

**THE FOUNDATION
OF
THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE**

**A HISTORY OF THE OSMANLIS UP TO
THE DEATH OF BAYEZID I
(1300-1403)**

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All except first two books written by Arnold of Lübeck. About Slavs of central Europe in relation to Holy Roman Empire. Helmoldus's chronicle ends 1150.

HERTZBERG, GUSTAV FERDINAND. *Geschichte der Byzantiner und des Osmanischen Reiches bis gegen Ende des 16ten Jahrhunderts*. Berlin, 1883, 8vo.

HESRONITA, JOHN. Latin trans. of Edrisi in collab. with Gabriel Sionita.

HEYD, WILHELM. 1. *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Levantehandels im 14. Jahrh.*, in Festschrift zur 4. Säcular-Feier der Universität zu Tübingen.

2. *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1879. 2 vols. 8vo. French trans. by Furcy-Raynaud, Paris, 1885-6. 2 vols. la. 8vo.

HEZARFENN, HUSSEIN. *Kanounnamé*. Dated 1673. MS. col. I. L. O. St. Petersburg, no. 10. French trans. by Petits de la Croix, under title 'État général de l'Emp. ott., par un solitaire Turc'. Paris, 1695. 3 vols. 12mo.

Petits de la Croix does not give Hezarfenn as author, but I find in M. de la Croix's MS. index to Hadji Khalifa's bibliographical lexicon, in the *Bibl. Nat.*, Paris, in vol. iii. fol. 186, in his own handwriting, the statement that Hezarfenn is the 'solitaire Turc'.

HIRTH, F. *China and the Roman Orient*: researches into their ancient and mediaeval relations as represented in old Chinese records. Leipzig and Munich, 1885, 8vo.

HODGSON, FRANCIS C. *Venice in the 13th and 14th Centuries*. London, 1910, 12mo.

HODOSIU, JOSEPH. Rumanian translator of Cantemir.

HODY, H. *De Graecis illustribus*. London, 1742.

HOENIGER, NICHOLAUS VON KOENIGSHOFEN. *Der türckischen Historien und wahrhafften Geschichten, Thaten, Handlungen, Krieg, Schlachten, Sieg, Belagerungen und Eroberung zu Wasser und zu Landt aller Staetten, etc. . . . bis auff das Jahr 1578*. Basel, 1578, fol.

For 16th cent. in history, but reflects German ideas of the Osmanlis and their origin. The author calls the Prophet Mohammed 'cyn Engel des Teufels'.

HOLMES, GEORGE. Editor of 3rd ed. of Rymer.

HOPF, K. 1. *Griechenland im Mittelalter und der Neuzeit*. Parts 85 and 86 of Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*. Leipzig, 1870. 2 vols. 4to.

A marvel of erudition, but marred by poor printing and lack of index.

2. *Les Giustiniani, dynastes de Chios*. Trans. into French by E. A. Vlasto. Paris, 1888, 12mo.

3. *Veneto-Byzantinische Analekten*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, xxxii. Vienna, 1859, 8vo.

4. *Chroniques gréco-romanes*. Berlin, 1873, la. 8vo.

HOUDAS, O. Ed. and trans. Mohammed-en-Nesawi.

HOUTSMA, TH. 1. Editor of Seljuk texts, including Ibn Bibi.

2. Article on Seljuks in *Encycl. Britan.*

This has hardly been changed in the new edition, so reference to 9th ed. is satisfactory.

3. Editor, in collaboration with Basset, Arnold and Hartmann, of new *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*.

HOUTSMA, BASSETT, ARNOLD, HARTMANN, Editors. *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*. Dictionnaire géographique, ethnographique et biographique des peuples musulmans, publié avec le concours des principaux orientalistes, par Th. Houtsma, R. Basset, T. W. Arnold et R. Hartmann. Leyden, 4to. Vol. i (A-D) appeared in 1913.

HOUEAU, J.-C. Notes géogr. and map for Ghillebert de Lannoy's *Voyage*.

HOWORTH, HENRY H. *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century*. London, 1876-88. 4 vols. 8vo. (Lacks index.)

HUART, CLÉMENT. 1. *Konia: la ville des Derviches Tourneurs*. Paris, 1897, 8vo.

2. Paper on 'Épigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure', in the *Revue sémitique*, Paris, 1895, 8vo.

HUBER, Major R. Map of Ottoman Empire, with administrative divisions and military routes. Constantinople, 1901.

HUSSEIN (un solitaire Turc). See Hezarfenn.

HUSSEIN ABU HALIB. Persian trans. of Mongol or Turkish MS. found in the Yemen, which purported to contain the autobiographical memoirs of Timur. See under Anonymous, p. 366 ad fin.

IBN AL TIKTAKA. *History of the Islamic Empire* (in Arabic). Ed. by W. Ahlwardt. Gotha, 1860, 8vo.

IBN ALI MOHAMMED AL-BIWY. *Dourar-al-Othman*. 'The precious pearls touching the source and origin of the Ottoman House.' Hadji Khalifa, in *Dict. Bibl.*, fol. 867.

This is the only Ottoman genealogy mentioned by Hadji Khalifa, although he gives more than sixty Arabic titles of genealogies.

IBN BATOUTAH (ABU ABDULLAH). Arabic text of Voyages, edited and translated into French by C. Défréméry and B. R. Sanguinetti. Paris, 1853-9. 4 vols. 4to.

Vol. ii, 1854, pp. 255-353, gives Voyage through Asia Minor.

IBN BIBI (NASREDDIN YAHIA). *Seljuk-Namé*. Persian original lost. An abridgement, in Persian, of the original is no. 1185 of the Schéfer MSS. in the *Bibl. Nat.*, Paris, and has been edited and published by Th. Houtsma, in his *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'hist. des Selj.*, vol. iv, Leyden, 1892, 8vo. M. Schéfer translated several

APPENDIX A

TRADITIONAL MISCONCEPTIONS OF THE ORIGIN OF THE OSMANLIS AND THEIR EMPIRE

WHAT has been said in this book on the origin of Ottoman power and the foundation of the empire is so different from statements which have found acceptance up to this time, that I am under the obligation to justify my position by a more technical discussion, and by a fuller citation of authorities, than has been given in Chapter I. I shall deal with these misconceptions singly.

1. THAT OSMAN WAS A PRINCE OF ILLUSTRIOUS BIRTH.

Chalcocondylas is responsible for the first and widest diffusion of this error in western Europe. He claims that Osman is the great-grandson of Duzalp, 'chief of the Oghuzes'; grandson of Oguzalp, who, aspiring to succeed his father, reached 'in a brief time the highest fame in Asia'; and son of Ertogrul, who, in 1298,¹ with his fleet, devastated the Peloponnesus, Euboea, and Attika.² Closely allied to the account of Chalcocondylas is that of Hussein Hezarfenn.³ According to Ali Muhieddin,⁴ Seadeddin,⁵

¹ The dates given under the Latin columns in Chalcocondylas are almost invariably wrong and are responsible for much of the confusion of European historians in the matter of chronology. Chalcocondylas himself is full of mistakes, and knew very little about the history of Byzantium and the Osmanlis in the fourteenth century. But he is not as bad as his Latin translator, whom the historians have followed. In order to trace some of the errors, I collated the Greek text of Chalcocondylas with the Latin translation through the first two books of his history, which cover the period 1300-1403. The glosses and the inexact translations are many. For example of glosses, in I. c. 4 B, 'quos Tartaros nominant' after Scythia; I. c. 7 C, 'Orthogulus adhibitus in colloquium', at beginning of third sentence; I. c. 10 C, 'ex tribus, Orchanes nomine', after 'filius eius natu minimus'; I. c. 12 C, 'circiter viginti duo' in the sentence 'Orchanes cum regnasset annos mortem obiit'. For a very unfaithful translation compare Latin with Greek original in I. c. 27, the end of A and beginning of B. In I. c. 28 C ἐξ καὶ τριάκοντα is translated 'triginta septem'! The letters cited refer to column position in Migne edition.

² Chalcocondylas (in Migne), I. 6, p. 22.

³ Trans. Petits de la Croix, ii. 287-9.

⁴ *Annales Turcici*, in Migne, *Patr. Graec.*, clix. 579.

⁵ Bratutti trans., i. 4.

chapters of this MS. into French in *Bibl. de l'École des langues viv. orientales*, série 3, vol. v, Paris, 1889, 8vo. Turkish translation, as contained in Warner MS. 419, Leyden, and MS. turc 92, Bibl. Nat., Paris, edited by Houtsma in *Recueil* above cited, vol. iii, Leyden, 1891, 8vo. M. Houtsma promised a French translation, but it has never been forthcoming.

This is the work of which Nöldeke speaks in *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.*, xiii. 176 (1859), as an unidentified work by an Ottoman historian of the reign of Murad II. As a matter of fact it is merely a translation, and was not written by an Osmanli.

IBN KHALDOUN. *Universal History*. The Prolegomena, Arabic text, are edited by Quatremère in *Notices et Extraits*, vol. xvi (1858), and translated by Baron de Slane in vol. xvii (1859). German abridged trans. by Thornberg in *Nova acta Reg. Soc.*, vol. xii, Leipzig, 1844.

IDRIS, Mevlana (of Bitlis). *Hesht-Bihisht*. The Eight Heavens.

One of the two earliest extant Ottoman histories. Written in Persian for Bayezid II about 1500. There is no translation, and complete MSS. are rare. But one has access, not only to the facts recorded and opinions of Idris, but also to his wonderful imagery, for Seadeddin has copied him copiously and, in fact, embodied many literal translations of Idris in his 'Crown of Histories'.

JACOB, GEORG. *Türkische Bibliothek*. Folk-stories. Berlin, 1904-5. 3 vols. 8vo.

JAUBERT, A. M. Editor of Mirkhond's *Djenghiz Khan*; and French translator of Edrisi's Geography.

JIREČEK, CONST. JOSEPH. 1. *Geschichte der Bulgaren*. Prague, 1876, 8vo.

2. *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Konstantinopel, und die Balkanpässe*. Prague, 1877, 8vo.

JONQUIÈRE, V^{te} A. DE LA. *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*. Paris, 1881, 8vo. New edition, revised and enlarged, with excellent maps. Paris, 1914. 2 vols. 8vo.

JORGA, N. 1. *Notes et Extraits pour servir à l'hist. des croisades au XV^e siècle*. Paris, 1899-1902. 3 vols. 8vo. I. Comptes de la colonie de Péra. Documents pol. des Arch. de Venise et Gênes jusqu'à 1436. II. Archives de Vienne, du Vatican, de Naples, Florence et Raguse jusqu'à 1453. (Mostly Ragusa.) III. Venise et Gênes de 1436 à 1453. Traités, . . . projets et exhortations, — opuscules jusqu'à 1453.

2. *Philippe de Mézières et la croisade au XVI^e siècle*. Fascic. 110, 2^e série, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, vol. xviii. Paris, 1896, 8vo.

3. *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches nach den Quellen dargestellt*. Gotha, 1908-13. 5 vols. 8vo. In *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte*, I, 37 *Werke*. (Vol. i up to 1451.)

JOSEPH BEN JOSHUA, Rabbi (Sephardic). *Chronicles* (in Hebrew). Venice, 1554; Amsterdam, 1730. English trans. by C. H. F. Biallobotzky. London, 1835-6. 2 vols. 8vo.

JOUANNIN, J. M. *La Turquie*. In collaboration with Jules Van Gaver. Paris, 1840, 8vo. (Coll. *Univers pittoresque*.)

JOURDAIN, A. L. M. French trans. of Mirkhond.

JOVIUS, PAULUS. See Giovio, Paolo.

KÁLLAY, BENJAMIN VON. *Geschichte der Serben von den ältesten Zeiten bis 1815*. Trans. into German by J. H. Schwicker. Buda-Pest, Vienna, and Leipzig, 1878-9. 2 vols. 8vo. (Einleitung 'bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrh.', i. 1-173.)

KAMPOUROGLOU, D. G. *Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηναίων Τουρκοκρατία*. Vol. i. Athens, 1899.

KANITZ, FELIX. *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbienvolk von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart*. (Monographien der Balkanstaaten, vol. i.) Leipzig, 1904, 4to.

KARABACEK, J. *Das angebliche Bilderverbot des Islams*. Vienna, 1876.

KARAMIANZ, N. *Verzeichnis der arabischen Hss. der K. Bibl. zu Berlin*. Berlin, 1888, 4to.

KASEM BEY, MIRZA A. Trans. and ed. of Derbend Namé.

KATONA, ST. *Historia critica Regum Hungariae*. Buda-Pest and Klausenburg, 1779-1817. 42 vols. 8vo.

KEEN, MRS. A. English trans. of von Ranke's *Serbien*.

KEENE, H. Editor and reviser of Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*.

KERN, TH. VON. Editor of Anon. *Chronik aus Kaiser Sigmunds Zeit*.

KERSCH. Latin trans., in collab. with Bruns, of Abulfaradj.

KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE. Editor of most complete edition of Froissart.

