

The Interpretation of Turkish Movements into Anatolia
During the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

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by
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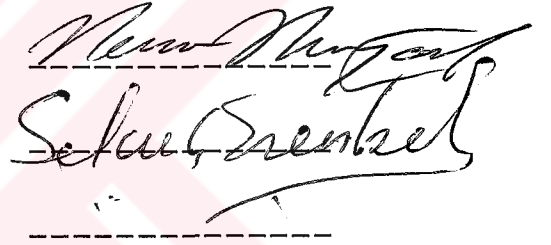
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The image shows two handwritten signatures in black ink. The first signature is written over a horizontal dashed line and appears to be 'Nevra Necipoğlu'. The second signature is also written over a horizontal dashed line and appears to be 'Selçuk Esenbel'. The background of the page features a large, stylized, light pink 'X' shape.

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For her patience, words of encouragement and support, guidance, and her criticism, I am most grateful to my thesis advisor, Dr. Nevra Necipođlu. Without her direction, I would probably still be roaming the steppe of Kars in search of invisible nomads.

I would also like to thank my sister, Dena M. Woodall, for sending hard-to-find materials from the U.S., and my parents, who, due to my stay in Turkey, came and discovered the cultural and geographical richness of this country.



Abstract

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The entrance of the Turks into Anatolia in the eleventh century marked the beginning of a cultural transformation process which lasted until the fifteenth century, coinciding with the collapse of the Byzantine Empire and the rise of the Ottomans. During the course of four centuries, Anatolia experienced a cultural transformation, i.e. the Turkification of the society through the processes of nomadization and Islamization.

Although twentieth-century scholarship has studied the first wave chronologically and thematically, with emphasis placed upon the effects of Turkification on Byzantine society and the policies of the Anatolian Seljuk state, the term "Turk" and the various groups it embraces (Türkmen, *ghazi*, and warrior), as well as the motivating forces inspiring movements into Anatolia, have not been sufficiently examined. After a review of secondary scholarship, the contexts and inherent problems of the sources as reflective of the social milieu of that time period is approached thematically with a chronological treatment of the Byzantine and Armenian sources. The depiction of a nomadic invasion into Anatolia is then contrasted with the *jihad-ghaza* atmosphere portrayed in the later Turkish epics, *The Legend of Dede Korkut* and the *Danishmendname*, which contain discrepancies stemming from their perspective in time.

Descriptions and information provided by the sources illustrate the "interface" which occurred between the sedentary and nomadic peoples, underlining the necessity for a re-interpretation and re-examination of this sociocultural interaction from the nomadic perspective.



Özet

Onbirinci ve Onikinci Yüzyıllarda Anadolu'ya Türk Hareketlerinin Yorumlanması

yazan

G. Carole Woodall

Türklerin onbirinci yüzyılda Anadolu'ya gelişleri onbeşinci yüzyıla kadar süren bir kültürel değişim sürecinin başlangıcına işaret eder. Bu süreç Bizans İmparatorluğunun çöküşü ve Osmanlıların yükselişiyle de eşzamanlıdır. Dört yüzyıl boyunca, Anadolu İslamlaşma ve göçebelik yoluyla toplumun Türkleşmesi biçiminde bir kültürel değişim süreci yaşamıştır.

Bu sürecin ilk aşaması 20. yüzyıl tarihçilerince Anadolu Selçuklu devletinin politikaları ve Türkleşmenin Bizans toplumu üzerindeki etkileri vurgulanarak, kronolojik ve tematik bir biçimde çalışılmışsa da, "Türk" sözcüğünün tanımı ve bunun içerdiği Türkmen, gazi, ve savaşçı gibi çeşitli gruplar ile bu göçe yol açan etkenler henüz yeterince çalışılmamıştır. Bu tezde ikincil kaynaklar gözden geçirildikten sonra, Bizans ve Ermeni kaynaklarının içerikleri ve yazıldıkları dönemle bağlantılı olarak yansıttıkları problemler kronolojik bir yaklaşıma göre incelenecektir. Buna ek olarak, Anadolu'ya Türklerin gelişlerinin Hıristiyan kaynaklardaki betimlenmesi, *Dede Korkut Destanı* ve *Danışmendname* gibi daha sonraki dönemlerde yazılmış ve cihad-gaza atmosferini yansıtan Türk destanlarıyla karşılaştırılacaktır.

Bu Kaynakların verdiği bilgi ve betimlemeler yerleşik ve göçerlik arasındaki geçiş dönemini gösterir, ve dolayısıyla sosya-kültürel etkileşimlerin göçerlik perspektifinden tekrar yorumlanmasını gerektirdiğini vurgular.

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Introduction

When the year 467 of the Armenian era [1018-1019] began, the divine-rebuking wrath of God was awakened against all the Christian peoples and against those worshipping the holy cross, for a fatal dragon with deadly fire rose up and struck those faithful to the Holy Trinity. In this period the very foundations of the apostles and prophets were shaken, because winged serpents came forth and were intent on spreading like fire over all the lands of the Christian faithful. This was the first appearance of the bloodthirsty beasts. During these times the savage nation of infidels called Turks gathered together their forces. Then they came and entered Armenia in the Province of Vaspurakan and mercilessly slaughtered the Christian faithful with the edge of the sword.¹

Swords and spears were whetted against the Christians, and also battles, wars, and massacres. Cities were obliterated, lands were plundered, and the whole land of the Rhomaioi was stained by blood of Christians. Some fell piteously [the victims] of arrows and spears, others being driven away from their homes were carried captives to the cities of Persia.²

In 1016-1017 the Central Asian Turks, moving independently and some perhaps also under the leadership of the Seljuks, entered the Armenian

1 Matthew of Edessa (trans. Ara Dostourian), *Armenia and the Crusades Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, New York: University Press of America, 1993, part I, sect. 47, p.44.

2 Anna Comnena (trans. E.R.A. Sewter), *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, London: Penguin Classics, 1969, Book XV, x, p.505. The passage follows a description of the death of the heretic Basil (1118) after which Anna summarizes the condition of the Byzantine Empire after the death of Romanus Diogenes (1071). She continues, "Dread seized on all as they hurried to seek refuge from impending disaster in caves, forests, mountains and hills...In those days no walk of life was spared its tears and lamentations. Apart from a few emperors (Tzimisces, for example, and Basil) none from that period to my father's reign even dared to set foot at all in Asia."

kingdom, later dispersing throughout Anatolia.³ Their entrance marked the beginning of a transformation process which lasted until the fifteenth century, coinciding with the collapse of the Byzantine Empire and the rise of the Ottoman Empire. This historical event, which may be compared in significance with the movements of the Germanic and Slavic peoples onto European soil and of the Arabs into the regions of North Africa and the Levant, altered the socio-economic, political, and cultural fabric of Anatolia.

Vryonis, who describes this process in *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Centuries*, states that Anatolia was subjected in the course of these centuries to a "transforming cultural force", by which he means the Turkification of the

³ There is a controversy concerning the entrance date of the Seljuks and Türkmens into Anatolia which is summarized in Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Centuries*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987 [hereafter cited as *DMH*], p.81. The date given by Matthew of Edessa is 1018-1019. The raids of 1016-1017, on the other hand, were probably represented by the Türkmens even though it cannot be assumed that there were no Seljuk participants at this time. But as Vryonis points out, the rebellion of the Seljuks against Mahmud of Ghazna occurred in 1029, after which time there was a movement to Azerbaijan. Refer to footnote 25 in *DMH* for further information. See also J. Laurent, *Byzance et Les Turcs Seldjoucides dans l'Asie Occidentale jusqu'en 1081*, Paris: Berger-Levrault Editeurs, 1913, p.16. Laurent gives the date 1021 as marking the first entrance of the Seljuks, without referring to the Türkmens. He cites in his footnotes other dates from the sources. Claude Cahen, in "Première Pénétration Turque en Asie-Mineure," *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus*, London: Variorum Reprints, 1974, p.9, disputes the date given by Matthew of Edessa by focusing on the relations between the Türkmens and the Ghaznevids. The revolt against Mahmud of Ghazna in 1029, according to Cahen, was the catalyst for the movement of the Türkmens towards Azerbaijan.

region through the processes of nomadization and Islamization.⁴ Although the "transformation" spanned four centuries, the initial wave of Turkish incursions between the eleventh and the mid-thirteenth centuries, prior to the arrival of the Mongols, prepared the ground for the second wave, which lasted from the mid-thirteenth to the fifteenth century, and which contained the tribe of the Ottomans. Due to the length of reign and the sphere of influence of the Ottomans, scholarship has primarily been directed towards the latter wave. Yet, in terms of the specific features of its various constituents, the first wave has remained to some extent more neglected, although a considerable amount of work has been undertaken on the entry of the Turks into Anatolia and, particularly, on the establishment of the Anatolian Seljuks.

The complexity surrounding the eventual Turkification of Anatolia has been studied, for example, by Vryonis and by other Western and Turkish scholars chronologically and thematically, either from the perspective of the effects upon Byzantine society, or from the perspective of the establishment and policies of the Anatolian Seljuk state, but not adequately enough concerning the various groups comprising the "Turkish" element. The term "Turk" embraces the nomads (Türkmens), religious warriors (the *ghazi*), the fighter on the frontier, as well as those associated with the Seljuk court. Further contributing to the complexity of this phenomenon is the fact that during the first wave, the so-called *uc*, designating the frontier between the Christian and Muslim lands, was not a stable or clearly defined territory as the

⁴ Vryonis, *DMH*, p.1. Also refer to Speros Vryonis, "Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor," in *idem.*, *Studies on Byzantium, Seljuks, and Ottomans*, Malibu: Undena Publications, 1981, pp.42-71.

weakened defense of the Byzantine Empire and the encroachment of the Turks into Anatolia created a perpetually moving border. Moreover, besides the inclusive nature of the term "Turk" pertaining to various participants, the motives inspiring the Turkish movements into Anatolia likewise varied, including search for pasture, collection of booty and slaves, and satisfaction of the *jiḥād-ghaza* spirit. Although these are by no means mutually exclusive motives, but do often overlap, the purpose of this thesis is to examine the diversity of the participants and their various motives in order to place the eleventh- and twelfth-century Turkish movements within a broader framework for analysis.

An examination of the eleventh- and twelfth-century Turkish movements rests upon the contemporary sources, which are predominantly of Christian origin and display inherent biases. Their descriptions of the Turkish incursions into Anatolia and the actions undertaken by Turks against the resident Byzantine and Armenian societies are a product of the social milieu. Although the sources evoke sympathy for the Byzantines, the descriptions must be viewed as reflecting the "cultural context" of their authors who viewed themselves as "victims" of the actions of a group to whom they frequently referred as "barbarian". Moreover, in their descriptions of nomadic actions and practices, the Christian chroniclers and historians often misuse terms pertaining to ethnicity due to their lack of understanding of ethnic distinctions, or ascribe religious interpretations to the actions of the Turks, or describe various activities without designating a motive. All this has given rise to confusion in the absence of a detailed examination of the term "Turk" and all the participants it embraces.

The sources, for the most part, have an onerous quality, conveying a strong religious and superstitious tone in their accounts of the Turkish actions against the sedentary Byzantines, Armenians, and Georgians. For example, Matthew of Edessa (d. ca. 1136)⁵ documents the entrance of the Turks into Anatolia in an apocalyptic style, which he uses throughout his chronicle, whereby the Turks are viewed as the punishment for the actions of the Christian peoples sent by God. Anna Comnena, daughter of Emperor Alexius Comnenus (1081-1118), vividly captures the actions of the Turks against the Anatolian sedentary peoples in the passage quoted above. Her depiction illustrates the emotive force behind the documentation of historical events.

Within the corpus of contemporary sources and secondary scholarship, emphasis must thus be directed toward understanding the complexity of the term "Turk" in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the interpretation that it has been given by both contemporary and modern historians. A.M. Khazanov, in his article "Nomads and Oases in Central Asia", comments upon the misinterpretation originating from the biases of the sources:

The devastating effects of nomadic invasions are often overestimated by many scholars, mostly historians, who are overly influenced by medieval authors from sedentary countries. It is true that the Mongolian invasion was devastating but this was an exception to the rule. Many wars between sedentary states themselves, in Central

⁵ Matthew of Edessa, p.1. Dostourian states that Matthew could have been the superior of a monastery instead of a common monk. The dates of his life are not known. According to Dostourian, his death occurred before 1136, the date marking the continuation by Gregory the Priest.

Asia...were more destructive than nomadic invasions such as the Saljuk, Qarakhanid, Khitan, or Uzbek.⁶

Khazanov raises a central issue. Why do historians overestimate the writings of medieval authors? Do historians allow their imagination to create a more vivid picture of the historical event? Does the emotive force with which accounts are given by witnesses distort the event and the depiction of the actors? Norman Bryson, commenting upon the bias of modern scholars, states:

What matters is not the historical context in which the works under study were produced but the cultural context of the author's own time. It is the context of the present that determines the attitudes and values that permeate our interpretation of the past.⁷

⁶ A.M. Khazanov, "Nomads and oases in Central Asia," *Transitions to Modernity: Essays on Power, Wealth, and Belief* (eds. John A. Hall and I.C. Jalve), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p.84. For other sources pertaining to the Central Asia see Denis Sinor, *Inner Asia. History-Civilization-Languages. A Syllabus*, Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 96, 1971; Lawrence Krader, *Social Organization of the Mongol-Turkic Pastoral Nomads*, Indiana: Indiana University Publications, 1963.

⁷ Norman Bryson, "Art in Context," *Studies in Historical Change* (ed. Ralph Cohen), Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992, p.18. Dominick La Capra, in reference to the interpretive process states: "Just as historians question the text, so the text questions the historians: 'His own horizon is transformed as he confronts still living possibilities solicited by an inquiry into the past. In this sense, the historicity of the historian is at issue both in the questions he poses and...in the 'answers' he gives in a text that itself reticulates the documentary and the work alike.'" Cited in Dominick La Capra, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983, p. 54. This passage is also cited in Keith Moxey, *The Practice of Theory: Poststructuralism, Cultural Politics, and Art History*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994, p.4.

Both of these passages refer to distinct but interrelated issues concerning the interpretation of events, one pertaining to the bias of the source and the other to that of the modern historian.

Concerning secondary scholarship on the establishment of the Ottoman state, theories have been propounded about the motives surrounding the unification of tribal elements under the leadership of the Ottomans. Cemal Kafadar, in *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, reviews the contemporary historiography on the rise of the Ottoman Empire in order to re-open discussion on the circumstances and dynamics surrounding this event. Emphasis is placed on Wittek's "gaza theory", which traditionally was synonymous with the "ideology of Holy War", and was akin to and in response to Mehmed Fuad Köprülü's more ethnically-centered theory. Kafadar argues:

Human beings display many complex and even contradictory behaviors, and it is in that very complexity that explanations for historical phenomena must be sought...The normative "Muslimness" of the ghazis obscures the historical reality of the distinctive culture and ethos of the march [frontier] environment.⁸

In other words, the framework within which "ghazi" has traditionally been viewed as being the "fighter for Islam" must be reassessed. Although Kafadar's primary interest is the Ottoman Empire, the criticisms and assessments can be directly applied to the first Turkish penetration into Anatolia and the establishment of the Anatolian Seljuks.

⁸ Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995, p.12.

Rudi Paul Lindner, a critic of the "gaza theory", proposed the anthropological model of tribal structure for the rise of the Ottomans in *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*.⁹ His proposal was faulted by its exclusive definition of "tribe" which is based upon consanguinity. Besides theories pertaining to the unifying force of the Ottomans, scholarship has also been focused upon the conflict between nomad and sedentary, but as Keith Hopwood states, "Nomad/sedentary is not an opposition, but a spectrum, along which lie many intervening categories."¹⁰ Within this spectrum, Turk and all its characters can be examined.

The present work has been divided into three sections. The first section provides the historical background. This is followed by a review of the secondary scholarship in the second section, which is divided into three sub-categories: Turkish interpretation, primarily including the works by Osman Turan, Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, and Ibrahim Kafesoğlu; Western scholarship comprising the works of Paul Wittek, Claude Cahen, and Speros Vryonis; and an anthropological interpretation beginning with the approach by Keith Hopwood, Rudi Paul Lindner, and including studies by key anthropologists. Finally, in the third section, the sources themselves are analyzed and an attempt is made to re-evaluate the information they provide on the eleventh- and twelfth-century Turkish movements into Anatolia. Here, the analysis of five contemporary Christian sources - Michael Attaliates, Matthew of Edessa,

⁹ Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*, Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1983.

¹⁰ Keith Hopwood, "Nomads or Bandits? The Pastoralist/Sedentarist Interface on Anatolia," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, vol. 16, 1991, p.183.

Anna Comnena, John Kinnamos, and Niketas Choniates - will be followed by a look at two Turkish epics, the *Danishmendname* and *The Legend of Dede Korkut*, recorded in the thirteenth century but pertaining to the eleventh and twelfth century. Considering the inherent biases and problems presented by the Christian sources, the Turkish epics are intended to provide a balance through the self-portrayal and self-identification of the Turks they offer.



I. Background History: The Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries¹

Living on the slopes of the Altai Mountains in western Mongolia, the Turks made their first appearance in Chinese and Byzantine sources in the sixth century A.D.² The Turks of Central Asia are known to have practiced a nomadic existence, moving over the course of time from the Altai region, to the grasslands of Turkestan, the 'Khazar steppe' or 'Dasht-i Qipchāq' of southern Russia, and into the steppes of Azerbaijan and Anatolia. The progression from Central Asia to Anatolia was marked by the establishment of the Great Seljuks in Baghdad (descending from the Oğuz Turks) over the Oxus into Mesopotamia and Iran, and later the Anatolian Seljuks, a branch of the Great Seljuks, who were established under Süleyman ibn Kutlumuş in 1080 in Nicaea (Iznic), whose power center later transferred to Konya lasting until 1307-1308.³

¹ This historical outline has not attempted to focus upon each fact, but has instead tried to describe the key political events which occurred during the first Turkish movements into Anatolia preceding the Mongol invasions.

² Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A general survey of the material and spiritual culture and history c. 1071-1330*, New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1968, p.1. Also refer to Claude Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, Istanbul: Isis Press, 1988. From this area stemmed the Oğuz tribes. Cahen states that the earliest known Turks, appeared in the Chinese Annals as early as the third century B.C., but were referred to as the "Huns". The sixth century A.D. date thus marks the first use of the term "Turk" in sources. Refer to Denis Sinor, ed., *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, for information concerning Turkish history of Inner Asia. In reference to this thesis, the Turkish movements discussed pertain to those stemming from Central Asia which covers the territory west of the Altai Mountains. The term Inner Asia, which also has a cultural designation, geographically covers the land east of the Altai Mountains.

