Explorations in Ottoman Prehistory

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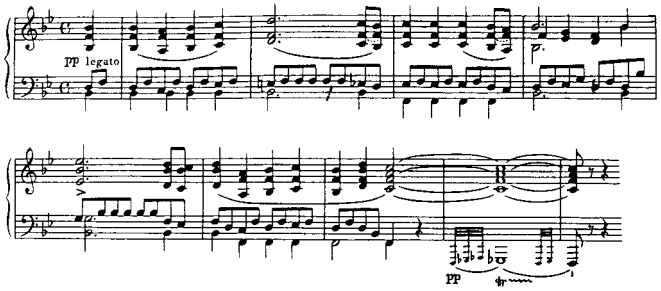

For Molly, Clare, and Beile

Contents

Acknowledgments

This book began in an Ann Arbor classroom, as I became more and more uneasy, term after term, with my treatment of the origins of Ottoman history and Ottoman history writing. From 1992 to 1994, my work on this subject continued by a window overlooking a garden in Rome, where I felt more at ease, if not entirely at peace. Then I put it away to work on the history of astrophysics. Back in Ann Arbor, conversations with Colin Heywood, Colin Imber, David Morgan, Clive Foss, and John Masson Smith, Jr., convinced me to finish the work on Ottoman history and send it forth. Now I would like to thank those who helped me along the way (although I am solely responsible for the detours and wrong turnings).

There are four scholars to whom I owe the lion's share of thanks, for their encouragement, good humor, and sense of proportion as I reported my real and imagined progress. Jacob Lassner, the late Allin Luther, and Michael Bonner spent many hours discussing foundation facts and legends with me, and John Masson Smith, Jr., my master, kindly gave the penultimate draft of the work a careful reading and served as a sounding board for many of my ideas.

Clive Foss deserves special thanks for sharing with me his travel experiences over the areas covered in this book, and I am particularly grateful to him for showing me a draft of his monograph on the geography of early Ottoman conquest. My colleague and neighbor Jonathan Marwil provided a critical reading of the manuscript at a crucial point in its gestation.

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their generosity to me and my family. I owe a special debt to the late Msgr. Leonard Boyle and to Msgr. Paul Canart of the Vatican Library, where I had the pleasure of confronting the best manuscript of Pachymeres and the most troublesome manuscript of Aşıkpaşazade. In Rome, I was able to discuss a few crucial points with Anthony Luttrell, who was most generous with his time. Thanks are also due to the Horace H. Rackham Graduate School, for enabling me and my family to extend our stay in Rome. A grant from the Israel Fulbright Commission made it possible for me to try out my ideas before colleagues in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, one of the most exhilarating experiences of my life as a scholar. I am particularly grateful to Professor Reuven Amitai for his assistance and goodwill.

I would like to thank the "relevant Turkish authorities" for permitting me access to the libraries and archives of Turkey during the preparation of this book—but I cannot.

No work of this kind can progress without access to a great library, and the staff of the Graduate Library of the University of Michigan have been unfailingly kind in creating and extending a magnificent collection for late Byzantine and early Ottoman studies. During years of budgetary stringency, they never refused me anything, and I am glad to take this opportunity to thank them. I also wish to thank the authorities of the Pontifical Oriental Institute, the Accademia dei Lincei, and the German Archaeological Institute in Rome for their courtesies.

All authors work alone, but I never felt lonely. My family provided me the time to ponder this work and the respite away from it, cheerfully submitting to my abstracted moments when it must have seemed that I was, for all intents and purposes, in Tibet. Molly, Clare, and Beile have been my strongest supporters, and I thank them for their talent at transforming work into play, Schubert into history.

Setting the Stage

Naturally, in their legends, they projected their own ideals back into history, so that now we may look into history for the causes of the emergence of these all-pervasive ideals. We cannot believe things happened as the legends say. But what the legends mean is that the ancient past was of a certain character, such a character that men who came at the end of it described it in just this (to us) unacceptable way.

—Joseph R. Levenson and Franz Schurmann,
China: An Interpretive History

The rise of the Ottoman enterprise to a position from which it threatened Europe took one century, and after two hundred years it dominated the Near East. After the Turks began to disturb the thoughts of their neighbors, there was no lack of chroniclers and commentators, from beyond as well as within their borders. Once the wheel of fortune had turned, there was an even greater number of works whose authors wanted to bemoan, exult in, explain, and comment on the fall of the mighty. The beginnings of the Ottomans' career did not, however, receive such care and attention from contemporaries. As for the curtain-raiser, the stage remained murky, the set unfinished, the orchestra out of tune; and even today, few have paid attention to the overture. At the outset of this particular visit, a program, at the very least, might help to avoid later confusion. I begin with the setting, then introduce those responsible for the script and review briefly the existing program notes.

Thirteenth-century Anatolia was a land of great wealth, exploited to a degree unknown since the heyday of Rome. Although the Fourth Crusade (1204) had forced many ruling Byzantines to seek refuge and temporary solace in Anatolia, the emperors, churchmen, and administrators of Nicaea, the Byzantine successor state in the west of the peninsula, became excellent stewards of their reduced estates and spent two

generations expanding their resources in preparation for the return to Constantinople. By 1261, the capital was again in Byzantine hands, Michael VIII had usurped the throne, and a substantial volume of trade crossed Anatolia, much of it coming from the central plateau, now under Muslim control. Among Byzantinists, the extent of the Palaeologan "Renaissance" is an object of debate, but there were resources available for a number of fields, including literary production. For the reigns of Michael VIII and his son Andronikos II up until 1307, we have the comprehensive chronicle of George Pachymeres, who had a special interest in Anatolian developments, which, he concluded, had been decisive in undermining Byzantine strength. Unfortunately, Pachymeres describes the Ottomans only for the last six years of his chronicle. Of those chroniclers who wrote after Pachymeres, the polymath Nikephoros Gregoras had less interest in the East, and the soldier-emperor John Kantakouzenos had his own deeds to explain and set in the best possible light, which casts a shadow on his treatment of the Ottomans. We are exceptionally fortunate, however, to have the chronicles of these three authors, as well as some brief annals that provide precise dates, and it is tempting to base the early Ottoman story on the Byzantine perspective alone, for it appears to be less deliberately misleading (and is substantially closer to the events) than the later Ottoman chronicles. Professor Colin Imber comes close to doing just this, which renders his treatment of the early Ottoman years pithy and concise.

The Byzantine wealth accumulated in exile was, however, only a fraction of what was amassed and dispersed in the East, in the lands of the Muslim rulers of Rum, the Seljuks. Military encounters help define the stages of Anatolian history during their rise. The battle of Manzikert (in east Anatolia, near Lake Van) had opened up the central plateau to thousands of Turkish nomads in 1071; the battle of Myriokephalon in 1176, far to the west, had deprived the Byzantines of hope that they might retrieve the central Anatolian plateau, and a battle near Pisidian Antioch in 1211 not only defined the western edge of the plateau as the frontier between Byzantium and "Turchia" but was also the last Byzantine-Seljuk battle of any consequence. The Fourth Crusade and the Latin conquest of Constantinople forced many Constantinopolitan leaders east. On the plateau, a Seljuk succession dispute among the heirs of the victor of Myriokephalon, which began in 1190, led to civil war and fragmented rule for fifteen years—until 1205, when the Seljuk sultanate was again united in one person.

The lack of sources providing an internal glimpse of twelfth-century Seljuk history in Anatolia cannot prevent our appreciating just what the Turks managed between 1071 and 1204. The Seljuks and their occasional allies, the Turkmen nomads, had appropriated the plateau, taken over the management of its towns, and spread animal husbandry further among its fields. The introduction of Seljuk silver currency and the construction of the first urban mosques and rural caravansaries in the later twelfth century point toward a growth in trade and patronage. The introduction of Persian names among the Seljuk princes reflects the adoption of Perso-Islamic culture and its values at court.

The following generation saw the apogee of the Rum Seljuk achievement, identified with Alaeddin Kayqubad I (1220–37), a figure of legend in later Turkish folklore and chronicle. Turks broke through Byzantine defenses in the north and south and gained outlets to the sea at Antalya and Sinope, whence trade became possible as far west as Venice and as far north as the Crimea. For the first time in Anatolian history, a network of caravansaries marked the main routes along which goods (minerals, salt, wood, alum, horses, slaves) and ideas marched from north to south and west to east. Patronage of architecture, arts, and letters flourished at a court so wealthy that rumors of amphorae molded of gold reached Joinville, the biographer of Louis IX. While there was some gold around for the taking, there were substantial amounts of silver: at one time or another during the thirteenth century, ten mines were producing silver to be struck into coins at nearby mints. An era of greatness, of power capable of extension to the southeast in the direction of the great classical centers of Islam, seemed in prospect. Not even a furious—but brief—invasion of Turks from the east, fleeing the Mongols and hoping to force their way into the Anatolian larder, changed the picture, although it may have precipitated more than hopes of plunder among some of those who remained in Anatolia.

The civilization that Seljuk wealth supported was not, however, that of the nomads whose migrations had mastered so much of the peninsula. The sultans became great patrons of a more settled model of civilization. Their court style was Persian, their scholars wrote Persian and Arabic, their cultural centers were the trade cities, and even their names were taken from Persian myth. Their interest in Sufi thought and the welcome accorded the mystic Rumi does not alter the fact that his work is among the classics of Persian, not Turkish, literature. There was,

then, a growing separation—especially after 1211 and the decline of a Byzantine military threat—between the interests of a sedentary, classicizing sultanate and administration and the interests of the nomads who had helped make it possible in the first place.

In the sequel, the nomads took their revenge, first in person and without success, and then, all too successfully, by Mongol proxy. From 1239 until 1242, a revolt of nomads, of heterodox dervishes, and of millenarian dreamers convulsed much of Anatolia, consumed the attention and resources of the government, and revealed the discontent of many. The government suppressed the rising with difficulty, only to receive a further nomad demand, from the Mongols, extending their influence from the east.

The failure of Sultan Ghiyatheddin Kaykhusraw II to pay tribute to the Mongols called forth their general Bayju in 1243, only a year after the disruptive, divisive, and dangerous millenarian rising, whose wounds had yet to heal. The size of the Mongol army alone rendered the Seljuk defense useless, but the defeat of the Seljuks at Köse Dağı in 1243 was more than a military disaster in eastern Anatolia. After 1243, the tone of Anatolian history changed. More nomads, in the tens of thousands, entered Anatolian history (some in 1243, others during Bayju's second punitive expedition in 1256, and yet more in the 1270s), bringing with them herds of animals but little in the way of "settled" notions. The governance of the peninsula slowly devolved at first into the hands of the senior advisors to the Seljuks and then to an increasingly independent group of these. Finally, after 1276, governance was divided among those who obeyed the Mongols in the center and those who sought independence on the southern, western, and northern edges of the plateau. By the end of the century, the Mongols had taken substantial control into their own hands; just how far their law spread is the object of one of the investigations in this book. In the west and on the margins were rulers who claimed or sought independence: a few former Seljuk officials, some leaders of groups that had come along with the Mongols, and a number of new men, leaders of what we may call tribal formations (if not gangs), who created their own authority in the borderlands, and began to extend their influence down the river valleys to the Byzantine coasts. One of these leaders was the founder of the Ottoman enterprise. Among the Seljuks, there had been only shadow sultans for more than a generation, and the fate of the dynasty is among the more difficult questions for historians of the first years of the fourteenth century.

The reasons for the failure of the Seljuk administration to preserve itself in more than name are numerous. The chroniclers of thirteenth-century Anatolia were also administrators, and they portray the irresponsibility of the leading men not only in the government but among its subjects. Perhaps the impact of the Mongols, who represented not just another group of nomads but a nomadic enterprise different in matters of scale, religion, and concern for the preservation of a commonweal, loosened the ties of mutual interest that, since the creation of the Perso-Islamic tradition, had bound together scribe, emir, sultan, tradesman, and the saintly. Other kinds of ties began to appear even before 1243, and not all of these by any means brought rulers and subjects into mutual agreement.

Despite the unsteady, uncoordinated, but progressive devolution of power from either the Seljuk or Mongol centers of administration, the resources of Anatolia continued to be available, desirable, and consumed. It is not clear whether there was further economic expansion; after 1250, the number of caravansaries does not increase by much. The number of mints striking silver coins of great fineness continued to grow, however, and the amount of money in circulation does not appear to have declined, even taking into account the bullion siphoned off for the Mongols. There is evidence that the creation of numerous tribal enterprises, or beyliks, at the end of the century, each controlled by a bey, did not hinder trade, close the roads, or prevent the flow of goods or ideas. The career of Rumi and the wealth of the Mevlevi order also indicate that increasing disorder and Mongol interference at some levels of public life did not prevent the expression of group devotion or hamper the production of literary works far from nomad traditions. The spread of akhi groups and futuwwa traditions, in which urban, Sufi, and artisan concerns mingled, offered alternative means of organizing townspeople, tradespeople, and Muslim devotion, against a Turkmen (and Christian) countryside whose conversion leaned toward syncretistic practices.

From the perspective of administrative history, the second half of the thirteenth century offers dreary prospects. The vibrancy and variety of economic, religious, and social life, however, are not to be denied. How were these described? How does the transition from sultans, emirs, and a Persian court to beys, the triumph of nomads, and the Turkish chronicles speak of itself? The chronicles of the last Seljuks come from the hands of bureaucrats, the scribes who represent the

Anatolian branch of the Persian literary tradition in prose. They provide clear and consistent accounts of the administrative and diplomatic history of the era, but they were not historians of tillage, villagers, or pastoralists. Occasionally, these authors tell us about campaigns to bring order to the frontiers. For us, the interesting aspect of these passages is that the frontier of greatest concern to us, that to the northwest, is practically absent from their records. From the Persian chronicles of Ibn Bibi (ending in 1281), Aksarayi, and an anonymous secretary (reaching into the fourteenth century), we can trace the formative years of some of the beyliks: Denizli to the southwest, Germiyan to the west, and others to the north, south, and southwest. Of the Ottomans, however, we find no direct evidence. The northwest was not important enough to be an object of record, perhaps because there was, after all, no trouble to be expected from the Byzantines after the enthronement of Michael VIII—and perhaps as well because the Mongols had interests there. The Seljuks exit the stage without recording a word of adieu to the Ottomans.

The Ottomans' own early chronicles, for their part, resemble neither the complex and detailed account of Pachymeres nor the elevated and classicizing tone of the Seljuk scribes. They are almost entirely in an elliptical, informal Turkish that resonates with scraps of oral tradition, popular legend, and gossip. Moreover, they mix memory with invention—what is believable and what is clearly tendentious—in such compelling fashion that more than one scholar has been tempted to throw out their versions of the past as contaminated beyond repair.

For our purposes, these chronicles, which are not entirely independent of each other, mix and match three versions. The first derives from a source yet to be found but whose contents formed the basis of a group of chronicles. On present knowledge, the earliest member of this group is the versified chronicle of Ahmedi, produced in various recensions in the 1390s and the early fifteenth century and forming the last part of his Alexander romance, the *Iskendername*. A bald outline of conquests and dates is the core of the works, which are replete with additional praises of the Ottomans as ghazis, warriors for Islam. Ahmedi's purpose was to place the Ottomans within the framework of Islamic panegyric rather than to discuss their history, and he uses his source sparingly. The later chronicles of Şükrüllah and Karamani Mehmed Pasha, from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, provide a fuller version of the material in Ahmedi's source, and while they also celebrate the

Ottomans' zeal for the faith, they include, from their common source, material that bears on other matters.

The second of our three versions is a group of texts known as the Anonymous Chronicles and also, in a different recension, as the chronicle of Uruj, completed (in one redaction) toward the end of the third quarter of the fifteenth century but including material from a text completed in the 1420s. The Anonymous Chronicles provide a good deal of folktale and legend in recounting the story of the beginnings of Ottoman history, and they stem from an environment removed from court or scribal circles. Their understanding of the rise of the Ottomans is that it was yet another example of a miraculous dispensation.

The third version is, for the early period, three chronicles in one. It is the handiwork of Aşıkpaşazade, born around 1400, the descendant of one of the leaders of the millenarian revolt against the Seljuks, a dervish and campaigner for the Ottomans, and, in his retirement, perhaps that early Ottoman chronicler whose personality is most blatantly advertised to the reader. His chronicle exists in a number of recensions from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, and its earliest chapters are based on two sources. One of his sources is a version of the Anonymous Chronicles, with some additions. His other source is an account of early Ottoman history obtained from Yakhşi Fakih, whose tales go back to the second generation of Ottoman history and the ambience of the generation of the 1320s and 1330s. This source provides a rather different account of some of the early years of the enterprise, and it is a boon that Aşıkpaşazade took no great pains to homogenize his sources and smooth over their inconsistencies.

We have, then, the setting left by the Seljuks, one of rich natural resources and much political confusion, and the sources, Byzantine and early Ottoman, with differing concerns and means of expression; and we sense that in the latter sources awaits quicksand. Too literal a reading of the sources can lead to an acceptance of the notion, once popular, that it was the spirit of the ghazis that propelled the Ottomans to power and success. Too lax a reading allows folktale and invention to enjoy the status of accepted historical fact. Our goal here is to see whether the combination of that tradition, some geographical considerations, and the evidence of the Byzantine sources may illuminate the earliest scenes of the Ottoman drama.

As students of origins, we face the planned and haphazard survival of small bits and pieces of evidence, the stuff from which later traditions

were crafted. We might, given the situation, throw up our hands and decide not to inquire very deeply into these early years. To be wrong is one thing; to be taken in is another, more embarrassing prospect. The most provocative treatments of early Ottoman history published in this century took a view much like this. Fuad Köprülü, a pioneer of modern historical scholarship in Turkey, decided against a narrative account after he had read (with what I take to be increasing impatience) his predecessors (especially Herbert Adams Gibbons). Instead, he wrote a book emphasizing the general thirteenth-century background of central Anatolia and the main lines of the later history of the Seljuks. It seemed to him more prudent to examine the late Seljuk sources, which stood firmly in a tradition of classical Perso-Islamic historiography, than to evaluate the tendentious, apparently untestable Ottoman materials. The result was a book about Ottoman origins in which the founder, Osman (or Atman), does not appear. Indeed, so daunting have the problems of early Ottoman history appeared that there have been many more studies of the early Ottomans' competitors in Asia Minor, the post-Seljuk principalities or beyliks, than there have been of the early Ottomans themselves, despite the fact that there are fewer chronicles for the beyliks.

Why is this? Let us consider the different nature of the surviving sources from the Ottomans and the other beyliks. For the early Ottoman period, there are relatively few (but notorious) inscriptions and coins, while the chronicles display the reworking and homogenization already discussed. This homogenization did not produce a seamless web, thereby allowing for the discovery of discordant and early traditions. Nonetheless, many of the chronicled "facts" of early Ottoman history are demonstrably false. The discovery, for example, that the Ottoman chroniclers rearranged the facts of the Turkish seizure of Adrianople in 1369, taking it out of chronology and awarding it to the "wrong" parties, might persuade anybody to avoid the Ottoman chronicles altogether for this early epoch. The Ottoman archival sources have turned out to have been fewer than expected, although a systematic examination would go far to support or disprove this.[1] There were, also, more promising sources for the other Anatolian enterprises, as they seemed less tendentious and subject to less later editorial intervention. The beyliks had more early inscriptions, and their mints produced more, as well

1. I deeply regret the refusal of the "relevant Turkish authorities" to permit me access to those collections during my research for these studies.

as more varied, issues. Since many of them touched the Aegean shores, there was much independent source material covering them, from Byzantium, the Italian trading cities, and Cyprus. Further, as these beyliks ultimately fell to the Ottomans, the problem of justifying a rise to imperial dominance did not arise. There was just not as much glory to anticipate.

As we turn to the task, there are certain obligations to be accepted. First, what is concluded here may be at best the most plausible among the number of potential reconstructions of the early Ottoman enterprise. This book contains suggestions rather than a collection of necessary and sufficient proofs that should satisfy everyone. It should continue discussion rather than bring it to an end. At the same time, the brittle nature of the sources encumbers us with the responsibility to do them no purposeful harm, to allow analysis to rise from them rather than to lay an explanatory template over them in advance. This warning, which Burckhardt and Meinecke expressed long ago, is as valid today.

Further, leaving aside the temptation to fit the evidence into a modern Procrustean bed, there is another danger to fend off, a tendency to see past actors as sharing our own sedentary assumptions, acting according to calculations whose algorithms are those of the present generation. In what follows, I have recourse to a consideration of what was appropriate, sensible, and occasionally reasonable to a nomad at the time, and I am aware that some will think I am assuming that which is to be proven. Further, some of the analyses here involve choices that some may consider aesthetic. What needs to be borne in mind is, first, whether the texts actually allow the proferred interpretation and, second, the range of alternatives.

To begin, we might review the traditions of scholarship that have preceded this work. The first Habsburg master of Ottoman studies, Hammer, rendered the early Ottoman sources whole by identifying some of their stories with events recounted in the Byzantine chronicles. Thus, he used the accounts of Pachymeres, Gregoras, and others as strong branches on which to hang the Ottoman traditions, otherwise so difficult to date and order. Even though this method has led to some evident inconsistencies in the identification of places and events, posterity has found favor with this method because it is attractive: it brings concord to discordant traditions and reinforces the hope that the sources from both sides of the frontier agree on the significance of the

events. It is, however, far from obvious that the two traditions, Byzantine and Ottoman, are as concordant as has been assumed. One of the studies in this volume will examine them.[2]

Köprülü understood that the early Ottoman chronicles did not offer the same sureties as did the Persian chronicles of the Seljuks and Mongols, and he was even more troubled as he realized that there were elements of folklore interspersed with supposed hard fact in the tales of Osman. So he denounced the early Ottoman legends and saw no need to examine their bases from a point of view other than that of the student of comparative folklore. In so doing, he reflected a patriotic desire to consider the history of Turkey from the same perspective that his European colleagues enjoyed in surveying their own medieval past. His lectures on the origins of Ottoman history, delivered at the Sorbonne, became an outstanding book on the general themes of Anatolian history in the thirteenth century. He viewed the events of early Ottoman history from such an Olympian height, however, that the modern reader retains little sense of the precise causes at work at different times, and there is little to connect his grand themes with specific events.

A few years later, Paul Wittek lectured on the same foundation at the Sorbonne and then delivered a famous course of lectures at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, which became his classic *Rise of the Ottoman Empire*. In earlier work, over twenty years ago, I examined the extraordinary solution Wittek offered to the problem of Ottoman success: single-minded devotion to the holy war as a powerful engine of Ottoman history. Professors Colin Heywood and Colin Imber have offered a historical explanation of Wittek's reasoning, one that sets it firmly within the context of the intellectual movements of Habsburg and Austrian Vienna, Weimar Germany, and the Atatürk dictatorship. What concerns us now is Wittek's argument that, because some of the Ottoman traditions betray borrowing from other traditions from other eras, we are to deny them any value. Chapter 1 will address this position.

There is the option of an inclusive view, best expressed a generation

2. See also Rudi Paul Lindner, "Beginning Ottoman History," in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, ed. Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (Istanbul, 1994), 199–208.

ago by the indefatigable Turkish scholar Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. The first volume of his Ottoman history is a very sympathetic attempt to fit the traditions together and preserve the Ottoman chronicles more or less intact. His work has found few emulators among European and American scholars (and is now losing its freshness among Turkish scholars), but his decision not to discuss his principles of choice among the traditions does not deny his work considerable value, especially his treatment of the competing beyliks. A very similar book appeared at about the same time, George Arnakis's study of the first two Ottoman generations. Arnakis tried to meld together the traditions, granting the Byzantine sources greater authority than anybody before him, and he succeeded in producing a fine learned study, really outstanding given the resources available to him. Publishing the book in Modern Greek in postwar Athens, however, has doomed it to be ignored by almost every student of Ottoman history in the fifty years since it appeared. In some ways, it attempts to hold the traditions together much as Hammer had done, but Arnakis did not ignore the inconsistencies that result, and occasionally he highlighted them. Arnakis once again pointed out the necessity of using the Byzantine sources.

In recent years, a modification of Wittek's views has received wide circulation, appearing in the works of Halil Inalcik and Elizabeth Zachariadou. The most recent treatment of the early years follows the Inalcik formulation very closely, without Zachariadou's attention to the Byzantine chronicles. These views emphasize the role of the holy war but allow for other factors, in a rich mixture of motives. We have ghazis in these formulations, but who they are and their motivations are here less well defined as determinants of actions, general and particular, than in Wittek's original. There can be little doubt that, because actions are overdetermined, there are more causes and processes at work than one. However, a vigorous debate, led by Colin Imber, is under way over the explanatory advantages of an approach that preserves a central role for the holy warriors at the cost of their zeal for the faith. It is fascinating, in addition, that many students continue to prefer the direct and forceful original of Wittek, soon to be reissued under the editorship of Colin Heywood.

A few words about my approach in this book are in order. As in other works, I have here had constant recourse to the works of those generous souls who not only traveled in Bithynia and Phrygia but also

shared their experiences with the reading public.[3] Given the extraordinary changes that war without quarter and economic growth without historical preservation have wrought on the Anatolian landscape, the travel accounts provide our only vivid account of what the land was like in an earlier epoch—although forthcoming work from Professor Clive Foss, based on his own extensive fieldwork, will force revisions of the views of those who rely on texts rather than texts plus the educated eye. I am well aware of the problems of using travelers' descriptions of the people whom they met, but I believe that in portraying the landscape and agricultural adaptation, many of them performed an admirable job.[4] Perhaps the highest compliment is that which an Ottoman traveler made over three generations ago when, in describing an area from his own personal experience, he kept harking back to the work of a European scholar and traveler, Clément Huart. I thus here admit my debt to one of the greatest Anatolian travelers, the epigrapher Louis Robert, whose dictum "pas d'histoire sans géographie" has been my guide.

Elsewhere I have argued, and I continue to argue, that the homogenized texts of the early Ottoman chronicles contain usable material. Occasionally the homogenization process is incomplete or carelessly done, and where there is evidence of a debate in the minds of the redactors, we may seek to sift through the remaining evidence. At the very least, we may discover competing visions of what later generations thought ought to have been. If we are fortunate, there may be a thread linking us to a real past.[5]

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3. It would be interesting to know, for a given era, just how small or large a percentage of travelers preserved their accounts for posterity. There are numerous accounts of Nicaea in the nineteenth century, but how many travelers passed through? "Doctor" Fabiani and his son welcomed visitors to the shore of the Ascanian lake for half a century: "Fabiani has kept the register of foreigners for Iznik for thirty-five years, since fate tossed him here, and has collected the visiting cards of those who have come through. Our cards were the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth. In our century of travels! In Nicaea! In thirty-five years!" (Friedrich Dernburg, *Auf Deutscher Bahn in Kleinasien, eine Herbstfahrt* [Berlin, 1892], 47–49).

4. For example, Charles MacFarlane's two-volume *Turkey and Its Destiny* (London, 1850) offers remarkably insulting characterizations of confessional and linguistic groups in Anatolia while, in the same breath, preserving acute and detailed information on the landscape and buildings.

5. See Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*, Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 144 (Bloomington, 1983), 19. For example, we might look at the use of the term *müdara* in the chronicles: see ibid., 24, and the commentary in Keith Hopwood, "Mudara," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 35 (1994): 154–61. However, the material adduced from Neşri is almost entirely copied from Aşıkpaşazade; thus, we have only one witness.

This may well mean that the more we study early Ottoman history, the less we know, at least until more thorough site surveys and archival publication occur—although even if those occur, there will be an initial period of increased confusion. There is, in any case, a very well-argued view that we can know very little, if anything, about the topic of this book.[6] Many of the most attractive episodes in the early chronicles turn out to be fictions supported by modern historians' desire for more data, and I plead guilty to having accepted some of those inventions as fact.[7] I think, however, that the general lines of Ottoman advance in the sources are secure,[8] and it is these general lines that form the focus of the following chapters.

I do not claim that what follows are the only solutions to some of the historical problems facing the student of early Ottoman history. Important questions are left unresolved, some even unstated. The vital question of Anatolian economic history in the second half of the thirteenth century is one of these, and I hope to visit it elsewhere, in a comparative study of the origins of the beyliks. For the moment, however, these studies offer one vista of the terrain, one wisp of melody from an unfinished symphony.

On many occasions when I think about the task of recovering a reasonable facsimile of early Ottoman history, what comes into my mind is the opening of Schubert's last piano sonata (reproduced on the dedication page). Of course, Schubert did not have Ottoman history on his mind during his difficult and inspiring last months. But each student will surely have his or her own inspiration (perhaps from art or literature rather than music) that encapsulates the scholarly task, and Schubert is mine. In the opening of the sonata, Schubert sets forth eight bars of one of his typical haunting, serene, and unforgettable melodies, a melody on which he works wonders throughout the movement. But at the end of

6. I have in mind two excellent articles by Colin Imber: "The Legend of Osman Gazi," in *The Ottoman Emirate (1300–1389)*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou (Rethymnon, 1993), 67–75, and "Canon and Apocrypha in Early Ottoman History," in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, ed. Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (Istanbul, 1994), 117–37. Cf. Imber's remarks in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 60 (1997): 211–12. See as well his "What Does Ghazi Really Mean?" in *The Balance of Truth: Essays in Honour of Professor Geoffrey Lewis*, ed. Çiğdem Balım-Harding and Colin Imber (Istanbul, 2000), 165–78.

7. It is clear to me that Professors Foss and Imber have proven that the Köse Mihal of the chronicles never existed. Farewell, old friend!

8. Cf. Colin Imber, "Othman I," in *Studies in Ottoman History and Law* (Istanbul, 1996), 333–37.

this first strain, he introduces a discordant tremolo, almost a shake, in the deep bass. Throughout the movement, this mysterious, unsettling trill follows the restatement of the melody, as a reminder to artist and listener that there is much more to this composition than author, artist, and listener have perceived. Likewise, by no means is all of early Ottoman history as I now conceive of it. It is a marvelously wrought set of stories, of which we are privileged to hear only some tantalizing echoes, of whose clarity we must be continually suspicious.[9]

9. For some learned and attractive observations on related themes, see Jacob Lassner, "'Doing' Early Islamic History: Brooklyn Baseball, Arabic Historiography, and Historical Memory," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114, no. 1 (1994): 1–10.

CHAPTER ONE

Origines Gentium Othmanidarum

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

—Herbert Adams Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*

There is nothing more absorbing than maps of tribal wanderings. How vaguely and slowly nations float! Lonely as clouds, overlapping and changing places, they waltz and reverse round each other at a pace so slow as to be almost stationary or work their expanding way across the map as imperceptibly as damp or mildew. What a relief it is when some outside event, with an actual date attached to it, jerks the whole sluggishly creeping osmotic complex into action!

—Patrick Leigh Fermor, *A Time of Gifts*

To seek the origins of Ottoman history is a bit like eating cotton candy, with a fuzzy, tantalizing exterior and, perhaps, the taste of cardboard at the end. To inquire, for example, about the origins of a Scots clan leads either to prehistory or to a maze of related but distinct issues: the first appearance of a distinctive name, maternal versus paternal lines, oral tradition as opposed to official record, location and employment, and the like. Further, the answers to questions about origins may not be very helpful in understanding the later career of a family or an enterprise. Thus, it is far from clear that a look into the earliest Ottoman traditions will help us understand later Ottoman developments. Nonetheless, there is reason to hope that it will throw some light on the beginnings of the enterprise and, at the very least, let us know what we may not expect to find.

There is an additional attraction that comes from sifting through the sources that purport to describe the origins of a great power. The tendentious nature of the sources reveals much about those contending powers

of tradition, invention, and family pride whose jostling and cooperation lead in modern, polite society to the happy conclusion that all families are distinguished. We see early Ottoman history as a picture whose outlines we may try to discern through the glitter and ornamentation situated to delight and delude the viewer. Seeking to delineate the actual outlines is a process interesting in itself. This is not at all a game, for we may hope to determine that point before which all is conjecture and after which we can begin to triangulate with some confidence. It is in the nature of the analytical procedure that we may reach beyond our grasp and that all we succeed in doing is to limit the range of possibilities.

Where and when does Ottoman history begin?[1] The Byzantines first found Osman and his tribe worth special notice and attention in 1302, the year of the battle between the forces of Osman and Mouzalon at Bapheus, a place just outside Nicomedia. While Osman's activities may well have engaged Constantinople at an earlier date, the Turkish leader's name does not appear in surviving Byzantine sources before the spring of that year.[2] By this time Osman was a mature leader, and it is reasonable to try to reach back to generations before him. The purpose of this chapter is to test how far our reach extends. Others might try other tests, and there are alternative explanations, but at this stage of work on those who succeeded the Seljuks, it is too much to expect proof both necessary and sufficient.

The first point for us to grasp is that there seem to be no secure dates in Ottoman history before the 1302 campaign. Ottoman chronicles list dates, but there may be contradictions even within a given source, and there are numerous disagreements between sources, which suggests that few of these discordant dates are due to scribal errors. They reflect an unsuccessful attempt to fit together more than one tradition, a hesitancy to choose one tradition over another, an incomplete homogenization of

1. My title for this chapter comes from an excellent article by Elias J. Bickerman, "Origines gentium," *Classical Philology* 47 (1952): 65–81; cf. his "Some Reflections on Early Roman History," in *Religions and Politics in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, ed. Emilio Gabba and Morton Smith (Como, 1985), 525–40. I choose *origines gentium* rather than *origo gentis* because there remain a number of reasonable explanations and because there was more than one Ottoman gens.

2. I leave aside for another occasion the question whether his name was Osman or Atman. For the first mention of Osman, see George Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, ed. Albert Failler (Paris, 1999), 4:347. Accounts of an earlier encounter, in which there is no specific mention of the Ottomans, appear in Franz Tinnefeld, "Pachymeres und Philes als Zeugen für ein frühes Unternehmen gegen die Osmanen," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 64 (1971): 46–54.

a text to fit a patron's philosophy. When there is agreement, there is still room for doubt. When Franz Taeschner commented on those conquests that the Ottoman sources ascribed to Osman in A.H. 699/C.E. 1299–1300, he suggested that the sources were summarizing the work of a number of years.[3] So we find that only the Byzantine sources provide good dates (dates that may be tested) for the earliest events in Ottoman history. The Ottoman sources will allow us to speak of a range of years but not of many more chronological details.

Given this difficulty, how far back can we go? The Ottoman sources redacted after 1420 give a very confident response: back to Noah. All the early traditions and their later homogenizers agreed on this point. Şükrüllah's chronicle (composed in 1465–68 at Bursa) informs us that "among the descendants of Yapheth b. Noah[4] was a certain Oğuz, and among the descendants of Oğuz [after twenty-one generations] was a certain Ertoğrul [father of Osman]."[5] The Anonymous Chronicles edited and translated by Friedrich Giese list the generations from Osman back through Oğuz to Noah, as does Aşıkpaşazade.[6] But these genealogies do not help us very much. They are useful tools in the study of Ottoman history writing and the ideological needs of the fifteenth-century Ottoman court but not in the analysis of early Ottoman history.[7]

It might be easier to move back from the well-known to the lesser-known in smaller steps. Osman's career after his victory at Bapheus is known to some degree, and some parts of his earlier years are recoverable. Of his father, Ertoğrul, nothing was known positively until recently, so a student could claim that "it is with [Osman] that Ottoman

3. Franz Taeschner, "Anatolische Forschungen," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 82 (1928): 102 n. 1.

4. For the use of *Japheth* in such genealogies, see Barbara Flemming, "Political Genealogies in the Sixteenth Century," *Osmanlı araştırmaları* 7–8 (1988): 127.

5. Theodor Seif, "Der Abschnitt über die Osmanen in Şükrüllah's persischer Universalgeschichte," *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte* 2 (1923–26): 76 (text), 77 (translation); for a variant, in which forty-five generations link Ertoğrul to Noah, see the Turkish translation by Çiftçioğlu N. Atsız in his *Osmanlı tarihleri* (Istanbul, 1947), 51.

6. *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken*, ed. Friedrich Giese (Breslau, 1922), 4; translated into German by Friedrich Giese, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. 17, pt. 1 (Leipzig, 1925), 9–10; Aşıkpaşazade, *Die altosmanischen Chronik des Aşikpaşazade*, ed. Friedrich Giese (Leipzig, 1929), 4–5 (hereafter cited as *APZ*).