KHALFIN, IBRAHIM. Turkish trans. of anon. memoirs of Timur.

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Trans. into French by Théodore d'Oksza. But I could find no copy of this trans. in the Bibl. Nat., Paris.
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Detailed description in Hadji Khalfa, no. 1795, fol. 324-5.
- KRAUSS, J. G. Editor and continuator of Dlugosz.
- KRUMBACHER, KARL. *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur (527-1453)*. 2nd ed. Munich, 1897, 4to. (9th vol. of *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*.)
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- KUPELWIESER, L. *Die Kämpfe Ungarns mit den Osmanen bis zur Schlacht bei Mohacz*. Vienna, 1895, 8vo.
- LACABANE, LÉON. See, on 'Chroniques de S. Denis,' in *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes* (1840-1), ii. 62.
- LA CROIX. See *Petits de la Croix*.
- LA GARDE DE DIEU, L. DE. *Histoire de l'Islamisme et de l'Empire ottoman*. Brussels, 1892, 8vo.
The author of this book took no trouble whatever to get at the facts of Ottoman history. It is more full of errors than a modern work has any reason to be.
- LAMARTINE, A. DE. *Histoire de la Turquie*. Paris, 1855. 8 vols. 8vo.
- LAMPROS, SPIRIDON P. 1. *Catalogue illustré de la collection de portraits des Empereurs de Byzance*. Athens, 1911, 8vo.
2. Greek trans. of Gregorovius' *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*.
3. *Catalogue of the Greek MSS. on Mt. Athos*. Cambridge, 1895, 1900. 2 vols. 4to.
4. Greek trans. of Curtius' *Griechische Geschichte*.
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3. *Catalogue of the Bodleian Library Mohammedan Coins*. Oxford, 1888, 4to.

4. *Turkey*. In the 'Stories of Nations' series. London, 1888, 8vo.
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2. Listing and translation of titles in the Collection of State Papers of Feridun, which see.
- LANZ, K. FR. W. German trans. of Muntaner's *Cronica*.
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- LEBEAU, CHAS. See Ameilhon, H. P.
- LEBEUF, Abbé. Collab. with P. Paris in a paper on Philippe de Mézières.
- LEFÈVRE-PONTALIS. Introduction and commentary to the French trans. of Morosini.
- LEMAITRE, HENRI, ed. Gilles le Muisit. Paris, 1905, 8vo.
- LE QUIEN, MICHEL. *Oriens Christianus*. Paris, 1740. 3 vols. fol.
- LE ROULX. See Delaville Leroulx.
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A translation of Ali, and not of Seadeddin, as has been erroneously believed.
2. *Pandectes historiae turcicae, &c.* Notes in same volume with 1.
1 and 2 are reprinted in vol. clix of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Paris, 1866, pp. 572-922.
3. *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum de monumentis ipsorum exscriptae libri XVIII*. Frankfort, 1591, fol.
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2. Treatise on Mohammedan coins, composed between 1415 and 1420. Latin trans., with Arabic text, by O. G. Tychsen. Rostock, 1797. French trans. by A. I. Silvestre de Sacy, Paris, 1797, 12mo.
- MAKUSEV, W. 1. *Italjanskije arhivny i chranjaschtschiessja w nich materialy alja slavanskoi istorii.* (Italian archives and chronicles, and the materials in them for Slavic history.) Moscow, 1870-72, 4 vols. 8vo. (Vols. xvi-xix of *Sapiski imperat. akad. nauk.*)
2. Also contributed to *Monumenta hist. Slav. merid.*
- MANAVINO. Italian trans. of Lonicerus.

- MANDEVILLE, SIR JOHN. *Voiage and travel, which treateth of the way to Hierusalem, &c., 1322-56.* In Wright, J., *Early Travels in Palestine*, pp. 127-282. For French version, see Bergeron.
- MANGER, SAMUEL HENRY. Latin trans. of Arabshah.
- MANUTIO, ANTONIO (?). *Viaggi fatti da Venezia alla Tana . . . et in C/poli; con la descrizione . . . di Città, Luoghi, etc.* Contains, fol. 120-58, *Libri tre delle cose de' Turchi.* Venice, 1543, 12mo.
- MARCHE, OLIVIER DE LA. *Mémoires.* Ed. by Beaune and d'Arbaumont. Vol. i. Paris, 1883, 8vo.
- MARCO POLO. *Le Livre de Marco Polo, citoyen de Venise . . . rédigé en français sous sa dictée en 1298.* Edited, with notes, by M. G. Pauthier. Paris, 1865. 2 vols., la. 8vo. Trans. into English and edited by H. Yale. London, 1875. 2 vols. 8vo. Wm. Marsden's earlier English trans. has recently been republished in Everyman's Library.
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- MAS LATRIE, Comte RENÉ DE. 1. *Histoire de Chypre sous les Lusignans.* Paris, 1852-61. 3 vols. 8vo.
2. Editor of Florio Bustron's *Cronica*, 1191-1489. (In Italian.) In *Mélanges historiques*, v. 1-532. Paris, 1886, la. 8vo.
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4. Various papers on the commercial relations between Cyprus and Asia Minor in the 14th cent., in the *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes.*
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fait de la desconfiture (Nicopolis). In Kervyn de Lettenhove's ed. of Froissart, xvi. 444-523.

See Appendix BB in Wylie's *History of Henry IV*, iv. 323-6; also *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes* for 1873, and *Académie des Inscriptions*, xvi. 491 and xvii. 219; and under A. Molinier and P. Paris below. Title of citizen of Venice given June 22, 1365, recorded in *Commemoriali*, vol. vii, fol. 47 v°.

MICHELANT, HENRI (in collab. with Gaston Raynaud). *Itinéraires à Jérusalem, et descriptions de la Terre Sainte, rédigés en français aux XI^e, XII^e et XIII^e siècles*. Geneva, 1882, 8vo. (*Archives de l'Orient latin*, série géogr., vol. iii.)

MIGEON, GASTON. *Manuel de l'Art musulman: II. Les Arts plastiques et industriels*. Paris, 1907, 8vo.

MIGNE, J.-P. *Patrologiae Graecae cursus completus*. Contains the Byzantine historians, Ali Muhieddin and Leunclavius.

MIGNOT, Abbé. *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman depuis ses origines jusqu'à la paix de Belgrade en 1740*. Paris, 1771. 3 vols. 12mo.

MIJATOVITCH, ELODIE LAWTON. *Kossova: an attempt to bring Servian national songs at the battle of Kossova into one poem*. London, 1881, 12mo.

This is a translation, following Pavitch in general lines.

MIKLOSITCH, FRANZ. 1. *Monumenta Serbica*. Vienna, 1858.

2. In collab. with Müller. *Acta et diplomata Graeca res Graecas Italicasque illustrantia*. Vienna, 1865-70. 4 vols.

3. In collab. with Müller. *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani, 1315-1402*. Vienna, 1860-62. 2 vols. 8vo. (Also republished as volume ii of No. 2 above.)

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MILES, Colonel. English trans. of Abul Ghazi.

MILLER, E. Edited and trans., in collab. with Sathas, the chronicle of Macairas.

MILLER, WILLIAM. 1. *The Balkans: Rumania, Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro*. (In 'Story of Nations' series.) London, 1896, 8vo.

2. *The Latins in the Levant: a History of Frankish Greece (1204-1566)*. London, 1908, 8vo.

MINOTTO, A. S. *Acta et diplomata ex tabulario Veneto usque ad medium seculum XV. summatim regesta*. Venice, 1870-74. 3 vols. 8vo.

MIRKHOND or MIRKHWAND. 1. Life of Djenghiz Khan. Persian text edited by Am. Jaubert. Paris, 1841, 4to. Three separate trans. into French by Galland are in the *Bibl. Nat.*, Paris, in MS. fonds fr., 6080-83.

2. The History of the Ismaelians of Persia has been trans. into French by Jourdain.

3. A Latin trans. of the History of the Seljucides was published at Giessen, 1837.

4. The Persian text of the Hist. of the Sultans of the Kharezm was edited by Défréméry, Paris, 1842, 8vo.

MITCHELL, JAMES. English trans. of first part of Hadji Khalifa's *Maritime Wars*.

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MOHAMMED-EN-NESAWI. *Histoire du Sultan Djelaleddin, prince du Kharezm*. Texte arabe publié et traduit par O. Houdas. Paris, 1891-5. 2 vols. la. 8vo.

MOLINIER, A. MSS. de P. de Mézières, in *Archives de l'Orient latin*, i. 335-64 (Paris, 1883), or, separately, Genoa, 1881, 8vo.

MONCADA, JUAN DE. *Expedicion de los Catalanes y Aragones contra Turcos y Griegos*. Madrid, 1885, la. 8vo. Barcelona, 1842, la. 8vo. Also in *Tesoro de autores illustres*, vol. iii, and *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. xxi.

MONIFERRATOS, ANTONIOS. *Διπλωματικά Ἐνέργεια Μανουήλ β' Παλαιολόγου ἐν Εὐρώπῃ καὶ Ἀσίᾳ*. Athens, 1913, 8vo.

MONSTRELET. See Enguerran de Monstrelet.

MONTALBANUS, JOHANNES BAPTISTA. *De Turcarum moribus commentarius*. Leyden, 1643, 32mo. *Ibid.*, 1654, 16mo. This work was first published more than a century earlier in the *De origine*, &c., of Cuspius.

MORANVILLÉ, HENRI. 'Mémoires sur Tamerlan et sa Cour.' *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, lv. 433-64. Paris, 1894.

Reprint, in full, of the memoir of the Dominican Friar who brought letter of Timur to Charles VI, after MSS. in *Bibl. Nat.*, fonds fr. 5624 and 12201. Text of this letter is reprinted and commented upon by A. I. Silvestre de Sacy in *Acad. des Inscriptions* (1822), vi. 470-522. Together with Clavijo and Schiltberger, the Dominican Friar gives contemporary evidence of highest value for the battle of Angora.

MORDTMANN, J. H. 1. 'Beiträge zur osmanischen Epigraphik. I: Inschrift von Mihalitsch.' *ZDMG.* (1911), lxx. 101-6.

2. Collab. with P.-A. Déthier in *Epigraphie von Byzanz und Konstantinopel*.

MOREL-FATIO, A. *Chronique de Morée aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*. Text, with French trans. Paris, 1911, 8vo.

MORIS, M. French trans. of Diez's German rendering of Sidi Ali.

MOSTRAS, C. *Dictionnaire géographique de l'Empire ottoman*. St. Petersburg, 1873, la. 8vo.

MOUKHLIS ABDERRAHMAN. *Enis oul Moussamirin*. Schéfer MS., quoted by him in Bertrand de la Broquière, p. 170, n. 3, for the first Ottoman operations around Adrianople.

MULLACH, A. *Conjecturen*. Berlin, 1852. (Corrects narrative of Ducas.)

MULLER, G. *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll' Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all' anno 1531*. Florence, 1879, 4to.

MÜLLER, JOSEPH. 1. 'Byzantinische Analekten,' pp. 336-419, in vol. ix of the *Sitzungsberichte der k.-k. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, hist.-phil. Kl., Vienna, 1852, la. 8vo.

2. 'Über einige byzantinische Urkunden von 1324-1405.' In vol. vii of *Sitzungsberichte*, &c.

3. In collab. with Miklositch, *Acta et dipl. Graeca, &c.*

4. In collab. with Miklositch, *Acta patriarchatus C/politani.*

MUNTANER, RAMON. *Cronica o descriptio dels fets é hazanayes del inclyt rey Don Jaime, etc.* Trans. from Catalan into French by Buchon. Paris, 1827. 2 vols. 8vo. German trans. in *Bibl. des lit. Vereins*, vol. viii. Stuttgart, 1844, 8vo. German trans. by K. Fr. W. Lanz, Leipzig, 1842. 2 vols. la. 8vo. See also FRENZEL.

MURALT, ÉDOUARD DE. *Essai de Chronographie byzantine (1057-1453)*. Basel and Geneva, 1871-3. 2 vols. 8vo.

There is a wealth of erudition and research in this work. The bibliography, however, is very unsatisfactory, and one is frequently puzzled in verifying important references. Muralt confuses Arabshah with Sherefeddin, puts Ibn Batutah at 1320, and Shehabeddin at 1331.

MURATORI, LUDOVICO ANTONIO, editor. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptoree*. Milan, 1732-51. 28 vols., la. fol. (For Florentine writers see Tartini.)

A new edition of Muratori, including Tartini, has just been completed by a body of Italian scholars, working at Rome under the direction of Vittorio Fiorini.

MUSTAFA IBN MOHAMMED KHOSREU-ZADE (Mevlana). Turkish trans. of Koutbaddinmakky.

NANGIS, GUILLAUME DE. *Chronique latine de 1113 à 1300*. Paris, 1843, 8vo.

NAUMANN, EDMUND. *Vom goldenen Horn zu den Quellen des Euphrat*. Munich and Leipzig, 1893, 8vo.

NAZMI ZADÉ. Turkish trans. of Arabshah.

NEDIM. *Munedjem-Bachi*. Ottoman Hist. up to Mohammed IV. In 3 vols.