³ The Anatolian Seljuks are also referred to as the Seljuks of Rūm, Rūm being a geographical term denoting Anatolia. Pertaining to Central/Inner Asian Turkish history, Donald Edgar Pitcher in *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968, p.23,

The Seljuks from the Kınık tribe, whose founder was Dudak, were originally vassals of a Khazar khan in the Asiatic steppe. Around the tenth century, they arrived in the Middle East, and in 1055, their leader Tuğrul Bey together with the Türkmens under his command entered Baghdad in order to assist the Abbasids against the Ghaznevids (950-1186/87). Due to his success, he was awarded the title "Sultan of the East and West" by the caliph which gave him the mission to conquer all Muslim territories, especially those which did not recognize the Abbasids.⁴ Thus, as sultan (1055-1063), Tuğrul led campaigns against other Muslim provinces which opposed the caliph, enlisting the services of the Türkmens who, for payment, would collect booty after pillaging a town. It was in this way that the Seljuks established themselves in Iran and Mesopotamia.⁵

provides a brief outline of the other Turkish empires: (1) The *T'u-kiu*'s empire occupied the regions from Mongolia to the Caspian. (2) The *Khazars* dominated the Black Sea and Caspian steppes, c. 600-900. (3) The *Uighur* ruled Mongolia from 744-840 destroying the East T'u-kiu. (4) The *Kirgiz* succeeded the Uighur ruling from 840-c. 920. (5) The *Karakhanids* were located in the regions from Kashgaria (Chinese Turkestan) into the land between the Āmū and Syr Daryā rivers between 950-1000. (6) The *Khwārazm-Shāhs* emerged from a sultanate around the Aral Sea about 1150 and acquired domains in Iran until the Mongol wave in 1218. (7) The *Timurids* who were founded by Timūr of the Barlas Turks (1369-1405), established his seat in the Samarkand-Bukhara region of present-day Uzbekistan. (8) The *Karakoyunlu* and *Akkoyunlu Türkmens* ruled Irāq, Azerbaijan, and parts of western Persian, c.1420-1490.

⁴ Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p.24.

⁵ Vryonis, *DMH*, pp.83-84. He describes the complexity of the situation concerning the movement of the Seljuks into Khorasan after the battle of Dandanaqan of 1040. The battle was decisive as it marked the Seljuks acquisition of a territorial area through a force of arms. Furthermore, the Seljuks were thus transformed from leaders of nomadic tribes who pillaged and obtained land for their flocks to leaders of a sedentary Middle Eastern society.

In order to outline briefly the politico-military factors which contributed not only to the establishment of the Anatolian Seljuks but also to the subsequent socio-cultural dynamics between numerous ethnic groups, Anatolian history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries will be approached chronologically, based upon the following pivotal events: the entry of the Turks into Anatolia to the battle of Manzikert (1071), Manzikert to the establishment of the Seljuk state in the late-eleventh century, the Byzantine counterattack to the rise of the Danishmends (1110-1141), decline of the Danishmends and of Byzantium (1141-1176), and the battle of Myriokephalon to the Fourth Crusade (1176-1204).⁶ The entry of the Turks in 1016-1017⁷ into Vaspurakan marked the beginning of a transformation process which altered the ethnography of the Middle East and extended the influence of the Turks into Anatolia under the leadership of the Seljuks and independent tribal chiefs. One of the primary factors facilitating the entry of the Turks into Anatolia was the condition of the frontier, a geographical demarcation containing warriors (Byzantine *akritae*, Muslim *limitanei*, and independent Turks), between the Muslim and Christian lands which created a culturally intermixed society. The Great Seljuks in Iran, who were leading campaigns against the "infidel" Muslims in Egypt (the Fatimids) and in Syria, directed the Türkmens toward the sedentary societies of Anatolia. These actions had the intention of pacification by leading them on raids to pillage and to collect booty and slaves.

⁶ This periodization mainly follows the divisions established by Cahen in *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*.

⁷ For the controversy surrounding the entry date, see footnote 3 of Introduction.

As has been stated above, the Great Seljuks underwent a transformation from leaders of nomadic tribes interested mainly in plunder, to leaders of a sedentary state. Conflicts between the nomads and the Seljuks gave rise to Seljuk policies in order to pacify the Türkmens within their territories. Therefore, the Türkmens were sent on raids to Christian Anatolia to satisfy their warlike instincts within the framework of *ghaza*. Vryonis states that the movements against Anatolia took three forms: (a) military campaigns of the sultan or officer representing him in order to stabilize the frontiers and maintain authority over the Türkmens, (b) raids by the sultan's officers with the intention of plundering, and (c) activities of the Türkmens acting in rebellion against or without the consent of the sultan.⁸

The military campaigns resulted in a significant penetration of Turks into Anatolia, but not with the intention of occupation. In 1048, a Turkish leader, Asan from Tabriz, attacked Vaspurakan at the same time that the Seljuk prince Ibrahim Inal appeared in Vaspurakan with a contingent of Türkmens. In 1054, Tuğrul appeared in the Lake Van region and placed a siege upon Paipert, Pekri, and Manzikert.⁹ Before Manzikert (1071), the major urban centers which had been sacked included Artze (1049), Paipert (1054), Pekri (1054), Melitene (1057), Sebasteia (1059), Ani (1064), Caesareia (1067),

⁸ Vryonis, *DMH*, p.84. The Anatolian borders were under the command of Yakuti Bey. Raiding chiefs included: Samuh (Sebasteia), Khorasan Salar (Thelkum, Nisibus, Severeck), Amertices (southern Anatolia and Coelo-Syria), Emir Afşin (Mt. Amanus in 1066-1067, raided Antioch, Melitene, and Chonae), Gumushtegin (Thelkum and Edessa), Gedrigdi-Chrysoscule (northern Anatolia) (p.94). Also refer to Cahen, "Première Pénétration," pp.7-8.

⁹ Vryonis, *DMH*, p.87. Events are also cited in Matthew of Edessa and Attaliates.

Neocaesareia (1068), Amorium (1068), Iconium (1069), Chonae (1070).¹⁰

Although these sackings did not necessarily result in the occupation of Byzantine and Armenian towns by the Turks, the intensity and celerity of the raids depleted the societal fabric. Vryonis states that during the reign of David of Georgia (1083-1125), the nomads had effectively settled themselves in the region and had begun to establish "transhumant patterns of movements with flocks and families". The expansion of these nomadic groups was due to the lack of a strong central authority among the Turks in the eastern regions of Anatolia.¹¹

The initial penetration of the Turks into Anatolia facilitated by the weakened Byzantine defense system underlined the developments which resulted with the defeat of the Byzantines at Manzikert (1071), confirming the significant presence of the Turks and the debilitated state of the Byzantine Empire.¹² The Turkish forces led by Alp Arslan (1063-1072), successor to

¹⁰ Vryonis, "Patterns of Population Movement in Byzantine Asia Minor 1071-1261," *Studies on Byzantium, Seljuks, and Ottomans*, Malibu: Undena Publication, 1981, p.6.

¹¹ Speros Vryonis, "Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor," p.51.

¹² Vryonis, *DMH*. The internal factors also contributed to the defeat at Manzikert. Following Manzikert other factors complicated the Anatolian dynamics: mercenaries, attempts to establish a "New Normandy" in the northeast under Roussel of Bailleul, founding of the Seljuk state at Nicaea, rise of Muslim dynasties, administrative collapse of the Byzantine system (p.104). Concerning the Byzantine situation, the avaricity for obtaining the royal purple by various parties outweighed the threat of the Turks. Thus, the bureaucrats and the generals used the Turks as allies who were easily persuaded to change sides. The main political actors were: Süleyman and Mansur (Seljuks), Michael VII Ducas and the eunuch Nicephoritzes (bureaucrats), Nicephorus Botaniates (general in Anatolia), Nicephorus Bryennius (general in the Balkans), Alexius Comnenus (rebelled in 1081), Nicephorus Melissenus (Alexius' brother-in-law who was in quest of the purple), Emir Artuk (located in Bithynia and was enlisted by

Tuğrul, defeated those of the Byzantine Emperor Romanus Diogenes (1067-1071) whose contingents included Armenians, the Franks of Roussel, and the Uzes (Oğuz Turks).¹³ The internal developments of the Byzantine Empire (which will be discussed forthwith), and the demobilization of the military ranks exacerbated by the desertion of the Uze mercenaries to the Turks culminated with Alp Arslan's victory.¹⁴ The political instability which resulted after Manzikert, marked by the collapse of the Byzantine administrative authority and the attempt of the Turks, Armenians, and Normans to create states, thus allowed unrestricted movement of the Turks into Anatolia.

The success of the Turkish infiltration as a cultural force and the founding of the Anatolian Seljuk state were due to internal and external factors contributing to the Byzantine defeat at Manzikert. Vryonis categorizes the first series of Turkish movements into Anatolia as being a "period of upheaval" for the Anatolian sociocultural and political fabric was unprecedented during other periods of external threat in the earlier history of the Byzantine Empire. For example, prior to the Turkish invasions in the

Michael VII against Roussel), Emir Tutuş (located in Amasya) (p.107). There were also separatist movements: Roussel of Bailleul and Philaretus in the Taurus and Cilicia (p.109).

¹³ The Armenians due to religious persecution fled from the battlefield. The Franks and the Uzes were sent to Ahlat being separated from Diogenes' troops at Manzikert. Upon hearing of the sultan's approach, they also dispersed. Concerning these events, refer to Cahen, "Première Pénétration," p.30-32; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*; Vryonis, *DMH*; Attaliates, 158-159.

¹⁴ Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p.29. The negotiations of the treaty following the battle of Manzikert included: (a) the release of Diogenes for a ransom, (b) the promise of alliance with Michael VII Ducas, and (c) the restitution of the frontier-strongholds acquired by the Byzantines from the Muslims. However, following Diogenes' release, he was blinded and killed under the order of Michael VII (1071-1078).

early part of the eleventh century, Anatolia had already suffered from Arab and Persian conquests during the seventh and eighth centuries. Yet, the bombardment by the Muslim Arab and Persian forces did not incite a transformation in the urban and rural fabric of Byzantine Anatolia. Vryonis states that the later disruption taking place during the period of the Turkish conquests was based upon social, economic, military, geographic, ethnographic, and political determinants. In the eleventh century, the Byzantine Empire had experienced a debasement of the coinage system, a weakening of the navy, the rise of private armies, the challenge of the landholding aristocracy against the central authority, and an increase in the commercial influence of the Italian Republics of Venice and Pisa in Constantinople. By the time of the Türkmén invasions from the east, the Byzantine rural community, having been burdened by heavy taxation, was more susceptible to a rising successor.¹⁵ External threats, besides those of the Türkméns and Seljuks from the east, stemmed from the west including the Petchenegs, Cumans, and Normans.

Although these factors weakened the Byzantine state, the enfeebled condition of the frontier regions was the most important factor that facilitated the Turkish penetration. Due to the struggle between the landowning military aristocracy and the civil bureaucrats who wanted to dismantle the military apparatus (through the dismissal of qualified generals) in hopes of gaining political power, the backbone of the Byzantine military organization, the *theme* system, became virtually dysfunctional. In the past, the *theme* system supported the free peasant society balancing the landed aristocracy,

¹⁵ Vryonis, *DMH*, pp.143-144.

fought against foreign threats and contributed to the tax collectors.¹⁶ At the same time, the debasement of the coinage system during the reign of Basil II Bulgaroktonos (976-1025),¹⁷ was coupled with the increased reliance upon mercenary soldiers as a result of weakened financial support of the thematic troops under Constantine IX Monomachus (1024-1042). This resulted in the hiring of mercenaries, who became the military source of power, as the military-serving community was converted into taxpayers.¹⁸ These conditions encouraged the emigration of people to the Seljuk side, which affected the *uc*, and the "antimilitary" policy of the bureaucrats directed at the heart of the empire caused its collapse.

After Manzikert, the establishment of the Seljuk state of Rūm made the division between the Great Seljuks in Iran, who at that time were led by Malik-Shah (1072-1092), the successor to Alp Arslan, and the Anatolian Seljuks pronounced. Anna Comnena, in *The Alexiad*, states that during this period the Turks gained control in the areas between "the Black Sea and the Hellespont, the Syrian and the Aegean waters, the Saros and the other rivers, especially Pamphylia and Cilicia."¹⁹ The spread of these nascent steppe nomads yielded an impact upon the rural community, which was at first marginal, gaining definition as the peripheral locations gained a modicum for

¹⁶ Vryonis, *DMH*, pp.74-75.

¹⁷ Basil was aware of the eastern threat but followed a policy which debilitated the eastern provinces. Instead of strengthening the Byzantine borders, he pressured King Senek'erim of Armenia (1003-1021) to give him the province of Vaspurakan located between Lakes Van and Urmia in 1018-1019.

¹⁸ Vryonis, *DMH*, pp.74-75. The mercenaries included Normans, English, Russians, Georgians, Alans, Armenians, Petchenegs, Turks, Arabs, and others.

¹⁹ Anna Comnena (trans. E.R.A. Sewter), *The Alexiad*, iv, p.38.

separation. During the early part of the reign of Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118), the Turks had heavily penetrated the Propontis area, and Süleyman ibn Kutlumuş (1075-1086) established himself in Nicaea as sultan of the Anatolian Seljuks subjecting Bithynia and Thynia until Damalis on the coast of the Bosphorus under his domain.²⁰ During the period between 1071-1097, 'sultan', a title which was not received from Malik-Shah or from the caliph, began being used in Byzantine texts to designate Süleyman.²¹

During the reign of Alexius Comnenus, the Byzantines experienced a temporary recovery which was assisted by the entrance of the Crusaders in 1097 whose objective was to recapture the holy lands from the Muslims.²² In 1118, the Byzantine territory included Sinop, Gangra, Ankara, Amorium, Philomelium, Trebizond, to Antioch. Thus, a half century after Manzikert, the Turks held primarily the central plateau and eastern provinces as the combined Byzantine-Crusader effort removed the Turks from the littoral regions and the western edge of the plateau. The consequences of the First Crusade included the Byzantine counterattack against the Turks, the establishment of Crusader states in the southeastern regions, such as in Cilicia, the creation of new religious, social, and cultural tensions, which

²⁰ Ibid., viii-ix, p.198. Controversy exists over whether Süleyman was appointed by the Great Seljuk Sultan Malik-Shah or was acting independently.

²¹ Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p.75. Cahen suggests that Süleyman's men probably started calling him 'sultan', without his wanting it, as they considered him their chief.

²² Vryonis, *DMH*, p.116. The presence of the Crusaders on Anatolian soil caused the Seljuks to retreat from Nicaea, Dorylaeum, Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium, Heracleia, Caesareia, Plastentza, Maraş, Tarsus, Adana, and Mopsuestia.

heightened problems between Byzantium and the West, and the rivalry between Danishmend and Kılıç I Arslan (1092-1117).²³

The strengthened position of the Anatolian Seljuks in Nicaea was coupled with the factional existence of Turkish tribal chiefs attempting to establish themselves against the Anatolian Seljuks, whose primary rival was the Danishmend principality.²⁴ The Danishmends, a Turkish tribal dynasty located in northern Anatolia, established under Malik Gazi Danishmend (c.1105-1106)²⁵ derived its strength from tribalist practices, which differed from the more institutional and state-oriented structure of the Anatolian Seljuks. After Muhammad's death (1135-1142), son of Gümüshtegin Ghazi ibn Danishmend (c.1134/35), the division of the Danishmend principality amongst his sons marked its decline. From that point onward, the

²³ Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p.86. The Crusaders were a vital factor affecting the dynamics of Anatolia throughout the "Period of Transformation". The dates of the Crusades are as follows: First (1097-1104), Second (1147-1149), Third (1189-1191), and Fourth (1204).

²⁴ Vryonis, *DMH*. Vryonis states that the proliferation of various independent emirs aided the Turkification and Islamization of Anatolia, where political stability had disintegrated due to the Turkish invasions (p.117). The actors in eastern Anatolia included: Georgians, Saltukids (in Erzurum), Menguchekids (of Erzincan, Coloneia, Tephrike), Artukids, Danishmends, Shaddadids, Zengids, Crusaders, Ayyubids, Türkmens, Armenians, and Byzantines. During the reign of Alexius Comnenus, after the death of Robert Guiscard (c.1080), which relieved the threat from the west and the death of Süleyman (c.1086), there was a proliferation of independent emirs: Abu'l Qasim (declared himself sultan of Nicaea, 1086-1092), Qasim's brother (located in Cappadocia), Tzachas (maritime principality in Izmir with control of the islands; raided Izmir, Clazomenae, Phocaea, and the Propontid region), Emirs Tangripermes and Merak (located in Ephesus), Elchanes (located in Apollonius and Cyzicus), Scularius (Propontis region), Karatekin (in Sinop), Baldukh (emir of Samosata, north of Edessa on the Euphrates), Sukman ibn Artuk (Edessa region), and Balas (Suruc, southwest of Edessa) (p.117).

²⁵ His successor was Gümüshtegin Ghazi (1105-1134/35).

Danishmends became political "pawns" in the power struggle between the Seljuks, Byzantines, and Crusaders.²⁶

During the period of the Byzantine counterattack to the rise of the Danishmends (1110-1141), the Crusaders had pushed the Turks onto the central plateau, and John II Comnenus (1118-1143), pursued actions against the Turks at which time he focused his efforts against the Danishmends and the Armenians. Afterwards, the reign of Manuel Comnenus (1143-1180), denoting the decline of Byzantium, was marked by two changes: the rise of the house of Kutlumuş and the decline of the Anatolian territories which were regained by the Byzantines. At the beginning, Manuel was focused on refortifying Bithynia until his interest was distracted by European affairs. However, in 1146, Manuel attacked Konya (Ikonion), the seat of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm under Kılıç II Arslan (1155-1192) because of the Turkish attacks in Cilicia. During this time, Manuel encountered different Turkish chieftains whose presence signified the continuing division amongst the Turkish and Byzantine populations.²⁷

Prior to the battle of Myriokephalon (1176), there were political alliances between the Byzantine, Seljuk, and Danishmend powers primarily

²⁶ Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p.101. After Muhammad's death, the principality was divided amongst Dhū'l-Nūn (Kayseri, 1140/42-1164), Yaghi Basan (Sivas, 1140/42-1164), and 'Ain-ad-Daulah (Malatya, 1140/42-1152). In 1159, Kılıç II Arslan established peace with Manuel who had entered into an alliance with Yaghi-Basan and Shahanshah, son of Kılıç I Arslan.

²⁷ Vryonis, *DMH*, p.121. Manuel encountered a Turkish camp under the leadership of Rama in Choma. The Crusaders under the command of Conrad encountered the tribal leader, Mamplanes, and were forced to retreat to Nicaea. In the region of Philadelphia, the emir Solymas ruled (p.121).

due to the increasing strength of Nūr ad-Dīn, another Turkish leader whose base was in the Levant, and the arrival of the Second Crusade (1147-1149), led by Frederick Barbarossa (1152-1190). The defeat of the Byzantines at Myriokephalon, where the crossing of a tortuous pass benefited the Turks, signified the end of the Byzantine plans to reconquer Anatolia and the recognition of the permanent Turkish presence in the peninsula.

