by the earthquake that occurred in the night of March 1—2 1354 which demolished the walls of the citadel of Gallipoli, thus helping the future expansion of the Ottomans in Europe. Though N. Iorga had no knowledge of Süleyman's "Vakfiyye" which supplies precise information on the settling of the Anato-

¹³⁴ Osman Turan, *Selçuklar Tarihi ve Türk-İslam Medeniveli*, Ankara, 1965, p. 211—216.

¹³⁵ L. Barkan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir İskan ve kolonisation metodu olarak sürgünler*, in "İktisad Fakültesi Mecmuası", XV, 1953—1954, pp. 209—237; H. Inalcik, *Ottoman Methods of Conquest*, in "Studia Islamica", II, 1954, pp. 122—129.

¹³⁶ N. Iorga, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 194.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 211 and foll.

¹³⁸ Offered first to Kohler for "Revue de l'Orient latin", the study was published in "Byzantinische Zeitschrift", XV, München-Leipzig, 1906, pp. 179—222 and republished in *Études byzantines*, II, Bucharest, 1940, pp. 277—328. N. Iorga published the study on the settling of the Turks in Europe in the Swedish periodical "Svensk Tidskrift Särtryck", 1919, pp. 253—262 under the title *Orsakerna till det ottomanska Rikets utträngande ur Europa*.

lian Turks in Europe, he realised, however, the systematic populating policy carried on by Süleyman¹³⁹ Pasha, based on the system of the *timar*. He points out that the war between Venice and Genoa for the supremacy in the Levant and the dynastic conflict in Constantinople helped the Turks to settle down in Europe. We shall come across this thesis again in the *History of the Ottoman Empire*.

In his *Byzantine Empire* Nicolae Iorga outlined in concise sentences the Ottoman advance along the highroads of the Balkan Peninsula; he does not show however that this action was started at the very moment the Turks settled in Europe according to the ancient Turkish system of the marks. The central mark indicates the direction followed by Süleyman Pasha and then by the *beglerbeg*; the left wing mark given in charge to Evrenos beg had its centre at Ipsala, while the right wing one was directed towards Zagora, Karin-ovasi (Karnobad) and Dobrudja.

In the last chapters of the *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Nicolae Iorga deals with the formation of the European Turkish state in Thrace, supported by a powerful and loyal military feudality¹⁴⁰ and by a population who was beginning to abandon the ancestral nomad life to turn partly into peasants and artisans. The coming of the Turks to Europe did not resemble a temporary invasion. It was a permanent colonization which changed the appearance of the occupied provinces. This new and original thesis resumed in *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* and later in *Histoire de la vie byzantine*, is confirmed by the researches of the Turkish historiography of our time. The records preserved in the Ottoman archives set off that the Turks did not hold their ground in the Balkan Peninsula only as a ruling military class¹⁴¹. Alongside the nomads (*yürük*)¹⁴² there were the *müvellim*, that is the Turkish farmers obliged to do active military service; in the Ottoman border towns a large part of the population consisted of artisans.

But Nicolae Iorga did not deal with problems of Ottoman history only in his studies on Byzantine history, so rich in new and original ideas. The research he devoted to the troubled past

¹³⁹ N. Iorga, *Études byzantines*, II, p. 320.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, II, p. 319.

¹⁴¹ Cf. the report of Halil İnalcık on the Ottoman Empire, in *Actes du I^{er} Congrès international des Études balkaniques et sud-est européennes*, III, *Histoire*, Sofia, 1966, p. 89 and foll.

¹⁴² N. Iorga, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 213. On the *yürük* see T. Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlad-i Fâtihan*, Istanbul, 1957.

of the Romanian people repeatedly compelled him to touch upon the various aspects of the agitated history of the relations between the Romanian countries and the Ottoman Empire.

In his work on the Pontic citadels, grounded on a vast documentation, some published before, others quite new, which he discovered in the archives at Genoa, Lwów, Cracovia and Königsberg, N. Iorga followed up all the attempts made by the Ottomans to conquer the Pontic ports¹⁴³ and their defense combined with the resistance put up by the ruling prince of Wallachia Vlad the Impaler and by the ruling prince of Moldavia Stephen the Great¹⁴⁴ against the armies of the conqueror of Constantinople. While following up the past of the two Pontic citadels after they were conquered by the Turks of Bayazid II (1484)¹⁴⁵ until the 19th century, N. Iorga dwelt also on the events connected with the internal life of the Ottoman Empire — such as the uprising of Selim against Bayazid II from whom he wrested the two citadels¹⁴⁶: Kili and Akkerman.

N. Iorga also dealt with the defense system of the empire consolidated through the setting up of ra'ayas and the settling of the Tartars in the Bugeac.

Other moments in the century-old struggle of the Romanian countries against the Ottoman domination were dealt with, in order to establish a precise chronology, in the notes dealing with the battle of Mircea the Ancient against the Turks¹⁴⁷, in which the author discusses the information regarding the battle of Rovine, the Turkish campaign of 1397 and the battles of 1400.

The chapter of paramount importance of the anti-Ottoman battles which culminated in the time of Stephen the Great and Michael the Brave was dealt with in beautiful highly suggestive monographs devoted to the reign of those princes¹⁴⁸. In a study based on a tremendous number of documents, which aimed at setting off the significance of the reign of the first ruling prince

¹⁴³ N. Iorga, *Studii istorice...* (Historical Studies...), Bucharest, pp. 121—128.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 138—164.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 156—163.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 178—180.

¹⁴⁷ N. Iorga, *Cu privire la luptele lui Mircea cel Bătrân cu turcii* (On the battles of Mircea the Ancient with the Turks) in "Convorbiri literare", XXXV, 1901, pp. 473—476.

¹⁴⁸ N. Iorga, *Istoria lui Ștefan cel Mare pentru poporul românesc* (History of Stephen the Great for the Romanian People), Bucharest, 1904, pp. 88—94, 153—183, 204—213; idem, *Scurtă istorie a lui Mihai Viteazul în amintirea celor săvârșite acum trei sute de ani* (Short History of Michael the Brave in Memory of the Deeds achieved Three Hundred Years Ago), Bucharest, 1900, p. 26 and foll.

who achieved the unification of the Romanians, N. Iorga began to publish, in 1902, in the periodical "Convorbiri literare", the first chapters of his *History of Michael the Brave*¹⁴⁹ in which the analysis of the economic and political relations between the Romanian Principalities and the Porte in the 16th century are preponderant¹⁵⁰, making use of original Turkish documents from the archives in Constantinople¹⁵¹.

Thus, N. Iorga was able to employ this work when he wrote the third volume of *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*¹⁵².

In a lecture delivered in Athens in 1898, on the *Wars between the Romanians and the Turks after Michael the Brave*¹⁵³, Nicolae Iorga made a thorough analysis of the consequences of the wars waged by Michael the Brave, which in the 17th century ensured to his successors an exceptional political and cultural position in the East.

Nicolae Iorga investigated also the Turkish influence on the official economic¹⁵⁴ and social life in the Romanian Principalities, particularly on the ceremonial¹⁵⁵, the morals and manners, and the costumes worn by the ruling princes and by the boyards¹⁵⁶, an influence to which he devoted chapters and paragraphs in *Istoria Românilor în chipuri și icoane* (History of the Romanians in Images and Pictures).

But the works of interpretation which prepared him best for the writing of his vast work on the history of the Ottoman

¹⁴⁹ Idem, *Istoria lui Mihai Viteazul* (History of Michael the Brave) in "Convorbiri literare", vol. XXXV, 1902, pp. 67–74, 136–152, 233–244, 337–350, 416–430, 513–521, 611–633, 975–993, 1073–1082 and volume XXXVII, 1903, pp. 1–15. This work was completed only in 1935. Cf. N. Iorga, *Istoria lui Mihai Viteazul*, ed. N. Gheuran and V. Iova, Bucharest, 1968, Edit. Militară, p. XIX, Introduction by Barbu Teodorescu).

¹⁵⁰ N. Iorga, *Istoria lui Mihai Viteazul*, p. 46 and foll., p. 56 and foll.

¹⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 47, no. 13.

¹⁵² N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, III, p. 290, n. 2.

¹⁵³ Idem, *Luptele românilor cu turcii de la Mihai Viteazul încoace* (The Romanians' Battles with the Turks since Michael the Brave), Bucharest, 1889.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. the preface to volume X of the Hurmuzaki collection, p. XVI–XXVII and *Istoria românilor în chipuri și icoane*, (History of the Romanians in Images and Pictures), Bucharest, 1905–1906, III, pp. 100–107, 112, 117–118, 131, 149; for the Turkish coins, p. 214, 218, 219, 224–226; for the Turkish weights measures, pp. 228–229.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 184–185.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 120–121, 124, 129–137.

empire was his first synthesis on the Romanian people ¹⁵⁷ written at his request for the German Society for World History conducted by Karl Lamprecht. It was in this synthesis that Nicolae Iorga made a break with tradition: instead of writing the separate history of each of the three Romanian countries, he rendered the entire Romanian past in the natural unity which developed from its very origin within the Geto-Dacian space.

Aiming at describing the development of the Romanian nation as a "living being" ¹⁵⁸, in a vast setting of world history, in order to detect the mutual influence of the neighbouring peoples, N. Iorga investigated the relations with the Turks: ever since they made their appearance at the Danube, after the "invasion" of Bulgaria (1393) ¹⁵⁹. He described the long succession of battles fought by Mircea "an invincible foe for the Turks" ¹⁶⁰, grounded also on the anonymous Turkish chronicles translated by Leunclavius and on the fragmentary translation of the chronicle of Neshri made by Nöldeke. He described the heroic resistance of the knight and crusader Ioan of Hunedoara, the defender of Belgrade, who "opened up an age of long and hard struggles for the defence of all the Hungarian frontiers against the power of the continually advancing Ottomans" ¹⁶¹.

He described the fierce resistance put up by Stephen the Great's army of free peasants, unvincible within the frontiers of Moldavia — even after a defeat like the one of Răsboieni ¹⁶². He followed up the decline of the Romanian military power, which enabled the Danubian Turks ¹⁶³ to interfere in the political life of Wallachia, and the sacking of Moldavia by the Tartars which after the campaign of Süleyman the Magnificent (1538) came to be surrounded by a chain of Turkish citadels to which was added the citadel of Bender as "a second Giurgiu" ¹⁶⁴.

The oppressive Turkish suzerainty is investigated under all its aspects, ranging from the financial and economic charges —

¹⁵⁷ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes im Rahmen seiner Staatsbildungen*, 2 vol., Gotha, 1905, translated into Romanian by Otilia Enache Ionescu under the title: *Istoria poporului românesc* (The History of the Romanian people), vol. I—IV, Vălenii de Munte, 1922—1928.

¹⁵⁸ "Die Nation selbst als lebendiges Wesen betrachten", N. Iorga, *Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes*, I, p. VII.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 281.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 291.

¹⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 318.

¹⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 354.

¹⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 367.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 381.

food, supplies, tributes in kind — to the setting up on Romanian territory of certain Turkish military zones under Ottoman administration, the *ra'ayas* ¹⁶⁵, bases for ceaseless raids and for shifting of frontiers to the benefit of the Turks and the Tartars. N. Iorga considered that the Turkish supremacy had perhaps more detrimental consequences on account of the fact that princes were no longer elected but appointed and invested at Constantinople, and on account of the introduction of Turkish manners and morals and fashions in life at court and in high offices.

After the glorious epic written by Michael the Brave sword in hand, which culminated with the battle fought in the narrow ford at Călugăreni ¹⁶⁶ and was to determine the Christians in the Balkans to submit to him in the hope of reconquering Constantinople, N. Iorga described the dangerous policy — for the Turks — carried on by ruling princes such as Matei Basarab, who was willing to support the attempts at risings in the Balkans, by Gheorghe Ștefan and Dimitrie Cantemir who concluded treaties with the Czar, by Grigore Ghica who offered aid to the Christians, by Ștefan Petriceicu who attempted to reconquer the part of the country occupied by the Tartars, by Șerban Cantacuzino and Constantin Brancoveanu who established close connections with the Habsburg Empire.

The reaction of the Porte was to be the setting up of the Phanariot princes together with all that those represented on financial and economic field, i.e. a sharpening of the Ottoman suzerainty. ¹⁶⁷ And when the Russo-Turkish wars were to show Europe the irremediable decline of the great Ottoman Empire, which had become manifest already in the 17th century in the fight against the Empire — the ruling class in the Principalities, hard hit in its material interests by the worsening of the Ottoman exploitation ¹⁶⁸ which hindered all economic progress, has to endeavour to restrict the domination of the Porte with Russian aid. Of the stages of the process restricting Ottoman suzerainty started through the stipulations of the treaty of Kuciuk-Kainardji¹⁶⁹, Nicolae Iorga became acquainted and analysed only the Khatt-i

¹⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, II, pp. 3—4.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 96.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 144.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 179 and foll. Cf. also the preface to vol. X of the Hurmuzaki Collection.

¹⁶⁹ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes*, II, p. 182.

sherifs of 1774¹⁷⁰ and 1802¹⁷¹, the special deed of October 1826 which strengthened the Convention of Akkerman¹⁷², the treaty of Adrianople which put an end to the Turkish usurpation of Romanian territory by the abolition of the ra'aya¹⁷³ and the Convention of Petersburg which settled the character of the tribute to the Porte¹⁷⁴.

Despite the restricting of the Ottoman domination, Turkey was, nevertheless, to undertake military actions for the repression of the 1821 revolutionary movement¹⁷⁵ and of the 1848 revolution¹⁷⁶ which threatened the direct interests of the Porte in Wallachia. Though strengthened in consequence of the Crimean war¹⁷⁷, Turkey could not oppose successfully the unification of the Principalities — prepared by the Congress of Paris (1858) which limited Turkey's suzerainty — and was carried out by the bold election of Prince Al.I. Cuza on January 24, 1859¹⁷⁸. N. Iorga pointed out that after Cuza's forced abdication (1866, February 11/23), when the problem of the "unconditioned unification of the Principalities" was raised, Turkey, though considering itself a modern power¹⁷⁹, tried to regain its influence on provinces it considered as "integrant part of the Empire"¹⁸⁰, and did its utmost to push Romania into the War of Independence (1877—1878)¹⁸¹.

In the unrest in the Balkans¹⁸², N. Iorga followed up the preparations of the war that was to break the chains that tied Romania to the Turkish Empire, "materially ruined and financially incapable"¹⁸³. After almost five centuries, the Ottoman suzerainty was put an end to, through the blood shed by the Romanian soldiers in the battles of Plevna and Rahova¹⁸⁴.

In this vast synthesis which required a whole year of investigations, Nicolae Iorga succeeded in embracing, in broad lines,

¹⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 182.

¹⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 203.

¹⁷² *Ibidem*, pp. 249—250.

¹⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 251.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 251, 258.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 243.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 291—292.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 303.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 313.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 332.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 333.

¹⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 335.

¹⁸² *Ibidem*, 342—348.

¹⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 343.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 357.

the essential problems of the relations between the Romanians and the Ottoman Empire, after having followed up the relations between the Turks and the Byzantine Empire until the fall of Constantinople.

The intense activity — in which special studies, monographs and syntheses blend successfully with the publication of the sources regarding the relations between West and East in the Middle Ages—proved to the scientific circles at the beginning of the century that Nicolae Iorga was the best authority on the history of South-East Europe. This was acknowledged and proclaimed by scholars such as E. Gerland who stated that N. Iorga had a better knowledge of the Byzantine and Slav sources of the history of the Balkans Peninsula ¹⁸⁵ than any other historian of his time. Reinhold Röhrich did not scruple to say that “since Karl Hopf... no one has dealt so carefully and thoroughly, on the bases of vast archive investigations and of a perfect knowledge of the existing literature, with the relations between West and East in the 14th and 15th centuries, as Nicolae Iorga” ¹⁸⁶.

Acknowledged as an expert in this field, where so varied and complex influences interlaced and where there were so many conflicting interests, N. Iorga who did show particular skill and great scientific scrupulousness in dealing with such delicate problems ¹⁸⁷ could confidently start to elaborate the new history of the Ottoman Empire which the Western scientific world had been looking forward to 72 years after the publication of J. von Hammer's history ¹⁸⁸ and 45 years after that of J.W. Zinkeisen ¹⁸⁹.

Considered worthy of supplying the deficiencies in the works of these two great predecessors, Nicolae Iorga is, after Dimitrie Cantemir, the learned ruling prince of Moldavia, the second Romanian to whom eminent scholars of the West did the honour of entrusting with the writing of the history of the Ottoman Empire for a remarkable collection of syntheses.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. “Deutsche Literaturzeitung”, **XXIV**, 1909, p. 1527.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. “Mittheilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung”, 1900, p. 369.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. the review of G. Weigand on the *Istoria poporului român* (History of the Romanian People) by N. Iorga, in “Historisches Zentralblatt”, 1906, pp. 1033—34.

¹⁸⁸ The first edition of Hammer's history, entitled *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, was published in 10 volumes at Pest in the years 1827—1835.

¹⁸⁹ J.W. Zinkeisen's work, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa* was brought out in 7 volumes at Gotha in the years 1840—1863.

THE CONCEPTION OF NICOLAE IORGA ON THE HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

N. Iorga was desirous to write a new synthesis of the history of the Ottoman Empire which was to replace Hammer's and Zinkeisen's obsolete works, a synthesis grounded on all that had been written after 1864¹ and to bring to light the abundance of data concealed in the still unexplored European archives. He also aimed at giving a new and original interpretation to the past of this great and important political formation.

Unlike earlier researchers in the history of the Ottoman Empire who studied it only as far as the Turks interfered in the history of Europe, without troubling to investigate their remote origin, N. Iorga realised that the Ottoman history could be investigated only by taking into account the general development of the Turkish nations. Thus the Romanian historian was therefore a remarkable precursor of the new ideas in Turkish historiography². This role is of paramount importance as the historians of Islam did not endeavour to set off the Turkish phenomenon in itself; on the other hand the historians of the Ottoman Empire were content to begin their account with legends on the appearance and blossoming of the Ottoman dynasty, connected with the legendary figures of Oghuz and Seldjuk or, at most, with the history of the Seldjuks dealt with summarily.

More clear-sighted than his forerunners, Hammer and Zinkeisen, Nicolae Iorga considered it was his duty to investigate the ethnic and historical environment where the Turkish people arose and whence they set out, for in his opinion the invasion of the Turks into Asia Minor and then into Europe was but an episode in the migration of the Turkish people towards the land of Rum. He was thus compelled to extend the traditional framework and to include in the history of the Ottoman Empire a brief descrip-

¹ The date when Zinkeisen finished the publication of the *History of the Ottoman Empire*.

² The representative of Kemalist historiography Mehmed Fuad Köprülü suggested that the history of the Turks should be studied on the basis of the genetic method, starting with the earliest Turkish state — the Hun state — down to the state of the Ottoman Turks. Cf. Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tesiri hakkında bâzı, Mülâhazalar*, in "Türk Hukuk ve İktisat tarihi Mecmuası", 1931, I, p. 165—313; idem, *Les origines de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris, 1935; idem, *Orta-zaman Turk Hukuk Müesseseleri. İkinci Tarih Kongresi*, İstanbul, 1943, p. 383—418.

tion of the past of the Turkish tribes ever since the epoch of transhumance when they roamed the steppes extending from the Northern frontiers of China and Mongolia to Lake Baikal and the Caspian Sea ³.

N. Iorga applied this new conception in the chapters on the history of the Huns and the Hungarians, drafted in 1914 and published in the great collection of world history edited by H.F. Helmolt ⁴ in Leipzig.

In *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, N. Iorga utilized a number of works that investigated the remote past of the Turkish Kirghiz, Uzbek, Kara Kalpak, Turkoman, Oghuz tribes. He described their nomad life, their earliest state formations and dwelt on the earliest relations between "the ruler of the seven tribes" and the Byzantines, described by the chronicler Menander ⁵.

By adding the study of the Turkish tribes' past since prehistoric times when their earliest state formations appear, Nicolae Iorga considerably enlarged the scope of his researches, which also was the work of a precursor. N. Iorga added to the history of the Turks a new chapter dealing with the Seldjuk expansion in the Near East ⁶ and in Asia Minor ⁷, an expansion which resulted in the driving away of the Arabs from the political arena. It was thus for the first time in the history of the Ottoman empire that this expansion and the subsequent rule that followed in Asia Minor were thoroughly analysed⁸. It is the merit of the Romanian scholar to have set off the importance of Seldjuk Anatolia for the formation of the future state of Osman which, though at first seemed the least important of the Anatolian emirates, was to become the cradle of a world empire. According to Nicolae Iorga's conception, the Ottoman state was not the construction of a new people or the continuation of the Seldjuk state but the natural outcome of Turkish life in Asia Minor which, under Osman's descendants, constituted the real basis of the Ottoman power.

Following up the Ottoman military expansion facilitated by the disintegration of the Byzantine Empire and the political disper-

³ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches nach den Quellen dargestellt*, I, p. 4.

⁴ *Weltgeschichte*, vol. IV, 1919, *History of the Huns*, p. 215—218, bibl., p. 494, *History of the Bulgarians*, p. 363—395, bibl. p. 500—501. *History of Albania*, p. 433—444, bibl. p. 502, *History of the Magyars*, p. 445—487, bibl. 502—503.

⁵ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 17.

⁶ *Ibidem*, I, p. 31 and foll.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 37 and foll.; p. 66 and foll.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 139 and foll.

sion in the Balkan Peninsula, N. Iorga disclosed the historical permanence of the territorial development of the Ottoman state which re-established the ancient Byzantine frontiers. Extending from Persia to Morocco and from Crimea as far as Yemen, the Ottoman Empire became the most powerful Moslem state whose expansion policy had particular consequences both for the Turkish people and for the countries in South-East Europe included in this empire.

That is why Nicolae Iorga considered, as he states in the preface to his monumental work, that the history of the Ottoman Empire is "too serious"⁹ to be treated anecdotically and poetically as Hammer had done when he described the Turks' pastoral nomad life or the harem life in heroic times; for Hammer wrote for a society which, under the influence of the Arabian Nights and the allegories in Montesquieu's¹⁰ *Lettres persanes*, liked descriptions of picturesque and uncommon things, while Nicolae Iorga wrote at a time when, based on a strict criticism of the sources, the historical method had made considerable progress¹¹.

N. Iorga also held that the history of the Ottoman Empire was too important to be reduced to "a string of dates and details". He looked upon it as a "brilliant chapter of world history"¹², not as a mere national history, though he admits that there were times when it had only a national character.

It is known that N. Iorga's conception set forth in his reception speech to the Romanian Academy is dominated by the idea of the unity and continuity of the human existence "under all circumstances of space and time"¹³. This idea springing from his philosophic conception on the absolute unity of historical knowledge and research, calls for the integration of national history into world history, which alone can bestow on it a real sense, as the life of one people is mixed continually with the lives of the other peoples, depends on them and continually influences their life¹⁴.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. VI.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. V.

¹¹ L. Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, ed. M. Horst, II. Hamburg, 1928; cf. N. Iorga, *Despre concepția actuală a istoriei și geneza ei* (On the present conception on History and its genesis). Inaugural lesson delivered at Bucharest University (1st November 1894) in *Generalități cu privire la studiile istorice* (Generalities regarding historical studies), 3rd ed., Bucharest, 1944, p. 23, 28.

¹² N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. VI.

¹³ Idem, *Generalități cu privire la studiile istorice*, Bucharest, 1944, p. 216.

¹⁴ Idem, *Două concepții istorice* (Two Historical Conceptions), in *Generalități...*, p. 91.

As early as 1908 N. Iorga applied this thesis to the history of the Ottoman Turks who, living in the Balkan-Byzantine environment, were continually influenced by the life of the peoples living in this geographic space and influenced them in their turn.

Considering that the life of the Turks developed in the natural universality environment which they belonged to as soon as they took over the inheritance of the Eastern despotic states and of the Roman-Byzantine civilization, N. Iorga did not purpose to write a number of political biographies of the sultans or to depict a series of wars, or describe the manners and customs of harem life. He rendered the stages of the history of the Turks ever since the remote times of their pastoral transhumance down to the moment they joined the circuit of world history as a state of mercenaries after the model of the Eastern monarchies, which, after a period of Turkish patriarchal and pastoral life, were followed by the epoch of the foundation, the development and the decline of the Ottoman Empire. The historian attempted to supplement and enliven the account of the political and military events which, according to the historical conception of his time, was fundamental, with the description of the social, economic and cultural life. In his opinion, world history to which the history of the Ottoman Empire belongs as an important chapter, is designed to deal with "investigation of ties of culture and of political ideas, of overflows and conquests in all fields, of displacements, transformations, intensifications and weakenings, which should constitute its only domain"¹⁵.

Thus in certain chapters of the *History of the Ottoman Empire* — such as the ones devoted to the pre-Islamic epoch¹⁶, to the Seldjuk state in Asia Minor¹⁷, to the settling of the Turks in Europe¹⁸ or to the means and aims of the Empire under Mehmed II¹⁹ — an attempt is made at blending the various Turkish military, economic and cultural aspects which N. Iorga tried to render in their mutual relations, wishing to deal in a unitary organic way with the history of this great political formation which exerted so strong an influence on the fate of Europe, Asia and North Africa.

Fully aware of the fact that it is the duty of a historian to discover the truth concealed in contemporary sources²⁰, Nicolae

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I. p. 3 and foll.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, I, p. 66 and foll.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 196 and foll.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, II, p. 196 and foll.

²⁰ Cf. N. Iorga, *Materialc pentru o istoriologie umană* (Materials for a Human Historiology. *Fragmente inedite* (Fragment heretofore unpublished), published by Liliana N. Iorga, Bucharest, 1968, Edit. Academiei, p. 5.

Iorga eliminated fables and charges intentionally brought against the Turkish people, proving they were neither cruel, nor blood-thirsty²¹, nor fanatic.

Instead of this obsolete opinion N. Iorga formulated a new and original one. He showed the Turks were "dromocrats"; advancing under the leadership of the *begs* along the great roads in the Balkan Peninsula²², they were always willing to conclude agreements with the Orthodox powers in the Balkans. According to Nicolae Iorga's conception shared later by the historian of the foundation of the Ottoman Empire, H.A. Gibbons²³, the Turkish conquest consisted of actions of submission on the part of the Greek population, now at a loss, of vassalage on the part of the Turkish emirs and the feudals in the Balkans and even of family relationships²⁴. Under the pressure of the victorious advance of the Ottoman Turks, both the emirs from Anatolia and the Balkan rulers admitted to be the vassals of the sultan and to pay him a tribute; later these ties of submission were to strengthen; the local dynasties were eliminated when favorable circumstances occurred and their countries were changed into sanjaks.

Penetrating deep into the historical process, Nicolae Iorga ascribed the Ottoman conquest of the Balkan Peninsula to a strong centralist authority which did away with the abusive domination of the local feudal lords²⁵ and set up order under a single master.

Nicolae Iorga rejected the prevalent misconception of the time that the states in the Balkan Peninsula had been destroyed by the Turks during the reigns of the six conquering sultans Orkhan, Murad, Bayazid, Mehmed I, Murad II and Mehmed II who purposed to avenge Islam for the attacks of the crusaders.

In a broad historical vision, Nicolae Iorga maintained that these states — Greek, Slav, Greek-Slav, Greek-Albanian, Slav-Albanian and Latin — were crushed due to the same causes which, in the same epoch and under often similar circumstances, caused the destruction of local and provincial political formations in the Western world²⁶.

²¹ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, pp. 456—457, 462.

²² Idem, *Histoire des Roumains et de la Romanité orientale*, III, p. 345—346.

²³ H.A. Gibbons (*The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford, 1916, p. 133) points out that the opposition of the Balkan peoples to the Roman Catholic church was a powerful ally of the Ottomans.

²⁴ Cf. "Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'Europe sud-orientale", 1916, p. 11.

²⁵ N. Iorga, *Histoire des États balcaniques à l'époque moderne*, Bucharest, 1914, p. 3—4.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

He pointed out that while in the West absolute monarchies were set up on the ruins of feudalism, in the East it was the Turks who established "monarchical unity, the peace of absolutism, the order of a single master"²⁷: the sultan.

He rejected also the general opinion of the time that possessing a perfect military organization and being animated by a firmly established political conception the Ottoman empire developed uninterruptedly from Osman I to Abdul Hamid II, aiming at ensuring the triumph of Islam over Christendom.

N. Iorga also rejects the over-simple idea that the history of this empire was "a race after victory, crossing fields covered with corpses and towns destroyed with fierce fury"²⁸.

He considers, however, that world history absorbed the Turkish element to use it for a higher aim: the renewing of the ancient Roman concept of the state²⁹, taken over from the Byzantines, which in 1453 came into conformity with "the Turkish idea of the indivisible and necessary unity of the Empire"³⁰.

This is another application of N. Iorga's thesis regarding the permanent character of the empire created in order to meet mankind's permanent aspirations after unity³¹. According to it, as far as certain institutions are concerned, the Ottoman Empire appears as the heir of the great Roman-Byzantine civilization and, at the same time, the keeper of the Eastern tradition of Čingiz Khan's³² universal monarchy.

For Nicolae Iorga the Ottoman Empire was "the oldest, most logical and natural form of mediaeval life and, from certain points of view, of modern life in the Balkan Peninsula"³³, an active factor in European life, at the time having a place among the most powerful empires in the world which, he held, decided the course of world history.

He also considered that the Ottoman Empire played at first a somehow positive role in the development of the subjected Balkan peoples, but this thesis applies — in N. Iorga's conception — only

²⁷ *Ibidem*. p. 4.

²⁸ N. Iorga, *Les causes de la catastrophe de l'Empire ottoman*, Vălenii de Munte, 1913, p. 5.

²⁹ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. VII.

³⁰ Idem, *L'origine des idées d'indépendance balkanique*, in "Le monde slave", IV, no. 3, 1927, p. 73.

³¹ Idem, *Observații ale unui nespecialist asupra istoriei antice* (Remarks of a Layman on Ancient History), Bucharest, 1916, p. 198.

³² Idem, *Curs de istorie universală* (Course of Lectures on World History, 1933—1934), p. 528—529.

³³ Idem, *L'origine des idées d'indépendance balkanique*, p. 73.

to the blossoming epoch of the Ottoman Empire which introduced into the Balkan Peninsula a new and centralizing order, instead of the utter Byzantine-Slav feudal confusion. Recent researches³⁴ have shown that the Ottomans eliminated the Christian states and dynasties in the Balkan Peninsula, they abolished Byzantine and Slav feudalism and attempted to organize the conquered regions by protecting the productive masses, and ridding the ra'aya of local tyranny. It has also been proved that the Balkan peoples were less influenced by the Turks in point of demography, language and religion, than the native population in Anatolia.

A study of the fiscal records of the 16th century shows that in the Balkan Peninsula the Christian population — Greek and Slav — was left predominant over the Moslem one, which fully confirms N. Iorga's thesis on the religious tolerance of the Turks, which in the Middle Ages was real³⁵. Though, in the course of time, the proportion was modified in favour of the Turks who were settled in the economic and strategical centres of first importance in the Balkan Peninsula, the Christians still represented a majority, while in Anatolia most of the population was Mohammedanized already in the 14th century.

As regards the language, though Turkish was the official language used in the administration, and though it exerted a marked influence on the vocabulary of the Balkan languages, it did not replace them as it had done in Anatolia.

The institutions of the Balkan peoples were not completely abolished either in consequence of the Ottoman conquest. As the Turks felt it necessary to unify the administration, and as they have accustomed to consider the notion of people identical with that of religion, after the conquest of Constantinople they used the church as an administrative force in the new empire. The Turks also preserved certain forms of local autonomy and confirmed the privileges of certain social strata³⁶. Moreover, the applying of the system of capitation (*djizye*) levying which went under the name of *maktu'yyet* shows that the Turks allowed the Christian communities to organize themselves under this form, at least.

³⁴ Cf. the report of Professor Speros Vryonis on the conditions of the Ottoman conquest in the Balkans, read at the Second International Congress of South-East European Studies, Athènes, 7–13 May 1970.

³⁵ E. Werner, *Die Geburt einer Grossmacht: Die Osmanen*, Berlin, 1966, p. 99.

³⁶ Cf. the reports read at the second international congress of South-East European studies, within the theme "Privileges and Exemptions in South-East Europe in the epoch of the Ottoman Empire".

Thus the way was paved for future actions against the Ottoman regime which, in the epoch of its decline, left the whole burden of the upkeep of the state and the financing of wars weigh on the subjected peoples, exploited by the high officials, the military and the big landowners.

It is Nicolae Iorga's merit to have shown the difference between the conditions of the development of the populations in the Balkan Peninsula which, during the blossoming epoch of the Ottoman Empire, enjoyed stability, were spared wars waged on their own territory, and the difficult situation of the *ra'aya* in the epoch of decline, on which devolved the burden of maintaining the state, which caused the outbreak of uprisings subsequently combined with national liberation movements.

N. Iorga considers that these movements were a natural outcome of the strengthening of the internal national forces which, under the economic, political and ideological influence of the West, took advantage of the crises of the Ottoman Empire — today we would say the crisis of Ottoman feudalism — to try to remove the sultan's despotic regime which was now hindering the development of the Balkan peoples. For, like any foreign domination, the Ottoman Empire furthered its own economic and political interests, leaving all the burden of the other charges on the peoples within its range.

N. Iorga realized the contradiction between the conception on the indivisible unity of the Ottoman Empire and the national tendency to unity and national independence of the Balkan peoples. As early as 1913 he wrote with astounding intuition that the Turks should have known to abdicate at the proper moment and abandon the nationalities they were unable to dominate, in order to raise a national Turkey on the ruins of the sultans' universal empire.

DOCUMENTATION UTILISED BY NICOLAE IORGA IN THE HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Nicolae Iorga has the credit of having renewed the description of the history of the Ottoman Empire by extending the framework of researches and by integrating it into world history. He endeavoured to and succeeded in renewing it by the utilization of numerous published and heretofore unpublished sources, unknown or unexploited by his predecessors. He considered that the historian has to perform a direct investigation of the sources not only in order to

explain the mysteries of the past, but because sources alone are able to give him the feeling and perfect understanding of life in the past ³⁷.

We must, however, admit that the documentation available at the beginning of the 20th century regarding certain chapters of his fundamental work was incomplete. This is especially the case of the history of the Turkish tribes before their conversion to Islamism and even after the Islamic epoch.

At the time when Nicolae Iorga was writing the first volume of his *History of the Ottoman Empire*, the origin of the Turks was still very obscure and the investigation of this problem had been left for philology and linguistics to solve. Historical documentation was far from being sufficient and as the few inscriptions and chronicles apt to throw some light on the migrations of the Turkish peoples and on their earlier history were written in oriental languages difficult of access such as Chinese, Mongolian, Uigur-Turkish, Arabian, Syriac, Persian, Armenian, they required the training of an orientalist besides a vast erudition like that of P. Pelliot and J. Marquart.

Though Nicolae Iorga was not an orientalist by training he was acquainted with the discovery of the most ancient epigraphic and linguistic inscriptions connected with old Turkish language and literature. These are the runic inscriptions or *kök-türk* known as the Orkhon inscriptions which were deciphered in 1893 by W. Thomsen ³⁸ and investigated by W. Radloff ³⁹ and J. Marquart ⁴⁰. Nicolae Iorga was also acquainted with A. Vambéry's discovery of *Kudatku Bilik* ⁴¹, the well known work on ethics and poetry composed by a Turk from Kashgar.

To render in broad lines the history of the Turks during the pre-Islamic period and at the time of their conversion to Islamism,

³⁷ M. Berza, *Știință și metodă istorică în gândirea lui N. Iorga*, (Science and Method in Nicolae Iorga's Historical Thinking), in "Annals of the Romanian Academy, Mem. Hist. Sect.", s. III, t. XXVII, 1945, p. 254.

³⁸ V. Thomsem, *Déchiffrement des inscriptions de l'Orkhon et de l'Jénissei, notice préliminaire*, in "Bulletin de l'Académie royale du Danemark", 1893; idem, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées*, in "Mémoires de la Société finno-ougrienne", Helsingfors, 1896. N. Iorga quoted the inscriptions from Orkhon in *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 11.

³⁹ W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, St. Petersburg, 1894, 1895; idem, *Neue Folge, nebst einer Abhandlung von W. Barthold. Die historische Bedeutung der alttürkischen Inschriften*, 1897.

⁴⁰ J. Marquart, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, in "Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes", XII, p. 157—200.

⁴¹ A. Vambéry, *Geschichte Bocharas und Transoxianiens*, Stuttgart, 1872. N. Iorga had inquired about the study devoted to the work *Kudatku-Bilik*. Cf. *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 11, n. 1.

Nicolae Iorga made use of a short sketch written by L. Cahun⁴², the serious work of A. Vambéry⁴³, and the vast book, today out-of-date, of De Guignes⁴⁴. As for the earliest contacts between the Byzantines and the Turks who had sent messengers to Constantinople (568) to propose to emperor Justin II an alliance against Persia, he resorted to the accounts of chroniclers Menander and Theophylactus⁴⁵.

N. Iorga had no intention of writing a history of the Great Seldjuks, or of the sultanate of Rum or Iconium which by the end of the 19th century aroused the interest of researchers when Th. Houtsma published the Persian summary and the Turkish translation of Ibn Bibi⁴⁶ (b. 1272).

The Romanian historian purposed only to render in broad lines, the Seldjuk expansion which, resuming the tradition of the warlike Islam of the 7th and 8th centuries, threatened the existence of the Byzantine Empire and brought about the reaction of the crusades.

Thus N. Iorga could do without consulting sources written in the three languages of the Islam, Arabian, Persian and Turkish such as those published by Th. Houtsma or *The History* of Ibn al-Athir⁴⁷. He investigated the history of the Seldjuks of Rum through the prism of the annalists of the crusades and of the Byzantine chroniclers who took an interest in the Turks and investigated their history because of the invasions of the 11th century and of the rise of the Ottoman dynasty which gradually extended its rule to Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula.

N. Iorga possessed a thorough knowledge of Byzantine historiography on which he had written a work⁴⁸ in his youth, which was published only in 1925⁴⁹. To outline the advance of the Seldjuk

⁴² N. Iorga utilized L. Cahun — who is not always reliable — in his short sketch in *Histoire générale du IV^e siècle à nos jours*, published under the management of E. Lavisse and A. Rambaud.

⁴³ A. Vambéry, *Geschichte Bocharas und Transoxianiens*.

⁴⁴ De Guignes, *Histoire générale des Huns*, Paris, 1756.

⁴⁵ Cf. N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, pp. 18, 32, 39, 43, 45 and foll.

⁴⁶ Th. Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoukides*, Leiden, 1886—1902, vol. III, IV. A fragment of Ibn Bibi was translated by Ch. Schefer, in *Recueil de textes...*, Paris, 1889, "Publications de l'École des Langues orientales", V₁₁, p. 3—102.

⁴⁷ Al-Kamil fi tarikh. *Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, ed. C.J. Tornberg. 14 vol., Leiden, 1851—1876.

⁴⁸ N. Iorga, *Orizonturile mele. O viață de om așa cum a fost*, II (My Horizons. A Man's Life as It Actually Was), II, p. 94.