NEMETH, JULIUS. 'Die türkisch-mongolische Hypothese.' In *Zeitschrift d. deutschen morgenl. Ges.* (1912), lxvi. 549-76.

Against the hypothesis.

NESHRI. The Vienna Codex, Hist. Osm. 15, is partly trans. by Th. Nöldeke in *ZDMG.*, vols. xiii and xv (1859 and 1861). xiii. 176-218 contains the beginnings of the Ottoman family and its history up to death of Osman. xv. 333-80 contains Bayezid I. József Thúry, in *Török Magyarokori Történelmi Emlékek*, series 3, vols. i and ii, has translated most of Neshri. Budapest, 1893.

NICEPHOROS GREGORAS. See under Byzantine Historians.

NICHANDJI pasha, MEHMET (the Little). Brief Hist. of Ott. Emp. up to 1560. In MS. Col. I. L. O., Petrograd.

NICOLAY, NICOLAS DE. *Les quatre Livres des navigations et pérégrinations orientales*. Lyon, 1567, fol. German trans., Nürnberg, 1572; Italian, Antwerp, 1576; *ibid.*, Venice, 1580; English, by Dawson, London, 1585; Dutch, c. 1590.

NIEBUHR, B. G. Editor of *Corpus Script. Hist. Byzantinae*.

NIKIÖU, JEAN DE. *Chronique*, trad. française du texte éthiopien, par H. Zotenberg. *Notices et Extraits*, vol. xxiv, 1^{re} partie, pp. 343-587.

NOIRET, HIPPOLYTE. *Documents inédits pour servir à l'hist. de la domination vénétienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485, tirés des Arch. vén.* Paris, 1892, 8vo.

NÖLDEKE, TH. German trans. of portions of Neshri.

NORADOUNGHIAN, GABRIEL. *Recueil d'actes internationaux de la Sublime Porte avec les Puissances étrangères*. Tome i, 1300-1789. Paris, 1879, 8vo.

In Turkey there are no Archives d'état before the 17th cent. From 1307 to 1534 in this volume the editor merely refers to other books. His compilation is of no value until 1535 for furnishing source material for Ottoman History.

NORBERG, MATTHIAS. Latin trans. of Hadji Khalfa's *Djihannuma*.

NOVAKOVITCH, STOJAN. *Kosova, Srbske narodne pjesme o boju na Kosova*. Belgrade, 1871, 8vo; also Agram, 1872, and Belgrade, 1876.

Attempt to bring fragments of folksong into one narrative of battle of Kossova.

OESTERLY, HERMANN. *Wegweiser durch die Literatur der Urkundensammlungen*. Berlin, 1882. 2 vols. la. 8vo.

OHSSON, IGNACE MOURADJA D'. 1. *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman*. Paris, 1788-1824. 7 vols. 8vo.

This work, interrupted by the Revolution and the author's death, was completed, after d'Ohsson's notes, by his son Charles. Vols. v-vii appeared in 1824.

2. *Histoire des Mongols depuis Ghengiz Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey*. Amsterdam, 1852. 4 vols. 8vo.

OKSZA, THÉODORE D'. Editor and French trans. of Konstantynowicz.

OLIVIERI, A. *Carte e chronache manoscritte per la storia genovese esistenti nella bibl. della R. Università ligure*. Genoa, 1855, 8vo.

OMONT, HENRI. *Documents sur l'imprimerie à Constantinople au XVIII^e siècle*. In the *Revue des Bibliothèques*, Paris, July-September, 1895.

ORBINI, DOM MAURO. *Il Regno degli Slavi, hoggi corrottamente detti Schiavoni*. Pesaro, 1601, fol.

ORTELLIUS, ABRAHAMUS. 1. *Synonymia Geographica*. . . . Antwerp, 1578, 4to.

2. *Theatrum orbis terrarum*. Antwerp, 1579, la. fol.

3. *Thesaurus geographicus . . . nomina, &c.* Antwerp, 1587, fol.

PACHYMERES. See under Byzantine Historians, p. 367.

PAGANO, C. *Delle imprese e del dominio dei Genovesi nella Grecia*. Genoa, 1846, 8vo.

PALAEOLOGOS, MANUEL. *Dialogi XXVI cum Persa quodam de Christianae religionis veritate*. *Bibl. Nat.*, Paris, fonds grec, no. 1253.

C. B. Hase, in *Notices et Extraits*, vol. viii, 2^e partie, pp. 309-82, gives interesting critical account of this MS., with Greek text and Latin trans.

of first two dialogues. The dialogues were with a Moslem Hodja, probably in 1390, when Man. Pal. was serving in the Ottoman army at Angora.

Most valuable description of Bayezid's court and eloquent testimony to the humiliation of the Byzantine imperial family.

For other works of M. Palaeologos, see Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, clvi. 82-580.

PANARETOS, MICHAÏL. *Περὶ τῶν τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος βασιλέων τῶν Μεγάλων Κομνηνῶν*. Chronological account of Trebizond (1204-1386), with a continuation to 1424.

Edited by J. F. Tafel, in the *Opuscula* of Eusthadius of Thessalonika, pp. 362-70, Frankfort, 1832, 4to. Also by Fallmerayer, in *Abhandlung der k. Bayerischen Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Munich, 1844, 8vo.

PAPARREGOPOULOS, K. *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τῶν νεωτέρων*. Athens, 1865-74. 5 vols. 8vo. 4th edition, revised by P. Karolidis, Athens, 1903.

PARIS, P. (In collab. with Abbé Lebeuf.) 'La Vie et les Voyages de Philippe de Mézières.' *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, nouv. série, vol. xv, 1^{re} partie, pp. 359-98.

PARISOT, VAL. *Cantacuzène, homme d'état et historien, ou examen critique comparatif des 'Mémoires' de J. C. et des sources contemporaines*. Paris, 1845, 8vo.

PARVILLÉE. *Architecture et décoration turques au XV^e siècle*. With preface by Viollet-le-Duc. Paris, 1874, la. fol.

It was Parvillée who, under Ahmed Vewfik pasha, restored the monuments of Brusa.

PAUTHIER, M. G. Editor of Marco Polo.

PAVITCH, A. *Narodne Pjesme o boju na Kosova, 1389*. In *Mem. of the Acad. of Sciences and Arts of Agram*. Agram, 1877, 8vo.

A critical essay on the national songs of the Servians, followed by a narrative in verse, combining the songs which deal with Kossova.

PERONDINO, PIETRO (Pratense). *Magni Tamerlanis Scytharum imperatoris vita*. Florence, 1553, fol.; Basel, 1556, fol.

PERTSCH, WILHELM. *Verzeichniss der türkischen Hss. der k. Bibl. zu Berlin*. Berlin, 1899.

PETITS DE LA CROIX. 1. *Abrégé de l'hist. ottomane*. Paris, 1768. 2 vols. 12mo.

2. French trans. of Hussein Hezarfenn.

3. French trans. in MS. of Hadji Khalifa's lexicon under title *Dictionnaire bibliographique*. In the *Bibl. Nat.*, Paris.

4. French trans. of Sherefeddin's hist. of Timur.

PETRARCA, FRANCESCO. *Epistolae de rebus familiaribus et variae . . .* Stud. et cura J. Fracassetti. Florence, 1859-63. 3 vols. 8vo. Italian trans. of *Senilium* by the same author. Florence, 1869-70. 2 vols. 12mo.

PFEIFFER, DAVID. *Imperatores Turcici, Libellus de Vita, Progressu et rebus gestis principum . . .* Basel, before 1550, 12mo. Reprinted under title *Imperatores Ottomanni*, Basel and Wittenberg, 1587, 8vo.

Eulogy of Ottoman sultans in verse.

PHRANTZES, GEORGE. *See under Byz. Historians*.

PICOT, ÉMILE. 1. Editor and French trans. of Urechi's Rumanian chronicle.

2. *Généalogie de la famille Brankovitch*, in *Columna lui Traianu*, new series, 4th year, Jan.-Feb. 1883, pp. 64 f. Bucharest, 8vo.

PIGEONNEAU, HENRI. *Histoire du commerce de la France*. Vol. i. Paris, 1885, 8vo.

PINDER, M. Collab. with Friedländer in numismatic work.

POCOCK, EDWARD. Editor and English translator of Abulfaradji.

PODESTA, JO. BAPTISTA. 1. Trans. from the Turkish *De gestis Tamerlanis*.

2. *Translatatae Turcicae Chronicae*. Pars prima, continens originem Ottomanicae stirpis, undecimque eiusdem stirpis Imperatorum gesta, iuxta traditionem Turcarum. Omnia a praenominato authore ex originali Turcico in Latinam, Italicam et Germanicam linguam translata. Nürnberg, 1672, fol. But only into Latin.

A trans. from diff. MSS. of Ali. But Bratutti's trans. of Seadeddin has been used for interpolations and corrections or additions.

POGODIN, P. *Übersicht der Quellen zur Geschichte der Belagerung von Byzanz durch die Türken*. Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction, St. Petersburg, August 1889.

POLO, MARCO. *See Marco Polo*.

PÓR, A. (in collab. with G. Schönherr.) Volume covering period 1301-1429 in Szilagy's *A Magyar Nemzet Története*. (History of the Hungarian Nation.) Budapest, 1895, la. 8vo.

POSSINUS, PETRUS, S. J. Notes to Pachymeres.

POSTANSQUE, A. *De libro secretorum fidelium crucis*. (For Marino Sanudo.) Montpellier, 1854, 8vo.

POSTELLUS, GUILLAUME. 1. *De la Republique des Turcz . . . exposant la manière de lever et nourrir ceulx dont on en guerre se serft, avec son origine, estatz, Revenu et Domeyne, en brief*. Dédié à François Premier. *Bibl. Nat.*, Paris, MS. fonds fr., no. 6073. (Written c. 1520.) Published: Poitiers, 1560, 8vo.

2. *De originibus Gentium Orientalium, maxime Turcarum*. Basel, 1540, 8vo.

This Latin text differs from 1, so I have listed it as a separate work.

POTTHAST, A. *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi*. Berlin, 1896. 2 vols. 4to.

Vol. ii. 1647-1735 contains a very suggestive (but not thorough) *Quellenkunde für die Geschichte der europäischen Staaten während des Mittelalters*.

POTVIN, CHARLES. Editor of Ghillebert de Lannoy.

PRAY, GEORGE. 1. *Annales regum Hungariae, ab an. 997 ad an. 1564 deducti*. Vienna, 1754-74. 5 vols. 8vo. (Vol. ii, 1301-1457.)

2. *Commentarii historici de Bosniae, Serviae ac Bulgariae, tum Valachiae, Moldaviae ac Bessarabiae, cum regno Hungariae nexu*. Edited, with documents, by G. Fejér. Buda, 1837, 8vo.

PREDELLI, RICCARDO. 1. (In collaboration with Thomas.) *Diplo-*

- matarium Veneto-Levantinum, sive acta et diplomata res Venetas, Graecas atque Levantinas illustrantia a 1300 ad 1454.* Venice, 1880, 1899. 2 vols. 4to.
2. Editor of *I libri commemoriali della republica di Venezia regesti.* Vols. 1-3 (1081-1375), in *Monumenti storici della deput. Veneta*, series I, Venice, 1876, 8vo.
- PUČIĆ, MEDO. *Spomenitzi Srbski od 1395 do 1423.* Belgrade, 1859.
- QUATREMÈRE, ÉTIENNE. French trans. of Shehabeddin, Makrisi, and Reshideddin (unfinished). Editor of the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun.
- RAČKI, FRANCIS. *Documenta historiae Croatiae periodum antiquam illustrantia.* Agram, 1877.
- RAIČ. *Hist. variorum Slavorum, imprimis Bulgarorum, Chrobatorum et Serborum.* Buda, 1823.
- RAIMBOULT, MAURICE. 'Les dessous d'un traité d'alliance en 1350.' *Bulletin historique et philologique*, Paris, 1902.
- Notice on two documents: 1. Latin text of project of treaty between Pope, Cyprus, Venice, and Rhodes, of which Mas Latrie, *Hist. de Chypre*, ii. 217, published the text after *Commemoriali*, vols. iv and v. 2. Unpublished Provençal text of letter which set forth in detail difficulties of getting this treaty signed, from MS. in Arch. des Bouches-du-Rhône, Fonds de Malte, liasse 86.
- RAMBAUD, ALFRED. 'L'Europe du Sud-Est: Fin de l'Empire grec.—Fondation de l'Empire ottoman (1282-1481).' In Lavissee et Rambaud, *Histoire générale*, iii. 789-868. Paris, 1894, la. 8vo.
- RAMSAY, Sir W. M. *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, with 5 maps. London, 1890, la. 8vo.
- RAMUS, JOHANNES (GOESANUS). *De Rebus Turcicis libri tres.* Louvain, 1553, 12mo. The first book of the three is by Secundinus.
- RANKE, LEOPOLD VON. *History of Servia and the Servian Revolution.* Trans. by Mrs. A. Keen. London, 1858, 16mo.
- First chapter contains an illuminating résumé of relations between Byzantium and Serbia in middle of 14th cent.
- RASMUSSEN, JANUS LASSEN. *Annales islamismi, sive tabulae synchronistochronologicae Chaliforum et regum orientis et occidentis.* Copenhagen, 1825, sm. 4to. Contains, pp. 61-134, trans. of Ahmed ben Yussuf, *Historia Turcarum, Karamanorum, Selgiukudarum, Asiae Minoris, &c.*
- RAYNALDUS, ODERICUS. *Annales ecclesiastici . . . Baronii . . . ab anno 1198.* Tomes xiii-xxi. Rome, 1646-77. 9 vols. fol. Lucca, 1746-56. 15 vols. fol.
- There have been so many editions, abridgements, and translations of the *Annales* that I have given my references to this work *under the year*, so that any edition might be consulted.
- RAYNAUD, GASTON. Editor of Froissart, and, with Michelant, of the Jerusalem Itineraries.