After Myriokephalon, the politico-military history of Anatolia was marked by increased problems both in the Byzantine Empire and in the territories under Turkish rule. First, the Byzantine areas were plagued by civil war. Second, rebellions were caused in reaction to the anti-aristocratic measures of Andronicus I Comnenus (1183-1185) in the cities of Lopadium, Nicaea, and Prusa. The rebels who were assisted by the Turks, after their defeat, were treated severely by Andronicus. Moreover, during the reign of Isaac I Angelus (1185-1195), the rebellions continued against the central state during which time the court of the sultan provided refuge for some of the rebels. Furthermore, the entrance of the Crusaders under Barbarossa in 1189 created further conflict between the Byzantines and the Germans. Finally, the death of Kılıç II Arslan (1192), resulted in the partitioning of the Seljuk territory amongst his sons, which on the one hand weakened the internal structure of the Seljuks and, on the other, was advantageous for the Byzantines.²⁸

²⁸ Ibid., p.129. Kılıç II Arslan divided his territory amongst his sons: Rukn al-Din Sulaymanshāh (Tokat), Nasir al-Din Barkyārukshāh (Niksar), Mughitli al-Din Tughrilshāh (Elbistan), Qutb al-Din Malik-Shāh (Sivas and Aksaray), Nūr al-Din Mahmud Sultanshāh (Kayseri), Mu'izz al-Din Qaysarshāh (Malatya), Muhyi al-Din Mas'udshāh (Ankara), Arslanshāh (Niğde), Ghiyath al-Din Khusraw (Uluborlu/Sozopolis), Sencershāh (Heraclea), and Nizam al-Din Arghunshāh (Amasya) (Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p.111). Cahen poses

The final period which does not directly pertain to the study under consideration, but marks the apogee of the Anatolian Seljuks prior to the entrance of the Mongols, was marked by the establishment of the Latins in Constantinople in 1204 and the consequent move of the Byzantine Empire to Nicaea under the Lascarids, the rise of the Ayyubids in Syria, the continuation of Türkmen movements, and invasions by the Kharizmian and Mongols. Yet, the Seljukid state did experience a "flowering" under the leadership of Kaykubād I (1220-1237) who extended the state eastward by annexing Erzurum.²⁹ Cahen draws a comparison between the Byzantine expansion in the face of the Turkish threat and the Seljuk expansion in the face of the Mongol threat. Each was unsuccessful due to internal forces: the weaknesses of the Seljuk state included the Baba Ishaq revolt (1239), the opposition of part of the population to the Seljuks, and the Mongol threat culminating with the defeat of the Seljuks at the battle of Köse Dağ (1240).³⁰

these questions: Had the sultan intended to allay his sons' impatience so that none would be dispossessed of their inheritance? Did he calculate that the divisions would allow for more effective actions against the Türkmens?

²⁹ Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p.130.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.131.

II. Secondary Scholarship on the First Wave of Turkish Movements into Anatolia

A. Interpretation by Turkish Scholars

Turkish historiography of the early twentieth century set about the task of creating a nationalist image in order to legitimize the creation of the Turkish Republic against the backdrop of the Ottoman Empire. One of the leading historians from that period was Mehmed Fuad Köprülü (1890-1966), who, in his work *Les origines de l'Empire ottoman*, primarily focused upon the rise of the Ottoman Empire through an investigation of the various elements located on the frontier, where the existence of diverse social and cultural factors created an environment paving the way for the Ottomans. His analysis, which is applicable to the Anatolian Seljuk period, made a distinction between the hinterland and the *uc* representing, respectively, the sedentary societies, including the Anatolian Seljuk court, and the entering Turkish elements and transitory forces located on the frontier. Pertaining to the Turkish nomadic element, Köprülü defined the tribes as lacking social order and as being unfamiliar with the notion of state. They were, therefore, an element of anarchy not hesitating to attack caravans and undefended cities. Besides these characteristics, the motives inspiring the Turkish movements into Anatolia ranged from the craftiness of the collectors of taxes to the greed and interests of tribal chiefs.¹ Although Köprülü became a political figure in national politics, his book, which, as stated, legitimized the Ottoman state based upon the social dynamics of the "march-frontier", has become a "classic" work in Turkish historiography.

¹ For the French translation see Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Les origines de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris, 1935, p.57. Cemal Kafadar, in *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, provides a concise critic of Köprülü's work.

After Köprülü, Turkish historiography, for the most part in the early to mid-twentieth century, followed a nationalist agenda which included discourse on the representation of Turks by non-Turkish scholars. One of these representations was that of the Turks as nomads, to which Ibrahim Kafesoğlu responded with the following comment:

Turkish culture has long been misunderstood. It has been confused with the nomadic way of life which was no doubt an aspect of Turkish culture, but that is far from representing its true character. The misconceptions about Turkish culture are probably due to such outward manifestations of Turkish life as animal breeding and spending certain periods of time each year on the uplands of mountains grazing.²

Kafesoğlu continues by explaining his understanding of nomadic peoples in order to prove that the Turks cannot be placed within the same category. Nomadic peoples, generally, have a subsistence economy, practice a polytheistic or totemic religion, follow a tribal state form, and lack historical consciousness. However, since the Turks were "skilled animal breeders", monotheistic, possessed a historical consciousness, had a chivalric tradition, and used the horse and iron which were elements of a material culture, they were distinguished from other nomadic peoples.

² Ibrahim Kafesoğlu, "A General Survey of Pre-Islamic History and Culture," *A Short History of Turkish-Islamic States* (eds. Kafesoğlu, Yıldız, Merçil, and Saray), Ankara: Turkish Historical Society Printing House, 1994, p.13.

Pertaining to the debate on the representation of Turks as nomads, Faruk Sümer in an article published in 1960, questioned whether the Turks who came to Anatolia consisted only of nomadic tribes. On the basis of etymological evidence, he tried to prove that the Turkish movements of the eleventh century contained nomadic, semi-nomadic, and sedentary elements.³

The Turkish historiographical approach traditionally put forward two main interrelated theories that explain the entrance and establishment of the Turks in Anatolia: the world/universe domination theory and the ghaza theory. According to Central Asian steppe dynamics, the Turks, traditionally, have been known as "empire-builders" whose formation of imperial confederacies unified, rather than divided, the tribes. Osman Turan, in his article "The Ideal of World Domination among the Medieval Turks," states that this idea formed the basis for the Turkish conquests. His argument is based upon the supposition that "institutional" elements are sometimes carried over from a past mode of life, i.e. from shamanistic belief system to Islam.⁴ According to Turan and Kafesoğlu, the steppe Turks were able to

³ Faruk Sümer, "Anadolu'ya Yalnız Göçebe Türkler mi Geldi?," *Bellekten*, Cilt XXIV, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1960, pp.567-594. Sümer categorizes the word groupings into: agriculture and related words, vegetables, bread and foods, drinks, fruit, words related to house and other buildings, pots, tools, metals, fabrics, and other words. Then, showing that such words relating to a settled way of life exist both in pre-Anatolia and in Anatolian Turkish, he extrapolates that nomads could not have been the only Turkish groups that migrated to Anatolia. In conclusion, he states that in order to assess the movements of the Oğuz Turks into Anatolia, it is necessary to examine the Turkish civilization in Turkestan.

⁴ Osman Turan, "The Ideal of World Domination among the Medieval Turks," *Studia Islamica*, IV, p.77. A shamanist creed, "promises a reward in proportion to the number of foes killed in action". The comparison is made between the Islamic *jihād*, which reflects "material power",

accept the basic tenets of Islam quite readily as they had a monotheistic religion embodied in the worship of Gök-Tanrı (i.e. the Sky God).⁵ By utilizing literary examples to support the idea of a universe domination theory, they assert that the acceptance of Islam and the idea of *jihād* allowed for the successful and systematic penetration of the Turks into Anatolia.⁶

Anatolian Seljuk diplomacy was two-fold: to create an independent state and to control the Türkmens. Turkish historiography propounds that

and shamanist doctrine. This material power was reflected through the Turks' interest in empires and in conquest. Concerning the proof of the notion of universal dominion, Turan continues to provide examples from written documents and the Orkhon Inscriptions. He uses a quote to provide "implicit" evidence for his theory, "When the blue sky was created above and the black earth below, in between man was brought into being, and my ancestors Bumīn and Istemi Khans ruled over the sons of Man" (p.79). Also, "Hearken, o lords of the Oğuz and Turks and Turkish people. Unless the sky falls down and the earth is worn through by hopes who can undermine your government, your Law? I have brought so many peoples under the Law. O Turk! So long as thou dwellest in Ötüken, thou shalt maintain an eternal empire" (p.79). However, from a literary statement he derives proof for the idea that the Turks were invested with a divine authority to rule the world.

⁵ Kafesoğlu, "Pre-Islamic History and Culture," p.27. Since the steppe Turks worshipped the sky viewing it as encompassing an "indivisible whole", the Turks accepted a God-like form which could not take any shape. Kafesoğlu states that in the Orkhon Inscriptions there is reference to the Türk Tengrisi who is attributed a "national" character. This statement is directly representative of the nationalist ideology which was espoused during the twentieth-century. His reasoning is that since the steppe Turks regarded the sky as "God", which could not symbolically be represented in an idol form, it facilitated the Turks' acceptance of Allah.

⁶ Turan, "The Ideal of World Dominion," p.85. Some examples used by Turan as "substantial" proof include: "I have an army in the East which I call Turk, I set them on any people that kindle my wrath" (from Maḥmūd of Kāshgar, *Divān luġāt al-Turk*). Based upon various writers, Turan then states that non-Turks accepted the idea that the Turks were the possessors of divine authority.

the entrance of the Turks into Anatolia was pre-conceived and planned.⁷ As the Türkmens provided the backbone of the Seljuk forces, it was necessary for the leaders to control their actions and "force them to submit". According to Kafesoğlu, the movements of the Türkmens created problems for the Anatolian Seljuk state due to their search for a "homeland and summer and winter pastures" and to their departure from an area which had become burdened from over-population and lack of grazing land.⁸ The Seljuk state, thus, maneuvered the Türkmens toward Anatolia and the Byzantine frontier in order to stop the damage caused to different regions of Iran and Iraq and also to prepare the ground for undermining Anatolia.⁹ In his work, Kafesoğlu provides an extensive list of Türkmen tribes entering Anatolia; however, the evidence that he gives includes numerous articles by him, Sümer, and Köprülü without making direct reference to contemporary sources.

The manner in which the historiographical approach utilizes the sources affects how the movements are viewed and naturally the character of the Türkmens. The Turkish interpretation is that the Turks recognized freedom of religion. Osman Turan directly quotes Odo of Deuil, a Christian

⁷ Ibrahim Kafesoğlu (trans. Gary Leiser), *A History of the Seljuks*, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988, p.82. This was according to the notion of sovereignty as embodied in the goal of creating an independent state.

⁸ Ibid., p.95. This line of reasoning follows that the Turks converted to Islam and as they were protected under the Seljuk state moved westward.

⁹ Ibid., p.97. Kafesoğlu provides a list of the various Türkmen tribes which entered Anatolia: Kayıs, Bayındırs, Baraks (a branch of the Bayındır tribe), Yıvas, Salurs, Avşars, Beghds, Büğdüz, Baya'uts, Yazırs, Kara-Bölüks, Alka-Bölüks, Yüreğirs, Dodurgas, Alayunds, Döğers, İğdirs, Peçenegs, Çavuldurs, Çepnis, Çaruks, Karkıns, Kızıks, Yapars, Emirs, Kıpçaks, Karluks, and Khwārazm-Shāhs.

chronicler who recorded the passage of the Second Crusade through Anatolia, to underline his point:

Avoiding their co-religionists who had been so cruel to them, they went in safety among the infidels who had compassion upon them, and, as we heard, more than three thousand joined themselves to the Turks when they retired...They gave them bread but robbed them of their faith, though it is certain that contented with the services they performed, they compelled no one among them to renounce his religion.¹⁰

In the sources there are also examples of religiously tolerant actions toward the Christians, cited later, which contrast to the events whereby the Christian community was massacred. In analyzing the actions toward the Christian population, it is necessary to view them within the context of the Turkish movements, the leaders of the incursions, and the intention.

¹⁰ Osman Turan, "Anatolia in the Period of the Seljuks and the Beyliks," *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, vol. 1A, 1970, p.242.

B. Interpretation by Western Scholars

In the early fifteenth century, Aḥmedī (before 1334-1412) posed the question, "Who is a *ghazi*?" in his *Iskendernāme* as it pertains to the establishment and legitimization of the Ottomans, to which he replied as follows:

A *ghazi* is the instrument of the religion of Allah, a servant of God who purifies the earth from the filth of polytheism (remember that Islam regards the Trinity of the Christian as polytheism); the *ghazi* is the sword of God, he is the protector and the refuge of the believers. If he becomes a martyr in the ways of God, do not believe that he has died - he lives in beatitude with Allah, he has eternal life.¹

In Aḥmedī's definition, the *ghazi*, acting not only as the instrument of divine will, but also as the protector of Islam, is presented not in temporal terms but is given a spiritually infinite existence. It was this idea of the *ghazi* which provided a literary tool for the "myth" in Ottoman history writing, giving legitimization for the Ottoman dynasty's political and moral authority. The idea of *ghaza* as a concept of the Holy War, explains Colin Imber in "The Ottoman Dynastic Myth", was not understood by the Ottoman warrior who was inspired by the religious zeal of the unlearned, rather than the *shari'ah* of orthodox Islam in the fourteenth century.² As Colin Imber states, the notion of *ghaza* served as the legitimization tool for the Ottoman dynasty's authority. In the Seljuk case, the idea of the "myth" is seen in the Turkish

¹ English translation of text quoted by Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, London: The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1958, p.14.

² Colin Imber, "The Ottoman Dynastic Myth," *Turcica*, vol. 19, 1987, p.8.

epics, or rather legends, where Turks are represented as fighters of Islam against the infidel.

The Ottoman case presents a parallel situation and the theories concerning the rise of the Ottomans are applicable to the pre-Ottoman context. The interpretation of the first Turkish incursions into Anatolia by Western scholars is led by Paul Wittek, who in *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, propounded the "ghaza theory" providing a framework in which to examine the impetuses for the rise of the Ottoman Empire. Unlike the Turkish historians, primarily Köprülü who focused on the various social forces on the frontier, Wittek concentrated more on the ghaza element of the *uc* regarding *ghazi* as not being an exclusive term, but inclusively containing the elements of the *uc* and those groups moving into Anatolia. Even though he applied his theory to the Ottoman context and the second migratory wave beginning in the thirteenth century, the idea can still be placed within a Seljuk context of the first Turkish migrations. Paul Wittek claims that the Seljuk state resulted from an Oğuzian migration from Turkestan with the aim of extending the realm of the 'Abbasid Caliphate. The intent of the Seljuks was to dominate Syria and Egypt, which at that time were controlled by the Shi'ite Fatimids, rather than to conquer and dominate the Christian lands of the Byzantines and the Armenians.³ However, claims Wittek, when peace with the Byzantines could not be secured, the Seljuks began to make expeditions into Anatolia against the sedentary Christian populations, primarily to pacify the Türkmens. Nonetheless, even following the defeat of the Byzantines at Manzikert, there still seemed to be no intention to conquer Anatolia on the part of Alp Arslan. Yet, the motives of the Seljuks and of the

³ Wittek, p.16.

Türkmens, who did not necessarily abide by a stated authority, but acted independently, varied.

Wittek explains the defeat at Manzikert as being due to the frontier conditions between Byzantium and Islam. The "marches", he writes, were the frontiers of the two regions which fostered cultural exchange and assimilation between the two groups due to deserters, prisoners, and women and where military organizations, the Byzantine *akritae* and the Turkish *uc* warriors, were placed. Concerning the dynamics of the rise of the ghazi on the frontier, he states that the enthusiasm of the peoples, including Turks, who beginning in the ninth century were the main military representatives that existed on the "marches", gave rise to warrior clans devoted to a chief who was aware of his role in the government, i.e. the Great Seljuks. For example, the clans offered resistance to administrative duties, especially the collection of taxes, claimed payment for their military service from the government, and provided a "haven" for individuals who were religiously persecuted.⁴

Pertaining to the rise of the *ghazis* in Central Asia, who appeared in the east, in Khorasan and in Transoxiana, and attracted or enlisted the

⁴ Ibid., p.18. Concerning the defeat of Manzikert, Wittek states that the defection of the Byzantine *akritae* also assisted the Turkish side. The result was the formation of smaller Anatolian principalities in Cilicia and the Taurus. There was also a defection of the Armenian *akritae* which weakened the defense. After Manzikert there was an attempt to establish smaller political units which caused anarchy and was exploited by the Muslim *limitanei*, i.e. *ghazis* (Paul Wittek, "Deux Chapitres de l'Histoire des Turcs de Roum," *Byzantion*, p.294.). The weakness of Wittek's commentary is that it is devoid of examples from sources. He does not mention the other Seljuk officers who were also leading the Türkmens into Anatolia to pillage. He presents a theory or an idea without enough evidence to support it. However, his main interest is that of the rise of the Ottomans.

unemployed and discontented for the purpose of collecting booty and fighting the infidels and heretics, Wittek assumes that the "ghazi" idea must have existed at the Muslim frontier of eastern Anatolia and thereby describes the individuals at the border as *ghazis*.⁵ Since his definition of ghazi included a mixture of the autochthonous population, the *akritae*, and defectors from the "daily struggle", what percentage of the ghazis was comprised of Turks? The cultural exchange and assimilation of the "march" was a propelling force which the Great Seljuks used to their advantage when fighting against the other Muslim provinces and in leading raids into Anatolia.

Does Wittek make a distinction between the ghazi (the warrior on the *uc*), and the Türkmén, who represented the nomadic tribes and found the "march" an "ideal place of abode"? In explaining the nomadic presence in the *uc* who were defined as being "Turkoman" (Türkmén), Wittek states:

According to the needs of the season, they [the nomads] could drive their herds into the Byzantine coastal regions, and equally into the interior of the Seljuk territory. Wandering from place to place, with their women and children and their herds, they gave the impression of being peaceful shepherds; but whenever the opportunity arose they very quickly changed into bold robbers and warriors.⁶

Wittek continues by saying that it was in this manner that Byzantine and Armenian towns became surrounded and cut off from the hinterland, thereby being forced to submit to Seljuk authority. The Türkmén were thus a

⁵ Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, p.18.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.24. Wittek further states that the youth of the Türkmén also joined the ranks of the *ghazis* which increased the strength of the "march-warrior".

salient force in the gradual occupation of Anatolia. In his article, "Deux Chapitres de l'Histoire des Turcs de Roum", he makes a distinction between the nomads and the ghazis who took the opportunity of conquering the territory, unlike the former. The Byzantine population did not consider the Turkish nomads and *ghazis* as 'exotic' intruders because they had gradually become accustomed to them on the frontier. However, the Türkmens presented another problem for they performed merciless raids which necessitated the establishment of pacts.⁷ Hence, Wittek does discuss the presence of various groups - "march-warrior", Türkmen, ghazi - providing an explanation for their political, social, and military importance on the *uc*. Neither his analysis and documentation of the "Christian" warriors fighting on the side of the Muslims, nor his examination of the groups comprising the "Turkish" element" is sufficiently detailed.

Claude Cahen in his work *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* presented an event-oriented history of Anatolia from the eleventh century until 1243, placing emphasis on the political and social institutions during the Anatolian Seljuk and Mongol periods.⁸ In his introduction to *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, he states that in the eleventh century the word Türkmen appears designating the nomadic Muslim Turks as opposed to the sedentarized Turks and non-Muslim Turkish nomads.⁹ His explanation of the Türkmen movements into Anatolia was due to the weakening of the Seljuk state, not to its

⁷ Wittek, "Deux Chapitres de l'Histoire des Turcs de Roum," p.294.

⁸ In recent years, a revised and updated edition of Cahen's book has appeared in French, *La Turquie pré-ottomans*, Istanbul: Isis Press, 1988. All references will, however, be given according to the English edition unless otherwise stated.

⁹ Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p.8.

strengthening. In contrast with the Seljuk state structure, the Danishmend principality was more of "Türkmen inspiration" as the leader was a chief.

The *ghazi* spirit common to all Turcomans does not necessarily mean the combining of operations by all of them or the attainment of a unity that excluded rivalries between groups...The dynastic rivalries between Seljukids and Danishmendids were accompanied by a hostility between the Turcoman spirit and a state-controlled, organizing spirit which implied an attempt to secure a certain relaxation of tension on the Byzantine front.¹⁰

Thus, Cahen places the difference between the two "spirits" within the context of Seljuk-Danishmend relations.

