AN ANALYSIS OF THE *SALTUKNAME* IN ITS FIFTEENTH CENTURY CONTEXT

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Zeynep Aydoğan

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This thesis of Zeynep Aydoğan
has been approved by:

Assist. Prof. Derin Terzioğlu_____.
(Thesis Advisor)

Assoc. Prof. Arzu Öztürkmen _____.

Assist. Prof. Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu_____.

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Abstract

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Zeynep Aydoğan

This thesis examines the *Saltukname,* the legendary account of the life and deeds of the thirteenth-century dervish-warrior Sarı Saltuk. While stories about Sarı Saltuk seem to have circulated in gazi-dervish circles of the Balkans since at least the late thirteenth century, the text we have at hand was compiled by Ebu'l-Hayr Rumi, a member of Prince Cem's court, who spent some seven years in the Balkans collecting the oral traditions before he submitted the final written version to Cem circa 1480. In this study, the resulting text is analyzed not simply as the accumulation of centuries-old oral traditions that reflected the worldview of frontiersmen, but also as an authored, or at least heavily edited, text that also voiced the concerns of a certain segment of the Ottoman court that was receptive to these circles in the late fifteenth century.

With this dual aim in mind, the political and ideological strands embedded within the text are grounded in the Ottoman political context of the late fifteenth century. More specifically, Chapter One outlines first the thirteenth-century context in which the historical Saltuk lived and then the fifteenth-century context in which the text itself was compiled. The remaining chapters focus on and try to contextualize selected aspects of the text. Chapter Two takes up the representation

of "infidels," which was a central theme in gazi lore, and which provides important clues into the ways frontiersmen identified themselves by identifying others. Chapter Three looks at the representation of other Turco-Muslim polities in connection with the Ottoman search for a self-identity and hence with an increasing interest in the political legacy of the steppe tradition. Finally, Chapter Four discusses resistance to state centralization which is articulated by reactions to the neglect of gaza and to the adoption of Istanbul as the new seat of power.

Özet

15. Yüzyıl Bağlamında Saltukname'nin Bir İncelemesi

Zeynep Aydoğan

Bu tez on üçüncü yüzyıl alp-erenlerinden Sarı Saltuk'un efsanevi anlatısı Saltukname'yi incelemektedir. Her ne kadar Sarı Saltuk'un hikayeleri en geç on üçüncü yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren Balkanlar'daki gazi-derviş çevrelerinde yaygın olarak aktarıla gelmişse de, şu an elimiz bulunan metin, Cem Sultan maiyetinden Ebu'l-Hayr Rumi isimli bir kişi tarafından on beşinci yüzyılın sonlarında derlenmiştir. Ebu'l-Hayr-ı Rumi yedi yıl süreyle Balkanlar'da dolaşarak buradaki sözlü anlatıları bir kitap haline getirmiş ve 1480 yılı dolaylarında Cem'e takdim etmiştir. Bu çalışma, Saltukname'yi sadece yüzyılların sözlü anlatılarıyla beslenen ve uçtaki insanların dünyayı nasıl algıladıklarını yansıtan bir kaynak olarak değil, aynı zamanda müellifinin müdahaleleri ışığında bu çevrelere yakınlığıyla bilinen saray maiyetinden belirli bir kesimin hassasiyetlerini de dile getiren bir metin olarak incelemektedir.

Bu ikili amaç doğrultusunda, metnin içerdiği politik ve ideolojik katmanlar on beşinci yüzyıl Osmanlı siyasi bağlamında ele alınmaktadır. Daha belirgin olarak, birinci bölüm öncelikle Sarı Saltuk'un içinde yaşadığı on üçüncü yüzyılın ve sonrasında metnin derlendiği on beşinci yüzyılın tarihsel bağlamlarının ana hatlarını çizmektedir. Diğer bölümler metnin içerdiği belirli konular üzerine odaklanmakta ve onları tarihsel bağlamları içinde incelemektedir. İkinci Bölüm, gazi anlatılarının ana

temasını oluşturan kafirlerin temsiline yoğunlaşmaktadır. Bu şekilde, uçtaki insanların başkalarını nasıl algıladıkları üzerinden kendilerini nasıl algıladıkları hakkında önemli ipuçları edinilmektedir. Üçüncü bölümde, Türk-Müslüman dünyasının temsili, Osmanlıların kimlik arayışları ve bozkırın mirasına gittikçe artan ilgileriyle bağlantılı olarak ele alınmaktadır. Son olarak, dördüncü bölüm, merkezileşmeye karşı gösterilen direnci tartışmaktadır. Bu direnç, gazanın elden bırakılmasına ve İstanbul'un yeni güç odağı haline getirilmesine yönelik tepkilerle ifade bulmaktadır.