7. See Paul Wittek's justly famous study of these genealogies, "Der Stammbaum der Osmanen," *Der Islam* 14 (1925): 94–100; see also his further comments on the Qayı tradition in *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, Royal Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. 23 (London, 1938), 7–11.

history begins."[8] There are now, however, two epigraphic attestations to his existence. Both are coins: the first, in a private collection in London, bears on one side the inscription "Osman ibn Ertoğrul."[9] The second, found by Ibrahim Artuk in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum's cabinets, bears a different design from the first and, on both sides, the name "Osman bin Ertoğrul."[10] This evidence confirms that Osman's father was Ertoğrul, but it does not tell us anything about Ertoğrul or his deeds. Barring further finds, it looks as though we will have to rely on the Ottoman chronicles for hints about him, although they differ about his or Osman's responsibility for a given deed, which is not surprising. The most celebrated among these accomplishments—and in some ways the most tendentious—is a legendary dream of future power.[11]

If there is so little that we can agree on about Osman's father, is the situation not more troublesome yet in discussing Ertoğrul's father, called Süleymanshah in the chronicles? Three generations ago, two authors with practically nothing in common, Herbert Adams Gibbons and Paul Wittek, heaped substantial abuse on the tale of Süleymanshah, and their strictures against the Ottoman tradition remain as examples of the best of amateur enthusiasm (Gibbons) and meticulous scholarship (Wittek). But there may be something left worth discussing—the story of how the early Ottomans got to Anatolia. This is an interesting subject, for there were many occasions in the thirteenth century when newcomers arrived in the peninsula, for better or worse. Let us examine the stories again.

Of the threads that later chroniclers gathered together to weave their tapestries of great "elaboration and subtlety,"[12] there are three of great interest to the student of early Ottoman times, for they formed a

8. Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans*, 21.

9. I have not seen the coin itself and have no information about its size, weight, or composition. The late Nicholas Lowick kindly showed me a photograph of the coin. Neither he nor I was able to decipher fully the inscription on the coin's reverse.

10. Ibrahim Artuk, "Osmanlı beyliğinin kurucusu Osman Gazi'ye ait sikke," in *Türkiye'nin sosyal ve ekonomik tarihi (1071–1920)*, ed. Osman Okyar and Halil Inalcik (Ankara, 1980), 27–33. The published description and photograph of this coin bear no resemblance to the photograph of the coin in London.

11. For a commentary on the texts, see Victor L. Ménage, "On the Recensions of Uruj's 'History of the Ottomans,'" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 30 (1967): 314–22.

12. The quoted phrase is from Victor L. Ménage, "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (London, 1962), 168.

base on which later authors elaborated. The first strand, which begins with the source used by Ahmedi for the last section of his *Iskendername* and appears in fuller form as the basis of Şükrüllah's universal chronicle, does not tell us how the Ottomans came to Anatolia. But the two other, more discursive sources provide lengthy accounts. The first of these appears in the "popular" Anonymous Chronicles. Here is my translation based on the text published by Giese.

> From generation to generation through that line [sc., linking Osman to Noah through Gök Alp and Oğuz] came rulers of Persia. The Oğuz people, a pious people, believed in the Prophet. They were rulers in the city of Mahan. Indeed, Abu Muslim of Marv [the great general of the Abbasid revolution of the 740s] stemmed from this line.
>
> Chinggis Khan left the realm of Khitay and devastated the city and country of Balkh and the land of Khurasan. The then ruler of those lands was the Khwarezmshah: he ruled Balkh and Khurasan. Mevlana Jelal al-Din [Rumi] was four years old at the time when Chinggis Khan destroyed the city of Balkh. When Chinggis Khan laid that land waste and drove the Seljuk people from their lands, and after he himself perished, his son Ögödei Khan became ruler. He came and destroyed Baghdad, ended the Abbasid dynasty, and took the Abbasid throne from them: the Chinggisids held their lands. All creation went pell-mell.
>
> Sultan Alaeddin, from the Seljuk house, set out from the Persian lands and came to Rum. He seized "Yunan," which is today the land of Karaman, and became its ruler.[13] He had the cities of Sivas and Konya built.
>
> And the lands of Persia, thrown topsy-turvy at the hands of Chinggis Khan, were in confusion. The Oğuz people, who were believers, were nomad yürüks. Now the city of Mahan had been destroyed by Chinggis Khan. At this time its ruler was Süleymanshah, Osman's grandfather. As the Seljuk and Abbasid houses had scattered, Süleymanshah also left Mahan city and set forth for Rum. He had heard that in Rum there was warfare on behalf of the faith. Süleymanshah left his own land and came to Erzincan, and from Erzincan they entered the lands of Rum. The area around Amasya was in Byzantine hands. They performed many raids [*ghazalar*] from that territory and seized much territory from the lands of Rum.
>
> Finally, they left there and went to Aleppo. There is, there, a

13. The name *Yunan* comes from *Ionia;* cf. Old Persian *Yauna.* See John Gould, *Herodotus* (London, 1989), 5.

castle they call Ja'ber. They camped before it and came to the bank of the Euphrates, which they wished to ford. They were the sort of nomad yürüks who didn't know the proper way, and they pushed on heedlessly into the Euphrates. Süleymanshah spurred his horse on in his desire to ford the river. There was a sudden drop in the riverbed before him, and, along with his horse, Süleymanshah drowned in the Euphrates. His appointed hour was there, and he died a martyr. The people made haste and took him from the river. They buried him before Ja'ber castle. Now the place is called "the Turk's tomb."[14]

Süleymanshah had three sons. One was called Sunqurtekin, another Gündoğdu, and the third Ertoğrul, who was Osman's father. And these three brothers were also nomads. They went on the way by which they had come. From the upper Euphrates they went to Pasin Ova and Sürmelü Çuqur. Sunqurtekin and Gündoğdu went to Persia. Ertoğrul decided to remain there for a while and performed many raids [ghaza] thereabouts. After a time, Sultan Alaeddin (of the Seljuk house) came from Persia and settled himself in Rum, where he became a great ruler.

Ertoğrul heard about Sultan Alaeddin's sultanate and power. Ertoğrul also had three sons: Savcı, Gündüz, and Osman. Ertoğrul sent Saruyatı (whom they called Savcı) to Sultan Alaeddin. They wanted a little bit of land that they might settle. Sultan Alaeddin assented, remarking, "They are needy"; he was pleased by them. The lord of Karahisar and the lord of Bilecik obeyed Sultan Alaeddin and paid him kharaj. He gave them the lands between Karahisar and Bilecik, Domalıc Dağı, and Ermenak [*sic*] Dağı[15] as summer pasture and water source.[16]

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14. For an interesting picture of the site, see Mustafa Cezar, Mithat Sertoğlu, Server R. Iskit, and Zarif Orgun, *Resimli-haritalı Osmanlı tarihi* (Istanbul, 1957), 1:35; see also Sefa Öcal, "Ertuğrul Gazi, türbesi ve haziresinde yatanlar," *Türk dünyası araştırmaları* 45 (1986): 101. For a short notice of Ja'ber himself, see *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, trans. William MacGuckin de Slane (Paris, 1843), 1:329. When Wittek (*Rise*, 13) referred to the castle as "already famous in Turkish legend," he was probably referring to Ibn Khallikan's note that Malik Shah took it from Ja'ber in December 1086 (for the campaign, see Ibrahim Kafesoğlu, *Selçuklu tarihi* [Istanbul, 1972], 66). The supposed tomb of Süleymanshah actually belongs to Imad al-Din Zengi, conqueror of Edessa, who died while besieging the castle in 1146. The tomb is at Siffin, "a tract of land on the border of the Euphrates, at the distance of a parasang, or less, from Kalat Jaabar." Siffin "is situated on the Syrian side of the Euphrates, and Kalat Jaabar on the Mesopotamian" (*Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, 541).

15. *Ermenak* is surely a scribal error for *Ermeni*, as appears in Giese's German translation (*Die anonymen Chroniken* [trans.], 12).

16. *Suluq* here is probably a scribal error for *kışlak*; see the variants noted in Giese's apparatus.

Afterward, the Tatar Bayju Khan advanced against Sultan Alaeddin, and Sultan Alaeddin turned to those parts, commending this area to Ertoğrul. Ertoğrul's sons Saruyatı and Osman came to Ankara, remained there, and performed many raids [ghaza] in Rum. Finally, Ertoğrul died.[17]

Our second view of the entry into Anatolia is the chronicle of Aşıkpaşazade. The early sections of this chronicle derive in the main from two sources, the Anonymous Chronicles and the account of early Ottoman history by Yakhşi Fakih, which preserves traditions from the time of Osman's son and successor, Orhan.[18] Aşıkpaşazade wrote a version of his chronicle in the 1480s, but the early sections derive from material of an earlier era. Here is my translation of his tale.

The reason for Süleymanshah coming to Rum is this: [from the time of the Abbasid house until the days of Süleymanshah, the descendants of the Arabs[19] were victorious over the descendants of Yafes. Both Rum and Persia were overcome. Because they were from the descendants of Yafes, the rulers of Persia had strong feelings about this: "The Arabs dominate us," they said. They brought the nomad tents descended from Yafes for their assistance and so won the upper hand over the Arabs. Since the Arabs had been subdued, the land of the unbelievers was disobedient. Now the rulers of Persia took precautions and guarded themselves against these nomads. They sent Süleymanshah farther on, as he was one of the leaders of the nomads; and they sent along with him fifty thousand Turkmen and Tatar tents. They said, "Go and perform the holy war in Rum!" Süleymanshah assented. He came by Erzurum and came to Erzincan. They entered the land of Rum from Erzincan and campaigned there a few years. They conquered the region, and Süleymanshah performed many acts of heroism. But the mountains and valleys of Rum caused them damage, for the nomads' sheep suffered from the valleys and peaks. So they

17. *Die anonymen Chroniken,* 4–6. Note that Giese's printed text is not the earliest recension (see Ménage, "On the Recensions," 316). Nevertheless, it contains the elements of that version. The reader will notice the attempts to frame a reasonable sequence of events out of materials that are, chronologically, shuffled.

18. See Ménage, "Beginnings," 174–75, and "The Menaqib of Yakhshi Faqih," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 26 (1963): 52, for the identification of Aşıkpaşazade's sources.

19. The original reads, "nesl-i Jali." I here follow the excellent German rendition of Richard F. Kreutel, in Aşıkpaşazade, *Vom Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte,* trans. Richard F. Kreutel, Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber, vol. 3 (Graz, 1959), 20.

started back to Turkestan. They did not go by the way they had come. They set forth to the land of Aleppo and arrived before Ja'ber castle. In its vicinity, they came to the banks of the Euphrates and desired to ford the river. So they said to Süleymanshah Ghazi, "My khan, how shall we cross the river?" And Süleymanshah spurred his horse into the water. There was a steep drop-off before him, and his horse stumbled. Süleymanshah fell into the water. His appointed time had come, and he died. They brought him out of the water.][20] They buried him before Ja'ber castle, and even now they call that place "the Turk's tomb." [There is a branch of that line, called the Döğer, who possess that castle today.][21] In any event, these nomads scattered in different directions. Some went to the desert [at the present time, they are called the Syrian Turkmen], some returned to Rum [some of them Tatars, some Turkmen; the Tatars and Turkmen now in Rum are from this group], while some followed Süleymanshah's three sons: one was Sunqurtekin, another Ertoğrul, and another Gündoğdu. These three brothers returned by the way they came [by the upper Euphrates]. They reached Pasin Ova and Sürmelü Çukur. Ertoğrul stayed there [and did not go with his brothers]. He remained with four hundred nomad tents, while his two brothers left [for their homelands]. [Ertoğrul remained there some time, spending summers in summer pastures and wintering in winter pastures. After some time,] Sultan Alaeddin turned to the land of Rum, conquering as much as his fate allowed, and became ruler. There are many details that I have abridged [because here I am telling the story of the Ottoman house].

Ertoğrul Ghazi learned that Sultan Alaeddin, of the house of Seljuk,[22] [had come to Rum from Persia and] had become its ruler.

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20. *APZ*, 5–6. The passage in brackets comes from Giese's apparatus. The printed text runs as follows: "In Abbasid times the Arab armies were victorious over Rum, and Persia was also defeated. The nomad Turks of Persia obtained support for themselves and became victors over the Arabs. As a result, the unbelievers did not submit to the Muslims. The beys of Persia agreed on measures to distance these nomad Turks from themselves. They gave fifty thousand nomad Turkmen and Tatar tents to Süleymanshah Ghazi. He came by Erzurum and advanced by Erzincan. They campaigned in the land of Rum for six years: Süleymanshah Ghazi accomplished many acts of heroism. Then he started back to Turkestan. He went forth to Aleppo, and thence to Ja'ber castle. He wanted to ford the Euphrates and spurred his horse into the water. There was a steep drop-off before him, and his horse stumbled. Süleymanshah fell into the river. His appointed time had come and he died. They brought him out of the river."

21. For this site, see Nazmi Sevgen, *Anadolu kaleleri* (Ankara, 1959), 1:86–88.

22. Giese's printed text has: "Ertoğrul Ghazi learned that Sultan Alaeddin, of his own lineage, . . ."

Ertoğrul said, "It is necessary for us, too, that we go to a land where a man's value and dignity are appreciated, and where we too can perform the ghaza."

Ertoğrul Ghazi had three sons: one was Osman, one was Gündüz, and one was Saruyatı [whom they called Savcı]. They turned toward Rum and came there, arriving in the land of Hasan Musil. [There are a number of stories of Ertoğrul Ghazi's coming to Rum. The soundest version is this one that I relate.] Ertoğrul Ghazi sent his son Saruyatı to Sultan Alaeddin to say, "Assign us a place to settle [yurt] also so that we may go there and fight the ghaza." [Saruyatı presented his father's message to Sultan Alaeddin.] Sultan Alaeddin was very pleased at their arrival. [At that time,] the lord of Sultan Öyüğü and Karacahisar was obedient [and the lord of Bilecik was obedient to the sultan and was paying him kharaj]. [As winter quarters,] they assigned them as a home [yurt] [the land between those two castles and Bilecik, the land of Söğüd].[23] As summer pasture, they gave them the mountain of Domalıc and Ermeni Beli. [Saruyatı came to his father and gave him the message. Ertoğrul Ghazi agreed, and they went to Ankara.][24]

They entered this land. [They settled on their lands. In the days of Ertoğrul Ghazi, there was neither war nor dispute nor killing. They summered on their summer pastures and wintered on their winter pastures. At that time, Alişir, the father of Germiyan, was in the land of Sahib Karahisar and also a Tatar whom they called Çavdar. Now and then, they used to come and raid and harass the lands of Karahisar and Bilecik. With Ertoğrul Ghazi's coming, that land of unbelievers became secure from those Tatars.]

A few years after their arrival, Ertoğrul Ghazi died. There are a number of stories of Ertoğrul Ghazi's coming to Rum. The truth is this that I have related. At Söğüd, they deemed Osman Ghazi worthy of his father's position. As Osman Ghazi took his father's place, he began to appear very friendly toward the neighboring unbelievers. Hostility broke out, however, with the house of Germiyan, because the unbelievers of the land to which they had come received continual injuries at the hands of Germiyan. Osman Ghazi also [began to hunt in distant areas; sometimes he set out by night and sometimes by day, and many men collected by his side.][25]

23. The printed text reads, "Sultan Alaeddin assigned them as homeland Söğüd between Karacahisar and Bilecik."

24. The printed text reads, "They came directly from Ankara."

25. *APZ*, 5–8. The printed text at this point reads, "Osman Ghazi also began to hunt in distant places." This passage deserves a fuller treatment.

I have now reviewed the main versions of this edifying story. They speak of nomads who entered Anatolia as a result of Mongol pressure, found difficulties there, sought a better location, and split into a number of units, one of which sought service, approbation, or permission from a Seljuk sultan. Is there any truth here? Scholars have had very strong doubts, and some have rejected the story outright. Gibbons found no mention of a Süleymanshah at Mahan in Nasawi's contemporary history of the Khwarezmshah Jalal al-Din. Further, Nasawi did not mention Süleymanshah or Ertoğrul when discussing Jalal al-Din's campaigns in Anatolia. Gibbons argued that if the Ottoman forebears had had the equivalent of five tümens or fifty thousand nomads, the sources for the Seljuk-Khwarezmian warfare would surely have mentioned them. Therefore, Gibbons concluded that the story could not have much value.[26] Of course, Gibbons assumed that Süleymanshah had to be seen as a leader, not a follower, in the migrations associated with the Khwarezmians.

Fuad Köprülü was quite precise on the point of origin. He argued that the Ottomans (or, rather, the family that became Ottoman) belonged to the Qayı branch of the Oğuz Turks and had absolutely no connection with the Mongols; that as a branch of the Oğuz, they entered Anatolia with them, that is, during the eleventh century; and that, once there, the Ottomans lived inconspicuously until the end of the thirteenth century. This view did not receive the attention it deserved, either in Turkey or abroad, and we should examine it in detail, for determining when the Ottoman forefathers entered Asia Minor meant a great deal in Köprülü's time.[27] If the Ottomans were associated with the Mongols, if the Ottomans had been part and parcel of the destructive whirlwind put into motion by Chinggis Khan, then perhaps the modern slurs about the terrible Turk had some historical grounding; at least, so it seemed in the heyday of Atatürk's nationalist revolution. It was essential to rule that possibility out.

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26. Herbert Adams Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford, 1916), 266.

27. For what follows, see Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Les origines de l'empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1935), 81–87. The Turkish translation, *Osmanlı devletinin kuruluşu* (Ankara, 1959), is essentially the same work with an introduction discussing and occasionally dismissing reviews of the French original. There is an excellent English translation by Gary Leiser (Albany, 1992).

Köprülü first discussed the affiliation of the Ottomans to the Oğuz, about which the earliest sources had no doubts: indeed, Köprülü stated, the eleventh-century Turkish immigration into Anatolia came from the ranks of the Oğuz. Further, he argued, the Ottomans were descended from the Qayı branch of the Oğuz. While Köprülü did not accept the fifteenth-century Ottoman traditions that declare the Qayı the most distinguished descendants of Oğuz Khan, he suggested that those later fabrications did provide a strong argument for a Qayı family tree. After all, the Ottomans might simply have claimed descent from one of the clans considered more illustrious than the Qayı. The fact that they did not demonstrated, in Köprülü's eyes, that there was a general understanding—to be precise, among the nomads, there was a living tradition which it would have been silly to contradict—that the Ottomans were from the Qayı.[28]

In the earlier scholarship, there had been some discussion of the possible affiliation of the Qayı not to the Oğuz but to the Mongols, which would have indicated a thirteenth-century arrival for Osman's antecedents. Köprülü always argued vigorously against this view, insisting that a Mongol lineage was impossible for the Qayı, and he rejected any Mongol-Ottoman tie. He maintained that if the forefathers of the Ottomans had arrived in the migration of the Seljuks, there was no chance of such a connection with so destructive a horde.

Better to demonstrate the early appearance of the Ottomans in the peninsula, Köprülü turned to toponymy and pointed out the number of Qayı place-names.[29] Such names were, to him, survivals from the Seljuk era, and as the Ottomans acknowledged a Qayı ancestry, toponymy provided an eleventh-century dating for their arrival.

There are, then, two arguments adduced in support of the propositions that the forebears of the Ottomans came to Asia Minor in the eleventh century and, hence, that the story of a thirteenth-century arrival is a total fabrication. First is the argument that the Ottomans had Qayı parentage; second is the argument from Qayı toponymy, toponymy that reflects settlement of the eleventh-century wanderers. These arguments have not deserved the silence they have received in textbooks and monographs, even though they accentuate a certain

28. Köprülü, *Origines*, 83.

29. Ibid., 86. There are, for example, eighteen settlements named Kayı listed in *Köylerimiz (1 Mart 1968 durumu)* (Ankara, 1968), 340.

modern desire to distance the early Ottomans from the ways and means of the Mongols.[30]

Unfortunately, we do not know whether the Ottoman propagandists at Murad II's court (where, during the first quarter of the fifteenth century, a number of romantic views of the Ottoman past first saw light) vetted the Qayı genealogy with nomad genealogical specialists—and it is not likely that many of the nomads read court literature. If the Qayı had been a lesser branch of the Oğuz, the argument would have a considerable amount of appeal to it, but Wittek produced evidence from the eleventh century that placed the Qayı in a most distinguished position among the Oğuz tribes.[31] This position, second after the progenitors of the Seljuk dynasty itself (a dynasty whose prestige had long since waned by the fifteenth century), easily justified an Ottoman "discovery" of influential ancestors.

More important is the connection of the Qayı, or any other Oğuz, with an eleventh-century entry into Anatolian history. Here, the argument from place-names is weak. A Mongol name attached to a number of Anatolian places might imply a date from the thirteenth century (or even later, depending on nostalgia) for the group that lent its label to the locality. But an Oğuz clan name on any number of sites does not exclude a date in the thirteenth century, for we know that the Mongols and other immigrants and invaders drove before them, brought along with them, or left in their wake large numbers of Turks.[32] The history of Turkey's toponymy is still in its infancy—and may become a mortality statistic as the Turkish government persists in changing certain names from the unfamiliar (if historic) to the banal (if modern). There is as yet no way of deriving the sorts of dates that Köprülü needed for his argument, and there is thus no solid reason for placing the arrival of the Ottomans on the Anatolian scene before the era traditionally ascribed to them.[33]

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30. The only scholar to pay much attention to the Qayı argument has been Wittek, who felt confident (see *Rise*, 7–11) that his destruction of the Ottoman genealogies cut the ground from under Köprülü's position. Wittek did not discuss the other points in Köprülü's *Origines*.

31. Wittek, *Rise*, 11. See also Mahmud al-Kashghari, *Compendium of the Turkic dialects*, ed. and trans. Robert Dankoff and James Kelly (Cambridge, 1982), 1:101.

32. See John Masson Smith, Jr., "Mongol Manpower and Persian Population," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 18 (1975): 271–99.

33. See Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (London, 1968), 150, and his revised French edition, *La Turquie pré-Ottomane* (Istanbul, 1988), 108.

A number of negative arguments can, however, be adduced against that traditional account. Many of these received precise and pithy expression at Wittek's hands. First, as Wittek observed, the Ottoman apologists had so manipulated the tribal genealogy of the dynasty as to provide, unwittingly, "sufficient proof that a true tribal tradition did not exist." Wittek continued, "The unity of the Ottoman state therefore cannot be found in natural tribal connections, but must have been built upon another basis."[34] Further, Wittek argued, since Ahmedi begins his account with Ertoğrul, the later (and fuller) compilations must contain "literary inventions" concerning earlier generations.[35] Wittek identified these inventions. Could it have been simple coincidence that Mahan, which Süleymanshah once ruled, had been the supposed home of the young Abu Muslim of Turkish legend? Was it not extraordinary that Süleymanshah's family was related to Abu Muslim?[36] Viewing the story as an invention, we can see how providing the Ottomans with an ancestral home and office in Mahan lent them connections with a great hero and also justified their claim to rule. Further, the astute remark that the great poet and mystic Rumi's family had also fled to Anatolia in the wake of the Mongols not only served as a helpful model for the chroniclers but reminded the reader that the emigration included not a few great men destined to join the "native sons of the golden west."[37]

Wittek found further disturbing elements in the story of Süleymanshah's life in Anatolia. There had been another Süleyman in Anatolian saga, Süleyman ibn Kutlumuş, who, after establishing Seljuk power at Nicaea, turned his ambitions eastward; he died in battle against the Great Seljuks near Aleppo in 1086.[38] The coincidence in names and places, even if not in manner of death, was unsettling. Wittek then pointed out that Süleyman ibn Kutlumuş had a son, Kılıç Arslan I, who died in battle (perhaps by drowning) at the Khabur River in 1107. Kılıç

34. Wittek, *Rise,* 13. See, for an alternative view, Rudi Paul Lindner, "Stimulus and Justification in Early Ottoman History," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 27 (1982): 217–18, and "What Was a Nomadic Tribe?" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24 (1982): 689–711.

35. Wittek, *Rise,* 12.

36. See Irène Mélikoff, *Abu Muslim, le "porte-hache" du Khorassan* (Paris, 1962), 69, 93–94; for the "facts" of the case, see Jacob Lassner, *Islamic Revolution and Historical Memory* (New Haven, 1986), 99–133.

37. Wittek, *Rise,* 12–13.

38. For the issues involved, see Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey,* 77–78 (*La Turquie pré-Ottomane,* 14); for a detailed exposition, see Osman Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye* (Istanbul, 1971), 75.

Arslan was buried at nearby Mayafarikin, and his tomb bore the name "Kubbet al-Sultan."[39] Here again was an unsettling coincidence, especially if one reads *Ja'ber* instead of *Khabur* (the two names bear similar letterforms: only the ayn and diacritical marks differ). Wittek concluded that the entire tale of Süleymanshah was "an artificial creation of later speculative historiography."[40]

Wittek's criticism was as withering as it was brief. It appeared that the entire story had been collected during a stroll along the cafeteria line of Turkish legend. But in Wittek's assumption that the Ottoman authors had carte blanche to invent their more distant past lies an even more unsettling question: why did they limit themselves? Both Süleyman ibn Kutlumuş and Kılıç Arslan I had great accomplishments that might have served the Ottoman authors well, but the authors denied themselves the opportunity. We might just as well ask whether these echoes of the Seljuk past served not as the flesh and bones of the Ottoman account but as the outerwear and decoration of a simpler past.

Before we seek that simpler past, another negative argument deserves attention. Colin Imber recently published a stimulating essay in which he summarized the various texts on which the sixteenth-century Ottomans based their claims to a special legitimacy and supremacy in the Muslim world. He separated the texts into a number of categories: those supporting the holy war, or ghaza, as a mainspring for Ottoman action; others that presented the Ottomans as heirs of the Seljuks; still others that suggested divine approval of the Ottoman line; and, finally, genealogical texts linking the Ottomans with Turkic and monotheist tradition.[41] Let us dwell for a minute on the genealogical texts. Imber summarizes the story of Süleymanshah and Ertoğrul as we have it today in the Anonymous Chronicles and Aşıkpaşazade, but he pronounces it "wholly fictitious."[42] This judgment derives from an alternative version, in which Ertoğrul was the son not of a Süleymanshah but of a Gündüz Alp. There was, in the first tradition, a brother of Osman called Gündüz, but the version elicited by Imber does not know such a brother. Instead, in the first appearance of this version, in Enveri's *Düsturname* (1465), a story similar to the other tradition appears, but its

39. See Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 87 (*La Turquie pré-Ottomane*, 19); Turan, *Selçuklular*, 109.

40. Wittek, *Rise*, 13.

41. Colin Imber, "The Ottoman Dynastic Myth," *Turcica* 19 (1987): 7–27.

42. Ibid., 19.

genealogy replaces Süleymanshah with Gündüz Alp. However, Gündüz Alp has not only a son but also an uncle called Ertoğrul Bey, and his grandfather (the elder Ertoğrul Bey's father) is Süleyman Bey.[43] Gündüz Alp is also the father of Ertoğrul in the chronicle of Karamani Mehmed Pasha (before 1481).[44] Thanks to the homogenizing and editorial work of Neşri, who put together a more or less seamless version from a number of different texts, especially the Anonymous Chronicles and Aşıkpaşazade, the Süleymanshah version became the official one. Where authors may play so fast and loose with names and family ties, why should any reader bother to put any credence in deeds attached to such will-o'-the-wisps? Is it not the better part of scholarship to ignore the entire farrago of nonsense?

We may justifiably feel discomfort about a story in which there are multiple names and genealogies attached to the main character. The main line of events, however, remains the same, and it is worth a moment's hesitation to see whether, names apart, there is a sensible context for the events in a better-founded text. If, for various tendentious reasons, various Ottoman parties found it more attractive to associate deeds with one or another ancestor, it does not then follow that the deeds never occurred.

Let us, then, first return to the texts already presented, in search not of names but of deeds for which a historical context exists. We may not be able to find both necessary and sufficient proof for the traditional story, but in the established history of the thirteenth century, there is, I think, a niche into which Ottoman tradition fits neatly.

Let us focus on the story as Aşıkpaşazade recounted it. His version is particularly interesting because, as noted already, the early sections are compounded of two sources: the Anonymous Chronicles and the account of Yakhşi Fakih. The latter source contained family traditions that went back to the court of Orhan, some 150 years earlier than Aşıkpaşazade's composition. It should be possible to separate these traditions from Aşıkpaşazade's text by setting his text beside the Anonymous Chronicles and subtracting the common elements. This leaves us with a text that consists of Yakhşi Fakih and, perhaps, some remarks derived from Aşıkpaşazade's own experience. Where Aşıkpaşazade and the

43. For Enveri's Ottoman genealogical tree, see Enveri, *Düsturname-i Enveri,* ed. Mükrimin Halil Yınanç (Istanbul, 1930), 2:94.

44. Karamanlı Nişancı Mehmed Paşa, *Osmanlı sultanları tarihi,* trans. Ibrahim Hakkı Konyalı, in *Osmanlı tarihleri,* ed. Çiftçioğlu Nihal Atsız (Istanbul, 1947), 343.

Anonymous Chronicles coincide, it is difficult to decide whether we are reading the Anonymous Chronicles alone or a story common to them and Yakhşi Fakih (this may be the case when Aşıkpaşazade provides more detail).[45] Before turning to such a comparison, let us bear in mind Aşıkpaşazade's disturbing insistence that, while there were many tales of the coming of the Ottoman house to Anatolia, his was the true one.

According to Aşıkpaşazade's pruned version of the story, Süleymanshah is not the ruler of Mahan but a leader of nomads sent forth to Rum via Erzincan. He is a hero and conqueror, but because the terrain is inhospitable to the herds, he turns east, where he dies in the legendary fashion prescribed in the Anonymous Chronicles. We next see the nomads scattering, some going to Syria, some returning to Rum.[46] Then, we learn of the embassy to Sultan Alaeddin, in the telling of which Aşıkpaşazade adds a number of details to the Anonymous Chronicles. The final passage discusses Ertoğrul's pastoral existence at Söğüd and the beginnings of enmity with the leaders of Germiyan and the Çavdar Tatars (to whom we shall return in chap. 3).

The core of the story concerns a group of nomads who came to Anatolia, to Erzurum and Erzincan, where, however, they suffered. Some of them moved south, others east, while those with Ertoğrul remained in Anatolia, ultimately finding a home assigned by Sultan Alaeddin. Does any of this fit a time and a place in thirteenth-century Anatolia?

Do we even need to fit this story to an actual historical context? We could conclude that Köprülü is right and that Osman's forefathers arrived in the eleventh century along with the Seljuks. Once we throw out the entire story as a fabrication, we are free to suggest anything we like, and if we are bound and determined to avoid any suggestion that the Ottomans (and their modern descendants) bore the Mongols' reputation, we might as well suggest an eleventh-century arrival.

But throwing out the entire story as a fabrication is as much an act of disdain as it is evidence of a scholar's caution. The early Ottoman chroniclers' presentations of thirteenth-century history form a fragile collection of brittle and often tendentious texts, but the texts are no

45. For the method, see Ménage, "Yakhshi Faqih," 52.

46. Here, Aşıkpaşazade uses both accounts. First, he discusses the origins of the Turkmen of Syria and the Turkmen and Tatars of Asia Minor, presumably from Yakhşi Fakih. Then, he repeats the account in the Anonymous Chronicles in which two of Süleymanshah's three sons return east. See *APZ*, 6–7.

more brittle than those from which we regularly teach the history of early Rome or the early caliphate, and we approach those texts not only with suspicion but with respect. Moreover, with the Ottoman chroniclers, we are closer to the events: at worst, a passage in Aşıkpaşazade is not farther from the events than we are from the time of Thomas Jefferson; at best, it is no farther than we are from the presidency of Harry Truman.

So far, suspicion has been the driving force in analyzing these Ottoman texts, and the skeptical inquiries that have followed upon suspicion have brought interesting results. I have called Ertoğrul's father by the name *Süleymanshah* from convention, but we know that there is a tradition giving him the name *Gündüz Alp*. This man may have died in Syria, but we also now know that there are many barnacles attached to the story. We can be quite certain that the Ottoman line had no connection with Abu Muslim and that the tradition that it did is a source for fifteenth-century intellectual history, not a genealogical marker. When we come across the Seljuk Sultan Alaeddin, we may justifiably frown, for there are three Alaeddin's in the Rum Seljuk dynasty, and two of them reigned during central points of early Ottoman history. Indeed, the appearance of Sultan Alaeddin appears on first glance to be a topos in the foundation histories of the Anatolian beyliks: he plays a wholly fictitious role in many of the early passages of Şikari's book about Karaman.[47]

We have, then, every right to expect of these texts that they will present events in what they consider to be the best possible light and to the best advantage of their patrons.[48] What is surprising about the chronicles is not how much they invent or recast but, instead, how much they leave intact.[49] Let us now examine a respectable historical context for their story.

One of the more interesting and culturally fruitful areas in the Oxus basin was Khwarezm. After the eleventh century, the rulers of Khwarezm ruled a powerful enterprise that, like so many others, dared oppose the Mongols and fell prey to their revenge. In the later 1220s, the

47. Şikari, *Şikari'nin Karaman oğulları tarihi*, ed. Mesud Koman (Konya, 1946), 7–12, 18, 21, 37–48, 52, 56, 78, 118, 130.

48. For an impressive example, see Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "La conquête d'Andrinople par les Turcs: La pénétration turque en Thrace et la valeur des chroniques ottomanes," *Travaux et mémoires* 1 (1965): 439–61.

49. See, on this point, Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans*, 19.

surviving ruler, gathering together bands of followers, rovers, and others seeking refuge and better fortune, began a career of raiding to the west. In August 1229, Jalal al-Din, the Khwarezmshah, besieged Ahlat, which fell to his great siege machines on April 14, 1230.[50] From Ahlat, Jalal al-Din marched forth to Manzikert/Malazgird and thence to Harput and the plain of Muş.[51] In response to this threat to his east, Sultan Alaeddin formed a hasty alliance with the Ayyubids of Syria and, at the battle of Yassi Çimen, near Erzincan (August 10–12, 1230), defeated the Khwarezmshah's army.[52] After Jalal al-Din's death soon thereafter, a number of his troops were available, and with the Mongols on the horizon, Alaeddin employed them, granting military tenures to them in the area of Erzurum.[53] After a Mongol attack on their pastures, some of them departed and sought other assignments: one leader received Erzincan, another Amasya, another Karaman, another Niğde; the Khwarezmians remained loyal to Alaeddin.[54] After the death of Alaeddin, some of the Khwarezmians in Seljuk service joined the Ayyubids (and a Seljuk force defeated them in Syria in 1240).[55] The context of these events seems an entirely plausible one for the arrival of the forefathers of Osman.

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50. 'Ala al-Din 'Ata Malik Juvaini, *The History of the World-Conqueror,* trans. John Andrew Boyle (Cambridge, 1958), 2:444–49.

51. Ibid., 450.

52. See J. A. Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans," in *The Cambridge History of Iran,* ed. J. A. Boyle, vol. 5, *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods* (Cambridge, 1968), 333–35; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey,* 129–30 (and in greater detail, *La Turquie pré-Ottomane,* 83–84); Turan, *Selçuklular,* 369–72; Hans L. Gottschalk, "Der Bericht des Ibn Nazif al-Hamawi über die Schlacht von Jasyčimen (25.–28. Ramadan 627/7.–10. August 1230)," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 56 (1960): 55–67, with comparisons to the other sources; Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Nasawi, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti,* trans. O. Houdas (Paris, 1895), 342–46; Juvaini, *History of the World-Conqueror,* 450–51. R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols, the Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260* (Albany, 1977), 216–19; Michel Kursanskis, "L'empire de Trébizonde et les Turcs au 13e siècle," *Revue des études byzantines* 46 (1988): 119–20.

53. See Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey,* 239 (*La Turquie pré-Ottomane,* 86); Turan, *Selçuklular,* 378.

54. See Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey,* 131, 246 (*La Turquie pré-Ottomane,* 86); Turan, *Selçuklular,* 278–79; Ibn Bibi, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi,* trans. Herbert W. Duda (Copenhagen, 1959), 182–84. Cf. Ibn Bibi's remarks about the Mongol attack on the Khwarezmians with Aşıkpaşazade's remarks about the troubles encountered in the mountains of east Anatolia. For the Khwarezmians' loyalty, see Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj Bar Hebraeus,* trans. Ernest A. Wallis Budge (Oxford, 1932), 1:397.

55. See Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey,* 134 (*La Turquie pré-Ottomane,* 92–93).

I do not suggest that the ancestors of the Ottomans were from any particular senior Khwarezmian group, nor do I wish to exclude the possibility that they arrived in the wake of the Mongols after 1243, possibly in the late 1250s. There are, however, points of contact with the story of those who came with the Khwarezmians into Anatolia. Osman's grandfather traced a path that is pretty similar to that of the Khwarezmians: Pasin Ova, Sürmelü Çukur, Erzurum, Erzincan, and even a disaster in northern Syria do not fit badly.[56] Troubles for the herds could be a euphemism for Mongol raids. A generous Alaeddin, eager for more helping hands, comes into play as well. It is possible, then, that Osman's ancestors came into Anatolia as part of the immigration that, moving before the Mongols, coincided in time with the meteoric fall of Jalal al-Din.[57]

There is, of course, no necessary and sufficient proof here. Always, we must live with the fact that Osman's father and grandfather were too unimportant to have caught the attention of the thirteenth-century chroniclers. We are not likely to know soon just what happened, just where, and just when. My purpose has been to show that there may well be some substance that is worth further discussion. If the Khwarezmshah's men have anything to do with Ottoman prehistory, then we can better understand some of the to-and-fro on the way to Söğüd. Given such a past, it is no wonder that the later chroniclers felt the need to hide some of it beneath the varnish of another past, partly plagiarized and partly invented.