According to Cahen, the first wave of Turks who penetrated into Anatolia, besides being influenced by the ghaza idea, was heavily comprised of nomads. But he draws a distinction between the nomadic groups that travelled long distances with two-humped camels, and those moving sheep and other livestock that required only local movements for pasturage, adding the existence of those who combined both. Cahen then questions whether the demarcation between these nomadic types corresponded to tribal divisions. Although he does not provide a firm answer, he suggests that, "the rivalry with the indigenous herdsmen and the conditions of settlement amongst them differed according to the category."¹¹

¹⁰ Ibid., p.89.

¹¹ Ibid., p.34.

Cahen makes a general statement about the method of Arab conquest and expansion in order to point out the problems of historical interpretation by stating:

The accepted custom of regarding the nomadic herdsmen as a destructive, uncivilized and always negative element can be just as much mistaken as it may be correct. When, for whatever reason, it is a question of nomads attacking cultivated land, the result is obviously negative. The nomadic economy is adapted to certain territories which could not be exploited for agricultural purposes, and can bestow value on regions which previously possessed none. In that event it contributes to the agricultural economy, instead of impairing it.¹²

William of Tyre, for example, records the disturbances of agricultural practices resulting from the presence of the nomads:

It [Attaleia] possesses very rich fields, which are, nevertheless, of no advantage to the townspeople, for they are surrounded by enemies on all sides who hinder their cultivation. Therefore, the fertile soil lies fallow, since there is no one to work it...the grain is brought from overseas.¹³

We have evidence at least of the situation in Attaleia, where the Turkish presence did not benefit the local agricultural economy. Even though Cahen's statement does have pertinence, his failure to incorporate evidence from the

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Cited in Vryonis, "Patterns of Population Movement in Byzantine Asia Minor 1071-1261," p.14.

sources and his fundamental understanding of nomadism, which is not treated as a "transforming" element, results in speculation and misinterpretation.

Paul Wittek has based his work on explaining the elements which influenced and allowed for the rise of the Ottomans. Cahen, on the other hand, focuses more upon medieval Anatolian history, primarily that of the Seljuks. In his interpretation of the Turks and their migration from Central Asia, he outlines the historical conditions prior to their entrance into Anatolia and details the historical events concerning the nomadic movements and the implications of tribalism. Speros Vryonis has also concentrated upon medieval Anatolian history, but from the perspective of Byzantine civilization. In *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Vryonis focuses upon those elements affecting the transformation of Anatolia from a predominantly Greek-speaking, Christian land to a Turkish-speaking, Muslim one. He extensively utilizes the source material to represent the changes within Anatolia, but cannot discard his own bias which will be shown below.

Instead of using an institutional, event-oriented approach, like Cahen, Vryonis develops the theme of "transformation" to elucidate the sociopolitical and cultural changes taking place in Anatolia between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries which he divides into five chronological periods: late eleventh to mid-twelfth centuries (destructive period of Turkish conquests); late twelfth century (period of consolidation and stability); mid-thirteenth century (economic prosperity and cultural flowering); late

thirteenth century (tribal anarchy similar to the first period); fourteenth century (emergence of the *beyliks* and improvement of conditions in Anatolia).¹⁴ Within this framework, he examines the effects of the Türkmens incursions upon the Byzantine and Armenian communities concluding that the nomadic incursions did not solely contribute to the disruption of Byzantine society.

Although Vryonis still treats nomadism in a static, unevolving manner, he places more emphasis upon this theme than the preceding historians. Vryonis notes several differentiating characteristics of nomads with the most distinguishing one being mobility. Concerning the differences between the Türkmens and the earlier Arab invaders of Anatolia, Vryonis states that the former carried out "migratory conquests", whereas the latter performed "small-scale *razzias* for booty" or military expeditions without bringing settlers. In this capacity, women were an important feature of the nomadic lifestyle. Their presence not only confirmed the migratory nature of the Turkish invasions, but also assisted in military actions.¹⁵ Second, the political thought and actions of the Türkmens were characterized by independence and insubordination, going back to an early tradition of rebellion against tribal chieftains.¹⁶ Third, the economy was based on

¹⁴ Vryonis, *DMH*, p.285.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.260-263, 266. Vryonis comments that women are mentioned by many poets and observers. He draws the conclusion that women must have been a regular aspect of the nomadic daily life and organization. The assumption is also that there was a continuance of tradition as the examples Vryonis uses also include travel accounts from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.266. Concerning the first wave, Vryonis cites an example from Choniates, who notes that the Türkmens did not observe the treaties that Kılıç II Arslan concluded with Manuel I

pastoralism and raiding which was suited for a mobile existence.¹⁷ Fourth, warfare, pillage, and banditry were important to the nomadic economy as a means to acquire slaves.¹⁸ Fifth, the nomads practiced particular trades: hunting, woodcutting, charcoal production, and rug weaving.¹⁹ Sixth, their religious life was based upon shamanism (*volksreligion*) and superstition, but it was later integrated with Islam.²⁰ Seventh, the domicile, diet, and clothing reflected the itinerant lifestyle.²¹ Eighth, the physiognomy of the tribesmen is described as being markedly different from the other groups in Anatolia which eventually changed due to intermarriages.²²

Comnenus and Frederick Barbarossa. Choniates adds, furthermore, Kılıç II Arslan's reply that he was powerless to do anything against the insubordinate Türkmens.

¹⁷ Ibid., p.267. The livestock included camels, mules, horses, asses, sheep, and goats. The animals provided the food source. Wool and leather were used for fuel and income.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.268. Based on the incidences in the sources, slave trade was an important aspect of the nomad economy. Banditry provided a venue to capture slaves.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.269. The nomads would pay taxes to the Seljuks and the Ottomans in the form of animals. During the Mongol period, there was an animal tax, *kobcur*, administered to the nomads. Vryonis suggests that the nomads could provide for their sustenance, but when integrated into the survival of a world state, their means of existence were unsuitable.

²⁰ Ibid., p.270. Vryonis argues that there was a religious continuity from the Central Asian past as reflected by the practice of human sacrifice. Furthermore, he states that the tribal *babas* were descendents of the shamans. In his article, "Evidence of Human Sacrifice among the Early Ottoman Turks," he examines the evidence in Greek sources concerning shamanistic practices. He outlines the description by Menandor of the Turkish actions as including these elements: slashing the face, sacrifice of horses, and human sacrifice. (from *Studies on Byzantium, Seljuks, and Ottomans*, p.142).

²¹ *DMH*, p.275. The tents used took different forms: round-shaped made of wool or felt and supported by concentric wooden staves, collapsible, and carried on a cart. The diet consisted of meat, milk, cream, yogurt, and butter. Clothing was made from wool and hides.

²² Ibid., p.277. Vryonis cites a description from John Pian de Carpini (ed. Wyngaert, pp.32-33): "In appearance the Tartars are quite different from all other men, for they are broader than other people between the eyes and across the cheek-bones. Their cheeks also are rather

The nomadic existence also followed a semiannual transhumant pattern. During the summer, they would retreat to *yaylas* (summer pastures in the mountains) and conduct raids upon sedentary establishments, but would remain on the plains for winter. Vryonis states that if the tribe could not secure a winter base in Anatolia, they would usually leave after the summer raiding season. Therefore, in the Anatolian context, the process of nomadic raid, conquest, and settlement were fulfilled thereby perpetuating the conflict between the "farmer and the herdsmen". The lack of a strong central authority, i.e. the Byzantine Empire, allowed for the dispersal of the Turkish elements throughout Anatolia until an equilibrium was attained between the land and the food supply for the various livestock and people.²³

Concerning the placement of the Türkmens in Anatolia, they obtained lands that had been abandoned by Christians who fled, were killed, or were

prominent above their jaws; they have a flat and small nose, their eyes are little and their eyelids raised up to the eyebrows. For the most part, but with a few exceptions, they are slender above the waist; almost all are of medium height. Hardly any of them grow beards, although some have a little hair on the upper lip and chin and this they do not trim. On the top of the head they have a tonsure like clerics, and as a general rule all shave from one ear to the other to the breadth of three fingers, and this shaving joins on to the aforesaid tonsure. Above the forehead also they all likewise shave to two fingers' breadth, but the hair between this shaving and the tonsure they allow to grow until it reaches their eyebrows, and, cutting more from each side of the forehead than in the middle, they make the hair in the middle long; the rest of their hair they allow to grow like women, and they make it into two braids which they bind, one behind each ear. They also have small feet." This description only depicts the men not the women. Bertrand de la Broquière (ed. Wright, p.346) states, "I shall say that he is a little, short, thick man, with the physiognomy of a Tartar. He has a broad and brown face, high cheek bones, a round beard, a great and crooked nose, with little eyes."

²³ Vryonis, "Nomadization and Islamization," p.52.

enslaved, from a ruler who would "rent" the land in exchange for military service, or by being settled on the frontier as defenders.²⁴ Since the nomads were a disruptive force in Anatolian society, not only to the sedentary Byzantine and Armenian towns, but also to the Anatolian Seljuks, both Byzantine emperors and Turkish sultans took preventive measures against the nomads in order to preserve the societal form:

Christian rulers and Turkish sultans built walls around their towns, forts in the rural areas, strengthened frontier defenses, and recolonized their lands. Against the nomads they undertook a variety of measures; expeditions and massacres, forced sedentarization, recruitment in state armies, transfer of sedentary populations from the scenes of nomad raids, and transfer of the nomads themselves.²⁵

The nomads, as interpreted by Vryonis, did not submit to a stated authority, but continued to act independently and according to their own traditions. Yet, focusing on this aspect, Vryonis' description provides a static framework within which to view nomadism. He fails to capture the energy behind a group of people who roam the land, abiding by a different set of rules from that of the sedentary peoples.

²⁴ Vryonis, *DMH*, p.279. Concerning the placement of nomads on the frontiers as defenders, there is a discrepancy. The assumption that this was a practice during the first nomadic wave seems incorrect as the documents cannot be interpreted as representing uniform actions.

Therefore, Vryonis tends to draw a conclusion about later practices and apply it to the entire "transformation" period. If he does not intend to do that, then the distinction is not sufficient.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p.283. Refer to the stated page for a list of the sources used.

Concerning the depiction of the Turkish tribes, a parallel case may be that of the North American Indian tribes which are depicted as having different temperaments and abiding by different protocols with respect to sedentary societies, or to encounters with the "white man". Yet the Hopis in Arizona are known to have been semi-agriculturalists, while the Navajos were more pastoralists, whereas the Comanches and Cherokees have been referred to as "warrior" by nature. The diversity of the groups in the case of the North American Indians operating under various motives and intentions mirrors that of the Turkish example in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This parallelism underlines the need to reassess the portrayal of nomadic groups including the case of Anatolia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and also the necessity of re-examining the Turkish movements based upon alternative ideas, such as Hopwood's "nomadic spectrum".

C. The Anthropological Approach

The historiographical component has been divided into three sections. The western approach interpreted the first Turkish invasions according to "ghaza" theory. The perception of ghazis, by Western historians, tended to create a passionate, yet "barbaric", picture of the actions against the Christians in Anatolia. Vryonis focused upon "transformation" citing nomadization as a factor; however, he did not concentrate upon the "transformation" process of nomadism itself. To contrast the Western interpretation, the Turkish historians underlined the theory of world domination and "ghaza theory" as pertaining to the "march-frontier" in order to explain the movement into Anatolia and the consequent settlement of the Turks in the peninsula. As has been stated, the objective of this group was to legitimize Turkish history and to create a "nationalist ideology". The eleventh- and twelfth-century Turkish movements into Anatolia embracing various groups - ghazi, uc warrior, nomad - inspired by discrete yet overlapping motives characterize the complexity of this period. Recently, more emphasis has been given to the idea of nomadism as being a "spectrum", as stated by Hopwood. Thus, the utilization of anthropological constructs or theories pertaining to the study of nomad-sedentary relations in a historical context provides another approach to interpreting the first Turkish movements.

Interpretation, an element which cannot be void of cultural context, can define and redefine history. There has been an evolution as to how the first Turkish incursions can be described. The recording of non-sedentary activities by sedentary societies, later reinterpreted by Western and non-Western scholars, can create a picture which is not necessarily representative

of reality. In recent historical studies by Keith Hopwood, emphasis has been placed on reinterpreting the first wave according to nomadic practices by examining nomadic/sedentary relationships. Rudi Lindner utilized anthropological models in order to reconstruct a "fairer" history of medieval nomadic tribes in Eurasia. In the field of anthropology, works by Richard Tapper, Thomas Barfield, and Alexander Khazanov, who have focused primarily on Central/Inner Asian steppe practices and traditions, can be applied to the first nomadic wave.

As M.M. Diakonov, archaeologist and historian of Central Asia stated, "Rivers unite. It is mountains that separate. All ancient regions of Central Asia are easily singled out along the river basins."¹ The divisive element was not the rivers, nor the mountains as they were passable. The geographical complexity of Anatolia, whose topography resembled that of Central Asia, provided ample pasturage for the migratory nomadic groups: the grassland steppe in the northeast, around Kars, the *yaylas* of the Kaçkar and the ranges marking the eastern regions, the lake regions of Van and the central plateau, the Tigris-Euphrates, Meander, Halys, and Çoruh river basins besides the littoral providing agricultural fields superficially details the geographical picture. However, unlike the Pamir and Himalayan ranges which are impassable, the ranges of Anatolia did not prevent movement. The ability of movement augmented the impact of the nomadic penetration and migration into Anatolia.

Nomadic practices and traditions, according to Hopwood, should be the interpretive factor with respect to the first Turkish wave in the eleventh and

¹ Khazanov, p.82.

twelfth centuries. He utilizes the sources in order to demonstrate that the actions of the Türkmens against the sedentary Anatolian communities and also within Anatolia can be identified as nomadic practices. Concerning the sources, Hopwood states that agrarian societies usually look at opposing systems of existence in a negative "backward" frame of mind, viewing theirs as superior. Nomads thus suffer from what he terms as "nomadic inertia", i.e. this expression stems from the sedentarists failure to adequately and accurately document the nomads' way of life. However, this approach altered as the nomads became fixed in the societal fabric.² The Byzantine scholar Theodore Metochites (1270-1332) stated:

Nomads live a communal way of life according to nature, but, as I said, it appears to be a bestial one and they themselves appear to lack experience of all kinds of human activity and literature, nor do they live in cities, as nearly all other men do, nor do they make their lives secure by fortifying fortresses of any kind whatsoever, nor do they have houses to contain them, nor do they know the skills of crafts nor of commerce, nor do they take pains over agriculture or gardening...but they live by chance, casually, and they do not obtain their means of life by settling down and hard preparation.³

The contrast presented by Metochites between the Byzantine and nomadic lifestyles underlines the misrepresentation of the activities due to the sedentarist's lack of understanding a lifestyle different from his own.

² Keith Hopwood, "Nomads or Bandits? The Pastoralist/Sedentarist Interface on Anatolia," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, vol. 16, 1991, p.182.

³ *Ibid.*, p.181.

In reference to nomadic actions against a sedentary group, Hopwood cites the fifteenth-century historian Doukas, who described the pretext for the outbreak of war in 1453 leading to the fall of Constantinople, as follows:

As the Turks approached the fortress of Epivetai, the horses and pack-animals were set loose to graze on the crops of the Romans and they proceeded to ravage the grain and all other kinds of green vegetables.⁴

Hopwood's interpretation is that of "destructive pasturing" which precipitated a feud. This technique was used by semi-nomadic and nomadic societies as well as the *razzia* (rustling raid). It was used as a means to "redistribute economic resources in a region where the balance could be upset by natural calamities," thus providing the leaders with a source of booty.⁵ According to the nomadic Turks, their actions provoked a feud, unlike the sedentarists who viewed the Turkish actions as banditry.

Besides nomadic practices, another element of the first wave was the relationship between nomad and sedentary. Based upon anthropological work, the socio-economic basis of nomadic life was, "the need to move to locate and to exploit, but not to overexploit the pasture; the need to balance age- and sex- composition of herds; the need to prepare for and prevent natural disasters from decimating the herds."⁶ In this respect the nomadic existence was just as taxing as the sedentarists'. The variable was the commodity - crops as opposed to herds. Therefore, Hopwood defines sedentarist as one who possesses land whereas the nomad has cattle and

⁴ Ibid., p.179.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., p.183.

flocks whose movement to pastures is essential. Nomads, moreover, possess a 'non-autarky' (a portion of their group must farm or have a working relationship with a sedentarist group). The Anatolian "interface" thus provides an alternative interpretation to the first Turkish wave whereby nomad/sedentary can be viewed upon a spectrum whose relationship alters based upon the conditions.

Emphasis placed upon nomadic practices in order to define the actions of the first incursion against the sedentary societies can also be placed within the context of their group formation. An anthropological definition of ghazi, nomad, tribal member can be utilized in a historical context. Rudi Lindner, in reference to medieval nomadic movements explains the activities according to anthropological models. Richard Tapper in his article "Anthropologists, Historians, and Tribespeople on Tribe and State Formation in the Middle East" argues that Lindner's understanding and application of such models within the historical context is distorted and confused. Lindner defines clan as being "an autonomous unit of production and consumption" whose members (nomads) are related by kinship or shared interest. The formation of the clan results from the nomad's social response to the conditions of his "harsh" existence and to external political pressure.⁷ Therefore, Lindner's emphasis upon kinship and shared interest restricts diversity of tribal formations which at the same time exists along side nomadism. Tapper states, "Tribalism is more necessary to nomadism than nomadism is to tribalism",

⁷ Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*, Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1983, p.9. Rudi Lindner's article, "What was a Nomadic Tribe?," (*Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 24, 1982, pp.689-711), focuses upon the application of anthropological models to medieval Anatolian Turkish groups.

and within the context of state formation, this idea is a function of the relations between tribalism, nomadism, and state. The misunderstanding is that states have attempted to control both by classifying them together, which resulted in the creation of tribal groups and the appointment of chiefs among nomadic populations that did not have such organizations.⁸ Tapper's idea of "tribe" is as follows:

A state of mind, a construction of reality, a mode for organization and action. To describe any named group as a tribe is to mention only one facet of its nature and to deny that facet to other groups in the same system.⁹

⁸ Richard Tapper, "Anthropologists, Historians, and Tribespeople on Tribe and State Formation in the Middle East," *Tribe and State Formations in the Middle East*, (Houry and Kostiner, eds.), Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990, p.54. With respect to the Anatolian case, there are two distinct groups: the state as represented by the Seljuks and those which oppose the state being tribally-based, i.e. Danishmendids. Thomas Barfield expands the idea of a tribal structure by stating that, "At the local level the tribal structure remained intact, under the rule of chieftains whose power was derived from their own people's support, not imperial appointment. Thus the state structure changed little at the local level, except to ensure an end to raiding and murders endemic to the steppe in the absence of unity. The component tribes were linked into the empire by their subservience to appointed governors, often members of the imperial lineage. The imperial appointees handled regional problems, organized levies of troops, and suppressed opposition generated by local tribal leaders. The imperial government monopolized foreign affairs and warfare, negotiating with other powers for the empire as a whole." (Thomas Barfield, "Introduction: The Steppe Nomadic World," *The Perilous Frontier Nomadic Empires and China, 221 B.C. to A.D. 1757*, Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1989, p.8). This passage refers to Inner Asian steppe dynamics but can also be applied to Anatolia with the establishment of the Seljuk state of Rūm.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.56.