⁴⁹ In *Médailles d'histoire littéraire byzantine. I. Les historiens*, in "Byzantion", II, 1925, p. 237—298 N. Iorga portrays 28 Byzantine chroniclers, ranging from Procopius to Sphrantzes.

Turks in Asia Minor where they set up the sultanate of Rum or Iconium, the historian relied on the information conveyed by the contemporary of Alexius Comnenus, Georgios Cedrenos, and on the chronicle of Michael Attaliates who, grounded on personal observations, left a true to life picture of the epoch of trouble, shaken by the defeat of the emperor Roman Diogenes at Mantzikert (1071). He also made competent use of the recollections of Nicephorus Bryennios who brought out the progress made by the Turks in the years 1070—1079.

For the history of the Seldjuk sultanate of Rum on which Arabian sources did not say very much, N. Iorga used the *Alexiad* of Anna Comnena, an invaluable source for the first crusade, based not only on oral information or the authoress' personal observations, but on archive documents and diplomatic correspondence. N. Iorga also made competent use of the vast historical work of Nicetas Acominatus (Choniates) for the Asiatic campaigns of emperors John Comnenus and Manuel Comnenus. As for the relations between the Seldjuks and the empire of Nicaea, he relied on the "*History*" of George Akropolitas, a well-informed work due to the administrative posts and diplomatic missions the author had been entrusted with.

The chapters on the Seldjuks in *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* are based first of all on information conveyed by the most outstanding Byzantine chroniclers of the 11th—13th centuries among whom we mention Michael Psellos whose history is a valuable source for the events of the 11th century and John Cinnamus. Among these chroniclers some — as Michael Attaliates and Nicetas Akominatus (Choniates) — were natives of Asia Minor, others had spent their youth there — Georgios Akropolitos —, took part in the Byzantine expeditions against the Turks — John Kinnamos — or held high positions in the Byzantine Empire such as Anna Comnena and her husband Nicephorus Bryennius. They were thus in a position to provide precious information on the wars between the Seldjuk Turks and the Byzantines⁵⁰, and the crusaders⁵¹.

All this news are the most important for the description of the history of the Seldjuks of Rum since the historical criticism of our days has noticed that most of the works of the Eastern chroniclers belonging to the Seldjuk epoch are compilations in which the respective authors just place side by side excerpts from earlier sources to support or justify certain personal opinions on problems of Moslem history⁵². In order that they should be correctly utilized, the texts

⁵⁰ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 43 and foll., p. 69 and foll.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 88 and foll.

⁵² J. Sauvaget, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Orient musulman*, Paris, 1946, p. 35.

require previous comparative criticism, which should establish their degree of accuracy in the reproduction of the sources quoted or used as well as the critical spirit of the respective author when selecting the documentation.

The history of the beginnings of the Ottoman state is equally delicate and somewhat similar; it is insufficiently rendered by the early Turkish chronicles which include even today obscure and disputed passages, despite the activity carried on during the last decades by modern experts in Turkish history, such as P. Wittek, Fr. Giese, Fr. Taeschner, Fr. Babinger⁵³, etc.

In order to present the historical background against which the first Ottoman state developed after the collapse of the central Seldjuk authority under the blows of the Mongols, N. Iorga resorted to Byzantine historiography which had made a major contribution to the history of the beginnings of the Ottoman state.

He based his investigations on the seven great chroniclers of the 14th and 15th centuries who supply invaluable data regarding the various local Turkish dynasties and especially the emirate of Aïdin at the time of Umur beg and the emirate of Osman, both taking part in the fight for the Byzantine throne; then on the evolution of the Ottoman state until the fall of the Byzantine Empire under the blows of Mehmed II. N. Iorga made ample use of Giorgios Pachymeres too (1232—1310), the greatest polyhistorian of the 13th century, whose work deals with the period of decline of Byzantium. A native of Nicaea⁵⁴ but having spent his life in Constantinople where he had followed the legitimate emperors, Pachymeres was one contemporary of Osman whose reign he represented in a documented and reliable form. Following the trend of the time which recommended the recording of events the chroniclers had witnessed, Pachymeres left valuable details on the inroads of the Turks in the Byzantine territory in Asia Minor.

In order to throw light on the settling of the Turks in Europe, for which there were no contemporary Turkish chronicles — Nicolae Iorga utilised the history of emperor John VI Cantacuzenus (1347—1355)⁵⁵ which comprises a valuable account of the military and

⁵³ The problems raised by the publication of the early Turkish chroniclers were investigated by Ettore Rossi in "Oriente Moderno", August 1926, p. 459 and foll. and by Bergsträsser in "Orientalische Literaturzeitung", June 1926, Cf. and "Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte", II, 1923—1926, p. 247.

⁵⁴ N. Iorga, *Médailles d'histoire littéraire byzantine*, in "Byzantion", II, 1925, pp. 290—292.

⁵⁵ The history of John Cantacuzenus written at Mount Athos after his abdication, comprises the period 1320—1356. Cf. and N. Iorga, *Médailles...*, pp. 292—293.

diplomatic relations between Byzantines and Turks. Though N. Iorga detected the eulogistic character of this work in which the author tries to represent his activity in the most favourable light and says nothing of certain events or showing them in a different light, he realised that the facts were not distorted but only the aspect under which they were presented. That is why he believed that this work, written on the basis of the author's own notes and on that of official papers by a very experienced statesman possesses exceptionally valuable information. He rightly prefers it to the chronicle of Nicephorus Gregoras, a native of Heracleea who, due to the favour of emperor Andronic II, became *chartophilax*; after this emperor's death he left the imperial court and became a monk.

N. Iorga considered the work of Gregoras, based on the author's own recollections and on information supplied by elderly contemporaries, of inferior value, on account of the chronicler's limited horizon and his lack of understanding for the events recorded, and for the chronological errors, the omission of facts and the oversights present in his chronicle filled with theological discussions⁵⁶.

For the second half of the 14th century and the first half of the 15th century, Nicolae Iorga resorted to the chronicles of Laonicos Chalcocondylas⁵⁷ (1432—1490), Ducas (1400?—1470) and Sphrantzes (1401—1470). As these authors were almost contemporaries, their information on the facts and even their views are complementary. Writing after the Ottoman conquest, they studied with particular interest the history of the Turks — which forms the centre of Chalcocondylas' chronicle.

He is the first Byzantine chronicler to conceive his work as a history of the rise of the Turkish power, rather than of the declining Byzantium⁵⁸ fated to disappear. It is an undeniable proof of the writer's clear historical insight. Chalcocondylas' work was therefore used by Nicolae Iorga especially for the epoch following upon the death of Murad I (1389). The Romanian historian considered him to be well-informed, having made careful use of Turkish sources too⁵⁹, but lacking clearness in the exposition of events, most likely on account of the numerous digressions in his chronicle. N. Iorga

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 295.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 293—296.

⁵⁸ *Laonici Chalcocondylae Historiarum...* ed. I. Bekker, Bonn, 1843; cf. also the Romanian translation by V. Grecu, Laonic Chalcocondil, *Expuneri istorice. Creșterea puterii turcești. Căderea împărăției bizantine și alte istorii despre felurite țări și popoare* (Historical Accounts. Rise of the Turkish Power. Collapse of the Byzantine Empire and Other Histories of Various Countries and Nations), Bucharest, 1958, Edit. Academiei.

⁵⁹ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 427, n. 1.

also showed Chalcocondylas' errors of chronology ⁶⁰. Still he found him valuable both for the explanation of the problems of Ottoman political and military history during his own epoch and for the investigation of the Ottoman military and financial organization on which information was lacking.

Nicolae Iorga valued Ducas' ⁶¹ chronicle very highly. Though it was not an uninterrupted history of the Turks as Chalcocondylas', it supplied precious data concerning their history, ranging from the division of Asia Minor between the Seldjuk emirs to culminate with the period between the battle of Ankara (1402) and the conquest of the isle of Lesbos (1462), thus constituting a comprehensive Turkish-Byzantine history.

Ducas was born and bred in Asia Minor on a territory under the control ⁶² of the Turks whose language he knew and was entrusted by the dynasts Gattilusio of Lesbos with several diplomatic missions at the court of Sultan Mehmed II ⁶³. Deeply impressed by the fall of Constantinople, Ducas wrote a work that distinguishes itself for the reliable, precise and objective information gathered both from the Turks ⁶⁴ and the Christians ⁶⁵. Nicolae Iorga made ample use of it for the description of the wars fought by the Turks in Europe and Asia, at the end of the 14th century and the first half of the next one, and in his description of the Ottoman institutions especially the corps of the janissaries ⁶⁶.

Nicolae Iorga made less use of the great chronicle (*Chronicon Maius*) attributed at the time to Georgios Sphrantzes ⁶⁷, most likely as he had noticed the errors and anachronisms included in the legendary version of the origin of the Ottomans ⁶⁸ and on the first sultans.

⁶⁰ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, p. 352, n. 3, p. 380, n. 2; p. 427, n. 1; p. 429, n. 2.

⁶¹ *Ducæ Michaelis Ducæ nepolis Historia Byzantina*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn, 1834; Ducas, *Istoria turco-bizantină (1341–1462)* (Turkish-Byzantine History 1341–1462), ed. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1958, Edit. Academiei.

⁶² His grandfather Michael Ducas fled to the court of the emir of Aidin, being involved in a conspiracy against the grand Duke Alexios Apokaukos. He was sure that the Turks would conquer the Balkan Peninsula and that is why he did not come back to Europe. Ducas lived in the Asiatic regions on the sea shore, in Focea Nuova, where Turks lived together with Greeks and Italians. N. Iorga, *Médaillons...*, p. 296.

⁶³ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁴ Ducas, XXXIX, 14. ed. V. Grecu, pp. 360, 361.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, XXXVI, 2. pp. 314, 315.

⁶⁶ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 483.

⁶⁷ Georgius Phrantzes... *ex recensione* Imm. Bekkeri, Bonn, 1838; Georgius Sphrantzes, *Memorii* (Recollections), 1401–1477, ed. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1958, pp. 250–589 (Pseudo-Phrantzes sive Macarios Melissenos).

⁶⁸ N. Iorga, *Médaillons...*, p. 298.

N. Iorga's critical spirit showed the discrepancy between this chronicle, written in a flat style, full of chronological errors, and the chronological notes of Sphrantzes⁶⁹ (*Chronicon Minus*) which today is known to have constituted the basis of the forgery circulated by metropolitan Makarios Melissenos, under the name of the great Byzantine dignitary⁷⁰.

N. Iorga also noticed that the most important part of the work of Sphrantzes who had close relations with the family of the Palaeologi⁷¹, refers to the last years of the reign of Manuel II in whose service he was, to the siege and conquest of Constantinople which he witnessed and to the wars in Morea⁷² where the chronicler had followed despot Constantine. As a matter of fact, the description made by Sphrantzes of the last years of the Byzantine Empire and of its fall under the Turks fully deserves to be trusted. The chronicler proved to be a fair eye-witness, clever and well-informed, of the life at the court of sultan Mehmed II which, moreover, he had been able to get acquainted with during the missions he had been entrusted with by emperors Manuel II and Constantine XII.

When studying the epoch of the conquest of Constantinople and of the setting up of the Ottoman Empire by Mehmed II, N. Iorga made use of Critoboulos of Imbros whose historical writing⁷³ dealing with the first years of the reign of Mehmed I (1451—1466) is obviously eulogistic, and makes no mention at all of events that might have thrown into the shade the figure of the sultan, or represented them under a different aspect. N. Iorga used this author cautiously, as he belonged to the philo-Ottoman party and had been admitted into office by Mehmed II. He was therefore in position to

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁰ I.B. Papadopoulos, *Phrantzès est-il réellement l'auteur de la grande chronique qui porte son nom?* in "Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare", IX, 1935, p.177—189; Fr. Dölger, *Ein literarischer und diplomatischer Fälscher des 16. Jahrhunderts: Metropolitan Makarios von Monembasia*. Otto Glauning zum 60. Geburtstag, Festaussgabe aus Wissenschaft und Bibliothek, Leipzig, 1936, p. 25—36; idem, *Byzantinische Diplomatik*, 1956, p. 371—383; and R. Loenertz, *La date de la lettre θ' de Manuel Paléologue et l'inauthenticité du «Chronicon Maius» de Georges Phrantzès*, in "Échos d'Orient", 38, 1940, p. 91 end foll.; idem, *Autour du Chronicon Maius attribué à Georges Phrantzès*, in "Miscellanea G. Mercati", III, 1948, p. 271 and foll. whose arguments were accepted by Fr. Dölger, in "Byzantinische Zeitschrift", 43, 1950, p. 63 and foll.

⁷¹ N. Iorga, *Médaillons...*, pp. 297—298.

⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 298.

⁷³ N. Iorga utilized the text published by Ph.A. Dethier in *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*, XXI, 1. Today we possess the V. Grecu edition, *Critobul din Imbros, Din domnia lui Mahomed al II-lea, Anii 1451—1467* (On the Reign of Mahomed II. The Years 1451—1467), Bucharest, Edit. Academiei, 1963.

furnish new and interesting details on the siege of 1453, viewed from the Turkish angle, and on the campaigns of the Conqueror.

To complete his Byzantine information, Nicolae Iorga studied the less important works of John Cananos on the siege of Constantinople by Murad II (1422) ⁷⁴ and of John Anagnostes on the conquest of Thessalonika from the Venetians (1430) ⁷⁵. He also made use of the writing of the humanist Philelphus ⁷⁶ who after the fall of Constantinople took refuge in Florence.

To supplement the gaps in early Byzantine historiography, which at the beginning of our century ⁷⁷ was not well known, Nicolae Iorga investigated the Serbian and Bulgarian chroniclers published in his time by Serbian historians and by Ioan Bogdan, ⁷⁸ a Romanian specialist of Slav languages and literature as well as the Venetian chronicles — *Cronaca Zena*, *Cronaca Dolfina* — and Ragusan ones discovered while he was exploring Italian and Austrian archives.

Concurrently he granted special attention to Renaissance historiography and examined 15th and 16th centuries works as well as those of the 17th and 18th centuries which, for understandable political reasons, dealt with the condition of the Ottoman Empire. He investigated with particular interest the following categories of sources, published or heretofore unpublished :

a) reports of foreign ambassadors to the Porte, utilizing especially the collection of Venetian reports published by E. Alberi ⁷⁹ for the 15th and 16th centuries and by N. Barozzi and G. Berchet ⁸⁰ for the 17th century, as well as memoires such as those left by Busbecq ⁸¹ ;

⁷⁴ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, I, pp. 407—408.

⁷⁶ Philelphus, *De imbecilitatem et ignavia Turchorum*, Cod. monac. lat. 5333, apud N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II, p. 5, n. 1. He utilized also the letters of Filclphus (*Ibidem*, p. 4, n. 2 ; p. 222.).

⁷⁷ Some 40 Greek authors and collections of Greek documents comprising information on the Ottoman Turks such as, for instance, the history of the Turks in 1373—1512 (Vatican Library, Barberini 111) with new information on the campaigns at Nicopole and Varna, or the group of chronicles based on the "Ekthesis Chronike", including a later version of chroniclers Malaxos and Dorotheus of Monembasia, Cf. Steven Runciman, *Byzantine historians and the Ottoman Turks*, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P.M. Holt, London-New York, 1962.

⁷⁸ I. Bogdan, *Ein Beitrag zur bulgarischen und serbischen Geschichtsschreibung*, in "Archiv für slavische Philologie", XIII, 1890, p. 400—536 (Bulg. text) and p. 536—543 (Latin translation).

⁷⁹ E. Alberi, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, IIIrd Series : *Relazioni degli Stati otomani*, vol. XIII—XV, Florence, 1884—1885.

⁸⁰ N. Barozzi, G. Berchet, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori e baili veneti a Constantinopoli*, Venice, 1879.

⁸¹ Ogier Ghiselen de Busbecq, *Epistolae Turcicae*, Amsterdam, 1660.

b) accounts by members in the retinue of ambassadors, such as Wratislaw⁸² for example ;

c) reports of war prisoners having lived a long time in the service of sultans, such as Schiltberger⁸³, Angiolello⁸⁴, the Serbian janissary (Constantin Mihailović of Ostrovitza)⁸⁵ ;

d) works like the literature called *Ordo Portae* which comprise the description of the social institutions in the Ottoman Empire — such as Menavino's writings⁸⁶ ;

e) collections of letters and reports like Reussner's Collection⁸⁷ ;

f) accounts written by eye-witnesses of events having happened in the Ottoman Empire, such as the account of Coriolano Cippico⁸⁸ ;

g) notes written by foreign travellers like those of Bertrandon de la Broquière⁸⁹, Paul of Aleppo⁹⁰, etc. ;

h) the histories of wars, battles, sieges drafted on the basis of authentic material, often by eye-witnesses such as Minadoi⁹¹, Bizarus⁹² ;

⁸² H.H. Wratislaw, *The Adventures of Baron Wratislaw of Milrovitz*, London, 1862.

⁸³ I. Schiltberger, *Reisebuch*, ed. V. Langmantel in Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Tübingen, 1885.

⁸⁴ N. Iorga utilized *Breve Narration della Vita e Fatti del Signor Uzuncassano fatta per Giovanni Maria Angiolello*, in the ms. of Paris (*Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II, p. 277) and in Ramusio, *Delle Navigazioni e Viaggi*, II, Venice, 1559 ; cf. N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, II, p. 328.

⁸⁵ Ed. Ant. Dethier, C. Hoff, E. Hoff, in *Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Scriptores*, XXIII.

⁸⁶ Gio. Antonio Menavino, *I Costumi e la Vita de' Turchi*, Florence, 1551.

⁸⁷ N. Reussner, *Epistolarum Turcicarum Libri XIX*, Frankfurt am Main, 1598—1600.

⁸⁸ C. Cippico, *De Petri Mocenigo Imperatoris Gestis Libri tres*, Basle, 1544 and in C. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1885, VII, p. 262—302.

⁸⁹ Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le voyage d'outre-mer*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris, 1892.

⁹⁰ Paul of Aleppo, *Călătoriile patriarhului Macarie de Antiohia 1653—1658* (Journeys of Patriarch Macarie of Antiohia), Romanian translation by E. Cioran, Bucharest, 1900.

⁹¹ G.T. Minadoi, *Historia della guerra fra Turchi et Persiani*, Venice, 1588, 1594.

⁹² P. Bizarus, *Cyprum Bellum*, Basle, 1573 (it is in fact a translation by G. Sozomeno, *Narratione della guerra di Nicosia*, Bologna, 1571 and by N. Martinengo, *Relazione di tutto il successo di Famagosta*, Venice, 1571). Iorga utilized them in the Schwandner collection.

i) more general histories dealing with the Ottomans, such as *Historiarum sui temporibus libri XLV*⁹³ by Paolo Giovio, based on first-hand sources⁹⁴;

j) political commentaries such as those of Busbecq⁹⁵ and Foglietta⁹⁶.

N. Iorga turned to account these categories of works, some of them published, some still unpublished, which he discovered in the Italian, German and Austrian archives. These works that dealt with the Ottomans or with their empire cannot be considered histories in the real sense of the word, as few of their authors had — like Paolo Giovio — a vast enough vision to rise from the rank of annalist to that of historiographer. On the other hand they comprise an abundance of informative material of particular importance for the historian and Nicolae Iorga found in them much news about the events that happened in the Ottoman Empire and about the relations between this power and the states in the centre and West of Europe in the 15th — 17th centuries and a few powers in the Middle East such as Safawid Persia.

By turning to account for the first time in a history of the Ottoman Empire these already published and heretofore unpublished sources, N. Iorga enriched his synthesis, especially in the chapters on the social and economic organization of the Turkish state in Anatolia⁹⁷ and Europe⁹⁸, at the time of Mehmed II and Süleyman I, as well as on its international position.

Besides narrative sources N. Iorga's main source of information was the collection of documents regarding the Greek Byzantine world⁹⁹, the history of the Slavs in the Balkan Peninsula¹⁰⁰, the relations between the Ottomans and the commercial republics of Veni-

⁹³ Besides his main work *Historiarum sui Temporibus Libri XLV* (Florence 1550—1552; Paris 1558—1560), Paolo Giovio wrote also *Commentario delle cose de' Turchi*, Venice, 1531 and *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium*, Florence, 1551, Basle, 1575.

⁹⁴ Giovio made use of the accounts of Venetian ambassadors sent to Uzun Hasan, the commentaries of Angiolello and those of Giovanni Antonio da Utri (Menavino) and others.

⁹⁵ A. Busbequius, *De re militari adversus Turcas institutenda consilium*, Leipzig, 1595.

⁹⁶ U. Foglietta, *De causis magnitudinis Imperii Turcici*, Leipzig, 1594.

⁹⁷ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 457 and foll.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, II, p. 427 and foll.

⁹⁹ F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, I—VI, Vienna, 1860—1890; C. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Age*, Paris-London-Athens, 1880—1890.

¹⁰⁰ P.J. Schafarik, *Acta archivi veneti spectantis ad historiam Serborum et reliquorum Slavorum meridionalium*, I, Belgrade, 1860; A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, Rome, Agram, 1863; S. Ljubić, *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, I—XVI, Zagreb, 1868—1882.

ce¹⁰¹ and Genoa¹⁰², as well as the relations between the Porte and the papacy¹⁰³, the Habsburg Empire¹⁰⁴, France¹⁰⁵, Hungary¹⁰⁶, Poland¹⁰⁷, etc., and the vassal countries: Wallachia, Moldavia¹⁰⁸ and Transylvania¹⁰⁹.

N. Iorga also brought a particular contribution to this domain by the publication of the first three series of *Notes et Extraits*, of the collections *Acte și Fragmente* and *Studii și documente* as well as other publications of documents regarding the history of the Romanians such as *Documente privitoare la Constantin Vodă Brancoveanu, la domnia și sfârșitul lui* (Documents regarding Prince Constantin Brancoveanu, His Reign and His Death) (Bucharest, 1901), *Documente privitoare la familia Cantacuzino* (Documents regarding the Cantacuzino Family) (Bucharest, 1902), *Documente privitoare la familia Callimachi* (Documents regarding the Callimachi Family) (Bucharest 1902–1903), to which should be added the editing of Ban Mihai Cantacuzino's work *Genealogia Cantacuzinilor* (Genealogy of the Cantacuzins) (Bucharest, 1902).

To complete his documentary information N. Iorga turned to account in his *History of the Ottoman Empire* numerous heretofore unpublished documents found in foreign archives, which he published later only, in the 4th – 6th series of *Notes et Extraits* and in Romanian specialty periodicals.

By enabling historians to have access to archives possessing smaller but important stocks of documents, N. Iorga constituted for himself a solid basis for the study of the history of the Ottoman

¹⁰¹ Toderini, H. R. *Archivio di Venezia*, Venice, 1873; R. Predelli, *I Libri Memoriali della Repubblica di Venezia*, 3 vol., Venice 1876–1883; G. Thomas and R.Vl. Lamanski, *Secrets d'État de Venise*, Petersbourg, 1884; H. Noiret, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la domination vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485*, Paris, 1892; E. Gerland, *Das Archiv des Herzogs von Kandia*, Strasbourg, 1899.

¹⁰² L.T. Belgrano, *Documenti riguardanti la colonia di Pera*, in "Atti della Società ligure di Storia Patria", XIII, 1877–1884.

¹⁰³ O. Raynaldus, *Annalis ecclesiastici* . . . , ed. Mansi, 24 vol., Luca, 1746–1756.

¹⁰⁴ A. von Gévay, *Urkunden und Actenstücke zur Geschichte der Verhältnisse zwischen Österreich, Ungarn und der Pforte im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, 3 vol., 1838–1842.

¹⁰⁵ E. Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, 4 vol., Paris, 1848–1860.

¹⁰⁶ *Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Diplomata and Scriptorum; Monumenta Vaticana Historiam Regni Hungariae illustrantia*, 8 vol., 1884–1891.

¹⁰⁷ A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimorum historiam illustrantia*, vol. I–IV, Rome, 1860–1864.

¹⁰⁸ Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* (Documents Regarding the History of the Romanians), vol. I–XVI, 1887–1912.

¹⁰⁹ Zimmermann-Werner-Müller, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Sibiu, 1897. Szilágyi S., *Monumenta Comititalia Regni Transilvaniae*, 18 vol., Budapest, 1875–1898.

Empire in the first centuries of its existence and of its expansion, surpassing Zinkeisen as regards the number of archives and libraries investigated. This was acknowledged already at the time of the publication of the *History of the Ottoman Empire* and remarkable historians such as E. Gerland¹¹⁰, considered N. Iorga as the best authority in the history of South Eastern Europe.

Though Nicolae Iorga possessed a better knowledge of the Byzantine, South-Slav and Western sources regarding the history of the Balkan Peninsula than any historian of his time, his possibilities of investigation were more limited in the field of Turkish sources. On the one hand, at the time when N. Iorga was dealing with the *History of the Ottoman Empire*, the 14th and 15th centuries inscriptions discovered in mosques, in tombs (türbe), palaces, caravanserais, etc. in Anatolia had not yet been collected.

The old texts that went by the name of "Royal Calendars" dating from the years 840 H/1444, 840 H/1446, 856 H/1452 had not been discovered either. Drawn up for Sultans Murad II and Mehmed II these calendars — five in number¹¹¹ — comprise chronological lists with short notes on the most outstanding events in the history of the Seldjuks, the Ottomans, the emirs of Karaman among which there are new details unmentioned in other sources¹¹².

The anonymous popular chronicles *Tevarikh-i al-i osman* had not been published either. They are grounded on an old chronicle dating from the first years of the reign of Murad II, recounting the history of the Turks from the emigration of Süleyman Shah in Asia Minor (Rum) until the years 900/1494, 957/1550 and even down to the 11th century of the Hégira (17th of our era)¹¹³.

¹¹⁰ Cf. "Deutsche Literaturzeitung", 1913, no. 13, pp. 817—818.

¹¹¹ The two "Royal Calendars" (*takvim*) dating from the reign of Murad II were published in 1954 in Ankara by O. Turan after the manuscripts existing in Paris and at Oxford, while the one of 856/1452 was published by C.N. Atsız in "Istanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi", III, after the manuscripts in Topkapu Sarayı and Bagdat Köskü. The *takvim* of 858/1453 (Nur-i Osmaniye ms. 3080) and the earlier *takvim* with fewer details, at Chester (Beatty Library, ms. 402) were not yet published. Cf. V. Minorsky, *A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Dublin, 1958, p. 3.

¹¹² The *takvim* dating from the time of Mehmed II mentions that the pretender Düzme Mustafa was acknowledged as the son of Bayazid I who disappeared after the battle of Ankara. Cf. V.L. Ménage, *The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography*, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and P.M. Holt, London, Oxford University Press, New York — Toronto, 1962, p. 170.

¹¹³ The anonymous chronicle of the Ottoman dynasty was published by Fr. Giese on the basis of a version dating from the epoch of Bayazid II. Cf. Fr. Giese, *Die allosmanischen anonymen Chroniken in Text und Übersetzung*, I. Teil, Breslau, 1922; II. Teil, Leipzig, 1925.

At the beginning of our century there were absolutely no critical editions of the Ottoman historiographers and chroniclers drawn up on the basis of autograph manuscripts or on the earliest ones known. It was only in 1925 that the chronological notes of Shükriullah¹¹⁴ were brought out: they deal with Ottoman history as an annex of world history. In 1928 there appeared the chronicle of Enveri: *Düstürname*¹¹⁵ which describes the expeditions of Umur beg of Aidin and the beginnings of the Ottoman history until the time of Mehmed II. It was in 1925 too that Fr. Babinger published the chronicle of Urudj ben Adil¹¹⁶ which had been drawn up in an earlier version dating from the reign of Mehmed II and reshaped in the form it has come down to us, during the reign of Bayazid II. In 1916 and 1929 the chronicle of 'Ashik Pasha-zade¹¹⁷ was brought out: it was the first chronicle exclusively devoted to Ottoman history, drawn up on the basis of an earlier chronicle that went as far as 1420, and for the more recent part on the personal experience as "ghazi", of the author who had taken part in the campaigns of Murad II and Mehmed II in Rumelia. It is only in our days that there have been published the chronicle of Neshri¹¹⁸, a few fragments of which had been published by Th. Nöldeke¹¹⁹ and the chronicle of Kémal Pasha-zade the importance of which has been acknowledged¹²⁰ only recently.

The lack of editions of sources regarding the beginnings of the Ottoman state made Nicolae Iorga resort to chronicles translated into Western languages. He made a careful use of the

¹¹⁴ Chapter XIII of *Behdjet ül-tevarikh* which deals with the Ottoman history until the enthroning of Mehmed II (1451) was published by Th. Seif in "Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte", II, 1925, p. 63 and foll.

¹¹⁵ *Düstürname-i Enveri*, ed. Mükrimin Halil Yinanç (Türk Encümeni külliyyati, adet: 15), Istanbul, 1928, 121 p.; cf. also Irène Mélikoff Sayar, *Le destan d'Umur Pacha* (Bibliothèque byzantine, Documents 2), Paris, 1954, and the critical study by P. Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin. Byzance et l'Occident. Recherches sur la geste d'Umur pacha* (Bibliothèque byzantine, Études 2), Paris, 1957.

¹¹⁶ *Tewarikh-i al-i Osman*, ed. Fr. Babinger, *Die Frühosmanischen Jahrbücher des U'rudsch*, Hannover, 1925.

¹¹⁷ Ed. Ali Bei, Constantinople, 1332 and the critical edition of Fr. Giese, *Die osmanische Chronik des 'Ashikpaşazade*, Leipzig, 1929.

¹¹⁸ *Gihännüma, die altosmanische Chronik des Mevlana M. Neshri*, ed. Fr. Taeschner, T. Menzel, Leipzig, I, 1951, II, 1955. Neshri's chronicle was published also by Faik Reshit Unat and dr. Mehmed A. Köymen: *Mehmed Neşri, Kitabı Cihan-Nüma, Neşri Tarihi*, Ankara, 1949, 1957.

¹¹⁹ In "Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft", XIII, 1859, p. 176—218; XV, 1861, p. 333—380, 811 and foll.; XVI, p. 269 and foll.; Excerpts and translations were brought out also by W. Behrnauer (1857), G. Flügel (1865), J. Thüry (1893) and V.D. Smirnov (1903).

¹²⁰ Its publication was started by the Society of Turkish history, Türk Tarih Kurumu.

Latin translation of the most ancient version of the anonymous chronicle of the Ottoman dynasty and of its sequel until 956/1749 performed by a very good translator Hans Loewenklau (Leunclavius)¹²¹. After consulting the oldest manuscript known — it has disappeared now — brought in 1551 to Vienna by Hieronymus Beck, Nicolae Iorga consulted also the *Historia Musulmana Turcorum* by Leunclavius, a compilation based on a Turkish text of the anonymous chronicles of the Ottoman dynasty and on an earlier version of Neshri's chronicle.

In this way Nicolae Iorga was able to form an image of the anonymous popular chronicles *Tevarikh-i al-i osman* which, though introducing certain variations as compared to the original text, are jejune and naive in content and form. They content themselves with relating events awkwardly, without establishing any casual relation between them and, for ancient times, without distinguishing between truth and legend¹²².

Another difficulty that could not be solved at the time when N. Iorga was writing his work, produced by the absence of critical editions and comparative studies, was the impossibility to establish the filiation between the manuscripts and the borrowings made by Ottoman chroniclers from their predecessors, essential for the explanation of the difficult problem of the beginnings of the Ottoman state. In this respect we can quote the well-known chronicle of Mehmed Neshri who, despite the errors of method, deserves to be considered a real historian. His chronicle ought to be carefully analysed in order that the discrepancies produced by the modifications of the sources¹²³ on which the chronicler based his information when trying to reconcile the chronological divergence between them should be detected¹²⁴. Under such circumstances it is clear that at the beginning of our century, to utilize old Ottoman chronicles was an hazardous attempt even for a specialist in Turkish history.

There are no such difficulties for the sources dating from the end of the 15th century and onwards, when the bases of a new historiography were laid, abreast of the universal Moslem empire which, in the East, was competing with the Empire of the Mamelukes

¹²¹ J. Leunclavius, *Annales Sultanonum Othmanidarum*, Frankfurt, 1588.

¹²² Fr. Babinger, *Originea și faptele istoriografiei otomane* (Origins and Facts in Ottoman Historiography), Bucharest, 1938, p. 4.

¹²³ Neshri utilized the chronicle of 'Ashik Pasha-zade, a royal calendar of 856 H. and a manuscript from the Bodleian Library (March 313) usually attributed to Ruhi — though it seems to be Ruhi's source rather than his work.

¹²⁴ Cf. V.L. Ménage, *Neshri's History of the Ottomans. The Sources and the Development of the Text*, London, 1964.

and that of the Persians. Urged by Sultan Bayazid II, chroniclers such as Idris Bitlisi¹²⁵ and Kemal Pasha-zade¹²⁶ — perhaps the greatest of all the series including Kodja Sa'd-ed-Din, 'Ali and Na'ima — selected their sources carefully, establishing a causal link between the events recounted and supplying abundant information connected with their own experience and that of their outstanding contemporaries.

Due to their importance for the history of the Ottoman Empire in the 16th and 17th centuries, the great chroniclers Khodja Sa'd ed-Din¹²⁷, Mustafa 'Ali¹²⁸, Na'ima¹²⁹ and Djevdet Pasha¹³⁰ were published at the beginning of our century while two: Sa'ed-Din, the first historiographer of the Ottoman court, and Na'ima were translated into Western languages so that N. Iorga was able to consult the last too. He also resorted to the history of Hammer who utilized the Turkish *shah-namedji* 'Ali and Ibrahim Pečevi¹³¹ as well as the official historiographers, the so-called *vaka'i nuvis* who recorded events, year by year, beginning with the year 1000/1591—1592 down to the reign of Murad V (1876). He did not hesitate to utilize a number of translated official Turkish chronicles he was acquainted with¹³². For the blossoming period of Ottoman historiography there was only the early translation of the classical chronicle of Sa'd ed-Din¹³³ considered to be the most famous history of the Ottoman

¹²⁵ The chronicle of Idris Bitlisi, *Hesht Bihisht* (The Eight Paradises) written in Persian at the request of Sultan Bayazid II (cf. the Turkish translation by Mejdi, p. 384) has not yet been published though it comprises a unique description of the Ottoman court and rule.

¹²⁶ *Tevarikh-al-i osman*, chronicle by Kemal pasha, a book in facsimile, regarding the reign of Mehmed II, has been recently published.

¹²⁷ Sa'd ed-Din, *Tadj- ul-tavariikh*, 2 vol., Istanbul, 1280/1863 deals with the history of the Ottoman Empire until 1522 (928 H.).

¹²⁸ Mustafa 'Ali, *Kūnh ūl akhbar*, 4 vol., Istanbul, 1277/85.

¹²⁹ *Tarikh-i Na'ima*, ed. IV, 6 vol., Istanbul 1281—1283, relates Ottoman history in the years 1591—1659 (999/1070 H.).

¹³⁰ Djevdet pasha, *Veka-i Devlet-i aliye*, ed. I, Istanbul, 1271/1301.

¹³¹ *Tarikh-i Pečevi*, 2 vol., Istanbul, 1283.

¹³² Because of the absence of a bibliographic catalogue of the Ottoman chronicles, N. Iorga was unable to use in *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* all the translations of Ottoman chronicles heretofore unpublished or published wholly or fragmentary. In his review of the catalogue of Fr. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig, 1927, Iorga gave a complete list of those translations. Cf. "Revue historique du Sud-Est européen", 1928, p. 81—88.

¹³³ Vinc. Brattuti, *Cronica dell'origine e progressi della casa ottomana composta da Saidino Turco*, 2 vol., Vienna, 1649, Madrid, 1652. He did not utilize the translation of Fr. Kollar, Sad ed-Dini, *Annales Turcici usque ad Murad II. Turcice et latine cura*, Fr. Kollar, Vienna, 1755, but cited the French one by Galland, *Suite de l'histoire ottomane écrite par Saadul-din Mehemed Hassan, plus connue chez les Turcs sous le nom de Cogia Efendi, mise en français par Antoine Galland, professeur et lecteur royal en langue arabe*, 1710 (Bibl. Nationale, Paris, mss. fds. franç. No. 6074).

Empire and the most complete one for the 15th and 16th centuries. Besides this classical work of Ottoman historiography, composed after the model of the *Eight Paradises* by Idris Bittisi, he utilized the chronicle of Mustafa Na'ima¹³⁴, one of the most illustrious representatives of Ottoman historiography. His work has preserved to this day its historical value due to the objective description of the events it deals with.

Nicolae Iorga supplemented his information on oriental history by investigating the travel notes of Evliya Çelebi¹³⁵ in Hammer's translation, and Paul of Aleppo¹³⁶ in Emilia Cioran's rather unsatisfactory translation.

The same as in the chapters dealing with the early history of Turkish tribes, Nicolae Iorga's lack of knowledge of Oriental languages is felt in those on the more recent epochs of Ottoman history (18th and 19th centuries) as well. He could not make use of Ahmed Djevdet Pasha's¹³⁷ vast work on the period between the peace of Kuciuk Kainardji (1774) and the abolition of the corps of the janisseries (1826) which, as regards extent, conception and lay out is the most remarkable work in Turkish historiography. He did not use the important historical work of Abd ar-Rahman ben Hassan al-Djabartî¹³⁸ (Ğabarti) either, which deals with the events in the Arabian world and in Egypt especially in the years 1688—1821, casting a special light on the epoch of Mehmed 'Ali, the founder of the Khedive dynasty. He did not examine the book of Abd ur-Rahman Sherif¹³⁹ either devoted to the epoch of the Young Turks. The Romanian historian attempted to make up for these gaps by investigating the notes written by travellers and the political brochures and, for oriental sources, he relied on the works of his predecessors.

¹³⁴ *Annals of the Turkish Empire from 1591 to 1659 of the Christian aera by Naima*. Translated from the Turkish by Charles Fraser, London, 1832.

¹³⁵ J.v. Hammer, in *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa...*, by Evliya Efendi. London, 1834, 1846, 1850 (Oriental Translation Fund) translated only the first two volumes of *Seyahet-name*, which has 10 volumes (ed. Constantinople 1314 H. and foll.).

¹³⁶ E. Cioranu, *Călătoriile patriarhului Macarie de Antiochia în Țările Române 1653—1658* (The Journeys of Patriarch Makarios of Antiochia in the Romanian Countries 1653—1658). Bucharest, 1900.

¹³⁷ *Tarikh-i Ahmed Djevdet (veka'i-i devlet-i 'aliye)*, Istanbul, 1271—1301 H (= 1854/55—1883/84), 12 volumes.

¹³⁸ Abd ar-Rahman ben Hassan al-Djabarti, *Muzhir al-takdis bi-dahab daulat al-fransis*. He was not able to study the French translation: *Merveilles biographiques* which had been prepared by al-Djabarti by request of the Egyptian minister of public education, Shefik Mansur Bey — published in Cairo between 1888—1897.

¹³⁹ *Tarikh-i devlet-i osmaniye*, 2 vol., Istanbul, 1315 (= 1897/98 H), 1318 H (= 1900/1901).