Köprülü wanted the Ottoman ancestors to have arrived with the Seljuks, and at the time he wrote, the recollection of a generation of horrors would, among other motivations, have moved even the most stolid to think again about a past that associated the Ottomans, no matter how remotely, with the Mongols. Wittek, working in Turkey during the 1920s, had read and reviewed enough work that accepted

56. See the first map in M. Fahrettin Kırzıoğlu, *Kars tarihi*, vol. 1 (Istanbul, 1953), based in part on the work of Honigmann.

57. There is a glimmering of this notion in Zeki Velidi Togan, "Die Vorfahren der Osmanen in Mittelasien," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 95 (1941): 367–68. Togan refers to two unpublished works unearthed by Mesud Koman in Konya, composed in 1355 and 1517. It is more clearly stated, on more circumstantial evidence, by Josef Marquart, in "Über das Volkstum der Komanen," *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse*, n.s., 13, no. 1 (1914): 187–88. It is stated plainly in the old and neglected work of Joseph de Guignes, *Histoire générale des Huns* (Paris, 1758), 4[5]:331, 333–34.

the fifteenth-century Ottoman memories uncritically. In a series of short, skeptical masterstrokes, he was able to undo the received success story. The suggestion here is that while that received story is full of elements that do not and cannot fit, the background may be a recollection of events that actually occurred. The background appears to fit the irruption of the Khwarezmians, but it is possible to argue that the ancestors of the Ottomans arrived with, in the wake of, or in advance of the Mongols. Whether they arrived with the Khwarezmians or along with the Mongols is not as much an issue here as is the conclusion that those men and women who raised Ertoğrul were nomads whose pastoral travails made their way into the heavily revised memories of a later generation.

CHAPTER TWO

Why Söğüd? An Interlude

(Söğüd) is a first-class post station, forty-four hours from Constantinople.
—[Murray's] *Handbook for Travellers in Turkey in Asia*

On September 30, 1956, I attended the ceremony commemorating Ertoğrul Gazi at Söğüt. Let me say at once that I have been an active journalist for thirty-five years and have attended many ceremonies—but never as sincere, heartfelt, and splendid a ceremony as the commemoration of Ertoğrul Gazi.
—Ibrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Söğüt'de Ertuğrul Gazi türbesi ve ihtifalı*

There may not be agreement about the time or manner in which the forefathers of Osman entered Anatolia, but there is no doubt about where they landed. The Ottomans arrived at Söğüd, between Dorylaion and the place now called Bilecik; this they recalled as their winter pasture.[1] Their summer pastures were supposed to have been on the slopes of Domanıç, an eastern outlier of the Bithynian Olympus, to the southwest of Söğüd across the Karasu.[2] No student, whether of the Byzantines or of the

1. Besides the coincidence of three consonants in the written forms of the two names, there is no evidence that Bilecik is the former Belokome. My remarks concerning Bilecik in *Nomads and Ottomans* (46 n. 128) rested on the assumption that Belokome must be Bilecik. Now, rather than attempt to harmonize the Byzantine and Ottoman traditions, I suggest that this is another example of the two traditions emphasizing wholly different events and processes. In fact, I do not believe that it is possible to harmonize the two traditions for much of Osman's life. For a folk etymology of Bilecik, see Mehmet Önder, "Anadolu şehir adları üzerine efsanelerin oluşumu," in *Türk yer adları sempozyumu bildirileri* (Ankara, 1984), 71.

2. There is a problem with the Ottomans' summer pastures, because the slopes of Domanıç were pretty well wooded and were frequented by nomad woodcutters as well as herders. The density of the forests on these slopes should cause some doubts about the numbers of early Ottoman herders and the wealth of their herds. See Charles Texier, *Asie mineure* (Paris, 1882), 392; John MacDonald Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor,*

Turks, has reported on Söğüd at length, either in detail on the ground or among the relevant archival records.[3] There are, however, abundant printed accounts of the town and its environs from travelers en route either southeast to the plateau or northwest to the Sangarius valley and Constantinople. That the early Ottoman home lay astride a major land route is in fact no coincidence. This chapter will develop the connection between these observations and suggest the significance of Söğüd for the creation of Ottoman history.

Söğüd (the name means "willows") lies near the boundary separating Bithynia from Phrygia Epiktetos, and it also nearly marks a boundary between zones of climate and flora. The olive, for example, thrives at Bilecik (twenty-nine kilometers away) but not at Söğüd, and as the limit of olive cultivation was one of the markers of the antique landscape, we may not be surprised at the claim that the vale of Söğüd served as pasture.[4] Where the olive tree grew, a family might well expect a certain type of habitation and adaptation to the environment, as well as a certain sign of peace. The land where one could no longer plant olive groves afforded different and perhaps lesser expectations. As for the other marker, the grape, the country around Söğüd was noted, if not for wine, at least for *üzüm turşusu* (grapes preserved in vinegar, praised by Katip Çelebi and Evliya Çelebi), *pekmez* (reduced grape juice), and *bulama* (grape juice reduced to the consistency of

Armenia, and Koordistan, in the years 1813 and 1814 (London, 1818), 233–43; Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern* (Hamburg, 1837), 3:134, 137–40; G. A. Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Egypte et la Perse* (Paris, 1807), 6:411–15. See, as well, Professor Clive Foss's forthcoming study of the Ottoman homelands, in which he discusses a further problem—that the pastures of Domaniç are no more elevated than those of Söğüd.

3. See Foss's forthcoming study.

4. See Louis Robert, "Les kordakia de Nicée, le combustible de Synnada et les poissons-scies. Sur des lettres d'un métropolite de Phrygie au Xe siècle, Philologie et réalités, I," *Journal des savants* (July–December 1961): 141 and n. 10. The protected, pretty vale of the Karasu allowed arboriculture, opium, and mulberry planting until Bilecik: on the silk trade at Bilecik, see MacFarlane, *Turkey and Its Destiny,* 1:324–29. Further to the south, where the line of the railroad crossed over to the valley of the Bozüyük Su, the land changed character, being only partially planted and mostly pasture: see M. Hecker, "Die Eisenbahnen der asiatischen Türkei," *Archive für Eisenbahnwesen* 37 (1914): 759. A tax register of 1572 indicates quite clearly that the neighborhood of Bilecik, with its villages, cultivated fields, mills, and comparative lack of land used as pasture, was well settled and devoted to cultivation: see Reşat Genç, "1572 tarihli tahrir defteri'ne göre XVI. Yüzyılda Bilecik ve çevresi," in *Söğüt II. Osmanlı sempozyumu* (Ankara, 1986), 27–37. See also the perceptive remarks of Colmar von der Goltz in *Anatolische Ausflüge* (Berlin, 1897), 137–65; for fruit trees on the Karasu north of Bilecik, see his p. 143.

honey).[5] Another marker is the cultivation of the mulberry and the spinning of silk. Söğüd marked the southeast boundary of sericulture centered on Bursa.[6] One astute traveler, Leake, noted, "there are large plantations of mulberries around the town, and every house manufactures a considerable quantity of raw silk."[7] By 1891, a *pavlika* (or *fabrica,* a "spinning mill") was in place there.[8]

From another perspective, Söğüd is the northwest boundary of the culture of the plateau, for *söğüd* means "willow tree," and the willow is, of all trees, the easiest to thrive on the steppe. As the mufti of Balahisar put it, "It grows quickly and gives shade, it gathers water, and, best of all, it varies the wind and drives off the fever."[9] In part, then, the "place of willows" was also an extension of the Anatolian plateau.

5. See J. H. Kramers, "Söğüd," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2d ed., vol. 9 (Leiden, 1997); Şemseddin Sami Fraşeri, *Kamus ül-Alem* (Istanbul, 1884–98), 4:2588; Katip Çelebi, *Cihannüma* (Istanbul, 1732), 642; Evliya Çelebi (who passed through in 1648), *Seyahatname* (Istanbul, 1898–1938), 3:11: I suspect the last two texts are not independent witnesses. A notice of fruit and grape production at Söğüd is in Edmund Naumann, ed., *Vom Goldnen Horn zu den Quellen des Euphrat* (Munich and Leipzig, 1893), 54–55. See also Mehmed Ziya, *Bursadan Konyaya seyahat* (Istanbul, n.d.), 163; occasionally, Mehmed Ziya appears to have been inspired by the remarks of Huart's earlier travel account. For present-day production, see Taylan Akkayan and Mehmet H. Aydın, *Ertuğrul Gazi'den bugüne Söğüt* (Istanbul, 1983), 48–49. For the grapes of Bilecik, see Edmond Dutemple, *En Turquie d'Asie, notes de voyage en Anatolie* (Paris, 1883), 190 (Dutemple was vice-consul of France); for the wine, see MacFarlane, *Turkey and Its Destiny,* 1:341. See also the map in Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth, *Türkei,* Wissenschaftliche Länderkunden (Darmstadt, 1982), 21:162. Also cf. Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "La population non-musulmane de Bithynie (deuxième moitié du XIVe s.-première moitié du XVe s.)," in *The Ottoman Emirate (1300–1389),* ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou (Rethymnon, 1993), 12, and the vakf material presented in Mehmet Akif Erdoğdu, "Ertuğrul Gazi'nin Bilecik'teki vakıfları," *Vakıflar dergisi* 21 (1990): 87. For the vegetation around Bilecik, see H. Dingler, "Umriss der Vegetationsverhältnisse des westlichen Innerbithynien," in *Vom Goldnen Horn zu den Quellen des Euphrat,* ed. Edmund Naumann (Munich and Leipzig, 1893), 471–75.

6. For the importance of the production of Bilecik, Lefke, and Söğüd in comparison with that of Bursa, see Dutemple, *En Turquie,* 210–11, 273. See also MacFarlane, *Turkey and Its Destiny,* 1:321–22 (a "filatura" at Küplü, below Bilecik). Other fabrics were produced at Bilecik, and the late fifteenth-century Ottoman traditions projected the origin of this trade back to the time of Orhan. See Erdoğdu, "Ertuğrul," 85–86 and n. 18.

7. William Martin Leake, *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor* (London, 1824), 16. See the list of later entrepreneurs in Régis Delbeuf, *De Constantinople à Brousse* (Istanbul, 1906), 133–39. In 1892, sericulture was the principal occupation in Bilecik: see Dernburg, *Deutscher Bahn,* 10.

8. Clément Huart, *Konia, la ville des derviches tourneurs* (Paris, 1897), 33; Ziya, *Seyahat,* 163.

9. Quoted in Karl Kannenberg, *Kleinasiens Naturschätze* (Berlin, 1897), 179. The sparse wood from the hills south of Söğüd was suitable for burning and for charcoal, but not for construction: see Fraşeri, *Kamus ül-Alem,* 4:2588. The cypress grew at Küplu, below Bilecik: see MacFarlane, *Turkey and Its Destiny,* 1:322.

The absence of the olive, the presence of the grape and the mulberry, and the stands of willows all place Söğüd in a zone of transition.[10] At a height of approximately 650 meters, Söğüd begins a sharp descent from the plateau, ending at Vezirhan (148 meters) and Lefke (102 meters), near the confluence of the Sangarius/Sakarya and the Göksu/Gökçesu (Gallos?).[11] The site lies just north of heights that mark, at about one thousand meters, the edge of the Anatolian steppe.[12]

South of this border, travelers have noted the treeless appearance of the Eskişehir/Dorylaion plain and contrasted the country leading to Söğüd and the vale in which the town lies. Arthur Pullinger, an early modern traveler, described the change: "from [Eskişehir] the greatest Part of the Stage is very agreeable through delightful Pleasent [*sic*] Woods . . . and Springs of Water to [Söğüd]. . . . the road continues for the most part exceeding Pleasent [*sic*], Woods, Rivelets [*sic*], Silk Gardens in abundance till about 5 miles of the End of the Stage."[13] A century ago, the epigrapher Huart remarked on the abundant stream running through the town and on the numbers of fountains.[14] The journey

10. Another traveler, who passed through on March 21 (i.e., at the onset of spring), found it "a fine cultivated country, the sloping hills clothed with the mulberry, and the plains with corn" (Charles Fellows, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, More Particularly in the Province of Lycia* [London, 1852], 90). Clive Foss has noted the wheat fields north of the tomb of Ertoğrul, sloping down to the gorge of the Sangarius.

11. The heights are measurements made at the appropriate railway stations. For comparison, the watershed of the plateau is reached (by railroad) at 877 meters just 1.5 kilometers west of the station at Inönü. For the identification of the Gallos, see Thomas Drew-Bear, Christian Naour, and Ronald S. Stroud, *Arthur Pullinger: An Early Traveler in Syria and Asia Minor,* Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 75, no. 3 (Philadelphia, 1985), 74–75, from which it would appear that the identification is certain. This is not so, and there is a stronger case for identifying the Gallos with the Mudurnu Çayı, which reaches the Sakarya in the Adapazarı basin. Sencer Şahin discusses the identification at great length in "Studien über die Probleme der historischen Geographie des nordwestlichen Kleinasiens," pt. 1, "Strabon XII:3, 7, p. 543," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 7 (1986): 147–48. He suggests that the Göksu/Gökçesu is the former Rhebas and that the antique Rebantia is the Yenişehir basin. The Sakarya becomes navigable by boats north of the junction with the Göksu/Gökçesu.

12. The edge seems to be a sharp one: see Kurt Bittel and Heinz Otto, *Demirci-Huyük* (Berlin, 1939), 2–3. A neat summary of the geographical situation appears in Besim Darkot, "Söğüt," in *Islam ansiklopedisi,* vol. 10 (Istanbul, 1966).

13. Drew-Bear, Naour, and Stroud, *Arthur Pullinger,* 45. Fellows (*Travels and Researches,* 92) noted that an hour south of Söğüd, the traveler entered a forest of oak, fir, and plane, after which a valley stretched to Inönü in the distance.

14. Huart, *Konia,* 33. Huart suspected that some of the paving stones had originally served ancient roads. See also Ziya, *Seyahat,* 172.

south did not form so positive an impression. Returning to his Eskişehir ministry by train from Constantinople, Otto Schönewolf wrote: "With a final puff, through tunnels black as night, the train reached the high plateau—and how effaced were the colors of life! No prosperity! No flowers! Only the colors of a dead steppe!"[15]

These passages help us to understand the direction of early Ottoman conquest: the riches were to the north and northwest, following the Sangarius and the Karasu, not to the south. We do not know when Dorylaion received the sad name *Eskişehir* (meaning "ancient, former city"), but over a century after Manuel I's unsuccessful attempt to revive the city, the plateau pickings were slim. North by northwest, however, past Beş Kardeş over the Boz Dağı, lay a quite different and more appealing prospect, for the vale of Söğüd (fifty-three kilometers from Eskişehir) was surprisingly attractive.[16] Early in the nineteenth century, Charles Fellows, riding up from Vezirhan, expected to find a barren upland but came instead on "a fine cultivated country, the sloping hills clothed with the mulberry, and the plains with corn," which, he notes, "continued with little change for about twelve or fifteen miles, until we arrived at the town of [Söğüd]."[17] Fellows wrote that the country became "less productive" above and south of Söğüd and that he had to cross a forest of oak, fir, and plane trees before the descent to Inönü.[18] Huart noted the use brigands had made of the woods and contrasted the forested heights with the vast, bare plain of Inönü.[19] If there was

15. Julius Schönewolf, ed., *Briefe aus Klein-Asien von einem Frühvollendeten* (Berlin, 1910), 139. For more recent railroad enthusiasts' contrasting comments on the fertile plain near Malagina (with tobacco, mulberries, and "plenty of corn") and their arrival on the plateau, "the real Turkey: arid and rocky," see George Behrend and Vincent Kelly, *Yatakh Vagon, Turkish Steam Travel* (Jersey [Channel Islands], 1969), 59. As a colleague put it to me, "When one reaches Bozüyük, however, one realizes that one has gone too far: lovely Bithynia is only a memory."

16. Beş Kardeş was at or near the site of a polis: see Leake, *Journal of a Tour,* 17. The site's name derives from the ancient pedestals that are the most striking aspect of the area, which has received only surface surveys by modern archaeologists. The pedestals were mindlessly destroyed for the laying of a gas line a few years ago.

17. Charles Fellows, *A Journal Written during an Excursion in Asia Minor, 1838* (London, 1839), 121.

18. Ibid., 123–24. The modern sawmill at Bozüyük noted by Richard Hartmann (*Im neuen Anatolien, Reiseeindrücke* [Leipzig, 1928], 53), served to fashion boards from the mountain timbers mentioned by Fellows; Hartmann does not mention timber from the plain. There was a timber depot at Karaköy, between Küplü and Bozüyük, at a crossing of the mountains before entering the plain: see Ziya, *Seyahat,* 155.

19. Huart, *Konia,* 36.

wealth to be had, if the grass was greener beyond Dorylaion, that path lay to the northwest.[20]

Has the landscape changed over the last five hundred years? Is it legitimate to use these modern travelers' reports as evidence for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries? In the last three generations, Anatolia has seen changes due to the construction of railroads and highways, which pull commercial routes toward themselves and alter crop and settlement patterns; changes due to the bitter warfare between Greeks and Turks after World War I,[21] warfare that obliterated many settlements in this area; and cultural changes due to the "exchange of populations" that accompanied the end of that warfare and due also to the "modernization" of Turkish rural life. These changes might well lead us to wonder about the character of the Anatolian scene in earlier centuries. Certainly, there was a good deal of alteration at times of crisis in the Aegean coastal areas, as research on the Persian invasions has shown.[22] In this area, however, the land and its natural cover did not suffer, and they offer no present evidence of past, substantive alteration. In 1701, Pitton de Tournefort, traveling from Eskişehir to Bozüyük (twenty-five kilometers from Söğüd), remarked on what he called "plains lined with small forests," but this was scrub rather than what we would describe as forest.[23] When the eleventh-century crusaders remarked on the changed landscape of the plateau, they did so at Eskişehir and not before. A very recent survey of the evidence suggests that there has been no marked climatic change or long-term effect on the area during the period in question.[24]

There are also other ways of marking this frontier zone and of mea-

20. On the economy of Bilecik, see, in general, Said Öztürk, *Tanzimat döneminde bir Anadolu şehri Bilecik* (Istanbul, 1996), 61–85.

21. The available published accounts of the impact of warfare (and "exchange of populations") on west Anatolia are selective and tendentious. As an example, see Sabahattin Özel, *Kocaeli ve Sakarya illerinde milli mücadele (1919–1922)* (Istanbul, 1987), 158, on depredations at Söğud; see also Hartmann, *Anatolien*, 50. For Bilecik, see Hartmann, *Anatolien*, 45–46.

22. See Clive Foss, "Archaeology and the Twenty Cities of Byzantine Asia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 81 (1977): 469–86; "The Persians in Asia Minor and the End of Antiquity," *English Historical Review* 90 (1975): 721–47.

23. The quote is from Bittel and Otto, *Demirci-Hüyük*, 1 n. 2. This explains the contrary remarks of Edmund Naumann in *Vom Goldnen Horn*, 22, 387.

24. It appears, for instance, that the effects associated with the Celali rebellions were not permanent. See the very interesting survey by Peter I. Kuniholm, "Archaeological Evidence and Non-evidence for Climatic Change," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, pt. A, 330 (1990): 645–55. Cf., in general, Hütteroth, *Türkei*, 131–32.

suring its stability over time in the ancient and medieval worlds. West and north of Bozüyük, archaeologists no longer find numbers of hüyüks, those striking mounds that have rewarded excavations for so long (and that are quite common between Bozüyük and Eskişehir).[25] Across the wooded passes to the south, we are in the land of mud-brick housing, the material base and source on which the mounds fed and grew.[26] That the mounds were built up over generations, without movement of the settlement, reveals the permanence of this frontier and the permanence of its environmental basis.[27] At Söğüd, we are amid tile-covered wood houses, and at Küplü—the railway station below and serving Bilecik—there was once an attractive wooden mosque near the refreshing waters.[28] Again, this zone was well defined, for there were woods near Söğüd ample enough to provide charcoal not only for the town but also for the needs of Bilecik and the train depot at Küplü.[29] The broad ridge of the Boz Dağı seems to have been well forested in antiquity.[30]

The difference between the vale of Söğüd and the plain of Eskişehir is not only due to ground cover; it is also a result of geology and climate. Söğüd sits exactly astride the frontiers of three different geographical zones: the Marmara basin, the Black Sea region (where geography texts conventionally place it), and central Anatolia.[31] An important Ottoman historical event depended on this peculiar situation, as a later chapter will demonstrate, but for the moment, let us look at one impact of the weather, bearing in mind that at such a juncture of three climatic regimes, there can be considerable variation from

25. See, for example, Alfred Körte, *Anatolische Skizzen* (Berlin, 1896), 3–4. For a more thorough modern survey, see Turan Efe, "1992 yılında Kütahya, Bilecik ve Eskişehir illerinde yapılan yüzey araştırmaları," in *XI. Araştırma sonuçları toplantısı, Ankara, 24–28 Mayıs 1993* (Ankara, 1994), 581–82.

26. See Huart, *Konia*, 27, 35 (a description of the woods south of Söğüd), 39 (a mud-brick village west of Çukur Hisar). On the woods near Bilecik and Küplü, see Ziya, *Seyahat*, 155; H. Ouvré, *Un mois en Phrygie* (Paris, 1896), 29.

27. See Bittel and Otto, *Demirci-Hüyük*, 2–4, with interesting remarks on the cultural boundaries involved.

28. For the landscape and intensive land use at Küplü, see the remarks of Edmund Naumann (*Vom Goldnen Horn*, 67–69), who visited the area in 1890.

29. See Ziya, *Seyahat*, 169. Cf. the considerable forested area in and around Inegöl even in modern times: see Dutemple, *En Turquie*, 252.

30. See Peter Frei, "Epigraphisch-topographische Forschungen im Raum von Eskişehir," in *I. Araştırma sonuçları toplantısı, Istanbul, 23–26 Mayıs 1983* (Ankara, 1984), 57.

31. See Talip Yücel, *Türkiye coğrafyası* (Ankara, 1987), 10, 42 (map); Besim Darkot and Metin Tuncel, *Marmara bölgesi coğrafyası* (Istanbul, 1981), 3, 104 (map).

year to year.[32] At Eskişehir, the annual rainfall has ranged, in the past generation, from 215 to 537 millimeters, with an average of 374 millimeters.[33] At Bilecik, the range is from 350 to 500 millimeters, with an average of 436 millimeters.[34] At Söğüd, finally, the annual rainfall is about 630 millimeters, reflecting the influence of Black Sea breezes.[35] Eskişehir was, then, a marginal area for dry farming, Bilecik was dubious, and Söğüd was an appropriate area: it had good farmland, was well watered, and, as we shall see, sat on a major trade route. This pattern of rainfall from the sea allows intensive agriculture (there were rice fields between Lefke and Söğüd in the mid-seventeenth century) and is part of the invitation to settled agriculture that beckoned to anyone who crossed the watershed north of Eskişehir.[36] It is part of the call to the even more fruitful north and northwest, a call heeded during early Ottoman history.[37]

It would be helpful if the earlier name of Söğüd were known, assuming, as the antique spolia suggest, that the village is not an Ottoman foundation. Unfortunately, there is no clear evidence linking a particular antique or Byzantine place-name with the site, although there have been candidates offered.[38] Laonikos Chalkokondyles was the first Byzantine

32. See *Bilecik tanıtma rehberi* (Bilecik, 1986), 17.

33. See *Eskişehir il yıllığı* (Ankara, 1967), 67; *Yurt ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1981), 2:1246; Süha Göney, *Türkiye ziraatinin coğrafi esasları* (Istanbul, 1987), 35. For the area just south of Eskişehir, cf. Erhan Tezcan, *Eskişehir Mahmudiye ilçesi* (Eskişehir, 1982), 24; that area has a smaller range and a lower average precipitation.

34. See *Bilecik 1967 il yıllığı* (Istanbul, 1968), 20; *Yurt ansiklopedisi*, 2:1241, 1246.

35. See Akkayan and Aydın, *Söğüt*, 5; *Yurt ansiklopedisi*, 2: 1247. Note that further toward the Marmara, at Pazaryeri (Ermeni Derbend, Ermeni Pazarı), the annual average rainfall is 593 millimeters. The average annual rainfall at Bursa is 713 millimeters: see Göney, *Coğrafi esasları*, 35. Cf. the map in A. Rıza Çetik, *Türkiye vejetasyonu*, vol. 1, *Iç Anadolu'nun vejetasyonu ve ekolojisi* (Konya, 1985), 56.

36. Akkayan and Aydın, (*Söğüt*, 100–102) reprint a series of panoramic photographs taken in 1895; these give a pretty good impression of the cultivation in the area around the town. For the rice fields, see Evliya Çelebi, *The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman, Melek Ahmed Pasha (1588–1662), as Portrayed in Evliya Çelebi's Book of Travels (Seyahat-name)*, trans. Robert Dankoff (Albany, 1991), 56. A century ago, von der Goltz noted, time and again, the great mulberry plantations and silk spinneries from Lefke south up the Karasu as far as Bilecik (*Anatolische Ausflüge*, 126–27, 138).

37. For a good general overview of the range of climatic conditions over a period of years, comparing Geyve, Bilecik, and Eskişehir, see Rudolf Fitzner, *Niederschlag und Bewölkung in Kleinasien*, Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, suppl. 140 (Gotha, 1902), 13–37.

38. Claudia Naumann ("Die mittelalterliche Festung von Aizanoi-Çavdarhisar," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 35 [1985]: 285) identifies Söğüd with Gordouserbai without further discussion, and there seems no secure text for this attribution: cf. Raymond Janin, *Les églises*

author to mention a place-name for the site, which he called "Itaias" in Greek. As this word bears the same meaning as the name *Söğüd* (i.e., "willows"), it is no guide to any earlier name the village may have had. Chalkokondyles does tell us, however, that at least as far back as the fifteenth century, the stream passing through the vale of Söğüd bore the same name as the settlement.[39]

Only one antique object described in detail in the literature derives from the immediate vicinity: an inscription from Çaltı, between Söğüd and the great basin of the Sangarius, first visited by Alfred Körte in 1894. There are no remarkable antiquities at Söğüd itself, although the devastation of the Greco-Turkish War may account for this. Earlier travelers did not note specific antique monuments in the town.[40] The leader of the most recent surface survey remarked on the absence of finds on the Boz Dağı (the heights north of Eskişehir); the few architectural pieces found there originated on the plain and were removed to the higher villages as building material. One conclusion drawn from the survey (which was accomplished after the deforestation of the last two generations) was that the northern ridges of the Boz Dağı had been covered with trees in antiquity and perhaps in Byzantine times.[41] This implies that our frontier, while remaining above and north of Bozüyük and Dorylaion, may have been a bit further south of and above Söğüd in earlier periods. There are general reports of the existence of spolia from Söğüd, and there are traces of Roman roads in the immediate vicinity of the town.[42] But if there was a Byzantine settlement there, we

et les monastères des grands centres byzantins (Paris, 1975), 110. Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Turkey in Asia* (London, 1875) identifies Söğüd with the Byzantine Thebazion and states that modern Greeks call it Lukopolis (364). MacDonald Kinneir (*Journey,* 35) identified it with Tataion (now located with certainty at Gölpazarı). B. A. Pançenko and N. K. Kluge identified it with Serbochoria: see the quotation in Vitalien Laurent, ed. and trans., *La vita retractata et les miracles posthumes de Saint Pierre d'Atroa,* Subsidia hagiographica, vol. 31 (Brussels, 1958), 68.

39. Laonikos Chalkokondyles, *Laonici Chalcocondylae Historiarum Demonstrationes,* ed. E. Darkó (Budapest, 1922–23), 1:11, lines 15–17. See also Kannenberg, *Naturschätze,* 179. Söğüt is a common place-name in Turkey: see *Köylerimiz,* 483.

40. See Şahin, "Strabon," 137. On the visual impression of the Sakarya gorge north of Söğüd, see Huart, *Konia,* 33–34; Hartmann, *Anatolien,* 49. On the lack of antique remains at Söğüd, see Ziya, *Seyahat,* 172.

41. See Frei, "Forschungen," 57.

42. Huart (*Konia,* 31) saw traces of Roman roads northwest of Söğüd at a distance of about an hour or more on horseback. I thank Dr. David French, director of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, for information about a Roman road south of Söğüd on the way to Inönü. See Klaus Belke and Norbert Mersich, *Tabula imperii byzantini,* vol. 7,

cannot trace its name at present. We do know that there was trade in marble from the area, as some Söğüd marble was used in Byzantine sarcophagi.[43] The site was fertile and, in addition, strategic—the real point of the argument.[44]

The number of mounds in the Bozüyük and Eskişehir plains is an indication that this was an area where important routes crossed, even in the dim reaches beyond antiquity. If a traveler left the Marmara basin for the plateau, there were two major starting points: Nicomedia and Nicaea. From either point of departure, the choice of routes was limited. From Nicomedia, one might follow the route of the modern railroad east to the Sangarius and then upriver at least as far as Leukai/Lefke/Osmaneli. South of Lefke, the Sangarius made its great bend to the east, but the traveler could follow one of its tributaries, now known as the Karasu, directly south to Vezirhan or Bilecik. South of Bilecik, the trail was very difficult—steep, narrow, and far above the water—which explains why few travelers chose it before the days of the railroad.[45] The rail route continues south from Bilecik, up the Karasu defile, across bridges and through tunnels, until Bozüyük.[46] But an alternate route—where the slopes were easier and the valleys broader—lay southeast of Vezirhan and Bilecik, via Söğüd.[47] Starting from Nicaea, the traveler

Phrygian und Pisidien, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, vol. 211 (Vienna, 1990), 142 and general descriptions of the roads through and near Söğüd. Clive Foss notes reused stones in the town, indicating that the site was occupied in Roman and later eras. In his discussion of the church at Günyarık, Professor Foss suggests two periods of building, the later during the Lascarid era, in the first half of the thirteenth century.

43. See Cyril Mango, "A Newly Discovered Byzantine Imperial Sarcophagus," *Istanbul arkeoloji müzeleri yıllığı* 15–16 (1969): 309.

44. The site's strategic location supports arguments for an earlier settlement at Söğüd. Until there is, at the very least, a site survey of the area, some uncertainty on this point will remain. Professor Foss discusses his own observations of the spolia in his forthcoming stndy.

45. See the account in MacFarlane, *Turkey and Its Destiny,* 1:320–21, 323.

46. That this is a difficult route may be seen from the lack of ancient sites on the Karasu, including Bilecik (although sarcophagi are known from the environs): see Sencer Şahin, *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia),* vol. 2, pt. 1, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, vol. 10, pt. 1 (Bonn, 1981), 33–34. See also Naumann, *Vom Goldnen Horn,* 427–31; note that the steepest gradients (even including tunnels and viaducts) run up the stretch from Vezirhan past Bilecik to Bozüyük (see the table in ibid., 427).

47. On the scenic and difficult aspect of the route up the Karasu, see Richard von Eisenstein, *Reise nach Konstantinopel, Kleinasien, Rumänien, Bulgarien und Servien* (Vienna, 1912), 93.

might ride east (passing through the district of Malagina) and gain the Sangarius at Mekece, or he or she might cross the hills bordering the plain southeast of Nicaea to reach Lefke. An alternative and occasionally important route from Nicaea was to strike due south over the hills to Yenişehir or Inegöl, then to travel up the hills toward Bilecik or, from Inegöl, southeast to Armenokastron/Ermeni Pazarı/Pazarcık and, from there, down to the upper reaches of the Karasu and Bozüyuk.[48] Travelers have noted stretches of ancient roads here and there along these paths.[49]

Söğüd lay on a route known as the Pilgrims' Road, a road reaching diagonally across Anatolia, and was on the stretch leading from Nicaea to Dorylaion.[50] It would be helpful for us to know whether Byzantines passed through or near Söğüd on their march up-country to the plateau. We know of a series of mustering stations (aplekta), where the Byzantine troops converged before marching forth east or southeast on campaign against the Muslims. The first two of these, Malagina and Dorylaion/Şar Hüyük (just northeast of Eskişehir), are relevant for this discussion. To determine the route, we need to know the location of the end points, and while the site of Dorylaion is certain, that of Malagina or its district has been a source of scholarly disagreement for years.[51] Clive Foss has now determined that the site is at Paşalar (elevation 754

48. See, for example, the route taken by Samuel Yemshel in the spring of 1642, from Eskişehir to Çukurşehir to Bozüyük to Bazarcık to Akbıyık to Iznik to Gavur Köyü/Derbent to Dil to Gebze; see Bernard Lewis, "A Karaite Itinerary through Turkey in 1641–2," *Vakıflar dergisi* 3 (1956): 323–24. See also Kurt Bittel, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, Istanbuler Mitteilungen, vol. 5 (Istanbul, 1942), 154–63, for some modern observations on the routes. For a commentary on the rich traffic along the route from Karaköy (north of Bozüyük on the Karasu) to Pazarcık to Kurşunlu to Yenişehir to Bursa, see Naumann, *Vom Goldnen Horn*, 69–70. See also the sample itineraries I provide at the end of the present chapter.

49. See Bittel and Otto, *Demirci-Hüyük*, 7. On the quality of the later Ottoman route linking Bilecik and Bursa, see Dutemple, *En Turquie*, 256–57. For classical routes linking Nicaea with Dorylaion, see David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton, 1950), 800–801.

50. See Taeschner, "Anatolische Forschungen," 102.

51. For the collected opinions of early scholars, see Laurent, *Vita retractata*, 66–74. One important result of the debate has been the realization that Malagina not only was an army camp but also enjoyed sufficient pasture for the cavalry horse; remounts were kept there on a permanent basis: see ibid., 69 and n. 1. A recent study of texts concerning Malagina with a suggestion that it was located at Mekece on the Sakarya, is Sencer Şahin, "Studien über die Probleme der historischen Geographie des nordwestlichen Kleinasiens," pt. 2, "Malagina/Melagina am Sangarios," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 7 (1986): 153–67.

meters), where there is a castle (known as Metabole) above the Pamukova railway station between Lefke and Geyve/Kabia.[52]

Unfortunately, the list of aplekta gives only the names of the first two stations, Malagina and Dorylaion, not the route between them.[53] There are, however, only two sensible up-country routes from Malagina: one striking out from Vezirhan via Söğüd and one going up the narrow valley of the Karasu, south of Vezirhan, and over the watershed southeast of Bozüyük. For an army of any size, the Söğüd route would have been preferable, as the Karasu defile, followed (using viaducts and tunnels) by the modern railroad, would string out the troops and baggage train.[54] In laying out the modern railroad track, for example, the steep slope south of Bilecik in the Karasu valley (a vertical gain of 300 meters in 12 kilometers) required a byway through the Sorgun Dere, and the forty-eight kilometers between Bilecik and Inönü took nearly a year to construct, compared with seventy-two kilometers constructed in three months on the plateau. The Karasu valley was the "child of sorrows" of the Anatolian railway.[55] The route up the Karasu from Bilecik/Küplü to the plateau was also less wooded and thus more exposed to the heat of the day, and it may have required more frequent fording.[56] It was also the steepest ascent along the route across Anatolia.[57]

52. Clive Foss and David Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications, an Introduction* (Pretoria, 1986), 140, 147–48; Clive Foss, "Byzantine Malagina and the Lower Sangarius," *Anatolian Studies* 40 (1990): 161–83.

53. The latest discussion and publication of the list of aplekta is by George Huxley in "A List of Aplekta," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 16 (1975): 87–93, with references to the earlier literature.

54. Cf. the descriptions of the Karasu in Dernburg, *Deutscher Bahn,* 4–5, 51, and Hartmann, *Anatolien,* 53. For a brief listing and description of the tunnels and viaducts, see Karl Baedeker, *Konstantinopel, Balkanstaaten, Kleinasien, Archipel, Cypern, Handbuch für Reisende* (Leipzig, 1914), 275–76. When von der Goltz rode south from Vezirhan to Bilecik, his pathway left the valley of the Karasu and entered Bilecik from the northwest: see his *Anatolische Ausflüge,* 141, and cf. his map on p. 133.

55. See Hecker, "Die Eisenbahnen," 759, 791–92, 1077 (table). For "Schmerzenskind," see ibid., 1283. Cf. the remarks of Dr. Forchheimer in "Die Eisenbahn von Ismid nach Angora," *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* 41 (1891): 374–75.

56. Dernburg had to ride from Küplu to Eskişehir, and his account of the exposed route onto the plateau is quite graphic, not to say overwritten (*Deutscher Bahn,* 52–53); cf. Körte, *Anatolische Skizzen,* 2–3. Cf. the comments of Hasan Fehmi Paşa (in a report to the Grand Vizier dated November 1880) on the difficulties of constructing the rail route up the Karasu, discussed by Dutemple, *En Turquie,* 290, and Hecker, "Die Eisenbahnen," 1285.