- RAYNAUD, FURCY. French trans. of Heyd's *Levantehandels-geschichte.*
- REINAUD, J. T. French trans. of Abulfeda.
- REINECCIUS, REINER. Editor of Helmoldus and Arnold of Lübeck.
- REISKE, JO. JACOB. Latin trans. of Abulfeda and Chronological Tables of Hadji Khalfa; editor of Drechsler.
- RÉMUSAT, ABEL. *Recherches sur les langues tartares.* Paris, 1820, 4to.
- RENNELL, J. *Treatise of the Comparative Geography of Western Asia.* Vol. i. Asia Minor. London, 1831, 8vo.
- RESHIDEDDIN, FADHL ALLAH. *Djami ut Tevarikh.* Hist. of the Mongols of Persia. Quatremère trans. into French the first part, Paris, 1836, la. fol. Erdmann trans. into German the review of the various tribes of Asia at accession of Djenghiz Khan, with account of their origin. Kasan, 1841. In his German life of Timur, pp. 172-84, Erdmann practically repeats this portion verbatim.
- The earlier portion of Abul-Ghazi is practically an abridgement of Reshid.
- REUSNER, NICHOLAS. *Epistolarum Turcicarum variorum et diversorum auctorum libri XIV.* Frankfort, 1598-9. 4 vols. 4to.
- 'in quibus Epistolae de rebus Turcicis summorum pontificum, imperatorum, regum, principum . . . ad nostra tempora leguntur.'
- REZ, PETER VON. Lament for defeat of Nicopolis, in Liliencron.
- RICAUT, PAUL. *A History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire containing the Political maxims of the Turks, their religion, &c.* 5th ed. London, 1682, fol. 6th ed., *ibid.*, 1693. 2 vols. 8vo. French trans. by Briot. Amsterdam, 1678, 16mo; 1696, sm. 8vo, with 16 engravings. Italian trans. by Costi Belli. 2nd ed. Venice, 1673, 4to.
- RICHER, CHRISTOPHER. *De rebus Turcarum ad Franciscum Gallorum regem Christianissimum.* Paris, 1540, 8vo. (Liber I. De origine Turcarum et Ottomanni imperio. Liber III. De Tamerlanis et Parthi rebus gestis.)
- RICOLDUS. See my note to Anon. *De ritu et moribus Turcarum.*
- RIEU, C. P. H. 1. *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in British Museum.* London, 1879-83. 3 vols.
2. Supplement to above. London, 1895.
3. *Catalogue of Turkish MSS. in the British Museum.* London, 1888.
- RODD, Sir RENNELL. *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea: a Study of Greece in the Middle Ages.* London, 1907. 2 vols. 8vo.
- Excellent map of mediaeval Greece.
- ROMANIN, SAMUELE. *Storia documentata di Venezia.* Venice, 1853-61. 10 vols. 8vo.
- For attempts of Venice in 14th cent. to league Christians against the Turks, vols. iii and iv.
- RONCIÈRE. Editor, in collab. with Dorez, of fragments of Marino Sanudo.

- ROSEN, BARON VICTOR. 1. *Notices sommaires des MSS. arabes du Musée asiatique*. Petrograd, 1881.
2. *Remarques sur les MSS. orientaux de la col. de Marsigli à Bologna*. Paris, 1884, 4to.
- RYMER, THOMAS. *Foedera, conventiones, literae . . . acta publica inter reges Angliae et alios . . . ab 1101 . . . ad nostra . . . tempora*. Editio tertia. Revised from original MSS. in Tower of London, by George Holmes. London, 1739-45. 12 vols., la. fol.
- SABELLICUS, ANTONIUS. In Lonicerus, fol. 105-12.
- Safařík, IVAN. 1. *Elenchus actorum spectantium ad historiam Serborum et reliquorum Slavorum meridionalium . . . quae in archivo Venetiarum reperiuntur*. Belgrade, 1858, 4to.
The notes are in Servian, but with Latin translation.
2. *Acta archivii Veneti spectantia ad historiam Serborum*. Belgrade, 1860.
- Safařík, PAUL JOSEPH. *Slovanské Starožitnosti*. Prague, 1837, 4to.
Trans. under title *Slawische Alterthümer* by Moses von Aehrenfeld, with notes by Heinrich Wuttke. Leipzig, 1843-4. 2 vols. 8vo.
- SAGREDO, GIOVANNI. *Memorie istoriche de' monarchi ottomani*. Venice, 1676, fol.; 1688, 4to.
The first of modern writers who, though acquainted with Ottoman 'sources', deliberately prefers to follow the Byzantine writers who were contemporary.
- SAGUNDINO, NICHOLAS. See Secundinus.
- SAID. *Ghulcheni-M'arif*. Hist. of Ott. Emp. from foundation to 1774. In 2 vols.
- SALABERRY, DE. *Hist. de l'Emp. ott. depuis sa fondation jusqu'à . . . 1792*. Avec des pièces justificatives. Paris, 1813. 4 vols. 8vo.
- SALADIN, H. Manuel d'Art musulman. Vol. i. *L'architecture*. Paris, 1907, 8vo.
- SALCON, NICOLAS. French trans. of Hayton.
- SAMBUCUS, JOANNES (of Tirnovo). *Reges Ungariae ab anno 401-1567 uersibus descripti*. In Bonfinius, fol. 891-6.
- SANGINETTI, B. R. French trans., in collab. with Ch. Défréméry, of Ibn Batutah.
- SANSOVINO, FRANCESCO. 1. *Gli annali turcheschi o vero vita de' principi della casa athomana*. First edition. Venice, 1568, 4to.
Edition from which I quote is Venice, 1573, 4to.
2. *Historia universale dell' origine et imperio de' Turchi, nella quale si contengono la origine, etc., de' Turchi*. Venice, 1654. 2 vols., la. 8vo.
A collection of various writers on the Ottoman Empire.
- SANUTO, MARINO (TORSELLO). 1. Memorial to King of France urging crusade, 1321. Written in French. In Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ii. 5.
2. Letters published by Dorez and Roncière in *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes* (1895), lvi. 34-44.

3. *Secreta fidelium crucis*. In Bongars, vol. ii. See also thesis of Postansque, and study by Kunstmann. Four books, written between 1306 and 1321, urging a crusade. Book III trans. into English by Aubrey Stewart, in Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, vol. xii, London, 1896, 8vo.
- SANUTO, MARINO (THE YOUNGER). 1. *Vite de' Duchi di Venezia*. (1421-93.) In Muratori, xxii. 399-1252.
2. *Diarii*. Ed. by Gugl. Berchet. Venice, 1877-1900. 56 vols. 4to.
I have given the younger Sanuto's work here, because he is so often confused with the elder.
- SARRE, FRIEDRICH. *Reise in Kleinasien, Sommer 1895. Forschungen zur seldjukischen Kunst und Geographie des Landes*. 76 Tafeln. Map by Kiepert. Berlin, 1896, la. 8vo.
- SATHAS, C. N. 1. *Documents inédits relatifs à l'hist. de la Grèce au moyen âge (1400-1500)*. Paris, 1880-1. 2 vols. 4to. Maps of Crete, the Aegean, and Sea of Marmora in 15th cent. I. contains Canc. Secreta, 208 doc., from 1402 to 1500; II. Misti, 549 doc., from 1400 to 1412.
2. *Τουρκοκρατουμένη Ἑλλάς*. Athens, 1869.
3. Edited and trans., in collab. with Miller, the Cyprus chronicle of Macairas.
4. *Bibliotheca graeca medii aevi*. 6 vols. I-III, Venice, 1872-3; IV-VI, Paris, 1874-7.
- SAULI, LUIGI. *Della colonia Genovesi in Galata*. Turin, 1831. 2 vols. 8vo.
The valuable information in these volumes is practically without dates, and there is no index.
- SCHAFFARIK, JANKO. See Safařík, Ivan.
- SCHÉFER, CHARLES. French trans. of portion of Ibn Bibi. Editor, with copious notes, of Bertrand de la Broquière, Spandugino, and a portion of Geuffraeus. His collection of oriental MSS. has recently enriched the Bibliothèque Nationale. The catalogue of his library, published in 1903 by H. Welter, Paris, is an addition to the bibliography of Oriental history, geography, and philology.
- SCHILTBERGER, JOHANNES. *Gefangenschaft in der Turckey*. Frankfurt, 1557, 4to. Best modern German edition is: Ed. by K. Fr. Neumann under title *Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger*. Munich, 1859, 8vo. (Hammer used earlier reprint of Munich MS., *Reise in den Orient*, Munich, 1813.) English trans. by J. Buchan Telfer, R.N., with notes by Prof. P. Bruun of Odessa, published by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1879, 8vo, under title *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger*.
- SCHLUMBERGER, G. *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*. Paris, 1878, 4to.
- SCHMITT, JOHN, Editor. The chronicle of Morea. *Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως*. (From the Copenhagen and Paris MSS.) London, 1904, 8vo.

SCHÖNHERR, G. Collab., with Pór, A., in the latest authoritative Hungarian history covering the 14th century.

pp. 478-90: Monnaies d'imitation à légendes latines frappées par les princes ou émirs turcomans du Saroukhan, d'Aidin, et de Mentesché.

SCHULZ, C. G. *Geschichte des osmanischen Reichs*. Leipzig, 1772, 8vo.

SCHWANDTNER, J. G., editor. *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini*. Tomus i. Vienna, 1746, fol.

SCHWICKER, J. H. German trans. of Kállay.

SEADEDDEIN, MOHAMMED BEN HASSAN (KHODJA EFFENDI). *Tajul-Tevarikh*. The Crown of Histories. Constantinople, 1862. 2 vols. 4to. Of this most celebrated Ottoman historian, whose chronicle covers from the origin of the family, there are translations as follows:

1. BRATUTTI, VICENZO. *Cronica dell' origine e progressi della casa ottomana, composta da Saidino Turco*. Parte prima, Osman-Mohammed I, Vienna, 1649, 12mo. Parte secunda, Murad II and Mohammed II, Madrid, 1652.

Hammer uses this translation.

2. KOLLAR, A. F. *Seadeddini annales Turcici usque ad Murad II*. Turcice et Latine cura Ad. Fr. Kollar a Kerestan. Vienna, 1755 fol.

3. SEAMAN, WM. *The Reign of Sultan Orkhan, translated from Hodja effendi*. London, 1652, 8vo.

4. *History of the Turkish war with Rhodians, Venetians, Egyptians, Persians and other nations, written by Will Caoursin and Khodja Afendy, a Turk*. London, 1683, 8vo.

This is an anon. trans. of Caoursin's *Historia Rhodi* and Seadeddin's recital of the siege of Rhodes under Mohammed II.

5. GALLAND, ANTOINE. *Histoire ottomane, écrite par Saadud-din Mehemed Hassan, plus connu chez les Turcs sous le nom de Cogia Efendi, mise en françois par Antoine Galland, Professeur et Lecteur royal en langue arabe*. A translation in MS. of Bibl. Nat., Paris, fonds turc, 64. Vol. i, up to Murad II, is lacking. Vol. ii is in the Bibl. Nat. under fonds fr., 6074. A third volume, fonds fr., 6075, contains Bayezid II and Selim I.

Zinkeisen used this translation. But Jorga, i. 150, n. 1, is in error in believing that Zinkeisen had access to complete trans. This has been lacking since 18th cent. The whole comment of Jorga is confusing. He mixes Seadeddin with Neshri, and follows Zenker's erroneous statement that Leunclavius's *Annali* is a trans. of Seadeddin.

6. The story of the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed has been translated into French by Garcin de Tassy, Paris, 1826, and by Michaud, in his *Bibl. des Croisades*, vol. iii; into English by Gibb, Glasgow, 1879; and, in part, into German by Krause, *Die Eroberungen von Konstantinopel im XIII. und XV. Jahrhundert*, Halle, 1870, 8vo.

SEAMAN, WILLIAM. English translator of portion of Seadeddin.

SECUNDINUS, NICOLAUS. *Liber de familia Autumanarum ad Eneam*,

Senarum episcopum. Fol. 133-41 of MS. Latin 414 of K. Bibl., Munich. Published as Liber I in Johannes Ramus, which see.