The structure of the work shows he investigated mostly Western sources. Yielding to a tendency to deal almost exclusively with the ruling circles in the Ottoman empire, Nicolae Iorga underrated the role of the Turkish people as a decisive historical factor, to dwell on the importance of the “renegades”, recruited from among the subjugated Balkan peoples, who served the sultan both on the battle field and in the administration. Thus he made a distinction between the history of the Ottoman Empire considered as a political and military creation supported by the Turks but ruled by the Ottoman dynasty and the renegades¹⁴⁰, and the national history of the Turkish people. As regards the investigation of the latter, he suggested already in 1910 that a commission of experts should be set up to attend to the publishing of Turkish chronicles and documents¹⁴¹ and to their translation into an European language which would make them accessible to historians.

THE HISTORICAL RESEARCH METHOD APPLIED BY NICOLAE IORGA TO THE HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

At the beginning of our century, when N. Iorga was writing his *History of the Ottoman Empire*, he had already established, in broad lines, his method of research. According to his conception of history which he had defined as a “systematic exposition without aims alien to it of facts of every kind acquired methodically through which irrespective of time and place human activity has manifested itself”¹⁴², N. Iorga endeavoured to represent the past of the Ottoman Empire impartially and methodically in a unity based on relations of filiation and of co-existence.

The first stage was the investigation of sources — and as much as possible the characteristic ones — in order to acquire a direct contact with the reality of the past. In his historical testament *Istoriologia umană* (Human Historiology) Nicolae Iorga stated: “My desire to ask the epochs themselves in contemporary evidences, which meant coming into a direct spiritual contact with the people I speak of, made me resort first of all to the sources and to search only after-

¹⁴⁰ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 478; III, p. V—VI.

¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. VII.

¹⁴² N. Iorga, *Despre concepția actuală a istoriei și geneza ei* (On the Present Conception of History and Its Genesis) in *Generalități cu privire la studiile istorice* (Generalities Regarding Historical Studies), Bucharest, 1944, p. 10.

wards for certain corrections to their interpreters¹⁴³. Hence the priority role granted to sources¹⁴⁴ rather than to the speciality bibliography which comes only on the second place and sometimes is even overlooked¹⁴⁵, either because it is not considered decisive for the explanation of the problem under consideration or because it was inaccessible to him from a linguistic point of view. This is the case of Serbian, Hungarian, Polish and Russian sources though it comprised very important works concerning the relations between the respective countries and the Ottoman Empire. According to the research method he learnt at the École des Hautes Études and in the seminars in Germany, the sources are submitted to a careful criticism which Nicolae Iorga never ceased warmly recommending though he was opposed to hypercriticism¹⁴⁶. It is first of all a matter of criticism of erudition or criticism of interpretation which enables the historian to understand the documents, to establish their genuineness and to discover the hidden interests underlying the texts.

By methodically doubting the old Ottoman chronicles, N. Iorga eliminated the naive legends which connected the genealogy of Osman with the Oghuze tradition and which represented the founder of the Ottoman dynasty as the lawful heir of the Seldjuks. The subsequent research carried on by P. Wittek confirmed the accuracy of these opinions, proving that the genealogies in the old Ottoman chronicles appeared at the time of the struggle meant to save the existence of the Ottoman state after the defeat of Ankara (1402). Their authors intended to make of the descendants of Bayazid I the equals of the Eastern Khans in order that, freed of Timur vassalage, they could continue their duties as “*ghazi*” in Rumelia and claim supremacy over the Turkish principalities in Anatolia, repulsing the attacks of the emirs of Karaman. The proof, which Nicolae Iorga did not know and could not know at that time, is given by the words the chronicler makes Osman say: “If Allah gave sultan Seldjuk the

¹⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 357; cf. also *Préface à une historiologie. Pages postumes*, in “Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie Roumaine”, t. XXII, 1941, p. 10–11; idem, *Materiale pentru o istoriologie umană* (Materials for a Human Historiology), p. 5.

¹⁴⁴ *Generalități...* (Generalities...), p. 347.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. the observations of C. Brockelmann in “Literarisches Zentralblatt”, 1908, p. 807; 1909, p. 801; 1913, pp. 503–505; C. Jireček in “Byzantinische Zeitschrift”, 1909, p. 581, 583–584; L. Mangold in “Historische Vierteljahrschrift”, 1909, p. 112–114, 546–548; 1911, p. 109, 546; 1912, p. 76–77; E. Gerland in “Deutsche Literaturzeitung”, 1910, p. 819; K. Süssheim in “Historische Vierteljahrschrift”, 1914–1915, p. 583–584.

¹⁴⁶ N. Iorga, *Două concepții istorice* (Two Historical Conceptions) in *Generalități...*, p. 87.

sultanate, the same Allah gave me the Khanate through *ghaza*. If he says he comes of the house of Seldjuk, I say I come of that of Gökalp”¹⁴⁷.

Nicolae Iorga also tried to establish the accuracy of knowledge and outlook of the authors of texts, so that he might use them in the most suitable and judicious way in his historical work. On the basis of a previous criticism of the Byzantine chronicles, he established that Ducas grasped the sense of the events occurring in Asia Minor where he had commercial interests¹⁴⁸ and that Sphrantzes had a thorough knowledge of Turkish life which after the fall of the Byzantine Empire mixed with that of the Greeks in Constantinople¹⁴⁹, and that Chalcocondylas was well-acquainted with the events happening in the North of the Balkan Peninsula as he kept his eyes on the Magyar Danube¹⁵⁰. Thus Nicolae Iorga was able to utilize their works taking into account the conditions under which they were written and their authors' special knowledge.

In a second stage N. Iorga tried to pass from documents to facts, intending to discover the authors' real intentions, and to establish their degree of sincerity. When analysing the information conveyed by Critoboulos whom he generally considered sincere¹⁵¹, objective and observant of the historical truth¹⁵², Nicolae Iorga remarked nevertheless that “this cunning Greek” is careful to pass over the defeat suffered by the Turks in silence, thus being guilty of “*oppressio veritatis*”¹⁵³.

At other times, when comparing statements included in the early Ottoman chronicles, transmitted by Leunclavius or reproduced by Sa'ded-Din, with contemporary Byzantine chronicles, N. Iorga succeeded in discovering the facts underlying certain legendary tales. Thus, while investigating the account of the early Ottoman chronicles regarding the conquest of Nicomedia by Orkhan, N. Iorga rejects the story which says the Turkish soldiers entered the citadel hidden in cases of gifts sent from Constantinople on the occasion of

¹⁴⁷ ‘Ashik Pacha-zade, *Tarikh*, ed. Fr. Giese, p. 20.

¹⁴⁸ N. Iorga, *Médailleurs d'histoire littéraire byzantine*, in “Byzantion”, II, p. 296 ; cf. and “Revue historique du Sud-Est européen”, X, 1933, p. 34.

¹⁴⁹ “Revue historique du Sud-Est européen”, X, p. 34.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibidem*. Cf. also “Revue historique du Sud-Est européen”, III, 1926, p. 20 where he reproduces the opinion of M. Kostitsch on the Magyar sources Chalcocondylas was acquainted with through the agency of the Turks or the Raguzans.

¹⁵¹ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II, p. 79, n. 2.

¹⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 201.

¹⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 66, no. 1.

a Greek wedding¹⁵⁴. Based on Gregoras¹⁵⁵ and Cantacuzenus¹⁵⁶, N. Iorga points out that in fact emperor Andronicus sent warships to help the citadel and set out for it himself at the head of a great retinue. But, changing his tactics, Orkhan sent messengers with gifts, in keeping with the patriarchal Turkish habit, and received for them garments of honour. After a comparative analysis of the respective texts, Nicolae Iorga studied the mentality and social conventions of the epoch, showing that the Turks considered the gifts sent by the basileus as an acknowledgement of their rule over the region at issue.

The study of the mentality of the Ottoman society undertaken by N. Iorga who made it a method to doubt the conventional ideas and the statements taken over ready-made from compilations and text-books, helped him to remove these filters that came between reality and what the contemporaries thought. He thus succeeded in giving the lie to the exaggerated proposition about the cruelty, intolerance and fanaticism of the Ottomans. Recent researches have shown that the "ulema" tradition, so strong already at the time of Orkhan, did not aim at a forced Islamization of the Christian population¹⁵⁷. This policy was maintained even at the time when under Murad I the *ghazi* idea was predominant. Sources show that the Ottomans spared the peasant population¹⁵⁸ that they needed for the farming of the land and made it pay the tribute (*kharadj*)¹⁵⁹. That is how, in the middle of the 14th century, numerous peasants (*villani*) from Crete fled to the Turks who protected them and who exploited them less ruthlessly than the Venetian and Greek feudals¹⁶⁰.

In spite of the successes obtained from the critical comparison of the sources, Nicolae Iorga was aware, more aware than any other historian of his time, of the fact that his documentary information was incomplete.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 171—172.

¹⁵⁵ Gregoras, ed. Bonn, I, p. 525.

¹⁵⁶ Cantacuzenus, ed. Bonn, I, p. 447—448.

¹⁵⁷ Ernst Werner, *Die Geburt einer Grossmacht : Die Osmanen*, Berlin, 1966, p. 99.

¹⁵⁸ Shehab ed-Din al'Umari, *Mesâlik al-Absâr fi mamâlik al-amsâr*, ed. M. Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du roi*, XIII, Paris, 1838, p. 340. Cf. and Cornelius v. Zgrickzee, *Libellus de moribus condicionibus et naequitia Turcorum a quondam christiano provinciae Septemcastrensis diu in manibus Turcorum captivo aeditum*, Paris, 1511, V, p. 36.

¹⁵⁹ That is how the participation of the Greeks in the advance of the Turks is accounted for. P. Lemerle, *L'Emirat d'Aydin. Byzance et l'Occident. Recherches sur la geste d'Umur Pacha*, Paris, 1957, p. 15. n. 2.

¹⁶⁰ F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, Paris-La Haye, 1958, I, p. 88, no. 327.

In order to fill up this gap and to explain historical facts and situations, N. Iorga resorted to the method of comparisons, similitudes or parallelisms ¹⁶¹ between facts and situations that recurred not in all their "accidents" but in their "essence", that is in "certain common-lines" ¹⁶². N. Iorga's uncommon gift for association helped him to detect unity amid multiplicity, the permanent amid the uninterrupted flux of the evolution, in order to reconstitute the past in all its significant entirety. With the help of historical induction N. Iorga reconstituted certain processes, certain events under "their general aspect".

In the *History of the Ottoman Empire* there are plenty of examples of this method set forth already at the end of the last century ¹⁶³ and which he was to develop in subsequent works, namely the *Preface* to his monumental work *Essai de synthèse de l'histoire de l'humanité* ¹⁶⁴ and, particularly, in the report read in 1938 at the Zurich Congress on the Permanences of History (*Permanențele istoriei*) ¹⁶⁵.

In order to explain the adventurous life of young nomad Turks who went to other regions in search of money, glory, a homeland and an adoptive family, Nicolae Iorga refers to the institution "ver sacum" of the Germans ¹⁶⁶, better known due to Tacitus.

According to the same method he compares the policy carried on by the Chinese with the Turkish hordes to the system practised by Charles the Great with the Saxons ¹⁶⁷; and the flight to the Turks (Hiung-nu) of the Chinese pretenders, to the mutual relations of this kind between the Roman Empire and the migratory peoples ¹⁶⁸. The decline of the Samanids imperial authority coming after the death of Said (943) is compared to a similar phenomenon occurring at the time when leaders of the "barbarians", such as Aetius, Rufinus or Stilicho ¹⁶⁹ asserted themselves. Finally, the feudal unrest in Syria

¹⁶¹ N. Iorga, *Cuvîntare la deschiderea Institutului de istorie universală* (Address at the inauguration of the Institute of World History) in the *Generalități...* (Generalities...), p. 217.

¹⁶² In 1926 N. Iorga wrote: "Facts repeat themselves. There are names that change, accidents that differ, but it is in fact the same event, the same situation". *Preface to Essai de synthèse de l'histoire de l'humanité* in *Generalități...*, p. 152.

¹⁶³ In 1898, N. Iorga stated that "similar events also help in the understanding of things that have happened before". *Cum se scrie istoria* (How History Is Written), in *Generalități...*, p. 56.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. *Preface to Essai de synthèse de l'histoire de l'humanité*, in *Generalități...*, p. 153.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 255.

¹⁶⁶ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 8.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 12.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

where towns and cities, at war for plunder, keep changing their rulers, is compared to the better known unrest in the feudal states of Western Europe¹⁷⁰, while the relations between the Byzantine towns in the West of Asia Minor and the Turkish begs, during the 11th century are compared with those between the Rhenish and Danubian regions and the Goth, Hun and Vandal kings in the 5th century¹⁷¹.

By applying this method, Nicolae Iorga was trying to reach what he was to call later "an integral explanation", comparing "phenomena of development belonging to certain various regions, nations and epochs"¹⁷². It is a dynamic way of expressing world history, leaving aside the special historical conditions under which took place the events whose similitude he discovers.

Though at the beginning of his activity as historian and under the influence of romantic thinking, N. Iorga concentrated his attention mostly on the individual aspect of the facts he was representing in their entire complexity and individuality¹⁷³, in the *History of the Ottoman Empire*, nevertheless, the unity of historical life which he is more and more aware of, compelled him to look for certain unifying elements which he tried to detect in the complicated texture of history.

Unacquainted with the fundamental principle of the economic and social formations and with their succession, N. Iorga was under the influence of the philosophic ideas prevailing at the end of the 19th century which were trying to apply to the domain of humanistic sciences the experimental method used in the sciences of nature. He therefore searched for the existence of permanent factors in the development of individual events: the land, i.e. the natural or geographic environment, the "race" which is viewed as having a provisional and progressive character opposed to the rigid racialist conceptions, and the ideas, or the frames of mind. The first two permanences strikingly

¹⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 62.

¹⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 194.

¹⁷² N. Iorga. *Permanențele istoriei* (Permanences of History) in *Generalități...*, p. 255.‡

¹⁷³ "Historical facts never recur in exactly the same way, they have endless novelty", stated N. Iorga in *Două concepții istorice* (Two Historical Conceptions) in *Generalități...*, p. 95.

recall the theses formulated by H. A. Taine in the attempt at a philosophy of history developed in his *Introduction à l'Histoire de la littérature anglaise* ¹⁷⁴. In Nicolae Iorga's opinion the permanent factors "unite in time and space the various chapters of the developing organism we call history" ¹⁷⁵.

A careful investigation of the *History of the Ottoman Empire* and of the works dealing with problems connected with this great state formation will prove that N. Iorga wished to discover here too the role of these permanent factors. Nevertheless it was only in 1912 that he pointed out, theoretically, the possibility of finding "the explanation of an old historical phenomenon through a new and adequate historical phenomenon, in the same place, of the same race" ¹⁷⁶.

Anticipating this thesis characteristic of the historical conception he was to develop in the paper read at the Zürich Congress ¹⁷⁷, N. Iorga investigated the action of the permanences in the spaces inhabited by Turks, the Turkestan, where the ancestors of the Turkmens had wandered, Asia Minor ruled by the Seldjuks and the Ottomans, the Balkan Peninsula under Byzantine and Turkish domination.

In the *History of the Ottoman Empire* N. Iorga attempted to reconstitute the life of the ancient Turkish hordes with the help of the life of the Turkomans who roamed the steppes and deserts between the Ural mountains and lake Balkash, the Caspian Sea and the mountains on the frontiers of China, utilizing the nature of the soil to carry on their eternal "*kuna*" (baranta, correria) ¹⁷⁸.

Later N. Iorga was to admit that the fragmentary form of the territory of Asia Minor determined the "canton" and "clan" ¹⁷⁹ form of life of its inhabitants ¹⁸⁰. This is an anticipation of the thesis formulated more categorically in Zürich, where he stated that on the Balkan territory "the sovereign land with its vicinage and horizon enforced upon the Turks, as it had done upon the Greeks and

¹⁷⁴ Cf. André Chevrillon, *Taine, formation de sa pensée*, Paris, 1932, pp. 208, 210—212 and passim.

¹⁷⁵ N. Iorga, *Permanențele istoriei*, in *Generalități...*, p. 255.

¹⁷⁶ *Idem*, *Nevoia înnoirii cunoștințelor istorice* (The Necessity of Renewing Historical Knowledge) in *Generalități...*, p. 115.

¹⁷⁷ N. Iorga, *Permanențele istoriei*, in *Generalități...*, p. 242.

¹⁷⁸ *Idem*, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 5.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. W.L. Langer and R.P. Blake, *The Rise of the Ottoman Turks and its Historical Background*, in "American Historical Review", 37, 1932, p. 476—477.

¹⁸⁰ "Revue historique du Sud-Est européen", 1933, p. 35.

the Slavs, an attitude, a local *habitus* that has been preserved”¹⁸¹. According to Nicolae Iorga the land, that is to say the natural environment forces upon peoples a certain kind of life, constituting a determining element. This represents an attempt at explaining the historical process through the geographic factor which represents the constant setting of the historical evolution.

By applying biological principles to social life, — a widespread method among scientists in the second half of the 19th century —, N. Iorga considered “the race” the second determining and permanent element of the historical evolution. Still, unlike the rigid racial conceptions which in fact have been condemned by the findings of anthropologists, N. Iorga held there are no pure races crystallized once and for ever, which should be kept from foreign infiltrations.

N. Iorga stated that from the human race, subjected to the various influences of the natural environment, there sprang groups which as they advanced and occupied other regions “became contaminated” by coming into contact with the defeated¹⁸². He makes a distinction between a “pure race”, represented in this case by the primitive Turks from the Asiatic deserts, and the “synthesis races” formed gradually from elements at times very different but which under the slow and ceaseless action of the natural environment¹⁸³ changed and in course of time acquired the same physical structure¹⁸⁴ and followed the same line of development.

Thus for Nicolae Iorga the race is no biological reality but a sort of common natural dower of ideas, feelings, will which condition a people’s historical development. In this sense it may be said that there is a final identity between the concept of “race” and that of “people”.

In the *History of the Ottoman Empire* N. Iorga sets off the importance of the formation, in the deserts between Sir Daria and Amu Daria, of the Turkish race of bold, rugged people who, in the course of history manifested themselves as “a race of conquerors”¹⁸⁵, in which there melted in the course of centuries Greeks, Slavs, Albanians, Georgians and other subjugated peoples. Thus, a people

¹⁸¹ N. Iorga, *Permanențele istoriei*, in *Generalități*... , p. 243.

¹⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 248.

¹⁸³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸⁴ “Creators of the human nations which they continue to mould fondly, the earth and the sky gradually lend another external appearance covering the same spiritual fund to the human being”, N. Iorga, *Permanențele istoriei* (Permanences of History), in *Generalități*, p. 248.

¹⁸⁵ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 14.

formed by synthesis and mixture, which followed the line of development impressed on it already at the time of Asiatic nomadism.

Though N. Iorga considered the race as a permanent element, he was aware of its provisional sense¹⁸⁶; to the end of his days, he rose against the rigid and abusive racial conceptions that maintained the existence of a race crystallized once and for ever.

He also pointed out that, under the multiple influence of the natural Balkan environment, the Ottoman Turks changed their outward appearance and their spiritual structure, as they were a synthesis race quite different from the primitive one that set out from the far-off Turkestan and was supported by successive waves coming from the same place, in the course of centuries.

The third element of permanence in N. Iorga's essentially idealistic conception was the idea that the spiritual life is the determining factor in the evolution of history¹⁸⁷.

N. Iorga did not ascribe to the economic basis of society the role of decisive factor of the historical development. Though he admitted that "there is certainly a relation of reciprocity between the material elements of a society and its spiritual ones", he believed that "any material form is only the incorporation of an idea, and that everything must first be experienced in the thinking of a nation; as for the rest it will come by itself"¹⁸⁸.

Thus N. Iorga stresses the importance of the spiritual factor in the development of the historical process. As early as 1900 he stated from the university chair that "what maintains societies and the complicated structures on which they are supported is not their number, their form or their compact organization, but their justification"¹⁸⁹. This principle was applied to the *History of the Ottoman Empire* though it was not declared plainly in this work which was to be part of a collection of world history.

Starting from the remark that "the keepers of power have always . . . felt the spiritual need of justifying what they represent" and believing that "this justification is nothing but an *idea* which was an ideal and became a principle which supports a tradition which sanctions"¹⁹⁰, N. Iorga states that after the conquest of Constan-

¹⁸⁶ Idem, *Permanențele istoriei*, in *Generalități...*, p. 249.

¹⁸⁷ Idem, *Ideile în istoria universală. Lecție de deschidere la Universitatea din București (noiembrie 1901)* (Ideas in World History. Inaugural Lecture at the Bucharest University) (November 1901), in *Generalități...*, p. 71—76.

¹⁸⁸ "Neamul românesc", 1936, no. 35.

¹⁸⁹ N. Iorga, *Ideile în istoria universală* (Ideas in World History), in *Generalități...*, p. 74.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibidem*.

tinople which made of the usurping emir the lawful emperor, the descendant of the Roman Emperors, of the Byzantine Basilei and of the Serbian and Bulgarian Czars¹⁹¹, this tradition supported the new regenerated empire until this form became aged and worn. Thus it was in the spiritual life not in the evolution of the material life of society that he looked for the explanation of the succession of political forms in the Balkan space — from the Byzantine Empire of the Palaeologi to the Ottoman Empire of Mehmed II.

According to this conception, these ideas persist not only in their initial form or under discontinued forms such as recurrences, but crystallized too, as the collective frame of mind, feelings and instincts. Here and there in the *History of the Ottoman Empire* there are examples of this spiritual determinism in the analyses of the frame of mind of the mutinous lower orders in the capital city (1651)¹⁹² or the mentality of the peasants and inhabitants of the towns in Asia Minor whom the Byzantine¹⁹³ authorities had deserted and who went over to the Ottomans.

Unlike other works, in the *History of the Ottoman Empire* there are examples of economic determinism, either when explaining the Ottomans' fight for conquest such as the campaign of Mehmed II against Serbia (1454)¹⁹⁴ or the war for Crete¹⁹⁵ or in the analysis of the policy carried on by the European states towards the Ottoman Empire — such as Venice's¹⁹⁶ or England¹⁹⁷ policy which in 1650 supported the Turks in order to ruine Venetian trade.

Nicolae Iorga sets off briefly phenomena of class struggle showing that — after Michael Attaliates — the peasants in Asia Minor, impoverished by the Byzantine fiscality and oppressed by the big landed proprietors went over to the Seldjuk Turks¹⁹⁸. But, generally speaking, N. Iorga did not grant the necessary attention to class struggle or to the role of the broad people's masses.

Utilizing such varied ideas, methods and means of investigation, Nicolae Iorga endeavoured to write a political history of the Ottoman Empire based on sources little known or quite unknown.

¹⁹¹ Idem, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane* (The Question of the Mediterranean Sea), Vălenii de Munte. 1914, p. 158.

¹⁹² N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 64.

¹⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 73.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, II, p. 155.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, IV, p. 35.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 365.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 60.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, I, p. 71.



Fig. 2. — Dimitrie Cantemir, Prince of Moldavia, *Cabinet of Engravings of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania.*

72
Leipzig den 12. März 1901

Hochachtungsvoll
Ihre Lolliga!



Leipziger Dank für Ihre freund-
lichen und unterstützenden Brief. Ich freue
mich von Herzen, dass Sie die Rumäni-
sche Gesellschaft übernehmen wollen und
hoffe, dass Sie uns dabei nicht bloß den
Verlauf der politischen Geschichte, sondern
auch ein großes Teil der rumänischen
Kulturentwicklung geben werden.

Bitte erwarten Sie in fünf Tagen
Ihre Antwort, später einmal das
veraltete Werk von Linkeisen er-
setzen zu wollen und ich gratuliere Ihnen

und umfassen die Leute die so
unerbittlich Griffe

Haus

ganz abgegeben

Lamprecht

Fig. 3. — Letter of Professor Karl Lamprecht. *Library of the Academy, N. Iorga's Correspondence. I, 1901, p. 72, 73.*

GESCHICHTE DER EUROPÄISCHEN STAATEN.

Herangegeben von

A. H. L. HEBREN, F. A. UKERT, W. v. GIEGELRECHT
UND K. LAMPRECHT.

Siebenunddreißigtes Werk:

GESCHICHTE DES OSMANISCHEN REICHES.

NACH DEN QUELLEN DARGESTELLT

VON

N. JORGA,

Professor an der Universität Bukarest.



Erster Band.

(Bis 1451.)



GOTHA 1908.

FRIEDRICH ANDREAS PERTHES
AKTIENGESELLSCHAFT.

Fig. 5. — Title-page of N. Iorga's *History of the Ottoman Empire*.

ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ YAYIMLARI: 16
BİLİM KİTAPLARI SERİSİ: 7

YORGA

OSMANLI TARİHİ

CİLT V
(1774 – 1912)

Çeviren : B. Sıtkı Baykal

Güney Matbaacılık ve Gazetecilik T.A.O.
ANKARA – 1948

Fig. 6. — Title-page of the Turkish translation of N. Iorga's *History of the Ottoman Empire*.

In this reconstitution of the Ottoman past he made use of all his encyclopaedic knowledge, his deep historical sense and all his talent as a writer, not only with a view at discovering the truth by rummaging through archives and at explaining the historical process by establishing relations of filiation and co-existence, but, especially with a view to evoking the past life within its entire environment.

Due to the diversity of the problems he tackled, and to the novelty and originality of the conclusions he reached, N. Iorga raised to a far higher level the work started two centuries before by the learned ruling prince of Moldavia, Dimitrie Cantemir.

FUNDAMENTAL THESES OF NICOLAE IORGA REGARDING
THE HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The same as in other great works of synthesis which "constitute the justification of the existence" of a historian worthy of this name, in the *History of the Ottoman Empire* the representation of facts is based on a number of most original fundamental theses.

These theses act as directive principles designed to explain the broad lines of development of the historical processes and bring out in full relief the representative importance of certain facts and situations detached from the texture of history with that end in view.

It is to be mentioned, however, that in the *History of the Ottoman Empire* which is first and foremost a history of events, these theses do not play a predominant part as they do in other N. Iorga's subsequent works, less important ones and of smaller proportions but whose aim was to explain certain historical problems and situations. In the latter works the explanations are discursive, even polemical, while in his synthesis on Ottoman history which had to meet the requirements of the collection in which it was published, the explanations regarding the genesis of the historical facts result mostly from the representation of the historical process in its development.

In order to wholly reconstitute N. Iorga's conception of Ottoman history it will not be sufficient to resort only to his synthesis; we shall have to study, in parallel, the subsequent works mentioned above which, requiring a more concise and striking presentation, synthesize N. Iorga's opinions in almost terse forms.

Moreover, his most original theses are included in the part dealing with the epoch of the formation and development of the Ottoman Empire, which can be accounted for by the author's historical training and by his preference for the Middle Ages. That is why in the representation of his theses we shall dwell longer on this epoch

which N. Iorga dealt with more lengthily, as proved by the place he reserved for it in his work.

Starting from the conception of unity in the development of history, which he had applied in his first synthesis on the history of the Romanians before he asserted it strongly on the occasion of his admittance to the Romanian Academy¹, — N. Iorga endeavoured to follow up in his *History of the Ottoman Empire* the evolution of the nomad Turkish tribes², natives of the Asiatic steppes, who entered world history as the founders of empires in the style of Asiatic despots, subsequently taking over the Roman Byzantine state conception, to set up in the 15th century one of the vastest empires of the world.

CHAPTER 3

TURKISH AND SELDJUK STATE FORMATIONS. THE OTTOMAN STATE

1. EARLY TURKISH HISTORY

Going back as far as the origins of the Turkish tribes, N. Iorga summed up the insufficient and sporadic information from the Chinese sources translated into Western languages, and from the Byzantine ones regarding the early migrations of the Turks. A thorough critical study of the Turkish legends showed that the history of the

¹ "There is one single development and all the manifestations of life are implanted in it and appear at the place determined by the sense of the movement, by the moment when the facts and situations occur, and each of them having the space required by the representative importance or active importance of the facts and situations" (N. Iorga, *Două concepții istorice* (Two Historical Conceptions), in *Generalități...*, p. 90).

² According to V. Thomsen ("Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft", LXXVIII, 122) and F. W. K. Müller (*Uigurica*, II, 97), the name of Turk might mean "power" in the physical and social sense; N. Iorga assigns to it the meaning of "kazak" (Cossack) which might denote the unruly elements, opposed to the men of Čingiz Khan who became subjects of an empire due to the vastness and organization of their conquest (cf. "Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'Europe sud-orientale", 1916, p. 8). V. Barthold believes that the name of Türk (Chin. Tu-Kiu, Gr. τούρκος) may initially have been the name of a nomad people of the 6th century of our era (*Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, IV, Leyden, 1934, p. 947, s. v.) while F. W. K. Müller believes that it denoted a single tribe, or a sovereign family. In inscriptions it seems to have a political rather than an ethnographic sense.

Turks did not begin as the history of a unitary tribe, as appears from the legend of Oghuz, the legendary ancestor of the Seldjuks and of the Ottomans. N. Iorga rejects this legend as naive and coming too late, pointing out it is mentioned in a single later source, Khodja Rashid of the 13th — 14th century¹. He believes that the history of the Turks began with the “auls” of the various hordes (orda) fighting for supremacy. But on account of the lack of accessible sources as well as of any special training, he could not go deeper into the history of the Turks, led, in turns, by Hiung-nu, Tu-kiu, Hoi-he, Karluks, Uigurs and Oghuzs — characterized by internal fights and plundering expeditions against the neighbours, the Chinese, the Mongols, the Iranians, and had to be content with a brief exposition of the history of the Turks in the pre-Islamic period².

Starting from the data he found in the speciality literature — the Chinese annals which showed no interest for the history of “barbarian” peoples and mentioned only in a “naive” form the wars fought, the substitution of one horde by another, or the defeat of some chieftain³, etc., N. Iorga endeavoured to clarify, as much as was possible at the time, the prehistory of the Turks who in the 6th century founded under Tu-men (called Bumin-Khan in Turkish inscriptions) (d. 632), a powerful empire spreading from Mongolia and the Northern frontier of China to the Black Sea. His efforts are all the more praiseworthy as he had no direct access to Chinese, early Turkish, Mongol and Arabian sources of the 9th and 10th centuries which contain the earliest more precise information on the various Turkish tribes. That is why he could not avoid a number of confusions⁴ and omissions⁵ which are felt in the part dealing with the pre-Islamic and even early Islamic epoch, for which today we

¹ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 10.

² *Ibidem*, p. 13—18.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 12—13.

⁴ We observe, for instance, that the descendant of Tu-Men was his brother Istä-mi (Chin. She-tic-mi, gr. Διζάβουλος, Διλιζιβουλος and Σιλζιβουλος, in al-Tābari, I, 895, 896: Sindjibu-Khakan) (d. in 576) and not “Iski” (N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, I, p. 16). Cf. H. Cordier, *Turcs et Byzance in Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger*, Paris, 1924, I, p. 24—25.

⁵ N. Iorga does not show that the two empires founded by the Northern Turks and by those of the West separated themselves under the influence of the Sui Chinese dynasty, in 582, or that the Northern Turks submitted nominally in the 7th cent. to the Tang dynasty (618—907), regaining their independence in 682, while the Western Turks recognized the Chinese suzerainty (659) being subjugated by the Northern Turks in 699 and 711.

possess the invaluable works of J. Deny ⁶, P. Pelliot ⁷, W. Barthold ⁸, A. Gzaplicka ⁹ and R. Grousset ¹⁰.

The Turkish-Byzantine relations mentioned by the Byzantine chroniclers Menander and Theophilaktus are based on more reliable information. Though he does not mention the role played by the Sogdiens — subjects of the Turks who, as main go-betweens in the silk trade wished to find in the Byzantine Empire a market which was closed to them in Persia — N. Iorga mentions a few exchanges of messengers between the Turks and the Byzantines justified by the latter's wish to get the Turks to rise against the Persians ¹¹.

As a matter of fact N. Iorga intended that the earlier history of the Turkish tribes and even the intermediate history of the Seldjuk state should be an introduction and a supplement to the *History of the Ottoman Empire*. That is why he only outlined the problems without going deep into them; in fact, he couldn't have done it, considering the then stage of researches. In the first chapters of the work he dealt with the nomad Turkish world in continual movement and continual unrest, even at the time when they had given up pastoral life for agriculture¹². He described these nomad Turks, as an aggregate of tribes, coming down in central Asia on account of the disintegration of the Chinese Empire, and occupying it at the end of the 10th century. They founded in turns state structures, more or less ephemeral, depending on their ability to subjugate the rich towns which were centres visited by caravans — Bukhara, Samarkand, Khodjend — and to withstand rivals coming from the steppe¹³.

N. Iorga depicted the conflict between the Turks influenced by the civilization of the neighbouring peoples, the Iranian, the Chinese, the Arabs, from whom they took over elements of material

⁶ J. Deny in *L'Expansion des Turcs en Asie jusqu'au XI^e siècle* in "Terre d'Islam", 1939, p. 191 — 215.

⁷ P. Pelliot, *La Haute Asie*, Paris, 1931.

⁸ W. Barthold, *Orta Asie Türk tarihî haqqında dersler*, Istanbul, 1927, translated into German by Th. Menzel; idem, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, Berlin, 1935, published in the supplement of the periodical "Die Welt des Islams", 1932 and foll.

⁹ A. Czaplicka, *The Turks of Central Asia in History and at the Present Day*, Oxford, 1918.

¹⁰ R. Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, Paris, 1939.

¹¹ N. Iorga mentions only the Turkish mission of 568 led by Maniach and the Byzantine one of Zemarcos, which was followed by others led by Euty chius, Herodianus and Paul of Cilicia; in 580 emperor Tiberius sent another headed by Valentine. Yule-Cordier, *Cathay*, ed. II, I, p. 203 and foll.

¹² N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 24.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

culture, farming implements and armament¹⁴ — and the Turks faithful to their ancient tradition. This conflict came to an end with the victory of the pure, Ghaznavid Turks, who substituted war for trade as means of enrichment, and then of the Seldjuks whose conquests told deeply on the history of Asia and of Europe too.

2. THE EMPIRE OF THE GREAT SELDJUKS

A detailed criticism of the Turkish legends led N. Iorga to determine the historical origin of the Seldjuks¹⁵ whom he followed all the way from the steppes of lake Aral where they made their appearance about the year 1000 — down to the time when they settled as mercenaries in the Bagdad Caliphate where they reestablished the lawful descendant of the Prophet as caliph and enforced upon him their tutelage.

Nicolae Iorga considers that the moment when the caliph appointed Toghrul Beg (1038—1063), the sultan of the Sunite Turks, as descendant of the Buiz and granted him the title of “amir al-umara” is as important for the Moslem world as the crowning of Charles the Great in the year 800 for the Christian world¹⁶. This appointment of Toghrul Beg as temporary vicar of the caliph of Bagdad bestowed upon the leader of the Orthodox Sunite-Turks the right to extend his rule over the neighbouring regions under the pretext of restoring the authority of Islam. By the end of the 11th century the whole Anterior Asia comes under the domination of the Seldjuk Turks whose empire after the conquest of Syria (1068) extends from the Mediterranean Sea to lake Aral and to Punjab.

Nicolae Iorga points out that the Seldjuks did not consider the monarch the sole leader of the state as the Byzantines and Persians did, as with the nomads the empire was the property of the khan's whole family¹⁷. The members of the family and even the simple representatives of the khan had the right to extend their domination by force, on the neighbouring regions where they could found states. The old political empires turned into feudal states grouped in federations around the Moslem religious metropolises.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 21.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 26 and foll.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 35—36.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 37—38.

3. THE SELDJUK STATE IN RUM (ASIA MINOR)

When the Seldjuk empire had been constituted as a military feudal state, the emirs attempted, according to the Turkish tradition, to extend their domination on the neighbouring regions in Asia Minor (Rum). N. Iorga points out that the important trade road leading to the passes of the Caucasus and crossing the commercial town of Erzerum, led them to the outlying provinces of the Byzantine Empire¹⁸, which could no longer be protected as they had been during the reign of the emperors of Armenian origin, Nicephorus Phocas and John Tzimiskes¹⁹. It was N. Iorga who emphasized that in these obscure local struggles between Turks and Byzantines, the native population in Armenia and Cappadocia, dissatisfied with the Byzantine imperial administration, followed the example of their Iranian neighbours and agreed secretly with the Turks, in whom their leaders, eager to go back to the old times of independence, saw allies or even avengers²⁰. Moreover, the occupation and conquest of the neighbouring province Azerbaidjan was facilitated by the social structure of the region, which is also acknowledged today by the Orientalist Cl. Cahun who adds that later too it remained a region where Turkmen concentrated²¹.

N. Iorga follows up the stages of the victorious advance of the Turks who, led by Toghrul Beg and Alp Arslan (1065—1072), took advantage of the rivalry between the Byzantine military nobility and the civilian one in the struggle for the throne and of the lack of cohesion in the Byzantine armies²².

He proves that the Seldjucs did not intend to found a strictly delimited and well-organized empire²³ in Asia Minor — a thesis which was to be expounded a quarter of a century later by the Orientalist Claude Cahun²⁴, as he considered that Alp Arslan did not possess a superior administration like the Byzantine or Persian ones. That is why after the decisive battle of Mantzikert (1071) Alp Arslan

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 38—39.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 39.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 40—41.

²¹ Cl. Cahun, *Première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure* in "Byzantion", 1948, p. 14 and foll.

²² N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 54.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 57.

²⁴ Cl. Cahun, *La campagne de Mantzikert d'après les sources musulmanes* in "Byzantion", IX, 1934, p. 613—642, points out that the Seldjucs intended to conquer Syria and Egypt and therefore require a safe peace with Byzantium, which explains why they did not take advantage of the victory of Mantzikert.

had to be content with the promise of a ransoming and annual tribute, made by emperor Romanus IV Diogenes, without trying to ensure for himself domination of Asia Minor²⁵, as A. F. Gfrörer wrongly held²⁶.

According to N. Iorga's opinion — out-of-date now — Asia Minor was Turkicized without the participation of the Seldjuks who did not send any Seldjuk prince or any army commander to conquer it²⁷. He underlined the rapacious character of the Turks who withdrew after expeditions beyond the mountains of Armenia, without having made any real and durable conquests²⁸. Even Süleyman ben Kutulmish, the ancestor of the Seldjuks in Asia Minor who was collateral descendant of the dynasty of the great Seldjuks, looked upon his expeditions to Anatolia as a mere episode of his career²⁹, a fact acknowledged by the scholar in Turk history Paul Wittek³⁰. Charged by Shah Malik to fight a war against the Byzantines and given supreme command of the Seldjuk troops in Asia Minor, Süleyman won the support of the rural population oppressed both by Byzantine fiscality and by the big landed proprietors³¹. He then took advantage of the uprising of the usurper Nicephorus Botaniates³² and of that of Nicephorus Melisene to occupy Nicaea³³ and obtain, through a treaty, the towns in Galatia and Phrygia as far as Cyzicus.

N. Iorga dwelt upon the attitude of the native population which out of hatred for the Byzantine fiscal policy and for the big landowners, showed themselves friendly to the Turks³⁴. Following the example of Michael Attaliates whom he considers to be an expert of the social conditions in Asia Minor, N. Iorga introduces the notion, if not the term, of class struggle, to account for the rapid occupation of Asia Minor by the Turks. Thus he is one of the later

²⁵ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, I, p. 55—56 and n. 1.