57. This conclusion follows, I think, from a consideration of the gradients found on the route of the Anatolian railway; see Hecker, "Die Eisenbahnen," 1291–93. Hecker provides a helpful table of the stations found along the route, the grade between the stations, and the heights of the stations. By far the steepest grades lie between Bilecik and Inönü, as the

A march up-country that passed through this region is recorded in Anna Comnena's account of one of her father's last expeditions. According to this account, the emperor Alexios set forth from Nicomedia to Nicaea and then to Gaita (unidentified), whence he sent raiding parties ahead; Alexios then brought the rest of his army to the bridge at Pithekas and, after that, in a three days' march, to Dorylaion via Armenokastron and Lefke.[58] As it stands, this account is confusing, for there is no reason to go through Armenokastron, the later Ermeni Derbend west of Bilecik on the route to the Bursa plain. The mention of Pithekas—whose site has yet to be located but is probably between Lefke and Bilecik (Pithekas may well be the Karasu gorge)—may indicate that Alexios's line of march ran south of Lefke rather than through Armenokastron (for the army to pass both Lefke and Armenokastron involves an unnecessary ascent and a needless detour).

While we do not have an unambiguous Byzantine campaign account to shed a clear light, we do possess accounts of another occasion, the march of the first crusaders up to Dorylaion. Leaving Nicaea, the crusaders divided their army at Lefke, only to unite again in battle at Dorylaion (July 1, 1097). One of the armies went before the other, which left later, and there is some disagreement about the route the first army chose. For the second army to arrive in time to rescue their colleagues at a crucial moment in the fighting, however, that army must have gone by the most direct route, via Söğüd.[59] There is further

trains rise from 294 to 863 meters in height over a distance of 55 kilometers (the watershed lies 3 kilometers west of Inönü, whose elevation is 836 meters). Cf. Hecker's chart opposite his p. 1584.

58. Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. Elizabeth A. S. Dawes (London, 1928), 397.

59. The issues of timing and route are discussed in Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie de la première croisade 1094–1100* (Paris, 1902), 83–88; *Anonymi Gesta francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1890), 196–97; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 1, *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1957), 184–87; Wilhelm Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, vol. 124, no. 8 (Vienna, 1891), 83. It is important to bear in mind as well that many of the crusaders were on foot: see R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097–1193* (Cambridge, 1956), 117–18, 168–69. The most recent study of the campaign is in John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1994), 169–73. France suggests that the vanguard comprised less than twenty thousand men, while the main force came to fewer than thirty thousand. He argues that the route via Söğüd is "dangerously scenic and offers no open sites," and he proposes, as an alternate, a route south of Nicaea leading to Yenişehir and, from that point, over the ridges of the Ahi Dağı to the valley above Bozüyük, south of the gorge of the

evidence from a march of the German army on a later crusade. In October 1147, the army of Conrad III marched up from Nicaea, having chosen the most direct route to the plateau. Once the men reached the plain of Dorylaion, they noted (and plundered) herds of sheep. On October 26, Turkish nomads appeared on the heights above Dorylaion, which the crusaders had just passed, and worried them with their showers of arrows and tactics of feigned retreat. An eclipse of the sun and nightfall added to the panic among the soldiers, who had to fend off Turkish pursuit until they had passed into Byzantine land, somewhere between Dorylaion and Nicaea. Since the Germans had to fight a rearguard action that began east of Dorylaion, it makes the best geographical sense to see them taking the route through Söğüd.[60] We need not insist on the point, however, for there is a substantial body of evidence to indicate that the Ottomans at Söğüd were in a position to survey and control a number of important routes.

In the sixteenth century, Ottoman and European accounts described the route from Nicaea through Yenişehir and Pazarcık to Bozüyük. Before the correct location of Malagina was discovered, there had been some thought, based on the incorrect identification of Malagina with Yenişehir, that this route followed a former Byzantine road.[61] To be precise, this route ran from Nicaea south over the hills to Yenişehir,[62]

Karasu. This seems to me rather more difficult, especially as this route may not have had as many sources of water. There is still need for a critical evaluation of the comments made by von der Goltz (*Anatolische Ausflüge,* 456–58), whose knowledge of the topography and concern for military requirements were substantial. Commenting on two alternative routes for the crusaders, one that went up the Karasu to Bozüyük and the other via Söğüd, he noted that the route from Nicaea to Dorylaion via the railway, at 150 kilometers, did not allow for the armies (whose size, however, he almost certainly overestimated) to reach Dorylaion in time for the battle (at five kilometers per hour); the route through Sögüd, at 135 kilometers, was shorter, but he judged the road to be harder (von der Goltz does not appear to have traveled it himself). He concluded that the battle could not in fact have taken place at Dorylaion and that the sources and schedules suggest that it took place further west, at Inönü or perhaps at Bozüyük.

60. See Wilhelm Bernhardi, *Konrad III* (Leipzig, 1883), 626–39. The Söğüd route is the conclusion of von der Goltz, *Anatolische Ausflüge,* 458–59, an account worth further study.

61. See Franz Taeschner, *Das Anatolische Wegenetz nach Osmanischen Quellen,* vol. 1, Türkische Bibliothek, vol. 22 (Leipzig, 1924), 97, relying on Sölch. Taeschner pointed out, however, that in later times, the Ottomans used the Yenişehir plain as an army mustering ground; see also Hartmann, *Anatolien,* 44.

62. The stretch from Iznik to Yenişehir is an obvious divagation and may reflect the role of the town in early Ottoman history as Osman's foundation. The more direct route south of Iznik would pass through Bilecik.

further south to Akbıyık, and then southeast to Pazarcık (called in early Ottoman times Ermeni Derbend and then Ermeni Pazarcık), Bozüyük, Inönü, and Eskişehir.[63] We do not know how frequented this way was in earlier centuries, but travelers would in any event have come to Ottoman notice at Pazarcık or at Bozüyük.[64]

Söğüd certainly lay on a main route linking Constantinople and Konya in later years. The stations, beginning from Üsküdar, were Kartal (four hours away by horse), Pendik (four to five), Gebze (four), Malsum (the station by the ferry across the gulf), Hersek, Kız Derbend (nine hours away by horse), Iznik (five), Lefke (six), Vezirhan (four), Söğüd (eight), Inönü (five), and Eskişehir (three).[65] The reminiscences of Evliya Çelebi refer to this route: in 1651, an army camped (and battled) between Lefke and Söğüd, and Evliya himself traveled the route more than once.[66]

If we turn to an alternate route, via Kütahya, we still find the traveler under the Ottoman gaze.[67] The route from Bursa through Kütahya went past the stations at Bursa, Aksu, Inegöl, and Domanıç Dağı.[68] If the Ottomans had been at or near their summer pastures, this route would intersect their own on the heights; if the Ottomans were at Söğüd, they would still be at hand, for Bozüyük, the station after Domanıç, is only twenty-five kilometers distant. Bozüyük was four hours away by

63. See Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, table 5 (opposite p. 118), containing a conspectus of travelers from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

64. For a comparison of the two routes in classical Ottoman times, see Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, 97–101, 118–24.

65. See [Murray's] *Handbook*, 363–64. See the annex at the end of the present chapter for other itineraries. MacDonald Kinneir notes (*Journey*, 23), "The Turks reckon distances by the number of hours which a caravan takes to perform the journey, and this varies of course according to the nature of the country." By horse, Söğüd was some forty-five kilometers from Eskişehir (see Körte, *Anatolische Skizzen*, 12). During the first year of its operation, the trip by rail from Haydarpaşa to Eskişehir took only fourteen hours (see ibid., 1).

66. See, for instance, Evliya Çelebi, *The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman*, 56, 66, 125, 128.

67. Taeschner (*Anatolische Wegenetz*, 95) argued that in the later fifteenth century, major routes passed south of Eskişehir, via Kütahya; these routes still passed through areas of Ottoman control west of and near Bozüyük. If the routes through Kütahya handled much traffic in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they provide a further reason for the enmity between the early Ottomans and the beys of Germiyan, to which I return in chap. 3.

68. See Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, table 20 (opposite p. 168).

carriage, considerably less by horse alone; a nearby station, Inönü, was only six hours away by carriage.[69]

Another route of importance—for a great Roman road defined it—was the route from the Marmara to Ankara via the basin of the Sangarius. This route passed just north of Söğüd and could be reached by riding down the Kayalık valley a short distance. Osman's relationship with the lord of Harman Kaya—if reports of it are true—meant that both men frequently crossed this monument to Roman governance.[70]

Thus, no matter how pilgrims, traders, soldiers, or peasants chose to reach the plateau from the Marmara, they passed the Ottoman homelands, either through the winter pastures around Söğüd, across the route between the winter and summer pastures, or across the summer pastures of Domanıç. We know that before the Fourth Crusade, trade between Constantinople and the Seljuk hinterland on the plateau via Dorylaion was growing.[71] Whatever routes the various travelers preferred, those routes gathered in a knot just south of Söğüd and west of Eskişehir: the keystone was here, within reach of Ertoğrul and Osman. Here was the setting for the battle in 1097 that opened the route across Anatolia for the soldiers of the First Crusade; here was the point beyond which the German soldiers of the Second Crusade could not fight. Here, as well, was the strategic point at which, in January and March 1921, the Turkish forces broke the lance of the Greek advance.[72]

Söğüd was in a very important position, in some respects more important than Eskişehir, for it was closer to the routes along the Sangarius. The Ottoman summer pastures at Domanıç surveyed a number of vital routes as well. But there is more to the region than that. Leaving the control of trade and traffic aside, the land itself had a great deal to offer, much more than pasture. Not only was the Ottoman homeland of strategic importance politically, militarily, and economically, but it was also an area beckoning its residents to cultivate its lands and settle down. Leake wrote of "an open expanse of undulated ground, well cultivated with

69. See Ziya, *Seyahat,* 159–61.

70. Ziya (*Seyahat,* 161) summarizes the routes to and from Söğüd to the north. There is now very strong evidence that Köse Mihal, the lord of Harman Kaya, did not exist and that the accounts of him have been invented and projected back in an attempt to adorn the history of "his" family in the fifteenth century. This does not change the geography of the route, which favored Ottoman intervention.

71. See Lindner, "Stimulus and Justification," 212–13.

72. See Hartmann, *Anatolien,* 54–55.

corn [wheat]." He added: "[In the rainy season the road must be bad], on account of the rich deep soil. At the further end of this champaign country we perceive the town of Shughut."[73] An echo of this admiration of the land's wealth in crops can be heard at an annual ceremony that has excited Turkish and foreign visitors for over a century.[74] Every fall, the Kara Keçili nomads, who claim a common descent with Osman, have gathered near Eskişehir to make a pilgrimage to the supposed tomb of Ertoğrul, three kilometers northwest of Söğüd. Most of them come from areas south of the town, from Kütahya, Eskişehir, and elsewhere.[75] There is, however, a claim that once, before the reign of Abdülhamid II, the pilgrimage occurred at the spring equinox (and therefore might have

73. Leake, *Journal of a Tour,* 14–15.

74. The first European to comment on it was Körte (*Anatolische Skizzen,* 12–14), who saw it in mid-October 1893. For photographs of the 1895 pilgrimage, see Akkayan and Aydın, *Söğüt,* 105–6; Ziya, *Seyahat,* 175, 182. For their explanation, see Ibrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Söğüt'de Ertuğrul Gazi türbesi ve ihtifali* (Istanbul, 1959), 52. By the 1950s, it took place in September: see Darkot, "Söğüt." Konyalı (*Ihtifali,* 55–60) describes the 1956 commemoration. According to Franz Taeschner, who viewed it in 1961, it took place on the last Sunday in September: see his "Das Reiterfest der Yürüken zu Ehren des Gazi Ertoğrul zu Söğüt," *Mitteilungen der Deutsch-Türkische Gesellschaft* 44 (1962): 7. In 1981 and 1982, it took place on September 11–13: see Akkayan and Aydın, *Söğüt,* 73. It is asserted that the festival began only in the 1890s: see Halim Sait Kayılı, *Yaka Alp Kayı Köyü monografisi* (Eskişehir, 1990), 32. For the older literature, see Muhiddin Aslanbay, *Eskişehir'deki Alaiddin Camisi* (Eskişehir, 1955), 31–41.

75. See Konyalı, *Ihtifali,* 33, referring to the pilgrimage of 1895—and probably based on Ziya, *Seyahat,* 180, and Ziya's source. This settlement pattern of the Kara Keçili, based on somewhat different lists in various publications, throws some doubt on the actual connection between these groups and the early Ottomans. For example, the testimony of Hüseyin Yurdaydın, recounted by Halil Inalcik, suggests that most of the Kara Keçili settlements known to him were near Seyitgazi: see Inalcik, "The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion, and Economic Role," in *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies,* vol. 2, *Carpets of the Mediterranean Countries 1400–1600,* ed. Robert Pinner and Walter B. Denny (London, 1986), 51. I know no early source that connects the Kara Keçili with the Ottomans around Söğüd. For a recent, popular celebration of the accomplishments of the tribe and its place in world Turkic history, see Ibrahim Yılmaz, *Ecdat kültürü,* vol. 1 (Ankara, 1995); another popular account, adorned with old photographs, appears in Sefa Öcal, *Devlet kuran kahramanlar* (Istanbul, 1987), 45–70. See also Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1995), 185 n. 9; Kafadar notes that Abdülhamid II oversaw the "recovery" of the tomb of Hayme Ana, Ertoğrul's wife. Abdülhamid's interest in the renovation of his ancestors' resting places has clear political implications, and both "recoveries" may be equally fraudulent. The name *Hayme Ana* seems to me an obvious transference of the topographic term *haymana,* or "prairie," into a personal name. Hayme Ana's last resting place is at Çarşamba, a village near Domaniç, in a pasture area, close to a route connecting the lowlands east of Bursa with Tavşanlı. See further Öcal, "Ertuğrul Gazi," 115–17; Ismail Hakki Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi* (Ankara, 1947), 1:101 n. 1.

reflected Iranian or Shiite influence).[76] Upon arrival at the tomb, where a military band performs, the nomads circumambulate Ertoğrul's sarcophagus and perform prayers. Then, a festive meal consisting of bulgur, lamb, and grapes takes place, followed by a traditional equestrian sport, cirit.[77]

In the organization of the procession and its early hours, we find its relevance for the present discussion. The nomads, gathering from the south and meeting on the steppe near Eskişehir, head north to their celebrations in the vale, at the tomb precinct of Ertoğrul. Whatever their devotion to him, whom they claim as one of their own, they do not live as nomads around his resting place. It is not as suited for pasture as it is for agriculture and mining. Whatever the true background of the Kara Keçili pilgrimage—the lack of evidence for it in earlier centuries leads to grave doubts—it neatly frames the image of settlement that was the story of the Ottomans in the generations of Osman and Orhan.[78]

The Ottomans had to decide what was to be the basis for their life in their new environment, and that environment and its geography helped them make that decision.[79] Sitting astride all the great routes

76. See Taeschner, "Reiterfest," 8. Taeschner suggests that from a desire to enhance the prestige of the dynasty, Abdülhamid associated the pilgrimage with the putative anniversary of the death of Ertoğrul. The origins of this pilgrimage and the exact connection linking the Kara Keçili and the house of Osman remain completely obscure. The claim that the pilgrimage once occurred at a different time may be a way of covering over the novelty of the entire proceeding.

77. The quality of the game as played in 1961, however, did not impress Taeschner: see "Reiterfest," 9. At one time, there may have been wrestling matches: see Pertev Naili Boratav, *100 soruda Türk folkloru* (Istanbul, 1973), 257–58. By the 1980s, the pilgrimage had become an official festival with its own protocol (the "nomads" in costume ate their pilaf with wooden spoons in the open field; the uniformed officials of the sedentary government dined indoors on linen-draped tables). Akkayan and Aydın (*Söğut*, 75–83) give a full, illustrated account that does not lack a certain, unintentional irony. For the cuisine and some of the folklore of the ceremonies, see Feyzi Halıcı, "The Söğüt and Bilecik Festivals," in *Üçüncü milletlerarası yemek kongresi*, ed. Feyzi Halıcı (Ankara, 1990), 144–49 (Turkish original, 137–43).

78. For a list of Kara Keçili villages in the Eskişehir plain, based on the recollections of Professor Hüseyin Yurdaydın, see Inalcik, "The Yürüks," 51.

79. Among the questions never asked of the traditions is how much freedom the Ottomans had in searching out and choosing their homelands. It is entirely possible that they had heard something of this area and found it attractive, rather than having been assigned it by another, distant figure. A response to this set of questions requires more evidence to date the Ottomans' arrival and to settle the strength of their various political allegiances to Seljuks, Mongols, or a lesser bey.

that link the Marmara basin with the Anatolian hinterland, the Ottomans found it attractive to play an important and profitable role. Having at their disposal a land markedly more fertile, productive, and wealthy than the steppe at their rear, the Ottomans saw more possibilities of wealth to their north and northwest. Had they stopped at Ankara or Sivrihisar, further inland, their history might well have been very different. However interesting and occasionally necessary excursions and expeditions to the interior steppe were, the main tug was toward the north and northwest, to areas of greater wealth, greener pastures, richer communities, more important routes, and larger reservoirs of humankind and resources. As we shall see, the geography of early Ottoman conquest reflects Ottoman concerns for cities, control of roads, and access to resources—and the resources soon flowed to the Ottomans: in terms of numbers of building foundations, Osman's successor, Orhan, and his immediate family are responsible for a number of modest foundations.[80]

In short, the new homeland of the Ottomans had a formative influence on their fate. When they moved north of the plateau, they left behind a land that was well suited to a pastoral and nomadic regime, and while they could continue such a life without great difficulty, they found before them a land of greater opportunities, with greater resources and sources of wealth than they had otherwise enjoyed one generation before. They had before them a number of enticing choices, by no means all of which rested on the economic exploitation of the sheep and the military exploitation of the horse. Land and climate were not decisive in forcing a choice, but they sang a siren song.

The climate of Söğüd is a function of more than one regime, but in general, it reflects Pontic influences. Maritime and coastal breezes were felt in that little up-country hamlet. For the moment, however, we see the Ottomans at the very beginning, before the great expansion to the coasts. At this beginning, the geography of that vista point in the vale of Söğüd pointed them to the Marmara basin.[81] Unlike the Ten Thousand under Xenophon, they could not yet break out in cheers, but they could already murmur, "The sea, . . . the sea."

80. I owe this observation to Professor Howard Crane.

81. A traveler passing down the Karasu and then the Sakarya crosses more land-use zones more rapidly than anywhere else in Turkey; see Hütteroth, *Türkei,* fig. 92 (opposite p. 362).

Appendix: Itineraries

The following notices of stages on the way to and from Constantinople and the plateau, taken from a selection of travelers, illustrate the significance of the location of Söğüd along or nearby the more important routes.[82]

Hans Dernschwam, 1555
Mar. 10 Üsküdar to Kartal.
Mar. 11 Kartal to Gebze.
Mar. 12 Gebze to Izmit via Hereke.
Mar. 13 Izmit to Kazıklı.
Mar. 14 Kazıklı to Iznik via the obelisk.
Mar. 16 Iznik to Yenişehir.
Mar. 17 Yenişehir to Akbıyık.
Mar. 18 Akbıyık to Ermeni Pazarcık.
Mar. 19 Ermeni Pazarcık to Bozüyuk.[83]

Pilgrim's Road
Üsküdar to Kartal, three hours.
Kartal to Gebze, three hours.
Gebze to Iznik via Hersek, ten hours.
Iznik to Lefke, eleven hours.
Lefke to Söğüd, nine hours.
Söğüd to Eskişehir, ten hours.[84]

Arthur Pullinger, 1738–39
Mar. 23 Eskişehir.
Mar. 24 Söğüd, nine hours.
Mar. 25 Vezirhan, eight hours.
Mar. 26 Lefke, four hours.
Mar. 26 Iznik, six hours.
Mar. 28 Gebze, twelve hours.[85]

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82. Cf. Usha M. Luther, *Historical Route Network of Anatolia (Istanbul-Izmir-Konya), 1550's to 1850's: A Methodological Study* (Ankara, 1989), 25, 61. Now see the impressive compilation of Stephane Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs dans L'Empire Ottoman (XIVe–XVIe siècles)* (Ankara, 1991), 63 and passim.

83. Hans Dernschwam, *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/55)*, ed. Franz Babinger (Munich and Leipzig, 1923), 151–67; *Istanbul ve Anadolu'ya seyahat günlüğü*, trans. Yaşar Önen (Ankara, 1987), 207–23. See also Yerasimos, *Voyageurs*, 231, 130 (Haydar Çelebi, 1514), 151–52 (Süleyman's campaign against Rhodes, 1522), 170 (Badr al-Din al-Ghazzi, 1530), 183–85 (Nasuhü's-Silahi, Matrakçı, 1534–35), 216 (Suleyman's second Persian campaign, 1548), 374 (John Sanderson, 1597).

84. Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, 101. See also Yerasimos, *Voyageurs*, 213 (Jean Chesnau, 1550).

85. Drew-Bear, Naour, and Stroud, *Arthur Pullinger*, 44–46.

William Martin Leake, 1800

Jan. 19 Üsküdar to Kartal, four hours.
Jan. 20 Kartal to Gebze, five hours.
Jan. 21 Gebze to Kız Derbend, nine hours.
Jan. 22 Kız Derbend to Nicaea, five hours (ca. twenty miles)
Jan. 23 Nicaea to Lefke, six hours; Lefke to Vezirhan, four hours.
Jan. 24 Vezirhan to Söğüd, eight hours.
Jan. 25 Söğüd to Eskişehir, ten hours.[86]

John MacDonald Kinneir, 1813

Sept. 2 Üsküdar to Gebze.
Sept. 3 Crossed the Gulf of Nicomedia, then eight hours to Gustorjeck (probably Kız Derbend).
Sept. 4 Gustorjeck to Iznik.
Sept. 8 Iznik to Lefke, Vezirhan, and Söğüd.[87]
Sept. 10 Söğüd to Eskişehir, nine hours, or thirty-four miles.[88]

Carsten Niebuhr, published in 1837 from observations in 1766

Eskişehir to Söğüd, seven hours.
Söğüd to Vezirhan, five hours.
Vezirhan to Lefke, five hours.
Lefke to "Tschinislik," nine hours.
"Tschinislik" to "Dsjaur Dewrend," six hours.
"Dsjaur Dewrend" to Gebze, nine hours.
Gebze to Üsküdar, nine hours.[89]

Charles Fellows, 1838

Mar. 17 Constantinople to Üsküdar to Dil.
Mar. 18 Dil to Hersek to Çoban Kalesi to Kız Derbend to Iznik.
Mar. 20 Iznik to Lefke to Vezirhan.
Mar. 21 Vezirhan to Söğüd to Inönü.[90]

Charles MacFarlane, 1847

Oct. 18 Bozüyük to Karaköy (by the Karasu).
Oct. 19 Karaköy to Bilecik.

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86. Leake, *Journal of a Tour,* 1–20.

87. MacDonald Kinneir (*Journey,* 33) noted the fertile valley between Lefke and Vezirhan: ". . . a romantic and highly cultivated valley. . . . it was in many places not more than five hundred yards wide, and filled with gardens of peach, apricot, walnut, plum and pear trees loaded with fruit."

88. MacDonald Kinneir, *Journey,* 22–35.

89. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung,* 123–24.

90. Fellows, *Journal,* 102–24. Fellows's botanical and geological remarks are fuller than most travelers'.

Oct. 22 Bilecik to Pelitözü to (Yarhisar) to Köprühisar to Nicaea, a long day.
Oct. 23 Nicaea to Yenişehir.
Oct. 24 Yenişehir to Dinboz to Kestel to Bursa.[91]

91. MacFarlane, *Turkey and Its Destiny*, 1:317–68, a very circumstantial account. MacFarlane noted that the route between Pelitözü and Yarhisar was bleak, with little traffic.

CHAPTER THREE

A Tale of Three Cities

Eskişehir, Kütahya, and Karacahisar

On our travels in the environs of Eskişehir, in the perfect, clear air of the Anatolian plateau, we were often struck by the vision of the beautifully-fashioned mountain prominence, decked now in spring with a light green bloom—an eminence with its spread out, level platform, whose end was clearly marked by the entry wall; and the riddle of the dead city did not free us from its mysterious sway.

—Richard Hartmann, *Im neuen Anatolien, Reiseeindrücke*

On December 17, 1858, Heinrich Barth, the famous explorer of Africa, and Andreas D. Mordtmann, a well-known specialist in Anatolian history, were hurrying back to Istanbul after a long and fruitful journey of exploration, one that had begun long before in Trebizond. Urging their horses on in a driving snowstorm, they had left Phrygia and its monuments behind them and had spent part of the morning touring Eskişehir, whose lack of early monuments disappointed them. Now they left the city and set forth to the northwest for Söğüd. Their hope was to reach the lowlands of the Marmara basin with time to spare before Christmas, but the weather forced them to stop that night—well short of their goal—at It Burnu (the name means "dog's nose"), where the ascent of the Boz Dağı first becomes steep, and where Sheikh Edebalı, the supposed father-in-law of Osman himself, was alleged to have dwelt. Along the way, they had passed underneath the brooding castle of Karacahisar and commented on the historical puzzles concerning it. The site seems to have evoked conversation about the historical geography of the area. As Mordtmann put it, "The entire history of this era is so muddled and contradictory that it deserves to be studied afresh."[1]

1. A. D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien*, ed. Franz Babinger (Hannover, 1925), 550. See also Heinrich Barth, *Reise von Trapezunt durch die nördliche Hälfte Klein-Asiens nach Scutari im Herbst 1858*, Petermann's geographische Mitteilungen, suppl. 3 (Gotha, 1860), 99.

Let us accept Mordtmann's suggestion and look at Karacahisar afresh, for the site offers suggestions about the neighborhood and the neighbors of Ottoman prehistory.

We have already brought the Ottoman forefathers into Anatolia and commented on the nature of their arrival. We rested at Söğüd for a while and obtained a better understanding of its great opportunities, political (the weakness of Byzantine defenses), economic (the agricultural wealth of the lowlands), and military (richer lands to support more soldiers). Those opportunities, however, beckoned from the lower elevations to the north and to the west, not from the south, with its bare fields and open pastures: the more promising future opportunities were settled, not pastoral. Karacahisar, to the Ottomans' south, seems at first glance an unlikely object of early yearnings. Furthermore, the entire story of the Ottoman seizure of Karacahisar, as it stands in the various traditions, makes no sense. The Ottomans are supposed to have taken it from the Byzantines, who had, unfortunately for such a tale, demonstrably lost all authority in the area more than one hundred years before. Previous students of early Ottoman history have rejected this story out of hand.[2] But the tradition may well rest on something besides sheer invention, especially since Karacahisar became of some importance to the Ottoman tradition, where it looms larger than does Eskişehir.[3] Why? What really happened, and why was it important? Let us first look at the area and ask why the Ottomans had such an interest in this castle, before turning north to their future.[4]

From the account of the connections between routes at Eskişehir, which I developed in the previous section, we might well expect to find a continuous, flourishing history at the site. Let us first gather some sense of it. The plateau around Eskişehir forms a large, flat trough, bor-

2. The first to do so was Paul Wittek, in "Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie," *Byzantion* 10 (1935): 37. See also Aldo Gallotta, "Il 'mito oguzo' e le origine dello stato ottomano: Una reconsiderazione," in *The Ottoman Emirate (1300–1389)*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou (Rethymnon, 1993), 57–59.

3. Occasionally, it appears in the sources at a point where one would normally expect to find Söğüd: see *APZ*, p. 12, line 7.

4. Professor Beldiceanu-Steinherr has recently suggested interpretations of the evidence that differ from the one I defend here and proposed in *Nomads and Ottomans* (4). Professor Beldiceanu-Steinherr argues that Karacahisar's ultimate overlord was the Mongol power, an argument that depends heavily on just when the conquest of the castle occurred, since an important text she adduces in the chronicle of Pachymeres refers to events late in the rule of Ghazan. I hope to return to the matter elsewhere. See Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Osmanlı devleti'nin kuruluşunun incelenmesinde tahrir defterlerini önemi," in *XIII. Türk tarih kongresi*, vol. 3, pt. 2 (Ankara, 2002), 1315–19.

dered on the north by the forested Boz Dağı (ranging from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred meters in elevation), on the south by the Türkmen Dağı (ca. two thousand meters), and in the west by a series of ridges that ascend to the Ottomans' supposed summer pastures on Domanıç Dağı. Following Seljuk practice, the Ottomans called the area Sultan Öyüğü (its initial appellation) or, later, Sultan Önü, "sultan's mound" or "sultan's front."[5] Small elevations, many of them mounds over prehistoric settlements, dot the landscape, as do the various brooks that empty into the Porsuk (Tembris).[6] Traveling southeast from Söğüd, the route traverses "rocky hills interspersed with dwarf oak and fir trees" before opening out into the "bleak and open country . . . rendered more striking by the absence of wood."[7] Coming up the Karasu valley, the passage from wooded landscape to steppe is only ten kilometers as the crow flies, from Karaköy to Bozüyük.[8] For the traveler

5. The name *Sultan Öyüğü* is to be preferred (cf. *Bozüyük* and *Inönü,* which underwent similar transformations): see J. H. Kramers, "Sultan Önü," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam.* Note, however, that the text adduced from Ibn Bibi is actually from the fifteenth-century Turkish compilation of Yazıcıoğlu Ali and does not exist in the thirteenth-century original: cf. Ibn Bibi, *El-evamiru'l-'Ala'iye fi'l-Umuri'l-'Ala'iye,* ed. Adnan S. Erzi, vol. 1 (Ankara, 1957), 228–29. See also Taeschner, "Anatolische Forschungen," 100; Hartmann, *Anatolien,* 57. However, a Seljuk usage is probably reflected in the geography of Ibn Sa'id (d. 1286), who refers to a "Sultanbuli," eight parasangs west of Ankara. Ibn Sa'id's mention of the baths of "Sultanbuli" is a clear indication that Sultan Yuki (= Sultan Üyüğü) is intended: see Claude Cahen, "Ibn Sa'id sur l'Asie Mineure Seldjuqide," *Tarih araştırmaları dergisi* 6, nos. 10–11 (1968): 44. The name *Sultan Öyüğü* is also ascribed to a village in the province of Kırşehir in 1584: see Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, "Türkiye'de yer-adı verme usulleri," in *Türk yer adları sempozyumu bildirileri* (Ankara, 1984), 35. Cf. Halime Doğru, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda yaya-müsellem-taycı teşkilati (XV. Ve XVI. Yüzyılda Sultanönü sancağı* (Istanbul, 1990), xix. Local tradition has it that the origin of the term goes back to the camp of Kılıc Arslan at the battle of Dorylaion.

6. See Adolf Reinhardt, "Über Meerschaum und Meerschaum-Fundstätten bei Eskischehir in Kleinasien," *Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen* 57, no. 2 (1911): 252. Reinhardt provides a full and clear description of the techniques of meerschaum production, based on a visit to the mines east of Eskişehir.

7. MacDonald Kinneir, *Journey,* 35–36. To the traveler coming northwest out of the highlands, the steppe ends at Bozüyük (710 meters), where corn grows without irrigation: see Alfred Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien,* vol. 3, Petermann's geographische Mitteilungen, suppl. 177 (Gotha, 1913), 92. The last sawmills on the upper Karasu appear to have been north and west of Bozüyük, above Karaköy: see MacFarlane, *Turkey and Its Destiny,* 1:318. MacFarlane kept close track of plants, buildings, and habitations sighted en route.

8. See von der Goltz, *Anatolische Ausflüge,* 164; cf. 158 (map). Von der Goltz (294–97) divided the area into three zones: the southernmost was the steppe; an intermediate zone, which concerns us here, stretched from Geyve to beyond Bilecik and Küplü beneath it and boasted cultivation of the mulberry, grapes, cotton, and the poppy; south of Karaköy, toward the steppe, began cultivation of wheat and pastoral herding.

marching up-country from Iznik or Izmit, Eskişehir is the first city on the plateau.

The Phrygian, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine center of Eskişehir/Dorylaion is the mound called Şar Hüyük, three kilometers from modern Eskişehir.[9] The hillock is about thirty meters in height and, at its top, about 230 by 120 paces in size.[10] The leader of a recent survey of the area suggests that during the Byzantine era, the hill and its immediate neighborhood supported a considerable population.[11] Remains of late Roman or Byzantine walls were visible a century ago. The baths lay outside, to the south and beyond the ancient and Byzantine settlements.[12]

Already in 1147, flocks of sheep grazed the pastures of Dorylaion along the valley of the Bathys.[13] The plain surrounding Dorylaion received comment from Byzantine authors. The chronicler Kinnamos, describing the landscape in 1175, gave a clear description of the open, bare landscape, while preserving the form of panegyric: "A gentle breeze blows over the land, and plains extend around it, extremely smooth and exhibiting an extraordinary beauty, so rich and fertile that they yield abundant grass and produce splendid grain. A river, fair to see and sweet to taste, sends its course through the midst. Such a multitude of fish swims in it that, while fished in abundance by the people there, there is no lack."[14] This is a charming, perhaps compelling description, done

9. See Theodor Preger, "Dorylaion," *Athenische Mitteilungen* 19 (1894): 301–5; Georges Radet and H. Ouvré, "Stèle de Dorylée," *Bulletin de correspondence hellénique* 18 (1894): 129, based in part on the source of the antiquities surveyed at Eskişehir; Alfred Körte, review of "En Phrygie," by Georges Radet, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 159, no. 1 (1897) 389–90. The recent discovery of a milestone has strengthened this identification: see Frei, "Forschungen," 53–54. For other ancient sites (e.g., Inönü), see ibid., 56–57. *Şar Hüyük* derives from *Şehir Hüyük*. For an illustration of the site, see Suzan Albek, *Dorylaion'dan Eskişehir'e* (Eskişehir, 1991), pl. 16. The most recent study is Clive Foss's, "Dorylaion: Bulwark of the Byzantine Frontier," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 41 (1996): 39–55.

10. These are Eugen Oberhummer's observations made in the fall of 1897, cited in Roman Oberhummer and Heinrich Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien und Kleinasien* (Berlin, 1899), 383.

11. Frei, "Forschungen," 57.

12. See Preger, "Dorylaion," 302–3. For the more recent layout of the city, see H. Tevfik Elbir, *60. Mahallesi ile Eskişehir* (Eskişehir, 1982).

13. See Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie*, 90, referring to the passage of the German members of the Second Crusade.

14. John Kinnamos, *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, ed. August Meineke (Bonn, 1836), 294. The translation here is from John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. Charles M. Brand (New York, 1976), 220. There is a

without mention of trees, shade, or the beauties of the vine or of the hills, for Dorylaion had none. This passage is an elegy of the steppe. As Otto Schönewolf, minister to the German railroad workers of the region, put it over seven centuries later, "bare mountains on the horizon, the purple shadows of deep ravines—no green forest, no friendly village: this loneliness is beautiful."[15]

Kinnamos noted that the Turks had destroyed Dorylaion in the

commentary by Louis Robert in his "Les kordakia," 163. The catch from the rivers amounted to twelve thousand kilograms annually in the 1920s: see ibid., 163 n. 25c. Galen had mentioned the wheat production of the plain: see Preger, "Dorylaion," 304 n. 1; Liddell-Scott-Jones, s.v. "zeopuron, zeia" (used as fodder for horses). For the importance of grains in the sixteenth century, see Halime Doğru, *XVI. Yüzyılda Eskişehir ve Sultanönü sancağı* (Istanbul, 1992), 65.