This letter, written to Aenaeas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II, from Naples, is one of the first western accounts of the Osmanlis. In the title-page of 'De rebus Turcicis', printed 1553, Secundinus is called 'vetustissimo autore'.

SEFERT, M. *La Dalmatie, y compris . . . Patras, Athènes*. Manuel de voyageur avec 88 gravures et 32 cartes et plans. Guide illustré Hartleben, no. 64. Vienna and Leipzig, 1912, 12mo.

SEIFF, J. *Reisen in der asiatischen Türkei*. Leipzig, 1875.

SERVI, FERDINANDO. *Compendium Historiae Turcicae*. Venice, 1689. This is a trans. into Latin, then Italian, of Du Verdier. Some bibliographers have treated this as an original work.

SHEHABEDDIN, ABUL ABBAS AHMED. *Mesalek al absar fi memalek alamsar*. Footpaths of the eyes in the Kingdoms of the different Countries. Existing fragments, which include Asia Minor, trans. into French by Quatremère, in *Notices et Extraits*, xiii. 152-384, from MS. in Bibl. Nat., Paris, fonds arabe, no. 2325.

Quatremère in discussing whether S. is from Damascus, Marash or Morocco, has overlooked Hadji Khalfa, *Lex. Bibl.*, no. 10874, fol. 1832, who unhesitatingly calls him 'écrivain de Damas'.

SHEREFEDDIN ALI (YEZDI). *Zéfer Namé*. But MS. in Bibl. Nat., Paris, reads *Kitabi fatih namehi Emir Timour* (a Life of Timur by his own secretary). Trans. into Turkish by Mohammed ben al Agemi. Trans. into French by Petits de la Croix, under title *Histoire de Timourbec, connu sous le nom du Gran Tamerlan, empereur des Mongols et Tartares*. Paris, 1722. 4 vols. 12mo. No index. Another edition of same, Delft, 1723. 4 vols. 8vo.

Muralt, in the bibliography of his *Chronographic byzantine*, has fallen into the error of identifying Sherefeddin with Arabshah.

SHIREDDIN. See Dorn.

SIDAROUSS, S. *Les Patriarcats dans l'Empire Ottoman et spécialement en Egypte*. Paris, 1907, la. 8vo.

SIDI ALI IBN HUSSEIN (Khatib Roumi). *The Mirror of the Countries*. Narration of Voyages. German trans. of Diez, trans. into French by Moris, with foreword on life and times of Sidi Ali. Paris, 1827, 8vo.

SILVESTRE DE SACY, A. I. French trans. of Makrisi's *Numismatics*. Editor of letter of Dominican Friar. See note under Moranvillé, Henri de.

SIONITA, GABRIEL. Latin trans. of Edrisi in collab. with John Hesronita.

SISMONDI, J. C. L. SISMONDE DE. *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge*. Paris, 1809. 8 vols. 12mo. New ed., Paris, 1840. 10 vols. 8vo.

SLANE, G. DE. 1. *Catalogue des bibliothèques de Constantinople*. In MS. Bibl. Nat., Paris, fonds arabe, no. 4474.

2. *Cat. des MSS. arabes de la Bibl. Nat., Paris*. 2 vols., 1883 and 1895. Still in MS.

3. Trans. into French Ibn Khaldun's *Prolegomena*.

- SMIRNOW, W. D. Collections scientifiques de l'Inst. des Langues orientales du Ministère des aff. étrang. Vol. viii, *Manuscrits turcs*. Petrograd, 1897, 8vo.
- SOLAKZADÉ. Hist. Ott. Emp. from beginning to Soleiman II, in 1 vol.
- SPANDUGINO, TEODORO. *I commentari di Teo. Spandugino Cantacusino, genti l'huomo Constantinopolitano. Costumi e leggi de' Turchi: origine de' Prencipi Turchi*. Lucca, 1550. Florence, 1551. - Also in Sansovino, pp. 107-36, 182-206. Charles Schéfer has published and edited an early French MS. trans. of above: *Petit traité de l'origine des Turcqs*. Paris, 1896, 8vo.
- Excellent for erudite display of bibliographical knowledge, but Schéfer's comments on chronicle are disappointing, and his chronology is inaccurate.
- SPIEGEL. See Jo. Gaudier.
- SPRENGER, A. See Fitzclarence, George.
- SREZNAVSKI, L. Russian trans. of Clavijo.
- STELLA, GIORGIO. *Annales Genuenses*. (1298-1409.) Continued by 'Frater Johannes' to 1435. In Muratori, xvii. 947-1318.
- STEWART, AUBREY. English trans. of portion of *Secreta fidelium crucis* of Marino Sanuto (Torsello).
- STEWART, CHARLES. English trans. of anon. Memoirs of Timur.
- STRITTER, J. G. *Memoriae populorum, olim ad Danubium, Pontum Euxinum, paludem Maeotidem, Caucasum, mare Caspium et inde magis ad septentriones incolentium, e scriptoribus Byzantinis erutae et digestae*. Petrograd, 1779. 4 vols. 4to.
- Numerous writers have gone to Stritter, and quoted from him, in citing Byzantine writers of 13th and 14th cent.
- STRZYGOWSKI, JOSEF. *Die Calendarbilder des Chronographen vom Jahre 354, mit 30 Tafeln*. Berlin, 1888, 4to.
- SZALAY, LADISLAS. *Geschichte Ungarns*. Trans. from Hungarian by Heinrich Wögerer. Buda-Pest, 1866-9. 3 vols. 8vo.
- SZILAGYI, ALEXANDER. Editor of *A Magyar Nemzet Története*.
- TAFEL, G. L. F. 1. *De Via Egnatia*. Tübingen, 1842.
2. *Symbola critica ad geographiam Byzantinam spectantia*. K. Bayer. Akademie, vol. v.
3. Editor of Panaretos.
4. *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*. Vienna, 1856. (In collab. with Thomas, G. M.)
- TAHIR-ZADE, AHMED AGA. *Tarikhi-Aga*. Constantinople, 1876. 5 vols. 8vo. General Hist. of Ott. Emp. from foundation.
- TARBÉ, P. Editor of Eustache Deschamps.
- TARTINI, J. M., ed. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*. Florence, 1748-70. 2 vols. la. fol. (A supplement to Muratori: codices of Laurentian Library.) Newly edited, Rome, 1909, by V. Fiorini et al., as vols. xxvi and xxvii of the new Muratori.
- TAUBER, NICHOLAS VON. German trans. of Geuffraeus.

- TAVERNIER, JEAN-BAPTISTE. *Les six voyages . . . qu'il a faits en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes, pendant quarante ans. Nouvelle éd., revue et corrigée*. Paris, 1713. 5 vols. 12mo.
- TCHIHATCHEFF, P. DE. *Asie Mineure: description physique statistique et archéol.* Avec atlas de 28 cartes. Paris, 1853-6. 2 vols. 8vo.
- TELFER, J. B. English trans. of Schiltberger.
- TEXEIRA. *Voyages de Texeira, ou l'Histoire des Rois des Perses*. Trad. de l'espagnol par Colotendi (d'après Barbier). Paris, 1681. 2 vols. 12mo.
- Texeira follows Mirkhond.
- TEXIER, CHARLES. *Asie Mineure: description géogr., hist. et archéol.* Paris, 1862, 8vo. In series 'L'Univers illustré'. A larger and earlier edition was published in Paris, 1839-49. 3 vols. fol., with 241 plates and maps.
- THALLÓCZY. (In collab. with Gelčić.) 1. *Diplomata relationum reipublicae Ragusinae cum regno Hungariae*. Buda-Pesth, 1887.
2. *Studien zur Geschichte Bosniens und Serbiens im Mittelalter . . . übersetzt von Dr. Franz Eckhardt*. Munich, 1914, 8vo.
- THEINER, AUGUSTUS. 1. *Monumenta vetera historiam Hungariae sacram illustrantia*. Maximam partem nondum edita. Ex tabulariis vaticanis deprompta, collecta ac serie chronol. disposita. Ab Honorio III. ad Clementem VII. (1216-1526). Rome, 1859-60. 2 vols. fol.
2. *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*. Rome and Agram, 1863, 1875. 2 vols. 8vo.
- Contains papal letters for our period.
- THOMAS, A. *Les lettres à la cour des papes . . . 1290-1423*. Rome, 1884, 8vo. Also in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, vols. ii and iv.
- THOMAS, G. M. 1. Collab. with Tafel in compilation of *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte*.
2. Collab. with Predelli in *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*.
- THORNBERG. Latin trans. of Ibn Khaldun.
- THURÓCZ, JOHANN. *Illustrissima Hungariae regum chronica*. In Schwandtner, i. 39-291.
- THURY, JOSEF. Hungarian trans. of Neshri.
- TINDAL, N. English trans. of Cantemir.
- TODERINI, Abbé JEAN-BAPTISTE. *De la littérature des Turcs*. Trad. de l'italien en français par l'abbé Cournand. Paris, 1789. 3 vols. 8vo.
- Toderini was chaplain to the Bailie of Venice at Constantinople from 1779 to 1785. In historical points he follows Cantemir pretty closely. Of the Ottoman historians he seems to know only Seadeddin and Hadji Khalifa.
- TODERINI, T. (in collab. with B. Cecchetti). *Il R. Archivio di Venezia*. Venice, 1873, 8vo.
- TOZER, H. F. 1. *The Church and the Eastern Empire*. London, 1888. 4to.
2. Editor of 1877 edition of Finlay.

and Hadji Khalfa,¹ the grandfather of Osman was Soleiman Shah, prince or bey of Mahan in the Khorassan, who was compelled to leave his country at the approach of Djenghiz Khan, and lived seven years in Armenia. As he was returning home, he was drowned in the Euphrates. Two of his sons, Ertogrul and Dunder, turned back into Asia Minor, and were, through the kindness of the Seljuk Sultan, Alaeddin I, given a residence near Angora, and, later, on the confines of Bithynia. Neshri places the time of residence in Armenia as 170 years, and declares that Soleiman Shah was leader of 50,000 families.² Practically all of the European historians who have written later than the publication in Europe of Chalcocondylas, Ali and Seadeddin have followed closely these authorities.³

The western writers, whose works appeared before the translation and publication of the eastern historians, or who followed earlier western authorities, are either vague or uncertain concerning the parentage of Osman,⁴ or give an entirely different story of the rise of his family. He is supposed to be the son of a Tartar shepherd, called Zich,⁵ who rises to fame at the court of Alaeddin I by defeating in single combat a Greek cavalier that had killed many of the favourites of the Seljuk Sultan.⁶ According to others, who give nearly the same story, the name of Osman's father is 'the madman Delis, a shepherd'.⁷ For his success in killing the Greek, the Sultan rewards him with the castle of

¹ *Chronological Tables*, Italian trans. of Carli Rinaldo.

² *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xiii. 188-9.

³ For editions, translators and dates of publication, see Bibliography.

⁴ Egnatius, cited by Cuspius, 12, says: 'Ottomannus obscuro loco et parentibus agrariis natus'. Nicolaus Euboicus, Saguntinus Episcopus, Sylvius Aeneas, and Andreas a Lacuna say that Osman, of obscure beginnings, arose through oppressing neighbours, Moslem as well as Christian. Ab. Ortellius says, 'Tam Graecis quam Turcis repugnantibus', cited by Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, 99. Bosio, ii. 37, declares: 'Osman first came out of Persia'. Similar vagueness in Haeniger; Geuffroi, 266; Sagredo; Manutio, 3; Cuspius, 11. 42; Barletius, in Lonicerus, iii. folios 231-2; Vanell, 356; Cervarius; Richer, 11.

⁵ De Sacy, in *Notices et Extraits*, xi. 56, foot-note 1, in his discussion of the text of a treaty between Genoese of Kaffa and Janko, Lord of Solkat, where this word also occurs, suggests that it is an altered form of 'sheik'.

⁶ Formanti; Donado da Lezze, 4; Paulo Giovio, Ven. ed. of 1541, 3; Vertot, ii. 97; Rabbi Joseph, ii. 505; Guazzo, 257 v^o; Ortellius in Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, 99; Lonicerus, 10; Spandugino, 182-4. Also Evliya effendi, i. 27.

⁷ 'Il Pazzo Delis, pecoraio', Spandugino, 184. Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, 103, says that Alaeddin poisoned Delis.