His emphasis upon creating diversity to examine the various types of tribes is opposed to that of Lindner's whose application of certain anthropological models restricts the understanding of tribes and nomads in a historical context.

In the field of anthropology, Thomas Barfield's emphasis on Inner Asian tribal-state relationships and his explanation of Inner Asian dynamics provides a framework within which to examine the first nomadic wave. Central/Inner Asian tribal practices were based upon raid and extortion as a means to raise revenues. Geographic space separated the Inner Asian tribes; however, in the Middle East, these practices were employed in regions near sedentarized areas. The "extortionary policies" of the tribes thus disrupted regional economic life and were perceived as threats.¹⁰

In the same instance, Barfield comments upon the idea of religion as being a unifying element amongst Inner Asian tribes. Although shamanism was the shared religion amongst the tribes, the shamans never became rulers of states.

The belief system had little organizational potential. Whenever confronted with a more sophisticated religious system, the Inner Asian nomads were quick to convert...Unlike the believers in most sedentary societies they had little difficulty in tolerating religious pluralism among the tribes within a confederation, or within families.¹¹

¹⁰ Thomas Barfield, "Tribe and State Relations: The Inner Asian Perspective," *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, (Khoury and Kostiner, eds.), Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990, p.171.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.170.

Pertaining to the Turks who entered Anatolia, their adoption and understanding of Islam can be questioned. As stated, Islamic practices in Anatolia were more characteristic of heterodoxy as opposed to orthodoxy. Barfield, commenting upon Islam as a unifying tool between the tribes in a political context, states:

Although most of the tribal peoples entering the Iranian and Anatolian plateau areas after A.D. 1000 had become Muslim before they arrived, they did not need to employ religious philosophy or leadership to create tribal confederations...Their religious identity was subordinate to their cultural identity.¹²

The rulers, therefore, acted as patrons of religious figures and adopted Islamic ideology in support of their dynasties, but they did not rise to power due to religious movements.

The study of nomadic-sedentary interaction by Alexander Khazanov provides another comparative framework for the cultural interaction in Anatolia. Concerning the idea of nomadism, Khazanov views the phenomenon in its relation with the outside world according to different social and economic systems.¹³ In his essay "Nomads and oases in Central Asia", Khazanov examines the interaction between sedentary population and pastoral nomads. The main geographical component affecting interaction was

¹² Ibid.

¹³ A.M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984, p.265. Khazanov provides a definition for "phenomenon" as that which is rare and unusual in occurrence resulting in widespread consequences.

the oases. By providing pastures and agricultural fields, this ecological zone created a dialogue between both groups based upon a rotational use of the resources. Khazanov states that shortage of pastures caused movement in Inner Asia; however, the need to increase pasture presented a problem if the sedentary group was politically stronger than the nomads. On the other hand, grazing territory could be increased if the nomads were stronger. This migration eventually produced a tendency to sedentarize and according to Khazanov should be regarded as "an adaptation not only to the new socio-political environment but to the natural environment."¹⁴

Because of the nature of nomadic movements, nomad-sedentary relations, and the first Turkish movement, the use of "over-arching" terms to classify this complex historical phenomenon that resulted in the Turkification of Anatolia should be avoided. Anthropological studies of Central/Inner Asia, besides providing a comparison for the nomadic activities in Anatolia, enables the eleventh- and twelfth-century Turkish movements into Anatolia to be examined in a broader context, which will be used in approaching the contemporary Byzantine and Armenian histories and chronicles.

¹⁴ A.M. Khazanov, "Nomads and oases in Central Asia," *Transition to Modernity: Essays on Power, Wealth, and Belief*, (Hall and Jarve, eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p.72. Khazanov cites groups who continued a semi-nomadic or semi-sedentary lifestyle from the late medieval period: Karakalpaks and Kazakhs of the Syr-Daria region.

III. The Sources and their Interpretation

The eleventh- and twelfth-century Turkish movements into Anatolia did not purely represent the migration of a group of people from Central Asia to Anatolia for a single objective - land or pasture. To the contrary, the dynamics of the *uc* (including nomads, warriors, fugitives, *ghazis*), against the backdrop of a declining Byzantine Empire and rising eastern power (i.e. the Great Seljuks in Iran), enabled the penetration and establishment of the Turks, a term embracing various groups with differing motives. Anatolia, which then contained a relatively large Christian population, towns laden with riches, and lush pastures, satisfied in varying degrees the economic, religious, and military motives of the Turkish invaders. Although the initial movements had an element of non-permanence as towns were not occupied after being pillaged, there was still a distinction between the intentions of the Seljuk leaders, who in a short time settled and established a power center in Anatolia, and those of the Türkmens. In an attempt to pacify the unruly Türkmens, the Great Seljuks of Iran often sent them on raids in search for booty and the capture of slaves, thus providing for their economic and material satisfaction. However, within this framework there were also those fighting in the name of Islam (the *ghazis*, whose understanding of Islam varied)¹, those in search of pasture (the nomads), and those who purely lived for the excitement of the battle (the warriors inhabiting the frontier).

¹ In "Islamic Art: Art of a Culture or Art of a Faith?," *AARP*, London, June 1978, p.5, Oleg Grabar states that Islam should be viewed as containing a variety of peoples in a close proximity. This proximity, being the Middle East and Central Asia, did not allow for rigidity. The fluidity of Islam allowed it to spread. It is thus difficult to state that Islam was homogeneous because of its exposure to various cultures. This diversity applies to Anatolia in

The question therefore remains as to the description of "Turk", the classification of the various motives, and the interpretation (or misinterpretation) assigned by contemporary and modern historians. While the sources provide the basis for all historical interpretations, in order to answer these questions properly, the "validity" or "reliability" of the sources should be weighed within the context of the period, the position of the historian or chronicler, and the sources used by the latter. Non-Turkish sources utilized in this work include: Michael Attaliates, Matthew of Edessa, Anna Comnena, John Kinnamos, and Niketas Choniates. In approaching an examination of the contemporary sources, one must bear in mind that the sedentary civilization's interpretation of the first Turkish wave reflect their "cultural context", that being the recording of actions of an "other" unknown culture, viewed as "barbarian", against their own. The Byzantine and Armenian sources are thus products of the eleventh- and twelfth-century social milieu.

Michael Attaliates, who was born sometime between 1020 and 1030 in either Constantinople or Attaleia and died after 1085, was a member of the bureaucratic élite in Constantinople, where he served as senator and judge, and held the title *proedros*. While he was part of the Military Tribunal, he accompanied the Byzantine emperor Romanus IV Diogenes to Manzikert. His position in the emperor's entourage gave him the opportunity to meet and support one of Romanus IV's rivals, namely Nicephorus III Botaniates. Thus the "objectivity" of Attaliates' *History*, covering the years from 1034 to

the eleventh and twelfth centuries. As the Turks were recent converts to Islam, they can be said not to have been strict followers of a Sunni practice.

1079/80, which he dedicated to Botaniates, has often been questioned. Nonetheless, his first-hand accounts of events in which he himself participated make his work an invaluable source for the early history of the Turks in Anatolia.²

The Armenian historian and priest Matthew of Edessa (1051-1136), who devoted his *Chronicle* to the events from 952-1136, utilized earlier sources and eyewitnesses, in addition to his own observations. Like most chroniclers, however, Matthew of Edessa relied heavily upon religious interpretation, intending his work "to provide instruction concerning the manner of God's intervention in History, either to punish humans for their wickedness or to reward them for their righteousness."³

In this respect, *The Alexiad* of Anna Comnena (1083-1153/4), Byzantine princess and daughter of Alexius Comnenus, provides a contrast and balance to Matthew of Edessa's strongly religious account. Moreover, her position as princess gave her access to official documents and direct familiarity with imperial policies. Yet, despite her high level of education and concern with the proper recording of history, her work, focusing on the events of her father's reign, does not lack problems which are apparent in all of the chronicles and histories: anachronisms, "umbrella" terms to designate groups of people according to religion rather than ethnicity, relating of events in

² Alexander P. Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, vol. 1, 1991, p.229; Xavier Jacob (trans.), *Les Turcs au Moyen-Age*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1990, p.2.

³ Matthew of Edessa, part II, sect. I, p.3.

retrospect or via other witnesses (who also possess the tendency to exaggerate), and natural bias against the "enemy".

John Kinnamos (b. ca. 1143-d. after 1185), on the other hand, a Byzantine bureaucrat who was a loyal servant to Manuel I Comnenus, did not quote imperial documents or ecclesiastical synods in his history covering the period 1118-1176. He relied upon oral communications and, for the events after 1155, upon his own observations. His style is not as polished as that of his contemporary, Niketas Choniates (1155-1215), who reached high rank in the Byzantine administrative structure, serving as imperial secretary. In his *History*, which covers the period 1118-1206, Choniates utilizes eyewitness and popular accounts, the archives of Hagia Sophia, and some other documents; however, he did not have access to imperial records. Despite their shortcomings, though, both Kinnamos and Choniates are invaluable sources containing numerous descriptions of the Turks in Anatolia during the twelfth century.

The complexity of the word "Turk" as a term embracing numerous groups with differing motives has already been pointed out in the preceding sections. It has also been suggested that part of the confusion and lack of precision found in the secondary literature stems from the sources themselves, which have not been examined thoroughly enough. Yet, since the sources differ in their descriptions of the Turks, the names they use to describe the Turks, and consequently the motives they ascribe to them, a systematic reading of the sources based on sorting out and categorizing all the information they contain on the Turks is essential for a better and more precise understanding of the nature of the participants in the first wave of

Turkish incursions into Anatolia. Methodologically, in order to assess how the contemporary historians and chroniclers viewed and defined the Turks, the information they provide will be approached thematically according to the motives they ascribe to the conquerors through a chronological treatment of the sources. The thematic categories which include nomadic practices (search for pasture), religious ideals (*jihad-ghaza*), economic intentions (collection of booty and slaves), and military features (battle formation including the warriors on the *uc*) should not be viewed as being mutually exclusive, but rather as encompassing various motives.

Eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantine and Armenian historians and chroniclers use a myriad of names in reference to the Turkish migrations into Anatolia, with descriptions ranging from "pastoral" images to "violent" assaults and raids. Names are sometimes misused due to the historian or chronicler's lack of knowledge concerning ethnic differences. Therefore, there is not always an ethnic distinction between the use of certain names, which will be described. At the same time, some names have very clear religious inferences, while certain names are sometimes used to distinguish the geographical location of a group although the application is not consistent.

Attaliates, for example, uses terms such as "enemy" and "barbarian", besides "Huns", "Persians", "Turks", and "Saracens". He, however, does not give a definition or geographical demarcation for these various groups. Attaliates' descriptive style differs entirely from that of Matthew of Edessa, who uses highly imaginative qualifiers to describe the Turks. In the introduction to Matthew's chronicle, Dostourian, the translator, comments that Matthew uses "Tachik" to refer to Muslims (Arab, Turk, and Persian),

"Arab" in reference to non-Turkish and non-Iranian Muslims, and "Persians" when writing about Muslims inhabiting and ruling the Iranian plateau, such as Turks and Iranians.⁴ In the English translation, Matthew of Edessa uses "infidels", "Turks", "Persians", "Muslims", "Ishmaelites", and "Arabs"; however, unlike the other accounts, Matthew's occupation as priest influenced his perspective of the Turkish groups. Since he frequently uses "infidel" and writes that the actions made against the Armenian nation were due to God's will, it can be assumed that he viewed the Turks as operating under a religious motive. However, his interpretation does not necessarily reflect the intention of the Turks themselves whose actions, as stated, were also for economic reasons, i.e. pasture, booty, or slaves.

In the histories of Anna Comnena, Kinnamos, and Choniates, "barbarian", which is given a qualifying definition by all three, is consistently used. Anna, in writing about the actions of Tzachas (Çaka Beg) in Smyrna, states that he was, "...like all barbarians, always lusting after massacre and war."⁵ Pertaining to the winter of 1160-1161 and the situation between the Byzantines and the Turks, Kinnamos comments, "The barbarian suffers in no respect as much as in loss of money and goods."⁶ In writing about the passage of the Third Crusade (1189-1191) through Anatolia, Choniates states in reference to the Turks, "Every barbarian is greedy of gain, and almost everything, or, rather, everything he does or says, is directed towards getting

⁴ Matthew of Edessa, Part I, 1, p.21.

⁵ Anna Comnena, Book IX, iii, p.275.

⁶ John Kinnamos (trans. Charles Brand), *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1976, Book IV, 23, p.149.

his hands on money."⁷ The import of these comments, which explicitly suggest that Anna Comnena, Kinnamos, and Choniates attributed the propelling factor of economic and material gain to the motives of the Turks, intimate that the Turk ("barbarian") had a concept of money. This would support Hopwood's point that nomadism should be viewed as a "spectrum". As has been stated, the economic system of the Turks migrating into Anatolia was nomadic, i.e. a 'non-autarky', thereby, due to their inability to support themselves self-sufficiently, they engaged in activities against or amongst the sedentary civilizations.⁸

Besides the use of "barbarians", Anna uses "Turks", "Scyths", "Agarenes", "Ishmaelites", and "Saracens". In some instances, names are used in accordance with a geographical area, for example "Agarenes" are

⁷ Niketas Choniates (trans. H.J. Magoulias), *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984, Book II, 413, p.227. In an additional passage, Choniates in referring to the actions of the Turks at Myriokephalon against the fallen Byzantines writes, "When the emperor saw the Turks ripping open the moneybags of the treasury and seizing the gold and silver coin strewn on the ground, he exhorted the Romans around him to fall upon the barbarians and take possession of the monies to which they had a greater right than did the Turks." Cited in Book II, 186, p.105. Although this passage refers to the "barbarian", the importance rests in the description of the Turks collection of monies, i.e. spoils of war.

⁸ Denis Sinor in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p.5, provides examples from Chinese sources concerning the Chinese's interpretation of the "barbarians" activities. For example, according to the *Hsin T'ang-shu*, "The Northern Barbarians are greedy and grasping; they care only about profit". Sinor also cites a passage from Constantine II Porphyrogenitus' manual of statecraft, *De administrado imperio*, which provides advice about the Petchenegs, "Know therefore that all tribes of the north have, as it were implanted in them by nature, a ravening greed for money, never satiated, and so they demand everything and hanker after everything and have desires that know no limit or circumspection."

referred to twice in accounts of actions in Jerusalem and in Antioch.⁹

However, she does not consistently use "Agarene" in reference to the Levant region along with the use of "Ishmaelite" and "Saracen", which are not given geographic distinctions. Nevertheless, in several passages, Anna employs the different names in a single context, thereby suggesting that she differentiated between them even though inconsistent application of these names throughout the history disproves this suggestion.¹⁰

Charles Brand, translator of the history of Kinnamos, comments that Kinnamos uses "Persians" to describe the Muslim Turks and "Scyths" for those "pagan" (i.e. non-Muslim) Turkic tribes from north of the Black Sea. Brand, however, renders the term "Persian" as "Turk" in the translation. Moreover, Kinnamos makes a geographic distinction when referring to the

⁹ In Anna Comnena, Book IX, v, p.309, she writes that the Agarenes controlled Jerusalem. In Book XI, vi, p.349, she states that Antioch had been besieged by the Agarenes.

¹⁰ The following passages identify more than one group. Anna states, "A certain Kelt, called Peter, with the surname Koukoupetros, left to worship at the Holy Sepulchre and after suffering much ill-treatment at the hands of the Turks and Saracens who were plundering the whole of Asia, he returned home with difficulty...[Peter] set out to worship at the Holy Shrine and with all their [counts in France] soul and might strive to liberate Jerusalem from the Agarenes" (v, p.309). Traditionally, in Byzantine texts, "Saracen" referred to the Muslim and Arab. In this passage, Anna seems to be making an ethnic distinction between the two: Turk and Saracen (i.e. Arab). In reference to the Treaty of Devol, Anna states, "All those Saracens and Ishmaelites who congregate in your Empire, coming over to your side and surrendering your cities..." (Book XIII, xii, p.429). Finally, when Amerimnes, Exousiast of Babylon, learned that Jerusalem had been taken by the Kelts, he "collected a huge force composed of Armenians, Arabs, Saracens, and Agarenes" (Book XI, vii, p.352). This passage suggests that Anna could have been making a distinction according to the regions from where the troops originated. Her application of an ethnic distinction is questioned as she refers to Arabs and Saracens (stated as referring to Muslims and Arabs). Furthermore, as a literary technique for exaggeration, Byzantine authors' might use more than one name in order to describe the same people.

Saracens who were located in Syria under Nūr-ad-Dīn.¹¹ Amongst the sources, Choniates employs definite distinctions when referring to "Persarmenian"¹², "Saracen"¹³, and "Ishmaelite".¹⁴ The use of adjectives, religious connotations, and ethnic inferences, throughout the sources, are not consistently employed underlining the point that the writers were not necessarily informed as to ethnic differentiations; however, as has been cited, distinctions in the use of names according to ethnicity or geographic location were sometimes employed to distinguish between groups (i.e. Turks and Arab Muslims).

The sources, which employ a variety of names in reference to the Turks, likewise describe various types of actions undertaken by the Turks against the sedentary Byzantine and Armenian community. Although the actions can be ascribed religious or economic motives, the descriptions by the Byzantine and Armenian historians portray a nomadic migration into Anatolia. Specific references to the Turkish nomads (Türkmen or Turcomans), in the sources suggest that the contemporary historians

¹¹ For passages containing "Saracen" refer to: Book I, 8, pp.24-25; Book IV, 21, p.144; and Book VI, 1, p.188.

¹² In Book I, 19, p.12, Choniates uses "Persarmenian" when referring to the Danishmendids who had taken possession of Kastamon in 1130/1132.

¹³ The following passages make a geographic distinction. In Book II, 168, pp.95-96, Choniates refers to actions between Andronikos and the Saracens in Jerusalem. In Book V, 395, p.217, Choniates refers to the "Saracens of Egypt" and the Saracens in Acre. Also in Book V, 418, p.229, the Saracens are stated to have occupied Palestine and have sacked Jerusalem. However, Choniates also employs "Saracen" in other contexts which pertain to actions outside of the Syrophoenician area: for example, in Book VII, 554, p.303, there is reference to the destruction of a Saracen synagogue (i.e. mosque) in Constantinople.

¹⁴ In Book V, 417, p.229, Choniates refers to the Ishmaelites who had taken Laodikeia.

distinguished between the nomads and the central Turkish authority (i.e. the Anatolian Seljuks). Between 1108-1115, Anna writes that after the defeat of the Muslims at Karme, the Emir Mahomet joined the Turcomans "who dwell in Asia" in pursuit of the emperor.¹⁵ In Kinnamos, there is a direct reference to Türkmens pertaining to a petition that Kılıç II Arslan made in 1162 to Manuel Comnenus. The agreement stated:

...Of the cities which he had won, he would give the greater and more notable to the emperor. It was not allowed for him to make peace with any of the enemy unless the emperor directed. He would fight as ally with the Romans on request, and come with his entire force whether the conflict was an eastern or a western one. Nor would he allow those who lay beneath his authority, but who are clever at living by thefts and customarily are called *Turkomans*, to do any harm whatsoever to the Romans' land, unpunished.¹⁶

The presence of the Türkmens by the end of the twelfth century was still a disturbance to the sedentarized communities, both Byzantine and Seljuk, to warrant an agreement to mollify. However, the actual ability of the Seljuk state to deter the Türkmens was eventually undermined by the entrance of the Mongols. Throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries there was a constant proliferation of Turks into Anatolia who slowly established themselves.