15. Schönewolf, *Briefe,* 105. Cf. the remarks of William Francis Ainsworth: "The great plain of Eski Shehr is about eight miles in width by thirty in length, level and uniform, without trees or groves, but generally cultivated, and has many villages. The ranges of hills which bound this plain are also of tame rounded outline, and treeless, which adds to the monotony of the scenery" (*Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia* [London, 1842], 1:58). Cf. the identical observations of Eugen Oberhummer, quoted in Oberhummer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien,* 377. Observers remarked on the lack of historical sites in the city, limiting themselves normally to the old bridge over the Porsuk and the baths. They usually went out of their way, however, to extol the additional virtues of Frau Tadia/Tatia's hotel in Eskişehir: the combination of her Bohemian hospitality (she came from Jungbunzlau) and the stark steppe brought forth praise from many travelers; for example, see von Eisenstein, *Reise,* 94. Her figure does as much as anything else to preserve the same sense of place from travel account to travel account. Alas, the whirlwind of World War I and the Greco-Turkish tragedy appears to have effaced her hostelry and her memory: see Hartmann, *Anatolien,* 57. When Edmund Naumann passed through in July 1890, the choice was between a han (caravansary) in the old city, to the south, or the Hotel Franz by the Porsuk: see his *Vom Goldnen Horn,* 81–82 (and, on an evening out, 106–10). Her career in Eskişehir appears to have begun after Dernburg's visit in 1891 or 1892: he reported a pleasant stay at the (German) Hotel International, from whose veranda visitors had an excellent view of the traffic on the single-arched stone bridge over the Porsuk (*Deutscher Bahn,* 55, 62, 64). By August 1894, this admirable Bohemian had won praise for the quality and cleanliness of her table and her rooms: see Körte, *Anatolische Skizzen,* 38 (with reference to a cholera epidemic in Eskişehir); von der Goltz, *Anatolische Ausflüge,* 174. Known as "the widow Dadian," she was a friendly hostess to von Diest as well, in late July 1900: see Walther von Diest, "Die Landschaft zwischen Nicaea und Nicomedia," *Asien* 2, no. 12 (1903): 192. The excellence of "Mama Tadia's" pastries, her featherbeds, and the fighting around her hotel (the Greek planes bombed her garden) in 1921 are evoked in Halide Edib Adıvar's novel *Ateşden gömlek,* translated as *The Shirt of Flame* (New York, 1924), 174, 184; in her memoirs, *Türkün ateşle imtihanı* (Istanbul, 1962), 199, 206; and in greater detail in her book *The Turkish Ordeal* (New York, 1928), 239–41, where she mentions the tiny hotel, its homelike atmosphere, the crucifixes and Madonnas, the large mirrors, the small dining room with three tables (but with flowers and silver), and its Turkish clientele. See also Albek, *Dorylaion'dan,* 192–93; for a picture of her hostelry, see von Eisenstein, *Reise,* 96.

eleventh century and that, during the following century, nomads had grazed their flocks amid the ruins; and I have already noted the German crusaders' thefts from the herds. In 1175, however, Manuel I refounded the city not far from the old site. The new foundation was a smaller one with a circuit of walls centered on the acropolis. During the work, the Turks kept harassing the Byzantines from nearby hills.[16] The archaeologist Preger concluded a century ago that Manuel's Dorylaion was the basis for the old Turkish city at the foot of the slope south of the Porsuk, but it is more likely that Manuel's enceinte still centered on the mound.[17] The retreat of the Byzantine forces in western Anatolia, however, after the battle of Myriokephalon/Kırkbaş in 1176, left the Eskişehir plain open to those nomads who preferred it as their chosen pasture, and, in fact, the rebuilt fortifications had to be dismantled as part of the Seljuk-Byzantine arrangements made in the aftermath of Myriokephalon.[18]

The Muslim author al-Harawi, who died in 1215, describes the place at about this time. He knew it as Sultan Önü; the Greeks knew it for its hot springs. It lay on the frontier, at the end of Christian territory. The waters flowed beneath ruined arcades, and sufferers from all directions came there for relief.[19] In 1196, nomads were encamped again on the banks of the Bathys/Sarısu northwest of Eskişehir.[20] Within two years,

16. See Peter Wirth, "Kaiser Manuel I, Komnenos und die Ostgrenze: Rückeroberung und Wideraufbau der Festung Dorylaion," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 55 (1962): 21–29. In general, see Belke and Mersich, *Tabula imperii byzantini*, 238–42.

17. See Preger's commentary and his discussion of Manuel's site in "Dorylaion," 304–5. Preger felt that the name *Eskişehir*, meaning "ancient city," referred to this rebuilt city of Manuel, and he pointed out the extensive Byzantine architectural remains that he and his colleagues saw in the old Turkish quarter. As he put it, "That all these building fragments, especially those that lie about unused, were pilfered from Şar Hüyük is scarcely conceivable." For a further commentary on the Cinnamus text, see Körte, review of "En Phrygie," 394. Now see Foss, "Dorylaion," 54.

18. See Niketas Choniates, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Jean-Louis van Dieten, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1975), 276.

19. Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Abi Bakr al-Harawi, *Guide des lieux de pélerinage*, ed. Janine Sourdel-Thomime, Institut français de Damas Publications, vol. 24 (Damascus, 1953), 58, trans. Janine Sourdel-Thomime, Institut français de Damas Publications, vol. 34 (Damascus, 1957), 132.

20. See Choniates, *Historia*, 466. For the date, see Charles M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204* (Cambridge, 1968), 137. In the discussion of this passage by Wittek ("Toponymie," 36), there is no reason to conclude that Bozüyük is a popular etymological equivalent for Pithekas. Pithekas may represent part of the lower course of the Karasu.

by 1198, Eskişehir (along with Amasya, Ankara, and some Pontic cities) was in the hands of Mes'ud, one of the sons of the Seljuk sultan Kılıc Arslan II.[21]

One possible indication of the failure to rebuild the city to its former prosperity, despite some building activity in the last third of the thirteenth century, is the city's absence from later chronicle accounts. In the next century, it received mention only in passing. In 1331, the great traveler Ibn Battuta passed through Nicaea, recently conquered by the Ottomans and still in ruins. During his stay, he was the guest of a jurist and imam, 'Ala al-Din al-Sultanyuki (= Sultanöni). From Nicaea, he went north to Mekece and Kawiya/Geyve, and after crossing the Saqari/Sangarius/Sakarya, he went to Kastamonu, where he met the sheikh Taj al-Din al-Sultanyuki, "one of the great scholars" who had traveled widely and studied in many lands.[22] These two scholars who came from the Eskişehir plain may reflect the development of a settled Muslim tradition on the former frontier. When, in August 1402, after defeating the Ottoman forces, Timur led his armies to the west of Ankara, he went to Sivrihisar, then to Seyit Gazi, and from there to Kütahya via Karahisar, which, for geographical sense, must be Karacahisar, rather than Afyonkarahisar to the southeast.[23] It is, after all, more likely that Timur's army went north to the Eskişehir plain, not west across the Türkmen Dağı. There is a rough

21. See Choniates, *Historia*, 520. Note that in van Dieten's edition (cited here), the phrase containing a reference to Dorylaion is in the apparatus (a reading of MS P), not in the main text. For information on the position of MS P in the various recensions of Choniates' chronicle, see ibid., xcix–ciii. Cf. Wittek, "Toponymie," 12. Also see F. Taeschner, "Ankara," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. For the earlier literature, see Paul Wittek, "Zur Geschichte Angoras im Mittelalter," in *Festschrift Georg Jacob*, ed. Theodor Menzel (Leipzig, 1932), 329–54.

22. Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325–1354*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb, vol. 2, Hakluyt Society, 2d ser., no. 117 (Cambridge, 1962), 453, 462.

23. Professor Elizabeth Zachariadou makes sense of the Ottoman tale concerning Karacahisar by transferring it to a Karacahisar near Beğpazar, which is found in the defters of Hüdavendigar province, north and east of Söğüd; see Zachariadou, "Histoire et légendes des premiers Ottomans," *Turcica* 27 (1995): 69. Whether this identification saves the story is unclear, since that area had long since been lost to the Byzantines, in my opinion; the mint there struck dirhems for the Ilkhanid Ghazan in A.H. 69x, that is, during the 1290s; see Tunçay Aykut, *Ak Akçe, Moğol ve Ilhanlı sikkeleri*, Yapı Kredi para koleksiyonları, vol. 1 (Istanbul, 1992), 138; the Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri holds such a dirhem dated 700/1299–1300. There are a number of sites in Turkey called Karacahisar, as one might expect; see *Köylerimiz* (Ankara, 1968), 309–10, for a list of ten. However, the Karacahisar at issue in this chapter is closest to Söğüd. It does not appear in the Hüdavendigar defters, because it is located in Sultanönü province, south and east.

way from west to east across the Makas Alan plateau and through the mountain chain, but there is no record of travelers attempting the ascent west up the Seyit Su from Seyit Gazi, and this path is clearly unsuited to large military formations.[24] Historically, travelers have approached Kütahya either around the mountains from the east via Eskişehir or, if they start from Afyon, around the western slopes: but Seyit Gazi is much closer to Eskişehir than to Afyonkarahisar.[25] Macdonald Kinneir rode from Afyonkarahisar to Kütahya via Egret (Egar), Osman, and Altıntaş. He noted, to his east, "a lofty chain of mountains running N. and S.," adding that "to distinguish particular ranges is next to impossible, since the whole country was one immense range of mountains."[26] Timur would have had to cross these mountains with a large army, and to this day, no road links Seyit Gazi and Kütahya over the mountains. Therefore, the Karahisar of the account is more than likely Karacahisar. None of the sources for Timur's campaign mentions Eskişehir under any name, and since the sources provide a fair number of place-names along Timur's line of march, it is reasonable to conclude that Karacahisar was seen as a more important marker at the time or was in the more direct line of march.[27] In fact, there was little urban growth in the succeeding centuries, even though there was dry farming in the vicinity. Eskişehir's significance rested in large part on the warm baths (which even caught the attention of an Arabic commentator), the nearby imperial stud farm, and the large numbers of pastoralists.[28]

The most compelling witness to the decline of the community, however, is its very name. Despite the large number of place-names, even of villages, that survived in Anatolia, it appears that the name *Dorylaion*

24. See C. H. Emilie Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia,* vol. 1 (Princeton, 1971), 164 and, in general, 20–21.

25. Dernburg had a commission from Kiepert to examine the country between the Phrygian tombs and Kütahya, but his military guide warned him against it; see Dernburg, *Deutscher Bahn,* 145.

26. MacDonald Kinneir, *Journey,* 233–36. During January 5–7, 1767, Carsten Niebuhr took nearly the same route, from Afyon to Egret to Dogalar to Kütahya: see Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung,* 134–35 and maps X and XIII. At the end of the eighteenth century, G. A. Olivier also took three days along the same route, in early October, traveling from Afyon to Egret to Altıntaş to Dogalar to Kütahya: see Olivier, *Voyage,* 406–8.

27. I would like to thank Professor Anthony Luttrell for allowing me to examine his unpublished work on the chronology and route Timur pursued in 1402.

28. The development of Eskişehir's meerschaum deposits appears to have occurred later: see Dutemple, *En Turquie,* 227–34.

was forgotten. All the new inhabitants could offer in its place was a name meaning "ancient, former city."[29]

In September 1813, MacDonald Kinneir looked around and about the town and found it divided into two quarters, both with mud houses. Two rivers joined just east of the town, the Sarısu (Hermos or Bathys) and the Porsuk (Tembris).[30] Kinneir found four hot baths in the lower town near the Porsuk, and the oldest bath may be a converted Byzantine structure.[31] In the 1870s, Eskişehir was still nestled at the foot of the hills south of the plain, a town with seven or eight mosques in service.[32] It had not changed markedly from the sixteenth century.[33]

The coming of the railroad transformed the city and overwhelmed its historic imprint.[34] By June 1893, when Theodor Preger and his colleagues spent two days examining the local inscriptions, the city consisted of three quarters. The first, nestled up against the heights to the south (the summit lay at ca. nine hundred meters), was the old city. A brook divided that from the market quarter, in which the baths were situated. The Porsuk divided that quarter from the new buildings centered on the railway just east of the station. A new bridge and road linked the station and the central quarter; an older bridge crossed the Porsuk between the central and the newer quarters. A path linked the new quarter and Şar Hüyük, just to the northeast. Preger and his companions

29. See Wittek, "Toponymie," 50.

30. For the identification of the Sarısu with a stream called Hermos in antiquity, see the literature cited in Drew-Bear, Naour, and Stroud, *Arthur Pullinger,* 74 n. 104. For the relationship between the Sarısu and Porsuk, see the comments of Körte in Preger, "Dorylaion," 314.

31. MacDonald Kinneir, *Journey,* 36. Kinneir also found an inscription on the stone bridge over the Porsuk (37), but he made no comment on the bridge's antiquity. It has been called Seljuk, but there is no evidence for this: see C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua,* vol. 5, *Monuments from Dorylaeum and Nacolea* (Manchester, 1937), xiv. Cf. Georges Radet, "En Phrygie, rapport sur une mission scientifique en Asie Mineure (Août–Septembre 1893)," *Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* 6 (1895): 429–30.

32. See [Murray's] *Handbook,* 364. The *Handbook* reckoned its distance as fifty-three hours from Constantinople by horse.

33. See Doğru, *XVI. Yüzyılda Eskişehir,* 45–53.

34. Cf. the predictions of Cohn, head of the meerschaum concession in Eskişehir: see Dernburg, *Deutscher Bahn,* 59–60 (Cohn lived in the old Turkish quarter). I do not claim that the history of Eskişehir between the fourteenth and the nineteenth centuries is devoid of interest or lacking in affecting scenes in the human tragedy. There were, however, few changes due to the hand of God or humankind that altered the factors that this chapter studies. For a general treatment of the settlement history, see Necdet Tunçdilek, " Eskişehir bölgesinde yerleşme tarihine toplu bir bakış," *Istanbul Üniversitesi iktisat fakültesi mecmuası* 15(1951): 189–208.

established that the hillock was the site of old Dorylaion.[35] Surrounding the city were small gardens with melons and cucumbers.[36] In 1909, Eskişehir (altitude ca. 810 meters) had about thirty-five thousand inhabitants, divided by the railway station between a city of European appearance and an older city of wooden houses.[37] The lower city of Eskişehir, by the railway station, with the bazaar, was practically destroyed in 1922, during the Greco-Turkish War. The upper city, in the south on the edge of the plateau, was happily spared.[38]

However impressive Eskişehir has become as a railway junction and industrial center in the last three generations, it is important to bear in mind that in the early Ottoman period, it was, quite simply, a "former city," as its name attested. Consider that in Kütahya, for example, which had fallen to the Turks no earlier than 1182 (shortly after the fall of Dorylaion), there survive thirteenth-century foundations and inscriptions: the Yoncalı Hamam of 1234, the Balıklı Cami from 1237, the Hıdırlık Mescid from 1243, and the Hezar Dinari Mescid (from the first half of the thirteenth century).[39] The travelers who visited Eskişehir before the destruction wrought by the wars of this century remarked on the absence of early monuments—there was much more of the antique than of the Seljuk world there. Commerce passed through the area in Seljuk times, but it left its traces elsewhere.[40] The only surviving thirteenth-century inscription in Eskişehir is from the minaret of the Alaeddin Cami and dates from 1267–68, whereas in Seyit Gazi to the southeast, there are monuments from the first decade of the century,

35. The mound was also a source for stones for houses, mosques, and graves, in both Eskişehir and Mutalip. See Körte, *Anatolische Skizzen*, 41.

36. See ibid., 36.

37. See Reinhardt, "Über Meerschaum," 251. Before the arrival of the Anatolian railway, the population had been substantially lower.

38. See Taeschner, "Anatolische Forschungen," 96–97. Taeschner and Wittek studied these sites from September 6 to September 12, 1927.

39. Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, 14 vols. to date (Cairo, 1931–), nos. 4073, 4134; Ismail Hakki Uzunçarşılı, *Kütahya şehri* (Istanbul, 1932), 21–23; Ara Altun, "Kütahya'nın Türk devri mimarisi 'bir deneme,'" in *Kütahya* (Istanbul, 1981), 216–24; Wittek, "Toponymie," 34. The Ak Köprü, bridging the Porsuk on the road linking Kütahya and Eskişehir, may be a Seljuk or Germiyanid work: see Fügen Ilter, *Osmanlılara kadar Anadolu Türk köprüleri* (Ankara, 1978), 219. The earliest Germiyanid work extant is the Vacidiye Medrese (1314): see Aydın Sayılı, "The Wajidiyya Madrasa of Kütahya," *Belleten* 12 (1948): 667–77, and for the date, Institut français, *Répertoire chronologique*, no. 5346. I am indebted to Professor Howard Crane for bringing my attention to this monument and the relevant literature.

40. See Choniates, *Historia*, 493–94.

and there are numerous monuments in Sivrihisar.[41] There were Seljuk works (under Mongol sponsorship) in the town, supported by revenues from nearby villages, but these do not compare in number or wealth with those in other towns: the foundation and repair works of the Mongol leader Caca in Eskişehir (not named by him: instead, he referred to the area as Sultan Yuki—from Sultan Üyüğü), listed in his pious foundation documents of 1272, do not compare with his largesse elsewhere.[42] Eskişehir was not an important settlement in the (later) Ottoman administrative division of Sultan Öyüğü. The entries in a fifteenth-century register of pious foundations leave an impression that Eskişehir was no more than a modest settlement. It was not an impressive site on the plain.[43] After the foundations of Caca Bey in the thirteenth century, the next burst of activity occurs in the reign of Selim I, and the sixteenth-century records reveal a land devoted to animal husbandry and farming.[44] Our first city, therefore, has no history to dwell on in the earliest Ottoman era. Why, then, should Karacahisar, just a few kilometers away, attract our attention?

That Timur's chroniclers, who had no special interest in the Ottoman traditions, mentioned Karacahisar suggests that we should look at the history of that site and its brief moment of fame. Let us first see just what Karacahisar was. The ruins of the once impressive castle command the road from Eskişehir to Kütahya; they offer an impressive view, especially over the valley of the Porsuk.[45] Karacahisar lies on a steep eminence of

41. See Aslanbay, *Alaiddin camisi,* 88 (with photograph on 89), corrected by Ahmet Temir in his review in *Belleten* 21, no. 83 (1957): 517; Institut français, *Répertoire chronologique,* no. 4596; Şerife Özüdoğru, "Eskişehir Alaeddin camii," in *Eskişehir 1. Selçuklu eserleri semineri bildirileri* (Eskişehir, 1990), 29–34. For earlier literature, see Kurt Bittel, *Kleinasiatische Studien,* Istanbulen Mitteilungen, vol. 5 (Istanbul, 1942), 201 n. 2. Wittek ("Toponymie," 37 n. 2) discusses the lack of Seljuk and early Ottoman monuments in Eskişehir, including the purported Seljuk bridge over the Sarı Su. For Seyit Gazi, see Lindner, "Stimulus and Justification," 213; Nejat Işcan, *Eskişehir Osmanlı evleri süsleme-ciliği* (Eskişehir, 1986), 9.

42. See Ahmet Temir, *Kırşehir emiri Caca oğlu Nur el-Din'in 1272 tarihli Arapça-Moğolca vakfiyesi* (Ankara, 1959), 61–62, 97. I am grateful to Professor Clive Foss for this reference, which he will discuss in greater (and differing) detail in a forthcoming monograph.

43. See Ahmed Refik [Altınay], "Fatih zamanında Sultan Öyüğü," *Tarih-i Osmani encümeni mecmuası* 14, no. 85 (1340): 129–41; Besim Darkot, "Eskişehir," *Islam ansiklopedisi;* Cengiz Orhonlu, "Eskişehir," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2d ed.

44. See Nevin Genç, "XVI. yüzyılda Sultanönü sancağının sosyal, demografik ve economik açıdan değerlendirilmesi," in *XI. Türk tarih kongresi 1990* (Ankara, 1994), 3:1211–22.

45. There is a second route for those coming from the north, via Inönü, but it was not as easy as the route via the Porsuk. See Fellows, *Journal,* 125–31.

volcanic stone, on the right bank of the Porsuk nearly ten kilometers southwest of the city, near the more recent village of Hamidiye\Karaşehir.[46] The summit of this outlier of the plateau is about 110 meters above the valley floor. The western portion of the flat summit may be reached from a narrow entry path that leads from Karaşehir, across a shallow neck, and it is there that the castle stands, protected by the land's steepness in all directions other than that of the entry passage, the only passage that needs to be defended.[47] A ditch offers further protection on this side.[48] The spur on which the castle stands is about 200–250 meters in length and 50 meters in breadth. The dark walls, about fifteen meters in height, two or three meters in thickness, and some thirty-five meters in length running roughly north-south, are of tufa pieces cemented with mortar and surround this part of the summit, some 340 paces long. There remain three towers: the tallest is in the southwest corner, a second is in the northwest corner, and a third stands nearby the second. Some forty or fifty meters within the eastern entry is a second wall, not quite parallel to the eastern wall. There appear to be no traces of a geometric arrangement of the interior structures; the foundations of many small houses, really little more than huts, remain, outlined in cobblestones and mortar and situated cheek-by-jowl, implying a high population density (perhaps as many as one thousand people) at some time.[49] East of the narrow portal to the castle are also traces of former houses, implying that the walled area was not sufficient on occasion.[50] In the

46. See Taeschner, "Anatolische Forschungen," 96. Taeschner was the first to point out the relationship between Karacahisar and the main route to Kütahya. Kara Şehir was also called Hamidiye at the end of the nineteenth century, as Abd ul-Hamid II had settled some "descendants" of Osman there: see Eugen Oberhummer in Oberhummer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien,* 379; Dernburg, *Deutscher Bahn,* 132. For an impression of the village, see Körte, *Anatolische Skizzen,* 14; for a photograph, Ziya, *Seyahat,* 174. For the setting of Karacahisar, see Hartmann, *Anatolien,* 60. In general, see Belke and Mersich, *Tabula imperii byzantini,* 290. See the modern photographs in Ebru Parman, "Eskişehir-Karacahisar'da bir ortaçağ kalesi," in *V. Ortaçağ ve Türk dönemi kazı ve araştırmaları sempozyumu, 19–20 Nisan 2001, Bildiriler* (Ankara, 2002), 451–62. In the same volume see Halime Doğru, "Osmanlı kroniklerinde Karacahisar kalesi ve Karacaşehir'in yer değiştirmesi," 221–34.

47. See Max Schlagintweit, *Reise in Klein-Asien* (Munich, 1898), 8.

48. See Hartmann, *Anatolien,* 60–61, photographs facing 80–81; also see Cox and Cameron, *Monumenta,* pls. 4–5.

49. See Dernburg, *Deutscher Bahn,* 133; Dernburg noted (134) that the cliff to the south fell away more gently. See also Körte, *Anatolische Skizzen,* 14; Cox and Cameron, *Monumenta,* xx–xxi.

50. See Eugen Oberhummer in Oberhummer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien,* 378–79; Dernburg, *Deutscher Bahn,* 133; Hartmann, *Anatolien,* 61.

twentieth century, the cistern still supplied water. There were very few dressed stones from antiquity on the site, and the quality of the masonry did not impress archaeologists; the core of the walls was rubble, with the odd tile bonding course.[51] No pottery sherds or remains of antiquity were found.[52]

Modern scholarship knows nothing of the ancient name or history of Karacahisar besides the odd antiquity found below on the plain.[53] Eugen Oberhummer, who visited the site in 1897, believed that the earliest occupiers were the Seljuks, as did Alfred Körte.[54] On technical grounds, it seems that the site is Byzantine or Turkish, or even "Byzlamic."[55] Unlike Eskişehir, which had an old and honored history, Karacahisar was, in medieval terms, a recent foundation, and we should begin to think of a more recent purpose for it. Let us now turn to its treatment in the Ottoman traditions.

In chapter 2, my examination of the Ottoman forefathers' arrival in Anatolia, I looked at some alternative perspectives from independent sources, and this is the procedure I follow now. One of these perspectives came from the pen of the poet Ahmedi, whose *Iskendername* contains the bare bones of an early Ottoman chronicle available to him at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Unfortunately, Ahmedi has nothing to offer on Karacahisar, although he insists on an early conquest of Sultan Üyüğü; but other, later authors, such as Şükrüllah in midcentury, used his source in greater detail. Here is the tale.

> [Ertoğrul entered Seljuk service.] At that time Kütahya and its environs were in Christian hands. The army of Muslims marched against the castle of Karacahisar and began to besiege it. Ertoğrul was

51. See Cox and Cameron, *Monumenta,* xii, xxi; Bittel, *Kleinasiatische Studien,* 203 and pl. 41, fig. 73.

52. See Cox and Cameron, *Monumenta,* xii, xxi; Schlagintweit, *Reise,* 7–8. Cf. the remarks of Körte in his review of "En Phrygie," 389; he notes (388 n. 2), that von Diest, the first to visit and describe the site, no longer believed that Karacahisar was an ancient site.

53. Radet and Ouvré, ("Stèle de Dorylée," 129–30) describe a stele said to have been found at Karacahisar.

54. Oberhummer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien,* 379; Körte, *Anatolische Skizzen,* 13–14. Cf. Körte's review of "En Phrygie," 388–89.

55. See Hartmann, *Anatolien,* 61; Cox and Cameron, *Monumenta,* xxi, with twelfth-century parallels from Syria; Bittel, *Kleinasiatische Studien,* 203, with the remarks of A. M. Schneider. I owe the term *Byzlamic* to Professor Clive Foss, who believes that the construction shown in extant photographs is Comnenian and may represent part of Manuel I's improvements to frontier defenses.

> to watch the south wall. The Christians were weak and sought peace, but the sultan was not satisfied. . . . [News arrived that the Tatars had broken the peace and were persecuting Muslims, so the sultan decided to go to their assistance.] He immediately summoned Ertoğrul, dressed him in robes of honor, assigned him troops, and placed him before the castle. The sultan turned against the Tatars. . . . Ertoğrul busied himself with the defeat, destruction, and killing of the unbelievers. [God granted assistance and victory to the Muslims.] They laid waste to the castle and its lands and took booty without end. From there Ertoğrul set forth against Söğüd, which he conquered.[56]

An anonymous manuscript in the Oxford Bodleian Library (Marsh 313) contains a very similar story, told in greater detail, which I paraphrase. In it, the Seljuk sultan Alaeddin, with war against the Christians in mind, set forth for Sultan Üyüğü; when Ertoğrul heard of this, he roused his nomads to join the sultan. Alaeddin, pleased at this, made Ertoğrul chief of his irregulars (*akıncı başı*). (We then learn that Ertoğrul had three sons: Osman, Gündüz, and Saruyatı [called Savcı]. They sent Saruyatı to Alaeddin to seek a homeland [yurt]; this pleased the sultan. The Christian lords of Bilecik and Karacahisar obeyed the sultan and paid him kharaj. Alaeddin gave them as a home Söğüd, between those two castles.) At that time, the Kütahya pass—indeed, all of the lands of Germiyan—were still in Christian hands. Since Ertoğrul was an army chief, he set forth with his troops and attacked many villages and settlements and plundered their lands. One by one, he began to bring back the skins of unbelievers and their goods, and so Sultan Alaeddin had great success. They fell on Sahib (Afyon) Karahisar and besieged it. The sultan assigned Ertoğrul to the *qibla* side.[57]

56. Theodor Seif, "Der Abschnitt," 77–79; Şükrüllah, *Behcetüttevarih*, trans. Çiftçioğlu N. Atsız, in *Osmanlı tarihleri*, ed. Çiftçioğlu N. Atsız (Istanbul, 1947), 52. A parallel text, from the same tradition, appears in the chronicle of Karamani Mehmet Pasha: see Karamanlı Nişanci Mehmed Paşa, *Osmanlı sultanları tarihi*, 344.

57. See Victor L. Ménage, *Neshri's History of the Ottomans: The Sources and Development of the Text* (London, 1964), 12–13 (for the relationship to Şükrüllah), 71 (for the text of the Oxford anonymous MS). The confusion of Afyonkarahisar with Karacahisar is not uncommon and probably reflects a copyist's error, especially since Fakhreddin Ali and his family were always Seljuk loyalists; there is, however, a possibility that this reflects an expedition against the Germiyanids during one of their disputes with Fakhreddin's sons or grandsons. The simplest solution to this problem is to see the passage as the result of two errors: first, that *Karacahisar* was copied as *Karahisar*, and second, that Karahisar was identified with Afyonkarahisar, the base of Fakhreddin and his family. Cf. the parallel error in *Die anonymen Chroniken*, p. 5, line 25.

We note three interesting aspects of the story. First, this conquest is said to have preceded Ertoğrul's arrival at Söğüd, which may result from the interpolation of the story of Saruyatı's embassy at this point in the chronicle. Second, the Kütahya area is supposed to be still in Byzantine hands, an impossibility at any point in the thirteenth century. The emphasis on the area as Christian helps to justify its conquest for later readers, of course, but because the claim is absurd does not mean that there lies nothing interesting in back of it. Third, the victory is, thanks to the convenient departure of the Seljuk sultan, Ertoğrul's alone. We may also note that after this point, Karacahisar drops out of the story of this strand of Ottoman historiography, and Germiyan returns only during the account of Bayezid I's conquests at the end of the fourteenth century.[58]

Our next strand comes from the Anonymous Chronicles, whose genesis involves tales, folktales, and the memories of men—the backbone of Ottoman enterprise—who lived in obscurity and humility, supported by their simple, but deeply held, beliefs. The tellers of that story have yet to reveal all their secrets. How did they recall the story of Karacahisar? They begin: "The lords of Kara[ca]hisar and Bilecik accepted the overlordship of Sultan Alaeddin and paid him kharaj. As summer pasture and for watering he gave them the land between Kara[ca]hisar and Bilecik, Domanıç Dağı, and Ermeni Dağı."[59] To paraphrase the text that follows, soon thereafter, Ertoğrul died and Osman took his place. Osman's first conquests were Bilecik, Köprühisar (on the Göksu, east of Yenişehir), Yarhisar (between Köprühisar and Bilecik), and Inegöl, in the year 687/1288–89. The text continues: "He held the first Friday prayer at Kara[ca]hisar. That was the first place at which the ghazis called out the *tekbir* [the opening of the call to prayer: "God is great"]. There was a man they called Dursun Fakih, who was the first to lead the Friday and festive prayers at Karacahisar; he also preached the Friday sermon in Osman's name. This occurred in the year 689/

58. In his forthcoming study of the historical geography of this area, Professor Clive Foss has some telling remarks to offer about the growth of Ottoman power to the south and southeast.

59. *Die anonymen Chroniken*, p. 5, lines 25–27, correcting *Domalıç* and *Ermenak*. For the version in Uruj, see Uruj, *Die Frühosmanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch*, ed. Franz Babinger (Hannover, 1925), p. 6, line 25–p. 7, line 4 (where Söğüd is mentioned as Söğütçük) = p. 82, line 16 (where the manuscript reading is *Yarhisar* rather than *Karacahisar*, a slip).

1290–91."[60] Note that the Anonymous Chronicles do not mention a conquest of Karacahisar, even though a few lines previous to this passage, we learn that it was in Byzantine hands (which we already know to have been impossible at the time). Then follows the story of Osman's dream and his betrothal to Sheikh Edebali's daughter after the sheikh interprets the dream as a promise of future power. Afterward, a son is born to them, Orhan: "When Orhan became a brave young man, Osman Ghazi apportioned out the lands he had taken. He gave his son Orhan the district of Kara[ca]hisar, which they called Inönü, and he gave its superintendence to Alp Gündüz."[61]

In the Anonymous Chronicles, there is no mention of a conquest of Karacahisar, which is Byzantine at one moment and Ottoman at another, nor is there any mention of Germiyan. Important to this tradition is that Osman is mentioned as holding the first Friday communal prayers at Karacahisar and that the castle was important enough for Osman to station his firstborn son there (Orhan later stationed his successor, Murad I, just nearby, at Inönü). This helps us understand why Franz Taeschner held that the conquest of Karacahisar, which he attributed to Ertoğrul, was the first step toward establishing Ottoman rule.[62] Taeschner pointed out long ago that during this early period of Ottoman history, control of this thinly populated area southwest of Eskişehir was uncertain. The area of Armud Eli lay outside early Ottoman control and was in the hands of Germiyan, according to an inscription of Yaqub Çelebi in Kütahya. But Taeschner did not take the next step, which I shall attempt in due course.[63] The boundary between "Seljuk" and Byzantine lands may have lain considerably west, at Ermeni Der-

60. *Die anonymen Chroniken,* p. 6, lines 11–14. Some of the manuscripts give 687 as the date for these events. Cf. the parallel text in Uruj, *Urudsch,* p. 12, lines 4–6 = p. 86, line 25–p. 87, line 3; just before mentioning Tursun Fakih, this manuscript includes the phrase "Karaca Şehri alup" [having taken Karacahisar], a gloss to explain how Tursun Fakih leads prayers at a site the reader had understood to be Byzantine.

61. *Die anonymen Chroniken,* p. 7, lines 9–11; Taeschner ("Anatolische Forschungen," 96, 100) argued persuasively that the name *Sultan Önü* is a later, corrupt form of *Sultan Öyüğü* (see, e.g., Katip Çelebi, *Cihannüma,* 641; Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz,* 1:245, 2:68) and that here *In Önü* should be *Sultan Önü* (= *Sultan Öyüğü*). See also Uruj, *Urudsch,* p. 12, lines 6–10 = p. 87, lines 3–5, describing Alp Gündüz as Osman's nephew.

62. Taeschner, "Anatolische Forschungen," 95.

63. See ibid., 97 and 98 (the inscription of Ya'qub II, dated 814/1411); Taeschner cites Necib Asim in *Keleti Szemle* 6 (1905): 351ff. and Halil Edhem in *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası* 1:116ff. (to be preferred). A later recent study of the inscription is in Uzunçarşılı, *Kütahya şehri,* 79–82.

bend (modern Pazaryeri).[64] But for the moment, we recognize that the Ottomans considered the fortress important.

Our third source is the chronicle of Aşıkpaşazade, who, let us recall, preserves the early traditions of "Yakhşi Fakih" as well as some material in common with the Anonymous Chronicles. Yakhşi Fakih turns out to be very loquacious and suggestive on the subject of Karacahisar. He reports that Ertoğrul sent the embassy to seek a home from Sultan Alaeddin: "[At the time when they arrived,] the lords of Karacahisar and Bilecik[65] obeyed the sultan and paid him kharaj.[66] [As winter quarters,] they [*sic*] assigned the Ottomans as a home [yurt] [the land between those two castles and Bilecik, the land of Söğüd]."[67] The Ottomans and their neighbors lived peacefully in those days: "At that time Alişir, the father of Germiyan, was in the land of Sahib Karahisar, and also a Tatar whom they called Çavdar. Now and then they used to come and raid and harass the lands of Karahisar and Bilecik. With Ertoğrul's coming, that land of unbelievers became secure from those Tatars."[68]

This last passage, about Germiyan, does not appear in the Anonymous Chronicles and is therefore derived from the early traditions associated with the name of Yakhşi Fakih. It is also very curious and interesting. The very first point it suggests is that there was enmity between Germiyan and the Ottomans at the outset; the second point is that Karacahisar was at issue between them.[69] Germiyan was one of the post-Seljuk beyliks that grew up on the western frontier, but its foundation had been rather different from the others. Originally from southeast Anatolia, the bands labeled as Germiyanid had been brought west under Seljuk authority to serve against the occasionally rebellious frontier lords, and the leading family, descendants of Alişir, had slowly

64. See Taeschner, "Anatolische Forschungen," 101 n. 1.

65. The printed text reads, "the lord of Sultan Öyüğü and of Karacahisar."

66. The printed text reads, "Sultan Alaeddin assigned them as homeland Söğüd between Karacahisar and Bilecik."

67. *APZ*, 7–8.

68. Ibid., 8. Cf. Naumann, "Die mittelalterliche Festung," 285–88.

69. For the events of these and prior years, see the excellent treatment by Barbara Flemming in *Landschaftsgeschichte von Pamphylien, Pisidien und Lykien im Spätmittelalter*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. 35, no. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1964), 52–59. The suggestion that enmity between the Ottomans and Germiyan also stems from Germiyanid assistance to the Seljuks against the Baba'i revolt, one of whose dervishes, Edebali, later became Osman's father-in-law, is helpful but requires greater faith in the traditions concerning this sheikh than I possess: see Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 124.

wrested power from the Seljuk emirs and created a strong and, by 1287, independent enterprise that threatened its neighbors for many years.[70] The Byzantine chronicler Pachymeres, whose work comes to an end in 1307, felt that the emir of Germiyan was more powerful and dangerous than Osman.[71]

Karacahisar next appears after Osman's first conquest (according to the chronology of Aşıkpaşazade)—of the keep at Kulaca, just east of Inegöl: "Next morning the neighboring Christians met and sent word to the lord of Karacahisar: 'What are you waiting for? That they enslave you and yours, that they seize this land from our hands and destroy it? These are not the sort of settled Turks with whom we might deal.[72] Now if you neither drive them out of here or kill them, later regret will be useless.' The lord of Karacahisar had a brother named Kalanoz. To him he assigned a large army, and they mustered together with the Christians of Inegöl. They came to Ikizce and met where one crosses the Domanıç pass. It was a great battle . . . [lacking a clear-cut victory for either side] . . . in the year 685/1286–87."[73]

As it appears in the chronicle, this story, like the others, cannot be true: this battle cannot have involved Byzantines from Karacahisar. It provides background and justification for the Ottoman seizure of Karacahisar, however. Aşıkpaşazade next informs us that when the news of this attack on the Ottomans reached Sultan Alaeddin, he was incensed: "Now we know that the lord of Karacahisar is our enemy and also that the Germiyanids have no love for those strangers [the Ottomans]."[74] So he gathered together his forces for the siege of Karacahisar.

This short speech that Aşıkpaşazade reports is pure fabrication. But it and the preceding passage reflect the rivalry between Ottomans and Germiyanids, a rivalry that the source cannot make too explicit given the necessity of presenting the Ottomans as warring against Christians rather than brother Muslims. This necessity drives the presentation and tone of all the early Ottoman chronicles and is the backbone of the notion that zeal for "holy war" is the engine—or sparks most of the cylin-

70. See Albert Failler, "Les émirs turcs à la conquête de l'Anatolie au début du 14e siècle," *Revue des études byzantines* 52 (1994): 83.