Ottomanzich, which is often confused with Sugut, and is claimed to be the origin of Osman's name.¹ By another story, which is asserted to be the invention of Mohammed II, who thus wanted to legitimize in the eyes of the world his claim to the throne of the Caesars, Osman is the descendant of a certain Isaac Comnenus, a member of the imperial Byzantine family, who fled to the court of the Seljuks of Konia, and became a Moslem.²

In this, as in the discussion of other misconceptions which follow, we are not at all justified in throwing out categorically the testimony of the early western writers every time that they conflict with the eastern authorities, or in ignoring them entirely, as Hammer, Zinkeisen, and Jorga have done. We must remember that Chalcocondylas and all the Ottoman historians are *very late*, that they cite no sources upon which to base their assertions or inferences, and that they write with the intention to please, and under the necessity of pleasing, the Ottoman court, at a time when its rulers had become so powerful that they could not brook the recording of an humble origin for their royal house. The extravagant descriptions of Seadeddin, for example, when he speaks of Osman's court, and his expressions such as 'laying his petition humbly at the feet of his royal master', &c., seem much out of place in a narrative about primitive and exceedingly plain and simple people. The western writers claim to have sources for information which are as early and as good as those of Ali and Seadeddin. Some of them certainly had.³ We cannot claim for these writers that their stories be accepted as fact. But we can claim that they be accepted as an honest reflection of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century opinion concerning the founder of the Ottoman royal house—opinion derived from stories which were current in Constantinople at that time, and which, for

¹ Formanti; Donado da Lezze, 4; Cuspius, 48; *ibid.*, Ant. ed., 6; Spandugino, in Sansovino (ed. 1654), 243; Egnatius, 28. Also travels of Busbecq, Eng. ed., i. 137, and the Ottoman Evliya, ii. 95.

² This story in full in Formanti, 2-3; Vertot, ii. 97-8; Spandugino, 183. Leunclavius, in *Pandectes*, 103, says that Nicetas Choniates mentions such a renegade Comnenus, but calls him Isaac.

³ The author of *Tractatus de ritibus*, who was a slave captured by Murad II, for example. Also Spandugino, a native of Constantinople, and relative of the Cantacuzenos and Notaras families. Also Donado da Lezze. See the prefaces of editions of Charles Schéfer, of Spandugino; and of Professor Ursu, of Donado da Lezze.

- TRAUT, VEIT. *Türkischer Kayser Ankunft Krieg und Sieg wider die Christen biss auf den Zwelfften yetzt Regierenden Tyrannen Soley-mannum*. With 15 woodcuts. Augsburg, 1543, fol.
- TUDELLE, BENJAMIN DE. In Bergeron.
- TYCHSEN, O. G. Latin trans. of Makrisi.
- URECHI, GRÉGOIRE. *Chronique de Moldavie, depuis le milieu du XIV^e siècle jusqu'à 1594*. Texte roumain en caractères slavons. Traduction par Émile Picot. *École des Langues viv. orientales*, vol. ix. Paris, 1879, 8vo.
- URSINS, JEAN-J. DES. *Histoire de Charles VI*. Edited by Godefroy. Paris, 1614, 4to.
- URSU, I. Editor, with Rumanian notes, of Donado da Lezze.
- VAMBÉRY, HERMANN. 1. *Alt-osmanische Sprachstudien*. Leyden, 1901, 8vo.
2. *Hungary*. 'Story of Nations' series. London, 1898, 8vo.
3. *Geschichte Bocharas oder Transoxaniens*. Stuttgart, 1872.
- VANEL. *Abrégé nouveau de l'histoire gén. des Turcs . . . depuis leur établissement jusqu'à présent. Avec les Portraits des Empereurs ottomans tirez sur les meilleurs originaux*. Paris, 1689. 3 vols. 12mo.
- VAN GAVER, JULES. Collab. with Jouannin.
- VATTIER, PIERRE. French trans. of Arabshah.
- VERTOT, Abbé. *Histoire des chevaliers de Saint-Jean*. Amsterdam, 1732. 7 vols. 12mo.
- VIGÉNAIRE, BLAISE DE. French trans. of Chalcocondylas.
- VILLANI, GIOVANNI. *Historia universalis* (in Italian). Muratori, xiii. 1-1002.
Villani died of the plague in 1348.
- VILLANI, MATTEO, and his son FILIPPO. *Historia ab 1348 ad 1365*. A continuation of the *Historia universalis*. (Also in Italian.) Muratori, xiv. 1-770.
A most valuable contemporary record for first conquests of Murad I in Europe.
- VIVIEN DE SAINT-MARTIN, LOUIS. *Description historique et géogr. de l'Asie Mineure*. Paris, 1852. 2 vols. 8vo.
- VLASTO, E.-A. Trans. into French portion of Hopf which relates to Giustiniani family of Chios.
- VULLERS, J. A. Latin trans. of Mirkhond.
- WAVRIN, JEAN DE. *Les Chronicques d'Angleterre*. Edited by Mlle. du Pont. Paris, 1858-63. 2 vols. 8vo.
- WENZEL, G. *Monumenta Hungariae historica*. Buda-Pest, 1876, 8vo.
- WERUNSKI, E. *Excerpta ex registris Clementis VI et Innocentii VI . . .* (541 documents from 1342 to 1360). Innsbruck, 1885, 8vo.

- WHITE, JOSEPH. Editor of Clarendon Press (1783) Persian text of Timur's memoirs.
- WIRTH, A. *Geschichte der Türken*. 2nd ed. Stuttgart, 1913, 12mo.
- WÖGERER, H. German trans. of Szalay.
- WOLFF. *Geschichte der Mongolen*. Breslau, 1872.
- WRIGHT, J. Editor of Mandeville.
- WÜSTENFELD, FERDINAND. 1. *Vergleichungs-Tabellen der muhammedanischen und christlichen Zeitrechnung, nach dem ersten Tage jedes muham. Monats berechnet und im Auftrage und auf Kosten der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Leipzig, 1854, 4to.
This is reproduced in Mas Latrie's *Trésor de Chronologie*, &c., pp. 549-622.
2. *Geschichte der Türken mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des vermeintlichen Anrechts derselben auf den Besitz von Griechenland*. Leipzig, 1899, 8vo.
A book full of inaccuracies and misleading statements: altogether unworthy of the author of the *Tabellen*.
- WUTTKE, HEINRICH. Editor of German trans. of P. J. Safařík.
- WYLIE, H. *History of England under Henry IV*. London, 1884-98. 4 vols. 12mo.
- XÉNOPOL, A. D. *Histoire des Roumains*. Paris, 1896. 2 vols. 1a. 8vo. This is a translation, revised and abridged by the author himself, of *Istoria Romînilor din Dacia traiana*. Jassy, 1888-93. 6 vols. 8vo.
- YAHIA, NASREDDIN. See Ibn Bibi.
- YALE, H. English trans. of Marco Polo.
- ZAGORSKY, VLADIMIR. *François Rački et la renaissance scientifique et politique de la Croatie*. Paris, 1909, 8vo.
pp. 178-81 contain exposé of Bosno-Serbo-Croatian relations at time of Ottoman conquest.
- ZENKER, J. TH. *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. Leipzig, 1848-61. 2 vols. 4to. Vol. i contains: Arabic, Persian, and Turkish books from invention of printing to 1840; vol. ii, a supplement of preceding up to 1860, and books on Christian Orient.
Compiled in haphazard fashion: very incomplete: most important works are omitted: in giving translations Seadeddin is confused with Ali.
- ZINKEISEN, JOHANN WILHELM. *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs in Europa*. Gotha, 1840-63. 7 vols. 8vo. In *Allgemeine Staaten-geschichte*, I, 15 *Werke*. Vol. i up to 1453.
Jorga's recent work is 37 in the same series.
- ZOLLIKOFER, LUCAS. German trans. of Pedro Mexia.
- ZOTENBERG, H. French trans. of Jean of Nikiou.

ANONYMOUS

Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani (1315-1402). In Miklositch and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, vol. i.

Anciennes Chroniques de Savoie. Cols. 1-382 in *Monumenta Historiae Patriae: Scriptores*, vol. i.

Contemporary account of Amadeo's expedition to the Levant.

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Ἐπιρωτικά (Epirotica). *Historia Epiri a Michaele Nepote Duce conscripta*. Six fragments, forming pp. 207-79, in *Historia et Politica Patriarchica Constantinopoleos*. (In *Corpus Script. Byz.*) Bonn, 1849, 8vo.

La Généalogie du Grand-Turc (Lyon ed.). See Gycaud.

Livre des faits du bon messire Jean le Maingre, dit Bouciquaut. Bibl. Nat., fonds fr., no. 11432. Th. Godefroy edited and published this MS., Paris, 1620, 4to. Modern editions: Collection Petitot, VI and VII; Michaud et Poujoulat, II; and Buchon, *Choix de chroniques* (Panthéon littéraire), III. Paris, 1853.

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1. Persian trans. by Abu Halib Hussein. The text was edited by Professor White, and publ. by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1783, with a trans. into English by Major Davy. A second English trans. was made by Charles Stewart, under title *Mulfuzat timüry* or autobiographical memoirs of the Moghul emp. Timur. London, 1830, 4to.

2. French trans. from Persian by L. Langlès, under title *Instituts politiques et militaires de Tamerlan*, écrit par lui-même. Paris, 1787, 8vo.

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Relation de la Croisade de Nicopolis par un serviteur de Gui de Blois. The two MSS. in the Library of the Duc d'Arenbourg and the Ashburnham collection are published by Kervyn de Lettenhove, in his edition of Froissart, xv. 439-508; xvi. 413-43.

Series Imperatorum Turcicorum. In Foglietta, *de Originibus*.

Tractatus de ritu et moribus Turcarum. Cologne, c. 1488; Wittenberg, with preface by Martin Luther, 1530; German trans. by Sebastian Franck, without place, 1530; augmented edition of Franck's trans., Berlin, 1590. The same work under title *Tractatus de ritu, moribus et multiplicatione nequitiae Turcarum*, Paris, 1514, 8vo.

By a Christian slave under Murad II. Rambaud, *Hist. gén.*, iii. 867, cites an edition of Paris, 1509, 4to, which he attributes to Ricoldus. But I do not find this name in other editions.

SERBIAN CHRONICLES

Chronicle of the Abbey Tronosha. Chronicle of Pek, quoted by Mijatovitch.

BYZANTINE HISTORIANS

1. *Historiae byzantinae scriptores*. Louvre ed. Paris, 1645-1711. 38 vols. fol. Venice, 1727-33. 23 vols.

2. *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*. Ed. by Niebuhr. Bonn, 1828-78. 49 vols. 8vo.

3. *Patrologia Graeca*. Ed. by Migne. Paris, 1857-66, 161 vols. 4to. The writers who deal with the 14th cent. are:

1. Pachymeres (1258-1308). Bonn, 1835. 2 vols. 8vo. Rome, 1660.

2. Nicephorus Gregoras (1204-1351). ¹²⁹⁵⁻¹³⁵⁵ Bonn, 1855. Paris, 1702, 2 vols.

3. Johannes VI Cantacuzenos (1320-57). ¹²⁰⁰⁻¹³²² Bonn, 1828-32. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1645. Migne, ciii-civ.

4. Manuel I Palaeologos (1388-1407). Migne, clvi. 82-582.

5. Chalcocondylas, Laonicus (1298-1462). Bonn, 1843. Paris, 1650. Migne, vol. clix.

6. Ducas, Johannes (1341-1462). Bonn, 1834. Migne, clvii. 750-1166. Paris, 1649. Chronicon Breve—added to Ducas. ^{✓ Second half 15th c.}

7. Phrantzes, George (1259-1477). Bonn, 1838. Migne, vol. clvi. Vienna, 1796.

8. Panaretos, Michail (1204-1386). For Trebizond. See editions under his card.

9. *Historia Epirotica*. Bonn, 1849. (In vol. xxiii.)

VENETIAN ARCHIVES

Original MS. collections referred to in my book :

I. *Commemoriali*. A transcription of miscellaneous acts, bulls, &c., 1295-1787. 33 vols. la. fol. Vols. i-ix, 1295-1405. i, 1295-8. ii, 1309-16. iii, 1317-26. iv, 1325-43. v, 1342-52. vi, 1353-8. vii, 1358-62. viii, 1362-76. viii (2), 1376-97. ix, 1395-1405. The *Commemoriali* have been edited by Riccardo Predelli. See also Thomas.

II. *Misti* (Deliberationes mixtae). ' Continentes res terrestres et maritimas.' 1293-1440. First 14 volumes (1293-1331) were burned in 1574 or 1577, but indices have been preserved in the Rubricarii. 60 vols. fol. xv-xxxii, 1332-67; xxxiii-xli, 1368-88; xlii-xlix, 1389-1413. Rubricarii. Indices of the *Misti*. 4 vols. i, 1293-1368 (32 registers); ii, 1368-89 (9 registers); iii, 1389-1413 (9 registers).

III. *Secreti* (Deliberationes secretae). For foreign affairs. 1345-1401. Numbered by letters. 19 vols., A to S, of which only four remain. A and B, 1345-50; R (now called E), March 1388-97; and L, May 1373-Feb. 1376. One feels deeply the loss of these records, especially of S, which went from April 1397 to Feb. 1400.

IV. *Patti*. 7 registers of treaties from 883 to 1496.

V. *Liber Albus*. Treaties, privileges, &c., with the Levant (principally for commerce) up to 1348.

VI. *Libri Secretorum Consilii Rogatorum*, commonly called 'Cons. Rog.'. A continuation of the *Secreti* from April 10, 1401, to Feb. 26, 1476. These volumes bear Arabic numerals, not letters. There are 27 registers, of which no. 1 contains the Anatolian campaign of Timur and the downfall of Bayezid.