²⁶ A.F. Gfrörer, *Bizantinische Geschichten*, 3 vol., Graz, 1872—1877, III, p. 795 and foll.

²⁷ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, I, p. 69.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 62.

²⁹ Süleyman, now prince of Nicaea (1077) as a result of the struggle for the Byzantine throne which enabled him to play an important role, advanced towards the East after the enthronement of Alexios Comnenus, conquered Anatolia and died in the battle with Tutush (1086). Cl. Huart, in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, IV, p. 220. s.v.

³⁰ P. Wittek, *Deux chapitres de l'histoire des Turcs de Roum*, in "Byzantion", 1936, p. 295—296.

³¹ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 73—74.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 75.

³³ *Ibidem*.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 74.

historians who like Paul Wittek ³⁵ and O. Turan ³⁶ account for the successes obtained by the Turks in Anatolia by the fact that the *ghazis* came to terms with the natives, thus introducing into the Turkicizing process of Anatolia a new and original element.

Cl. Cahun ³⁷ resumed and developed another very just remark of N. Iorga's, regarding the semi-nomad character of the Turkish occupation of Asia Minor; for the Turks, he pointed out, did not intend to occupy territories, but to dominate the roads ³⁸, in order to make their connections with the hinterland secure. Thus this was the main concern of Alp Arslan, unlike the Turkish begs who harassed the Byzantines on land and even on the sea.

The crusades drove back the Turks from the valleys of Anatolia and by strengthening the barrier of the Taurus and by cutting of communications with the hinterland, Asia Minor was left isolated from Syria, Mesopotamia, Azerbaidjan and Iran. However, N. Iorga did not set off the consequences of this isolation which facilitated the Turkicizing of Anatolia, while Syria remained Arabian. He remarked, however, that the greatest Seldjuk Sultan in Rum, 'Ala ed-Din Kaikobad, endeavoured to extend the frontier to the East ³⁹, but did not see all the consequences of this fact.

N. Iorga concentrated his interest especially on the cultural exchanges between the Turks and the Greeks ⁴⁰ who, after the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204 ⁴¹, strengthened their position in Asia Minor. He showed that despite the difference of origin, manners and morals and of religion, the relations between the Turks and the Byzantines were better than those between the minor Byzantine states. They became closer still after the appearance of a common enemy, the Mongols, who as new masters of the East made their way to Asia Minor ⁴² where they crushed the disunited Seldjuk state ⁴³.

³⁵ P. Wittek, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

³⁶ O. Turan, *Les souverains seldjoukides et leurs sujets non-musulmans* in "Studia islamica", I, 1953.

³⁷ Cl. Cahun, *Le régime de la terre et l'occupation turque en Anatolie* in "Journal of World History", II, 1954—1955, p. 573.

³⁸ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 75, 82.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 121.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 122.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 117.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 124 and foll.

⁴³ N. Iorga, *Les causes de la catastrophe de l'Empire ottoman*, Vălenii de Munte, 1913, p. 6.

Though N. Iorga did not grant Čengiz Khan the place he deserved⁴⁴, he admits that it was due to the Mongol expeditions that brought from the deserts of Asia Turkoman elements free from the contamination of the Arabian, Persian and Byzantine civilizations, that the Turkish language and morals and manners acquired supremacy in Anatolia. Unlike the Seldjuks who represented a higher level of civilization of an Iranian type — it was at the court of ‘Ala-el-Din Kaikobad⁴⁵ that the great poet Djelal ed-Din Rumi wrote in the Persian language — the Mongols represented the real Turkish element⁴⁶. In this Nicolae Iorga is wrong, for the Turkomans only accompanied the Mongols to Anatolia where they strengthened the half-nomad Turkoman element that had immigrated previously⁴⁷. But he points out clearly that though the Mongols broke through the defence line at Sivas-Kaisari, they did not conquer the Seldjuk Empire of Rum which appeared however as the vassal of Batu Khan⁴⁸.

After a first attempt to populate Asia Minor and create there a Turkish society and Turkish institutions — an experiment that took place in the Seldjuk period, namely from the 11th to the middle of the 13th centuries, the post-Mongol period represents a decisive stage in the history of the Ottoman origins. N. Iorga pointed out that in this stage the Turks of the Oghuz branch occupied cities and whole regions in Asia Minor. Unlike the Turks who submitted to the Mongol yoke, the warlike Turks resumed their old style of life. The same as Pachymeres, N. Iorga describes their plundering expeditions during which the Turks reached the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, at Miletus, Magnesia, etc., compelling the natives to leave their fields on the fertile banks of the Meander⁴⁹, and disturbing the peace of the isles of Rhodes, Kos, Samos, Tenedos, and even the Cyclades. Based on the information supplied by Pachymeres and Nicephorus Gregoras, N. Iorga deals with the problem of the founding of the Turkish emirates in Asia Minor by the Turks coming down from the mountains under the leadership of emirs such as Alisur, Teke and others. He could not, however, explain it satisfactorily on account of the lack of precise information which he attributed on the one

⁴⁴ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I. p. 128—129. Compare with the article by R. Stübe, *Tschinghiz-chan, seine Staatsbildung und seine Persönlichkeit*, in “*Ilbergs Neue Jahrbücher*”, 1908, n. XXI, p. 532—541.

⁴⁵ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 129—130.

⁴⁷ Cf. art. *Anadolu*, by Fr. Taeschner in “*Encyclopédie de l’Islam*”, ed. Paris, 1960—1964, I, p. 481.

⁴⁸ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 131.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 136.

hand to the rather rapid extinction of the "valiant but short-lived" dynasties in the emirates of Kermian, Tekke, Aïdin, Mentеше, Karasi and even Karaman, and on the other, to the limited relations between these emirates and Byzantium, which he considered as the only state that kept up-to-date chronicles ⁵⁰.

At present, after the publication of the important epigraphic material found in Asia Minor ⁵¹ and the partial publication of the ancient Ottoman chronicles ⁵², especially of the chronicle of Enveri ⁵³, as well as the important works of P. Wittek ⁵⁴ and P. Lemerle ⁵⁵ on the emirates of Aïdin and Mentеше, we know far more than 50 years ago on the past history of some of these emirates. Besides, due to the works of J. Laurent ⁵⁶, Mükrimin Khalil ⁵⁷, P. Wittek ⁵⁸, Cl. Cahun ⁵⁹, and others ⁶⁰, we are acquainted with the broad lines of the history of the Turkish penetration in Asia Minor, though there are no monographs on the aspects of the political and social life of the time and on oriental sources.

⁵⁰ N. Iorga, *Lalins et Grecs d'Orient et l'établissement des Turcs en Europe (1342—1362)*, in "Études byzantines", II, Bucharest, 1940, p. 280.

⁵¹ Cf. Huart, *Épigraphie arabe de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1895. Cf. also "Journal asiatique", XVI and XVII, 1900—1901, "Revue sémitique", VI, 1898; "Der Islam", XX, 1932, p. 109 and foll. XXII, 1932, p. 69 and foll.

⁵² Fr. Babinger, *Die Frühosmanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch*, Hanovra, 1925; Fr. Giese, *Die osmanische Chronik des 'Aşikpaşazâde*, Leipzig, 1929; idem, *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken in Text und Übersetzung*, I, II, Breslau, 1922, Leipzig, 1925; Fr. Taeschner, T. Menzel, *Gihannuma, die altosmanische Chronik des Mevlana M. Neschri*, Leipzig, 1951.

⁵³ *Düsturname-i Enveri*, ed. Mükrimin Halil Yinanç., Istanbul, 1928; Irène Mélikoff-Sayar, *Le destan d'Umur pacha*, Paris, 1954.

⁵⁴ P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentеше. Studie zur Geschichte Westkleinasiens im XIII.—XV. Jahrh.*, Constantinople, 1934.

⁵⁵ P. Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydın. Byzance et l'Occident. Recherches sur la geste d'Umur pacha*, Paris, 1957.

⁵⁶ J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjukides dans l'Asie Occidentale jusqu'en 1081*, Nancy, 1913.

⁵⁷ Mükrimin Halil, *Türkiye tarihi, Selçuklu devri, I, Anadolunun fethi*, Istanbul, 1934.

⁵⁸ P. Wittek, *Deux chapitres de l'histoire des Turcs de Roum*, 1, in "Byzantion", XI, 1936, p. 285—302.

⁵⁹ Cl. Cahun, *Les grandes lignes de l'histoire de la pénétration turque en Anatolie et en Syrie...*, in *Actes du XXX^e Congrès Intern. des Orientalistes*, Louvain, 1940; idem, *Première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure*, in "Byzantion", XVIII, 1948, p. 8 and foll.

⁶⁰ Cf. Edhem (Eldem), *Garbl Anadolu'da Selçukların varisleri*, Istanbul, 1926; M.F. Köprülü, *Anadolu Beylikleri Tarihine ait Nollar* in "Turkiyat Mecmuası", II, 1928, p. 1—32; M.I. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoynlu, Karakoynlu Devletleri*, Ankara, 1937; Himmet Akın, *Aydın Oğulları Tarihi hakkında bir Araştırma*, Ankara, 1946; B. Flemming, *Landschaftsgeschichte von Pamphylien, Pisidien und Lykien in Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden, 1964.

It is, however, N. Iorga's indisputable merit to have shown that the Turks did not enter history only after the Seldjuk conquest, as all historians before him considered, and to have based his history of the Ottoman Empire on the investigation of the history of the primitive Turkish tribes. It is also one of his merits to have set off the importance of Seldjuk Anatolia as the cradle of the future Ottoman state and empire, which is no longer represented as the creation of a new people who appeared in Asia Minor, but as a political formation within the existing setting of Turkish life in Seldjuk Anatolia. This fundamental thesis which appears in the first book of volume one of the *History of the Ottoman Empire*, under the title "Ancient History of the Turkish Tribes and of their State Formations" establish N. Iorga's reputation as a precursor of the research subsequently performed in Turkish historiography by Mehmed Fuad Köprülü⁶¹, and in Western Turcology by Paul Wittek⁶², Fr. Giese⁶³, W.L. Langer and R.P. Blake⁶⁴, and Ernst Werner⁶⁵.

Considering the importance of this basic thesis, the shortcomings⁶⁶ and the imperfections⁶⁷ inherent to a study of the ancient history of the Turkish tribes and the history of the Seldjuks, written at the beginning of our century, are immaterial. They are all the more accountable as the sources regarding these complex problems have not yet been the object of any critical studies.

Monographs and works will have to be written to depict the peculiar aspects of the political and social life in the Seldjuk epoch,

⁶¹ Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Les Origines de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris, 1935 (Études Orientales publiées par l'Institut français d'Archéologie de Stamboul, III).

⁶² P. Wittek, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

⁶³ Fr. Giese, *Das Problem der Entstehung des osmanischen Reiches*, in "Zeitschrift für Semistik und verwandte Gebiete", II, 1924, p. 246—271.

⁶⁴ W.L. Langer and R.P. Blake, *The Rise of the Ottoman Türks and its Historical Background*, in "American Historical Review", XXXVII, 1931, p. 468—505.

⁶⁵ Ernst Werner, *Die Geburt einer Grossmacht: die Osmanen*, p. 24 and foll.

⁶⁶ Nicolae Iorga does not mention the consequences of the reconquest of Constantinople by emperor Michael Palaeologus (1261) which brought about the decline of the Asiatic provinces of the former Empire of Nicaea as consequence of the emigration of the population to the Balkan Peninsula, as well as of the abolishing of local privileges. Cf. Finlay, *History of Greece*, Oxford, 1877, III, p. 358 and foll.

⁶⁷ The ancient Turkish title of Kagan, borne by the leaders of the Turks, the Khazans and the Avars, has nothing in common with that of Emperor of Emperors (N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* I, p. 58) which is the ancient Persian title "Shah-i Shahan" borne by the Seldjuks too in the 12th cent. "Alais" der lydische Räuberhüptling von Alaia" (*Ibidem*, p. 141) is in fact the last Seldjuk emperor Ala ed-Din III. During the reign of the Byzantine emperor Andronicus Comnenus, the Seldjuks did not penetrate into Thrace (Thrazien) (*Ibidem*, p. 112—113) but included in the theme of Thrakision parts of Phrygia, Lydia and Ionia (Cf. Nicetas Akominatos, ed. Bonn, p. 481).

an epoch which constitutes a necessary introduction to a better understanding of the Islamic world whose civilization it renewed by adding to it ancient Turkish traditions unknown to primitive Islam.

4. BEGINNINGS OF THE OTTOMAN EMIRATE

Among the Turkish emirates which were not the result of a methodical organization of the Seldjuks, but that of the wish for plunder and raids — as Nicolae Iorga pointed out — the emirate of Osman was far from being the most powerful. Founded later than the other emirates by the chieftain of an Oghuz tribe coming to Asia Minor after the first Seldjuk conquest⁶⁸, it succeeded, despite its unimportance and its small territory, in extending to the detriment of the Byzantine possessions in the hinterland and on the coast of the Bosphorus and the Marmara Sea and in asserting its preponderance in Anatolia⁶⁹ due to the successes obtained in the attacks upon Byzance.

To account for this amazing expansion, N. Iorga begins by mentioning very carefully the data known at his time on the beginnings of the Ottoman dynasty, recommending researchers that the Turkish sources regarding the first two centuries of Ottoman history should be submitted to a careful and strict criticism. He gives as argument the fact that the Ottoman chronicles appeared late; they were of legendary character⁷⁰, and they showed an obvious tendency to bestow on the Ottoman dynasty unquestionable legitimacy by

⁶⁸ Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Les origines de l'Empire ottoman*, p. 15.

⁶⁹ Cf. N. Iorga, in "Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'Europe sud-orientale", 1916, p. 8.

⁷⁰ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, preface and p. 152–153. H.A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire. A History of the Osmanlis up to the Death of Bayezid I (1300–1403)*, Oxford, 1916, p. 18 and n. 4, does not share this opinion. He maintains that, in default of authentic facts, traditions should be used and not despised and ignored. H.A. Gibbon's criticism of Iorga's opinion does not seem to be justified, considering that at the time when the *History of the Ottoman Empire* was being written its author could not have been acquainted with the legendary traditions in the 15th cent. Ottoman chronicles which fall into two groups: a) the group represented by Ahmedi (*Iskender-name*, ed. N.S. Banarlı, in "Türkiyat Mecmuası", VII (1936–9, p. 113 and foll., p. 75–77), Shukrullah, *Behdjet ül-tevarikh*, ed. Th. Seif, in *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*, II, 1925, p. 76–78) and Karamani Mehmed Pasha (translated by M. Khalil (Yinanç), in "Tarikh-i Osmani (Türk Tarihi) endjümeni medjuması", XIV, 1924, p. 85 and foll.), and b) the group represented by Urudj ben Adil, ed. Fr. Babinger, p. 6–7; 'Ashik Pasha-zade, ed. Fr. Giese, par. 2, and *Anonymous Chronicle*, published by Fr. Giese, p. 5 and foll., which is the basis of the *Annals of Leunclavius*, used by N. Iorga (*op. cit.*, I, p. 152 and foll.).

establishing ties of blood ⁷¹ and vassalage ⁷² and even heritage ⁷³ with the Seldjuks of Konya, namely with the great sultan 'Ala ed-Din II.

According to these observations, subsequently developed by the German historian Fr. Babinger ⁷⁴ and accepted by researchers today, N. Iorga compared the legendary traditions concluded in the chronicles which he had had access to (the Annals of Leunclavius and the compilation made at a later date by Sa'd ed-Din) with the more accurate information conveyed by the great Byzantine poly-historian Pachymeres and by the humanist Laonicus Chalcocondylas who had preserved a certain amount of information independent of the Ottoman tradition.

It was on account of the lack of precise data regarding the origin of the Ottomans which the Byzantines did not concern themselves with, not because the lack of genuine information — as the English historian Herbert Adam Gibbons ⁷⁵ alleges — but because of the indifference and contempt for a past unconnected with the history of Byzantium, that N. Iorga had to resort to legends. But he did not make use of them to find “dates, facts and a succession corresponding to reality” ⁷⁶ — as H.A. Gibbons tried to do later — but only to set off the doubtful elements subsequently introduced in the 15th century in order to glorify the actually very humble beginnings of the Ottoman empire which attained remarkable brilliance during the reigns of sultans Mehmed II and Süleyman I.

In his *History of the Ottoman Empire*, N. Iorga shows that not a single element in the legend of Süleyman “Shah”, the legendary ancestor of Osman, the leader of an Oghuz tribe immigrating from the region of the Euphrates in Asia Minor is confirmed by reliable sources ⁷⁷. Later on he put forward the plausible hypothesis that the

⁷¹ According to the version in Anonymous Giese (p. 5), Urudj ben Adil (p. 8) and 'Ashik Pasha-zade, Ertogrul seems to be the son of Süleyman Shah.

⁷² According to Urudj's version, Ertogrul seems to have received from sultan 'Ala ed-Din the region around Söğüd with winter pastures and the hills, Domanić and Ermenibeli as summer pastures. N. Iorga agrees there was a vassalage relation (“Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'Europe sud-orientale”, 1916, p. 5, 6).

⁷³ N. Iorga (*op. cit.*, I, p. 156) quotes the clauses of the alleged will of 'Ala ed-Din II, who seems to have left the Ottomans the towns of Eski Shehir, Kiutahia and even Ankara.

⁷⁴ Fr. Babinger, *Origin and phases of the development of Ottoman Historiography*, Bucharest, 1938, p. 4 (Rom. version).

⁷⁵ H.A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 18.

⁷⁶ N. Iorga in “Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'Europe sud-orientale”, 1916, p. 3.

⁷⁷ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 150—151.

legend might be connected, on the one hand with the memory of Süleyman I the Magnificent, and on the other with the earliest claims of the Ottomans to the regions of the Euphrates which at the time of Mehmed II were under the domination of Uzun Hasan ⁷⁸, the khan of the Turkomans.

The criticism of the legendary traditions which blurred the obscure beginnings of the Ottomans has been confirmed by subsequent researches ⁷⁹. The latter have proved that certain themes such as Osman's prophetic dream which in fact is part of the tradition of Ertogrul ⁸⁰, were widely circulated in the Turkish world, and were applied in the 13th century to the father of Mahmud of Ghazna ⁸¹ and, at the beginning of the 14th century, to the father of Tughrul ⁸².

Nicolae Iorga's ⁸³ keen critical spirit prevented him from making the mistake H.A. Gibbons made when he relied on two legends to maintain that Osman and his tribe were converted to Islamism ⁸⁴. As a matter of fact these legends reveal the wish to legitimize, through divine intervention, the hegemony of Osman over the other Turkish tribes in Asia Minor.

5. THE OTTOMAN ADVANCE IN ANATOLIA

Grounded on the information included in the Annals of Leunclavius, whose special importance is acknowledged by experts today, N. Iorga reconstituted in broad lines, without giving any precise dates, the advance of the semi-nomad Turkish tribe led by Ertogrul

⁷⁸ N. Iorga, in "Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'Europe sud-orientale", 1916, p. 4.

⁷⁹ Cf. P. Wittek in "Der Islam", XIV, 1925, p. 95–100 and in "Byzantion", 1936, p. 303–304.

⁸⁰ A tradition recorded by 'Ashik Pasha-zade. Cf. Kramers in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, III, p. 1074.

⁸¹ By Djüzdjani, *Tabakat-i Neşiri*. Cf. art. by M. Fuad Köprülü in *Islam Ansi-klopedisi*, 3 Cilt. Istanbul, 1945, p. 234 and foll.

⁸² Cf. Rashid ed-Din in *Djami al-tovarikh*. Cf. E. Blochet, *Djami el-Tevarikh, histoire générale du monde par Fadl Allah Rashid ed-Din, Tarikh-i Moubarek-i Ghazani, histoire des Mongols*, tome II. Contenant l'histoire des empereurs mongols successeurs de Tchinkkiz Khaghan (G.M.S., XVIII₂), London, 1911. The Turk scholar Mehmed Fuad Köprülü (*Les origines de l'Empire ottoman*, p. 12–13) puts forward the hypothesis that this legend must have been applied to the Ottoman dynasty out of respect for Rashid ed-Din.

⁸³ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 157.

⁸⁴ H.A. Gibbons, *op. cit.*, p. 23 and foll.

who seems to have been granted the military feud of Sögüd⁸⁵ by the Seldjuk sultan 'Ala ed-Din II, and then by Osman, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty.

N. Iorga depicts the Greek environment amid which the new political formation of the Ottomans began to take shape; it extended gradually, to the detriment of the Byzantine feudal lords and reached Yeni Shehir which was to be used as a base for future conquests across the Byzantine frontier in the valley of the river Sangarios⁸⁶, towards Brusa and Nicaea. He considers that owing to the proximity of the Byzantine Empire, which was poorly protected⁸⁷ and even plundered by the foreign mercenaries in its pay, and threatened by the Slavs in the Balkan Peninsula, the Ottomans were able to win the victories of Baphaeon (Koyun Hisar) (1301) and Philokrene (1331) conquering Brusa (1326)⁸⁸ and Nicaea (1331)⁸⁹ which became starting points of the Ottoman expansion which was to extend naturally to Europe, as an advance in other directions would have produced conflicts with the great emirates in the centre of Anatolia and those on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea⁹⁰.

The successes of the Catalan expedition in the Byzantine possessions in Asia Minor (1304) support the above-mentioned thesis⁹¹. These successes prove on the one hand that the Ottoman Turks could have been defeated at the beginning of the 14th century⁹², and on the other, they set off the lack of organization and cohesion of the Byzantines.

⁸⁵ The Ottoman chronicles (Fr. Giese, *Die altosmanische Chronik des 'Aşikpasâzade*, Leipzig, 1929, p. 8; F. Taeschner, T. Menzel, *Ğihamnuma. Die altosmanische Chronik des Mevlana Mehmed Neschri*, I, p. 12), point out that Ertogrul received the town of Sögüd as "yurt" or wintering place (kishlak) with the Domanic mountains as grazing place, which suited his character of leader of a semi-nomad population.

⁸⁶ The strategical value of this frontier is pointed out by Pachymeres (ed. Bonn, I, p. 502 and foll.)

⁸⁷ N. Iorga considers that the Empire of the Paleologi is rather a continuation of the Latin Empire of Constantinople than that of the East Roman Empire. Cf. *Latins et Grecs d'Orient et l'établissement des Turcs en Europe*, in *Études byzantines*, II, p. 280.

⁸⁸ Cf. *Short Chronicle* of the cod. Mosq. gr. 426 in "Vizantiiskij Vremennik", 2, 1949, p. 282.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 283.

⁹⁰ N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Dunării* (The Question of the Danube) (*Istorie a Europei răsăritene în legătură cu această chestie*) (History of Eastern Europe in Connection with this Question), Vălenii de Munte, 1913, p. 148.

⁹¹ Cf. *idem*, in "Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'Europe sud-orientale", 1916, p. 8.

⁹² The evidence of Pachymeres, Gregoras and Muntaner shows that the Turks withdrew for a time, fearing the Catalans.

It thus ensues clearly from Nicolae Iorga's exposition that the successes won by the Ottoman Turks against the Byzantine army, helpless or absent, aided them to acquire preponderance in Anatolia⁹³, a preponderance they could never have attained by fighting the local Turkish emirs. This thesis was to be resumed and developed by H.A. Gibbons who justly observed that the Ottoman Turks were able to extend their domination in Anatolia only after the conquest of the Balkan Peninsula⁹⁴.

In the version of the old anonymous chronicle *Tevarikh-i al-i Osman* (History of the Ottoman Dynasty) translated by Leunclavius, N. Iorga discovered an element which was analysed later by a German specialist in Turkish history, to justify the expansion of the Ottoman conquest in Anatolia at the beginning of the 14th century. The point in question is the "ghazi"⁹⁵ character of the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, "Osman ghazi ibn Ertoghru" and of his fellow fighters. N. Iorga emphasizes it showing that bands of *ghazi* set out on expeditions against the Byzantines with a view to extending the Ottoman domination in Anatolia⁹⁶. This thesis was to be developed by the German scholar in Turk history Paul Wittek in an original work, written in a rather stiff manner however, where he explains the Turkicization of Asia Minor and the Ottoman advance through the *ghazi* movement of a military and mystical religious character, in which the idea of holy war (*ghaza*) combines with the spirit of adventure, with the desire for glory and plunder⁹⁷.

To explain the unexpected extension of the emirate of Osman and Orkhan, N. Iorga puts forwards the hypothesis of an increase of the Ottoman military potential due to the influx of Turks from the other emirates who "seeing they could no longer earn anything as pirates" came under their standard⁹⁸.

⁹³ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 158.

⁹⁴ H.A. Gibbons, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

⁹⁵ The Ottoman Chronicles (Fr. Giese, *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken*, I, p. 1 and foll.; Neshri, ed. F. Taeschner, T. Menzel, I, p. 32) depict Osman as a chieftain of *ghazis*, protector of errant warriors. In the inscription at Brusa dated 1337, the successor of Osman, Orkhan calls himself "Sultan, son of the Sultan of *ghazis*, *ghazi*, son of a *ghazi* (apud P. Wittek, *Deux chapitres de l'histoire des Turcs de Roum*, in "Byzantion", XI, 1936, p. 305). Prof. Halil Inalcik considers Osman as the chieftain of a semi-nomad group of "kay", surrounded by *ghazi* warriors (*Actes du premier congrès international des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes*, III, *Histoire* (V^e–XV^e ss.; XV^e–XVII^e ss.), Sofia, 1969, p. 77).

⁹⁶ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, I, p. 155–156.

⁹⁷ P. Wittek, *op. cit.*, p. 291, 302 and foll. Cf. and the lecture of P. Wittek in *Oestsch, genotschap in Nederland. Verslag von achttes Congres*, Leiden, 1936, p. 2–7.

⁹⁸ N. Iorga, in "Bulletin pour l'étude de l'Europe sud-orientale", 1916, p. 8.

The researches of Marxist historiography confirm the fact that “a great number of military volunteers of various ethnic origins from other Moslem countries and especially from the Anatolian emirates entered the service of the Ottoman state⁹⁹”, stating that “what attracted the nomad aristocracy which was in process of feudalization was the possibility of easy conquests, the invading of new regions and the seizing of war loot”¹⁰⁰.

N. Iorga analyzes the Ottoman way of fighting which he considers was based on the old Mongol tactics supplemented by certain methods borrowed from the Byzantines¹⁰¹. Considering the armament of the time, the Ottoman bands had more cohesion than the mercenary armies of Byzantium, they were animated by a more lively warlike spirit and could be more easily mustered, for with the Turks the men were all accustomed to war, they lived for war and lived on war, while the Ottoman light cavalry was more mobile, very much like the Mongol cavalry.

All this accounts for the victories over the imperial Byzantine army and the Byzantine system of fortifications which included citadels such as Brusa, conquered only in 1326, Nicaea and Nicomedia occupied in 1331¹⁰².

To explain the slow Ottoman infiltration which had spread over the Byzantine territory, isolating the towns and the market towns and cutting off their connections with the Byzantine central authority — according to ancient Turkoman tactics — N. Iorga emphasized the policy carried on by the emirs Osman and Orkhan designed to win over the Greek population which they protected against the robberies of the Turkomans¹⁰³, acknowledging the freedom of their cult. The merchants enjoyed exceptional conditions,

⁹⁹ *Istoria universală* (sub redacția lui E.M. Jukov) (World History. Edited by E.M. Jukov), III, Edit. Științifică, Bucharest, 1960, p. 734.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 735.

¹⁰¹ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 166.

¹⁰² Cf. *Istoria universală* (World History), edited by E.M. Jukov, III, p. 735.

¹⁰³ The Ottoman Chronicles of 'Ashik Pasha-zade (ed. Fr. Giese, p. 40—41) and Neshri (ed. Fr. Taeschner. T. Menzel, I, p. 46) state that Süleyman son of Orkhan had established so just an order that the “population of the regions Tarakli Yenicesi, Goynuk and Mudurnu were sorry they had not entered under his domination earlier”. If these chroniclers might be said to have been biased, Shehab ed-din al 'Umari (1300—1348) who was a contemporary of Osman and of Orkhan and hostile to the Ottomans acknowledged that, during their expeditions in Asia Minor, they spared the peasants. Cf. *Masalik al-Absar fi mamalik al-ansar*, ed. Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits des mss. de la bibliothèque du roi*, XIII, Paris, 1838, p. 370. Nicephorus Gregoras (ed. Bonn, I, p. 458) writes that after the conquest of Nicaea and the occupation of the sea shore of Bithynia, the Turks “did not massacre the entire population, though they could have done it very easily and very quickly”.

they paid very low taxes (*badj*)¹⁰⁴ compared to those of the Byzantine fiscal system. The Turks did not come as natural adversaries of the Greek population whose language some of them knew, or not as conquerors either¹⁰⁵.

N. Iorga considered as groundless the old historical conception that the Ottoman conquest had the character of an avalanche due to their religious fanaticism¹⁰⁶, which was characteristic of the Arabs only, not of the Turks converted to Islam for political reasons.

According to this conception, later on shared by H.A. Gibbons¹⁰⁷ and O. Tukan¹⁰⁸, the Ottoman conquest of Asia Minor seems to have consisted of acts of submission on the part of the Greek population left to its fate, and hopeless. Besides, there were acts of vassalage in consequence of which Orkhan was to acquire the regions forming the province of Kodja-Ili¹⁰⁹. There were also kinship relations through which the Ottoman emirs and sultans extended their domination to the detriment of the Turkish emirates in Anatolia¹¹⁰. Thus it was Nicolae Iorga who pointed out that the Ottoman expansion did not occur only to the detriment of the Byzantine possessions¹¹¹ — as it had been thought before, on the basis of the analysis of the Byzantine and Ottoman chronicles — but on account of certain Anatolian emirates such as the emirate of Hamid and Germiyan.

All these elements, emphasized by N. Iorga, helped to hasten the conclusion of the conquest of the Byzantine possessions in Asia Minor, making of the emirate of Orkhan¹¹² the most powerful state in Anatolia, on the basis of which the future Osmanli's empire was to rise.

¹⁰⁴ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 156.

¹⁰⁵ N. Iorga, *Histoire de la vie byzantine*, III, p. 226—227.

¹⁰⁶ Idem, in "Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'Europe sud-orientale", 1916, p. 11.

¹⁰⁷ H.A. Gibbons, *op. cit.*, p. 156—159, 185 and foll.

¹⁰⁸ O. Turan, *Les souverains seldjoukides et leurs sujets non-musulmans*, in "Studia Islamica", I, 1953, p. 33.

¹⁰⁹ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 170.

¹¹⁰ Through the marriage of Bayazid I to the daughter of the emir of Germiyan (1381), a part of the latter's territories, together with the town of Kutahya became Ottoman possessions.

¹¹¹ We mention that in a subsequent work N. Iorga renounced this thesis, which is of present day interest, maintaining that the Ottoman Turks must have had in view as their only goal the conquest of the Byzantine possessions, as the advance in other directions would have started a conflict with the Anatolian emirates. See N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Dunării* (The Question of the Danube), p. 148.

¹¹² In a short note on the biography of Orkhan written by Fr. Babinger in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, N. Iorga maintains that this emir should be considered "the founder of the Ottoman state, not of the Ottoman Empire" ("Revue historique du sud-est européen" 1936, p. 93).

6. SETTLING OF THE TURKS IN EUROPE

In the 14th century the Byzantine Empire was greatly undermined by serious internal crises, started on the economic and social plan by the struggle of the town bourgeoisie against the big provincial feudals, which assumed a political aspect too through the dynastic conflict between the Palaeologi and the Cantacuzeni. The opposition between the imperial absolutism, the federalism tendencies of the feudals and the bourgeoisie's aspirations after the autonomy of the towns, helped to further the Ottoman advance, a fact acknowledged by the historians of our epoch ¹¹³.

N. Iorga shows that at the time when the Balkan Peninsula was torn by the fights for the imperial throne between Andronicus II the Elder and his grandson Andronicus III the Younger and later by the civil war between John V Paleologus and John VI Cantacuzenus, the Ottoman Turks crossed the Hellespont and several times took part in this conflict as mercenaries. The Byzantines looked upon them as less dangerous than a Momčilo or a Dobrotiči who had become high officials and chiefs of state¹¹⁴. Orkhan's Ottomans were considered less dangerous even than the Turks of Umur beg of Aidin, the master of the seas, Θαλασσοκρατωρ, who ravaged Thrace, plundered Crete and the ports in the south of Morea, and disturbed navigation in the Eastern basin of the Mediterranean Sea until the West organized an expedition for the conquest of Smyrna, the starting point of the plundering raids ¹¹⁵.

After losing the aid of Umur beg, occupied with the fight against the Western League ¹¹⁶, John VI Cantacuzenus appealed to the Turks of Orkhan, who twice came near Constantinople and were billeted in the future capital city of their European possessions, Adrianople (1352) ¹¹⁷. In the opinion of the Romanian historian the responsibility for calling the Ottoman Turks to Europe should be attributed exclusively to Cantacuzenus who seems to have thrown all the blame on the legitimate government in Constantinople only to conceal his own actions from posterity. The Serbian scholar of

¹¹³ G. Ostrogorsky, *Histoire de l'État byzantin*, Paris, 1956, p. 521, 524; E. Werner, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

¹¹⁴ N. Iorga, *Les causes de la catastrophe de l'Empire ottoman*, Vălenii de Munte, 1913, p. 7-8.

¹¹⁵ N. Iorga points out that the Latin interference in the Turkish East, initiated by Clement VI, the protector of Armenia, was determined by the commercial interests of Genoa at Smyrna and at Phocaea where Zaccaria exploited the alum (*Essai de synthèse de l'histoire de l'humanité*, Paris, 1927, II, p. 492).

¹¹⁶ N. Iorga, *Latins et Grecs d'Orient*, in *Études Byzantines*, II, p. 296.

¹¹⁷ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 193.

Byzantine lore G. Ostrogorsky pointed out, however, that this thesis should be carefully analysed, for it was not the mistakes committed by Cantacuzenus that opened up to the Turks the way to Europe, but the state of decline of the Byzantine Empire¹¹⁸.

On the basis of the memories of Cantacuzenus, which despite their apologetic character are superior to the intricate narration, full of chronological errors and of omissions, of Nicephorus Gregoras, N. Iorga gave a very good description of the period of these dynastic struggles in which "Palaeologi and Cantacuzeni were the leaders and the Turks, soldiers under a Greek flag", got to know "all the parts of Thrace and Macedonia, as far as the Balkans and the Pindus"¹¹⁹ and even tried to conquer at Hieron a point of support for their future plundering expeditions in the Balkan Peninsula¹²⁰.

In *Histoire de la vie byzantine* Nicolae Iorga maintains that during the dynastic struggles the inhabitants of the European provinces got used to the Turks while the family alliances contracted between their emirs and the Cantacuzeni and the Palaeologi conferred upon the descendants of Osman the prestige of descendants of the old Byzantine families¹²¹.

In his work and especially in *Latins et Grecs d'Orient et l'établissement des Turcs en Europe* which is an authority today too despite the discovery of a source as important as the *Destan* of Enveri¹²², N. Iorga dwells upon the initiative of Cantacuzenus who through the settling of the Turks of Süleyman Pasha in the camp at Tzympe (1352) aimed at having his allies at hand, if need be¹²³.

Nicolae Iorga compares this policy with the one carried on by emperor Frederic II with the Arabs of Lucera, with the only difference that in the state of decline of the Byzantine Empire the Ottoman allies could not be kept in check, the proof being their ceaseless plunderings. The problem is resumed in *Essai de synthèse de l'histoire de l'humanité* in which Nicolae Iorga describes the settling of the Turks in the European camp where they continued living in the open air, in tents, as they had done in Asia, showing that it was part of the Byzantine Imperial system "accustomed to amalgamate in order to destroy or to pacify"¹²⁴.

¹¹⁸ G. Ostrogorsky, *Histoire de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris, 1956, p. 542.

¹¹⁹ N. Iorga, *Histoire de la vie byzantine*, III, p. 231.

¹²⁰ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 174.

¹²¹ Idem, *Histoire de la vie byzantine*, III, p. 231.

¹²² On the importance of Enveri's chronicle, *Düstürname*, cf. P. Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Agdın. Byzance et l'Occident. Recherches sur la geste d'Umur pacha*, Paris, 1957.

¹²³ N. Iorga, *Histoire de la vie byzantine*, I, c.

¹²⁴ N. Iorga, *Essai de synthèse de l'histoire de l'humanité*, II, p. 506.

The result was far from the expected one. The entrance of the Turks into Gallipoli, ruined by the earthquake of 1354, offered the Turks the opportunity to settle in Europe, taking advantage of the favourable conditions created by the dynastic conflict at Constantinople and of the Venetian-Genoese war for the domination of the Levant¹²⁵. As a matter of fact Gallipoli, an important bridge-head on the European shore of the Dardanelles, was a safe shelter for the boats of the pirates and a landing point for the new settlers¹²⁶ coming from Anatolia which had become too small for them.

Nicolae Iorga followed these mercenaries who — when the Byzantine dynastic conflict came to an end — became again highwaymen. He followed their advance along the great trade routes that led North towards Adrianople, Nish and Belgrade, or towards the Romanian Danube, and West towards Thessalonika “to be able to descend to the Morea peninsula or to take the direction of Via Ignatia that leads to Durazzo and the Adriatic Sea”¹²⁷. Through the conquest of the towns of Thrace: Burgas, Tzurulos (Çorlu), Mesini (Karishtiran), Demotica and then Rodosto, to culminate with the conquest of Adrianople (1362) and of Philipopolis, reaching the other side at Ispala, Makri and Cumurgina (Gümüldjine) the Ottomans became the masters of all the roads in the Balkan Peninsula.

Nicolae Iorga maintains that this advance was facilitated on the one hand by the difficulties Byzantium had to face after the end of the dynastic conflict¹²⁸ and, on the other, by the fact the descendants of Osman had acquired preponderance over the emirs of Teke and Germyian¹²⁹, by the abolition of the emirate of Karasi and by the weakening of the emirates of Sarukhan and of Aïdin.

The new situation in Anatolia enabled the Turks of Murad I (1359—1389) to concentrate all their forces in Europe and to organize their conquests, and abandoning their old semi-nomad way of life in Asia to start organizing the occupied regions according to the Serbians' feudal system in force in the Balkan Peninsula.

The settling of the Turks in Europe is therefore not a “passing invasion but a lasting colonization that was soon to change . . . the appearance of the occupied provinces”¹³⁰.

¹²⁵ Idem, *Latins et Grecs d'Orient et l'établissement des Turcs en Europe (1342—1362)*, in *Études Byzantines*, II, p. 317 and foll.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 320.

¹²⁷ N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Dunării* (The Question of the Danube), p. 149.

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 150.

¹²⁹ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 158.

¹³⁰ Idem, *Histoire de la vie byzantine*, III, p. 253—254. The thesis is resumed by H. Inalcık, *Ottoman Methods of Conquest* in “*Studia Islamica*”, II, 1954, p. 122—123.

It is the merit of Nicolae Iorga to have pointed out that after the death of Süleyman Pasha (1357), the founder of the province of Pasha Sandjak, the conquest of Thrace continued under Turkish begs such as Lala Shahin, Hadjdji Ilbeki, Evrenos, whom he considered to be at the orders of sultan Murad I and not founders of political formations which later on surrendered to Murad I¹³¹. He believed that the conquest of Adrianople had been started by order of the sultan; it was not an independent action of the local begs¹³².