71. For the interpretation of Pachymeres' passage, see Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans*, 29–30 and n. 153.

72. *APZ*, 11.

73. Ibid., 11–12. Cf. Professor Peldiceanu-Steinherr's interpretation in "Tahrir defterlerinin önemi," 317–18.

74. *APZ*, 11–12.

ders of the engine—of early Ottoman history. That luxury is, alas, not allotted us. Instead, we have here a sense that there was a threat to the Ottomans from this quarter but that the threat came from a Muslim neighbor, not a Christian one. We must consider the possibility that the real lord of Karacahisar at the end of the thirteenth century was in fact the ruler of Germiyan and that the Ottomans conquered his outpost.

The importance of Karacahisar has been the subject of some debate: at one time, for example, it was viewed as the site of Malagina, a major Byzantine staging point now known to be much further to the north, along the lower Sakarya. Karacahisar may have been one of the Byzantine beacon stations for signals from the east and could also have linked Eskişehir with Kütahya in similar fashion.[75] It was obviously important to the Ottomans' sense of their past, for it appears early in their sources. But why? Richard Hartmann wrestled with the problem more than two generations ago: "Karacahisar is so placed that the particular virtues of the situation of Dorylaion-Eskişehir are completely missing. It does not lie on the great commercial route through the plain, but on the contrary, stands apart from it. It therefore seems to me an error to view it as having been particularly auspicious from a strategic point of view: given the entire military technology of antiquity and the medieval era, it would have been very difficult to close the great trade route; to be sure, the castle affords a wide prospect over the terrain, but even so, Karacahisar actually dominates only the Porsuk valley and the route to Kütahya."[76]

Now we see before us a clue: the Porsuk valley was the way to Kütahya. Whoever controlled Karacahisar controlled the way to or from Kütahya. With the castle in enemy hands, the Ottomans had no secure hold over their rear, the Eskişehir plain, and the routes to Söğüd or Bursa. With the castle in Ottoman hands, the lords of Kütahya found the northern end point of one of their major routes threatened. Kütahya was not only a city of some importance but the home of the principality of Germiyan, perhaps the most powerful and pretentious next-door

75. See Clive Foss, *Survey of Medieval Castles of Anatolia,* vol. 1, *Kütahya,* BAR International Series, no. 261; British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph, no. 7 (Oxford, 1985), 94.

76. Hartmann, *Anatolien,* 61–62. Runciman (*History of the Crusades,* 186 n. 1) suggested that the Seljuks might have used Karacahisar as an observation post to warn of the arrival of the crusaders. Cf. [Great Britain] Naval Staff, Naval Intelligence Division, *A Handbook of Asia Minor* (London, 1919), 2:317–19, for an appreciation of the route beneath the heights.

neighbor of the early Ottomans. The reach, for example, of Yakub b. Alişir of Germiyan was such that he restored the pulpit in the Kızıl Bey Cami in 699/1299–1300 in Ankara, a city claimed also by the Mongols at the same time.[77] Let us look at the position of Germiyan during these years.

The Germiyanid forces appear on the western frontiers in 1277, defending the Seljuks against Turkoman pretenders and allied with the lords of Afyonkarahisar. The Germiyanids themselves captured the Seljuk pretender Jimri and brought to a close a Turkoman revolt in the later 1270s.[78] The sons of the Seljuk minister Fakhreddin Ali (whose land and sphere of influence centered on Afyonkarahisar) died on this campaign, and in the confused struggles for control over the next decade, it is not surprising to find that by 1285, the Germiyanids had taken over much of the territory nominally in the hands of Fakhreddin Ali's grandsons. Fakhreddin Ali and a Mongol force preserved their control of Afyonkarahisar in 1286–87, but the Germiyanids remained a threat, despite an armistice in 1288. In 1289 or 1290, they managed to seize Denizli for a few months, demonstrating their power in the south; and despite paying homage to the Ilkhan Gaykhatu at Konya in 1291, they returned later in the year and raided the historic Seljuk capital.[79] At the end of the century, their leader, Yakub b. Alişir, whether he controlled Ankara briefly or not, received tribute from Byzantine Philadelphia and also, in addition to Kütahya, possessed Simav, Kula,

77. See Institut français, *Répertoire chronologique,* no. 5080; Mustafa Çetin Varlık, *Germiyan-oğulları tarihi (1300–1429)* (Ankara, 1974), 31–32. The inscription also cites the Seljuk sultan Alaeddin Keyqubad III. Institut français, *Répertoire chronologique,* no. 4933, dated 689/1290, is in the name of the Seljuk sultan Mes'ud II. Note, however, that coins in the name of the Ilkhan Ghazan Khan were struck at Ankara in A.H. 699 and 703: see Rudi Paul Lindner, "A Silver Age in Seljuk Anatolia," in *A Festschrift Presented to Ibrahim Artuk on the Occasion of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Turkish Numismatic Society* (Istanbul, 1988), 272; Wittek, "Angoras," 346. The collection of Stephen Album, now at Tübingen, contains coins struck in the name of Ghazan dated A.H. 700, 701?, and 702 (I thank Stephen Album for this information). Taeschner ("Ankara") is not certain that Ya'qub b. Alishir was a Germiyanid. Shihab al-Din Ahmad b. Fadlallah al-'Umari (*Al-'Umari's Bericht über Anatolien,* ed. Franz Taeschner [Leipzig, 1929]), refers to a "bilad Ya'qub," which may indicate an area once (i.e., before the 1330s) under Germiyanid rule; in the 1330s it was under Mongol rule, as Hamdullah Mustawfi attests: see Wittek, "Angoras," 347.

78. See Varlık, *Germiyan,* 16–20; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey,* 290, 292 *(La Turquie pré-Ottomane,* 268, 272–73); Turan, *Selçuklular,* 565.

79. See Varlık, *Germiyan,* 27–31; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey,* 295–98 (*La Turquie pré-Ottomane,* 279–80, 283, 285–88, and, later, 318); Turan, *Selçuklular,* 590, 595.

and other cities in the south. His supporters ruled at Denizli and Aydın; the descendants of Fakhreddin Ali owed him allegiance from Afyonkarahisar.[80] In other words, Yakub's was the power with which to contend, only forty-five kilometers southwest of Eskişehir. He was said to have ruled, in the north, "the greatest part of inner Phrygia."[81] The author of this remark, Nikephoros Gregoras, was a good classicist and an accurate reporter. Gregoras had in mind Karacahisar and perhaps also Eskişehir. Yakub obtained the allegiance of and suzerainty over the descendants of Fakhreddin Ali, members of an illustrious family in Seljuk service. Was he not also seeking a similar advantage over the newcomers to his north?

In discussing the siege of Karacahisar, Aşıkpaşazade relies on the same traditions as the Anonymous Chronicles, although we see that this conquest is a work of Osman and not of Ertoğrul. The sultan led his forces to the siege, and Osman joined him, taking responsibility for a role in the fighting. Then came word of the attacks of the Tatars, which led to Alaeddin's departure, but not before he had turned over the leadership of the siege to Osman. Osman took the castle, sacked it, gave its houses to his warriors and to others, and made of it a Muslim city. Aşıkpaşazade dates this to the year 687,[82] as do some of the variants in the Anonymous Chronicles. Osman then sent the lord of Karacahisar to the sultan, who sent in return gifts of appropriate rank.[83]

Aşıkpaşazade's account of Osman's actions after the conquest fills out the traditions in the Anonymous Chronicles. Osman founded a market at Karacahisar, built mosques, and provided houses for those who sought them (even from Germiyan). The new population sought a judge and a leader for the Friday communal prayers, and Osman appointed Tursun Fakih in 699.[84] As we already learned from the Anonymous

80. See Varlık, *Germiyan*, 31–34; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 306–7 (*La Turquie pré-Ottomane*, 342–43).

81. Nikephoros Gregoras, *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia*, ed. Ludwig Schopen (Bonn, 1829), 1:214.

82. *APZ*, 12.

83. It is possible that some Christians were among the inhabitants of Karacahisar, and such a circumstance may have allowed the Ottoman chroniclers (if they recalled it) to claim that the Christians had seized Karacahisar from the Byzantines.

84. *APZ*, 20. The section of the passage dealing with independence from the Seljuks will be a subject of chapter 4 in the present study. The reader obtains an impression from Aşıkpaşazade's account that Karacahisar covered a fairly wide area, and this exaggeration may reflect the fact that the story, as opposed to the reality, of the obtaining of Karacahisar served a number of later purposes.

Chronicles, he placed Orhan in charge of the district.[85] No doubt, this part of the account is as tendentious as the claim that the Byzantines controlled the fortification, and it deserves further skeptical study. For example, in the Anatolian geography of al-'Umari, whose data comes from the early 1330s, there appears, in a listing of the principalities west of the Mongol domains, a "Sultan Buli," which is probably "Sultan Yuki," between Germiyan and the Isfendiyarids of Paphlagonia; the implication is that there was, before 1313, a minor principality centered on Eskişehir.[86] We should note that the entire district east of Eskişehir did not fall immediately to the Ottomans and that in the tradition used by the late fourteenth-century poet Ahmedi and the Oxford Anonymous, it was only in the time of Murad I that the Ottomans, when they seized Ankara, finally obtained control of Sultan Önü.[87] But this may not have been the end of Germiyanid influence. The old mosque of Inönü contains an inscription, dated 771/1369–70, in the name of a Hoja Yadigar b. Sultan Ali, and it is possible that Sultan Ali was a Germiyanid emir.[88]

The accounts of Karacahisar that I have used to form our image of the physical site lead us to expect a certain level of habitation, but the inaccessibility of the castle renders the stories of markets, mosques, and Muslim courts unlikely. The stories reinforce the impression that the early Ottomans thought the castle a pivotal part of their young enterprise, but I do not think that we should go so far as to accept their memory of it as a flourishing city.

What do we know about the relationships between the early Ottomans and Germiyan at this time? Geography and strategy might make

85. *APZ,* 22.

86. *Al-'Umari's Bericht,* 32, 39. Al-'Umari refers to the Isfendiyarid emirate as the "bilad Sulayman Pasha," referring to the Shuja'al-Din Sulayman b. Yaman, ca. 1308–ca. 1340. I owe this reference to Clive Foss, who has studied the passage. The "emirate" of "Sultan Buli" fell to the Mongol governor Timurtash in 1313: see Claude Cahen, "Les principautés turcomanes au début du XIVe siècle d'après Pachymère et Grégoras," *Tarih dergisi* 32 (1979): 116; Cahen does not connect "Sultan Buli" with "Sultan Yuki," as does Foss.

87. Ahmedi, *Iskendername,* ed. N. Banarlı, in *Osmanlı tarihleri,* ed. Çiftçioğlu N. Atsız (Istanbul, 1947), lines 315–16. The first Ottoman inscription in Ankara concerns the restoration of the 'Ala al-Din mosque in the citadel in 763/1361–62. There is a Persian inscription in the name of the Ilkhan Abu Sa'id from 730/1330. See Taeschner, "Ankara." Cantacuzenus notes that the Ottomans had (at least briefly) seized Ankara in 1354.

88. See Clément Huart, "Épigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure," *Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne* 2 (1894): 62; Varlik, *Germiyan,* 57.

a quarrel between Ottomans and Germiyanids over the castle likely, but do we have sufficient evidence of ill will between them? Yakhşi Fakih had no doubts that the relationship was hostile right from the start: "Hostility broke out, however, with the house of Germiyan, because the unbelievers of the land to which [the Ottomans] had come received continual injuries at the hands of Germiyan."[89] He offered proof of Germiyanid ill will: "From time to time Osman's people fought with the house of Germiyan. The Christians were very pleased, and they spoke of the enmity between Osman and the ruler of Germiyan. Now Osman Ghazi established a market at Eskişehir, near the baths. Christians from the area used to come and see to their affairs there, and from time to time people from Germiyan also frequented the market. One day Christian merchants came from Bilecik, and also some [merchants] came from Germiyan. The Christians from Bilecik fashioned good drinking glasses, and they brought them in quantities to the market for sale there. One of the men from Germiyan took one of the glasses without paying for it; the Christian came before Osman Ghazi to complain, and Osman had the man from Germiyan brought before him as well. Osman had the man beaten and had justice done for the Christian."[90]

This exemplary tale is far too good to be true, and it is certainly self-serving enough to deserve to be labeled false. The suggestion, however, that the villain of the tale is from Germiyan is worth noting as a further indication of the bad feelings between the two enterprises. When the story was fabricated, there had to be a name for Osman's foil, and the storyteller chose the usual suspect.[91] The Ottomans could, after all, have picked another villain: the Mongols were always available and more dramatic. But the Ottomans did not so choose.

We have an explicit account, from Yakhşi Fakih, of later war between Ottomans and Germiyanids. While Osman was campaigning on the lower Sangarius, the Çavdar Tatars raided the market of Karacahisar. Orhan quickly captured them and led them before his father, who let them go on the grounds that they were neighbors and fellow Muslims, with whom he wished only peace.[92] Leaving aside the edifying

89. *APZ*, 8.

90. Ibid., 14–15.

91. A salutary legend has a man from Germiyan first suggesting to Osman that he levy market tolls (*APZ*, 21). This story is meant to emphasize Osman's honesty and simplicity (and perhaps to criticize the Ottoman bureaucracy of the late fifteenth century), but it is worth mentioning that the villain is from Germiyan.

92. *APZ*, 25–26.

image of a magnanimous Osman (and a vindictive Orhan?), we should note again that the enemy is Germiyan.

Karacahisar, then, plays an interesting role in early Ottoman history and a coy role in early Ottoman history writing. It was important because it guarded the Ottoman rear and the Eskişehir plain, and it also guarded a major route to the south. The first city one came to on that route south was the headquarters of an expanding, belligerent, and successful follower of and then victor over the Seljuks. It would have been a wonder if the Ottomans had not found it an important outpost. So they captured it from the ruler of Germiyan. Yet, given the emphasis they later placed on their role as the champions of Islam against the Christians, it was an embarrassment to find themselves warring against Muslims at the very outset of their journey through Anatolian history. So, just as they did in the case of the conquest of Adrianople, they edited their memories and reconstructed their texts, projecting a later ideology back and perfecting their history into what it really ought to have been.

I have offered two basic choices in our discussion of Karacahisar. We could ignore the sources, given that a conquest from Byzantines could not have taken place. Instead, however, I have examined the sources and the situation with a view to teasing out a sensible picture hiding behind the later layers of paint. I believe that in so doing, not only do we give the sources the respect (if not full agreement) that they deserve, but we recover some insights into the Ottoman past.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Forging of Ottoman Independence

Tursun Fakih said, "My khan, you must have the sultan's permission." Osman Ghazi replied, "I took this city with my own sword! What has the sultan to do with this, that I should obtain his leave? God, who granted him the sultanate, provided me the khan's office by the ghaza. As for this banner he granted me, was it not I who bore it and did battle with the Christians? And if he says, 'I am of the house of Seljuk,' then I say that I am of the house of Gök Alp!"

—Aşıkpaşazade

In 1914, Efdaleddin, a member of the Ottoman Historical Society (Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni), published an article in which he discussed the date on which the Ottomans became independent of the Seljuks.[1] His article contained the results of researches sponsored by the Ottoman government, which had sought to find the appropriate date on which to celebrate the anniversary of the Ottomans' independence and foundation as a polity. Efdaleddin published quotations from a number of Ottoman sources, ranging from fifteenth-century chronicles to nineteenth-century schoolbooks, which he melded together to produce a date of 699/1299–1300. Although later scholars have not followed Efdaleddin's methodological dependence on such a potpourri of literary sources, most have concurred with his date. In this chapter, I revisit the question and offer a different answer. What happened around the year 1299? How did it affect the Ottomans? Do the sources reflect the severing of a tie, or do they hide the acceptance of another?

In chapter 3, I considered what the early Ottoman sources recounted about one of the first Ottoman conquests, Karacahisar. The story seemed

1. Efdaleddin, "Istiklal-i Osmani tarih ve günü hakkında tetkikat," *Tarih-i Osmani encümeni mecmuası* 5, no. 25 (1330): 36–48.

at the outset to make no sense, for it presented an enemy (Byzantium) who had not held any authority in the area during the previous century. But rather than discard the text as unworthy of further consideration, I sought for sense in back of it. Ultimately, I found a powerful and threatening neighbor to the Ottomans' south, the beylik of Germiyan, then in its first flowering under Ya'kub I.[2] This enabled me to view Karacahisar as the main watch post at the northern end of the Kütahya-Eskişehir road. The sources, especially the early traditions of Yakhşi Fakih, revealed a deeply felt enmity between Germiyan and the Ottomans. Replacing Byzantine with Germiyanid made historical sense and allowed me to recognize that the sources were not simply defective but had been reworked to fit them into a later generation's ideological concerns. A tradition that makes no sense is, then, not a senseless jumble of words that the busy historian may jettison. I do a similar analysis here, going over some of the same ground that Efdaleddin covered, but resting my analysis on better sources and the results of two generations of further research.

There was what musicians term a "grand pause" in Anatolia around the year 1300, a point after which everybody understood that conditions were different. For a few years after 1300, there was a nominal Seljuk sultan, but nobody really cared, and before a decade had passed, he disappears from the sources.[3] After 1300, the Byzantine chroniclers, viewing affairs from the other side of the frontier, stopped to take stock of the appearance of the beyliks, which they recognized as a fundamentally new political order.[4] What was the Ottomans' place after this sifting of political loyalties?

The moment that marked the Ottomans' rise to prominence impressed itself in different fashions on different authors. For the Byzantine chronicler George Pachymeres, whose significant work I review in

2. For a summary of events, see Irène Mélikoff, "Germiyan-oğulları," in *Encyclopedia of Islam,* 2d ed.

3. Even the coinage of the last Seljuk sultans is pitiable. In the collection of the American Numismatic Society are three late, barbarous imitations of the lion and sun coinage that Kaykhusraw II had struck in 1240–43, two generations earlier. On the imitations, smaller and lighter than the originals, the lion and sun are nearly impossible to recognize, and the engraving is so poor that the name of the sultan is lost. The coins may not be a true Seljuk issue; if they are not, that fact also reveals the impotence of the sultans' authority.

4. This is how I take Nikephoros Gregoras's listing of the beyliks (*Byzantina historia,* 214) and the discussion in Pachymeres: *Georgii Pachymeris De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis librii tredecim,* ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1835), 2:389; Pachymeres, *Relations historiques,* ed. Failler, 4:422–25. See also Cahen, "Les principautés turcomanes," 111–16; Albert Failler, "Les émirs turcs."

chapter 5, Osman became a man worth watching in the year 1302 as a result of the battle of Bapheus. As we shall see, however, no battle description in the early Ottoman sources matches Bapheus as Pachymeres recounted it.[5] Other than the listing of Osman's name among the beyliks and their chiefs, the Byzantine sources are of little help in the search for particular events at the very turn of the century. For the moment, then, let us stick with the Ottoman traditions.

A set of sources that I have not considered so far form the Royal Calendars, almanacs that contain lists of past events in the form "Since X occurred it has been Y years."[6] These Royal Calendars, prepared for the Ottoman palace astrologers and extant today in various manuscript collections, preserve one set of memories of the significant dates as the court recalled them. We cannot use the Royal Calendars to obtain secure dates for events, as the process of annual copying and adding one year to all but the most recent events in the calendars led to many slips. Notable for our purposes is the order of events, not the dates listed. This tradition agrees that the first important stage in Osman's independent career was a series of conquests (and foundations) that occurred during one year, involving Bilecik, Yarhisar, Inegöl, and Yenişehir (the name of the last location means "new town").[7]

Given the north and northwestward orientation of the Ottomans' home at Söğüd, these conquests made good geographical sense. Bilecik, above the Karasu, is the key to an advance down the Sangarius to Nicaea and westward toward Bursa. Yarhisar (now Ilyas Bey) and Köprühisar guard the routes to Nicaea across Ermeni Derbend and to the Bursa plain, respectively; and Yenişehir itself lies south of an agriculturally rich and fruitful valley allowing easy access to Bursa (across a low ridge), Nicaea (directly north across a small pass), and down the Göksu to the Sangarius.[8] Another early conquest, Kulacahisar, guarded

5. In fact, it is not possible to match the Byzantine with the early Ottoman historical memories of Osman's deeds with much success, a matter to which I shall return.

6. See Ménage, "Beginnings," 170–71.

7. See Osman Turan, *Istanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihi takvimler* (Ankara, 1954), 16–17, 52–53; [Çiftçioğlu Nihal] Atsız, ed., *Osmanlı tarihine ait takvimler*, vol. 1 (Istanbul, 1961), 24–25, 68–69, 100–101. The nature of the composition of the Royal Calendars renders unlikely Franz Taeschner's suggestion ("Anatolische Forschungen," 102 n. 1) that the account of these conquests in the chronicles is a summary of actions taken over a number of years.

8. See the map in *Istanbul üniversitesi coğrafya enstitüsü dergisi* 1, no. 1 (1951): opposite p. 88.

the route between Bilecik and Inegöl; Bilecik is the key to the route down the Sangarius, to three approaches to Nicaea, and to two approaches to Bursa. Köprühisar and Yarhisar seem to have been strongholds blocking access to the fertile plain between Yenişehir and Inegöl.[9]

How does the account in the Royal Calendars mesh with the accounts in the other traditions with which we are already familiar? First, we should consider the source on which Ahmedi, Şükrüllah, and Karamani Mehmed Pasha based their work. Ahmedi gives no dates but lists Osman's first significant acts (and we should bear in mind that Ahmedi's section on Osman is only twelve lines long) as the conquests of Bilecik, Inegöl, and Köprühisar.[10] There is no mention of Yarhisar, and instead of Yenişehir, Ahmedi has Köprühisar, ten kilometers east of Yenişehir and marking the eastern edge of its plain. The account is, therefore, fundamentally the same as that of the Royal Calendars—that is, that Osman acquired control of the keys to Bursa and Nicaea, whether down the Sangarius or across the hills west of the Karasu. Şükrüllah presents more detail from Ahmedi's source:[11] "As the banner, ceremonial robes, and royal kettledrum were brought to him, he rose to his feet, and they beat the drum—as is a ruler's custom—and they called out blessings on him. Then he sat down again. Since Osman's time, it has been a tradition of the Ottoman house to stand in honor when the drums are sounded for war. Now Emir Osman gathered the army of Islam; he stationed one group with him before Bilecik, and he dispatched another group of soldiers elsewhere in the land of unbelievers. They killed and raided everywhere; the unbelievers suffered a severe defeat, and Bilecik fell. Emir Osman seized Bilecik in 699 H. . . . Then he conquered Inegöl, Köprühisar, and Yenişehir."[12] Karamani Mehmed Pasha gives the same account, with the same year and almost identical conquests: he lists Bilecik, Yarhisar, Inegöl, and Yenişehir.[13] So we see that the tradition available to Ahmedi, Şükrüllah, and Karamani Mehmed Pasha also provided the date A.H. 699 to the places mentioned in the Royal Calendars. It is significant

9. I owe these observations to Professor John Masson Smith, Jr.

10. Atsız, *Osmanlı tarihleri*, 9. See Kemal Sılay, "Ahmedi's History of the Ottoman Dynasty," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 16 (1992): 137, 147.

11. As I mentioned in the last chapter, the first conquest Şükrüllah mentions is Karacahisar, which he attributes to Ertoğrul.

12. Seif, "Der Abschnitt," 78–81; Şükrüllah, *Behcetüttevarih*, 52–53.

13. Karamanlı Nişancı Mehmed Pasha, *Osmanlı sultanları tarihi*, 344–45.

that these conquests are said to have been Osman's first sovereign acts as the independent leader of an army.[14]

In my discussion of Karacahisar in chapter 3, I mentioned the account in the Anonymous Chronicles of Osman's first conquests: Bilecik, Köprühisar, Yarhisar, and Inegöl. We are by now familiar with these names, but the date given, 687/1288–89, is different from what we have just read, as is the date 689/1290–91 for the first prayers in Osman's name at Karacahisar. Following the brief mention of those conquests and the prayers purportedly in Osman's name is the account of Ertoğrul's dream of future power.[15] Then follows a listing of Osman's assignments: Orhan was given Karacahisar (with Alp Gündüz as deputy), Hasan Alp received Yarhisar, Turgud Alp was to govern Inegöl, and Sheikh Edebalı was awarded the taxes of Bilecik. According to the Anonymous Chronicles, Osman then settled at Yenişehir, while Orhan continued the conquests; in particular, he conquered Köprühisar and then besieged Nicaea.[16] Something is wrong with the claimed chronology of the story here: the conquests of 687 may be too early, for in the other traditions, they occur just before Osman's interests turn further north, to Nicaea. Those traditions may find a reflection in the linkage of Orhan's siege of Nicaea and the conquest of Köprühisar. Uruj, whose text is closely related to the Anonymous Chronicles, has Osman conquer Bilecik and Inegöl before 689 but does not mention Köprühisar until he begins to consider Orhan's career after Osman's settlement at Yenişehir. Then, he has Orhan conquer it, thereby ridding his account of confusion.[17] In the Anonymous Chronicles, then, we have the same conquests but at an earlier date, followed by what would strike the reader as a "reconquest" sometime later. The order of the stories in the Anonymous Chronicles is confusing, for there are two versions of the dream and its interpretation, as well as other interpolations, such as

14. A careful survey of the surviving Ottoman documents should allow a triangulation of the utility of this procedure. I very much regret the refusal of the "relevant Turkish authorities" to grant me permission to study this material. For the moment, see the references to early pious foundations by Refet Yinanç in "Söğüt vakıfları," in *Söğüt II. Osmanlı sempozyumu* (Ankara, 1986), 39–54.

15. *Die anonymen Chroniken*, p. 6, lines 9–14. For a treatment of the dream and its uses in unraveling the filiations between texts, see Ménage, "On the Recensions," 314–22.

16. *Die anonymen Chroniken*, p. 7, line 20.

17. Uruj, *Urudsch*, p. 12, lines 3–4, 17–18 = p. 86, line 24. Here, Orhan conquers Inegöl and Köprühisar, but this may be a reflection of the other tradition.

the story of the naked dervish who, with his wooden sword, conquered the Yalova area.[18]

Finally, let us turn to the traditions of Yakhşi Fakih as they appear in Aşıkpaşazade, as a type of morality play. With incessant banditry and raiding, the lord of Inegöl, Aya Nikola, hindered Osman and his people on their way to and from summer pastures.[19] Aşıkpaşazade notes that Osman arranged to store some of his goods with the lord of Bilecik during the migrations and fought an inconclusive battle with the men of Inegöl.[20] Then, he introduces the story of the dream of Osman's future power, Edebalı's interpretation of it, and Osman's betrothal to the sheikh's daughter (this from a late version of the Anonymous Chronicles), adding, on the basis of oral tradition, a story of how Osman's sword came into the possession of Kumral Dede's family.

His enmity with the lord of Inegöl persisting, Osman raided a small keep east of the town, Kulacahisar.[21] Kulacahisar may have covered the route linking Inegöl and either Bilecik or Bozüyük. This brought about a combination of forces from Inegöl and Karacahisar, which met Osman in battle at Ikizce, near the pass over Domanıç, in the year 585/1286–87.[22]

This act by the lord of Karacahisar brings about, as we saw in chapter 3, the intervention of Sultan Alaeddin, his departure from the siege of Karacahisar, and the victorious conclusion of the siege under Osman's leadership in 687/1288–89 (here, Aşıkpaşazade takes the date from the Anonymous Chronicles). Even though the actual conquest is Osman's, it is clear that he is still beholden to the Seljuk. Aşıkpaşazade's next chapter is devoted to the sultan's (supposed) victory over the Mongols, while the following chapter begins with gifts Osman sent the sultan and the honors he received in return: the banner, weapons, and good horses (a reflection of Mongol interests?). Then follows the (also anachronistic) tale of Osman standing for the beating of the drums, after which

18. This legend may have at least some roots in the engraved stelae of Hercules with his club found in the Yalova area: see Arif Müfid Mansel, *Yalova und Umgebung* (Istanbul, 1936), 79–81; cf. Hasan Özdemir, *Die altosmanischen Chroniken als Quelle zur türkischen Volkskunde* (Freiburg, 1975), 265–68. There are similar tales concerning Sarı Saltuk.

19. We recognize in Aya Nikola nothing more than that his name is the original Byzantine place-name. See Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I* (Munich, 1967), 65 n. 25.

20. *APZ*, 8–9.

21. Ibid., 11.

22. Ibid., 11–12.

there is a halt in the story, as we might have expected on the basis of the other strands of tradition noted earlier.

Returning to the traditions of Yakhşi Fakih, Aşıkpaşazade continues with Osman's remarks on the necessity of living in peace with their Christian neighbors, his mutually beneficial exchanges with the lord of Bilecik, and his friendship with the Byzantine lord of Harman Kaya, Köse Mihal. But enmity between Osman and the lord of Germiyan remains a problem, and Osman's virtues receive another opportunity for display as Aşıkpaşazade recounts the story of the glass sellers from Bilecik at the market in Eskişehir (which I examined in chap. 3). Aşıkpaşazade is not done with his diversion from the main account. He—or rather, Yakhşi Fakih—first uses a wedding given by Köse Mihal to celebrate Osman's goodwill and then uses another, hosted by the lord of Bilecik, to display the Byzantines' betrayal of Osman's trust.

Instead of the Byzantines surprising the Ottomans at the wedding, the Ottomans ambush the faithless lord of Bilecik (using a trick already familiar to readers of the *Odyssey*). Osman seizes Bilecik; he captures Yarhisar on the next morning and Inegöl itself immediately afterward, through the quick action of Turgud Alp. Virtue and patience are finally rewarded. Aşıkpaşazade places these conquests in the year 699.[23]

Only then does Aşıkpaşazade return to the situation at Karacahisar, introducing the Friday prayer in Osman's name and the claim of independence quoted at the head of this chapter. Aşıkpaşazade has this event occurring in 699 also. So he has melded together his two traditions, that of the Anonymous Chronicles and the early account attributed to Yakhşi Fakih, by breaking the story of Karacahisar into two pieces and interpolating the history of the years between 687 and 699. In this way, he brought the Anonymous Chronicles into chronological concord with what he understood to have been the true dates of the remarkable early conquests of Osman as an independent chief: Bilecik, Yarhisar (or Köprühisar), and Inegöl (they were remarkable to Aşıkpaşazade, who presents the conquests of Yarhisar and Inegöl as having occurred within a few days of the fall of Bilecik).

There was an understanding in all the early Ottoman traditions, then, that these conquests were something special, opening up the lower Karasu and thus the Sangarius, tying together the ends of the routes northwest across Ermeni Derbend, and creating important watch posts,

23. Ibid., 18–19.

staging areas, and garrisons in fertile plains close to Bursa and Nicaea. The Yenişehir-Inegöl plain is agriculturally quite impressive, especially when compared with Sögüd, thanks to the abundance of water from the mountains to the south of the plain. There was also an understanding that these fortifications had fallen at about the same time, namely, in the year A.H. 699. This understanding had been achieved early on.[24] In two very early sources composed just after 1396 by the scholar Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn al-Jazari, who had come to Bursa and joined the court of Bayzezid I (and whom Timur took prisoner in 1402 and sent to Samarkand), there appears a notice of the capture of Bilecik in A.H. 699. Osman's power now was not that of a chief within easy reach of the plateau; he was now poised to capture historic cities and their agricultural hinterlands. It is no wonder that the Ottoman historical memory should associate these conquests with independence from a weak Seljuk overlord.

But is the story as plain as the traditions would have it? We have already seen that the later Ottoman memory was particularly active not only in recovering but also in reshaping the past. What particularly encourages doubt is the choice of the year 699. As described in other traditions, that year was eventful in other parts of Anatolia also, and the divergence of those traditions from early Ottoman memory suggests a certain amount of Ottoman amnesia. I suggest that we look at more evidence, some hard evidence. Let us see what the coins can offer us for the year 699.

The thirteenth century was a silver age in Anatolia, unlike conditions in the rest of the eastern Mediterranean.[25] As many as ten silver mines, more than Anatolia had ever supported before, yielded enough precious metal for an increasing number of mints and a production of silver coinage greater than the peninsula had ever experienced. Much

24. See Mükrimin Halil [Yinanç], *Düsturname-i Enveri, medhal* (Istanbul, 1930), 87, and "Ertuğrul Gazi," in *Islam ansiklopedisi.* On ibn al-Jazari, see "Ibn al-Djazari," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* both editions.

25. Here, I summarize results of work on private and public collections in the United States, Europe, and Turkey. Among these, I wish to single out the American Numismatic Society, the British Museum, the Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri and Yapı ve Kredi Bankası, and material made available to me by Stephen Album. I am grateful to the curators of these collections for their time and generosity. In particular, I owe gratitude to Stephen Album, John Masson Smith, Jr., George C. Miles, Michael Bates, Nicholas Lowick, Ibrahim and Cevriye Artuk, Ibrahim Tözen, and both Nezih and Tunçay Aykut. For an earlier compilation of my results, see Rudi Paul Lindner, "Hordes and Hoards in Late Saljuk Anatolia," in *The Art of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia,* ed. Robert Hillenbrand (Costa Mesa, 1994), 278–85.

of this silver coinage left Seljuk lands as tribute to the Mongols, but so much remained that even modern collectors can build substantial collections at reasonable cost. This coinage boasted a purity higher than that of its neighbors, so much so that it received a special nickname in the marketplace: *akçe,* or "little white thing"—white because it had a higher silver content than expected on the basis of the contemporary coinage of, say, Egypt, Syria, or Byzantium. The purity of Anatolian silver remained very high throughout the century, the one aspect of the coinage that remained unchanged and uniform from mint to mint.

Three other aspects of the coinage did, however, change as the Seljuks came under increasing pressure from the Mongols on the east and Turkoman nomads on their western frontiers. First, the quality of engraving on the coins suffered a severe decline, so that some of the provincial productions at the end of the century display blundered inscriptions that are almost unrecognizable when compared with the calligraphy on the coins of the 1240s and 1250s, when the script resembled that found on the large, dedicatory inscriptions of mosques and theological schools in the main cities of Seljuk Anatolia. Second, there was a proliferation of mints as power devolved from the central administration in Konya. Some of the mints followed the Mongol rulers as they established themselves in the east of Asia Minor, while others fell under the increasingly independent Seljuk emirs and Turkoman chiefs. The large supplies of silver and the availability of mines made it possible for a number of local entrepreneurs to reap the profits of coinage, even if—and perhaps because—their issues resembled the Seljuk style. This proliferation of mints was unique in the thirteenth-century Near East, as was, for similar reasons, the contemporaneous proliferation of large caravansaries in Anatolia. Third, as the century drew to a close, the ability of the central administration to enforce a uniform weight standard for the mints collapsed. Metrological analysis of surviving coins reveals a growing percentage of coins that, even given wear over the intervening centuries, weigh more than the standard allowed, indicating lost profits and loose production. A frequency table (a graph showing the number of extant coins at a given weight) does not reveal careful and accurate standards at the mint. A stable, well-run mint authority may be willing to allow some underweight coins to circulate, but it will see to it that as few overweight coins as possible leave the atelier, for they represent lost silver and foregone profit. The frequency table of issues from a good mint will have a sharp cutoff above the weight standard for those

issues. The ascending curve leading up to the nominal standard will have a much gentler slope than the precipitous decline in the number of coins recovered above that standard. A frequency table of late Seljuk coins shows a gentle curve on both sides of the standard and, in fact, shows more than one standard. The top of the curve is less a summit than a plateau. Finally, at the very end of the century, some mints adopted the Mongol weight standard, but even they display a lack of care in the production and oversight of the coinage. When we look at the mint sites of these coins and compare them with the evidence of the late Seljuk chronicles, we observe further signs of a devolution of mint authority and a growing local independence throughout the peninsula.

Such are the main developments in Seljuk coinage during the century. To get a better idea of the place of the year A.H. 699, see figures 1–3, which plot numbers of mints against advancing years.[26] The slow proliferation of mints from the early Seljuk centers of Konya and Sivas is easily visible, taking off with the dynastic quarrels of the 650s and slowly growing toward the end of the century. What immediately strikes the eye, of course, is the extraordinary spike at A.H. 699, the *annus mirabilis* of the century's coinage. Something very unusual was going on. This momentary spasm of increased mint authority cannot be a year of remonetizing at the conclusion of a cycle. Nor is it the effect of a sudden bullion flight. It is a mint expansion (and following contraction) substantially different in kind from what the preceding decades reveal. There were spikes of mint proliferation in earlier years, but these were never of the kind that 699 wrought. What happened in 699?

Thus far in considering the neighbors and potential rivals of the Ottomans, I have limited the discussion to the Seljuks and the founders of such nearby beyliks as Germiyan. It is now time to bring the Mongols into the picture. After they defeated the Seljuks in 1243, they demanded tribute from Anatolia, set up and deposed Seljuk sultans and administrators, and ultimately took over administration of much of the peninsula, where large numbers of Mongols pastured their animals. By the years with which I am now dealing, the Mongols were the real power east of the Ottomans. That the received Ottoman traditions have so little that

26. These graphs derive from data in Lindner, "Silver Age," with corrections and with additions from recent sales catalogs and publications. I thank Stephen Album for his assistance in providing some of this data and for his tireless labors on behalf of the preservation of coins from the melting pot.