¹⁵ Anna Comnena, Book XIV, vi, p.456.

¹⁶ Kinnamos, Book V, 3, p.158.

As various names used in reference to the Turks have been analyzed, descriptions of Turks and their motives on the basis of the following categories - nomadic practices, military, religious, and economic - will be examined. The first category, as described in the sources, is the description of them as nomads. Michael Attaliates who refers to the Turks by the name of "Huns Héphtalides" (i.e. Néphtalides, neighbors of the Persians), does not provide much description of nomadic practices, nor does his contemporary Matthew of Edessa. However, Attaliates gives an account of the movement of the Turks into Iberia during the reign of Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-1055).¹⁷ During the reign of Nicephorus III Botaniates (1078-1081), the *curopalates* Philaretus Brachamios established himself in mountainous districts without practical routes for transportation or movement. Therefore, in order to secure refuge from the Turks, he refortified walls and formed an army of Armenians and nomads for defensive purposes.¹⁸ Although Attaliates does not describe any nomadic practices in the above stated passages, his use of the term "nomad" in reference to Turks suggests that he distinguished between the different lifestyles. This point is further supported by the fact that he recorded some of the events from Anatolia, not based in Constantinople which allowed him to make observations concerning the Turkish movements.

¹⁷ Attaliates, sect. 43 as cited in Xavier Jacob's *Les Turcs au Moyen-Age*, p.10. "Vers la même époque [entre 1048 et 1053] les Huns Néphtalides, voisins des Perses, et que le fleuve du Gange...sépare de la Perse, traversèrent ce fleuve à ses endroits guéables les plus étroits; celui qui les conduisait et leur ouvrait la voie avait été auparavant fait prisonnier, et il était de condition basse et servile; mais après le trépas du souverain régnant, il fut investi de la souveraineté de la Perse."

¹⁸ Cited in Attaliates, sect. 301, p.64. Attaliates does not use "nomad" in preceding or following passages.

In contrast to Attaliates, Matthew of Edessa's strongly religious account uses a variety of qualifying adjectives to describe the Turks, for example, he writes, "pitiless, savage, and perfidious nation of the Turks" with regard to military actions taken against the district of Ḥiṣn-Mānṣūr in 1066-1067.¹⁹ The first instance where Matthew describes nomads is during the invasion led by Slar-Khorasan, a Persian chief, against T'lkhum, Sewawerak (Severek), and Nisibus (Nusaybin). He states, "the whole region was heavily populated with men and women and flocks of sheep, to such an extent that its surface gave the appearance of a rippling sea."²⁰ Although he uses the terms "infidel forces" and "Turks" to designate these people, the description he provides is clearly that of a nomadic lifestyle. In the following passage, Matthew also makes another descriptive reference to Turks as nomads without naming them as such. Matthew writes that in 1079-1080, a famine occurred for obvious reasons:

...[Because] the bloodthirsty and ferocious Turkish nation spread over the whole country to such an extent that not one area remained untouched, rather all the Christians were subjected to the sword and enslavement. The cultivation of the land was interrupted, there was a

¹⁹ Matthew of Edessa, part II, sect. 49, p.125. These qualifiers amongst others are used throughout his chronicle and will be pointed out in this section.

²⁰ Matthew of Edessa, part II, sect. 27, p.107. In referring to a large amount of people, animals, etc., he sometimes makes figurative allusions, for example "the appearance of a rippling sea" or as many as the "sands in the sea". Although he does utilize ethnic terms, such as Turk or Persian, his primary descriptive term is infidel, which reflects his religious point of view.

shortage of food, the cultivators and laborers decreased due to the sword and enslavement, and so famine spread.²¹

Emphasis is placed upon the famine caused by the entrance of the Turks; however, the sentence, "the cultivation of the land was interrupted", could be interpreted as the presence of flocks in pastures preventing agricultural cultivation. Another indication is given pertaining to Baldwin's encounter with the "Turks and their emir Ulugh-Salar" in the area of Mardin in the year 1103-1104. At that time Baldwin, count of Edessa, collected "innumerable flocks of sheep and thousands of horses, cattle, and camel, and with booty entered the city [Edessa]."²² This passage besides providing information concerning the types of animals that were used, supposedly by Turkish nomads, also recognizes Ulugh-Salar as the leader by employing the title emir.

Like Attaliates and Matthew of Edessa, Anna Comnena does not provide many detailed descriptions of nomadic practices either; however, she does use the name "nomad" twice in her history. In eulogizing the character of her father, Alexius Comnenus, she writes, "[Alexius] was eager to convert to Christ not only the nomad Scyths, but also the whole of Persia and all the barbarians who dwell in Egypt or Libya and worship Mahomet with mystic rites."²³ In this passage, Anna makes a distinction on religious grounds

²¹ Ibid., part II, sect. 73, p.143.

²² Ibid., part III, sect. 15, p.192. Emir Ulugh-Salar was one of the lieutenants of Il-Ghāzi, son of Artuk, later Artukid ruler of Mardin, 1107-1122.

²³ Anna Comnena, Book VI, xiii, p.212. Pertaining to the use of "nomad Scyths", Anna, like Kinnamos, probably uses this term to refer to the Petchenegs (i.e. non-Muslim/pagan Turks), whom she differentiates from the Muslims including Turks and Arabs. She, consequently, is

between the Byzantines and the Muslims who she refers to as "barbarians" and "nomad Scyths". By giving "barbarian" a geographic boundary being, "[those] who dwell in Egypt or Libya", it can be inferred that she is making a regional distinction between groups; however, her failure to use a more precise term suggests that she was generalizing the Muslims instead of making more exact ethnic distinctions. The other passage is a listing of those non-Christian groups which were in pursuit of Alexius during times of peace, "...all the nomads and the whole Scythian nation pressed in on him with their myriad wagons."²⁴ The same problems stated for the previous passage also apply to this one.

Of the five sources, the histories of John Kinnamos and Niketas Choniates, covering primarily the twelfth century, provide the richest accounts of nomadic practices. Kinnamos does not specifically use the term "nomad", preferring instead the designation "Persian"²⁵ and "barbarian" as in the following passage pertaining to the early eleventh century:

Since they were still untrained in agricultural labors, but gulped milk and devoured meat, like Petchenegs, and were always encamped in

making a distinction on religious grounds between Byzantines (Christians) and non-Christians, thereby illustrating that she had some awareness of religious and geographical differences between the Turks, who were not all Muslims. The "barbarian", according to Anna, did not necessarily represent only Muslims, but a broader category comprising non-Christians.

²⁴ Ibid., Book XIV, vii, p.459.

²⁵ Kinnamos actually uses the word "Persian", which has been rendered as "Turk" in the English translation by Brand. When referring to citations from Kinnamos, Turk will thus be changed to "Persian" to convey the author's original usage. On this, see p. 59 above.

scatterings on the plain, they were ready prey to whoever wished to attack them. Thus the Persians [Turks] had previously lived.²⁶

This passage, which is not ripe with details, still provides information concerning the nomads' diet and practices. Even though he does not refer to the use of pastures for grazing purposes, Kinnamos' comment, "they were still untrained in agricultural labors," underlines a form of existence opposed to that of the sedentary population, which Kinnamos defines as those who engage in "agricultural labors". The last sentence raises a question as to whether the Turks by the time that Kinnamos was writing had abandoned their nomadic ways, or whether they were continuing traditions practiced in Central Asia. As has been stated, the sources do not make a clear distinction between the various groups of Turks and their motives; therefore, in Kinnamos, too, there are passages in which differing motives and lifestyles have been assigned to the Turks in Anatolia.

Pertaining to the ascription of a motive for the Turks' actions, Kinnamos describes an incident when Manuel Comnenus encountered a group of Türkmens in the Meander valley:

He heard that many tents were assembled there, and the movements in the grove were the horses of those in the tents, grazing on grass with unbridled mouths. He immediately realized who these Persians [Turks] were, naming them according to their tribe, reckoning that a certain Raman was their chief, and that they had come according to their

²⁶ John Kinnamos, Book I, 4, p.17.

custom to pillage some of the neighboring Romans and now were well stocked with booty.²⁷

Kinnamos, although supplying a motive for their actions in the area with the following statement, "[it was] their custom to pillage", still does not state the intent of the pillaging, i.e. economic sustenance, provisions, slaves. This passage differs from the preceding one as it explicitly states the existence of a tribal structure, besides it acknowledges that the Byzantine emperor recognized the tribe and its chief, Raman, by name. Kinnamos continues by relating the actions between Manuel and the Turks on the plains of Ipsala, "After he [Manuel] had overrun the whole surrounding country, he drove off a horde of men and a quantity of various beasts. Learning of their losses, the Persians [Turks] commenced to appear in bands and companies."²⁸

Choniates, like Kinnamos, identifies the group as nomadic but not by name, as his descriptions reveal nomadic elements which were evident in the early Turkish migrations. The first mention of "nomadic" traits given by Choniates is in his account of John Comnenus' encounter with the Turks from Ikonion (Konya) who launched attacks on the Byzantines in Syria in approximately 1139. He mentions that John had, "despoiled the enemy's land, taking captive both men and animals of all kind, draft animals as well as those suited for riding."²⁹ Choniates continues by stating that during John's campaign against the Turks along the Sakarya (Sangrios) River in 1139, the emperor "succeeded in terrifying the enemy by his very presence, at the same

²⁷ Ibid., Book II, 9, p.59.

²⁸ Ibid., Book IV, 22, p.146.

²⁹ Choniates, Book I, 31, p.18.

time driving out animal herds of all kinds."³⁰ Although these statements do not provide much detail, they do nonetheless refer to animals which formed the basis of the nomadic economy and provided mobility and sustenance to the Türkmens.

Choniates, still not stating them by name, makes further inferences to the nomadic Turks in the following description of an action taken against them by Manuel Comnenus around 1176:

Repulsing the Turks who poured over the Roman borders now and then like countless herds, the emperor would attack the lands around Pentapolis, and taking large numbers of men and animals captive, for the Turks did not dare engage him in combat, he returned bearing trophies of victory.³¹

The depiction of the nomadic Turks as "countless herds" who would not engage in battle with the Romans (Byzantines), portrays the Turks as assuming a type of tribal or battle formation. Yet, the Turks are also depicted in the sources as acting passively in a non-formation pattern with the intent of finding pasture. In describing the movement of the Turks in search for meadows, Choniates writes, "...[those] who had left their homes en masse and crossed into Roman territory to find grassy meadows for their wealth of cattle."³² Another passage pertaining to the years between 1162-1173, also depicts the land as being used for nomadic purposes by the Turks:

³⁰ Ibid., Book I, 33, p.18.

³¹ Ibid., Book III, 124, p.70.

³² Ibid., Book III, 125, p.71. This passage pertains to Manuel's actions against the Turks prior to Myriocephalon (1176).

The cities of Asia, Chliara, Pergamon, and Atramyttion, were suffering terribly at the hands of the Turks...The neighboring provinces had not been settled because the inhabitants of villages were exposed to enemy attack. Manuel fortified these with walls and protected the nearby horse-breeding plains and fortresses.³³

The land was thus utilized for nomadic purposes, i.e. the grazing of animals, as depicted by Choniates, since the Turks, who were newcomers to Anatolia, had not acquired sedentary skills. However, the presence of the Turks disrupted sedentary life which required the refortification of towns in Anatolia.

Concerning the refortification of Dorylaion against the Turks who had penetrated the Bithynian region prior to Myriokephalon (1176), Choniates writes, "The Turks knew that they would be in danger should they be forced to abandon the fertile plains of Dorylaion on which their herds of goats and cattle grazed, romping in verdant meadows."³⁴ Importance is thus placed upon the land which provided the subsistence for the herds, the mainstay of nomadic economy. As has been illustrated, the sources provide evidence to support the presence of a nomadic element among the Turks entering

³³ Ibid., Book IV, 150, p.85.

³⁴ Ibid., Book VI, 176, p.90. A description of the refortification of Dorylaion is also found in Kinnamos, Book VIII, 2, p.221. He states, "at that time two thousand Persians [Turks], wanderers, were as usual encamped around it [Dorylaion]." This passage could refer to nomadic pastoralism although there is no mention of animals. There are many instances cited in the sources whereby the "nomads" are described as having occupied the cultivated land surrounding a sedentary community.

Anatolia in the eleventh and twelfth century. In some instances, the chroniclers state that this type of "unorganized" presence on the plains allowed for their submission to and conquest by the Byzantines.

The Turks, who on the one hand followed nomadic practices, also collected booty, which was part of their livelihood. The second category therefore pertains to the fighter element of the Turks. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Turks (including the *uc* warrior) were led by a Seljuk leader from the court in Persia or in Anatolia, and by tribal chiefs. Attaliates and Matthew of Edessa, who do not contain many examples of battle formation or organization among the Turks, use titles for leaders and give general descriptions of military groups. Attaliates states that in the region of Seleucia the Turks had devastated the region dividing into "clans and tribes, raiding and destroying all they met."³⁵ Concerning the leadership of the Turks, he states that during a campaign of the Turks led by Sulayman to Chrysopolis, the ones who led the army were called "amir" and "salar".³⁶ Apart from these titles, Attaliates primarily refers to the Turks as "enemy", failing to identify the group specifically. Matthew of Edessa, throughout his chronicle, not only describes formation and leadership in terms of "infidel

³⁵ Translated in Attaliates, Book IV, 136, p.33, as "Divisés en phratries et tribus, ils razzient de-ci de-là et détruisent ce qu'ils rencontrent." Attaliates, Book V, 190, p.52, also provides a passage which does not pertain to battle formation, but to the number of the "enemy" which entered Anatolia, "Le César...il aperçoit le gros de l'armée Turque, masse innombrable, semblable aux ondes de l'immense Océan; ils étaient en effet plus de 100000 hommes."

³⁶ Ibid., Book VI, 276, p.61. "Amir" stems from Arabic and "salar" from Persian. Attaliates continues by stating, "The ones who entered into the capital did so with an attitude and a spirit of mercenaries, their hands and arms covered with gold and sumptuous fabrics...the men of Kutlumush also came with imperial treasures." Yet, Attaliates does not state the intention of these leaders who were probably ambassadors sent by the Anatolian Seljuk sultan.

forces", "Persian troops", and "Turkish chiefs",³⁷ but also provides names of Turkish chiefs who he refers to as "emir".³⁸ Matthew of Edessa does list the names of Seljuk "emirs" and "sultans" who led expeditions into Armenia and Anatolia. Yet, the force of the Turkish leader is only described in general terms, for example "infidel army" and "Turkish army".³⁹

Anna Comnena, like Attaliates and Matthew of Edessa, tends to refer to the Turks without distinguishing between nomads, fighters on the *uc*, or ethnicities. For example, during the period of the First Crusade, Anna relates an episode of Ishmael, the son of the Sultan of Chorasán, who led "countless hordes of barbarians" against the Byzantines, without specifying the group.⁴⁰ However, due to the region from where the Sultan of Chorasán initiated his movement, one can assume that "barbarians" refer to the Turks. Although she does not make clear distinctions between the groups, Anna, who is noted

³⁷ These terms are found throughout the chronicle. In Book I, 78, p.68, Matthew of Edessa uses all these names to describe the defeat of a force of Turks by the Armenians on the banks of the Hrazdan River near Lake Sevan. Other titles are also used, for example "emir" in reference to a power struggle between emirs Shabal and 'Utair in Edessa in 1031-1032 (Book I, 58, p.53-54). He continues by listing various emirs who also marched against Edessa. In another case, he describes the pillaging of Sebasteia, led by emirs Samuk, 'Amr-Kāfūr, and Kijaziz from the Persian court, as, "All the Persians became stirred up and, rising up, went forth with a very large army like the sands of the sea."

³⁸ An example from Book II, 19, p.101, is when the Byzantine forces defeated the "Turkish forces" in the vicinity of Erzurum in 1062-1063. Matthew states that their emir, Yūsuf, was killed. Matthew does not mention if the "Turkish force" was actually a tribe led by their chief or fighters organized under a Seljuk emir.

³⁹ In Matthew of Edessa, Book III, 70, p.219 he uses these names to relate the attack of Bursuk ibn-Bursuk (a Turkish general) against Edessa in 1115-1116.

⁴⁰ Anna Comnena, Book XI, vi, p.349. In this section Anna also uses the terms "Agarene", "hosts of Turks", and "Agarene advance" when referring to the Turks.

for her detail of military tactics, provides a description of the Turkish battle-line:

Their right and left wings and their centre formed separate groups with the ranks cut off...from one another; whenever an attack was made on right or left, the centre leapt into action and all the rest of the army behind it, in a whirlwind onslaught that threw into confusion the accepted tradition of battle. As for the weapons they use in war, unlike Kelts they do not fight with lances but completely surround the enemy and shoot at him with arrows; they also defend themselves with arrows at a distance. In hot pursuit the Turk makes prisoners by using the bow; in flight he overwhelms his pursuer with the same weapon and when he shoots, the arrow in its course strikes either rider or horse, fired with such tremendous force that it passes clean through the body.⁴¹

Although this passage provides a wealth of information concerning Turkish military tactics, the intent of the formation is not indicated. Furthermore, who led the line, Seljuk leader or chief, which would indicate whether the line was for a campaign or for a raid, is not described. This passage could be a portrayal of nomad or warrior/fighter with the intention of economic gain; however, as has been stated, these are not mutually exclusive categories.

Detailed information on battle formations, indications of military campaigns or independent raids are not stated in the sources; however,

⁴¹ Ibid., Book XV, iii, pp.479-480. Anna, Book I, v-vi, p.43, also gives another detail of Turkish military formation, "The Turks attacked not in one body drawn up in regular formation, but in separate units at some distance from each other."

encounters between the Byzantines or Armenians and Turkish groups underlines the diversity of the movements in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Kinnamos writes that, during the Second Crusade (1147), as Conrad was following the road to Philomelion, his forces encountered a small Turkish force led by a certain Mamplanes (Balaban?), which could refer to an independent Turkish band.⁴² Later, Kinnamos refers to "a horde of Saracens" and an "army of Saracens" pertaining to the forces of Nūr-ad-Dīn and their attack upon the Second Crusaders in 1159.⁴³ In 1176, prior to the actual battle of Myriokephalon, Choniates writes:

The entire Turkish forces did not escort the Romans through the nearly impenetrable terrain, but rather they sporadically followed close upon them in bands, and thus the chiefs and the majority of their soldiers returned home laden with the spoils of war.⁴⁴

During the period of the Anatolian Seljuks, the Türkmens, who formed the backbone of the Seljuk army, were also an ever-present threat. At Myriokephalon, the adversaries of the Byzantines consisted of the Türkmen troops under the leadership of Kılıç II Arslan and those acting independently commanded by a chief, who is not always named in the sources. Thus far, examples of nomadic practices and formations which do not fall into strict categories have been detailed as being elements of the first Turkish wave. Yet an analysis of the motives inspiring these groups, besides the search for

⁴² Kinnamos, Book II, 16, p.68. Also cited in Choniates, Book II, 67, p.39.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Book IV, 21, p.145. This is the only instance when Kinnamos uses the word "Saracen", making a possible geographic distinction between those groups stemming from Syria as opposed to those in Anatolia. Also cited in Choniates, Book III, 110.