The transferring under the reign of Murad I of the Ottoman capital to Adrianople proves the importance acquired by "the European design of his political creation"¹³³. In consequence the Turkish question was to "acquire great importance in world history"¹³⁴.

7. THE OTTOMAN EXPANSION IN THE BALKAN PENINSULA AND THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CONQUERORS AND THE SUBJUGATED POPULATION

After the conquest of Adrianople which became the capital city of the European possessions consisting of a number of chance conquests¹³⁵, the Turks, shows Nicolae Iorga, resumed on their own "the rivalry between the rulers of the Black Sea and the masters of Macedonia"¹³⁶.

Endeavouring to take possession of the great trade routes, they advanced towards the valleys of Macedonia and towards the ports on the Adriatic Sea¹³⁷, taking advantage, remarked N. Iorga, of the local quarrels following upon the death of Stefan Dušan¹³⁸, of the political disintegration of the Slav and Albanian feudal¹³⁹ formations in the Balkan Peninsula and of the conflicts between

¹³¹ See I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I*, Monachii, 1967, pp. 46, 48.

¹³² N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 210.

¹³³ I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *La conquête d'Andrinople par les Turcs; la pénétration turque en Thrace et la valeur des chroniques ottomanes*, in *Travaux et mémoires*, I, Paris, 1966, p. 451. H. Inalcık agrees with N. Iorga's thesis, *Edirne'nin Felhi (1361)* (Conquest of Adrianople) in *Edirne Edirne'nin 600 Felhi Yıldönümü*, Ankara, 1965, p. 159.

¹³⁴ N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Dunării* (The Question of the Danube), p. 150.

¹³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 160; See also *Rapports entre l'État des Osmanlis et les nations des Balkans*, in "Revue internationale des études balkaniques", 1935, pp. 131–132.

¹³⁶ N. Iorga, *Histoire de la vie byzantine*, III, p. 234–235.

¹³⁷ *Idem*, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 214.

¹³⁸ *Idem*, *Histoire de la vie byzantine*, III, p. 235.

¹³⁹ *Idem*, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 236 and foll.

the Byzantines, the Bulgarians and the Serbians heightened by the struggle between Venice and Genoa for supremacy in the Levant.

Thus Nicolae Iorga considers a confirmation of his theory the fact that at the time the Turks were not fighting for territorial conquests, but for mastery over the roads. They made no real attempts to occupy territories after the defeat of the Serbian offensive on the banks of the Maritza, at Černomen¹⁴⁰ (1371). Indeed the only consequence of the “crushing of the Serbians” (*Sirp sindirghi*) was the settling of a certain number of begs in the Western mountain regions in the Balkans¹⁴¹ and the possibility of advancing beyond the Vardar, after occupying the Macedonian towns of Seres, Drama, Kavalla. The battle near the river Voiusa (1385) against the new Slav formation of the Balša dynasty of Zeta, the former Dioclea, and the subjugation of Albania gave them access to the ports on the Adriatic. And after prince Lazar attempted to stop at Pločnik, in 1388, the expeditions of the akindjis — there was another great battle, the third, against the Northern Serbians, near the Danube. Contrary to the general opinion in historiography, N. Iorga considers the battle of Kosovopolje (1389) as “a dramatic and sanguinary incident”, and not a battle between “a Serbian and a Turkish unit”¹⁴². He maintains that at Kosovo, the fate of a state was not at stake, as the Serbians did not lose their territory after this centre of their resistance had been crushed¹⁴³.

Nicolae Iorga justly remarks that at the time, the Ottoman possessions had no well-defined shape¹⁴⁴. They increased in proportion as increased the conquests obtained by the advanced feudal chieftains of the Turks, Lala Shahin, Evrenos, Djandarli Khalil Pasha, Timurtash as well as those of the akindjis. This is proved by the military actions in Western Thrace, in Macedonia, Epirus and Albania, as well as the conquest of the Bulgarian citadels (Sofia, Šumla) which gradually led to the subjugation of the czardoms of Widin and Tirnovo annexed only after the defeat of the expedition of king Sigismund at Nicopolis.

This observation is justified indirectly by the impossibility of distinguishing, at the present stage of our information, between the

¹⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 211–212.

¹⁴¹ N. Iorga, *Rapports entre l'État des Osmanlis et les nations des Balkans*, p. 131.

¹⁴² N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane* (The Question of the Mediterranean Sea), Vălenii de Munte, 1914, p. 150; idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 261.

¹⁴³ N. Iorga, *Rapports entre l'État des Osmanlis et les nations des Balkans*, p. 131–132.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*.

invasions of the Turkish bands and the Ottoman expeditions planned by Murad I¹⁴⁵ for the strengthening of the situation created after a number of private initiatives¹⁴⁶.

On the other hand, Nicolae Iorga's thesis coincides with all we know about the Ottoman military organization which allowed the begs and the simple akhindjis to start conquering and plundering expeditions, guided only by their own interest. He believes that the cause of their successes is the superiority of the Ottoman armies supported by the military feudal organization of the *timar* owners whose loyalty and valour were rewarded by the granting of domains (*timar*, *ziamet*, *khass*) according to the system used by the Byzantines¹⁴⁷. The strength of the Ottoman army, grounded on Mongol order and discipline, was continually stimulated by the *ghaza* spirit of the Turkish population as well as by the enterprising spirit of the Ottoman feudals who aimed at increasing their domains through new conquests.

But N. Iorga does not consider that the Ottoman conquests were due only to reasons of military order. He analyses the economic situation of the populations in the Byzantine Empire, burdened by heavy taxes and corvées, and he shows up the strong class hatred they felt for the feudal class that exploited them. His keen analysis detects in the Byzantine East the same social unrest revealed in the West too, by the uprisings of the towns' folk and of the peasant population¹⁴⁸.

This great social discontent prevailing in the 14th century in the states of the Byzantine emperor, of the Serbian king¹⁴⁹ and of the Bulgarian czars¹⁵⁰ was interpreted by Nicolae Iorga as one of the main reasons for which the Ottoman regime was accepted. In a lecture delivered in 1913, he reaches the conclusion that the broad popular masses in the Balkan Peninsula accepted "of their own accord a rule — the Ottoman one — which asked less from them and gave them more, which administered a simple but fair justice,

¹⁴⁵ Cf. J.H. Kramers, art. *Murad I*, in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, III, p. 777.

¹⁴⁶ N. Iorga, *Curs de istorie universală din 1935—1936 (Course of World History in 1935—1936)*.

¹⁴⁷ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 482. The thesis of the "Byzantine origin" of the military Ottoman feudalism was accepted by Fr. Babinger, *Mahomet le Conquérant et son temps (1432—1481)*, Paris, 1954, p. 17.

¹⁴⁸ N. Iorga set off, for example, the resemblance between the movement of the zealots in Thessalonika and the movements of the townspeople in Rouen and Paris (1382). Cf. "Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'Europe sud-orientale", 1919, p. 34.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵⁰ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 211—212.

guaranteed peace and protected them against the abuses of the feudal class”¹⁵¹. In 1915 he stated plainly that the Ottoman conquest was facilitated by “the terrible social hatred” that weakened the resistance of the states in the Balkan Peninsula. “The same as the Arabs... from the desert conquered Syria and Persia, because they brought along a fairer justice, pity for the poor, lower taxes, the Turks judged more fairly, levied fewer taxes and ensured absolute order”¹⁵². Using these means, they were well received by the oppressed masses in the Balkan Peninsula and they conquered the whole of it.

This explanation of the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans, based on the analysis of the economic and social conditions of the 14th century peasantry, oppressed and exploited by the big landowners (*δυνατοί*), possessors of *pronoia* (*πρόνοια*) and of *kharistikon* (*χαριστίκιον*) who becoming more and more independent of the central authority, increased the taxes and corvées, is confirmed by the researches of all the experts in the history of Byzantium, Turkey and the Balkans, in our days.¹⁵³

The incipient Ottoman state which possessed no permanent fiscal system, lightened the burdens weighing down on the masses, by applying an “*Istmâlet*” policy, that is a policy meant to win the native population over. Thus a sort of co-operation between Turks and Greeks was reached which N. Iorga did not fail to detect. It was only later that the taxes became heavier as they were equalized with those of the *ra'aya* and the taxes in the Byzantine empire and the other Balkan states before the conquest, which was proved by the researches of Turkish historians, foremost of whom Halil İnalcık, and by the studies of certain Bulgarian historians. This is the sense of Nicolae Iorga's statement that the “subjugated peoples did not live under Turkish yoke”, but in the “predominant political organization... of the Turks”¹⁵⁴.

¹⁵¹ Idem, *Les causes de la catastrophe de l'Empire ottoman*, Vălenii de Munte, 1913, p. 9.

¹⁵² N. Iorga, *Poçoare turanice parazitare* (Parasitic Turanian Peoples), Vălenii de Munte, 1915, p. 19–20.

¹⁵³ G. Ostrogorski, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine*, trad. H. Grégoire et P. Lemerle, Bruxelles, 1954; idem, *Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine*, Bruxelles, 1956; P. Charanis, *On the Social Structure and Economic Organisation of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century and Later*, in “Byzantinoslavica”, XII, 1951, p. 94–153; D.A. Zakythinos, *Crise monétaire et crise économique à Byzance du XIII^e au XV^e siècle*, Athènes, 1948; D. Angelov, *Certains aspects de la conquête des peuples balkaniques par les Turcs*, in “Byzantinoslavica”, XVII/2, 1959, p. 220–275; G. Cankova-Petkova, *La population agraire dans les terres bulgares sous la domination byzantine aux XI^e–XII^e siècles*, in “Byzantinobulgarica”, I, Sofia, 1962, p. 299–312.

¹⁵⁴ Idem, *Ce înseamnă poçoare balcanice* (What Are the Balkan Peoples), Vălenii de Munte, 1916, p. 15.

Anticipating the current theses of the historiography of his time, N. Iorga thus transcended the stage of narrative history, and succeeded in combining the exposition of events with their explanation, in many cases, through the economic and social elements.

8. OTTOMAN SUPREMACY OVER THE BALKAN PENINSULA

Even when the necessity of describing the Ottoman advance in Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula under Murad I and Bayazid I obliged him to follow up in detail the complicated events of the Ottomans conquest, Nicolae Iorga tried to interweave them with general ideas that could throw light upon them.

He presented a detailed picture of the complex Balkan world at the height of the feudal agitation, in which the violent clash of centrifugal interests peculiar to feudalism prevented the success of the Latin expedition of Amadeo VI of Savoy¹⁵⁵. On the other hand, he set off the lack of unity of the Balkan world, which encouraged the interference of foreign powers such as Hungary and Venice, etc.

Hungary under Louis I of Anjou and Sigismund of Luxemburg set forth its apostolic mission as crusader in order to justify its rights over the crown of Croatia and Dalmatia and to claim Widin¹⁵⁶.

Venice, "a fragment of Byzantium, continuing, to a great extent, to be faithful to its origins"¹⁵⁷ is preparing to "resume its role as natural heir of the domination of a universal character in the East"¹⁵⁸, opposed the settling of a Greek-Latin prince in Morea and consolidated its domination in Dalmatia¹⁵⁹ and Peloponesus¹⁶⁰.

The Navarrese occupied Achaea under the suzerainty of the king of Naples¹⁶¹.

The Knights Hospitalers of Rhodes wished to create in Morea a state designed to stop the advance of the Ottomans¹⁶².

In contrast with the interference of these powers who tried to turn to account certain feudal rights or to set forth some mission

¹⁵⁵ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 224 and foll.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 229—230.

¹⁵⁷ R. Iorga, *Venise à l'époque moderne*, in "Revue historique du sud-est européen", 1933, p. 210.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 252.

¹⁵⁹ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 268—269, p. 385.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 284 and foll.

¹⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 283 and foll.

¹⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 284, 301.

as crusaders in order to extend their domination in the Balkan Peninsula, N. Iorga underlines the tendency evinced by certain feudal lords in Albania and Thessaly or by certain Latin lords in Achaëa¹⁶³, to come to terms with the Turks.

He sets off especially the significant attitude of the Greek population which preferred to the severe exploitation of the Latins¹⁶⁴, the Turkish¹⁶⁵ domination, less oppressive from a fiscal point of view and which allowed them to preserve their faith, their customs and manners, their church jurisdiction, in exchange for the tribute levied by the sultan and for the metayage they owed the new Moslem masters of the land¹⁶⁶.

Murad I and Bayazid II were asked to intervene in the conflicts between the Greek, Latin and Slav feudal lords who had divided the Balkan world among themselves.

Nicolae Iorga shows that the first Ottoman conqueror in the Balkan Peninsula Murad I was content with establishing a none too strict system of vassalage which included both the Moslem dynasties and those of the Christians¹⁶⁷. There is no connection however between the establishing of this suzerainty and the personality of Murad depicted by Nicolae Iorga as a gentle and compassionate master of the Christians¹⁶⁸. Besides, even the military re-organizing of the Ottoman state should not be considered as the work of Bayazid I only¹⁶⁹. It is to be pointed out that the system of feudal suzerainty applied during the reign of Murad I suited the stage of organization of the Ottoman state at the beginnings of the conquests in Europe. But as the power of this state grew, supported by a military class consisting of Turks and renegades devoted to the sultan through the acquiring of conditioned military feuds — a necessity was felt for a reorganization that could set order in the anarchy generated by the Balkan feudal agitation. With his uncommon insight Nicolae Iorga set off the attempt made by Bayazid to replace the feudal dynasties that looked upon him as a suzerain, by high officials which should be submissive to him as to an emperor of Mongol style¹⁷⁰. In this policy aimed at abolishing any Balkan independence, we see

¹⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 303, 304.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 302; idem, *Histoire de la vie byzantine*. III, p. 253.

¹⁶⁵ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 227.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 284; idem, *Histoire de la vie byzantine*, I, c.

¹⁶⁷ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 266.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 264.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 265.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 266.

today a consequence of the centralization ¹⁷¹ of the feudal-autocratic military state of the Ottomans as it came to be at the time of Bayazid I.

Externally, this stage witnessed the completion of the subjugation of Serbia ¹⁷², the conquest of Bulgaria ¹⁷³, and particularly the beginning of the long siege of Constantinople ¹⁷⁴ preparing to remove the last remnants of the Byzantine world while other Ottoman armies were crossing the Danube making inroads in Wallachia where Prince Mircea the Ancient defeated them at "Rovine"(Argesh) (10 October 1394) ¹⁷⁵, and in Hungary.

The salvation of the imperial town, compelled to receive a *kadi* within its walls and to pay a tribute to the Moslems ¹⁷⁶, did not come from the crusaders' demonstration organized by the Western knights under the leadership of Sigismund of Luxemburg "outside the worn out cadres of the hundred years war" ¹⁷⁷, nor did it come part on the part of the French expedition of Marshal Boncicaut either (1400). It came — points out Nicolae Iorga — in consequence of the conflict that set against the Turkish knight Bayazid ¹⁷⁸, the newly-come Turkoman Timur, without any of the Byzantine polish, arriving from Persia as a follower of Čingiz Khan ¹⁷⁹. These words of Nicolae Iorga's conceal in fact the strong contradiction, set off by modern historiography, between the Ottoman feudal military aristocracy which, after conquering new territories had got used to a life of luxury and magnificence, and the nomad hordes of Timur which led a simple stern life. In this duel the victory was on the side of the newcomers from Asia ¹⁸⁰ who at Ankara shattered the unification of the Ottoman Empire, achieved under the reigns of Murad I and Bayazid I.

¹⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 387.

¹⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 267 and foll.

¹⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 274.

¹⁷⁴ The siege of Constantinople. contested by certain historians, is confirmed by the researches of H.J. Kissling, *Die Türkenfrage als europäisches Problem*, in "Südost-deutsches Archiv", VII, 1964, p. 45.

¹⁷⁵ The battle was fought at Argesh (Arkish, Arkash), the capital of Wallachia, a town defended by moats (in Turkish "hendek" and in Slav "rovine"). See Mehmed Neshri, *Gihannuma. Die altosmanische Chronik des Mevlana Mehemed Neshri*, ed. Fr. Taeschner, Leipzig, 1951, p. 86; II, 1955, p. 134. Idris Bitlisi, *Heshl Bihisht* (The Eight Paradises), microfilm at the Central State Library, Bucharest, Mf II, 26 f. 231 r.

¹⁷⁶ N. Iorga, *Histoire de la vie byzantine*, III, p. 252—253.

¹⁷⁷ Idem, *Essai de synthèse*, II, p. 531 and foll.

¹⁷⁸ Idem, *Histoire de la vie byzantine*, III, p. 249—250.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, III, p. 251. Cf. and N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 310.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, *La campagne de Timur en Anadolie (1402)*, Bucharest, 1942.

The defeat of Ankara (1402) which revealed the lack of cohesion in the Ottoman Empire, was the beginning of a period of decline marked by a serious political and social crisis which, for a decade, thoroughly undermined the state.

Nicolae Iorga points out that after the defeat of Ankara, the unification of Anatolia under Ottoman leadership was replaced by the re-establishing of the former Seldjuk emirates — headed by the emirate of Karaman — under Timur's suzerainty. Concurrently with this thesis, unanimously accepted by contemporary historiography, N. Iorga rightly remarks that in the Balkans the ruined states were never re-established, for the local dynasties had disappeared, while the ruling classes had been replaced by the Turkish feudalism of the *sipahis* ¹⁸¹.

The Byzantine Empire alone enjoyed half a century of respite during which it tried to better its position by intervening in the dynastic Ottoman conflict supporting the various pretenders, in exchange for a number of territorial conquests ¹⁸².

Nicolae Iorga also sets off the deficiency of the Western cavalry which no longer dared to attack the Turks, as "it had opened up a new career for itself in the West" ¹⁸³. Venice alone, which had benefitted by the Latin divergences in Morea and Achaëa to extend its domination over Greece, by occupying Argos, Nauplia, Corinth, Patras, Lepanto, Navarin, after having annexed a large part of Albania and the neighbouring Slavo-Albanian regions (Durazzo, Antivari, Dulcigno, Budua as far as Scutari, inland) ¹⁸⁴, tried to prevent the restoration of the Ottoman power. It organized against the Ottomans the only expedition that could cause real loss, the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Gallipoli (1416) ¹⁸⁵, which enabled it to settle temporarily at Thessalonika (1423—1430).

Unlike J. W. Zinkeisen who grounded his account only on narrative sources, Nicolae Iorga gave, on the basis of documents, a solid description ¹⁸⁶ of the long conflict for the throne that under-

¹⁸¹ N. Iorga, *Geschichte . . .*, I, p. 326.

¹⁸² Idem, *Histoire de la vie byzantine*, III, p. 256—257.

¹⁸³ Idem, *Essai de synthèse*, II, p. 515.

¹⁸⁴ Idem, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane* (The Question of the Mediterranean Sea), p. 152; idem, *Venise à l'époque moderne*, in "Revue historique du sud-est européen", 1933, p. 168—169.

¹⁸⁵ Idem, *Histoire de la vie byzantine*, III, p. 256.

¹⁸⁶ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 357, and foll.

mined the Ottoman state until Mehmed I (1403—1413 ; 1413—1421) reestablished the unity of the empire by re-uniting Anatolia, the storehouse of the Turkish power, with the European parts.

Nicolae Iorga underlines the great historic role played by Mehmed I ¹⁸⁷ who succeeded in establishing the “principle, henceforth inviolable, of the political unity resulting from conquest, a necessary and indestructible unity” ¹⁸⁸.

10. UPRISINGS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

After the civil war, the second problem to be solved, the consolidation of the central power, called for the repression of the uprisings of the peasants in Anatolia, supported by the poor in the towns, aimed at overthrowing the existing social order and at establishing a regime based on equality of all members of society.

The discontented popular masses in Asia Minor found a strong ideological weapon in the religious and social doctrine of sheikh Bedr ed-Din Mahmud (Ibni Simavi) (1359—1420) propagated by his closest disciple Börüklüdjé Mustapha who preached to the peasants poverty, property in common and religious toleration.

Under the influence of the idealistic conception prevailing the historiography at the beginning of this century, Nicolae Iorga considered the earliest anti-feudal uprising in the Ottoman Empire as “a fanatic religious struggle against Moslem orthodoxy” ¹⁸⁹. Later on he came round to the thesis of R. Guiland ¹⁹⁰ and admitted that “theological discussions concealed the vital interests of the Empire and any problem of internal and external policy put on a theological appearance” ¹⁹¹. This new stand taken up by Nicolae Iorga in 1927 proves he had given up the idealistic conception maintained by the historian Franz Babinger ¹⁹².

The present historiographic researches have shown that the uprising was the expression, in religious form, of the protest of the masses against the ruthless socio-economic conditions and against

¹⁸⁷ Idem, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane*, p. 153.

¹⁸⁸ Idem, *Chestiunea Dunării* (The Question of the Danube), p. 162.

¹⁸⁹ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 370.

¹⁹⁰ R. Guiland, *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras; l'homme et l'œuvre*, Paris, 1926, p. 236.

¹⁹¹ Cf. the review of N. Iorga in “Revue historique du sud-est européen”, 1927, p. 388.

¹⁹² Fr. Babinger, *Mahomet le Conquérant et son temps (1432—1481)*, p. 18 — 19.

the political chaos brought about by the Ottoman dynastic conflict after the defeat of Ankara ¹⁹³.

The crushing of the popular uprising in Anatolia — the basis of the Turkish power — where it seems that the Bedr ed-Din partisans had changed the timars into “agrarian communes” ¹⁹⁴ consolidated the central power of the sultans who came out victorious in the contest with the pretenders who were also supported by the Asiatics.

11. RESTORATION OF THE OTTOMAN STATE

After the unification of the Ottoman state and the consolidation of the central power a new problem arose, the restoration of the former Ottoman state within the old frontiers of the time of Bayazid I ¹⁹⁵. Nicolae Iorga shows that to achieve this Mehmed I and Murad II had to fight a number of battles, both in Asia Minor — against Karamania, the most important principality in Anatolia, and against the Smyrna emirate of Djuneid — and in Europe where there was permanently the danger of a coalition at the three frontiers: the Danube, defended by the Romanians, the Albanian-Dalmatian region, where the Turks had encountered the resistance of Venice, and the Greek-Latin world.

In the last chapters of the first volume of his *History of the Ottoman Empire* ¹⁹⁶ — some of the best in fact — grounded on abundant and multilateral information, N. Iorga describes the battles through which the Ottomans succeeded in re-asserting their suzerainty over Anatolia, after having repeatedly defeated the emir of Karaman and the emir of Germiyan, while in Europe they fortified the Danube line, solved in their favour the problem of Serbia, kept in check Venice by driving it out of Thessalonika (1430) and compelled the king of Hungary — who considered himself the natural representative of the idea of the crusade — to acknowledge for good the Ottoman Empire in Europe ¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹³ M. Guboglu et Mehmet Mustafa, *Răscoalele țărănești din Imperiul otoman (1418—1420) și Bedreddinismul* (Peasant Uprisings in the Ottoman Empire (1418—1420) and the Bedreddinism) in “Studii”, N₂ (1957), p. 138—158; Mustapha A. Mehmed, *Sur la pensée philosophique et sociale dans l'Empire ottoman aux XIV^e—XV^e siècles*, in “Bulletin de l'Association International d'Études du Sud-Est Européen”, VI, 1—2, 1968, p. 76—102, mentioning the bibliography on Bedr ed-Din (*ibidem*, p. 79, n. 11; p. 84, n. 47, 48).

¹⁹⁴ Mustafa A. Mehmed, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

¹⁹⁵ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 360.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 361 and foll.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 388.

After concluding peace with Venice whose policy under doge Francesco Foscari (1423—1457) was confined only to matters regarding Italian territory, the Turks were defeated by Ioan of Hunedoara in the passes of the Carpathians and during the long campaigning of 1443 in the Balkan Peninsula¹⁹⁸. In this way Ioan of Hunedoara succeeded in laying the foundation of a Romanian military system extending as far as the Danube, including the Serbia of George Brancović¹⁹⁹. He thus saved the Byzantine Empire of the Ottoman occupation prepared both by the conspiracies hatched by Murad II and by the siege of Constantinople started by prince Demetrius with the support of the Turkish force. The Romanian historian holds that the 1444 crusade, initiated with the consent of emperor John VIII, was to put an end to the existence of the Ottoman state. The catastrophe of Varna (1444) after which the fate of the Byzantine Empire was sealed, and the poor results of the Burgundian campaign on the Danube (1445) are considered by Nicolae Iorga as failures of the armies of the Western knights which he contrasts with the popular armies led by Ioan of Hunedoara. He shows that after the revenge campaigning checked by the Turks at Kossovo (1448), the peasant army gathered by Ioan of Hunedoara succeeded in checking the advance of the forces of Mehmed II the Conqueror, at Belgrade “the key to Hungary and the gate to Europe”²⁰⁰.

In the absence of the emperor who was satisfied with summoning and presiding over the Diet of the German states and in the absence of the papacy and of the Western powers discouraged by the defeat of Varna, the “active and creative popular masses”, says N. Iorga, took upon themselves the mission of resisting the Turks”²⁰¹.

We must mention that by emphasizing the role of the popular masses in the defence of Belgrade — an event of paramount importance for Europe — Nicolae Iorga adopted a progressive attitude.

12. ORGANIZATION OF THE OTTOMAN STATE

Nicolae Iorga took the same progressive stand when investigating the material and cultural condition of the Ottomans.

Basing his opinion on the accounts of Bertrandon de la Broquière, a Burgundian traveller, and of Johann Schiltberger, a Ger-

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 443 and foll.

¹⁹⁹ N. Iorga, *Essai de synthèse*, II, p. 551—552.

²⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 558—559.

²⁰¹ *Ibidem*, III, p. 25—26.

man prisoner, as well as on the information to be found in the Byzantine chroniclers Ducas, Chalcocondylas and Sphrantzes, N. Iorga describes in one of the most graphic chapters of the *History of the Ottoman Empire* ²⁰² life in the village of Turkoman tradition, based on semi-nomad pastoral economy with incipient farm work ²⁰³.

N. Iorga presents in broad outline the second stage in the evolution of the Ottoman society represented by the military feudal system of the *sipahis*, obliged to go to the war and to supply the Sultan's army with a number of soldiers proportional to the extent and income of the military feuds granted ²⁰⁴ to them.

Starting from the remark that this feudal system did not exist in the other Turkish emirates in Anatolia ²⁰⁵, N. Iorga maintains that the Ottoman feudalism of the timar-holding *sipahis* was of Byzantine origin ²⁰⁶.

This thesis had been put forward before by J. von Hammer ²⁰⁷, Worms ²⁰⁸, F.A. Belin ²⁰⁹ and A.P. von Tischendorf ²¹⁰ who considered that the institution of the *timar* was an adaptation of the Byzantine feudal system. It was subsequently resumed by the expert in Turkish history Jean Deny who acknowledges that the Turks imitated or preserved the Byzantine institution *pronoia* (πρόνοια) and furnishes as decisive argument the fact that with the Ottomans as well as with the Byzantines there were feuds that obliged their holders to supply men to row the galleys ²¹¹.

²⁰² N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 456 and foll.

²⁰³ *Ibidem*, p. 458.

²⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 479.

²⁰⁵ Cf. N. Iorga, in "Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'Europe sud-orientale", 1919, p. 35.

²⁰⁶ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 482; idem, *Chestiunea Dunării*, p. 173.

²⁰⁷ J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna, 1815, I, p. 337—434 (chapter VI: das Lehenrecht, kanuni, timar).

²⁰⁸ Worms, *Recherches sur la constitution de la propriété territoriale dans les pays musulmans et subsidiairement en Algérie*, in "Journal asiatique", 1842, 1843, 1844.

²⁰⁹ Belin, *Études sur la propriété foncière en pays musulmans, et spécialement en Turquie (rite hanéfite)*, from "Journal Asiatique", Paris, 1862; idem, *Du régime des fiefs militaires dans l'islamisme, et principalement en Turquie*, from "Journal Asiatique", Paris, 1870.

²¹⁰ A.P. Tischendorf, *Das Lehenswesen in den moslemischen Staaten insbesondere im osmanischen Reich*, Leipzig, 1872.

²¹¹ Jean Deny, art. *Timar*, in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, IV, Leyde, p. 808, Cf. and Fr. Gfrörer, *Byzantinische Geschichte*, III, p. 21.

The opinion Nicolae Iorga had of the Byzantine influence, shared by Fr. Babinger²¹², aroused the criticism of Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, the representative of Turkish Kemalist historiography, who attributes to the Turkish feudal system the characteristics that had formerly existed in the system of the Turkomans, the predecessors of the Ottomans. The Turkish historian endeavoured to prove that it would be more suitable to look in the pre-Ottoman Islamic states for the presence of certain Byzantine influences on the court and central institutions, while there might also be a direct Byzantine influence on the Ottoman taxation system²¹³.

Contemporary research work has proved that the feudal society in the Balkan Peninsula, especially the Byzantine, was more advanced at the time of the Ottoman conquest, so that it did exert an unquestionable influence on the development of the Ottoman feudal system. Certain contemporary historians have tried to establish analogies between the Byzantine *pronoia* (πρόνοια) and the military Ottoman feud (*şipahilik*)²¹⁴ characteristic of the beginnings of the evolution of the Ottoman feudal system; other have believed there was a Byzantinization of Ottoman feudalism which made it different from Seldjuk feudalism²¹⁵. This latter thesis has been contradicted by the hypothesis that certain social and political forms may have penetrated into the feudal Ottoman state through the agency of the Seldjuks of Asia Minor²¹⁶. The complex problem

²¹² Fr. Babinger, *Mahomet II le Conquérant et son temps (1432—1481)*, p. 17. Though he remarks there is a tendency to exaggerate the number of institutions and customs borrowed by the Turks from the Eastern Roman Empire, Fr. Babinger admits the existence of certain borrowings dating from as early as the 13th and 14th centuries, from the period when Turks and Byzantines coinhabited in Anatolia (*ibidem*, p. 131).

²¹³ Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Bisans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine te'siri hakkında bâzı müldhazarlar*, in "Türk hukuk ve İktisat tarihi mecmuası", I, 1931, p. 165—313. We had no access to the Italian translation (*Idem. Alcune osservazioni intorno all'influenza delle istituzioni byzantine sulle istituzioni ottomane*. Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente, Roma, 1935); cf. and *idem, Orta zaman türk Hukuk Müesseseleri. İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Istanbul, 1943, p. 405.

²¹⁴ St. Novaković, Пронијари и баштинци (Сахаије и читлук-сахије је Глас сан, Belgrade, 1887, p. 78—79; M. Ninčić, Историја аграрно-правник одоса српских Тежака I. ДЕО, Belgrade, 1920, p. 9; G. Ostrogorski, Пронија. Прилог историји Феудализма у Византији и јужнославенскии земљама. Посрбно ивдање САН, КЊ. 176, Belgrade, 1920; V. Subrilović, Око проучавања средњовеновног Феудализма, историски часопис. Орган историског института САН., III, p. 200—202.

²¹⁵ H.A.R. Gibb, H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West. A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East*, London, New York, Toronto, I, 1951, p. 47.

²¹⁶ VI. Gordlevskij, Государство Селдџукилов Малој Азии, Moscow, Lenin-grad, 1941, p. 71.

of the origins of the feudal Ottoman system and of the influences that were brought to bear upon it by the indigenous conditions, Byzantine or Balkan —, has not been solved yet. But, the researches performed by Turkish²¹⁷ and Bulgarian²¹⁸ historians have proved the existence of obvious Byzantine and Balkan influences on the taxation system of the Ottomans which preserved some of the taxes, some privileges of the towns or of social strata²¹⁹, as well certain military cadres²²⁰ and administrative delimitations²²¹.

Provided the exaggerations regarding the proportions of the Byzantine influence are eliminated, N. Iorga's thesis, according to which the Ottoman Turks took over certain Byzantine institutions which the native populations had been accustomed to for centuries remains valid.

Nicolae Iorga shows that the epoch of Moslem feudalism was followed by that of the centralized state, represented by a sultan who rested his power on the blind obedience of the *sipahis* paid with rich feuds — as well as on the filial devotion of the Janissaries recruited from among the subjugated population, grown up in Anatolia and animated by the spirit of sacrifice of the *ghazis*²²² — a thesis admitted by contemporary historiography²²³. N. Iorga considered that this personal army of the sultans made up of Janissaries, represented "a Turkish life system rather than a new conception, as in this way the subjects were prevented from having a large army ready to rebel, as all their youth had been taken from them"²²⁴. He believes that this institution is of Byzantine origin and he compares it to that of the Turkopols²²⁵. This thesis has been recently contested,

²¹⁷ H. Inalcik, *The Problem of the Relationship between Byzantine and Ottoman Taxation*, in *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten Kongresses*, 1958, p. 237—242.

²¹⁸ B. Cvetkova, *Influence exercée par certaines institutions de Byzance sur le système féodal ottoman*, in "Byzantinobulgarica", I, Sofia, 1962, p. 237—242.

²¹⁹ M. Hadžijahić, *Die privilegierten Städte zur Zeit des osmanischen Feudalismus*, in "Südost-Forschungen", XX, 1961, p. 130—158.

²²⁰ A part of the feudal Balkan aristocracy was included in the institution of the Christian *sipahis*. H. Inalcik, *1431 tarihli timar defterine göre Falih devrinden önce timar sistemi*, in *Dördüncü Türk tarih kongresi*, p.137—138; Idem, *Ottoman Methods of Conquest in „Studia islamica“*, II, p. 112—144; idem, *Timariotes chrétiens en Albanie au XV^e siècle d'après un registre de timars ottoman*, in "Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Staatsarchivs", 4, 1951, p. 118—132.

²²¹ H. Šabanović, *Upravna podeleja jugoslovenskih zemlja pod turskom vladavinom do Karlovackog mire 1699 god*, in *Godišnjak Istoriskog Društva Bosne i Hercegovine*, t. IV, p. 171—204; idem *Bosanski Pašaluk*, Sarajevo, 1959.

²²² N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 209.

²²³ P. Wittek, *Deux chapitres de l'histoire des Turcs de Roum*, in "Byzantion", 1936, p. 316, Fr. Babinger, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

²²⁴ N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Dunării*, p. 160—161.

²²⁵ Idem, *Essai de synthèse*, II, p. 506.



Fig. 7. — Osman I. Reproduced from *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire* by Dimitrie Cantemir, London, 1734.

MAHEMET, SECOND DV NOM.

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Fig. 8. — Mehmed II, the Conqueror, *Cabinet of Engravings of the Academy.*



Fig. 9. — Constantinople besieged by the Turks in 1453, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*, reproduced from John W. Barker's *Manuel II Palaeologus 1391—1425*, New Brunswick, New Jersey 1969, p. 362.

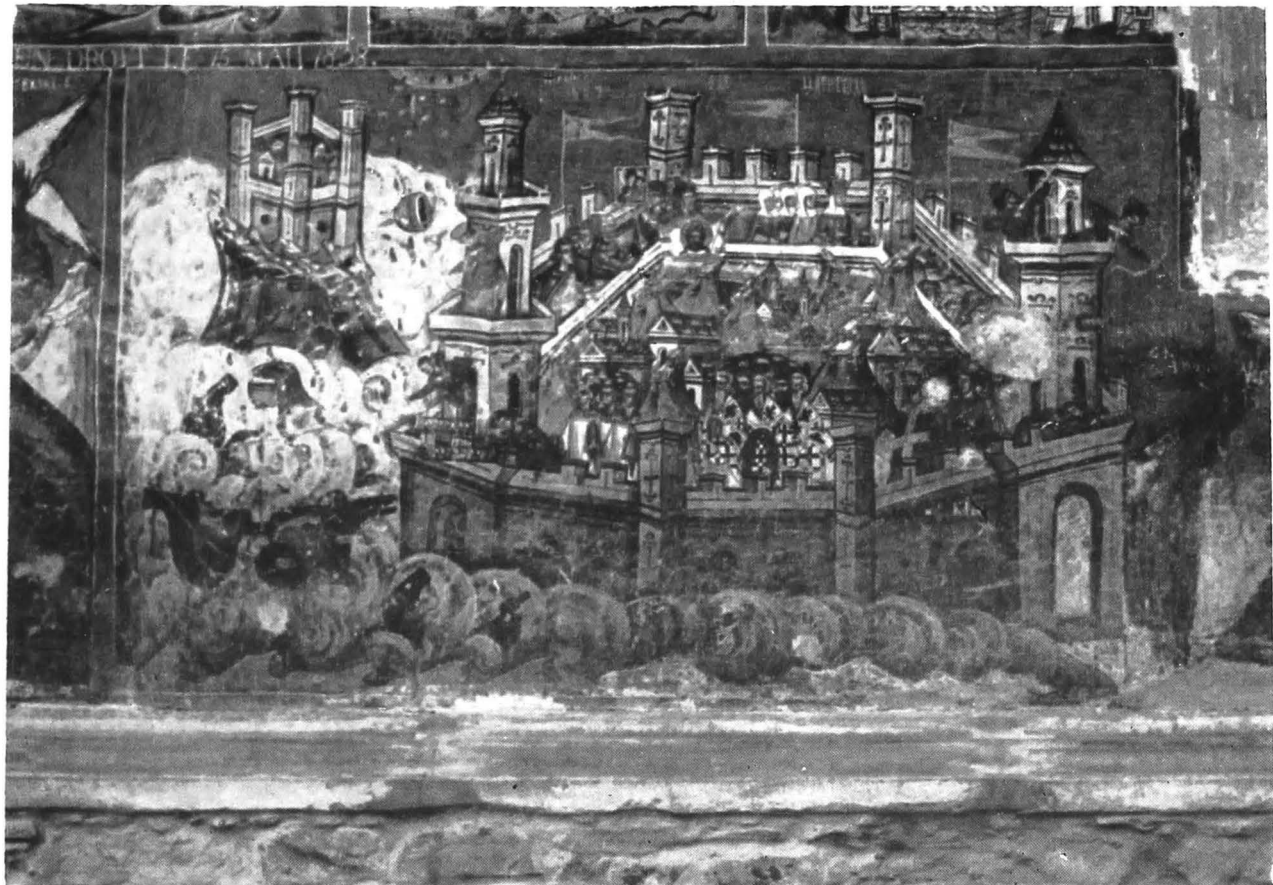


Fig. 10. — Siege of Constantinople (1453). *Fresco of the Monastery of Moldovița.*

<https://biblioteca-digitala.ro/> <https://www.acadsci.deest.ro/>

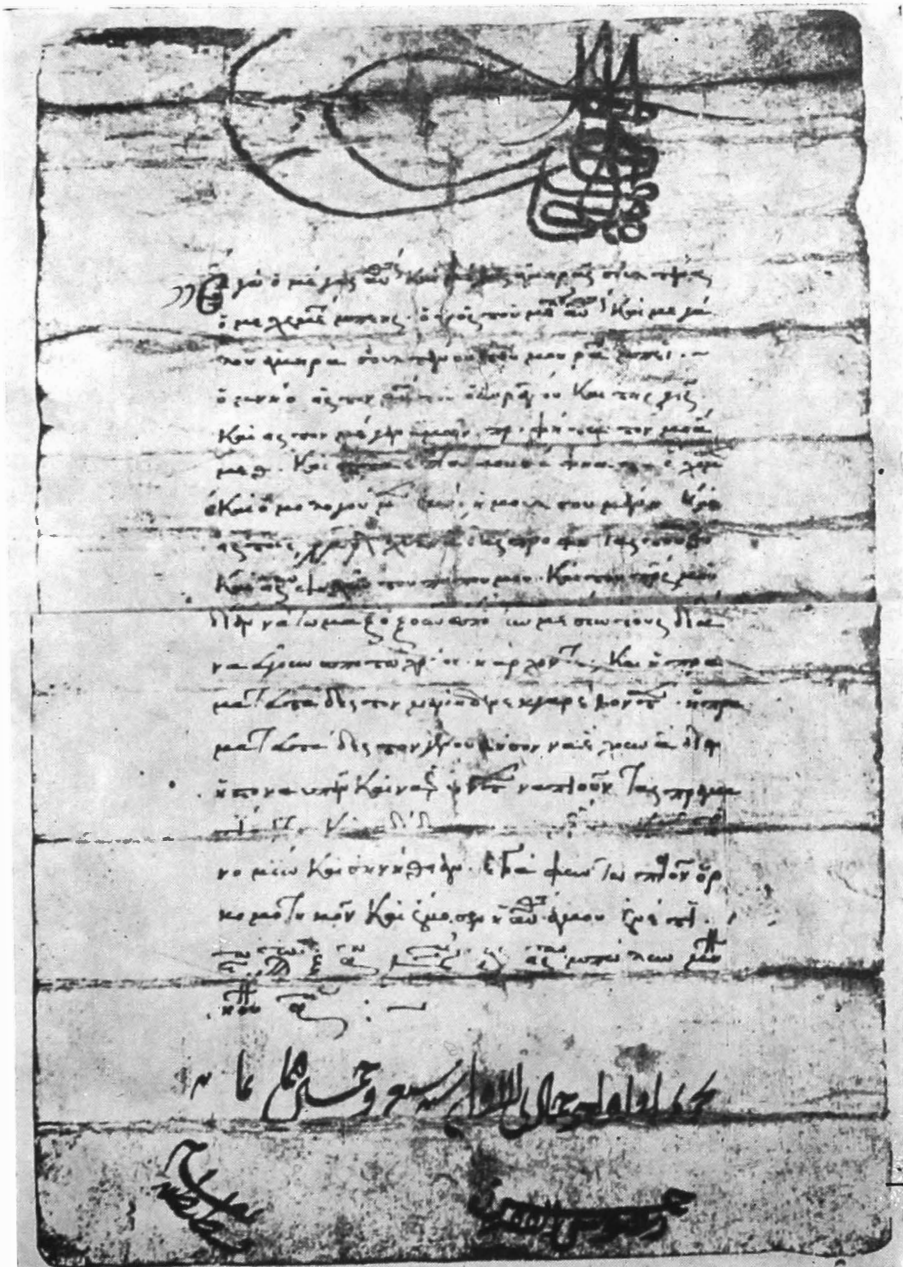


Fig. 11. — The privilege granted by Mehmed II to Pera, first published by Nicolae Iorga.