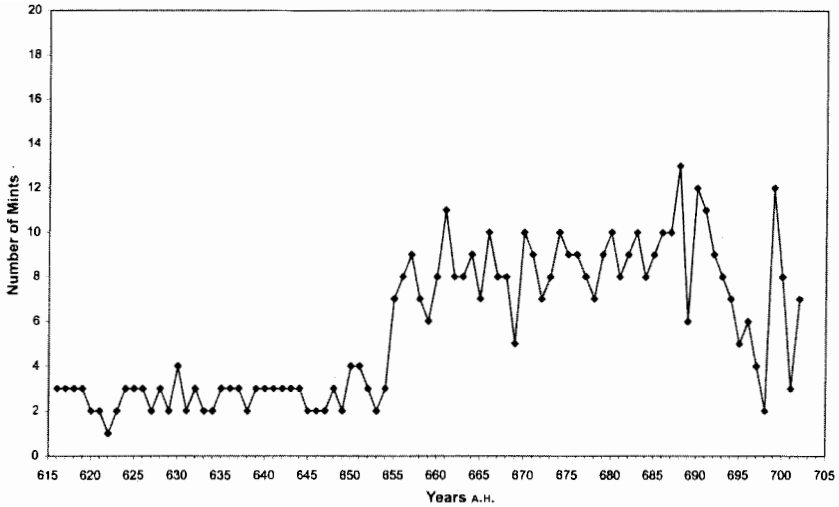

Fig.1. Anatolian mints striking silver coins for the Seljuks of Rum from the early thirteenth century to the early fourteenth century.

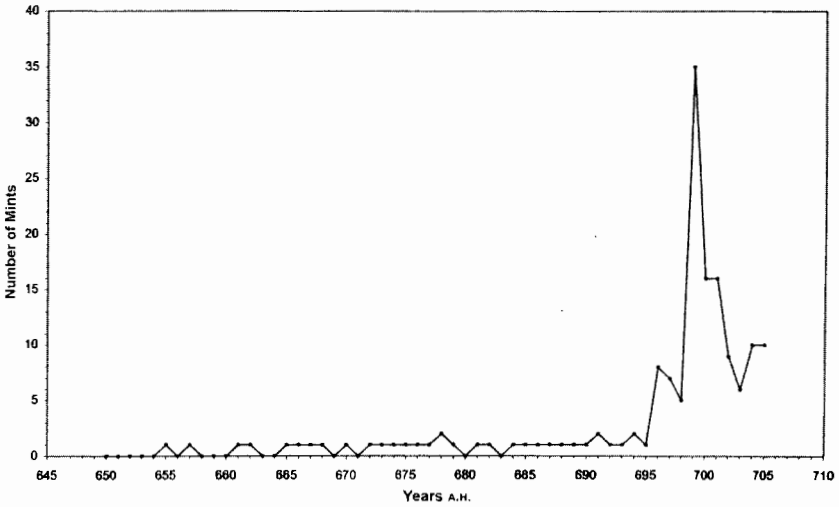

Fig. 2. Anatolian mints striking silver coins for the Ilkhanids from the mid-thirteenth century to the early fourteenth century.

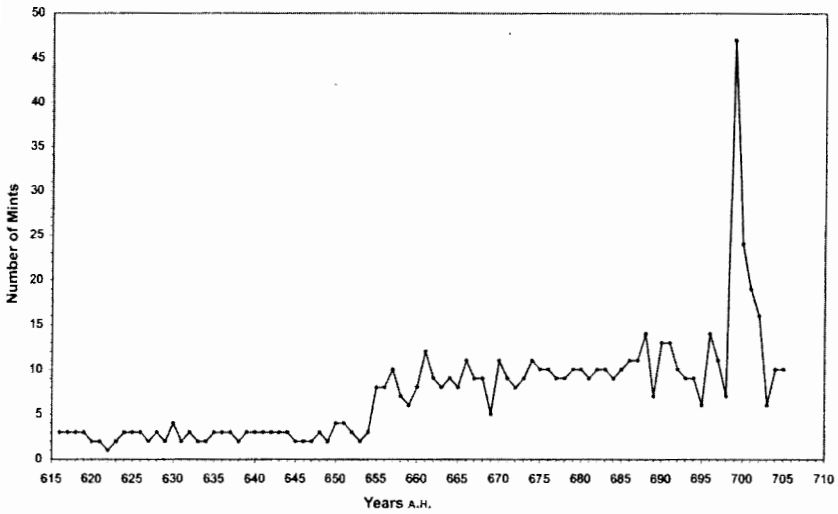

Fig. 3. Anatolian mints striking silver coins for either the Seljuks of Rum or the Ilkhanids from the early thirteenth century to the early fourteenth century.

explicitly concerns the Mongols is suggestive either of amnesia or of substantial editorial revision. The sources claim that the Seljuk sultan left Karacahisar to teach the Mongols a lesson and that the only Mongol force with whom the Ottomans came into contact are the Çavdar Tatars, allies of Germiyan.

But there is more to the story. At this time, the Mongol Ilkhan's man in charge of Anatolian affairs was Sülemish. After a revolt against Ghazan Khan had been put down and the leader, Baltu, had been executed, Ghazan sent three generals to oversee the affairs of Mongol Anatolia: Bayinjar, Bujukur, and Kushtimur, under the overall command of Sülemish. The Seljuk sultan Mes'ud II was dismissed on suspicion of having aided Baltu, and the throne was granted to Alaeddin III. In 1298, protected by the snows of a very severe winter, which had closed the routes west from Iran, Sülemish murdered Bayinjar and Bujukur and revolted against Ghazan Khan while simultaneously spreading the rumor that Ghazan had already been dethroned in a coup. From Syria, the Anatolian frontiers (*uj*), and central provinces (the former Danishmend lands), he formed an army including Turkoman elements (e.g., from Karaman and elsewhere in central Anatolia) and what the Ilkhanid chronicler Rashid al-Din termed riffraff (*runud wa*

awbash).[27] He won support, some fifty thousand experienced troops by Rashid al-Din's count, by promising to parcel out the revenues and provinces of Mongol Anatolia.[28] From Syria, the Mamluks promised him an additional twenty thousand soldiers and granted honorific titles and banners to some of his groups.

As long as the roads remained closed, Sülemish's dream lasted. Winter prevented the Ilkhan from responding until February 1299, when Kutlugshah set forth with Mongol troops for Anatolia via Diyarbakir. An advance guard under Çoban had preceded him, and an army under Sutay was to follow. In April 1299, the antagonists met near Erzincan, and the Mongol army defeated Sülemish. His Turkoman allies fled to their own lands, and he himself sought refuge and further assistance from the Mamluks in Damascus and Cairo. Upon his attempt to regain his former position in Anatolia, Sülemish was captured and killed by the Mongols, who also deposed the Seljuk sultan Alaeddin III. The Mongols also killed a number of Turkoman beys who either had joined or were suspected of having joined Sülemish.[29]

Although neither the first nor the last revolt of a Mongol governor in Anatolia, this uprising caused the greatest concern to Ghazan.[30]

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27. The name *Kushtimur* later becomes associated with pastoralists living in Lycaonia, as listed in Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans,* chap. 3.

28. I suggest that we see an example of this policy in a gold coin issued in the name of Alaeddin III, probably struck at Süleymanşehir (Beyşehir). Gold coinage from the Seljuks of Rum is uncommon and served honorific or donative purposes. See Stephen Album's (dealer's) list no. 67 (June 1990), item 17 (available at the Library of the American Numismatic Society, New York). Such donatives may also be mentioned by Pachymeres (*Relations historiques,* 4:505, line 23).

29. See Rashid al-Din, *Geschichte Gazan-Han's aus dem Ta'rih-i-muharak-i-Gazani,* ed. Karl Jahn (London, 1940), 121–23; al-Mufaddal ibn Abi'l Fadail, *Moufazzal ibn abil-Fazail, Histoire des sultans mamlouks,* ed. and trans. E. Blochet, Patrologia orientalis, vol. 14, pt. 3 (Paris, 1920); Kerim al-Din Mahmud Aksarayi, *Müsameret ül-ahbar,* ed. Osman Turan (Ankara, 1944), 239–47, 270–71 (emphasizing the administrative changes). Cf. Fikret Işiltan, *Die Seltschuken-Geschichte des Akserayi* (Leipzig, 1943), 98–107. See Shah Morad Elham, *Kitbuga und Lagin,* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, vol. 46 (Freiburg, 1977), 126–29, and Abu Bakr ibn 'Abd Allah ibn al-Dawadari, *Die Chronik des Ibn ad-Dawadari, neunter Teil,* ed. Hans Robert Roemer (Cairo, 1960), 8–11, for Sülemish's diplomacy with the Mamluks. The fullest secondary accounts are in Zeki Velidi Togan, *Umumi Türk tarihine giriş* (Istanbul, 1970), 241–44; Turan, *Selçuklular,* 620–25; and Faruk Sümer, "Anadolu'da Moğollar," *Selçuklu araştırmaları dergisi* 1 (1969): 68–69. Togan, who did not know of the numismatic evidence, did not discuss the matter at great length but suggested that Osman received his authority from Sülemish. It would be difficult to interpret the numismatic evidence to support such a view.

30. See Bertold Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran,* 4th ed. (Leiden, 1985), 83, 295.

Kutlugshah could not even remain to establish a firm and lasting order for the Ilkhans, as he had to put down the simultaneous revolt of David VI of Georgia. Later in 1299, Ghazan himself prepared for an invasion of Mamluk territory, an invasion in which Kutlugshah commanded the troops. The Ilkhan had little time to spare for the new conditions in Anatolia. How could he gain time and support from the Anatolians, given that Sülemish had promised them portions of Mongol revenues?[31]

Ghazan could provide them the profits from coinage, and this appears to be the most reasonable explanation of the extraordinary and brief expansion of mints in Anatolia during 699/1299–1300. It is significant not that so much silver was minted in that year (since the coins from most of the A.H. 699 mints are uncommon or rare) but that for a brief time so many of the mints produced coins, usually of a specific type of short duration, distinguishable from each other only by the mint name.[32] Such coins represent a monetary reward for loyalty (since minting coins was profitable) and a mark of authority without independence. Moreover, they are typical for mints that are known for one issue or for only sporadic issues in Anatolia.[33]

I have suggested this as the most reasonable explanation for the events of 699, but it is not the only allowable one. A brief, sudden explosion of trade accompanied by a shortage of specie might also play a role in creating a record such as the one I have examined here. But there is no indication of that in the record, especially in the account of Rashid al-Din, who was a shrewd observer of matters that might impact on the Mongols' revenues.[34]

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31. On the quick succession of events, see Flemming, *Landschaftsgeschichte*, 65.

32. On the role of coinage in Anatolia at this time, see Hélène Ahrweiler, "La région de Philadelphie au XIVe siècle," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 1983, 175–97, especially 187.

33. This is not the only occasion on which a number of mints, limited to a particular region, appear once or for only a brief period. Stephen Album has suggested to me occurrences not only in Anatolia west of Sivas at this time but also in Azerbayjan in the latter years of Abu Sa'id, as well as in Gurgan and Khurasan in the 1340s and 1350s. Another way of looking at this particular issue is to see it as an acknowledgment of Ghazan's sovereignty after the strong temptation of Sülemish.

34. Ghazan's reform coinage was introduced at Baghdad and Tabriz in A.H. 696 and was extended, with a lighter-weight coin, in 697. Lighter-weight coins of 697 are apparently rare, but they became common in 698. The spike in Anatolian mint activity occurs in 699. One inducement may have been the need to introduce the reform coinage, with its new weight, more widely, although the number of new mints in 699 remains surprising and finds few parallels (e.g., in Abd al-Malik's reform of early Islamic coinage in A.H. 79). The extraordinary scope and extent of mint proliferation suggests remonetization as a secondary,

There were, then, solid reasons for Ghazan to allow the production of coins from more mints in Asia Minor in the year A.H. 699. Many of these coins were struck from dies centrally produced and then sent forth to the mints, dies differing only in the name of the mint. This set of dies was used for only one or two years by the Mongol authorities in Anatolia. On the reverse, surrounded by a beaded circle, is the following inscription:

The very great Khan Qazan
Sultan Mahmud
May God perpetuate his rule.

On the obverse, within a beaded square, is the shahada, or profession of faith; surrounding the square, within another beaded circle, is a statement of the year and date. A flourish on the final dal of Muhammad's name, in the shahada, is an excellent way of identifying the dies of this issue. Let us bear firmly in mind that this is a Mongol issue, acknowledging the authority of the Mongol Ilkhan.[35]

Now let us return to the Ottomans. The identification and study of their early coinage is still in its infancy, but there are certain clear points. First, at least one Ottoman issue followed on events elsewhere in Asia Minor. There is a coin struck at Bursa for Orhan in 727 (1326–27), within a few months of the fall of the city.[36] The model for the type of

not a primary, cause of the spike. I wish to thank Stephen Album for sharing with me his thoughts on this matter (personal communication, February 18, 1993). In the Kütahya hoard (deposited A.H. 701), kindly placed at my disposal for study by Stephen Album, there were eighty-nine coins struck at Anatolian mints in the name of Alaeddin Keyqubad III during the years 697–700, of which twenty-three weighed between 2.13 and 2.17 grams, while twenty-five weighed between 2.18 and 2.22 grams. The standard established by Ghazan in 697 was about 2.16 grams. Of 182 coins struck in the name of Ghazan at Anatolian mints between 695 and 700, thus including some prereform coins, 29 weighed between 2.13 and 2.17 grams, while 52 weighed between 2.18 and 2.22 grams. It appears that even before Keyqubad III lost all authority, coins struck in his name followed the Ilkhanid reform standard and did so no less closely than did the coins issued under Ghazan's direct authority. But a late Seljuk hoard, deposited in 693, with a number of coins of Mes'ud II, had a weight standard between 2.90 and 2.95 grams, slightly lower than the "classical" Rum Seljuk standard (11 percent of the 164 coins in the hoard were above that weight standard).

35. For published examples of this issue, see Garo Kürkman and Ömer Diler, *Alaiye paraları* (Istanbul, 1981), 45, AL-6; Aykut, *Ak Akçe,* 78–79, 144 (Konya, 699), 145 (Larende, 699), 149 (Süleymanşehir, 699).

36. There is a good description in Philip N. Remler, "Ottoman, Isfendiyarid, and Eretnid Coinage: A Currency Community in Fourteenth Century Anatolia," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 25 (1980): 181–82. Earlier discussions include Anton

this coin was struck at Kastamonu and Borlu (Safranbolu) in 724–26 and perhaps 727, which makes the model part of the coinage of the Isfendiyarid beylik in the name of the Ilkhan Abu Sa'id.[37] At this time, the revolt of Timurtash, the Mongol governor, provided an opportunity for independent coinage by many of the beyliks—some in their own names, some modeled on the Ilkhanid coins. Another issue in Orhan's name provides a better example. It consists of imitations of coins struck by the Seljuk sultan Alaeddin I at Sivas in 629, a century previously.[38] For someone doing business in the bazaars of Anatolia, the most commonly found silver coinage in the fourteenth century would still have been that of the thirteenth-century Rum Seljuks, and this issue took advantage of the high reputation and easy exchangeability of those Seljuk coins. Imitation was not just a form of flattery but also good business.

We can go further back into the history of Ottoman coinage, to the coin inscribed "Osman son of Ertoğrul" (mentioned in chap. 1)[39] and to two further pieces of evidence. A small hoard of silver coins of west Anatolian provenance consists of two dozen imitations of types struck by the Ilkhan Öljeitu. These imitations date from 1317 or 1318, and among them is one with the mint name *Bursa* (fig. 4).[40] Bursa was still

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Cornelius Schaendlinger, "Das Jahr des Herrschaftsübernahme Orhans," in *Litterae numismaticae Vindobonenses Roberto Goebl dedicatae* (Vienna, 1979), 185–91; Ibrahim Artuk and Cevriye Artuk, *Istanbul arkeoloji müzeleri teşhirdeki islami sikkeler kataloğu* (Istanbul, 1974), 2:454; A. A. Bykov, "Pervii Osmanskii monetii dvor," in *Travaux du département numismatique, Musée de l'Ermitage* (Leningrad, 1945), 1:115–20; Ali, "Osmanlı imparatorluğunun ilk sikkesi ve ilk akçesi," *Tarih-i Osmani encümeni mecmuası* 8, no. 38 (1334): 356–62.

37. I owe to Stephen Album this correction to the interpretation in Remler, "Ottoman, Isfendiyarid, and Eretnid Coinage."

38. See Remler, "Ottoman, Isfendiyarid, and Eretnid Coinage," 182–83.

39. See Artuk, "Osmanlı beyliğinin kurucusu Osman Gazi'ye ait sikke," 27–33.

40. The coin itself bears an obverse inscription similar in type to an undated half-dirhem of Öljeitu published in Aykut, *Ak Akçe*, 88, but with the mint name *Bursa;* the reverse, which is based in appearance on the reverse of Öljeitu's type A (using Album's classification for coins struck from 704 to 709), is blundered but should bear Öljeitu's name and titles. I thank Stephen Album for allowing me to study this hoard. The coin under discussion is now at Tübingen, and I thank Dr. Lutz Ilisch for permission to reproduce and publish it. The obverse inscription, within a square, contains the words

There is no god but God
Muhammad
Is the Prophet of God.

Between the first and second lines of the inscription is the mint name, as in the example from the Yapı ve Kredi collection.

Fig. 4. Silver coin minted at Bursa during or immediately after the reign of the Ilkhanid Öljeitu. (Courtesy of Dr. Lutz Ilish; photograph courtesy of Professor Adon A. Gordus.)

in Byzantine hands at this time, but it had paid tribute to Osman, who was blockading it from a number of fortifications he had erected beyond the citadel walls over the preceding decade.[41]

Finally, we can return to the events and coinage of the year 699. In the Kütahya hoard, a large hoard of some five hundred Seljuk and Ilkhanid silver coins unearthed near Kütahya in the early 1970s, there are a large number of coins struck with the special (Mongol) dies I have already described. These dies were prepared for use in Anatolia in 699 and used at some of the mints contributing to the extraordinary spike of mint proliferation shown earlier in figures 1–3.[42] One of these Mongol coins is pictured in figure 5. Figure 5a shows that the coin, dated 699 in the divani numerals used in Anatolia during the late Seljuk period, bears (at the top of the figure) the mint inscription "sin-'ayn/ghayn-dal." From its fabric (and the makeup of the hoard as well), the coin cannot be assigned to Sa'diye or Sa'idiye in Iran.[43] Nor can the mint be Si'irt; there are other coins extant of this date from that mint, and their style is completely different, as are other Si'irt coins from other years of Ghazan's rule. Might this Mongol coin have been struck

41. See Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans*, 27 n. 140.

42. I thank Stephen Album for allowing me to study this hoard and Professor Adon A. Gordus for performing neutron activation analysis of the coins. I thank Stephen Album for permitting me to publish the coin described next in text.

43. See Dorothea Krawulsky, *Iran—Das Reich der Ilhane, eine topographisch-historische Studie,* Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients, vol. B17 (Wiesbaden, 1978).

(*a*) (*b*)

Fig. 5. Silver coin minted at Söğüd in A.H. 699 under the Ilkhan Ghazan. (Courtesy of Stephen Album; photograph courtesy of Professor Adon A. Gordus.)

by Osman, from Söğüd, part of a reward for loyalty to the Ilkhans? In short, if the Ottomans took Bilecik and the other strong points in 699, might they have done so not as an independent power but, rather, as clients—publicly, if nominally (from the coins)—of the Mongols?

A suggestion is, of course, not proof, it is not sufficient or even necessary. Nor does the absence of alternative suggestions strengthen a case to any measurable degree. However, until further coins appear to support the suggestion of Mongol coinage struck by Osman or to provide an alternative, this suggestion is not unreasonable, for there is evidence that whatever loyalties Osman may or may not have had to the Seljuks, his house had obligations to the Mongols. In one of the later Ilkhanid accounting treatises, the *Risale-yi falakiye,* in a list of the provinces and dependencies providing income to the central power, Orhan is listed among the frontier provincial leaders of Rum.[44] The material in this section of the *Risale* is apparently from early in Orhan's reign.[45] What was true for Orhan, even at the very start of his rule, was likely a fortiori true of Osman, who had fewer resources and a stronger Ilkhanate to his east, represented, in the later and edited Ottoman

44. 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad Mazandarani, *Die Resalä-ye falakiyyä des 'Abdollah ibn Mohammad ibn Kiya al-Mazandarani: Ein persischer Leitfaden des staatlichen Rechnungswesens (um 1363),* ed. Walther Hintz (Wiesbaden, 1952), 162, fol. 93b.

45. See Philip Remler, "New Light on Economic History from Ilkhanid Accounting Manuals," *Studia iranica* 14, no. 2 (1985): 164.

memory, by the Çavdar Tatars.[46] It may be objected that this Ilkhanid document reveals no more than wishful thinking, although, since the *Risale* was not written for public proclamation, it seems unlikely that this is the case.

There is evidence indicating a closer connection between the early Ottomans and the Ilkhans. Even earlier, after all, in 1272, a Mongol emir established pious foundations in Eskişehir, based on incomes derived from locales north of the city, that is, just a few hours ride from Söğüd.[47] If, for example, the letters attributed to the famous Ilkhanid administrator Rashid al-Din are genuine, we have an opportunity to examine the extent of his Anatolian estates just a few decades later. These lay as far west as the vicinities of Ankara and Kütahya, and this also puts Mongol influence very close to the Ottomans.[48] Further, the geographical remarks of the Ilkhanid scribe Hamdullah Mustawfi include, among the cities historically under Ilkhanid authority, Ankara, Samsun, 'Ammuriyah (Amorion), Afyon Karahisar, Kastamonu, and Sivrihisar.[49] In addition, among the winter pastures of the Mongols were lands along the Sangarius River, west of Ankara, where there was a Mongol commander. Again, we are brought close to the Ottomans, with at least part of a Mongol tümen of ten thousand men, their families, and their flocks.[50] North of the Ottomans, the Mongols struck coins at Beğpazar sometime between 695 and 700, as an example at the Yapı ve Kredi Bankası collection in Istanbul demonstrates; they also struck coins at Bergama, to the southwest of the Ottomans, during the reign of Öljeitu.[51]

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46. See *APZ*, 25–26.

47. See Temir, *Kırşehir emiriri Caca oğlu Nur el-Din'in 1272 tarihli Arapça-Moğolca vakfiyesi* (Ankara, 1959).

48. See Rashid al-Din, *Mukatabat-i Rashidi*, ed. Muhammad Shafi' (Lahore, 1945), 226–27; Zeki Velidi Togan, "Reşideddin'in mektuplarında Anadolu'nun iktisadi ve medeni hayatına ait kayıtlar," *Istanbul Üniversitesi iktisat fakültesi mecmuası* 15 (1953): 36–37. Togan suggests reading one of the holdings as *Karası*, which seems unlikely. It is, however, very likely that at least some of the letters attributed to Rashid al-Din are not genuine.

49. See Hamd Allah Mustawfi Qazvini, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulub Composed by Hamd-Allah Mustawfi of Qazwin in 740 (1340)*, trans. Guy Le Strange, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. 23, pt. 2 (London, 1939), 95, 97, 99.

50. I owe this information to Professor John Masson Smith, Jr., who cites the Ilkhanid chronicler Aksarayi (*Müsameret ül-ahbar*, 312 [Saqariya]) and Şikari, *Şikari'nin Karamanoğulları tarihi*, 42, 51. I am grateful to Professor Smith for this and other favors. He notes as well that we cannot bring the Mongols too close. One of the reasons why the Ottomans may have been attracted to Bithynia, increased rainfall and agricultural wealth, would turn aside the Mongols: too much moisture means marsh, not pasture.

51. See Aykut, *Ak Akçe*, 88 (Bergama), 138 (Beypazarı).

Another text can be brought to bear on the problem. The contemporary Byzantine chronicler George Pachymeres, treating events just after the death of Ghazan Khan (1304) and the accession of Öljeitu, mentions that one of the Turkish beys, Ali Amourios (whom I shall mention again in chap. 5), wishing to move away from Ilkhanid pressure, sought from Andronikos II an area about the Sangarius known as Mesonesion, for those subject to him to settle.[52] This Mesonesion was an inland area (*mesogaion*), not close to the mouth of the Sangarius. The Mesonesion (or Mesonesos, as it is called in other sources) is associated with the Byzantine mustering plain known as Malagina.[53] This has now been located below Paşalar in the Sakarya plain north of Lefke, an area for which the Ottomans were battling when Öljeitu came to power. The Ottomans were, then, well within reach of his authority. We have a further piece of evidence. In 1307, after some further Byzantine-Mongol diplomacy, the Byzantines took news of a Mongol attack against the western beyliks as evidence of Ilkhanid pressure against the Ottomans.[54] There is, then, a very strong suggestion that during Osman's generation, the Ilkhans thought that Osman and those under him were Mongol subjects (and members of the tribe?), owing their ultimate loyalty to the Ilkhan.

This constellation of evidence seems to me to indicate that when the Ottoman chronicles boast of Ottoman independence from the Seljuks, they are quite correct—their claim that the Seljuks were able to defeat the Mongols only makes the Ottoman boast all the more impressive.

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52. Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, 4:507. See also Foss, "Malagina," 178; Failler, "Les émirs turcs," 100.

53. For the earlier literature, see Laurent, *Vita retractata*, 66–74; Şahin, "Malagina," 159–65. But see now Foss, "Malagina," 161–83.

54. See Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, 4:683, 709–11. See also Bruce G. Lippard, "The Mongols and Byzantium, 1243–1341" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1983), 215, 218. See as well Irène Beldiceanu, "Peches, calamités et salut par le triomphe de l'Islam. Le discours apocalyptique relatif à l'Anatolie (fin XIIIe–fin XVe s.)," in *Les traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople*, ed. Benjamin Lellouch and Stéphane Yerasimos (Paris, 1998), 30. The Ilkhanid ability to bring pressure on the western frontier should not be ignored. Ghazan at one point planned to establish a residence near Denizli. Further, there is an interesting passage in Pachymeres concerning Sardis. Andronikos II had made an appeal to Ghazan for aid against the Turkish nomads, and one of the Turkish chiefs, fearing the Mongols, arranged with the governor of Sardis to share the citadel with his men (1303?). In the end, the Mongols did not appear and the Byzantines dislodged their neighbors, but the Turks, at least, felt that the Mongols could send their troops so far. See the discussion of this passage in Failler, "Les émirs turcs," 81, and see the translation and commentary in Clive Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* (Cambridge, 1976), 121–24.

But what little we know of events in Anatolia at the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth indicates that the Mongols were successful at putting down local revolts, that they obtained at least temporary admission of their sovereignty through grants of the profits of coinage following their destruction of Sülemish's pretensions, and that the Mongols made specific claims not only on the Ottomans for tribute but on the Byzantines on behalf of Mongol subjects. The coin of A.H. 699, which I take to be a Söğüd issue, might be a part of this Mongol picture. The Ottomans, then, had something political on their minds in 699, but it was not independence from the Seljuks, who were already distant and weakened. What happened around 1299 was an acceptance of Mongol overlordship. But when the later Ottomans recalled their past on paper, amnesia set in: they "forgot" that they had been Mongols.

We do not know what Mongol overlordship of the Ottomans meant—whether the amount demanded and written in the account books was actually produced and whether the Ottomans suffered under Mongol governance or flourished under lack of governance. It is fair to presume that distance left the Ottomans less imposed on than their neighbors in central Anatolia. But it seems very reasonable to piece together the evidence of the events of 699—seen either from the proliferation of mints or from the chronicled traditions—as indicative of a Mongol interest in the Ottomans, rather than a perfectly free hand for Osman. Ottoman independence of the Seljuks was one thing; what replaced it was, however, something well worth forgetting.

CHAPTER FIVE

Springtide on the Sangarius, 1302

He fled, but the river came streaming after him in full noise. And as a man running a channel from a spring of dark water guides the run of the water among his plants and his gardens with a mattock in his hand and knocks down the blocks in the channel; in the rush of the water all the pebbles beneath are torn loose from place, and the water that has been dripping suddenly jets on to a steep place and goes too fast even for the man who guides it; so always the crest of the river was overtaking Achilleus for all his speed of foot, since gods are stronger than mortals.

—Homer, *Iliad*, trans. Lattimore

It is not too much of an exaggeration to say that the history of man is the history of sheep.

—Michael L. Ryder, *Sheep and Man*

Defining and explaining the events and accounts of Ottoman prehistory form ever more serious challenges the more closely we scrutinize the texts, and there is no shame in resigning ourselves to the conclusion that the events are beyond recovery. As I have shown in earlier chapters, the Ottoman sources discussed chronology with discordant voices, of which the loudest was not obviously the most worthy of trust. After 1300, the Byzantine authors provided more details about the Turks who were creating small but boisterous polities on their eastern frontier. Thus, the first date in Ottoman history about which we may feel secure derives from a Byzantine source describing the battle of Bapheus on July 27, 1302. Bapheus lay in the neighborhood of Nicomedia/Izmit, considerably north of the setting considered so far. It is surprising to find Osman so far beyond the areas he had, in later memory, subdued three years previously. It would have made better strategic sense to reverse the march of the First Crusade and ensure the possession of Nicaea/Iznik or to advance on Prusa/Bursa, if for no

other reason than to protect his flank at Yenişehir.[1] A fortress in the hills above Nicaea, Trikokkia, did not fall to the Ottomans until the summer of 1307; for Osman to advance so far north of an exposed flank is remarkable.[2] Nicomedia was not the most obvious or closest point along his routes of migration, conquest, and expansion. What led Osman as far as Bapheus? What brought him to battle there and at that particular time?

Our sole source for the passage of arms at Bapheus is the contemporary Byzantine chronicler Pachymeres.[3] He provides a fuller account than the elusive and allusive remarks that characterize the early Ottoman traditions and that have led some scholars to associate those traditions with this event. Moreover, he provides some clues that will help

1. It is assumed that Yenişehir was a completely new foundation of the Ottomans, but this seems unlikely, given the high number of existing Byzantine (and, of course, antique) settlements in the plain. See Jacques Lefort, "Tableau de la Bithynie au XIIIe siècle," in *The Ottoman Emirate (1300–1389)*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou (Rethymnon, 1993), 108. However, Sencer Şahin noticed no antique finds in his survey of the town (*Katalog*, 36). For middle Byzantine finds in the Bali Bey Cami in Yenişehir, see Yıldız Ötüken, *Forschungen in nordwestlichen Kleinasien*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul, Istanbuler Mitteilungen, vol. 41 (Tübingen, 1966), 149–50.

2. See the fascinating discussion by Failler in "Les émirs turcs," 109–10, based on Pachymeres, whom Failler has used brilliantly in that and other articles. There were three earlier skirmishes before Bapheus, and they seem to have occurred between Nicomedia and Nicaea. Trikokkia is to be placed south or east of Nicaea; given that it is, in Pachymeres, on a high ridge or chain of high hills, it is probably south of Nicaea: see Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, 4:258–59 and 258 n. 3. There is no evidence linking Trikokkia with a specific modern place-name. For the conquest, see ibid., 4:700–704.

3. Attempts to mesh the Ottoman and Byzantine chronologies together, with Bapheus as common to both chronologies, have been unsuccessful. It is easy to understand why the attempts were made, for it seemed obvious that a battle important to the Byzantines would also appear in the Ottoman sources. However, no battle in the Ottoman chronicles accords well with the description of Pachymeres. Why should both Byzantine and Ottoman authors agree on the relative importance of events? For example, Halil Inalcik would place Bapheus at Yalakova, the site of a castle in a valley ten kilometers east of Yalova, where the Anonymous Chronicles describe a battle (see Halil Inalcik, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt [London, 1962], 153, and "L'empire ottoman," in *Actes du premier congrès international des etudes balkaniques et sud-est européennes, Sofia, 1966* [Sofia, 1969], 3:76; his fullest treatment is in "Osman Ghazi's Siege of Nicaea and the Battle of Bapheus," in *The Ottoman Emirate (1300–1389)*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou [Rethymnon, 1993], 77–98). I see two difficulties in this procedure. First, it requires taking considerable latitude with the contemporary and precise account in Pachymeres, in both chronological and topographical terms. Second, the terrain does not seem to fit. On the terrain, see the discussion of the Arganthonios in Louis Robert, "Un voyage d'Antiphilos de Byzance, Anthologie palatine, X, 17, Géographie antique et Byzantine," *Journal des savants*, 1979, 279, and see M. Kleonymos and C. Papadopoulos, *Bithynika* (Istanbul, 1867), 39.

us to understand what led Osman to Nicomedia. Also, we may have some confidence in him at this point. As a dutiful standard-bearer of a long literary tradition, Pachymeres wrote with rhetorical as well as didactic effect in mind, but because the passage that interests us here was not central to his analysis (and he appears to have been completely unaware of its implications), we need not convict him of loitering with intent to deceive. What drove Osman so far forward in 1302, as opposed to a later date or a more logical place, was something unexpected.[4] Here, then, is the story of an angry river and of its course through the beginning of Ottoman history.[5]

The river under consideration is the Sangarius, into which flow streams we have met before: the Karasu, Sarısu, Porsuk, Söğüd Su, and Göksu/Gökçesu. All have watersheds near Eskişehir and watered pastures available to Osman, and all empty into the Sangarius either before it turns off the plateau or just as it makes a final turn north toward the Black Sea. The Sangarius became a vital part of the defenses of Byzantium against the Turks after 1267.[6]

The importance of the Sangarius followed from its position defining a fertile floodplain, whose wealth rendered it subject to occasional raids from Paphlagonia and the lands beyond the right bank of the river. The Byzantine emperors had either to react after the fact (usually without success) or to improvise a defense.[7] The river had become the eastern

4. If, however, Osman had settled at Yenişehir by 1302, his appearance before Nicaea and Nicomedia that spring and summer becomes more sensible. In the Ottoman traditions, Osman moves to Yenişehir after events I have already associated with A.H. 699, a few years before 1302. The entire question of the move to Yenişehir deserves a fuller discussion, one that would consider the rate at which Osman's forces adopted more settled ways (it is clear that those who came with him to Bapheus were still nomads). To me, it seems wise to avoid meshing the Ottoman and Byzantine traditions at the cost of the Byzantine sources, in this case Pachymeres, who is, after all, the sole extant contemporary observer of events. See Lindner, "Beginning Ottoman History," 199–208. Note as well that excellent cropland and some pasture lie west of Yenişehir: see von Eisenstein, *Reise*, 90–91.

5. I do not claim that there was only one cause of the Ottoman apparition before Nicomedia in 1302. It does seem to me, however, that a significant natural factor has been overlooked and deserves attention.

6. It had been worth defending in earlier eras as well: see Johann Sölch, "Über ein wirkliches und ein angebliches Kanalprojekt im alten Bithynien," *Mitteilungen des Vereins der Geographen der Universität Leipzig* 1 (1911): 48. For the events up to 1267, see Foss, "Malagina," 174.

7. See Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, vol. 1, p. 138, line 19–p. 141, line 3. George G. Arnakis ("Byzantium's Anatolian Provinces during the Reign of Michael Palaeologus," in *Actes du XIIe congrès international d'études byzantines, Ochride, 10–16 Septembre 1961* [Belgrade, 1964], 2:39) dates these events in the late 1260s or early 1270s.

frontier of the empire in Bithynia, and the overland route linking Constantinople with Pontic Heraclea had to be abandoned.[8]

Details emerge from the last years of the first emperor of the Palaeologi. In the summer of 1280, news reached Michael VIII Palaeologus that conditions along the Sangarius had deteriorated, all the way from the mouth of the river southwest until Bursa.[9] In August and September of that year, Michael went east and made a quick inspection of the fortifications along the Sangarius.[10] The following summer (1281) brought further news of problems at the Sangarius, news that the Turks were crossing the river at their pleasure and raiding the regions on its left bank.[11] We can easily understand that these raids posed threats to the lines of commerce east of Nicomedia and also to the crops grown in the great plain now called the Ak Ova, through which the Sangarius flows toward the Black Sea. Michael assembled the forces at his disposal and crossed the Sangarius. This land had recently been (and was again later) a fertile area, well forested and prosperous.[12] But that summer, it

8. See Pachymeres, *Relations historiques,* 2:405, lines 9–13. Cf. Foss, "Malagina," 174–76.

9. See Pachymeres, *Relations historiques,* 2:599, lines 23–25. I do not know if Pachymeres intends us to understand by this that Bursa (some distance west of the Sangarius) was threatened or if he has in mind the river at the latitude of Bursa (where it makes its great bend eastward). Failler (ibid., 600 n. 1) believes that the Turks had advanced as far as Bursa.