In the classified bibliography, the collections in which documents from Venetian records have been published are grouped.

lack of definite history, were circulated among the Osmanlis themselves up to a very much later period.¹

The later western historians have taken, without critical examination, the Ottoman accounts of the origin of their royal family, as they have of the relationship with the Seljuks of Konia, practically at their face value. But it is not hard to prove a good case against the Ottoman historians.

The story of Soleiman Shah, prince of Mahan and leader of 50,000 families, living and ruling in the neighbourhood of Erzerum between 1224 and 1232, is very easy to disprove. The name of Mahan is often given to two cities, Dinewer and Nehawend.² It is rather the designation of a plain in which these two cities lay. In 1229, Sultan Djelaleddin, after his defeat by the Mongols at Mughan, passed the winter in the plain of Mahan. A certain Izzeddin was lord of the fortress there. He had been rebellious *some years before*, but was 'now serving Djelaleddin devoutly'.³ In the history of Djelaleddin, I find absolutely no mention of a Soleiman Shah in connexion with Mahan or any other place in that region. With 50,000 families, Soleiman Shah would have been a factor in Armenia between 1224 and 1232. For that is precisely the time when Djelaleddin, Sultan of Kharezm, his logical suzerain or his enemy, was struggling with the Seljuks of Konia in that very region! In 1229, Djelaleddin was at Erzindjian, and ravaged the whole country.⁴ At the same time, a cousin of Alaeddin I, a very powerful ruler, Rokneddin, was lord of Erzerum, and was strong enough to be at enmity at the same time with Djelaleddin's invading army and with Alaeddin of Konia.⁵ Other Arabic historians, and the Seljuk historian of this period, confirm the history of Mohammed-en-Nesawi in its leading points, but they, no more than the historian of Djelaleddin, make any mention whatever of a Soleiman Shah, or of an Ertogrul.⁶ Nor is Soleiman Shah and his family mentioned

¹ Evliya effendi, a learned member of the Moslem Ulema of Constantinople, who travelled widely in the seventeenth century in the Ottoman Empire, is continually making statements which show that he had a very hazy notion of early Ottoman history. This is true also of Hadji Khalfa, the famous bibliographer, in his *Djihannuma*, a work which I have tested and found incomplete and unreliable both in its geographical and historical information about the region which gave birth to Osman and his tribe.

² Houdas, p. 374, foot-note 1.

³ Mohammed en Nesawi, p. 374.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 394.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 209, 328.

⁶ Shehabeddin, 230-9, 263-72, 289-91, in describing Khorassan, Armenia,

in any of the Arabic genealogies prior to the seventeenth century, although these exist in great numbers.¹ There is only one Ottoman genealogy prior to the tables of Hadji Khalfa.²

The best authority on the western Turks, the late Léon Cahun, conservator of the Mazarine Library in Paris, declares that the Turkish tribes of the time of the purported Soleiman Shah and Ertogrul had no family ties. They knew no rank other than that of a man higher up in the army. In inheritance, the younger son got the land, and the older sons the movable possessions of the father. There were no family names; there are none to this day. The Turks who came into Asia Minor were without name or family. They wandered far and sold their services to get established family ties.³

There is one more testimony concerning the humble origin of the Ottoman royal house. The different historians of the relations between Timur and Bayezid I all speak of the taunt flung by Timur at Bayezid concerning the Ottoman ruler's lack of royal ancestors.⁴ Bayezid never made any response to this taunt, and confined his boasting, which was by no means of a modest sort, to his own and his father's achievements, and to his power as a European ruler.

We cannot establish the ancestry of Osman. It is altogether probable that he had none of note, but was what Americans would call 'a self-made man'.

and the strife between Djelaleddin and Alaeddin, makes no mention of Soleiman Shah or Ertogrul, or of a formidable invasion such as 50,000 families, under one ruler, would certainly have been regarded. Nor is there mention of the 50,000 and their leader in Ibn-Bibi, Seljuk chronicler of this period.

¹ Hadji Khalfa, in index of his Bibliography, iii. folios 133-5, speaks of more than sixty Arabic genealogies known to him, but in his chronological tables he cites none of them for early Ottoman genealogy.

² *Dourar-al-Othman*, 'the precious pearls touching the original source of the Ottoman house', by Ibn Ali Mohammed-al-Biwy. No date or indication of contents. Hadji Khalfa in *Dictionnaire bibliographique*, Paris MS., i. folio 867.

³ *Introduction à l'histoire d'Asie : Turcs et Mongols, passim.*

⁴ There is a letter of this sort to Bayezid, quoted in Timur's *Institutes*. Also a letter, given by Sherefeddin, iii. 259-63, near the beginning of which he says: 'But you whose true origin ends in a Turcoman sailor, as all the world knows.'

2. THAT OSMAN BEGAN HIS CAREER AS A VASSAL OF ALAEDDIN III, SULTAN OF ICONIUM, UPON WHOSE DEATH, IN OR ABOUT 1300, OSMAN AND NINE OTHER TURKISH PRINCES DIVIDED THE INHERITANCE OF THE SELJUCIDES; THAT OSMAN PROVED MORE POWERFUL THAN THE OTHER PRINCES, AND FOUNDED AN EMPIRE UPON THE RUINS OF THE SELJUCIDE EMPIRE.

When I call this statement, in its entirety, a misconception, I realize that I am attacking the idea of the founding of the Ottoman Empire which has been voiced by the most eminent historians and has an accepted and unquestioned place in text-books and encyclopaedias, and in general histories.

In a French translation of Chalcocondylas, published in 1662, under the woodcut of Osman, we find these four lines :

‘ De simple Capitaine en des Pays déserts,
Près du grand Saladin la Fortune m’attire ;
Et là de ses débris je fonde cet Empire,
Qui menace aujourd’huy d’engloutir l’Univers.’

I quote this verse because it seems to me to express concisely the commonly accepted idea of the foundation of the Ottoman Empire, as I find it written everywhere. Hammer, whose eighteen volumes contain a wealth of material upon the Ottoman Empire not elsewhere to be found, and who shows remarkable erudition as well as care and critical powers, perpetuates the tales about Ertogrul and Osman and the court of Konia. He makes the categorical statement, ‘The empire of the Seljuks broke up, and on its ruins arose that of Osman’.¹ Creasy has popularized the opinion of Hammer in the English-speaking world.² Lane-Poole, who has written the only general history of the Ottoman Empire in English in our generation, has tacitly accepted the common tradition.³ Zinkeisen and Jorga, the only later historians whose names can be coupled for scholarly work with that of Hammer, are most unsatisfactory in their failure to take up critically the Ottoman traditions of the early days of the

¹ ‘L’empire des Seljucides s’écroula, et sur ses ruines surgit celui d’Osman,’ Hammer, i. 83.

² i. 7-13.

³ In the Story of the Nations Series. This book does not do credit to the name of the great scholar whom Orientalists and numismatists universally honour.

Empire.¹ Leunclavius, the sole writer in Western Europe before Hammer, whose work might be called ‘scientific’, discusses exhaustively and compares critically all authorities existing at his time (1590) on most minute points of early Ottoman history, but is almost silent on the grave inconsistencies and contradictions arising from the question of the relation between the Osmanlis and the Seljuks of Konia.² There is the same silence in Cantemir and his translators.³ The latest Ottoman historian says : ‘Osman’s military and political career naturally divides itself into two parts, that in which he was vassal of Alaeddin, and that in which he became sultan.’⁴ An Oriental whose work has enjoyed great vogue in France declares : ‘Osman pursued through every obstacle the realization of his plan, which consisted in founding upon the ruins of the Seljuk Empire a great, free, and independent state.’⁵

I find one German scholar who, briefly touching upon the foundation of Osman’s power, rejects or ignores the connexion with the Seljuks of Konia; but he goes further afield, and makes the astonishing statement that Osman conquered Bagdad, allowed the Khalifs only spiritual power, called himself Sultan, and became master of the Moslem world, thereby connecting the Mongol conquest of Mesopotamia with the Mameluke conquest of Egypt, and attributing it all to Osman!⁶

If we had good ground for rejecting the princely origin of Osman, our justification for impugning and discarding the connexion of Osman with the Seljuks of Konia is stronger still.

Kaï Kobad Alaeddin, the only Sultan to whom the name of

¹ In the *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte*, Werk 15 (1840-63) and Werk 37 (1908-13).

² Leunclavius, *Pandectes*. This work will be found in all large libraries, because it is reprinted in volume 159 of Migne’s *Patrologia Graeca Latina*, 715-922.

³ For translations of Cantemir, see Bibliography. The Rumanian translator, Dr. Hodosiu, has reprinted the notes of the various editors of Cantemir, which makes his edition the most valuable.

⁴ Youssouf Fehmi, *Histoire de la Turquie*, Paris, 1908, p. 11.

⁵ Halil Ganem, *Les Sultans ottomans*, Paris, 1901, i. 24.

⁶ ‘Osman verband sich mit der Leibwache in Bagdad, eroberte die Stadt, setzte sich auf den Thron, wodurch er der Beherrscher aller Muhammedaner wurde, und liess dem Chalifen nur die nichts bedeutende geistliche Oberhoheit in Bagdad; er nannte sich Sultan, d. h. Herrscher, und starb 729 (1328 n. Chr.)’ Prof. F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Türken*, &c., Leipzig, 1899, pp. 15-16.

Alaeddin is given by common consent,¹ died in 1236.² He was succeeded by Kaï Khosrew II, Giasseddin, or Ghizatheddin, who was Sultan at the time of the great Mongol invasion of Asia Minor. In the spring of 1243, Erzerum was sacked without having received any help from Konia. Some months only after this event did Kaï Khosrew move. He was defeated at Mughan, near Erzindjian, in a decisive battle,³ and fled to Angora, abandoning his baggage. Erzindjian fell next. Then Kaï Khosrew withdrew to Sivas, and from that city sent an embassy to the Mongols, making his submission and promising an annual tribute of four hundred thousand pieces of silver. The Mongol armies penetrated as far as Smyrna. Everywhere submission was complete, although no effort was made to provide a new government for the conquered regions in the western part of the peninsula. The Emperor of Trebizond became a vassal of the Mongols.⁴

The battle of Mughan cost the Seljuk Empire its independence.⁵ After 1246, when Kaï Khosrew died, the situation of the Seljuks of Konia is depicted by Shehabeddin in these words: 'The princes of the family of Seljuk kept only the title of sovereign, without having any authority or any power. There was left to them only that which concerned their own person and their houses, the insignia of royalty, and sufficient money for expenses of an indispensable necessity. The power belonged to Tartar governors, who managed everything without opposition. It was in the name of the princes of the family of Djenghiz Khan that

¹ Reineccius thought that this name must be common to all the Sultans of Konia. It does not appear for others than Kaï Kobad II in the Arabic genealogies. Leunclavius is so confused by the discrepancy here that he concludes that the Ottoman historians must have given the name indiscriminately to all the Sultans! (*Pandectes*, 106). Hadji Khalifa, *Djihan-uma*, folio 1790, speaking of Amassia, says that its fortress was repaired by 'Sultan Alaeddin the Seljucide'. It is typically Ottoman to be vague about names as well as about dates. Hadji Khalifa frequently speaks of an Ottoman Sultan, whose name is duplicated, without any following ordinal. There is often no clue in the context to identify the Sultan to whom he refers.

² As the year of the Hegira began in June in 1240, there is the alternative of reckoning the Christian era a year later during the middle period of this century. But I have not thought necessary to indicate this alternative each time.

³ Villani, book VI, c. 32, in Muratori, xiii, col. 175, describes this battle; also *Vie de Saint Louis*, by Le Nain de Tillemont (ed. Gaulle), iii, 4.

⁴ Abulfeda; Howorth, iii, 47.

⁵ This is the opinion of two of the ablest modern scholars, Heyd, i, 534, and Sarre, p. 41.

the public prayer was made, and that gold and silver money was struck.¹ When the dynasty of the Seljuces had arrived at the last degree of weakness . . . races of Turks seized a large part of these countries. . . . The Turks recognized the pre-eminence of the prince of Kermian.'² There is not a word of any possible Ottoman supremacy even in his own day, fifty years later. Every source on the latter half of the thirteenth century which I have consulted corroborates the testimony of Shehabeddin.³ I have space to give only a few of the facts which I have gathered concerning the fortunes of the Sultans of Konia during the period 1246-1300, when Ertogrul and Osman are pictured by the Ottoman historians, and by the European historians who have followed them, as basking in the sunshine of Seljuk imperial favour.