SULTAN SOLIMAN
Imperator de Tur-
chi Entro al gover-
no L'anno 1519 et
mori L'anno 1566.

Fig. 12. — Süleyman I, the Magnificent, *Cabinet of Engravings of the Academy.*

on the basis of the argument that the Turkopols were simple Turkish mercenaries, recruited as volunteers by the Byzantines, and there was no connection between them and the institution named *devshirme*, as is the case of the Janissaries ²²⁶.

On the other hand, Nicolae Iorga is right to maintain that the Janissaries represented the earliest standing army in Europe; they appeared before the organization of the companies of bowmen in England and before the first standing army of Charles VII.

Nicolae Iorga holds that the incomes that supplied the imperial treasury were one of the elements of the Ottoman power; all the various kinds of tributes the tributary states had to pay besides which there were the produce of the customs (*gümruk*), of the mines and of the minting of coins ²²⁷. He does not insist, however, on the considerable income resulting from the trade with the spices brought by caravans, though he admits the importance of Brusa, the Asiatic capital of the sultans, situated at the intersection of the roads from China and Arabia, a centre of great importance for Eastern trade ²²⁸, competing with Damascus and Alexandria and overshadowing Constantinople ²²⁹.

The sultan who possessed so many elements of power had to be the owner of Constantinople, not only to take his place in the imperial legitimacy — as N. Iorga maintains — but to ensure for himself the domination of the Straits ²³⁰ and the future expansion of his state.

CHAPTER IV

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

After the conquest of Constantinople the defence of which was of a “chivalrous and Christian” character rather than of a Greek one ¹, imperial autocracy was re-established by Mehmed II who

²²⁶ B.D. Papoulia, *Ursprung und Wesen der “Knabenlese” im osmanischen Reich*, München, 1963.

²²⁷ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, p. 471 and foll.

²²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 205–206.

²²⁹ Cf. H. Inalcik, *Brusa and the Commerce of the Levant*, in “Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient”, III/2, 1960, p. 131–147.

²³⁰ N. Iorga, *Dardanele. Amintiri istorice* (The Dardanelles — Historical Recollections) in “Analele Acad. Rom. Mem. Sect. Ist”. s. II, T. XXXVII, 1915, p. 16.

¹ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II, p. 22. This thesis was taken over by Fr. Babinger, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

succeeded in founding in Anatolia and Rumelia ² a centralized and absolutist state with all its well-known characteristics.

Nicolae Iorga considered the conqueror of Constantinople as the restorer of the Empire ³, determined to use the energies existing in the subjugated nations but at the same time to obviate mercilessly any trace of feudal opposition on the territories of the former Byzantine Empire ⁴. He considers the Ottoman Empire of Mehmed II Fatih who left the "Porte" of Adrianople of the Asiatic begs for the Court of Byzantium, as the first absolute monarchy in the world ⁵.

At the base of this empire N. Iorga discovers elements taken over from the tradition of Čingiz Khan and from the example of Timur ⁶, the entire Ottoman society being at the disposal of the sultan, the indisputable master ⁷. To this Turkish-Mongol tradition was added a strong Byzantine influence, for to administer this multinational empire, Mehmed II was compelled to resort to the forms and millenary experience of Byzantium from which he took over a number of institutions. That is how N. Iorga accounts for the continuity of the unique empire under the three forms: Roman from the origins to the setting up of Christianity, Byzantine and Christian from Constantine the Great to Constantine XI Dragases and then Islamic-Orthodox until after 1800, under the Turks whom he considers "the neo-Byzantines of Islam" ⁸.

Thus Nicolae Iorga appears to be a champion of the idea of the necessity of the empire as form of unification of the Balkan and South-Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages when no conditions had as yet appeared of any national states taking shape.

In order to discover the theoretical bases of the sultan's power: emperor of the East, descendant of the Caesars ⁹, heir of the Čingiz Khan monarchical tradition and, after 1517, heir of the Caliphs and representative of the prophet Muhammad for the Moslems of everywhere, N. Iorga resorts to the world of law, to the world of mediaeval legislation. Synthesis in his own person of Oriental, Tur-

² H. Inalcik, *Meluned II*, in *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, VII, 1957, p. 506—535.

³ N. Iorga, *Auf- und Niedergang des türkischen Herrschaftsgebietes in Europa*, in "Pettermann's Mitteilungen", 1913, p. 1.

⁴ Idem, *Histoire de la vie byzantine*, III, p. 295.

⁵ Idem, *Essai de synthèse*, II, p. 560.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ This thesis was adopted by Jacques Pirenne, *Les Grands courants de l'histoire universelle*, II, Neuchâtel, 1946, p. 310.

⁸ N. Iorga, *Y a-t-il eu un Moyen Age byzantin?* in *Études byzantines*, II, p. 310.

⁹ N. Iorga, *Auf- und Niedergang des türkischen Herrschaftsgebietes in Europa*, p. 1.

kish, Islamic and Roman-Byzantine monarchical traditions, Mehmed II created the type of the Ottoman sovereign.

The sultan on whose authority underlies the Ottoman Empire is thus, in his capacity as supreme Caliph, the protector of the whole Moslem world against the Christians. He is the source of the power he entrusts within his empire to the high officials of the state chosen from among the Greek, Serbian and Albanian renegades.

Nicolae Iorga brings out into relief the role of these renegade elements recruited from among the subjugated populations¹⁰, and owing to whom the empire continued as political system¹¹. For centuries the Ottoman Empire was ruled by the representatives of the subjugated populations which held, in the capacity of "slaves" of the sultan, the key-posts in the administration and in the army. The initiative belonged in turns to the Greeks (15th cent.), to the Serbians (16th cent.) and to the Albanians who were able to keep for themselves the command posts until the middle of the 17th century¹².

Under such conditions, remarks N. Iorga, the Turks were quite unable to hold any high post, while all roads were open to the representatives of the subjugated nations who joined this ruling stratum as children brought up by the state or in the houses of Turks in Anatolia, as war prisoners or as renegades coming from all the provinces of the empire¹³. This thesis maintained by N. Iorga was accepted by Western historiography and was adopted by Jacques Pirenne who remarks that the sultan excluded the Turkish Moslem people from the leadership, lest he should divide and diminish his power to nothing¹⁴.

Nicolae Iorga considers that the settling of the sultans in Constantinople where they surrounded themselves with the brilliance of the Byzantine court, deserting the "Porte" at Adrianople¹⁵ gave a fresh impetus to the old imperial autocracy which under the last emperors considered as the successors of the Latin Empire, had declined. Mehmed II, strongly influenced by the Byzantine forms of life and culture was "more Byzantine even before entering Constantinople" than the last basileus who was "half-Serbian"¹⁶.

¹⁰ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II, p. 200 and foll. ; idem *Essai de synthèse*, II, p. 86.

¹¹ Idem, *Byzance après Byzance*, București, 1935, p. 5—6.

¹² Idem, *Les causes de la catastrophe de l'Empire ottoman*, p. 14.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

¹⁴ Jacques Pirenne, *Les grands courants de l'histoire universelle*, II, p. 311—312.

¹⁵ N. Iorga, *Essai de synthèse*, II, p. 560.

¹⁶ Idem, *L'interpénétration de l'Orient et de l'Occident au Moyen Age*, in *Études byzantines*, II, Bucharest, 1940, p. 136.

On the other hand, however, through the conquest of Constantinople which he tried to change into the real political centre of the Balkans and of Anatolia, Mehmed II became the most brilliant and most powerful sovereign in the Islam world, thus gaining in his own state an influence and authority unheard of before him.

The sultan's autocracy strengthened by the conquest and supported by the Ottoman military organization, improved by Mehmed II, compelled submission from all the populations subjugated who owed him absolute obedience. On the other hand, their social and economic interests were left to the care of their religious authorities whose power was organized and developed better under the rule of the sultans than in the past under the autocratic Byzantine emperors¹⁷. As a matter of fact, under the domination of the Ottoman sultans, nationality and faith were included in the notion of "*millet*" through which the ancient name of "Rum" recalling the "Roman" one was preserved for the Greeks. Above the privileges of the nations under the sceptre of the sultan, the empire was organized on the basis of decrees, called "*kanun*", a term of Greek origin, which were designed to strengthen the centralizing Ottoman rule. Under the domination of the sultans the South-East European world acquired the "order in unity" so fruitlessly sought by previous Christian régimes¹⁸.

Thus, Nicolae Iorga set off the historic role played by the Ottoman Empire as unifying agent in the history of mankind — a new and bold idea for the epoch when he wrote.

1. THE OTTOMAN EXPANSION WITHIN THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE RECONSTITUTED BY MEHMED II

Nicolae Iorga observed that Mehmed II who, after the conquest of Constantinople, considered himself the lawful heir of the Byzantine emperors, was actuated by this conception in his policy and conquests. Based on abundant documentation already known and heretofore unknown, the great historian described the expansion of the empire set up by Mehmed II who, by reason of the Byzantine heritage, aimed at expanding the frontiers so as to become the same as during the reign of Justinian¹⁹.

¹⁷ Idem, *La survivance byzantine dans les pays roumains*, in *Études byzantines*, II, p. 269.

¹⁸ Idem, *Essai de synthèse*, II, p. 561.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

His vast program, carried out, gradually and in part, comprised two aspects : a territorial and a maritime one. The first aspect meant, in Europe, the reconquest of Serbia — the Serbia which represented a great attraction for Mehmed II on account of its rich mines at Novobrdo and on account of the necessity to ensure the freedom of the important commercial road that connected Constantinople to Belgrade which had been left Hungarian ²⁰. This shows N. Iorga never underestimated the importance of the economic causes.

The program occasioned by the taking over of the imperial Byzantine heritage included — remarks N. Iorga — the elimination of all traces of feudal domination set up by the Latin conquest of Constantinople (1204) or erected on the ruins of the domination of the Navarrese Company. This meant the conquest of the Greek despotate of Morea, the apanage of the last Palaeologi, annexed to the empire in 1460 after the destruction of the famous Hexamilion wall (1458) ; it meant the suppression of the principality of Achaea, of the duchy of Athens and Thebes, the possession of the Florentine family Acciajuoli, the subjugation of the Slav duchy of Bosnia, the occupation of Albania (1479) after the death of Scanderbeg, the ally of Venice who put up a fierce resistance against the Turks. On the basis of a source of first importance, unexploited before him, N. Iorga depicts in several chapters of the *History of the Ottoman Empire* all the vicissitudes of these wars and the succession of victories, interrupted but not stopped — by resounding defeats such as the siege of Belgrade ²¹ (1459), the siege of the citadel of Jaice ²² (1464), the siege of Croia ²³ (1467).

By bringing into subjection the dynasties and states liable to give Venice and Hungary the opportunity of intervening, Mehmed II united the entire Balkan Peninsula under his sceptre, while by erecting citadels in the Dardanelles (1463) he became the indisputable master of the Straits and could easily cross from Europe into Asia.

Concurrently, Nicolae Iorga pointed out that in Anatolia too Mehmed II pursued the old imperial policy of unification by eliminating the old Seldjuk dynasties ²⁴, first of all in Karamania which had risen in rebellion, relying on the support of Uzun Hasan, the

²⁰ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II, p. 55.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 75—78.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 124.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 138—139.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 160 and foll.

emperor of the Turkomans, to wrest the whole Western Anatolia from the Ottomans ²⁵.

With his uncommon historical insight, Nicolae Iorga set off the resemblance between the danger of the Ottomans being defeated by Uzun Hasan's Turkomans on the banks of the Euphrates and "the days of terror in the time of Timur" ²⁶. Though N. Iorga did not go into any details regarding this resemblance, we think it is worth mentioning, since the conflict between Mehmed II who had taken over the whole of the imperial Byzantine inheritance and the head of the Turkomans Ak Koyunlu, is the conflict between the sedentary Turks who had adopted feudalism, and the Turkomans who were still in a semi-nomad phase, unpolluted by foreign influences and conceptions.

By defeating Uzun Hasan, Venice's ally, Mehmed II was rid of the great danger of a new disintegration of the empire. This is the conclusion that can be drawn from N. Iorga's cursory remark.

The restoration of the empire — notes Nicolae Iorga in the work devoted to *The Question of the Mediterranean Sea* — required that the new Ottoman master of Constantinople should ensure the domination over the seas by creating a powerful fleet. He remarked that, now they were the masters of the Straits — a fact of major importance if a thalassocracy was to be set up — the Turks had to ensure the supplying of the new capital. They would have to put an end to the political freedom of the Genoese in the Black Sea and in the Sea of Azov tolerating their presence only as economic auxiliaries until the naval destruction expedition of Caffa (1475).

By taking over the Byzantine inheritance the new master of Constantinople had to take upon himself the Byzantine claims in the Mediterranean. His first step was the subduing or unification through strong vassalage ties between the new empire in the Eastern basin of the Mediterranean and the islands forming the duchy of the Archipelago or the duchy of Naxos, to avert any threat for the Ottoman maritime domination ²⁷. With that end in view he had to enforce Turkish suzerainty on the isle of Chios, to annex the two towns of Foglia Vecchia and Foglia Nuova, on account of the economic importance of the mines of alum in Foglia Nuova ²⁸ which provided the best mordant used in the textile industry in Western

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 166.

²⁶ N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane* (The Question of the Mediterranean Sea), p. 155–158.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 159–160.

²⁸ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II, p. 69.

Europe²⁹, before the discovery of the Tuscan deposits near Volterra (1458) and the rich mines at Tolfa³⁰ (1462) in Roman Etruria; then the annexation of the isle of Enos (1455) rich in salt and fisheries — a fact mentioned by Nicolae Iorga³¹ — and the isles of Samothrace, Thasos, Lemnos, and later the isle of Lesbos, the last possession of the Gattilusi family.

The suppression of foreign domination in the Archipelago was not one of the first points in the recuperation program of Mehmed II in order to avoid an immediate clash with Venice which had destroyed the Ottoman fleet in 1416³².

But the powerful Italian commercial republic which had long since ensured domination on the Ionian Islands of Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaki, and over Dalmatia, controlling from Corfu the whole of Albania, had realised that she was facing a new Byzantine Empire. The latter possessed janissaries and sipahis, the income of numerous provinces and a political formation “of unsuspected power, ambition, duration and permanence”³³.

In his works — essential for researches regarding the diplomatic relations and the wars between the Ottoman empire and Venice³⁴ — N. Iorga states that the St. Mark's republic was the only Latin power which after the failure of the anachronic crusade of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, the humanist of the Renaissance, later Pope Pius II³⁵, attempted to prevent Mehmed II from carrying out his maritime plans. The Signoria had to do so because of the pressing necessity of preserving its possessions in Morea — essential for the ensuring of its supplies and for communications in the Western Mediterranean — as well as its possessions in Albania which comprised Dalmatia and the Ionian Islands which ensured its domination over the Adriatic³⁶.

²⁹ J. Heers, *Gènes au XV^e siècle. Activité économique et problèmes sociaux*, Paris, 1961, p. 396, estimates the production of the mines of Foglia at 800 tons per year.

³⁰ P. Chaunu, *L'alun de Rome*, in “*Annales*”, 1964, p. 762.

³¹ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, II, p. 69.

³² Idem, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane*, p. 160.

³³ N. Iorga, *Venise à l'époque moderne* in “*Revue historique du Sud-Est européen*”, 1933, p. 171.

³⁴ See Vittorio Lazzarini's appreciation in “*Archivio Veneto*”, XXIX, 1941, p. 206.

³⁵ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II, p. 130—131. In *Essai de synthèse*, III, p. 32 and foll., N. Iorga points out that the humanists held it was their duty to drive out the Turks, considered desecrators of the Hellenic soil.

³⁶ N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane*, p. 162—163.

In this dramatic clash between the Byzantine inheritance of Justinian and the Latin inheritance of Henrico Dandolo, Venice, despite considerable successes obtained with great sacrifices — lost all its possessions except Coron and Modon “the eyes of the republic”, and certain places in Albania ³⁷. It was only the conflict between its terrible enemy Mehmed II and its Asiatic ally Uzun Hasan that was able to check the encircling of the Venetian provinces which would open up for the Conqueror of Constantinople the way to Vienna ³⁸, the capital of the Habsburgs.

But to take over the complete Byzantine inheritance implied that the Ottomans had to secure the Danube frontier and to extend the supremacy of the empire over all the peoples that had, once, acknowledged the suzerainty of Byzantium. N. Iorga pointed out that it was only Vlad the Impaler (Țepeș), the ruling prince of Wallachia, who was able to bar, for a few months (1462), the advance of the Turks who after crossing the Danube encountered a system of defence they were not accustomed to ³⁹. And it was the Moldavia of Stephen the Great that took the credit of having barred, through the resounding victory of Vaslui (1475) and through the heroic resistance at Războieni and Suceava (1476) the advance of the Ottomans towards Hungary and Poland ⁴⁰.

However, these defeats did not impair the basis of the Ottoman Empire, the territory the Turks kept to themselves, the “inner house” as N. Iorga suggestively describes it — which stopped at the Danube ⁴¹. Thus at the death of Mehmed II the Ottoman Empire extended as far as Justinian’s state used to — from the Danube and the Black Sea, as far as the Euphrates.

According to N. Iorga, the Conqueror’s Ottoman Empire represented, under a different form, the continuation of the Byzantine Empire under a different sovereign, with a different ruling class, a different religion and a different language used in the administration besides the Greek and Serbian ones. According to him, it is “the new Roman monarchy of Mehmed II, a Moslem Justinian, who by conquering the Byzantine Empire only entered within the limits of the Byzantine frontiers” ⁴².

³⁷ Idem, *Venise à l’époque moderne*, p. 171–172.

³⁸ Idem, *Curs de istorie universală din 1935–1936* (Course of Lectures on World History, 1935–1936).

³⁹ Idem, *Essai de synthèse*, III, p. 39.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 63.

⁴¹ N. Iorga, *Curs de istorie universală din 1933–1934* (Course of Lectures on World History, 1933–1934), p. 539.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 388.

2. N. IORGA ON THE DOUBLE POLICY ENFORCED UPON THE SUCCESSORS OF MEHMED II BY THE BYZANTINE INHERITANCE

The maritime plan of Mehmed II which included the transformation of the Black Sea into a Turkish lake through the conquest, under Bayazid II, of Kilia and Akkerman (1484)⁴³, the completion of the subjugation of Albania⁴⁴ and Morea⁴⁵, the conquest of the last Venetian possessions Coron and Modon (1501)—and under Süleyman the Magnificent the conquest of the isle of Rhodes from the Knights Hospitallers (1522)⁴⁶, emanated — according N. Iorga — from the millenary Roman conception prescribing the domination of the neighbouring seas.

To ensure Ottoman domination over the Eastern basin of the Mediterranean Sea, the empire had to secure Syria which was occupied by the sultan of Egypt who combined the highest political position and the religious prestige of the Caliphate⁴⁷.

That was the line along which Selim I (1512—1520) developed his policy designed to prepare the necessary conditions for the pursuing of a world policy. Entrusting the defence of the European frontiers to the border akhindjis and begs who constituted real feudal dynasties — such as the Mikhaloghlu and the Malcoçoghlu⁴⁸ families — as well as to the Tartars⁴⁹, Selim I concentrated all his forces in the East, in Asia, which was the real basis of the Ottoman power. He intended first to conquer Syria which he won through the famous battle at “The Tomb of David”, and to destroy the old, shaky kingdom of the Mamelukes. Near Aleppo the resistance of the sultan of Egypt who had come to Asia purposely, was overcome⁵⁰ (1514). At Cairo the Mamelukes of the last sultan of Egypt were slain and the sultan was replaced by the representative of Selim I, Yunus Pasha⁵¹.

N. Iorga points out that the Ottoman sultan who, after the conquest of Egypt considered himself the descendant of the Caliphs, has to restrain the power of the Shiite shah of Persia who, despite the defeat of Çaldıran (1513) was still for the successors of Selim I a feared rival in the competition for the supreme control of the Mos-

⁴³ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II, p. 269.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 281 and foll.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 290.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 370 and foll.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 244.

⁴⁸ N. Iorga, *Essai de synthèse*, III, p. 132.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 133; idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II, p. 318 and foll.

⁵⁰ N. Iorga, *Essai de synthèse*, III, p. 134.

⁵¹ Idem, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane*, p. 166.

lem world ⁵². Relying on the Shiite majority in Asia Minor, the shah represented a danger even for the duration of the Ottoman Empire ⁵³ whose strength lay in Anatolia.

Unlike the Turkish begs in the Balkan Peninsula whose vulnerable position towards the native peoples had obliged them to cooperate with the Ottomans, the chieftains of tribes in Anatolia had succeeded in maintaining their independence of the central power, taking refuge with the Persians when they were defeated by the Ottomans.

In the conflict between Selim I, following the glorious example of Mehmed II, and shah Ismail, N. Iorga sets off the role played by the economic phenomena by mentioning the wealth of the Persian provinces and the prosperous trade of the towns of Tebriz and Shiraz ⁵⁴.

Among the immediate causes of the conflict, Nicolae Iorga mentions also the discontent produced in Constantinople by the support granted to the Ottoman pretender Murad who had become the shah's son-in-law.

From the ideological point of view, N. Iorga shows there were also religious dissensions between the Shiite Persians and the Ottoman Sunnites, which in fact concealed a strong national contradiction which assumed a religious aspect ⁵⁵. For the Shiite heresy represented the Iranian people's tendency to unification while the Sunnite Ottomans supported the world empire which aimed at including in its borders the entire Moslem world.

The Shiism of the Caspian regions and the acknowledgement of shah Ismail with an 'Alide genealogy made up purposely, concealed the resistance of the Turkoman shepherds to the central authority of Islam and the attempt to win over the region of Azerbaidjan. Nicolae Iorga did not overlook even the role of the dervishes who enjoying privileges, immunities and the confidence of the broad masses of the people represented the strong discontent of the sedentary and tribal elements. He dwelt on the "class hatred" (Klassenhass) which had existed among the peasantry of Anatolia ever since the time of Bayazid I against the Ottoman domination ⁵⁶. This hatred showed itself during the dreadful uprising of the bands of Kalen-

⁵² Selim I died (1520) as ruler of all Moslems. N. Iorga, *Essai de synthèse*, III, p. 135.

⁵³ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II, p. 327.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 328—329.

⁵⁵ Cf. H. Sohrweide, *Der Sieg der Safewiden in Persien und seine Rückwirkung auf die Schiiten Anatoliens im 16. Jahrhundert*, in "Der Islam", 41, 1965, p. 95—223.

⁵⁶ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II, p. 361.

der Čelebi (1526—1527) consisting of Turkoman shepherds, Shiites and dervishes⁵⁷, which sorrowfully tried the Ottoman armies that had been sent to re-establish order.

The wars fought by the Ottomans in Europe, where they were also meant to redress the empire's commercial balance and to ensure, through rich booty, economic stability, determined the Asiatic provinces to consider the Ottoman state as a foreign power. So they turned to the Persian East for support and protection against the exploitation they were subjected to in the interest of the capital city on the Bosphorus.

After repressing the uprisings that were keeping up an agitation in the East, from Syria and Anatolia as far as Egypt, against the domination of the Ottoman sultans⁵⁸ who, in the capacity as supreme *ghazis* considered themselves superior to all the Islamic sovereigns who had come after the prophet, Süleyman entered Cairo (March 24, 1525) and then Bagdad (December 30, 1534) as Padishah and Caliph. Thus a new Asiatic province was added to the Ottoman Empire which had now attained its maximum expansion in the East⁵⁹. But the Byzantine inheritance, Nicolae Iorga shows, prescribed that Süleyman should abandon the oriental policy of Selim I for a Danubian policy.

And this new trend in policy, thinks N. Iorga, advocated by the grand viziers Ibrahim and Mehmed Sokoli⁶⁰, meant to consolidate the frontiers on the Danube, the Sava and the Drava, weakened the Ottoman Empire and diverted it from its Eastern interests. It may, however, be maintained that the conquests achieved in central Europe brought to Süleyman the recognition of his superiority over all the sovereigns of Islam, proclaimed by the sherif of Mekka himself.

Based on sources but not making use of Hungarian specialty bibliography⁶¹, Nicolae Iorga describes the campaign in Hungary⁶², whose defeat is attributed to the political inability and the anarchy kept up by the nobility who distrusted Louis II, the king of foreign

⁵⁷ Idem, *Essai de synthèse*, III, p. 148.

⁵⁸ The uprising of Al-Ghazali and of vizier Ahmed who had taken a royal title in the provinces of Sudan, and the crushing of the uprising of the "knight-monk" Kalender Čelebi in Asia Minor.

⁵⁹ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, III, p. 315.

⁶⁰ Idem, *Curs de istorie universală din 1935—1936* (Course of Lectures on World History, 1935—1936).

⁶¹ See the bibliographic supplement presented by L. Mangold in "*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*", 1909, p. 547, and foll.

⁶² N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II, p. 395 and foll.

origin, and were discontented with the German advisers of Maria of Habsburg. Though he justly remarks that the "old-fashioned means of the Middle Ages" could levy only "a feudal army", N. Iorga did not mention among the internal causes of the military collapse of Hungary the fear the nobility entertained of arming the popular masses, the only force able to withstand the Ottoman power. He did not analyse the external events either — the most conspicuous being the conflict between Francis I and Charles V and the setting up of the league of Cognac (1526) which determined the French to support the Ottoman offensive; he only recorded that Hungary was given no help ⁶³.

The consequence of the battle of Mohács (1526) which N. Iorga termed "the second battle of Pavia" ⁶⁴ was the division of Hungary and the outbreak of the struggle between the two pretenders to St. Stephen's crown: John Zápolya elected king at Tokay and Ferdinand of Habsburg crowned king at Presburg (Bratislava) while in Transylvania there came a long period of anarchy. Nicolae Iorga mentioned, with regard to this period, the uprising of "The Black Man" Ivan Nenada, supported by the Romanian serfs in the struggle against the Hungarian nobles (1527) ⁶⁵. It is unquestionably Nicolae Iorga's great merit to have recorded the existence of this popular anti-feudal and anti-Ottoman movement led by the man who called himself "the grandson of the Byzantine emperors" ⁶⁶.

All this proves that his historical insight and his respect for the truth, whenever he detects it, make him transcend the limits imposed by his idealistic conception in an attempt at rendering reality in its entire complexity.

The same kind of complex situation occurred during the 1543 campaign produced by the conclusion of the treaty between Isabelle and Ferdinand ⁶⁷ (December 27, 1547). In two different passages ⁶⁸ Nicolae Iorga records the support granted this time to the Ottoman advance by the peasantry who, in default of a well-organized and acknowledged rule, attacked the noble landlords, and surrendered to the Turks.

The necessity of establishing fixed frontiers, shows N. Iorga, brought about the formation of the Turkish province of Hungary

⁶³ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II, p. 398—399.

⁶⁴ Idem, *Essai de synthèse*, III, p. 157.

⁶⁵ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II, p. 405.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 405.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, III, p. 21.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 23, 50.

and transformed Buda ⁶⁹ — which maintained nevertheless until 1542 its character of Christian town — into the capital of a beglerbeg who controlled from this first-class strategical place the whole valley of the Danube, opening up to the Turks the road to Vienna.

But the conquest of Hungary and its transformation into a province belonging to Ottoman obedience, the organization of which is described by Nicolae Iorga in one of the most interesting chapters — treated ⁷⁰ in a very novel way — were to involve the Turks in a long succession of wars against the Habsburgs for the establishing of the frontiers of the two empires ⁷¹.

In the East the disturbances in the Caucasus, the insecurity in Anatolia where the old separatism found representatives in the sultan's family and support with the shah as well as the hardships caused by the wars with Persia presaged, despite the successes won, the weakening of the Ottoman Empire's natural base.

3. OTTOMAN THALASSOCRACY

The Byzantine inheritance on the one hand, and supremacy over the Moslem world on the other, points out Nicolae Iorga, compelled the Ottoman Empire of Süleyman the Magnificent to strengthen its maritime power, to control the waters of the Aegean Sea and to dominate over the Mediterranean Sea.

The first item of this maritime program was carried out not only by the official channel but through the action of "certain private persons in search of adventures" ⁷², such as the famous Khair ed-Din Barbarossa who became unofficial admiral of the empire. This thesis is maintained at present by A. Tenente, the Italian researcher who shows that by the middle of the 16th century the Turks could claim a real numerical superiority of their fleet only due to the galliots and boats ("*fustae*") of the Barbaresque corsairs ⁷³.

The second item of the maritime program, the extension of the Ottoman control over the waters of the Aegean Sea was obtained through the peace with Venice (1540) which for the sake of its

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, IV, p. 64—75.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, III, p. 225.

⁷² N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane* (The Question of the Mediterranean Sea), p. 157.

⁷³ A. Tenente, *Cristoforo da Canal. La marine vénitienne avant Lépante*, 1962, p. 63—64.

commercial interests and on account of its situation in Italy, renounced the military control of the Mediterranean, in the hopes of preserving the isles of Cyprus and Crete ⁷⁴.

The third item of the Ottoman maritime program had started, being carried out long before through the occupation of the isle of Rhodes ⁷⁵ (1522), which deprived the European powers of an ideal base in the seas of the Levant, so that the Mediterranean had become a space completely controlled by Turkish flotillas.

On the other hand, Nicolae Iorga sets off the importance of the occupation of Tunis (1534) as an observation spot of Malta, a possession of the knights of the Order of St. John and as a threat to the Spanish domination in Sicily and Southern Italy ⁷⁶.

Acknowledged in his capacity of Padishah and Caliph as religious head of the entire Moslem World, Süleyman who called himself "by the grace of God very great king and autocrat of Constantinople" (Θεοῦ χάριτος βασιλεὺς, μέγιστος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ) "master of the two continents (ἡπειρον) Asia and Europe" ⁷⁷, could not renounce the part of Justinian's inheritance represented by the Northern coast of Africa where, under the ancient Moslem domination, there waved the flag of the Ottoman crescent.

In his attempt at expansion in the Western basin of the Mediterranean Sea, Süleyman encountered a single opposition, that of the emperor Charles V (1520—1556) who was happy to appear as the head of the Western Christendom, by preparing "under the pretext of an expedition against Barbary, a blow against Ottoman domination in the North of Africa" ⁷⁸.

In his triple capacity as king of Mediterranean Spain which was continuing the Catalan expansion to the East ⁷⁹, of king of Naples obliged to defend his possessions against the Barbaresque pirates ⁸⁰ and of emperor of Germany entrusted with the mission of conducting the crusade against the Turks ⁸¹, Charles V was compelled to oppose the Ottoman domination in the North of Africa ⁸².

⁷⁴ N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane*, p. 168, 169.

⁷⁵ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II, p. 369—370.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, II, p. 378.

⁷⁷ Idem, *Deux lettres grecques de sultans*, in "Revue historique du Sud-Est européen", 1940, p. 1—6.

⁷⁸ Idem, *Essai de synthèse*, III, p. 181—182.

⁷⁹ Idem, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane*, p. 175.

⁸⁰ Idem, *Essai de synthèse*, III, p. 181—182.

⁸¹ Idem, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane*, I, c.

⁸² N. Iorga, *Essai de synthèse*, III, I, c.

But Nicolae Iorga realized that all these great successes — Goletta, Tlemcen, Afrikiye — led to no result as “Spain’s action in the Mediterranean Sea was not prompted by modern territorial requirements; it was no natural and logical action but only a medley of mediaeval influences and traditions among which the recollections from Mehedia of Doria’s Genoa”⁸³. So Süleyman added Malta to his possessions (1565) and completed the domination of the Eastern basin of the Mediterranean Sea by confiscating the isle of Chios (1566) where he was called by the Greeks, the enemies of the Genoese domination⁸⁴. To complete the organizing of the Turkish power in the Mediterranean Sea, the only thing left was the solving of the problem of Cyprus which Selim II carried out (1570) with the help of the peasant serfs and the Greek-Orthodox clergy who were tired of the disturbances caused by the French noblemen and of Venice’s fiscal oppression⁸⁵. And, a task which was to be solved in the 17th century — the conquest of Crete occupied by the Venetians.

Until these two problems were to be solved, problems which were to arouse, remarks Nicolae Iorga, “wishes to renew the crusades”⁸⁶, the empire of Süleyman supported by the best, the most fearless and best-trained army in Europe⁸⁷, possessing a developed fleet built up by the action of that unofficial admiral Khair ed-Din Barbarossa⁸⁸, served by an incorruptible and well-informed diplomacy, better even than the diplomacy of the Renaissance, this empire extending from the Danube to the Euphrates and to the cataracts of the Nile, had reached the climax of its power.

In an Europe torn by mean rivalries and by conflicts between Roman-Catholics and protestants, the Ottoman Empire enjoyed so great a prestige that even Francis I, king of France, “the natural and perpetual opponent of the House of Austria on the Rhine and in Italy” as N. Iorga characterized him⁸⁹, was obliged to ask the Porte for help, thus breaking with the obsolete mediaeval ideology to carry on a realistic policy grounded on mutual interests⁹⁰.

These are the fundamental aspects expounded by N. Iorga in the *History of the Ottoman Empire*, in his syntheses and in the lec-

⁸³ Idem, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane*, p. 176.

⁸⁴ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, III, p. 109.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 144–145. See also *Essai de synthèse*, III, p. 241.

⁸⁶ N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane*, p. 206.

⁸⁷ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, III, p. 78–79.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 167.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 79–80.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 83–85.

tures delivered at the university⁹¹, that underlie the presentation of the apogee of the Ottoman Empire which during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent enjoyed unsurpassed prestige.

4. DECLINE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

After the death of Süleyman the Magnificent who — notes Nicolae Iorga — exhausted all the means of fighting and domination of the Ottoman Empire⁹² in order to carry out his plans, there began an epoch of decline interrupted by transitory attempts at recovery made by the grand Albanian viziers Sinan and Ferhađ, by the energetic sultan Murad IV (1623—1640) and the grand viziers Köprülü.

In pages full of profound historical insight, based on sources heretofore unknown or unused, N. Iorga reveals certain aspects of the crisis of the Ottoman Empire, having to face in Europe by the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century serious problems arising in the two directions of its advance.

In the Mediterranean Sea, the Ottoman thalassocracy encountered the resistance of the Christian League which, aroused by the expedition of Selim II against Cyprus, destroyed his maritime power at Lepanto (1571), a battle characterized by Nicolae Iorga as the clash between “two military impotencies”⁹³.

On the lower Danube, the struggle of the Romanian principalities under Michael the Brave and Prince Aron to be rid of the oppressive Ottoman suzerainty⁹⁴, was a serious blow to the empire’s prestige and economy. On the Pannonian Danube the Ottoman offensive taken by Sinan (1593) encountered the resistance of the House of Austria which, purposing to conquer the “third Hungary”, “Turkish central” and to extend its domination over Transylvania, imposed, at Zsitva-Török (1606) the first onerous peace in the whole history of the Ottoman Empire⁹⁵.

In Asia the problem of Georgia started again the old and implacable rivalry between the Ottoman empire and the Persian monarchy

⁹¹ N. Iorga, *Curs de istorie universală din 1935—1936* (Course of Lectures on World History, 1935—1936).

⁹² Idem, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane*, p. 185.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 185.

⁹⁴ N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Dunării* (The Question of the Danube), p. 202.

⁹⁵ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, III, p. 339—340.

which was also Moslem ⁹⁶. N. Iorga shows that the long wars with Persia (1578—1590, 1612—1619, 1624—1639) caused the decay of the army, the weakening of the state, the impoverishing of the provinces and the worsening of the corruption of the ruling class of renegades ⁹⁷.

Besides these difficulties the Ottoman Empire had to cope with after the period of great expansion during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, there was, remarked N. Iorga, “the perpetual insecurity in North Africa and the possibility of conflicts beyond the Danube and on the Northern coast of the Euxine” ⁹⁸.

In the various stages of his historical thinking, expounded in the works directly or indirectly concerned with the history of the Ottoman Empire, Nicolae Iorga investigated the aspects and causes of the decline, analysed especially from the military and political point of view and less from the economic one.