⁴⁴ Choniates, Book II, 191, p.108.

pastures, and the interpretation by the contemporary historians will contribute to a possible clarification, or rather further confusion, of the Turkish movements in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Actions against religious establishments and the obtaining of booty and slaves through pillaging were perpetrated by the Türkmens and the warriors of the *uc*. The inherent problem of the sources is that the groups are not specifically identified; therefore, who comprised the warriors, such as foreign mercenaries and fugitives, cannot be determined.

Matthew of Edessa, chronicling the Turkish movements into Vaspurakan, describes the Turks as, "...armed with bows and having flowing hair like women,"⁴⁵ while Attaliates calls the Turks "savage wolves",⁴⁶ whereas Anna mentions "the godless Turks"⁴⁷ who were living in the Propontis area. Though a strong negative tone characterizes the attitude of the sources against the Turks, primarily in reference to the early incursions, there are still positive descriptions of the sultans by Matthew of Edessa and Kinnamos, which will be detailed later. The Turks, who stemmed from the east, the same direction as the Arabs and Persians in relation to the Byzantine Empire, practiced a lifestyle different from the resident sedentary Byzantines and Armenians and followed another monotheistic religion, Islam. Even though the sources record abominations within the Byzantine and Armenian Christian populations, those perpetrated by the Turks, or the Muslims, are given an even harsher revilement. In identifying the motives of the Turks

⁴⁵ Matthew of Edessa, Book I, 48, p.44.

⁴⁶ Attaliates, Book I, p.11. This character description is in reference to the actions of the Turks preceding Manzikert.

⁴⁷ Anna Comnena, Book III, xi, p.129.

(including the various groups), the cultural context of the contemporary historians and chroniclers who do not always offer a reason for the successful penetration of the Turks into Anatolia, have influenced modern historians.

Thus far, the categories of nomad and fighter have been discussed based upon their representation in the sources. As has been stated, the Turks, entering Anatolia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, consisted of various groups, primarily nomads, i.e. Türkmens, who, on the one hand, were in search for pasture, and, on the other, supported their livelihood through the collection of booty and slaves. Concerning the number of Türkmens in Anatolia at this time, the extent of their penetration which eventually reached the western littoral indicates that their advance was due in part to their numbers. The Byzantine and Armenian sources provide figures for the eleventh and twelfth centuries, though they are unprecise, which denotes that there was an extensive Turkish movement. During the reign of Michael VII Doukas (1071-1077), Attaliates, writing about the actions between the Turks and Roussel with his Frankish force, records 6000 Turks.⁴⁸ Matthew of Edessa, besides using figurative allusions to the quantity of Turks moving into Anatolia, also provides numerical figures. For example, in 1121-1122, describing the movements of emir Ghazi into the Georgian territory to battle Georgian King David (1089-1125), Matthew records that Ghazi commanded a force of 30000 Turks.⁴⁹ During the time of the First Crusade, Anna Comnena

⁴⁸ Attaliates, Book V, 189, p.52. For another passage indicating numerical figures of Turks see fn. 35 of the same chapter.

⁴⁹ Matthew of Edessa, Part III, 83, pp.226-227. Cited in Matthew, Part III, 79, p.224, prior to this event, Matthew writes that Il-Ghazi marched against the Franks with 80000 Turks at Edessa in 1119-1120. In addition, Matthew, documenting the exploits of Il-Ghazi in 1120-1121, states that Il-Ghazi marched with 130000 Turks against Edessa (Part III, 82, p.226). In 1121-

mentions that the Crusaders met Sultan Tanisman (Malik Ghazi Gümüştigin, son of Malik Danishmend) and Hasan with a force of 80000 infantry near Heraclea.⁵⁰ Kinnamos, writing about the refortification of Dorylaion, states that 2000 Turks were encamped around the city.⁵¹ Finally, Choniates, whose numerical examples also reflect the extent of the Turkish movement, records that the Pseudo-Alexius recruited a troop of 8000.⁵² The passages, though providing inexact figures, support the idea that the Turkish presence in Anatolia was significant even in the first wave.

The actions of the Turks were directed against the Byzantine and Armenian Christian communities, either under the guise of *ghaza*, or purely for economic reasons. In the sources, there are instances where an economic motive can be ascribed. But, pertaining to the religious motive of the Turkish invaders, it is necessary to distinguish between the Turks who were inspired by religious motives, and a religious interpretation of their actions by the Christian sources. In Islam, there is the practice of the *jihad* (Holy War) as perpetrated by the *ghazi* (the fighter against the infidel Muslim or Christian).

1122, concerning the movements into Georgia, Matthew records that 400000 men under the command of Malik joined Il-Ghazi (Part III, 84, p.227). See fn. 19 in the same chapter for examples of figurative allusions used by Matthew.

⁵⁰ Anna Comnena, Book XI, iii, p.342. Anna, like the other contemporary historians and chroniclers, does not provide exact figures; however, the numbers given are illustrative of the extent of the Turkish movement. Cited in Book XIV, iv, p.448, Anna states, "It was announced that the Turks were on the move from all lands of the east, even from Chorosan, to the number of 50000."

⁵¹ Kinnamos, Book VII, 2, p.221. Pertaining to the years 1159-1160, the numbers used by Kinnamos are exaggerations, "Thousands...even tens of thousands, armed and armored men [Türkmens] shamelessly fled" (Book IV, 22, p.146).

⁵² Choniates, Book III, 421, p.232.

In Attaliates and Matthew of Edessa numerous passages describing actions against the religious community and property are given which could be interpreted as *ghazi* actions; however, the contemporary historians and chroniclers do not refer to the Turks as *ghazis*, instead using a variety of other descriptive names which have already been noted. Concerning the ascription of motives to the Turks, a passage in Attaliates describing the actions of the Turks in Kayseri (1067), who up until they reached the city had ransacked the outlying regions, provides a detailed description of an incident against the bishop of St. Basil:

They [the barbarians/Turks] devastated everything, breaking into pieces all the sacred objects, and doing the same to the sepulchre of the Saint, but they could not damage the saint's relics - the tomb was very solid and encased with robust masonry whose destruction would require a long time - but they took the entry portals which were richly and splendidly ornamented in gold, pearls, and precious stones; they piled up all the ornamentation and carried it with them; they profaned the sanctuary and cut the throats of the people in the metropolitan of Caesarea.⁵³

⁵³ Cited in Attaliates, Book III, 94, p.17. "...Ils dévastent tout, mettent en pièces les objets sacrés, s'en prennent même au sépulchre du Saint, mais ne peuvent endommager les saintes reliques, - le tombeau en effet, est tres solides et entouré de maçonneries robustes dont la destruction demanderait pas mal de temps, - mais ils emmènent les portes de l'entrée, richement et splendidement ornées d'or, de perles et de pierres précieuses; ils entassent toute l'ornementation et l'emportent; ils profanent le sanctuaire et égorgent une foule de gens dans cette métropole de Césarée." Attaliates in Book IV, 135, p.31, during the reign of Romanus IV Diogenes (1068-1071) mentions, "They [the Turks] returned with the spoils [that they had acquired] toward the western region, crossing the Euphrates near Melitene, according to their habit, directly to the Cappadocian theme. Ransacking the areas along their advance, the

After the ransacking of Kayseri, the Turks, referred to as "barbarian", continued to pillage the littoral regions of Cilicia and Antioch which suffered due to the Turkish raids and attacks led by Alp Arslan. Regarding this passage, were the Turks actually inspired by a religious motive? Attaliates, himself, did not directly ascribe a religious interpretation although he detailed the actions against the bishop of St. Basil. In answer to this question, the extent to which the Turks actually understood Islam cannot be determined due to a paucity in the Armenian and Byzantine sources. Further passages in Attaliates describe the collection of booty and the taking of slaves for economic reasons amongst the Christian communities located in Anatolia; however, this fact does not mean that there was, initially, a religious motive.

In discussing the religious motives of the Turkish invaders, one perspective includes the religious interpretation by the Christian sources, namely Matthew of Edessa, who writes, "This nation of infidels comes against us because of our Christian faith and they are intent on destroying the ordinances of the worshippers of the cross and on exterminating the Christian faithful."⁵⁴ The occurrences in the eleventh and twelfth centuries

Seljuks finally arrived at Konya. It was an important city according to the population, the dimension of the walls, and by all other things which were useful." This passage although it does not comment about the group or the leader mentions the territory which the Turks had penetrated prior to Manzikert revealing the extent of the weakened Byzantine Empire. Another example by Attaliates referring to economic motives is cited in Book V, 198, p.54. "The Turks led a war against the Romans, massacring a large quantity of Christians, devastating villages and the countryside, and the eastern regions were depopulated...uncountable numbers of men were massacred there and some led into captivity."

⁵⁴ Matthew of Edessa, Part I, 71, p.69.

by the Turks against the Armenians were viewed as a punishment by God according to Matthew of Edessa, who states:

...[We] shall remember the divine wrath which we received from God the righteous judge as a penalty for our sins. Because of these many calamities - namely the destruction of the Christians and the reprimands which our Lord God brought upon us by means of an infidel nation - we did not wish that such threats and warnings of God be forgotten by us. Now it is essential to heed the admonition of our God ceaselessly and at all times.⁵⁵

These passages capture the emotive force behind the writing of Matthew concerning the actions of the Turks against his people in which he directly ascribes a religious interpretation. The statement, "the destruction of the Christians", can be interpreted as being actions taken against the infidel (Armenians and Byzantines) by the "ghazi", a term which he never uses. Yet his accounts and his frequent use of the word "infidel" strongly suggests that he viewed the motives of the Turks as being religiously inspired.

Numerous passages are given of the pillaging of Christian towns inspired for economic reasons, but whose actions were against the Christian community. In 1059-1060, Matthew states that three emirs from the Persian court - Samuk, 'Amr-Kāfūr, and Kijaziz - entered Armenia. They went to Sebasteia (Sivas) where they intended to capture Atom and Abusahl, the sons of Senek'erim, king of Vaspurakan from 1003 to 1021:

⁵⁵ Matthew of Edessa, Part II, 1, p.83.

The city of Sebasteia was unfortified, but the infidels at first did not dare enter it, for they saw a great number of domed churches painted white and thought that they were the tents of enemy troops...Together with countless booty and men and women captives, they led boys and girls into slavery and seized and carried off from Sebasteia treasures of gold and silver without measure, precious stones and pearls, and also brocades; for this city was the residence of the Armenian kings...What shall I say about the priests and deacons and about six hundred churches which were in the city, for all were destroyed by the sword? Many maidens, brides, and distinguished ladies were led into captivity to Persia and within a short time Sebasteia became like a burned-out hut. The infidel forces stayed in Sebasteia for eight days, and then, marching forth, went back to Persia with countless and innumerable captives.⁵⁶

This passage details the economic intention: the collection of booty and the taking of captives. The Turkish forces (whose ethnic background, religious following, and status, i.e. fugitive or nomad are not stated), led by Seljuk emirs conducted different actions against the secular and religious community. After the pillaging and collecting of captives, the Turkish troops did not occupy the city but returned to Persia. Religious and economic motives were involved, but one cannot be said to have surpassed the other.

⁵⁶ Ibid., Part II, 12, pp.95. Prior to this account Matthew describes similar actions taken against the town of Hasraw in 1058-1059 as cited in Part II, 8, p.310. He states, "...distinguished and beautiful ladies and boys and pretty girls - all who were to be led into captivity; also countless treasure of gold and silver [was carried before the emir]. Rising up, he [Tuğrul] marched forth rejoicing and began the journey back to Persia and, crossing the Euphrates River, wintered in Handzit."

Concerning the actions taken against the religious community, the understanding of Islam by the perpetrators of the acts cannot be assumed. The actions and the actors can, therefore, not be placed into a particular, exclusive category. Another example is the description of an incursion in 1062-1063:

Three great and illustrious men, Slar-Khorasan, Chmchm, and Isulv came forth from the court of the Sultan Tuğrul. Shedding much blood, they came against the Christian peoples. Reaching the territory of Paghin with many troops, full of rage they shed blood of many faithful with the sword and enslaved the whole area. Going forth from there, they came like deadly serpents and reached the territory of T'lkhum and Arkni and found the entire area unprepared [for war]. When they saw the whole land and region unfortified, they were exceedingly glad...the infidels surrounded the church, and the faithful, who had communed, came out of the church one by one to the bloodthirsty beasts; they, in turn, butchered the Christian faithful.⁵⁷

The following passages which detail actions of the Turks who were led by Seljuk leaders underline another distinction - religiously inspired actions on the part of the leaders as opposed to that of the Turks. The leaders of the Persian court presumably had a sounder understanding of Islamic practices which allowed them to inspire their forces to combat the Christian in the

⁵⁷ Ibid., Part II, 15, pp.97-98. Another incident cited in Part II, 20, p.102, occurred in 1064-65, in Georgia. "He [Alp Arslan] captured Akhalk'alak and mercilessly slaughtered all the inhabitants with the sword down to the last man and woman, butchering all the priests, monks, and nobles. The whole town was filled with blood, and the Turks led innumerable young boys and girls into captivity to Persia; moreover, they took treasures of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls, amounting to an incalculable sum."

name of Holy War. Nonetheless, these passages illustrate the economic motives of the Turks, who at the same time satisfied their personal material satisfaction and that of the Seljuk leaders besides committing religiously inspired actions.

In the sources, there is a distinction between the Turks and their various motives, on the one hand, and the sultans and their policies which are eulogized by the Byzantine and Armenian historians on the other. Matthew of Edessa, for example, describes Malik-Shah as being "a kind and merciful man, [he] was very benevolent towards the Christian faithful."⁵⁸ Prior to Manzikert, there seems to have been more massacring of the Christian population and the taking of captives to the Seljuk court in Persia. However, accounts of the massacring of the Christian population are not as prevalent in Anna Comnena, Kinnamos, and Choniates possibly because they were writing from Constantinople, whereas Matthew witnessed himself what was happening in the eastern regions and therefore detailed the destructive acts. Yet, Anna Comnena, Kinnamos, and Choniates describe other tactics and mention similar motives, i.e. the taking of captives and the collection of booty, in their works.

⁵⁸ Ibid., Part II, 58, p.137. Cited in Part II, 86, p.153, Malik-Shah is also described as having a "heart filled with benevolence, gentleness, and compassion for the Christians; he showed fatherly affection for all inhabitants of the lands and so gained control of many towns and regions without resistance." This passage also reveals the weakened Armenian state which Matthew previously explained in Part II, 13, p.96, as being due to the strife between Byzantine-Armenian relations resulting in the destruction of the Armenian defensive walls by the Romans thus allowing for the further penetration of the Turks into Anatolia. Barkiyaruq, who succeeded Malik-Shah was considered the ruler who, "began to make Armenia prosper once again and to protect all the monasteries from harrassment by the Persians." Cited in Part II, 98, p.158.

In 1100, in the region of Amaseia (Amasya), Anna writes, "The Turks, who are skilled in warfare, occupied all the villages on their route and burnt all food supplies before they arrived, then quickly attacked them."⁵⁹ This tactic is also cited in Choniates, who states that a strategy used by the Turks against the Byzantines was to burn the foraging grass and contaminate the water.⁶⁰ Choniates continues by mentioning that Sulayman would send his troops on his "customary forays of plunder" against Anatolian towns.⁶¹ During the reign of Kaykhusraw in 1198, there is an example given in Choniates concerning the continuing practice of taking captives. Since Kaykhusraw was angered by the actions of the Emperor Alexius Angelus (1194-1203), he fell upon the towns of Karia and Tantalos along the Meander enslaving "those in the prime of life" and continuing on to Antiocheia in Phrygia.⁶² Plunder and pillage are salient factors throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Yet instances of massacres are not described in the later chronicles and histories even though it does not mean that massacres did not occur possibly due to the above stated reason.

As the Anatolian Seljuks replaced the Great Seljuks, the sultans initiated more policies which assisted in the gradual Turkification of

⁵⁹ Anna Comnena, Book XI, viii, p.356. The attack was against the Normans.

⁶⁰ Choniates, Book V, 179, p.101. These types of descriptions are not found in Matthew of Edessa.

⁶¹ Ibid., Book III, 124, p.71. According to Choniates, the more ills inflicted upon the Byzantines received more gifts or appeasement for reconciliation and pacification by the Byzantines.

⁶² Choniates, Book VI, 493, p.272. Due to the violation of the peace treaty by Kaykhusraw, Alexios had "the Byzantine and Turkish merchants who had come to Constantinople from Ikonion cast into prison and confiscated their possessions." This action consequently angered Kaykhusraw.

Anatolia. A distinction can therefore be made between the intentions of the Great Seljuks, prior to the establishment of the Anatolian Seljuks, and the Türkmens. The Great Seljuks pacified the Türkmens by leading them on raids, which not only satisfied the "warrior" spirit of the Türkmens, but also enabled the collection of captives for the Seljuk slave market. However, with the establishment of the Anatolian Seljuks, the sources reveal differences in the treatment of the resident population and the latter's gradual submission and acceptance of Turkish rule. This marks the process of "Islamization" and "Turkification" in Anatolia, as noted by Vryonis. Several passages will illustrate this point. After describing the siege of Dadibra (located on the Halys River), the city was given to the "Turk" under an oath which stated:

Everyone was to depart unharmed, together with his nearest and dearest and his possessions, free to go wherever he liked, since the barbarian would allow no one to stay behind. He would not agree in any way whatsoever that they should pay him tribute...The citizens left and dispersed throughout other provinces and cities. Many constructed wooden huts near their native city with the permission of the Turk and remained behind, putting on the yoke of slavery because the sweetness of their cherished city could not be wiped from their memory...The emperor made peace with the Turk (December 1196) and gladly paid the tribute that had been demanded before the fall of Dadibra.⁶³

This passage illustrates the intention of the Anatolian Seljuk sultans to have a Turkish-Muslim population to settle Dadibra.

⁶³ Choniates, Book VI, 475, p.260.

With the establishment of the Anatolian Seljuks, which replaced Byzantine authority in certain Anatolian regions, the population under their domain was composed of non-Turkish settlers, besides a large number of nomads who were not skilled in trade and artisanship. The Seljuk sultans thus employed the native Christians for these purposes as illustrated in the following passage. Choniates gives an account of the Christian inhabitants of the islets of Lake Pousgousse (Beyşehir Gölü) who began to intermingle with the Turks and to engage in commercial activity with them. Choniates states that, "Custom is stronger than race or religion."⁶⁴ However, as has been stated, the Seljuk sultans followed a policy which created an economic base.

In the next passage, the same factor is present, i.e. the Turkish settlers were not sufficient to populate the newly conquered lands, especially the Turkish peasant population was not numerous enough. The Seljuk sultans therefore employed the Christian peasants by transplanting them from other regions and by giving them privileges. Choniates recounts an expedition by Kaykhusraw in 1198-1199, whereby he took as captives and as slaves the inhabitants of Lampe and settled them in Philomilion. In Philomilion, the captives were:

Assigned to unwallled villages and apportioned fertile lands for cultivation; he then provided grain and seed for the sowing of the crops. Indeed, he filled them with high hopes, assuring them that once he and the emperor were reconciled and had renewed the former

⁶⁴ Ibid., Book I, 37, p.22. Kinnamos makes a similar observation in his account of the same event. Cited in Book I, 10, p.26.

treaties, their reward would be to return home. Should the emperor decide on another course of action, they would remain tribute-free for five whole years, relieved of all tax collectors; afterwards, he would impose upon them a light tax which would never exceed the limit, as is customary among the Romans, nor would it be increased many times. Giving orders to this effect, he returned to Ikonion. His humane pronouncement had two effects; it did not permit any of the captives to remember their homeland and it also attracted to Philomilion many who had not fallen into the Turks' hands but who had heard of what the Turk had done for their kinsmen and countrymen.⁶⁵

As stated, the passages above exemplify the methods of colonization under the Anatolian Seljuks in order to employ a skilled, sedentary population, thereby allowing for economic activity and at the same time integrating the non-Turkish population with the unskilled, nomadic population.