After the death of Kaï Khosrew, the empire was divided between his three sons, who, however, seemed to rule in common as vassals of the Mongols, for their names were asserted to appear together on coins in 1249.⁴ During the decade after the conquest, the Mongols overran western Asia Minor. We read that Sultan Rokneddin went with the Mongol general, Baïchu, into winter quarters in *Bithynia*,⁵ and that Baïchu received orders from Khulagu Khan in 1257 to pillage the entire Seljuk dominions. In 1264, Abulfeda gives Rum, with its capital as Konia, among the provinces ruled by Khulagu.⁶ Bibars, Sultan of Egypt, succeeded in occupying Konia for a brief time in 1276.⁷ In 1278, Abaka Khan opened negotiations with Haython, king of Little Armenia, with the view of making him Sultan of Rum. In 1282,

¹ I can find no record of coins to controvert this statement. Lane-Poole, *Mohammedan Coins in the Bodleian Library*, 41, gives only one coin of the Bodleian collection after 641 of the Hegira, and to this he assigns the date A. H. 663 with a question mark.

² MS. Bib. Nat., Paris, fonds arabe, 583, folio 144 r^o and v^o.

³ The lists of coins in I. Ghalib Edhem's *Monnaies turcomanes* also bear eloquent testimony to the disappearance of Seljuk vassal dynasties during this period.

⁴ I have not heard of such a coin existing to-day, but make the statement on the strength of Abulfaradj, *Chronicon Syr.*, 527-8.

⁵ Abulfaradj, *ibid.*, 542-3; Howorth, iii, 69.

⁶ Abulfeda, v, 15-16, under date of A. H. 662. Villani (in Muratori, xiii), VII, c. 40, column 261-2, describes how Abaka Khan chased the Saracens (*sic*) from 'Turchia', and also the 'Re d'Erminia', who 'lasciò a' Tartari la Turchia'.

⁷ Huart, *Souvenirs de voyage*, 164, speaks of the battle, but does not mention occupation of Konia.

Bibars, writing to Ahmed Khan, says: 'At this moment Konghuratai' (a Mongol general) 'is in the land of Rum, which is subject to you and pays you taxes.'¹ In 1283, Ghizatheddin, who was ruling with the merest semblance of royalty in Konia, was deposed by Ahmed Khan, exiled to Erzindjian, and replaced by Masud. There was anarchy everywhere in Asia Minor at this time.² The distinguished French Orientalist, M. Huart, who studied in Konia itself the inscriptions of the Seljuk Sultans, could find nothing after this period to indicate that the two final sultans who followed Ghizatheddin were more than playthings of the Mongols.³

The testimony of Marco Polo is most precious to us here. When he passed through this country in 1271 he says that Konia, Sivas, Caesarea and many other cities of 'Turquemanie' were subject to the Tartars, who imposed their rule there.⁴ It was his impression that the Turcomans were subject to local rulers, and responded to no central authority.

The last days of the Seljuks are most obscure. Masud ruled until 1296, when he was deposed by Ahmed Khan. For two years there was no ruler. Whether Firamurs ever ruled is a matter of doubt.⁵ The last Sultan is generally given as Kai Kobad, who remained Sultan for four or ten years.⁶ However, there was no Sultan actually ruling as sovereign in Konia either in 1290 or in 1300. Neither Masud nor Kai Kobad could have

¹ Abulfaradj, *Chronicon Arab.*, 365-7; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, ii. 570-80; Howorth, iii. 295.

² Howorth, iii. 315.

³ *Konia, Ville des Derviches tourneurs*, 177.

⁴ 'Ils sont souspost au Tartar de Levant, qui y met sa seigneurie.' Edition of Pauthier, 37. For status of this country at the beginning of the thirteenth century, see *Chronique d'Ernoult et de Bernard le Trésorier* (ed. Mas-Latrie, Paris, 1871), pp. 377, 381.

⁵ Hadji Khalifa naively solves this doubt by rolling Masud and Kai Kobad into one and the same person. *Djihannuma*, folio 1752 bis.

⁶ There is no way of reaching certainty on this point. Rasmussen, *Annales Islamici*, pp. 34-8, reflects the confusion which attended the scholar of the early nineteenth century who wanted to make a chronological table of the later Seljuk Sultans. The two best modern tables are to be found in Sarre and Huart, scholars who became interested in the Seljuk problem through their archaeological travels in Asia Minor. The best account of the Seljuks is that of Houtsma in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. It is to be regretted that Professor Houtsma has not published the French translation of Ibn Bibi, which he promised in his introduction to the 4th volume of the Leyden series of Seljuk texts. Three years ago, Professor Sir William Ramsay, who knows Konia better than any European scholar, told me that he felt there was rich reward for the research student in the Seljuk period. The history of the Seljuks of Konia has yet to be written.

given Osman feudal rights or a charter of independence. There was no dissolution of the Seljuk Empire in 1300. In all except mere name, it had become extinct before Osman was born.

The Mongol conquerors never extended their political system to western Asia Minor. But, from 1246 to 1278, the Anatolians, Moslem and Christian alike, were in constant terror of the Mongol hordes. After 1276, the Mongols were too occupied with the Mamelukes of Egypt, and with the dissensions arising in the eastern part of their great empire, to pay much attention to the remote Turkish tribes of Rum. During the last quarter of the thirteenth century, there was no change in the *status quo* of the Seljuks at Konia that affected in any way the fortunes of these tribes. We can explain their rise into independent principalities, not by the disappearance of the Seljuk Sultans, but by the diversion of Mongol energy to other quarters.

Among early western writers there was great divergency of opinion about the number of the 'Seljuk heirs'. I have found them represented as one,¹ three,² four,³ five,⁴ and seven.⁵ Pachymeres, if we can trust the text of the Bonn edition,⁶ is the earliest writer to mention the traditional number of ten.⁷ When the Seljuk Empire fell before the Mongols, it had no heirs in Asia Minor. During the latter half of the thirteenth century and the first quarter of the fourteenth century (1250-1325) an innumerable number of village chieftains endeavoured to form states. There were many more than ten. The states which existed at the beginning of the reign of Orkhan I have put into another appendix.⁸

There is no record of Osman having attacked his Turkish neighbours. The testimony of the best Ottoman authorities is categorical on this point. Orkhan extended his father's

¹ Osman was the sole heir according to Boecler: also Donado da Lezze, 4.

² 'Osman, Karaman, and Assam. Karaman retired to Syria and Assam to Persia. The house of Osman always persecuted the descendants of these two latter.' Geuffroi, 267. Also Cuspianus, 11, and Haeniger.

³ Spandugino, Lonicerus, and Egnatius.

⁴ Mignot, 33.

⁵ *Tractatus de moribus*; Vanell, i. 351-2; Sagredo; Cervarius; Cuspianus, 46.

⁶ The historian must use the Bonn editions with caution. There are frequent glosses in the Latin translations of Byzantine texts. See foot-note on p. 263.

⁷ Pachymeres, ii. 589.

⁸ See Appendix B, which is really a continuation of this argument.

dominions very little to the south: not at all towards the east. Murad's activities in Asia Minor were the least successful part of his career, and were by no means permanent. Sherefeddin Ali, whom we may regard as the best contemporary source for the end of the fourteenth century, states explicitly: 'Bayezid reduced under his dominion a large portion of the country of Rum, that is to say, the provinces of Aïdin, of Mentеше, of Kermian and of Karamania, a thing which his ancestors had never been able to bring to an end.'¹

In view of the facts of the case, it is strange that the idea of Osman as the powerful heir of the Seljuks, who mastered the other aspirants to that honour, has had such a long lease of life through centuries. Many of the early writers made Osman master of all Asia Minor.² It is commonly recorded that he captured Sivas.³ One writer placed in that city his capital.⁴ Another credited him with the capture of Konia.⁵ Misinformation of this sort was given to Charles VI of France by returning pilgrims,⁶ and, a century and a quarter later, to Frances I.⁷ The early idea of the Osmanlis as an Asiatic people, of large numbers,⁸ who conquered Asia Minor and then overthrew the Byzantine Empire,⁹ has persisted to this day. One of the sanest Ottoman writers of modern times, who has brought wide knowledge and judgement to bear upon the history of the Ottoman army, is led astray by this misconception. He says, 'It was the Arabic and Persian states that the Ottoman Empire had to fight before

¹ *Vie de Timour*, iii. 255.

² 'Osman possessed all Anatolia, which he called Osmania: he came to be called Lord of Asia Minor,' Formanti, 4; 'Osman made himself master of all Anatolia without any difficulty,' Spandugin; 'Osman seized Cappadocia, Galatia, and Bithynia,' Cuspianus, 10; 'master of Syria as well as of Asia Minor,' Donado da Lezze, 5.

³ Formanti; Geuffroy; Donado; Cuspianus; Giovio Paulo; Richer; Guazzo, 257 v°.

⁴ Rabbi Joseph, ii. 505.

⁵ Mignot, 33.

⁶ *Chronique de Saint-Denis* (Ed. Soc. Hist. de France), i. 319, 709.

⁷ Richer, whom I have already quoted in Chapter I.

⁸ 'Cette nation nombreuse, pleine de confiance dans ses forces, et brûlant du désir de soumettre à sa domination toute la chrétienté, avait quitté les confins de Perse.' *Chronique de Saint-Denis*, i. 709.

⁹ 'Quod cum ante complures annos florens illud Orientis imperium everterit et in Occidentem non exigua spacia invaserit, atque oppresserit quod reliquum nobis factum est, omni vi suo intolerabile iugum ditionemque redigere studet.' Domini de la Vue, *Disputatio de bello turcico*, bound in with Camerarius, p. 94, in Bibl. Nat., Paris, Imprimés, no. J 860.

any other'. So it is natural that he should be puzzled by finding in the military museum at Constantinople early Ottoman weapons on Byzantine and European models. He explains this by saying that these weapons were not used by the Osmanlis, but must have been captured, for the Osmanlis, naturally, would use Persian and Arabic models!¹

But Colonel Djevad is not more in error than the two greatest French authorities on Ottoman architecture. Saladin, in his summary of Ottoman history, instructs his readers as follows: 'Alaeddin III, conquered by the Mongols, abandoned the sovereignty to Osman. . . . When the Osmanlis penetrated into Anatolia . . . in proportion to the extension westward of the Ottoman Empire, we shall see the influence of Byzantine architecture increase. . . . Little by little, as the Turks approached Constantinople, this impregnation of the influence of Byzantium had an increasingly greater importance in the development of Ottoman art.'² This misconception of the origin of the Osmanlis leads him to state: 'It is then indispensable to study the Seljuk monuments of Konia, which have necessarily served as models to the first Ottoman monuments.'³ From his premisses, Saladin has argued rightly. But his historical facts are wrong. Even if they were not, his conclusion could still be proved wrong. The refutation of his statement exists in the two earliest Ottoman buildings, the school and the kitchen for the poor at Nicaea, the date of whose construction Seadeddin places in 1331.⁴ Both of these are typically Byzantine. In Brusa there is no Ottoman building of the Seljuk type which can be proved to have been constructed prior to Mohammed I (1413-21).⁵ Parvillée, to whom the whole world owes a debt of gratitude for his able reconstruction of the

¹ Col. Djevad bey, 192-3.

² H. Saladin, *Manuel de l'architecture musulmane*, 437-40.

³ *Ibid.*, 437. On p. 479, Saladin makes another curious statement to the effect that in 1300 the Osmanlis employed architects who had fortified the Seljuk strongholds. I have never been able to find in my reading or from observation of Ottoman constructions any authority for such an assertion.

⁴ i. 50. The *medressé* is, as Seadeddin says, to the right after you enter the Yeni Sheir gate. The *imaret* is near the Yeshil Djami, which is the oldest Ottoman mosque extant, dating from 1378. The imam of the Yeshil Djami told me that the *imaret* was built by Osman's wife, Malkhatun. According to Seadeddin, however, Malkhatun died before Osman!

⁵ Parvillée, p. 6, says that the Oulou-Djami, which is attributed to Murad I in Brusa by popular consent, was not finished until the reign of Mahomet I.

precious historic monuments of Brusa, starts his scholarly work on Ottoman architecture in the fifteenth century with these words: 'Towards the end of the thirteenth century the Seljuk Empire disappeared. On its ruins arose that of Osman.' He not only follows Hammer: he uses his very words!¹ From the historical point of view, I maintain that the Byzantine influence was an indissoluble factor in the evolution of Ottoman architecture from the very beginning. In this I am supported, from the expert architect's point of view, by the two German authorities on this subject.² The Seljuk, Arab, and Persian influences entered in at a considerably later period.

There exists in tradition and in law an intimate connexion between the House of Osman and the Grand Tchelebi of Konia. This has been pointed to as a confirmation of the hypothesis that the Ottoman sovereigns derived their authority originally from the Seljuks of Rum. I do not deny the force of tradition. In the absence of early records, the beginning of this connexion must remain a moot question. But the evidence from outside sources makes reasonable my doubt as to the existence of this connexion before the reign of Mohammed I or Murad I.

There are two other arguments which might be adduced in this appendix, the questions of Osman's title as an independent ruler, and of the chieftainship as an elective office among the Turkish tribes. But both of these have already been discussed in the text and the foot-notes of the chapter on Orkhan.

¹ Cf. preface of Parvillée; and Hammer, i. 83.

² W. Lübcke, *Geschichte der Architektur* (6te Auflage), i. 425; Franz-Pasha, *Die Baukunst des Islams* (third volume of part 2 of *Handbücher der Architektur*), 52, 67.



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