In his first synthesis on the Romanian history, Nicolae Iorga pointed out, with good reason, that in the 16th century “the Turkish state had built up its strength more and more on the abuse of public power... The holy war no longer brought booty, the favour of the Porte was no longer bought with rich gifts, a great number of provinces were of no importance for the imperial treasury as they had gradually broken loose from the whole, and there was no power and intelligence that could take energetic steps that would check this process of decomposition” ⁹⁹.

This fragment proves that N. Iorga admitted that the real cause of the Ottoman Empire’s financial crisis — which by the end of the 16th century ¹⁰⁰ had become very severe — was the cessation of the invading expeditions and the fact that a number of rich provinces, such as Syria and Egypt, were gradually breaking away and returning to their former autonomy.

To this economic explanation, grounded on the implicate acknowledgement that the power of the Ottoman state was essentially based on conquests, N. Iorga adds a socio-political explanation. In *The History of the Ottoman Empire* he analyses the state of decay

⁹⁶ Idem, *Un témoignage espagnol sur la Turquie de Soliman le Magnifique*, in “Revue historique du Sud-Est européen”, VII, no. 4—6, April-June 1930, p. 95.

⁹⁷ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, III, p. 246—247.

⁹⁸ Idem, *Essai de synthèse*, III, p. 262—263.

⁹⁹ Idem, *Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes*, II, p. 144.

¹⁰⁰ See the analysis of the financial situation in N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, III, p. 227—232.

of the “renegades”¹⁰¹ recruited in turns from among the Greeks, the Serbians, the Bosnians, and the Albanians¹⁰². During the reigns of Selim II (1566—1574), Murad III (1574—1595), Mehmed III (1595—1603) and of their successors high offices are obtained only through intrigues or family connections with the imperial family or the favourites in the seraglios¹⁰³ and not for valour, loyalty and talent, as in the time of Mehmed II or Süleyman I — so that after the murder of the great vizier Mehmed Sokoli (1568—1579) the empire had no real great viziers until Mehmed and Ahmed Köprülü in the latter half of the 17th century except for Sinan Pasha and Ferhad Pasha¹⁰⁴.

Nicolae Iorga states that one of the causes of the weakening of the Empire was the antagonism between the renegades of long standing and those of recent date. Besides, there was the old contradiction between the “renegades” and the native Turks¹⁰⁵ who had no access to the high offices as the sultans trusted the training and loyalty of some members of the subjugated peoples considered slaves that could get rid of any time.

With uncommon historical insight, Nicolae Iorga remarks that in consequence of the commercial progress of the Greeks who, in the second half of the 16th century begin to play a political role without having to abjure formally¹⁰⁶, penetrating even in the Ottoman oligarchy¹⁰⁷, the influx of “renegades” declined and their stratum diminished numerically too¹⁰⁸. Lacking political and cultural training, the Turks were unable to recover the place they had deserted during the epoch of conquests.

Their place was taken by the Phanariots who constituted a closed category of dragomans, diplomatic agents, high officials of the Constantinople Patriarchy, logothetes, kartofilax and princes of the Romanian Principalities. They feel they are employees of the empire on which depend their life and their prosperity¹⁰⁹. This Greek

¹⁰¹ Idem; see also the “Bulletin de l’Institut pour l’histoire de l’Europe sud-orientale”, III, 1916, p. 11.

¹⁰² Idem, *Les causes de la catastrophe de l’Empire ottoman*, Vălenii de Munte, 1913, p. 14.

¹⁰³ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, III, p. 167.

¹⁰⁴ Idem, *Lupta de la Lepanto — caracteristicile și urmările ei* (The Battle of Lepanto — its characteristics and consequences) in “Drum drept”, 1914, p. 175.

¹⁰⁵ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, III, p. 186—187; idem, *Quelques mots sur les relations entre les Roumains et le peuple turc*, Bucharest, 1914, p. 9—10.

¹⁰⁶ Idem, *Les causes de la catastrophe de l’Empire ottoman*, p. 16.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁸ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, III, p. 369.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, IV, p. 368.

“aristocracy” which controls all the Christian elements in the Greek, Slav and Romanian provinces, has to struggle with the rivalry of the Moslem aristocracy which based its claims on the services rendered to the empire by their ancestors ¹¹⁰.

At the same time, Nicolae Iorga points out that the crisis of the Ottoman feudalism was made clear by the selling for money of the *timars* and the *ziamets* which are no longer distributed on the battle field as a reward for feats of arms or for outstanding public merits ¹¹¹.

The transformation of the *timars* into hereditary properties worsened the exploitation of the peasants who were obliged to give the *sipahis* now “masters of the land in the worst sense of the word” ¹¹² shares of the products which were considerably larger than the usual metayage (*öshr*). N. Iorga does not connect this phenomenon to the passing of Ottoman economy to the relations money-goods or to the transformation of feudal domains into enterprises producing grains for the market. Nevertheless he notices the appearance of a form of class struggle : the mass flight of the peasants and the disappearance of whole villages ¹¹³.

With his deep-going historical insight N. Iorga sets off a number of repercussions of the demographic phenomenon, of the thinning out of the population on the recruiting system and on the discipline of the Ottoman standing army. He rightly points out that the gradual abandoning of the *devshirme* recruiting system of the Janissaries, as a consequence of the thinning out of the population in whole regions, and similarly the introduction of the practice of money compensation ¹¹⁴ allowed the penetration of undisciplined and corrupt elements from the Turkish lower orders ¹¹⁵. The abolishing of celibacy and the commercial privileges the Janissaries in the decadent period enjoyed, brought about the weakening of the military spirit of this guard of new “praetorians”.

The feudal army declined also because of the *sipahis*' practice of buying off the obligation of going to the war — it was no longer a profit-making pursuit — so they stayed behind and attended to their domains now changed into “hereditary *çiftlik*s”.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 369.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, III, p. 173—174.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, p. 218.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 416.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

According to N. Iorga, one of the factors accounting for the decadence is the disappearance of the warlike spirit of the sultans who, in the feudal-military system of the Ottoman Empire, were expected to exert absolute authority in military, civil and religious matters. As for the grand viziers who might have taken their places, they exhausted their energy in struggling against harem intrigues and lost their stability.

“Since the disappearance of the energetic sultans, since the cessation of rewarding wars, personal interests, and the greediness of one or another, refused to yield to the benefit of a state which cannot rely on a nation, . . . or on any other right than that of conquest, which the conquered refused to acknowledge”¹¹⁶.

The weakening of the central power caused by inactive sultans¹¹⁷ and mediocre grand viziers¹¹⁸ gave free rein to the tendencies of autonomy of the governors of provinces who, in the border regions of the empire, began to declare themselves independent. To these rebellions of the pashas there were added the movements of the subjugated peoples, the Serbians, the Greeks, the Bulgarians, who rose against the Ottoman rule represented by the exploiting pashas — even though these peoples were not yet fully aware of their past or of their future possibilities¹¹⁹.

Nicolae Iorga did not overlook the long series of uprisings caused by the aggravation of the Ottoman exploitation in Egypt (1578, 1589), in the Archipelago (1583), in Syria (1578), Bulgaria (1596, 1688, 1689), Morea (1602), Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Macedonia (1689), etc.

The analysis of the condition of the subjugated peoples within the Ottoman Empire revealed the now retrograde character of the Turkish domination which, beginning with the 17th century, hindered their material and spiritual development. The description of the backwardness reigning in Hungary¹²⁰ under the rapacious domination of the Ottoman Turks¹²¹ is particularly telling.

In a study on the causes of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Nicolae Iorga sets off the serious contradiction which, during the epoch of decadence, was undermining this state in which the peo-

¹¹⁶ N. Iorga, *Istoria lui Mihai Viteazul* (History of Michael the Brave), ed. N. Gheran and V. Iova, p. 43.

¹¹⁷ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, III, p. 190.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 178—179.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 190.

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 286.

¹²¹ *Ibidem*.

ples were exhausted by the long wars, by court intrigues¹²² and by the intense economic exploitation, unable to recover in times of peace, for peace was opposed to the very essence of the empire.

Starting from the thesis that even in epochs of prosperity the Ottoman Empire was unable to support itself on its own production and had to rely especially on conquests, Nicolae Iorga pointed out that the peoples within the empire could no longer develop, as they were compelled to send to Constantinople ever greater amounts of money, men and supplies of all kind, required by the *cessation* of the annexations.

Though N. Iorga did not dwell long on this aspect which he dealt with especially in connection with the financial and economic exploitation of the Romanian Principalities¹²³, for which he possessed a first-hand documentation¹²⁴, there are certain passages which show he had grasped the harmful effect of the excessively centralized Ottoman economy which, in course of time, hindered the development of the provinces. However, he did not notice that the complete draining of the wealth of the population in the provinces was not caused only by the "greediness" of the sultans and of the grand viziers, but particularly by the imperious necessity of withstanding the European opponents who possessed considerable economic and financial resources due to the rapid development of the production forces organized on capitalist bases.

This contrast between the feudal Ottoman Empire and the capitalist West compelled the Turks to intensify their exploitation of the subjected populations attempting to solve the problem of economic and financial resources, as the empire had always done, by means of conquest and plunder.

5. THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE'S ATTEMPTS AT RECOVERING THROUGH THE RESUMPTION OF ITS POLICY OF CONQUEST

In the *History of the Ottoman Empire* and other works on this important state, Nicolae Iorga gave a detailed and well-documented

¹²² N. Iorga, *Les causes de la catastrophe de l'Empire ottoman*, p. 15.

¹²³ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, III, p. 169.

¹²⁴ The documents and firmans dating from the second half of the 16th century and from the 17th and 18th centuries preserved as copies accompanied by French translations in the Library of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, after which N. Iorga published short abstracts in *Documente și cercetări asupra istoriei financiare și economice a Principatelor române* (Documents and Research on the Financial and Economic History of the Romanian Principalities), pp. 177–180.

description of the earliest attempts made to reconstruct the empire, by resuming the policy of conquest which had constituted the very source of this state's wealth and power.

This was the policy adopted by great sultans such as Osman II ¹²⁵ (1618—1622) and Murad IV ¹²⁶ (1623—1640), resumed later, under incapable sultans, by the grand viziers Mehmed Köprülü (1656—1661) and Ahmed Köprülü (1661—1676).

Utilizing a rich and new documentation N. Iorga brought into relief the Ottoman Empire's impossibility of obtaining brilliant and complete successes over the Poles, against whom Osman II had conducted the expedition of Hotin (1620), as well as against the Austrians who were contesting with the Turks the domination of Transylvania ¹²⁷. He pointed out, on the other hand, that by resuming the policy of Selim I, the bloodthirsty Murad IV saved the empire by reconstituting the military forces which helped him to conquer Bagdad "the capital of the shiite Moslem heresy" ¹²⁸, to extend his domination "as far as the seashore, in Mesopotamia" ¹²⁹.

But though this "new Alexander of Macedonia" succeeded in reestablishing peace in the whole of the Ottoman Empire, by crushing any attempt at political autonomy in Anatolia, though he resumed the tradition of the war against the Persians and laid the foundations of a new fleet, these successes, notes Nicolae Iorga, were paid for by the independence of action of the vassals at the Danube: the Romanian ruling princes concluded alliances with Transylvania and Poland without heeding the sultan. Resuming Lybyer's just remark ¹³⁰, N. Iorga maintains that, due to a faulty military organization, the Ottoman Empire could vanquish in one direction only, on one front only, as it possessed only a single army able to ensure victory ¹³¹.

To re-establish the Ottoman Empire in its rights on the Danube, the grand viziers Köprülü had to reorganize the army which was to replace the "militia of praetorians" of the capital city constituted of Janissaries of Turkish origin who had given up the monastic way of life to become merchants and usurers. This new way in which the

¹²⁵ *Ibidem*, III, p. 443—444.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 451 and foll.

¹²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 392.

¹²⁸ N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane*, p. 199.

¹²⁹ N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Dunării*, p. 206.

¹³⁰ A. H. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge 1913, p. 112.

¹³¹ N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Dunării*, p. 206.

army was organized ¹³² — states Nicolae Iorga — relied on special men ¹³³ and employed contingents native from the provinces next to the scene of the military operations, Wallachians, Moldavians, Tartars ¹³⁴.

N. Iorga also underlined the clever policy designed to win over the subjugated populations in the regions where the war was being carried on : Greeks under Venetian domination, Calvinist Hungarians whom the viziers Köprülü incited against the Austrians ¹³⁵.

It was to these measures, thinks N. Iorga, that the Ottomans owe the conquest of Crete (1669) after a very long war (1645—1669), a war fought with “admirable steadiness” ¹³⁶, as well as the opening of the Danube frontiers through the crushing of “Transylvania’s wish to be independent” ¹³⁷ after the failure of the campaign of George Rákóczy II in Poland (1667) and the dissolution of the alliance between the three Romanian principalities.

The military system of the Köprülü viziers, shows N. Iorga, which was in favour of an uninterrupted offensive, ¹³⁸ brought about, after the Ottoman advance had been stopped on the Waag, at Neuheusel and Lewentz and after the defeat at Sankt Gothard followed by the peace—a compromise in fact — at Vasvár (1664) ¹³⁹ — the war with Poland which ended with the peace of Żurawna (1676), and the war against the Cossacks, ending in the conquest of Čehrin (1678).

The thesis of the renaissance of the Ottoman power under the grand viziers Köprülü who, at the costs of huge efforts added new provinces to the empire, is today fully acknowledged by recent historiography.

But N. Iorga remarked also — and his remark is valid today too — that the conquest of Crete, Kamenets and of West Ukraine ¹⁴⁰ was dearly paid for, as the forces of the Ottoman Empire were exhausted and the economic and fiscal exploitation of the subjugated and vassal ¹⁴¹ countries was intensified ¹⁴².

¹³² Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, IV, p. 157.

¹³³ *Ibidem*, p. 161 ; N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane*, p. 213.

¹³⁴ N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Dunării*, p. 194.

¹³⁵ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, IV, p. 138.

¹³⁶ Idem, *Chestiunea Dunării*, p. 207.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 207.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 212.

¹⁴⁰ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, IV, p. 118.

¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 167.

¹⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 168.

Compelled to pursue under the mediocre grand vizier Kara Mustapha the political line mapped out by the Köprülü, the exhausted empire encountered at the siege of Vienna (1683) the joint resistance of the Habsburgs and of John Sobiesky's Poles.

The series of heavy defeats following the relieving of Vienna, and culminating with the loss of Buda (1686) and of the Pannonic Danube (the battles of Essek and Mohács (1687) the loss of the citadel of Erlau and Stuhluweissenburg or Alba Regalis) obliged the Turks to withdraw from the centre of Europe and thus at Carlowitz (1699)¹⁴³ they surrendered Hungary and Transylvania.

When analysing the consequences of this treaty, N. Iorga remarks that by conquering the Danube line for which they had fought for almost two centuries, the Austrians succeeded in dominating through Transylvania, the Danube principalities, securing an "entrance door to the Banat"¹⁴⁴. N. Iorga considered that by the loss of Morea the Turkish military power disappeared from the Mediterranean Sea¹⁴⁵.

To do away with the consequences of the Carlowitz treaty which Nicolae Iorga looked upon as an armistice¹⁴⁶, the Ottoman Empire animated by new aspirations after conquests will be compelled at the beginning of the 18th century to wage the bloody war of Morea¹⁴⁷ where the severe domination of Venice had aroused the hatred of the Greeks¹⁴⁸. The empire will then be obliged to withstand the offensive action of the House of Austria which, wishing to gain full mastery over the Danube line, imposes on it the defeat of Petrovaradin and the disastrous peace of Passarowitz (1718).

The continuation of the conquest policy of the Köprülü viziers under sultan Ahmed III (1703—1730) enjoyed the support of a considerable part of the Ottoman feudal military and clergy in the hope of solving in this way the social crisis.

6. THE ORIENTAL QUESTION

The military decline of the Ottoman Empire revealed by the victorious campaigns of Eugène de Savoie raised, for the first time

¹⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 272.

¹⁴⁴ N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Dunării*, p. 218.

¹⁴⁵ *Idem*, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane*, p. 209.

¹⁴⁶ *Idem*, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, IV, p. 275.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 333—336.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 326.

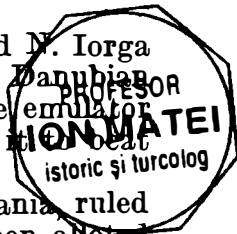
in history, the problem of the inheritance of this great state, which Austria and Russia tried to solve in their favour.

Taking over too soon the role of Poland — observed N. Iorga — Russia in the time of Peter the Great interfered in the Danubian affairs¹⁴⁹, but the victory of Stănilești (1711) won by the emulător of the Köprülü viziers, Baltadji Mehmed pasha, obliged it to beat a temporary retreat.

On the other hand, Austria which, besides Transylvania, ruled over Banat, Northern Serbia and Oltenia which it had been allotted through the peace of Passarowitz, represented according to N. Iorga, a permanent threat for the Balkan possessions of the Ottoman Empire, as it could any time invade Bosnia and Macedonia¹⁵⁰. Considering this threat that hung over Constantinople too, N. Iorga showed that, strengthened by the resumption of the conquest policy supported by Ahmed III and by the Grand viziers Djinn 'Ali and Ibrahim Damad, the empire started an offensive in Europe after a long period of wars against the Persians of Nadir Shah¹⁵¹ and after repressing the uprising of Patrona Khalil (Sept. 28, 1730), which Nicolae Iorga wrongly considered "a preface to the French revolution"¹⁵².

According to N. Iorga, the local dynastic character of the war waged in the East by the House of Austria¹⁵³, the "unnatural" union with Russia¹⁵⁴ and the possibility the Turks had of renewing their forces¹⁵⁵, account for the Ottoman victory of Grodzka which enabled the Porte to regain, through the peace of Belgrade (1739), its frontiers in the Balkan Peninsula. N. Iorga pointed out that, during the twenty-year war due to the participation of Austria in the Silesian wars¹⁵⁶, the Ottoman Empire started declining again. Emphasizing its Turkish and Moslem character¹⁵⁷ the nations started fighting against one another, preparing uprisings and revolutions.

The decline of this empire which represented the oldest monarchy was sanctioned, observed N. Iorga, by sultan Mahmud II (1808—1839) himself who through the abolishing of the ancient corps of



¹⁴⁹ N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Dunării*, p. 224.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 223.

¹⁵¹ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, IV, p. 403—408, 453—455.

¹⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 409 and foll.

¹⁵³ N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Dunării*, p. 223.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵⁵ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, IV, p. 443.

¹⁵⁶ N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Dunării*, p. 226 ; idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, IV, p. 466.

¹⁵⁷ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, IV, p. 466, l.c.

the Janissaries and by the setting up of the new army of *nizams* had accomplished "the first of the revolutions" which in the 19th century were to change the face of the European world ¹⁵⁸.

Unlike Austria which failed twice in its attempt to conquer the Danube line — in 1736—1739 and in 1787—1791 — Russia took advantage of the crisis of the Ottoman Empire "which was dying though the Turkish nation was alive" ¹⁵⁹.

In the last volumes of the *History of the Ottoman Empire* and in the *Question of the Danube*, Nicolae Iorga followed up the stages of the advance of Russia supported by the Christian elements under the sultan's domination. These stages are marked by important diplomatic advantages gained through the treaty of Kuciuk-Kainardji (1774) which opened up to the Russians broad prospects in the Balkan Peninsula and in the Crimea, through the treaties of Jassy (1792), Bucharest (1812) and Adrianople (1829), after which the Ottoman Empire no longer appears as an independent state and raises misgivings regarding its future existence ¹⁶⁰.

Examining the oriental question within world history, N. Iorga holds that the fact the Ottoman Empire continued to exist is not accounted only by the twofold political orientation of the Habsburgs which oscillated between an expansion in the East started by the inheritance of ancient Hungary ¹⁶¹ and their wish to rule supreme in the West. It was not accounted for either by the rivalry between Austria and Russia which, in order to solve the oriental question, must take heed of the Habsburg power and the latter having been ousted from the Balkans by the peace of Belgrade, tried to check the advance of its rival in the East, first by means of an "unnatural" agreement with it, then by maintaining the statu-quo, adopting the principle of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire which was backed by France until the French revolution broke out.

N. Iorga justly points out that the Ottoman Empire was maintained, in certain critical moments, due to great European political events. In 1792, the Ottoman Empire was saved from being dismembered by the outbreak of the French revolution, which took the armed forces of Austria and Russia to the West, offering them more promising prospects of expansion ¹⁶². In 1812 the empire preserved the Danubian Principalities only due to Napoleon's campaign in

¹⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, V, p. 311; N. Iorga, *Essai de synthèse*, IV, p. 198.

¹⁵⁹ N. Iorga, *Essai de synthèse*, IV, p. 20—21.

¹⁶⁰ *Idem*, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, V, p. 350, n. 4.

¹⁶¹ *Idem*, *Chestiunea Dunării*, p. 219.

¹⁶² N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, V, p. 99.

Russia, just as it had regained Egypt, pro forma, only due to England's interference which, having settled at Gibraltar and Malta wanted to secure the domination of the Mediterranean¹⁶³, preventing Bonaparte from resuming the policy of Francis I and Louis XIV¹⁶⁴.

In 1829, when the Russian troops got as far as Čataldja near Constantinople, the empire of Mehmed II, noted N. Iorga, was not saved only due to the mediation of Prussia and to Holland's advice recommending moderation, but particularly due to the interference of the great European powers who supported the integrity of Turkey. The antagonism of Austria which was opposed to the Russian advance towards Constantinople was added to the rivalry of England which wished to preserve its markets in a country which had no economic life of its own yet, in the modern sense¹⁶⁵.

N. Iorga dwelt on the role England played in the maintaining of the Ottoman Empire as a temporary state. He adopted the opinion of Ch. White who wrote that both the interests of English trade and the necessity of ensuring the security of the roads connecting its colonial empire to the metropolis required Russia should be hindered from access to the Golden Horn¹⁶⁶. The Straits and Constantinople had become particularly important for the English policy, in consequence of the setting up of the Indian Empire. The vast exposition of the Oriental question in its various phases shows that the Anglo-Russian rivalry guaranteed the maintaining of the Ottoman Empire.

Nicolae Iorga points out that in the conflict between sultan Mahmud and the viceroy of Egypt, Mehmed 'Ali, the defense of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire which in the 19th century had become the main condition of the European equilibrium¹⁶⁷ was a necessity for England. This great power could not accept the presence of a young Moslem state, able to act in the waters of the Mediterranean which she had reserved for herself and where the viceroy held a strategical position of paramount importance since he had obtained the governing of Crete.

After the conquest of Syria (1831) by the fellahs and the Arabs of the "almost Pharaon of Egypt", Europe, headed by England, had to interfere against the conquerors who, through the victories

¹⁶³ Idem, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane*, p. 234—236.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 232.

¹⁶⁵ N. Iorga, *Les causes de la catastrophe de l'Empire ottoman*, p. 15.

¹⁶⁶ Ch. White, *Drei Jahre in Konstantinopel*, ... Stuttgart 1846, I, p. 114—115;

N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, V, p. 440.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 366.

of Homs and Konya had established a quasi-Russian protectorate on the empire, sanctioned by the treaty of Hunkiar Iskelesi ¹⁶⁸.

In the European intervention represented by English, Austrian and Prussian troops which took action only after the crushing defeat of the Ottoman army at Nisib (1839), Nicolae Iorga sets off the commercial interest England had in saving the Ottoman Empire by doing away with the Egyptian threat and especially with the Russian trusteeship ¹⁶⁹.

Through the Treaty of the Straits (1841) concluded on the ruins of the Egyptian power, Europe preserved the domain of the Mediterranean charging the sultan to watch over the Dardanelles, now that he had become again the head of a "sovereign state" ¹⁷⁰. When supporting this thesis N. Iorga did not notice, however, that Turkey was surrendering itself to the great powers of Europe, paying for its salvation by the introduction of certain reforms which brought it under the economic and spiritual influence of the West.

7. ATTEMPTS TO RESTORE THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE THROUGH REFORMS

As early as the middle of the 18th century, the Ottoman Empire now controlled by Turkish intellectuals, by *effendis* — a category of hereditary officials who had taken the place of the "renegades", was taking an interest in the changes occurring in the West and was inclined to become occidentalized ¹⁷¹.

N. Iorga shows that the leaders in the latter half of the 18th century — Osman III, or Raghîb pasha whom Nicolae Iorga called "a Turkish Choiseul" — tried to put an end to defeats by resorting to the "auxiliary renegades" not recruited from among the subjugated populations, but from among the Westerns — such as Bonneval, de Tott — and French instructors ¹⁷².

Nicolae Iorga emphasized especially the action undertaken by the energetic sultan Selim III (1789—1807) who intended to give new Western forms to the empire restored gradually through the return of Egypt and the inheritance of Djézzar and the abolition of the regime of the *dere-beys* in Anatolia. In his attempts to abolish

¹⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 371 ; N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Dunării*, p. 245.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 246—247.

¹⁷⁰ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, V, p. 402, 405.

¹⁷¹ *Idem*, *Essai de synthèse*, IV, p. 15—16.

¹⁷² *Idem*, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane*, p. 246.

the corps of the Janissaries and the *siḫāhis*, in order to replace them by an army of Prussian imitation, N. Iorga showed up the fatal delusion which caused the fall of Selim, deposed by the revengeful uprising of the Janissaries¹⁷³, and killed at the time when another movement would have given him back the throne¹⁷⁴. Nicolae Iorga gives a description of all these events but without setting off the retrograde, feudal character of the Janissaries movement who, for a time, hindered the attempts to give the empire a new military life.

Nicolae Iorga holds that the example of the successes scored in Morea by the army of Ibrahim, trained, armed and led according to the French military system, made Mahmud II resume the attempt made by Selim III, braving the discontent of the fanatic Moslems, the resistance of the retrograde '*ulama*' and the rebellious spirit of the Janissaries¹⁷⁵. The success of the military reform which replaced the decadent Janissaries by *nizams* is due both to the sultan's caution who did not overlook the national and religious prejudices of the Turks¹⁷⁶ or the isolation of the Janissaries left now without the support of their former leaders and allies and that of the '*ulama*' and *sufis*¹⁷⁷.

Nicolae Iorga considered that Mahmud carried out the first of the "revolutions" which, in a few years, were to change the appearance of the European world. For the Ottomans this "revolution" meant, in Nicolae Iorga's opinion, the decline of the oldest absolute monarchy which Mahmud changed into a state similar to the "revolutionized"¹⁷⁸ ones.

Analysing the difficulties implied, in the 19th century, by the transformation of the old Ottoman Empire, based on tradition, into a modern state¹⁷⁹ after the French model "of symmetrical organization", N. Iorga notes it had been carried out "at least as a matter of form" which "astounding rapidity"¹⁸⁰. However, he considers it was a mistake that the reforming triumvirate Rashid, 'Ali and Fuad made when they imitated the Western¹⁸¹ forms of poli-

¹⁷³ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, V, p. 169 and foll.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 180—181.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 311.

¹⁷⁶ N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Dunării*, p. 244.

¹⁷⁷ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, V, p. 313.

¹⁷⁸ Idem, *Essai de synthèse*, IV, p. 198.

¹⁷⁹ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, V, p. 515.

¹⁸⁰ Idem, *Essai de synthèse*, IV, p. 262.

¹⁸¹ The Turkish historian H. Inalcik considers that the attempt at occidentalizing the Ottoman empire was brought about by the uprising of the Greeks (**H. Inalcik**, *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi*, Ankara, p. 1943, 42—63; idem, *Sened-i ittifaq ve Gülhane Hatt-i Humayunu*, in "Belleten", XXVIII, 1964, p. 603—622).

tical organization, which introduced into the Ottoman Empire the French administrative and educational organization dating from the time of Napoleon III¹⁸².

He underlined the contradiction between the principle guaranteeing the life, the property and the freedom of all the Sultan's subjects, irrespective of nationality, religion or historical rights — the principle proclaimed by the *khatt-i sherif* of Gülhane (1829)¹⁸³ — and the fanaticism of the new Turkey of the Tanzimat. It could be only a Moslem Turkey¹⁸⁴ in which the Franco-English interference started an old-Turkish reaction among the Druses, the Syrians, the Kurds and the Arabs, materialized as the fierce repression against the Armenians and the Maronites (1861), after the worsening in Albania of the contradictions between Moslems, Roman-Catholics and Greek-Orthodox (1854—1856).¹⁸⁵ Nicolae Iorga also noted that the new generation of Europeanized Turks such as Ahmed Kibrisli, Ahmed Vefik and Emir pasha were unable to restore the empire on the basis of the reforms introduced in the epoch of the Tanzimat, for the system of "servile imitation" meant to leave the empire in the hands of new "renegades", adding to the former exploiters of the subjugated nations new ones, "the profiteers of Western Europe"¹⁸⁶.

Nicolae Iorga criticized the invasion of foreign capital in Turkey, under the form of burdening loans, on guarantees that amounted to the whole of the state's incomes¹⁸⁷. He also criticizes the interference of the Paris stock exchange in the Ottoman finances, under the pretext of guaranteeing the payment of the loans.

This capitalist invasion did not only crush Turkey under debts amounting to millions, preparing a future "economic ruin"¹⁸⁸, but, in Nicolae Iorga's opinion, brought about the destruction

¹⁸² N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, V, p. 533—534; idem, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane* p. 248; *Essai de synthèse*, IV, 262.

¹⁸³ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, V, p. 390. See also the works of historians R.H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856—1876*, Princeton, 1963; R. Devereux, *The First Ottoman Constitutional Period, a Study of the Midhat Constitution and Parliament*, Baltimore, 1963.

¹⁸⁴ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, V, p. 432, 519, 521.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 530—531.

¹⁸⁶ N. Iorga, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane*, p. 248.

¹⁸⁷ Idem, *Istoria Războiului balcanic* (The History of the Balkan War), Bucharest, 1915, p. 14.

¹⁸⁸ N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, V, p. 540—541.; idem, *Chestiunea Mării Mediterane*, p. 248.

of the mediaeval domestic industry and the ruin of the old manufactures in Bulgaria, Anatolia and Syria ¹⁸⁹.

N. Iorga sets off one more contradiction which after the Crimea war (1853—1856) undermined the Ottoman Empire which in Vienna (March 15 — April 26, 1855) and in Paris (February 25—March 30, 1856) was accepted in the concert of the European states. It is the contradiction between the “ideal of ‘Ali Pasha and Fuad Pasha who sought to re-establish the unitary empire of Süleyman the Magnificent” ¹⁹⁰, and the realstate of affairs which showed the slow and continuous economic penetration of the West, the financial difficulties, the keen rivalry between the Christians and the Moslems. But there was something more threatening for the empire: the awakening of the nationalities which in the 19th century will aim at furthering their own interests, by securing national autonomy and independence.

8. FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL STATES IN THE BALKAN PENINSULA AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

In his works Nicolae Iorga showed deep concern for the national liberation movements of the peoples in the Ottoman Empire. He dealt with this subject in a few chapters of the last volume of his vast synthesis ¹⁹¹, in the largest part of his *Istoria Statelor Balcanice* (History of the Balkan States) ¹⁹² and in a number of articles and lectures ¹⁹³.

With great historical insight Nicolae Iorga underlined the fundamental contradiction that undermined the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, namely the one between the subjugated populations' aspirations after national autonomy and independence, and the theoretical conception of the empire's intangibility — a concep-

¹⁸⁹ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, V, p. 437.

¹⁹⁰ Idem, *Chestiunea Dunării*, p. 254—255.

¹⁹¹ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, V, Gotha, 1913.

¹⁹² N. Iorga, *Istoria statelor balcanice în epoca modernă* (History of the Balkan States in the Modern Epoch), Vălenii de Munte, 1913, enlarged in the French translation published under the title: *Histoire des États balkaniques à l'époque moderne*, Bucharest, 1914.

¹⁹³ N. Iorga, *Les causes de la catastrophe de l'Empire ottoman*, Vălenii de Munte, 1913; *Popoare turanice parazitare* (Turan Parasitic Peoples), Vălenii de Munte, 1915; *Ce înseamnă popoare balcanice?* (What Balkan Peoples signify), Vălenii de Munte, 1916; *Rapports entre l'État des Osmanlis et les nations des Balkans* in “Revue internationale des études balkaniques”, 2, 1935, p. 129—147.

tion proper to the Ottoman Turks according to which the provinces ruled by the sultan were part and parcel of the empire¹⁹⁴, by virtue of the right of conquest. Nicolae Iorga ascribed to these contradictions a spiritual character, when he stated that the subjugated populations could not fulfil "their historical mission" in the modern epoch, except within their own national territory and not within the Ottoman Empire based on tradition¹⁹⁵.

But, though Nicolae Iorga was a supporter of the idealistic conception in history, his works reveal certain materialistic elements as well. Thus, he pointed out that one of the cause that produced the liberation movements of the peoples in the Balkan Peninsula was the Ottoman fiscal oppression, which he illustrated by the uprising in Crete¹⁹⁶. The anti-Ottoman Serbian uprising led by Kara George is for Nicolae Iorga, the result of the anarchical tyranny, illegal from the point of view of the Ottoman Empire, exerted by the Janissaries, the *dahis* and the local chieftains, from Pasvan Oghlu to Tersenik-oghlu¹⁹⁷.

Nicolae Iorga generally searched for the explanation of the formation process of the national Balkan states in superstructural elements.

Starting from the observation that, from the 17th century, the Serbians turned to their past in order to free themselves from the Ottoman domination, N. Iorga distinguished a triple political influence at work, which aroused the Serbian masses' hopes of liberation. First of all the influence of the Austrians, as Vienna had become the great centre of the actions for a new free life of the Christian populations¹⁹⁸ in the Balkans. Then there was the influence exerted already at the time of George Brancović, by the Romanian ruling prince Șerban Cantacuzino who cherished the hope of regaining Byzantium, and Constantin Brancoveanu, the patron of the Greek-Orthodoxes and, finally, the influence of Muscovite Russia¹⁹⁹ which steadily aimed at weakening and dismembering the Ottoman Empire, so as to take over its succession.

Among the superstructure elements, Nicolae Iorga numbers the influence exerted by folk literature which, with the Serbians

¹⁹⁴ N. Iorga, *Y a-t-il eu un Moyen Age byzantin?* in *Études byzantines*, I, p. 310.

¹⁹⁶ Idem, *Les causes de la catastrophe de l'Empire ottoman*, p. 15.

¹⁹⁶ Idem, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, V, p. 559.

¹⁹⁷ Idem, *Rapports entre l'État des Osmanlis et les nations des Balkans*, p. 145; *Histoire des États balkaniques...* p. 130.

¹⁹⁸ Idem, *Rapports entre l'État des Osmanlis et les nations des Balkans*, p. 145.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibidem*.

popularized the type of their national hero, Marko Kraljević, whom, at the beginning of the 19th century, the leaders of the Serbian liberation movement — Kara George, outlaw Veliko and Milan Obrenović²⁰⁰, tried to identify themselves with.

In his analysis of the Serbian uprising led by Kara George, N. Iorga notes that it was not a movement designed to found, right then, a national state²⁰¹. He considered it was aimed especially against the decadent Janissaries, against the *čorbadži* — usurers who constituted the ruling class in the Balkan states; and also against the *dahis* who were trying to get rid of the representative of the Porte, the pasha of Belgrade, and of the Serbianized *sipahis* who were landowners, in order to become the masters of Serbia²⁰², in accordance with the precedent set at Vidin by Pasvan-Oghlu, an “*a’yan*”, a head of the rebellious Janissaries.

In the uprising led by Kara George, the popular masses were represented by Serbian peasants trained in the Ottoman armies²⁰³, by the outlaws from the frontier between Hungary and Turkey organized in bands by the outlaw Veliko from Krajna²⁰⁴ and finally by the *kirdjalis* whose plundery expeditions reached the proximity of Constantinople²⁰⁵. The organizing and leadership were performed by the voivodes and *knezi* who in Serbia, Bosnia and Hertzegowina had preserved their political and warlike attributions. But, according to N. Iorga, it was the Serbian peasants who played the most important part, backed by the lower clergy consisting of village priests, monks and abbots who turned their monasteries into real citadels of the rebels. It was the peasants who lent the uprising led by Kara George its original character of a mass popular movement “carried on by the Serbians, on Serbian land, to meet the requirements and hopes of the nation”²⁰⁶.

This movement carried out by peasants and outlaws was, according to Nicolae Iorga, the earliest expression of the discontent of the subjugated populations with the old Ottoman régime²⁰⁷. But, though Kara George’s movement did not lead to the organizing of the Serbian state in its final form — since the rebels did not intend to break off with the empire of the sultans, but to lead within it

²⁰⁰ N. Iorga, *Histoire des États balcaniques à l’époque moderne*, p. 157–158.

²⁰¹ *Ibidem*, p. 122.

²⁰² *Ibidem*, p. 124–125.

²⁰³ *Ibidem*, p. 126.

²⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 126–127.

²⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 127.

²⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 157.

²⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 156.

a separate internal life ²⁰⁸, N. Iorga considers it played the important role of reviving a nation ²⁰⁹, of raising in the Serbians "the popular will to create a state through the peasants and for the peasants" ²¹⁰.

Yugoslav historians of today agree to this thesis; they state that the 1804 revolution gave birth, in the 19th century, to the modern Serbian state with a national economy based on the small rural landed property, and of its new culture ²¹¹.

The Serbian State was gradually created, noted N. Iorga, through its own forces, without the help of Russian victories or the interference of European diplomacy ²¹². Due to the condition of the Ottoman Empire and to the keen political discernment of Milan Obrenović, an autonomous Serbia was set up, a Serbia with a double régime: that of the Serbians and of the Turkish Moslems under the pasha of Belgrade surrounded by Turkish soldiers whom the Serbians considered as armed agents of a foreign power, and those of Milan who obtained the title of hereditary prince (Nov. 6, 1817) ²¹³. The convention of Akkerman (1826) and the *khatt-i sherif* of September 30, 1830, were to put an end to this double régime, decreeing the expulsion of the *sipahis* and of the Turks from Serbia ²¹⁴ which was to be exclusively administrated by Milan whom the Porte acknowledged as the first Christian ruler in the Balkans ²¹⁵.

N. Iorga considered that the position of Milan and the confidence sultan Mahmud II placed in him were an important gain for the carrying into effect of the tendency to freedom of the Serbian people and also of the other peoples in the Balkans, first of all of the Greeks who, although having long before proclaimed the ideal of a free life in the form of the restored Byzantine empire ²¹⁶, were not the first to try and set up a political organization of their own.

Nicolae Iorga's works show that he accounted for this phenomenon by the fact that the position of the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire who could not, for the moment, imagine they may lead any other life than that under the guaranteed protection of the sultans. ²¹⁷

²⁰⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁰⁹ N. Iorga, *Rapports entre l'État des Osmanlis et les nations des Balkans*, p. 146.

²¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

²¹¹ D. Djordjević, *Les Yougoslaves au XIX^e et au XX^e s.*, in *Actes du premier Congrès international des Études balkaniques et sud-est européennes, III, Histoire*, Sofia, 1969, p. 118.

²¹² N. Iorga, *Histoire des États balkaniques...*, p. 158.

²¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 162—163.

²¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 168.

²¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 170.

²¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 179—185.

²¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 188.

The revolutionary ferment did not spring up in the Ottoman Empire where the Greeks were able to develop within the limits of their old privileges and of their primordial organization²¹⁸; it came from the West where the Greeks came into contact with the revolutionary ideas which had spread all over Europe²¹⁹.