10. See Pachymeres, *Relations historiques,* 2:623, lines 13–14. For the dates of the expedition, see Albert Failler, "Chronologie et composition dans l'histoire de Georges Pachymère," *Revue des études byzantines* 39 (1981): 243–45. For the remains of fortifications on or near the Sangarius, see Muzaffer Erendil, *Türlü yönleri ile Sakarya ili* (Adapazarı, 1982), 46–47.

11. See Pachymeres, *Relations historiques,* 2:633, line 12–p. 637, line 8. For the dates, see Failler, "Chronologie," 245–46. Pachymeres' information came from the patriarch of Alexandria, who accompanied Michael VIII on the expedition. Pachymeres does not inform us fully of the emperor's route, noting only that he went to the Bursa region via the Sangarius. The Sangarius does not flow near Bursa, but its tributary, the Göksu/Gökçesu, passes through the Yenişehir plain and meets the Sangarius near Lefke. It is reasonable to suppose that Pachymeres had in mind a route to Lefke, then via this tributary to the Yenişehir plain, and then west across the low rise to the Bursa plain. In 1282, when Michael VIII went from the Sangarius to Lopadion/Ulubad, this would have again been the most sensible route.

12. For a collection of accounts, see Louis Robert, *A travers l'Asie Mineure,* Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, vol. 239 (Athens and Paris, 1980), 21–24. Among others is Walther von Diest, *Von Tilsit nach Angora, Forschungsreise zweier preussischen Stabsoffiziere im Frühjahr 1896,* Petermann's geographische Mitteilungen, suppl. 125 (Gotha, 1898), 66. See also von Diest's observations, including some perceptive remarks about fortifications, in his *Von Pergamon,* 92–96.

appeared otherwise to Michael, who saw it only as a nomad's land: Pachymeres claims that the effect was such that the emperor almost tore his hair from its roots—Michael had been governor of Bithynia in 1256 and recalled its former situation well.

The absence of farmers and of organized cultivation, as well as the difficulties of provisioning his men and forcing the Turks to do battle, led the emperor to strengthen the fortifications on both sides of the Sangarius and build new ones to hinder the nomads. He refurbished the old fortifications, and at those places where the water was low and a ford possible, he built new fortifications. According to Pachymeres, their numbers and strategic locations rendered an unwelcome crossing impossible. It appears, however, that there was still too much distance between the forts for the guard to be able to catch mounted nomads, for Michael VIII took a further precaution to prevent the enemy from fording the river at any convenient point and making an unseen incursion. He assembled lumberjacks, measured the length of the riverbank to be fortified, and also set out a convenient breadth (one hundred feet, as we learn later from Pachymeres). Then, he had his men cut down trees and pile them up, trunk and branch, into a jumble on the left, Byzantine "bank" that would form obstacles challenging "even for a snake" wishing to pass through; that is, between some of the fortifications, the imperial forces now stacked trees and branches along the riverbank and back from it to a distance of about one hundred feet. There were fortifications that had been constructed earlier on both banks of the river. Between the fortifications, but only on the left bank, a thick barrier of felled trees or hewn stakes was set up. This arrangement appears to have lasted until the flood of 1302.[13] Michael then followed the river south, turned southwest just below Lefke, and followed the Göksu/Gökçesu through the Yenişehir plain to Bursa and then back to Constantinople. In the following summer (1282), he returned to the Sangarius to renew the fortifications, taking the same route but now traveling to Lopadion/Ulubad, west of Bursa.[14] At this time, Kabeia/Geyve, on the right bank of the river east of Nicaea, near the opening of the last defile through which the Sangarius passes before entering the broad Ak

13. For an excellent commentary on the relevant texts, see Albert Failler, "Pachymeriana alia," *Revue des études byzantines* 51 (1993): 241–45.

14. See Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, 2:657, lines 12–15. For the date, see Failler, "Chronologie," 246–47.

Ova, was still in Byzantine hands, since the fort at Geyve was used as a place of exile.[15]

Pachymeres begins to discuss the appearance of Osman before Nicomedia by bringing together various strands of the story of the Turkish beys and their foundations at the turn of the fourteenth century. He discusses the past of a certain Ali, with whom Osman had been associated for a time in raids, but who at this time obeyed a truce with the Byzantines.[16] He then turns to the Byzantine fortifications along the Sangarius. What he recounts is central to our story and deserves extended treatment.[17]

First, I paraphrase the relevant passage of Pachymeres. Ali Amourios, a leader of Turks east of the Sangarius, had enlisted men and harried the Byzantines, but the harassment was not as general as it was to become later. At this point, Ali was active beyond the Sangarius, on its east bank, hindered by the defensive works along the riverbanks, works that Michael VIII had restored in 1281 and between which he had set up tall stakes hewn from trees by axes.[18] Michael had set up the obstacles on the west bank to be impassable for a depth of one hundred feet, and the fortifications were a solid impediment against Turkish raiding. During March 1302, however, the Sangarius suddenly shifted course and sought its former bed, over which lay the famous bridge whose construction Justinian had ordered (the Pentegephyra, a bridge with five arches, remembered now in the name of the Turkish village Beşköprü, meaning "five spans").[19] After the river changed course, it lay in the bed

15. See Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, 2:535, lines 1–2. The Sangarius appears now to have been a frontier between areas of substantial Byzantine settlement, on the west, and areas to the east lacking numbers of non-Turkish toponyms. See Lefort, "Tableau," 109.

16. For these events, see Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "Pachymeres on the 'Amourioi' of Kastamonu," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 3 (1977): 57–70, amended in some regards by Failler, "Les émirs turcs."

17. The relevant passage in Pachymeres has been the object of much discussion because it is tied to the question of possible Bithynian canal projects in Byzantine and Ottoman times. The best presentation of the material, along with a literal translation and commentary, is by Failler in "Pachymeriana alia," 237–48, to which I am deeply indebted. I also thank Professors Don Cameron, Clive Foss, and John Dillery for their comments on the niceties of Pachymeres' prose style.

18. For the forest resources in the areas, see Mehmet Eröz and Seyfi Alpan, *Adapazarı tarihçesi ve Sakarya coğrafyası* (Istanbul, 1968), 24–25.

19. The placement of the bridge and the remarks about it in the earlier Byzantine sources indicate that at some early time, and certainly during the reign of Justinian, the Sangarius flowed west of its current course (which equals the course it had before March 1302) and passed beneath the bridge.

of the Melas/Çark Su (which currently normally flows from Lake Sabanca, to the west, north to meet the Sangarius further downstream and is also occasionally called the Yavaş Su, meaning "slow stream"), a stream not as significant as the Sangarius but also able from its own depth to hinder an enemy.[20] This must mean that the spring rains upstream had raised the level of the Sangarius sufficiently for it to flood the plain and find a new course: Pachymeres is explicit about the rains having caused the river to overflow. The rains caused the river to leave the bed it had found some time after the construction of the bridge in Justinian's reign, that is, Pachymeres understands that the Sangarius had once flowed underneath the bridge and had since changed its bed to the east. Now, in March 1302, it had "returned" to its earlier bed. Because it was now so shallow, its eastern bed was fordable by anyone, and this created one source of danger. A second danger arose from the fact that on occupying the bed of the Melas, the river did not become any deeper, because the current had carried away alluvium and much gravel from the "red-cheeked mountains" upstream.[21] This detritus created a crossing for anybody who wished for one. When those who manned the garrisons (on both sides of the pre-March Sangarius) saw this strange transformation and recognized that they were now in danger, they fled. Indeed, according to Pachymeres, the retreat of the river from its historic eastern bed and the easier crossing of the bed of the Melas due to the alluvial flows constituted the plain cause of the flight of the garrisons and the Turks' crossing. The return of the Sangarius to its eastern bed one month later, in April, did not render it any less easy to cross, thanks to all the material deposited; and the Melas remained blocked with one month's fill descended from the mountains.[22]

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20. Failler ("Pachymeriana alia," 245) points out that there were, then, two river barriers against the Turks: the Sangarius (plus its fortifications on both banks and the wooden entanglements on the west bank) and the Melas.

21. The quote is a reference to the reddish soil and stones found on the upper Sangarius. Sölch ("Kanalprojekt," 54) first discussed this passage; he was a scholar of substantial learning, merit, and intelligence, deserving of the same praise that Robert ("Voyage," 293) awarded Tomaschek. Another modern translation of the passage may be found in Wolfgang Leiner, "Justinians Brücke über den Sangarios," in *Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur historischen Geographie des Altertums: 2, 1984 und 3, 1987* (Bonn, 1991), 81–82. The best discussion of this particularly thorny passage of Pachymeres remains Failler, "Pachymeriana alia," 264.

22. I have paraphrased Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis*, vol. 2, p. 330, line 8–p. 331, line 17; now see the new edition by Failler (Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, 4:361–65). I am grateful to M. Failler for providing me with variant readings

This passage from Pachymeres has caught the eye of scholars interested in natural and man-made diversions of the Sangarius to ease shipping, but it has not formed part of any interpretation of the events of 1302. Instead, it usually serves as a piquant interlude before the real storm, Osman's advance on Nicomedia.[23] The amount of water, stones, and silt washed down from the upper Sangarius and its tributaries in one month was sufficient to bring the Sangarius and Melas/Çark Su into each other's beds, according to Pachymeres.[24] This was an enormous volume of debris and runoff, given that it covered much of the substantial plain of the Ak Ova at this point. Although the Sangarius and Melas today are only about three kilometers apart near Lake Sabanca, they do not meet before meandering another fifty kilometers northward.[25] The

from the better manuscripts, and I am also grateful to Professor Peter Schreiner for assisting me in examining the passage in MS Vat. Barb. Gr. 204. Cf. the abridgement, which is not entirely helpful, in MS Vat. Gr. 1775, fols. 244v–245r (I thank M. Failler for providing me with a transcription from the manuscript): "Melik fell from his horse and was immediately killed. Ali Amourios, having slain Melik, became exceedingly puffed up, and, henceforth, taking as much as he could, he ravaged the land of the Romans. Nevertheless he was hindered by the fortifications on the other side of the Sangarius, for it flowed in sufficient depth. Where there was a ford, there Michael stationed a garrison, as we already said earlier; making fast great beams, he fortified the places; this was a strong defense against the Turk. In the month of March the river rose in flood and divided; it spread out and, divided, it flowed into many branches. Hence it allowed an easy crossing even for one who happened on it. Seeing this, the men in the fortifications there suspected that this was a result of the wrath of God; they gave up affairs there and crossed to Macedonia. Now Ali Amourios, perhaps having a truce with the emperor, remained quiet. But Osman, finding, as we said, the crossing from the other side easy, ravaged as far as Nicaea, that is, with only one hundred Turks he unexpectedly seized the area of the Halizones, and, having taken sufficient men prisoner, he turned back. So those with Mouzalon sought them out. But the Turks occupied the hills first and, thus, had a secure spot. They pelted the Romans with their bows [and arrows] and so defeated them that they caught even Mouzalon."

23. See, for example, Josef von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (Pest, 1827), 1:67. Hammer emphasized the impact of Michael VIII's earlier policies on the soldiers manning the Sangarius fortifications. On these policies, see Nicolas Oikonomides, "A propos des armées des premiers Paléologues et des compagnies de soldats," *Travaux et mémoires* 8 (1981): 359–60. After Hammer, the passage appeared in discussions of the various projects to divert the Sangarius to the Gulf of Nicomedia and in discussions of Justinian's bridge by Ritter and Sölch. Ali Amourios does not play a role in the events at Bapheus, although the flood of the Sangarius allowed him to raid west of the river (and his actions may have contributed as well to Osman's advance).

24. For silting on the Sangarius today, see Betsy Harrell, *Minitours near Istanbul* (Istanbul, 1978), 2:39.

25. See Sölch, "Kanalprojekt," 37. The meanderings of the Sakarya had other explanations as well: "Mr. Rassam obtained from the natives a tradition in verse, which relates that a dervish coming to the bridge was required to pay toll, which he refused to do, on the principle that he was by the rules of his order forbidden to carry money about him. The

Ak Ova is flat, well watered, and fertile and provides excellent pasture, an important point.[26] For much of it to have been inundated implies an enormous volume of material and water. In fact, what happened in the spring of 1302 appears to have been a debris flow, a large volume of water mixed with solid material into a flow that bears its cargo long distances after torrential rains. The impact of such flows is well known in other environments, where they are just as surprising and ultimately quite deadly.[27] Such a flow is proof of substantial and lingering rainfall up-country.

What caused the flooding and the bearing of so much debris down such a distance? The climate, especially the rainfall, in the Sangarius and Karasu basins, areas in which three climatic regimes meet, is predictable in the long term but very changeable in the short. There are middling variations in precipitation from year to year, but an extremely wet spring occurs every generation or so.[28] The Sangarius had been known, in full stream, to sweep away pontoon bridges in antiquity, and there is evidence from the time of Justinian that after a downpour, the deep soil of the region became like a quagmire; thus, the silt mentioned by Pachymeres would have been produced, threatening man and beast alike.[29] This silting renders the Ak Ova near modern Adapazarı (note that the name means "island market") so fertile as to remind a modern geographer of the Nile Delta.[30] The Sangarius sometimes rose four meters above its normal level and wrought devastation along its mad course; one authoritative estimate is that even today, 10 percent of the Sangarius basin's irrigable area is in need of flood protection.[31] A healthy respect for the

collector was, however, like most of his race, inexorable, and the dervish, incapable of proceeding on his journey, prayed that God would change the bed of the river, that taxes might no longer be collected at the bridge. His prayers were heard, and since then, the Sakkariyeh [*sic*] deserted its old bed" (Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches,* 28).

26. See the remarks of Foss in "Malagina," 179.

27. See John McPhee, "The Control of Nature," *New Yorker,* September 26, 1988, 45.

28. For general remarks, see Bittel, *Kleinasiatische Studien,* 145. For statistics (Geyve, Bilecik, Eskişehir), see Rudolf Fitzner, *Niederschlag und Bewölking,* or more recent gazetteers.

29. See Procopius *De aedificiis* 5.3.8, 13.

30. See Sölch, "Kanalprojekt," 45.

31. See Sölch, "Kanalprojekt," 45–46, citing Cuinet and Ritter; NATO Science Committee, Science for Stability Programme, *River Basin Management for the Sakarya Basin* (Istanbul, 1986), 8–9. See also Siegfried Froriep, "Ein Wasserweg in Bithynien," *Antike Welt* 17, no. 2, suppl. (1986): 39–50, and "Über eine mögliche Flusslaufveränderung am Sangarios in Bithynien," in *Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur historischen Geographie des Altertums: 2, 1984 und 3, 1987* (Bonn, 1991), 53–82.

river's character may have caused Justinian's planners to design the famous bridge over the Sangarius to be substantially longer than normally necessary, 223 meters here versus 70 or 80 elsewhere.[32]

These stormy seasons and the following floods were occasional enough to be unexpected. While the areas near or on the coast receive their heaviest rainfall in February, the stations on the upper Sangarius and the Karasu reach their monthly maxima considerably later, in May or June. At that time of year, seasoned travelers knew what to expect: "[On May 4th] the aga sent a message that the horses were ready, but that the roads were rendered impassable by the great quantity of rain which had lately fallen; that the Sakaria had overflowed its banks, and many of the mountain-torrents could not be forded."[33] A nuisance in May becomes a tragedy during March if a once-in-a-generation inundation occurs. The rains that enraged the Sangarius and stripped the highlands of rock and soil in 1302 were not simply different in degree; they were different in kind.[34]

This area is one in which the vagaries of storm and rain gave rise to divine commemoration and dedication in Greek and Roman times. In northern Phrygia and even further north in Bithynia, travelers, surveyors, and archaeologists have recorded numerous inscriptions honoring Zeus Bronton (Zeus the Thunderer), hard reminders of those unexpected occasions when the skies opened, the rains pelted the land, and the swollen rivers rampaged.[35]

The impact of these sudden rains and severe spring storms on a pastoralist's animals is decisive and destructive.[36] The pitiful experience

32. See Sölch, "Kanalprojekt," 46–47.

33. Macdonald Kinneir, *Journey*, 259; NATO, *River Basin Management*, 9.

34. See the figures for Izmit, Yalova, Bursa, Bolu, Geyve, Bilecik, Eskişehir, and Kütahya in Herbert Lembke, "Eine neue Karte des Jahresniederschlages im westlichen Vorderasian," *Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen* 86, nos. 7–8 (1940): 220–21. Note as well that for the same volume of rainfall, there is greater runoff earlier in the year, when the ground is harder.

35. For example, at Çiftlik Köy, just east of Yalova, is an inscription mentioning Demeter and Zeus Brontaios: see Robert, "Voyage," 268–69. For the latest summary, see Thomas Drew-Bear and Christian Naour, "Divinités de Phrygie," in *Aufstieg und Niedergamg der Römischen Welt*, ed. Wolfgang Hase, vol. 18, pt. 3 (Berlin and New York, 1990), 1913–14, 1992–2013. Peter Frei's summary reports on the Swiss epigraphic expeditions around Eskişehir (in the volumes of *Araştırma sonuçları toplantısı*) list occasional dedications to Zeus Bronton. For the area around Söğüd, see Şahin, *Katalog*, 30–33, 35–36.

36. Cf. Procopius's remarks (*De aedificiis* 5.3.12) about the effects of the rains in Bithynis on animals. For a more modern set of observations, see Michael L. Ryder, *Sheep and Man* (London, 1983).

of the African Sahel illustrates the impact of extended drought on first the herds and then the lives of nomads. Lower temperatures, stronger storms, and continuous precipitation have the same impact.[37] There is an additional, stronger point here, one that owes its strength to Pachymeres' helpful (and, for him, unexpected) mention of the month, March, during which the river flooded. This was lambing season (it remains so in traditional west Anatolian sheepherding), a time when both the ewes and their lambs are at their weakest.[38] Loss of replacement stock, the lambs, and productive capital, the ewes, makes for a pastoral disaster.

Wet or snowy weather has two effects on the flock, one direct and immediate, the other lingering. The sheep willingly neither feed nor travel in the wet weather, and if the rain lingers, their development is stunted: "a season of long rains makes short fleeces."[39] Falling snow, one of the forms of late winter precipitation in upper Phrygia, bewilders the sheep, may stop them in their tracks, and prevents their grazing. If they move at all, they may drift, and the flock may dissipate. In bad weather, then, the animals suffer. Over a few days or weeks, the suffering turns to sickness, wasting, and death, especially for the kids, who cannot endure cold or wet. To look at a parallel case, the Angora goat is hardy, among the hardiest of the animals, but the goats must be kept dry. The lambs must have protection and a protected source of food, or else they may take ill. The early spring is a crucial time, for the lambing season is the busiest season of the year for any shepherd, and the conditions need to be correct, a point emphasized by the manuals. The conditions in 1302 were dead wrong.[40]

We may look upon Osman's arrival in the lower Sangarius basin as

37. See, in general, Anders Hjort and Gudrun Dahl, *Having Herds* (Stockholm, 1976); Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans*, 57.

38. I have referred to this in greater detail in another context: see Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans*, 58–59.

39. See Mary Austin, *The Flock* (London, 1906), 118–19. In many ways, Austin's book best evokes the life of the sheep and their herders. Even though it deals with the valleys, hills, and mountains of the Sierras, it has much to offer on the pastoral routine in other areas with similar geographical relief.

40. See M. Muhtar Kutlu, *Şavaklı Türkmenlerde göçer hayvancilik* (Ankara, 1987), 80–84; Joseph E. Wing, *Sheep Farming in America* (Chicago, 1909), 124–25, 354–55. Wing, a correspondent for the *Breeder's Gazette* and a sheepman himself, was very clear about the ease of raising sheep but also quite emphatic on the need for special care in the spring. See also Ryder, *Sheep and Man*, 685 and 768–69, fig. 14.3, on the lambing season; 222–26 on the breeds in Turkey and their lambing seasons.

another, more challenging and dangerous effect of the flood, silting, and stones that tumbled over and raged past Michael VIII's wooden walls. In earlier chapters, I have suggested that the lure was there to bring the Ottomans down the river valleys, and their early lines of conquest show why they were tempted. But their abandonment of slow, steady, and methodical conquest, their leapfrogging to the gates of Nicomedia, suggests a change of heart, a sudden need.[41] With decimated herds, the search for plunder in the richest lowland location becomes more readily understandable.[42]

The Ottomans had established themselves on the frontier between plateau and lowland for perhaps a generation. It is entirely possible, if we accord the accounts of conquest some credence, that some or many of their followers had adopted settled agriculture; certainly, many of their Byzantine subjects were farmers. Pachymeres's account of Bapheus and Kantakouzenos's eyewitness account of the battle of Pelekanon in 1329 demonstrate that the earliest Ottoman army rested on a foundation of nomad archers. When the herds suffered, there was a need to replace the group's bases of wealth and sustenance, and the richest prey lay north of Nicaea. It is also possible that the area of Nicaea had itself suffered from the weather (and earlier Ottoman predation). Of the manifold causes that brought the Ottomans to the lowlands that summer, the terrible spring should be counted among the primary ones.

The landscape that Osman and his followers entered, without their herds, was even more fertile, productive, and wealthy than the upper banks of the Sangarius and its tributaries had been. We can do no better than follow in the footsteps of the great epigrapher Louis Robert on route from Leukai/Lefke/Osmaneli to Nicaea: "Just after leaving the café at Osmaneli on the Sangarius, the route climbs through woods, through an attractive countryside with mountains, forests, and mixed cultivation. Then the route follows the valley toward Iznik, from the

41. Halil Inalcik ("Osman Ghazi's Siege of Nicaea," 77–98) has attempted to harmonize the Byzantine and Ottoman accounts in the context of a Turkish desire to reconquer Nicaea. In so doing, he finds himself preferring the later Ottoman traditions to the contemporary observer Pachymeres where he is unable to force the accounts into harmony. I see no reason to discount the account of Pachymeres, especially in light of the scrupulous research of Failler.

42. The area of Osman's supposed summer and winter pastures is a transitional zone: one breed of sheep predominates to the west, another to the north, and yet a third to the east (see Ryder, *Sheep and Man*, 223, fig. 5.10). That this area is a frontier zone separating three breeds may reflect climatic instability.

east to the west, along the lower part of the south slope; above all there are the vines, the vines [*sic*]. At about the middle of the way from the Sangarius to Nicaea appear olive trees, more and more of them; among the trees, some vines, fig-trees, maize; the *agnus castus* [an ornamental shrub]. Here, all at once, is the Mediterranean, so different from the rich valleys of the Sakarya with their mulberry plantings, orchards, and maize. . . . The entire south shore of the lake [of Nicaea] is an immense forest of olive trees."[43] The south coast of the Gulf of Nicomedia was just as lush, even worthy of comment in nineteenth-century guides for sailors.[44] It has been called "the Bithynian riviera."[45] Modern maps of the distribution of hazelnut, olive, and grape growing support these observations.[46] But even modern observers warn of "the sudden floods of the Sakarya river."[47] A comparison of the area around Nicaea and the Sangarius plains show that the fertile fields and pastures of greatest extent lay in the Ak Ova and in the lands west as far as Nicomedia, close to which lay Bapheus.

It was not only a land of agricultural wealth, a land whose crops could sustain a large population (as it does today, supplying Istanbul with fruits and vegetables), but also an area where trade routes of some significance passed—an opportunity for a different sort of harvest. I have already looked at those routes that struck southeast from Nicomedia, Nicaea, and Prusa, and I have observed their closeness to the lands the Ottomans first grazed. Here, however, in the Ak Ova, were routes running to the east, routes of equal significance, especially given the importance of Nicomedia as a port.[48] We can see this even today in the remains of the bridge and building complex Justinian established in the sixth century. These included a monumental triumphal arch at the western end and an apsed structure at the east, with a total length of

43. Robert, "Voyage," 388 n. 131; on the same page, Robert comments on the "beguiling" aspect of the south coast of the Gulf of Nicomedia.

44. The guides are quoted in Robert, "Voyage," 291 n. 142.

45. Louis Robert, *Opera minora selecta* (Amsterdam, 1974), 4:343.

46. See Sirri Erinç and Necdet Tunçdilek, "The Agricultural Regions of Turkey," *Geographical Review* 42 (1952): 198–99 and 182, fig. 2. On the vines at Kız Derbend, between the south shore of the Gulf of Nicomedia and the Lake of Nicaea, see [Murray's] *Handbook*, 363. For fig trees, see James Mellaart, "Some Prehistoric Sites in North-Western Anatolia," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 6 (1955): 55.

47. Erinç and Tunçdilek, "Agricultural Regions," 193; note the Sakarya waterwheel on 197 (fig. 10).

48. This remains true today as well. For examples taken from sources of all eras, see Louis Robert, "Documents d'Asie Mineure," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 102 (1978): 419–28. Also see Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 305.

429 meters.[49] Nearby are the remains of ancient stone fortifications that may repay further study.[50] It was an area of fruitful agriculture, rich commerce, and strategic importance.[51]

Osman had brought his supporters down from the hills to recoup the part of his fortunes that had been lost as his flocks succumbed to the rain and the cold. However much wealth he gathered in the lowlands east of Nicomedia, he could not recover his flocks there quickly, especially in the absence of breeding stock. Fertile as it was, parts of the lower Sangarius were also inhospitable to grazing. Before the clearing of the marshes earlier in the twentieth century, the soil was too moist for animals to graze without sinking, losing their footing, and caking their fleece with mud. It was a land not for sheep but for the water buffalo.[52] It is well known that the settlement of nomads can follow either on their amassing enormous wealth in animals or on the dwindling of their herds below that minimum at which the herds fail to reproduce. The spring of 1302 produced something like an epizootic, with the rains pelting the herds at the worst possible moment for animal capital and dividend alike. From this point forward, we find Osman more and more on the plains, turning his back on the mountains and the steppe. Even in the Ottoman chronicles, there is no further emphasis on his herding, tacit admission that sheep were no longer of primary importance and that Osman was now after bigger game.

This bigger game required some daring, perhaps drawn from necessity, for certain fortifications along the way did not fall to the Ottomans until much later: the district of Malagina, south of the Ak Ova, fell only in 1306;[53] the fort of Trikokkia, in the hills above Nicaea, fell only in 1307.[54]

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49. See Procopius *De aedificiis* 5.3.8–11. The most recent treatment is by Michael Whitby in "Justinian's Bridge over the Sangarius and the Date of Procopius' *De aedificiis*," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 105 (1985): 129–48.

50. See Sencer Şahin, "Adapazarı/Beşköprü mevkiindeki antik köprü ve çevre tarihi coğrafyasında yarattiği sorunlu durum," in *III. Araştırma sonuçları toplantısı* (Ankara, 1985), 173–78; Macdonald Kinneir, *Journey*, 261.

51. For the strategic situation, see von der Goltz, *Anatolische Ausflüge*, 102. The region also played an important role in the Greco-Turkish War.

52. See Monsieur B***, "Observations géographiques sur la route de Sinope à Constantinople," *Journal des voyages* 87 (January 1826): 16.

53. See Foss, "Malagina," 165.

54. See Failler, "Les émirs turcs," 109–10. For the location of Trikokkia, see Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, 1:267, 258 n. 3 (although there is no evidence for the identification of Trikokkia with a modern Turkish site). That Trikokkia did not fall until 1307 indicates that the Ottoman hold on the area around Nicaea, confidently asserted by some as early as 1302, was still tenuous. See the clarifications of Foss, "Malagina," 172–73.

We see Osman moving down to the lower Sangarius in stages. First came a skirmish after the flood, perhaps in the vicinity of Nicaea; second, a surprise attack on a Byzantine force at a site, Telemaia, between Nicaea and Nicomedia; third, another skirmish in the mountains outside (and probably south of) Nicomedia, in which Mouzalon, commander of the Byzantines, almost fell captive; and then, finally, the decisive encounter at Bapheus, in the rich land around Nicomedia.[55]

In this chapter, I have examined an episode in early Ottoman history from the other side of the frontier, from the relatively more trustworthy and contemporary Byzantine sources—in particular, from a source, the chronicle of George Pachymeres, that, on the subject of hydrography, can be accused of overwriting but certainly not of tendentious bias. Here, I have examined an unexpected series of events—the Sangarius's rising above its bed, its flooding the plain, and its depositing vast amounts of branches, soil, and stones—events that Pachymeres treated as a curiosity and as an opportunity for rhetorical flourish just before the presentation of Osman as military victor on the stage of Byzantine history. I have explored the notion that there may have been more than a compositional link between these events. Osman and his soldiers herded animals, some small, others large; they were also predators. Pachymeres revealed that the flooding and silting of the Ak Ova had a cause upriver, and we learned from him just when the waters had fallen out of the sky: the severe and persistent rains fell at the time when the herds were at their most exposed and weakest condition, crippling and beggaring their pastoral adaptation. By examing these events, I have been able to provide some sense to Osman's moving ahead of himself and raiding the Marmara basin in 1302. I found echoes of the Byzantine story in ancient remains and modern ethnography. We have seen the Byzantines take note of Osman, and we may well understand why that was the time for them to take his measure. Downstream of the Sangarius, Ottoman history now begins.

55. The order of events is clarified in Failler, "Les émirs turcs," 98, relying on Pachymeres. Because Ali Amourios, who was not involved in the Bapheus encounter, crossed the Sangarius from the east after the flood, it appears better to place Osman's forces coming from the south, even if they preceded Ali Amourios.

Afterword

Strong men have come from tending sheep. Young David watched his father's flocks and in his zeal slew the lion and the bear that would have destroyed them. Gazing from his hill ranges afar out over the land he learned to love it well, so that the day came when he emerged from the solitude of the sheep pastures to be the one who should redeem Israel from bondage. Let us hope that in our own times young men may be found who while working with the gentle ewes and innocent lambs may from these scenes of peace absorb sufficient love of home, country and native land that they may come forth strong to help in the redemption and upbuilding of their own country.

—Joseph E. Wing, *Sheep Farming in America*

In this book, I have performed a number of case studies in finding the sense of early Ottoman history and seeing what lay underneath some of the gloss on the Ottoman chronicles. In chapter 1, despite the unpromising nature of the material (heavily laden with legend) that begins the chronicles, I found a historical context that could fit: the immigration of Khwarezmians heralding the arrival of the Mongol armies. The significance of Söğüd, the landing place of the Ottomans, and the influence of its setting on their sedentary future occupied chapter 2, as well it should, for in all the accounts of the Ottomans, this charming little town is just a name, and its placement is without significance for economy or strategy. I turned in chapter 3 to the perplexing matter of Karacahisar, that conquest from the Byzantines who never were. Rather than reject the story as senseless, I found a context for it, a context that appears in shreds and tatters among the chronicles but cries out from the geography and from what we know of the relations of Germiyan with its neighbors from later Seljuk history. The choice of Karacahisar was, after all, not an obvious one if we argue that the

chroniclers were making all this up out of whole cloth: why would they not choose Dorylaion, the city on the plain, instead? In chapter 3, I made sense of the story and recovered a choice bit of Ottoman history from the gloom. After that, in chapter 4, I examined the traditions of Ottoman independence and brought to bear evidence from an unexpected source, leading to the discovery that the year A.H. 699 had an importance throughout Anatolia, as the coinage demonstrates. In chapter 5, the final case study, I used a contemporary Byzantine text, rather than a later Ottoman source, to understand just what occasions brought Osman into the lowlands, never to return to the high pastures again.

These studies have been exercises in emergency archaeology, sifting through a great mound of texts in search of evidence that is already covered with obloquy and derision and may soon be lost beneath the sands of neglect. Why has there been such neglect?[1] There has been very little help available with which to control the texts, to date them, to connect them with fixed places and times, or to give the reader some confidence in what they stated and in their authors' lack of guile. Such controls that have existed seem to indicate that the tales told in the texts were at best distorted and at worst fabricated out of thin air. Scholars have wondered, why bother with them? Why not accept the conclusion that the events of this long-ago past, as well as their causes, were beyond recovery? Thus, the field of early Ottoman history, so rich in publication and in researchers during the years between the two world wars, lost its appeal and its suitors. Who cared to venture this desert, with its mirages and poisoned wells?

In surveys, texts, and even in the scholarly literature, a curtain of silence hangs over the earliest Ottoman history. In discussing the rise of the Ottomans, authors have begun their accounts with those events, such as the Bapheus encounter, that Byzantine texts dated and, so to speak, certified. Since there is no hard evidence for specific events earlier, since there is no firm base on which to raise an analysis, scholars have written instead about the Seljuk background or have attributed the Ottoman success to zeal for the holy war. All of this has made a certain sense, given that the Ottoman chronicles include obviously fabricated and doctored accounts: rotten apples have spoiled the entire barrel.

1. The work of Arnakis, more than fifty years ago, was the last serious attempt to integrate the Byzantine and Ottoman texts. A more recent critic seems to ignore the evidence of Pachymeres and the body of Arnakis's Greek original.

There has been further cause for hesitation. Through the scholarship of the 1920s is woven a thread that nobody noticed or examined either in the construction or the admiration of the final product. This is the assumption that the Ottomans were gentlemen of the old school, whose behavior was not only sensible but also rational and calculated on the basis of a shrewd, sedentary reckoning of the variables. To scholars adhering to this assumption, it seemed at times as if the Ottomans had looked over Lord Chesterfield's shoulder as he instructed his son on the rules of political and politic behavior. When later scholars turned against this assumption and began to widen the range of possibilities shared by the objects of their study, they saw the earlier studies as naive and even embarrassing, and this wider view provided yet another reason for those so disposed to spurn the tainted goods of the tendentious sources.

My view, which owes much inspiration to the scholarship of both schools just mentioned, is rather different from either of them. I feel that we need not expect rational or logical behavior from those thirteenth-century minds into which we seek some insight. We can, however, argue that there was sense to their actions, sense that arose from the conditions in which they found themselves, sense that derived from the cultural assumptions they inherited and later celebrated. What a tendentious author tells us about the Ottoman seizure of Adrianople may be utterly untrustworthy on the event but is quite revealing about the author's mind and the expectations of his audience.

The chapters of this book have probed even further. The tales in the chronicles were based on something, and luckily for us, the techniques of composition and editorial homogenization used in the fifteenth century did not entirely hide some of the contradictions between later ideology and original fact. Thanks to the rough-hewn aspect of those chronicles, a reader can look beyond claimed zeal for the holy war to the actual behavior described in the chronicles and then distinguish between what I have called the "stimuli" for Ottoman deeds and their ex post facto "justification." Whatever ultimate judgment a future generation will have on this technique, it has become quite widely used in the now general assault on Wittek's theory of the holy war as the sole engine driving Ottoman history. In the studies in this book, I have pushed my original ideas a bit further.

I believe that we should respect the sources that have come down to us. What I mean by this banal generalization is that even where there is

invention or fraud on the part of the later chronicler, we should look to see what lies in back of the chronicler's product. To put it another way, the studies in this book have looked not at the ornament but at the branch on which it was hung, not at the acanthus-leaf motif but at the column on which it is laid. Wittek's ridicule of the early tales revealed to us just what the Ottoman chroniclers could do to a story and how they twisted it to their own purposes. My claim is that it is worth the effort to examine the sense of the original story.

In all this, I do not claim that the reconstructions offered here are the only possible or valid ones. God knows best, the chroniclers say, and after some years comparing and contrasting their work, I heartily subscribe to that view. I believe that I have made suggestions that fit the evidence and do no violence to what we know from other sources. Others, I hope, will try their own hands at the task, for this field is now at the stage classical studies passed through during the heroic days of manuscript hunting in the Renaissance.

My reference to Greek and Roman antiquity is not accidental. If there is a leitmotif running through the pages of this book, it is that the legacy of antiquity bears on the middle and later ages as well. Kurt Bittel pointed out that the frontier between prehistoric settlements buried in mud mounds and villages of wooden housing remained as a political frontier between Seljuk and Byzantine. This means that there is reason for the Turcologist to read of a dimmer past. The bitterness of the Greco-Turkish War, whose major field battles were found at medieval battle sites, and the continuing distrust between the area's majority and minority populations, patriot and irredentist, have severed, even in the scholarship, the connections between the Muslim, Christian, and pagan pasts. Today, the Turkish archaeologist is more likely than the Ottomanist to read Greek. One message of these studies is that the past, all of the past, is important in the elucidation of a moment in the history of the Phrygian-Bithynian borderlands.

The origins of the Ottoman enterprise, an enterprise that looks much like the Roman and Byzantine empires but that developed its own ways and means, will remain a subject of discussion for years to come. I hope the studies in this book will fuel that discussion, which should involve us not only in reconstructing what happened but also in determining how and why it happened and, perhaps of even greater importance, in developing new techniques with which to pursue Ottoman studies. I believe that I can pick out part of the melody, a melody ac-

companied by a thick orchestration and impressive counterpoint that threatens always to divert from the melody. But I also remind the reader of an earlier sound, the discordant trill in the bass that, as with the late Schubert, is a reminder that not all is as clear as we would like it to be. Aşıkpaşazade tells us that when Osman began his career, it was his custom to hunt in out-of-the-way places. Should we not follow?

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Index