Thus far, our examination has only been directed at the recording and interpretation of the Turkish movements by Byzantine and Armenian historians. Yet an analysis of Turkish epics, *The Book of Dede Korkut* and *The Danishmendname*, is essential in order to address the issue of the self-

⁶⁵ Choniates, Book VI, 495, pp.272-273. Gregory the Priest who continued the chronicle of Matthew of Edessa states that in 1157-1158, "Stephen [brother of Toros] took these people, accustomed to a life of ease and comfort, and settled them in a disagreeable and inhospitable land. Finally, bringing to mind the ruin of the divinely-protected fortress of Behesni and the afflictions of the Christians, the sultan [Kılıç II Arslan], in keeping with his wise nature, used every means at his disposal to replace the oppressor of the fortress-town. After this...the inhabitants of the place gradually returned, and this formerly depopulated and plundered town became inhabited once again." Cited in Matthew of Edessa, 32, p.268.

identification of the Turks. Attaliates, commenting upon the attitude of the Turks, writes:

The Turks accept victory humanely and with wisdom without being vainglorious...they do not only attribute their victory to themselves but also to God, because they think that their success is given to them from their proper forces.⁶⁶

Attaliates assigns a religious interpretation for the actions of the Turks which can be coupled with the comment by Paul Mirabile in his introduction to *The Book of Dede Korkut* which states:

Warriors fight and die for their gods. It is written that these brave warriors, or *gazi, eren*, fight for Muhammad: the fighters of the faith, *gazi erenler*. Nevertheless, if the 'form' is Islamic, the 'soul' is Shamanist. Long before the great religions, warriors lived and died for their gods, death opening before them the mysteries of life...It provided the Turkic nomads with an ideal to their existence, a goal, an End, an eschatological conception of life. The instinct to move ever forward and die in this flight forward arose from an awesome impulsion to live, conquer, and be killed for the gods.⁶⁷

Although this passage romanticizes the Central Asian nomad, Mirabile eloquently expresses the double nature of the Turks and their "religious faces". In reference to the two Turkish waves, there is a distinction between

⁶⁶ Attaliates, Book IV, 164, p.46.

⁶⁷ Paul Mirabile (trans.), *The Book of the Oghuz Peoples or Legends Told and Sung by Dede Korkut*, Istanbul: Stil A.S., no date given, p.3.

the first wave, as represented by new converts to Islam who also continued their shamanistic traditions, and the second wave, which was more represented by dervishes and Turks who were not new "worshippers" of the Islamic faith as represented in the *Danishmendname*.

In the epic, there is a juxtaposition presented between these two "religious faces":

I have come to cross your mountain that lies askew.
I have come to ford your beautiful flowing water.
I have come to take shelter in your narrow hidden
spaces, in your wide skirts.⁶⁸

You are higher than the high!
No one knows who You are,
Saintly God,...
Great God, him whom You strike, whom you don't
make great.
True God, him whom You crush, whom You make
disappear.
Beautiful God, him whom You lift, whom You make
reach, the sky.⁶⁹

The first one representing shamanistic elements contrasts with the second one which conveys monotheistic beliefs (i.e. of Islam). Both passages are

⁶⁸ Mirabile, p.3.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p.176.

representative of a cultural synthesis and of a religious syncretism, which slowly developed over the course of four centuries, with elements being present in the epics.

In *The Book of Dede Korkut*, a collection of twelve stories set during the time of the "heroic age" of the Oğuz Turks in the ninth and tenth century, but given their present form after the beginning of the thirteenth century, contains various categories concerning the self-identification of the Turks (warrior, religious fighter against the infidel and shamanistic follower), their motives (religious and economic), and their lifestyle (nomadic). The "warrior" character who is placed within different situations, has the following attributions, "He has cut off heads, spilled blood, taken booty, and won a name."⁷⁰ The "warrior" thus gains honor through the actions listed in the above quote referring to the quest for economic gain and for battle. In addition, the attributes of the "warrior" also include the fight against the "infidel", who, being defined as being of "savage religion", is not distinguished by ethnicity or by a particular religion. An example passage states, "I was keeping my black steel sword for this day...I shall let it cut off the heads of foul-religioned infidels for you."⁷¹ The Turks thus recognized "war against the infidel" as being an element worthy of stature.

Besides the identification of the "warrior" as battling the "infidel", which is also a religious motivation, the characters are also portrayed as continuing shamanistic practices and beliefs as represented by the following passage which states, "If I do not come then you will know that I am dead.

⁷⁰ Geoffrey Lewis (trans.), *The Book of Dede Korkut*, London: Penguin Classics, 1974, p.89.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.92.

Slaughter my stallion and give a funeral feast for me."⁷² According to shamanism, if a warrior dies, his horse, which is the vehicle of flight for the warrior to the other world, is killed. In some passages, when the horses are in trouble, the warriors invoke the Prophet Muhammad and perform the Muslim prayer, which are not exercised when there is no trouble. Even though the Turks had converted to Islam, the epic portrays a group who are recent converts with not necessarily a basic understanding of the tenets. The claim is not that the Turk's "simplistic knowledge" meant that they were not *ghazis*, instead, as has been stated, there were different levels of understanding.

The epic, besides providing examples of Turks motivated for religious reasons, describes their nomadic lifestyle, as represented in the following passage:

My black mountain, peak on peak, can be your summer-pasture.
My cold cold stream can be your drink.
My stables of falcon-swift horses can be your mount.
My gold-topped tent can be your shade.
My caravan on caravan of camels can be your beasts of burden.
My white sheep in the folds can be your feast.⁷³

The descriptions of Turks practicing a nomadic lifestyle and fighting against the infidel while still continuing their shamanistic traditions illustrates the diversity of the term "Turk" which is further represented by examples in *The*

⁷² Ibid., p.165.

⁷³ Ibid., p.114.

Danishmendname, a thirteenth-century Türkmen epic surviving in a fourteenth-century adaptation by the chronicler 'Ārif 'Āli from Tokat who included the first *geste* by Mevlānā Ibn 'Alā. The central personage is that of the chief Melik Danishmend whose exploits in the regions of Amasya, Tokat, and Niksar in the eleventh and twelfth centuries are related. However, the validity of using these epics to construct a Turkish self-identity is scarred as the epics reflect elements of a later period since they were not recorded during the time of the events.

The portrayal of the Türkmen nomadic actions in the *Danishmendname* differs from *The Legend of Dede Korkut* as the epic, written in the thirteenth century, initially, a product of oral tradition, describes earlier actions assigning developed characters and motives within an Islamic context. The epic, portraying a nomadic social organism in the milieu of religious syncretism, shows a distinction between the "infidel" and the Muslim.

Throughout the epic, there is a strong religious element which dictates all actions, successes and failures. Statements and prayers directed to God underline the significance of religion to the Turks who by the fourteenth century, at the time of the adaptation of the epic, were more familiar with the tenets of Islam as opposed to the new Turkish converts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The epic begins with the following passage, "...God is great!...without the name of God no work is perfect - we will describe to his

memory the history of Melik."⁷⁴ In the fourth chapter, the prayer of Artuḥī, the companion of Danishmend, illustrates the importance that God is given:

O God, You know all my secrets, / all my sins are known to Your Majesty! / You know our secret actions before we have committed them, / and, by Your mercy, You cover our shameful actions!...O Creator of the World! All Powerful! O God! All that is difficult is, for You, easy! My misfortune is known by Your Majesty! O My God! Assistance emanates from You! Grace emanates from You!⁷⁵

Besides the prominence of prayer in the *Geste*, there are also examples of Islamic practices being followed, such as instances where the rites of ablution are performed at sunrise before battling against the infidels.⁷⁶ Another passage states:

⁷⁴ Translated in Irène Mélikoff, *La Geste de Malik Danismend*, Paris, vol. 1, 1960, p.189.

"...Dieu est grand!...sans le nom de Dieu aucun travail n'est parfait - nous rappellerons à la mémoire l'histoire de Melik."

⁷⁵ Ibid., p.240. "O Dieu, Tu connais tous mes secrets, / tous mes péchés sont connus à Ta Majesté! / Tu connais nos actions secrètes avant que nous ne les ayons commises, / et, par Ta miséricorde, Tu couvres nos actions honteuses!...O Créator des Mondes! O Tout Puissant! O Dieu! Tout ce qui est difficile est, pour Toi, facile! Mon malheur est connu de Ta Majesté! O Mon Dieu! L'aide émane de Toi! La grâce émane de Toi!" An example of a "Praise to the Prophet" is cited in the second chapter, p.211. "...Le soleil et la lune sont faits de la lumière de son visage, / et tous, riches et pauvres, sont ses esclaves. / Il a rempli le monde de ses qualités de Prophète / et toutes les âmes sont pleines de sa majesté! / C'est son épée qui verse le sang des Mécréants / et c'est lui qui porte la bannière de l'Islam! / Il est le Pilier de la Religion, la Défense de la Religion, / et c'est par son épée qu'il a fait triompher la Religion! / Sa perfection, son savoir, son esprit et son intelligence, / son courage, sa générosité et sa bonté, / ont rempli complètement la religion et le monde. / Entre dans sa religion pour trouver la sécurité!"

⁷⁶ Ibid., p.222.

At nightfall, the drummers had given the signal for rest and the three chiefs had taken the road to the convent. They had done their ablutions, had said their prayers, had given grace to God, then they had eaten, had prayed...⁷⁷

This illustrates the prevalence of Islamic beliefs and practices in the life of the Turks.

The actions of the Turks in the epic are described as *ghazi*, who fight against the infidel (*mécéant*) differing from the Byzantine and Armenian sources which never assign the name *ghazi*. In the first chapter, there is a passage pertaining to *ghazi*, "All the ghazis came to make war against the Infidels and they killed a great number."⁷⁸ Furthermore, in battling against the army of Nestor, an enemy of Danishmend who practices a secret religion, the epic states:

The ghazis rushed in pursuit and killed to satisfaction. Then, they retraced their steps, pillaged the tents, collected the treasures left by the Infidels, set themselves up in the camp and, having put aside for the Caliph, forty bundles of merchandise, one hundred slaves, fifty *odalisques*, they shared the rest amongst the army.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Ibid., p.225. "A la tombée de la nuit, les tambours donnèrent le signal du repos et les trois chefs reprirent le chemin du couvent. Ils firent leurs ablutions, dirent leurs prières, rendirent grâce à Dieu, puis ils mangèrent, prièrent..." The passage continues with Efromiya, the wife of Artuḫī, climbing to the top of the convent to take guard as the others sleep.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p.198. "Tous ces gāzis vinrent faire la guerre aux Mécéants et ils tuèrent un grand nombre."

⁷⁹ Ibid., p.250. "Les gāzis se lancèrent à sa poursuite et tuèrent à satiété. Puis, ils revinrent sur leurs pas, pillèrent les tentes, ramassèrent les trésors laissés par les Mécéants, s'installèrent

This passage first identifies the Turks as *ghazis*, describes the actions of pillaging and collecting slaves for the Caliph, which were motives of the Turks as mentioned in preceding sections, and finally states that the *ghazis* then shared the goods.

The actions of the *ghazi*, likewise, are not always directed against the infidel in order to obtain economic satisfaction. At the same time the infidel is also the object to whom conversions are performed or encouraged. In one instance, a Christian converses with a Muslim asking the Muslim to prove why Islam is the true religion, "If you invite us to accept Islam, show us something to prove to us that your religion is the true one, then we will become Muslim."⁸⁰

The identity of the *ghazis* is salient within the epic; however, there are references to other participants, for example in describing another campaign against Nestor, "Muslims, warriors, and ghazis" (who assemble around Melik

dans le camp et, après avoir mis de côté pour le Caliphe, quarante ballots de marchandises, cent esclaves, cinquante odalisques, ils partagèrent le reste entre l'armée." Another example of actions taken against the Infidels by the *ghazis* pertains to the taking of Tokat, p.257. "Puis, Melik Dānişmend rouvrit la porte et les Musulmans entrèrent dans la forteresse et la pillèrent. Ils amassèrent tant de marchandises et de prisonniers que Dieu seul en sait le compte! On partagea tous les biens de la forteresse, cent esclaves, cent odalisques, cent chevaux, cent mulets, cent chameaux, deux charges de chameaux de croix en or rouge, et envoya le tout au Calife. Quand le Calife reçut ces biens et ces esclaves, il remplit ses trésors et s'émerveilla de la bonne fortune de Melik Dānişmend."

⁸⁰ Ibid., p.427. "Si tu nous invites à prendre l'Islam, montre-nous quelque chose qui nous prouve que votre religion est la vraie, alors nous nous ferons Musulmans."

for the morning prayer) are designated⁸¹. This suggests that there were possibly non-Muslim warriors (maybe fighters from the *uc*) fighting along side Muslims. Although there is a strong *ghazi* element in the epic, the lifestyle of the warrior is identified as nomadic. In the second chapter, Melik asks Artuḫī about his father. He responds, "My father was a nomad, he was a mountain dweller...he had two thousand tents under his authority. He had forty wives, but no children."⁸²

Between the two Turkish epics, the *Danishmendname*, which does not represent the shamanistic element of the Turks, captures a strong religious belief in the power of God and man as His servant. However, *The Legend of Dede Korkut* is important to the understanding of the Turkish character as it represents their Central Asian traditions which were imposed upon an Anatolian setting. The fourteenth-century adaptation of the *Danishmendname* does present problems as a developed religious understanding is placed within an eleventh- and twelfth-century context. In contrast to the Byzantine and Armenian histories and chronicles, whose portrayal of the Turks is a product of the social milieu of the time and of a specific "cultural context" whereby the documentation creates a division between the sedentary and the "other", the epics, emphasizing elements characteristic to a later period than that of the actions, creates a sense of a *jiḥad-ghaza* environment.

⁸¹ Ibid., p.334. "Musulmans, guerriers et gazis s'assemblèrent autour de Melik et firent la prière du matin."

⁸² Ibid., p.206. "Mon père était nomade, il était montagnard... il avait douze mille tentes sous son autorité. Il avait quarante femmes, mais pas d'enfants."

Conclusion

In the introduction, questions were raised concerning the interrelated issues of the interpretation of events, one pertaining to the bias of the sources, and the other to that of the modern historian. Concerning the Turkish movements into Anatolia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the complexity and dynamic sociocultural and political atmosphere located on the border between the Christian and Muslim lands during this time period, has provided modern scholars with a myriad of topics, ranging from the institutions of the Anatolian Seljuk state to the rise of the Ottoman Empire. Although there has been a significant amount of scholarship directed toward this era, a detailed examination of the term "Turk" (including Türkmens, *ghazis*, warriors on the *uc*, etc.) and of the various motives which inspired the Turks (search for pasture, collection of booty and slaves, and the ideal of *Jihad-ghaza*), has not been undertaken to this date. The problem with a comprehensive investigation, first of all, stems from the languages required to deal with the sources and second, the acquisition of source materials. Pertaining to this topic, the lack of written materials thus requires the student to include numismatic, epigraphic, and architectural elements. In reference to this present enterprise, an overview of secondary scholarship focused upon the aspects of interpretation and the approach to a study of the Turks. This was followed by a thematic approach with a chronological treatment of the sources, i.e. Michael Attaliates, Matthew of Edessa, Anna Comnena, John Kinnamos, and Niketas Choniates.

Turkish scholarship, as represented by Köprülü, Kafesoğlu, and Turan, focused upon the ideas of world domination and "ghaza theory". The

contribution by Köprülü, who emphasized the social forces comprising the "march-frontier" primarily in reference to the second Turkish wave of the mid-thirteenth century, provided a framework in which to perceive the dynamic forces in the first wave. However, the nationalist-feeling of Turkish historiographical writing caused the value of his corpus of work to be questioned by non-Turkish scholars.

Concerning non-Turkish scholarship, Wittek, who also emphasized the "march-frontier" as being a vital element to the study of Anatolian dynamics and the rise of the Ottomans, focused more upon an inclusive meaning of the "ghaza theory" pertaining to various forces (nomadic and tribal factors). Although the contribution by Cahen was that of an event-oriented analysis of the Anatolian Seljuk period with a discussion of social and political institutions, he also looked at the nomadic element which was present amongst the Turkish movements. However, he, like Wittek, did not focus upon the term of "Turk" and its participants, instead using "umbrella" designations. Vryonis, unlike Wittek and Cahen, looked at the ideas of nomadization and Islamization in order to explain the cultural transformation, i.e. Turkification, of Anatolia which lasted from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, thereby directing interest toward the topic of nomadism. Vryonis essentially describes the Turkish movements in terms of a nomadic invasion which contrasts with the "ghazi" feeling captured in the Turkish epics.

Although Turkish and Western scholarship have acknowledged and discussed the nomadic element concerning medieval Anatolia, anthropological studies on Central/Inner Asian nomadic practices provide a

framework within which to examine historical nomadic descriptions and documentations in the contemporary sources. Concerning the application of anthropological definitions and models of nomadism, Keith Hopwood has presented an alternative approach in studying pre-Ottoman Anatolian history. According to Hopwood, nomadism must be viewed upon a "spectrum", a point which underlies the necessity for a re-interpretation of the Turkish movements into Anatolia.

In approaching the contemporary sources and the information that they provide on the Turkish movements, the Byzantine and Armenian sources, themselves, present problems. Besides misusing terms pertaining to ethnicity due to the historians' lack of understanding ethnic distinctions, they also ascribe religious interpretations to the actions of the Turks as in the case of Matthew of Edessa. In addition, the descriptions of various activities do not have a designated motive. These factors have, on the one hand, resulted in confusion pertaining to the understanding of the Turkish movements, and on the other, provided clarification. Furthermore, the contemporary historians and chroniclers must be viewed as representing the cultural context as a product of the social milieu of the eleventh and twelfth century. The gradual decline of the Byzantine Empire along with the weakening of the Byzantine and Armenian societal fabric was the backdrop for the entering Turks. The result was, therefore, an "interface" between the sedentary and nomadic factors.

In the two Turkish epics, the *Legend of Dede Korkut* and the *Danishmendname*, which portray an Islamic religious community whose warriors are addressed as *ghazis*, the Turkish groups are not specifically

designated as nomads although nomadic practices are related. Even though the *Legend of Dede Korkut* describes elements of shamanism and Islam, representing the early Oğuzian period, and the *Danishmendname* portrays the Turks as understanding the Islamic tenets, the problem of their reliability stems from the period in which the epics were recorded, both occurring in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but pertaining to an earlier period.

The investigation of the Turkish movements in the eleventh and twelfth century is a topic that has hence called for a re-interpretation and re-examination. The contemporary sources which have a sympathetic tone of their own predicament must be viewed as portraying a conflict between sedentary-nomadic societies. In addition, the actual transition of the Turkish nomads to sedentary participants in a Turkish state can also be examined as reflective of a dynamic cultural transformation. Laying out the complexity of the term "Turk" and the various participants it embraces, therefore, is essential in understanding the diverse forces present in the first Turkish wave, which paved the way for the establishment of the Ottomans.

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