When analysing the factors that had unleashed the Greek revolution (1821) N. Iorga emphasizes the role played by the liberation societies set up in the West where the Carbonari were preparing a revolution against the restored dynasties of the former régime²²⁰. He underlines the part played by the Hetaireia organized in Russia at Odessa, which spread its ramifications to the Romanian Principalities and to Constantinople, the great commercial centre, the meeting place of the representatives of Hellenism in the Balkan Peninsula²²¹ and of the Greeks who had attended higher education institutions in Smyrna, Chios, Chalke²²².

But, in Nicolae Iorga's opinion, the fact that Morea was drawn into the revolutionary movement was of considerable importance; it was inhabited by warlike, unruly peasants who lived according to an archaic code of morals and manners, and had obliged the Porte already in the 17th century to grant them a special organization²²³. N. Iorga sets off the role of these Mainotes whose stubborn resistance was at first aided by the Epirate rebellion of the powerful pasha of Ianina, 'Ali Tebelenli, both by the mobilizing of the Ottoman troops of the new pasha of Morea Kurshid and by the organizing and training of the revolutionary elements in the west of the Balkan Peninsula²²⁴. If in Constantinople the outbreak of an anti-Ottoman movement was suppressed in bloodshed, in which perished a great many Phanariots who had given up their ambitions, to serve the national cause²²⁵, the heroic resistance of the peasants in Morea proved to Europe that there was a Greece which the great powers gradually began to recognize, when it suited their interests²²⁶.

When the great dream of restoring the Byzantine Empire with Constantinople as capital city had gone up in smoke, a dream which Alexander Ypsilanti had also dreamt of in 1821 when he relied on

²¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 187.

²¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 172, 177.

²²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 188, 189.

²²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 194.

²²² *Ibidem*, p. 192.

²²³ *Ibidem*, p. 214—215.

²²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 213—214.

²²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 193, 227.

²²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 235.

the Romanian Principalities which he considered "his Phanariot inheritance", and on provinces of the reborn empire ²²⁷, it is the uprising in Morea that brought about, after the catastrophe of Missolonghi (1827), the destruction of the Ottoman fleet at Navarin and the defeat of the Turks by the Russian armies which had reached Çataldja. This led to the setting up of the independent Greek state (February 3, 1830) ²²⁸ which included a part of the territory inhabited by the Greek nation.

When examining the attitude of Europe, N. Iorga notes that the principle of the nationalities played a very unimportant part when the frontiers of the new country were fixed and he underlines England's opposition to "a more extensive Greece which she considered as a dangerous support for Russia's advance in the East" ²²⁹.

With the same intention of checking the advance of tzarist Russia, Europe tried to find in restored Turkey a support, by cancelling, through the Paris treaty, the "century-old rights and privileges recently granted" to the populations in the Balkans ²³⁰.

Checked in 1856, Russia resumed her actions, this time not as representative of the national tendencies of the peoples in the Balkan Peninsula, but, remarks N. Iorga, to create, through the war of 1877 and the peace of San Stefano (1878) a new Bulgarian state which was to be a permanent threat to the declining Ottoman Empire now having reached the last limit of a vain resistance ²³¹.

Nicolae Iorga remarks that even the Turkey of 'Ali pasha had facilitated the setting up of the new state by creating the Bulgarian exarchate as a separate religious organism for the whole territory inhabited by the Bulgarians, which had almost the same frontiers as those settled in 1864—1865 for the Danube vilâyet (Tuna), linked to the Ottoman empire "through the modern administration of Midhat pasha" ²³². In fact this measure was designed to restrict the authority of the Greek patriarch and to deal a blow at the cause of the Serbians who were trying to re-establish the ancient Serbia; instead of disarming the Bulgarian committee in Bucharest, it gave a larger basis to the latter's revolutionary action ²³³.

²²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 185.

²²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 256.

²²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 285.

²³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 365.

²³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 366.

²³² *Ibidem*, p. 345; N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, V, p. 555; idem *Essai de synthèse*, IV, p. 355.

²³³ N. Iorga, *Histoire des États balcaniques...*, p. 346.

Threatened by the rise of Serbia which aspired after freedom and independence, by the unrest in Montenegro, won over by the idea of a "Great Serbia", by the uprisings in the Bulgarian villages, the new Turkey, led by Younger Turks headed by Midhat, tried to solve her difficulties by introducing deep-going reforms ²³⁴.

To thwart the European conference that was designed to wrest new concessions from Turkey, the Young Turks proclaimed the constitution of 1876 "so perfect and unavailing" ²³⁵ which was unable to prevent the interference of the tzarist armies which in 1877 reached the neighbourhood of Constantinople, as they had done in 1829. Unable to resist any longer, Turkey had to acknowledge at San Stefano and then in Berlin, the liberation of Bulgaria which was due to the interference of Russia influenced also, remarks N. Iorga, by the action of the committees in Bucharest and Brăila ²³⁶. Nicolae Iorga dwells on the fact that Turkey was abandoned by Europe which, in Berlin, renounced the norms of the Paris treaty ²³⁷.

After the territorial concessions made in 1878, Turkey, on the wane, "could no longer rise through its own forces" after acknowledging the unification of Rumelia and Bulgaria and the proclamation of the independence of the Bulgarian state. Then it had to face the uprisings in Crete, unrest in Macedonia and Armenia. If it was not attacked in the period 1878 and 1908 it was, according to Nicolae Iorga, due to the unusual activity of 'Abd ul-Hamid "the only real and free official of the Empire" and to the feeling that the European equilibrium was so unsteady that "the catastrophe of the Ottoman Empire could have unleashed a general war, nobody wished for yet" ²³⁸.

The Balkan war broke out, due — thought N. Iorga — to "the fundamental mistake" the Young Turks committed when they thought they "could set up a durable, viable state with imported ideas" ²³⁹. Nicolae Iorga sets off the error of these "humanitarian visionaries", these "revolutionists in the French sense, relying on the need of liberty, equality, fraternity", who thought they could reform a state by utilising foreign "non-assimilable" elements ²⁴⁰, thus preparing "a life of perpetual chaos".

²³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 349.

²³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 358; see also *Istoria războiului balcanic* (History of the Balkan War), p. 15–16.

²³⁶ N. Iorga, *Histoire des États balcaniques...*, p. 406.

²³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 367.

²³⁸ N. Iorga, *Istoria războiului balcanic*, p. 21.

²³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

²⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 16, 22, 23.

In 1908 the Young Turks thought, wrongly, that Turkey, reformed through the re-establishing of Midhat's Constitution, should not be a Turkish "national state", but should remain the Ottoman Empire, "the ancient international (sic) state within the limits of its conquests of the 14th and 15th centuries"²⁴¹.

N. Iorga noted the contradiction that appeared after the revolution of July 3, 1908, between the internal reforms based on the renouncing to the *shariat*, the religious law of the Moslems, and the external claims based on the historic rights which advocated the recovery of the lost provinces.²⁴² This out-of-date policy was a threat not only to the states which had been part of the Ottoman Empire, but to certain great European powers, such as Austria which ruled over two provinces of the Ottoman empire — Bosnia and Herzegovina — or such as Italy which was economically interested in Tripoli.

Nicolae Iorga noticed there was a contradiction more, namely between the tendency of the Young Turks' régime to "re-establish the Ottoman rule over all the provinces belonging to it"²⁴³, by introducing a very strict centralism, and the particularism of provinces differing so much in point of economic and cultural evolution to which, in the past, there corresponded a different organization based on local privileges.

But the keenest contradiction was, according to N. Iorga, that between the state of the Young Turks, the outcome of a national revolution, and the absence of the Ottoman nation itself. For the Young Turks held that "every person could remain Greek, Serbian, Bulgarian, Romanian, a worthy representative of the respective nation, a good brother of the others, but at the same time a perfect Ottoman"²⁴⁴.

Thus on the eve of the 20th century, the Ottoman Empire was faced by "the almost complete defection of the elements until recently exploited and the almost complete incompetency of the national elements neglected and eliminated from state life, and prevented to work and thus be useful to the society they belonged to"²⁴⁵.

The Romanian historian proved that the Ottoman Empire did not collapse on account of the uprisings of the Greeks, or of the

²⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 23.

²⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 23—24.

²⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 41.

²⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 57.

²⁴⁵ N. Iorga, *Popoare turanice parazitare* (Parasitic Turanian Peoples), Vălenii de Munte, 1915, p. 23.



Fig. 13. — 17th century Romanian prince clad in the apparel required in audiences at the Sultan.



Fig. 14. — Vienna besieged by the Turks in 1683, Engraving by P. de Hooghe reproduced from J. Peeters Album.

<https://biblioteca-digitala.ro/> <http://www.acad.ro/jstor.org/>



Fig. 15. — Signing of the Treaty of Kucuk Kainarjji (1774).
<https://biblioteca-digitala.ro> / <https://www.abacadest.ro>

Serbian revolts, or because of the setting up of a new Bulgaria. It did not go to pieces in consequence of the defeats it suffered during the Balkan war, at Kirkilise and Lule Burgas on the one hand, and those of Kumanovo and Monastir on the other²⁴⁶. The empire collapsed because the elements left under the domination of the sultan had withdrawn from the activity of this multi-national state which they lent only an apparent support. In consequence of the awakening of the national feelings, these elements belonging to the subjugated populations "refused to assist this international society (sic)" which they had lived in so far²⁴⁷.

With his prodigious intuition, N. Iorga realized that as early as 1913, the Turks should have been able to renounce, at the proper moment, "and abandon the nationalities they could no longer dominate over" to raise "on the ruins of a universal empire" a single nation, the Turkish one, and to build "out of its forces and for its own interests a national Turkey which should have preserved only the Asiatic additions the Islamic community allowed it to have"²⁴⁸.

These words which advocated "a modest but safe national ideal" heralded, in the autumn of 1913, the splendid achievement Kemal Atatürk was to carry out later.

²⁴⁶ *Ibidem.*

²⁴⁷ *Ibidem.*

²⁴⁸ N. Iorga, *Les causes de la catastrophe de l'Empire ottoman*, p. 20.

CONCLUSIONS

Viewed from the perspective of time, half a century after the publication of the last volume of the monumental *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, N. Iorga's work on Ottoman history is extremely precious.

Nicolae Iorga's indefatigable activity as editor of the valuable collections *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades* and *Acte și fragmente cu privire la istoria românilor* (Acts and Fragments Regarding the History of the Romanians), besides the publication of numerous documents either in the Hurmuzachi collection or in specialty periodicals, as well as the translations of fragments of important Ottoman chronicles or even editions of chronicles like the one dealing with the Turkish expedition in Morea¹, enriched the documentary basis of the history of the Ottoman Empire especially as regards the relations between this empire and the peoples of Europe.

N. Iorga's vast synthesis is a remarkable contribution to the political, military and diplomatic history of the Ottoman Empire which, owing to its long existence, the huge extent of its territory and to its blossoming culture constituted for five centuries one of the leading factors in world history, whose action did not make itself felt only in Europe where it played a political part of great moment, but in Asia too where Constantinople lost none of its prestige as imperial capital city, even at the time of its decadence, and in Africa too where the authority of the descendants of Selim I was acknowledged until the setting up of the new Moslem state of Egypt.

Grounded on this idea, N. Iorga realized from the very first that, in order to explain the evolution of the history of the Ottoman

¹ N. Iorga, *Chronique de l'expédition des Turcs en Morée, 1715*, Bucharest, 1913.

Turks, he had to start from world history, and subsequently return to world history in order to verify his theses.

An original spirit endowed with remarkable historical insight, Nicolae Iorga denied the erroneous conception supported in the historic works of his epoch, according to which the Ottoman Empire underwent an uninterrupted evolution from Osman, "the patriarch of his tribe" down to 'Abd ul-Hamid II. He no longer viewed the history of the Ottoman Empire as "a race towards victory, crossing fields covered with corpses and towns laid waste with savage fury" ².

This romantic image which appeared late, under the influence of the dissensions caused by the Oriental question, was replaced by a well-documented presentation of the evolution of the Ottoman state, based on the critical examination of the sources known at his time, which he enriched by important archive discoveries. No work was too arduous for him, in his keen desire to obtain exact and direct information. In the documents he painstakingly wrested from oblivion, in the pages of chronicles discovered in manuscripts so far uninvestigated, in the notes and travel notes of the contemporaries, in the mentions, often touched up, of the Ottoman chronicles, in the vivid and lively pages of Byzantine writers, N. Iorga looked for the original evidence throbbing with life, for, to his mind, "life must be in the centre of any historical account" ³.

Animated by this deeply humanistic conception which he voiced as university professor, N. Iorga, the representative of an epoch in which the bases of a new investigation and interpretation ⁴ method were being laid, did not content himself with describing as his predecessors Hammer and Zinkeisen had done, the conquest expeditions of the Ottoman Turks and to relate the biographies of the sultans and of the grand viziers, or to call up diplomatic conflicts and analyse peace treaties. According to N. Iorga's conception dominated by the idea that history evolves as a whole, the *History of the Ottoman Empire* had to be integrated into the general historical development of mankind, following up the "links of culture, of political ideas, of conquests and overflowings in all domains, of

² Idem, *Les causes de la catastrophe de l'Empire ottoman*, p. 5.

³ "History is human life, the problems of the olden times are the problems of today, under another form, with other people", said N. Iorga in his opening lecture at the University of Bucharest (October 31, 1938). Idem, *Ce înseamnă astăzi concepția istorică* (What the historical conception means today), Vălenii de Munte, 1939, p. 4.; cf. idem, *Generalități cu privire la studiile istorice* (Generalities concerning the historical studies), p. 262.

⁴ N. Iorga, *Două concepții istorice* (Two Historical Conceptions) in *Generalități* (Generalities), p. 88.

displacements, transformations, strengthenings and weakenings”⁵ in order to be able to settle the place of this super-state within the human universality it belongs to.

Firmly believing in the unity of life which “has one single development comprising all its manifestations appearing at their proper place”⁶, N. Iorga maintained that history cannot be divided into fragments. That is why he endeavoured to combine the presentation of the political events with the description of the economic, social and cultural life of the provinces included in the Ottoman Empire, renewing almost entirely all the data known until then.

By applying this conception of the historical unity which is in keeping with the unity of life, a conception he had set forth in the speech delivered on his reception at the Romanian Academy (May 17, 1911), Nicolae Iorga succeeded in rendering the diversity of the aspects of the complex and troubled history of South-Eastern Europe which he had a better knowledge of than all the historians of his time.

Possessing a thorough humanistic culture, able to understand, to feel and to re-constitute all the wealth of the past concealed behind the traces preserved in documents which supplemented so happily his vast erudition, N. Iorga grasped the sense of the great problems that had to be investigated and solved and propounded original solutions.

Nicolae Iorga’s *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* is a work of great value in which the scholar’s encyclopaedic knowledge and the erudite’s precision combine with the novelty and boldness of the theses propounded.

As a historian N. Iorga made such good use of the historical sources accessible to him that he almost exhausted the information they included. He thus wrote a synthesis of the history of the Ottoman Empire in which the historical events combine happily with the presentation of the economic and social aspects, to the extent in which they could be investigated and known at the beginning of this century.

An original and fertile mind, N. Iorga renewed almost every-one of the interpretations of the varied aspects of the history of the Ottoman Empire which he considered as an integrant part of world history. The originality of these interpretations opened new vistas for the historical research.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 93.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 90.

A universal spirit, N. Iorga infused into the history of the Ottoman Empire a universal sense revealing the profound significance of this political formation for the history of South-East Europe and for the history of mankind in general. In an age when a historian's activity was limited to a narrower field of research, in the wish to achieve complete and final works, it was only N. Iorga who possessed the courage, the energy, the erudition and the gift of synthesis necessary to successfully complete a work of such extent and importance.

In *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* which is not only a work grounded on first-hand historical sources, but a work of interpretation and thinking, in studies dealing with the decisive problems the Ottoman Empire had to cope with, as well as in his synthesis, N. Iorga laid down the broad lines of the history of the Ottoman Empire, attempting to discover the causal connexion of the events investigated. He thus succeeded in bringing into relief the historical significance of the Ottoman Empire with tendencies towards an achievement of political unity which, in the great historian's opinion, is one of the essential aspects of world history.

Like his contemporaries, Nicolae Iorga attributed to the foreign factor a predominant role, dwelling on the Byzantine influence exerted on the formation of the Ottoman Empire as well as on the taking over of certain basic institutions. Nicolae Iorga acknowledged, though in a far smaller degree, the role of internal factors. Thus in one of the best chapters of his book he described the structure of the Turkoman society based on a semi-nomad economy. He depicted the vast migration movement of the Turkomans from the remote parts of Anatolia towards the central regions and the shores of the Mediterranean Sea belonging to the Byzantines and also sets off the role of the "renegades" in the governing of the Ottoman Empire.

But the stage that oriental historiography had reached at the beginning of the 20th century, when it lacked critical editions of the main Ottoman chronicles and especially collections of Turkish documents, as well as his own training as historian which was not that of a specialist in Turkish civilization, prevented him from granting proper importance to internal factors. That is no doubt why he made from the very first a difference between the history of the Ottoman Empire considered as a political and military creation, grounded on the traditions of the Turko-Mongolian, Islamic and Byzantine monarchies, and the national history of the Turkish people⁷.

⁷ M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, *N. Iorga, historien de l'Empire Ottoman*, in "Balcania", VI, Bucharest, 1943, p. 119.

As early as 1910 N. Iorga had suggested that a commission of specialists should be set up to deal with the editing and translation of Turkish documents and chronicles.

Though because of the drawbacks of the historiography in his epoch on the one hand, and of his own philological training on the other, Nicolae Iorga was unable to make a closer investigation of the institutions, literature and art of the Turkish people, he nevertheless succeeded in writing a work of vast proportions based on new sources, replete with bold and fertile ideas.

The fact that Nicolae Iorga was not able to utilize the Turko-Oriental⁸ sources in the original does not lessen the value of his work. The latter should be appreciated both for the documentation which includes a varied range of sources some edited, others never having been edited before, and for the novelty of his conception. Viewed from this double angle the *History of the Ottoman Empire* appears as a work based on abundant documentary information which enlisted Greek, Slav, Latin and Oriental sources to the degree in which the latter were accessible through translations which he used with rigorous method.

Written with a universal vision of history and with remarkable insight, often confirmed by subsequent discoveries made in archives, the *History of the Ottoman Empire* constitutes today too, due to the novelty and originality of its theses, a remarkable contribution which can be utilised by historians, subject to explanations and corrections made by students of Turkish lore.

Well-stocked with keen observations, just findings and reflections and original ideas, this vast work supplies suggestions for new and promising investigations. Like all N. Iorga's works, ranging from vast syntheses to articles and short notes, the *History of the Ottoman Empire* is not only a work of erudition which is a credit to our nation, but a work of interpretation grounded on profound thinking⁹.

But the value of N. Iorga's work does not consist only in the rich documentary material brought to light and interpreted with an original method in which the critical examination combines with and is happily supplemented by his brilliant intuition. It does not consist only in the arranging of this rich harvest of documents and knowledge, in a varied and suggestive account of the life that

⁸ C. Jireček in "Byzantinische Zeitschrift", XVIII, 1909, p. 578—586; C. Brockelmann in "Literarisches Zentralblatt", XXV, 1908, p. 817; K. Süsseim in "Orientalische Literaturzeitung", XVI, p. 463—464; E. Gerland in "Deutsche Literaturzeitung", XIII, 1910, p. 819.

⁹ M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, *N. Iorga et l'histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* in *Nicolas Iorga, L'homme et l'œuvre*, 1972, p. 186.

flowed within the Ottoman Empire. If for his contemporaries the value of N. Iorga's work consisted in the novelty of the synthesis resulting both from the rich documentary material and from the originality of his historical conception, for us today it consists namely in its force of evocation and suggestion. For, as an other Romanian historian remarked "every single line he wrote contains the seed of some idea, constitutes the opportunity of a debate, raises problems that have to be examined and investigated, arouses the reader's interest — in default of which no historical work can be living science but remains dead letter"¹⁰.

Started from a personal wish to carry out exact and direct research of the sources, placed in the service of an imperious exigency of method according to which "human life should be the centre of any historical account", N. Iorga's work is not only the best history of the Ottoman Empire ever written so far¹¹, but is and will always be a work that will never cease from fertilizing the soil of science.

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¹⁰ Gh. Brătianu, *Nicolae Iorga (Trei cuvintări)* (Three Speeches) The "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History, Bucharest, 1944, p. 14.

¹¹ The best proof is that the *History of the Ottoman Empire* by N. Iorga is used by scholars such as G. Ostrogorski (*Histoire de l'État byzantin*, Paris, 1956, p. 499) and I. V. Grekov (Очерки по истории Международных отношений Восточной Европы XIV—XVI вв. (Moscow, 1963) and by the collaborators of the new edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* as well the translation of vol. V of *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* into Turkish, by B. Sitki Baykal (Yorga, *Osmanlı tarihi*, vol. V (1774—1912), Ankara, 1948).

Ail, aul. family of nomads leading an individual economic life¹, but with joint ownership of the pastures.

agha, Turkish, Ottoman term, meaning master. Title given to Ottoman high officials, with military functions².

akhindji, soldiers of the irregular cavalry who carried out raids (akin) on foreign territories for reconnoitring, plunder and destructions. They were given no timars, nor pay, but got the result of the plunder³.

ἀκρίται (from the Greek ἀκρᾶ = frontier; in Islamic sources — *Khara ita*), military colonists who protected the Asiatic frontiers of the Byzantine Empire⁴.

a'yan (plural of Arabian word 'ayn = notability). In the Ottoman Empire it designed the worthiest of the inhabi-

tants of a district or suburb. In the 18th century, it denoted the representatives chosen by the population. Under the reign of sultans Selim III, Mustapha IV and Mahmud II numerous a'yans of Rumelia and Anatolia administered almost independently the districts which they had taken possession of⁵.

beg, bey (from the old Turkish term *bög*), a Turkish title which meant seigneur, given by the Ottomans to heads of tribe, high military and civilian officials, sons of pashas. It was given also to the ruling princes of the Romanian Principalities. In the Ottoman Empire there were whole dynasties such as the Evrenosoghullari at Gümüldjine, Serez, Iskodra, the Mikhaloghullari in Serbia; the Turhanoghullari at Smederevo, Semendria

¹ B. Grekov, A. Iakubowski, *La Horde d'Or. La domination tatare jusqu'au XIII^e et au XIV^e siècles de la Mer Jaune à la Mer Noire*, Paris, 1939, p. 41—42.

² H. Bowen, in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (E.I.), ed. II, I, p. 253—254.

³ Ahmed Refik, *Türk akıncıları*, Istanbul, 1933; Zeki Pakalin, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, I, Istanbul, 1946, p. 36; W. Caskel in *E.I.*, ed. II, I, p. 350—351.

⁴ A.A. Vasiliev, *Histoire de l'Empire byzantin*, translated by P. Brodin, A. Bourguin, Paris, 1932, I, p. 485—486; II, p. 282. M.F. Köprülü, *Les origines de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris, 1935, p. 91. A. Rambaud, *Études sur l'histoire byzantine*, Paris, 1912, p. 65—108; P. Mutařiev, *Military Organization and Military Fiefs in the Byzantine Empire* (in Bulg.) in "Review of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences", XXVII, History class, XV, Sofia, 1923.

⁵ I.H. Uzunçarřılı, in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, II, p. 41—42 v.; H. Bowen, in *E.I.*, ed. II, I, p. 801—802; V. Mutařieva, *l'Institution de l'ayanlık pendant les dernières décennies du XV^e siècle*, in "Études balkaniques", I, Sofia, 1960, no. 2—3.

and in Greece; the Malkoçoghullari in Hungary etc.⁶.

beglerbeg, beylerbey (*beg of begs*) title originally given to the supreme commander of the Ottoman army. The first *beglerbeg* was Lala Shahin during the reign of Murad I. During the reign of Musa the title of *beglerbeg* appeared in Rume-*lia*⁷, and during that of Mehmed I, the title of *beglerbeg* of Anatolia⁸.

derebei (= princes of the valley), title given to the Ottoman high officials who in the 18th century had become independent of the central government in Constantinople, governing autonomously regions in Anatolia. The most important were: the Kara Osmanoglu at Aidin, Manissa, Pergam, the Çapanoglu at Kaiseri, Amasia, Ankara, Nigde and the family of 'Ali Pasha at Trebizond⁹.

derwish (from the Arabian word *darwish*), member of an Islamic community (*turuk*). With the Ottoman Turks the term *derwish* denoted the begging monks, very few of whom lived in monasteries, (*Khankul, takya*) or travelled as members of the Kalandar order. Most of them lived a life among the people¹⁰.

devshirme (from the Turkish verb *devshir* — to gather), an Ottoman term denoting the periodical gathering of children to be enlisted in the Janissary corps or to hold functions at the palace

or in the Ottoman administration. The earliest mention of this institution is to be found in a sermon delivered by metropolitan Isidor Glabas in 1395¹¹.

δυνατοί (Greek word = powerful), name given in the Byzantine legislation to nobles and high officials, as opposed to peasants and soldiers.

djizye, capitation levied according to the prescriptions of Islamic law from non-Moslems who lived on Moslem territory. The Ottomans identified the *djizye* with certain forms of pre-Ottoman capitation¹².

emir (from the Arabian word *amir* = supreme commander, governor). In the Seldjuk Empire, the title of emir denoted both military officials who were given fiefs to maintain the troops, and minor Seldjuk princes¹³.

fustae, long boats with single rowers on each side forward of the mast and pairs at poop.

ghaza (plural *ghazavat*), Arabian term denoting at first the expeditions of the Prophet against the infidels. Currently *ghaza* means a plundering raid¹⁴.

ghazi, Arabian term denoting at first the author of a raid (*ghaza*) against the Moslems. It became an honorary title borne by men distinguishing themselves in wars against the infidels¹⁵.

gümrlük, term borrowed by the Ottoman Turks from the Byzantine κομμερç;

⁶ Pakalin, *op. cit.*, I, p. 213—214; H. Bowen, in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, ed. II¹ I, p. 1193—1194.

⁷ Urudj ben Adil, ed. Fr. Babinger, p. 39; 'Ashik Pasha-zade, ed. F. Giese, p. 69. Neshri, ed. F. Taeschner, T. Menzel, I, p. 86. Sec. also V.L. Ménage in *E.I.*, ed. I, p. 1194—1195; Pakalin, *op. cit.*, I, p. 216—221.

⁸ Yusuf Akçura, *Osmanlı devletinin dağılma devri*, Istanbul, 1940; B. Lewis, *The Emergency of Modern Turkey*, London, 1961, p. 38, 74, 441—442; J. M. Mordtman (B. Lewis), in *E.I.*, ed. II, p. 213—214.

¹⁰ D.B. Macdonald, in *E.I.*, ed. II, II, p. 169—170.

¹¹ S. Vryonis Jr., *Isidor Glabas and the Turkish devshirme*, in "Speculum", XXXI, 1956, p. 433—443; D.B. Papoulia, *Ursprung und Wesen der "Knabenlese" im Osmanischen Reich*, München, 1963.

¹² H. Inalcik, *E.I.*, ed. II, II, p. 576—580; H. Hadzihajić, *Dži-zya ili harač*, in "Prilozi", III—IV, p. 55—135; V, p. 43—102.

¹³ A.A. Duri, *E.I.*, ed. II, I, p. 451—452.

¹⁴ T.M. Johnston, *E.I.*, ed. II, II, p. 1079.

¹⁵ P. Wittek, *Deux chapitres de l'histoire des Turcs de Roum*, in "Byzantion", XI, 1936, p. 285—319; idem, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, London, 1938; idem, *De la défaite d'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople*, "Revue des Études islamiques", 1938, p. 1—34; I. Mélikoff, *E.I.*, ed. II, II, p. 1068—1069.

κίον = derived from the Latin "commercium"¹⁶. In the Ottoman Empire customs duties were usual taxes.

χαριστική, precarious and conditioned ownership of ecclesiastical possessions conferred in the Byzantine Empire through letter of grant (δία χαριστικῆς)¹⁷; similar to the living in Western countries.

kadi, Ottoman high official with juridical functions, controlling the administration in the area under his jurisdiction¹⁸.

kanun (from the Greek word κανών), law, edict given by the sultan by applying the principle "örf", "lex principis"¹⁹.

khalif (Arabian word meaning successor, lieutenant); title borne by the supreme head of the Moslem world (*imam*) in his capacity as descendant of the Prophet (*khalifal rāsūl Allah*)²⁰. After the conquest of Egypt (1517) the title of *Khalif* was officially borne by the Ottoman sultan.

khan, title borne by the princes of the Turko-Tartar peoples, related to the title of *kagan*, *kaan*, *hakan*²¹.

kharadj, term borrowed by the Arabs from the Byzantines (χορηγία)²². It

denoted at first the tribute paid by non-Moslems living in Islamic territory. Then it denoted a tax on land property as opposed to the *djizya* meant to be a personal tax (capitation)²³. The term *kharadj* was also given to the annual tribute paid by the princes of the Romanian Principalities as vassals of the sultan, the amount of which was fixed through an agreement (*sulh*)²⁴.

khass, feudal possession bringing to the holder a yearly income of more than 100,000 aspri. There were 3 categories of *khass*, depending on the rank of the holders, the "*kass-i humayun*" (imperial domain) of the Sultan; the *khass-i vüzerä* (the domain of the viziers) and the *khass-i timera* (the domain of emirs or high officials)²⁵.

khatt-i sherif (illustrious letter), a normative deed issued by the sultan, bearing besides the *tughra* the recommendation written by the sovereign: "to be carried out exactly"²⁶.

kizil-bash (in Turkish = red head), religious sect in Asia Minor, the Moslems considered Shiite. Its members called themselves 'Alavi, that is to say partisans of 'Ali²⁷.

¹⁶ H. Antoniadès-Bibicou, *Recherches sur les douanes à Byzance. L'"octava" et le "kommerkion" et les commerçants*, Paris, 1963, p. 66, 104—106.

¹⁷ G. Ostrogorski, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine*, French translation by Henry Grégoire, Brussels, 1954, p. 17 and foll.

¹⁸ M.T. Gökbilgin, *XVI asırda mukataa ve iltizam işlerinde kadılık müessesinin rolü*; *IV Türk Tarih kongresi*, Ankara, 1948, p. 433—444; N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris*, t. II: *Règlements miniers (1390—1512)*, p. 135—136.

¹⁹ Cl. Huart, *E.I.*, ed. I; II, p. 767.

²⁰ T.W. Arnold, *E.I.*, ed. I, II, p. 933—938.

²¹ J. Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque*, Paris, 1921.

²² P. Schwartz, *Die Herkunft von arabisch haradj* (*Grund-Steuer*) in "Der Islam", VI, 1916, p. 97 and foll.

²³ Th. W. Juynboll, *E.I.*, ed. I, II, p. 955—956; M. von Berchen, *La propriété territoriale et l'impôt foncier, étude sur l'impôt du kharadj*, Leipzig, 1886.

²⁴ H. Inalcık, art. *Boghdan*, in *E.I.*, ed. II, I, p. 1291; M. Berza, *Haraciul Moldovei și Țării Românești în sec. XV—XIX* (The Tribute of Moldavia and Wallachia in the 15—19th centuries) in "Studii și materiale de istorie medie" (Studies and materials for Mediaeval History), II, Bucharest, 1957, p. 7—47.

²⁵ N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans*, I, p. 64; II, p. 86—88.

²⁶ Cf. Huart, *E.I.*, ed. I, II, p. 986.

²⁷ F. Grenard, in *Journal Asiatique*, X^e série, III, 1904, p. 511—522; Cl. Huart, *E.I.*, ed. I, II, p. 1114—1115.

maktu, *maktu'iyyet*, a levying system of the capitation (*djizye*) fixed by agreement (*sulh*), the amount of which could not be modified. The *maktu* system was applied to Christian princes vassals of the sultan and to certain subjects (*dhimmi*) of the sultan authorized to pay the *djizye* as a lump amount (*ber ved jh-i maktu*) thus being rid of the legal executions of the tax collectors. The *maktu* system was applied on a large scale in the declining epoch of the Ottoman Empire and was generalized by the *Tanzimat* in 1841²⁸.

'öshr, metayages, a tax of the *rusum-i 'örfiyye* category, levied for the benefit of the Ottoman authorities who could lease it or give it to the holders of timars, to pious foundations (*vakf*) or to the owners of *mülk* goods. It was levied in kind, grain, vegetables, fruits, fish, bee-hives, etc²⁹.

pasha (from the Turkish word *bash* = head, leader), a title borne at the beginnings of the Ottoman state by the elder sons of the sultan and even by certain persons having distinguished themselves in the war³⁰.

peshkesh, *pishkesh*, gifts made to the sultan, to viziers and to high officials.

πρόνοια (Greek term meaning care, supervision, administration), personal property, conditioned and lifelong, entrusted to the members of the Byzantine aristocracy provided they did military service. In the declining epoch of the Byzantine Empire the *pronoia* was changed into hereditary possession³¹.

ra'aya (*ra'iyyet*) old hame borne by Moslem and non-Moslem subjects engaged in agriculture and trade in the Ottoman Empire.

sandjak, military fief smaller than the *khas* of the beglerbegs. After the abolishing of the military feudal organization (1826, 1837), the *sandjak* became an administrative subdivision controlled by a governor (*mutesharraf*)³².

sandjak beg, governor of a *sandjak* which he held as property (*tesaruf*). In war time he was the commander of the troops gathered by the timariots in his *sandjak*, in the capacity of military chief (*mirliva*)³³.

sipahi, holder of a timar who owed personal military service and had to supply a number of soldiers proportionate to the income of his fief³⁴.

sunit, Orthodox Moslem follower of the *al-sunna* practice created after the example of prophet Muhammad and fixed in the *hadith*, according to the oral and written tradition of the community. The Sunnites did not acknowledge 'Ali as khalif and maintained that the imamate belonged to the Kuraish.

Sher'ia (from the Arabian word *shari* or *shar* = clear road), canonic law of Islam including all the commandments of Allah, regarding human actions. The precepts of the *sheri'at* are applied to the religious, political, social and individual life of the followers of Islam and regulate their relations with the non-Moslems tolerated provided they do not prejudice Islam³⁵.

shi'a, *shiit*, group of Islamic sects acknowledging 'Ali as lawful khalif and

²⁸ P. Hardy, *E.I.*, ed. II, II, p. 577—578; s. voce *djizye*.

²⁹ N. Beldiceanu, *Actes*, II, p. 297—298.

³⁰ J. Deny, *E.I.*, ed. I, III, p. 789.

³¹ G. Ostrogorski, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine*, p. 9 and foll., 21 and foll., *passim*.

³² J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna, 1815, II, p. 244—280; Fr. A. Belin, *Du régime des fiefs militaires en Turquie*, Paris, 1870; J. Deny, *E.I.*, ed. I, IV, p. 155—156.

³³ J. Deny, *E.I.*, ed. I, IV, p. 155—156.

³⁴ F.A. Belin, *Étude sur la propriété foncière en pays musulmans...*, Paris, 1862, p. 131; J. Deny, *E.I.*, ed. I, IV, p. 807—817.

³⁵ J. Schacht, *E.I.*, IV, p. 331—336.

considering the Imamate should be kept in 'Ali's family. Under the Safawid dynasty, Persia became the centre of the *Shiites* ³⁶.

timar (from the Persian word *timar* = care), fief the possession of which obliged the holder to go to the wars on horseback with a number of soldiers proportionate to the income of the land received (*dirlik*). There were 3 kinds of timar: *khas*, *ziyams* and *timars*. In a limited sense the timar was a feudal possession which brought in a yearly income from 3,000 *akçe* up to 20,000 *akçe*³⁷.

'ulama' (plural of the Arabian word *'alim*, he who has learning (*ilm*) = learned), name given to jurists and theologians charged with the observance of tradition and the applying of canonic law. The 'ulama's were decisive in matters of law and religion ³⁸.

vaka'i nuvis, Ottoman historiographer appointed by imperial decree ³⁹.

vilâyet, large Ottoman administrative unit. It also means region.

vizier, title of Iranian origin. With the Ottomans, the first vizier was 'Ala ed-Din ⁴⁰.

yenîçeri (Turkish word = new troops), name given to the regular infantry troops set up by the Ottoman Turks in the 14th century. At first, the corps of the Janissaries was made up of Christian prisoners converted to Islam. After the 14th century the Janissaries were recruited through *devshirme*. It seems Murad I was the founder of the Janissaries corps⁴¹.

ze'amet (Arabian term, in Turkish, *ziyamet*) military fief of a high class bringing to the possessor (*za'im*) an annual income varying from 20,000 to 100,000 *akçe*⁴².

³⁶ R. Strothmann, *E.I.*, IV, p. 362–371.

³⁷ Belin, *Étude sur la propriété foncière...*; idem, *Du régime des fiefs militaires dans l'islamisme et principalement en Turquie*, Paris, 1870; Worms, *Recherches sur la constitution de la propriété territoriale dans les pays musulmans...*, in "Journal Asiatique", 1842, 1843; 1844; J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung...*, I, p. 337–434; J. Deny *E.I.*, IV, p. 807–816.

³⁸ D.B. Macdonald, *E.I.*, IV, p. 1047–1048; E.J. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, II, p. 394 and foll.

³⁹ Fr. Babinger, *E.I.*, IV, p. 1152.

⁴⁰ I.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihine ait yeni bir vesikanin ehemmiyeti ve izahı ne bu münasebelle osmanlılarda ilk vezirle dair mütalea*, in "Belleten", III, fasc. 9, Ankara, 1939, p. 99–106.

⁴¹ Th. Menzel, *Das Korps der Janitscharen*, in "Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients", I, p. 48 and foll.; I.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilatı*, Ankara, 1945.

⁴² J. Deny, *E.I.*, IV, p. 1291–1292.

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* Abbreviations : *A.A.R.M.S.I.* = Annals of the Romanian Academy, Memories of the Historical Department ; *B.K.O.* = Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients ; *B.I.E.E.S.O.* = Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'étude de l'Europe sud-orientale ; *B.S.H.A.R.* = Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie roumaine ; *B.Z.* = Byzantinische Zeitschrift ; *E.B.* = Études balkaniques ; *E.I.* = Encyclopédie de l'Islam ; *J.A.* = Journal Asiatique ; Journal du Sud-Est Européen ; *R.H.S.E.E.* = Revue historique du Sud-Est Européen ; *R.I.E.B.* = Revue internationale des études balkaniques ; *R.I.* = Revista istorică ; *Z.D.M.G.* = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft ; *S.T.S.* = Svensk Tidskrift Särtryck.

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**M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, Nicolae Iorga – a Romanian
historian of the Ottoman Empire**

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

14th-20th CENT.



Fig. 16 — The map of the expansion and decay of the Ottoman Empire. - - - - Ottoman Empire's frontiers in the period of maximum expansion. - - - - Frontiers of countries and provinces conquered by the Turks or under the suzerainty of the Sultan. The data show at what time these territories had been occupied, and those in parentheses at what time they were surrendered by treaties by the Porte. ● Ra'yas established by Turks of the territory of vassal countries.

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