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serious illness and my mother never stopped taking care of him with her warm heart. It is to them that I dedicate this thesis.

Sevgili anneme ve babama

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INTRODUCTION

The legendary accounts of the warriors and dervishes emanating from the frontier milieus of late medieval Anatolia shed light on the way the people of the frontier conceived of themselves as well as of others and assigned meaning to the world in which they lived. Warrior epics and hagiographies were two types of narratives in which people of the frontiers voiced their histories interwoven with the lives of legendary warriors or dervishes. These narratives not only 'told' a particular history but also referred to the earlier layers of the frontier traditions, both Arab and Byzantine. Another layer became attached to these narratives when they were compiled under the patronage of the administrative centers in late medieval Anatolia. The Ottoman sultans who patronized these works assigned considerable significance to the gazi[1] lore in the formulation of their own past even in periods of extensive centralizing policies. As a result, the frontier narratives and hagiographies in their written form were not merely an accumulation of centuries-old oral traditions but also represented ideological positions articulated by authorial or editorial hands.

The *Saltukname*, the book of Sarı Saltuk, the legendary dervish-warrior who lived in the thirteenth century, was compiled by Ebu'l-Hayr Rumi, a member of Prince Cem's court and submitted to the latter. According to the author's own account, while on campaign against the Akkoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan in 1473, Mehmed II had left Prince Cem in Edirne to guard the Balkan borders. Cem soon became interested in the well-known Sarı Saltuk legends in the area and asked Ebu'l-

[1] Frontier warrior.

Hayr Rumi to compile them into a book. Ebu'l-Hayr spent seven years wandering from country to country to collect the stories from oral tradition.[2]

The *Saltukname* is a collection of legends that were in circulation among the gazis of Rumelia and kept growing by being continuously enriched with new episodes. The book of Sarı Saltuk is composed of a number of layers interwoven together. The first 'ahistorical' layer is permeated by centuries-old frontier traditions that have the central theme of gaza against the 'infidels' represented through myths, *topoi* and set patterns. A second layer points to the rule of the Seljuks of Rum and the period of the Turkish emirates in Anatolia in parallel with Sarı Saltuk's biography. The historical references are merged with stories of wondrous deeds (*menakıb*) featuring Sarı Saltuk, who seems to have become a cult figure in the Balkan fringes as early as the late thirteenth century. The authorial interventions of Ebu'l-Hayr constitute another layer, which are implemented within the text by sharp digressions. These sections deal with the fifteenth-century Ottoman context and expose the feelings of the gazis and dervishes living in the borderlands on whose oral retelling Ebu'l-Hayr Rumi based his book. The additions made to the original copy by the sixteenth century copyists of the text form another layer since the oldest copy of the *Saltukname* at hand dates from 1576. This also explains the anachronistic references to some incidents that took place after 1480.

This study sets out to make sense of the *Saltukname* within its fifteenth-century Ottoman context by uncovering the political and ideological strands embedded within the text. The period was characterized by rapid transformation and intensified centralization within the Ottoman state. Various segments of Ottoman society were affected by the ongoing transformation. Gazis, some dervish groups and

[2] Ebu'l Hayr-i Rumi, *Saltukname*, ed. Şükrü Haluk Akalın, vol. III, (Ankara: 1990), p.366.

ahi-bands[3] were among the groups that lost much of their former autonomy as a result of the growth of state power. From a broader perspective, what the present study attempts to do is two-fold: First, to detect the way the frontier society conceived of the policies imposed by the center and second to illustrate how the compilation of the *Saltukname* intended to fulfill the political ends of a section of the Ottoman court that was receptive to those circles. Prince Cem who patronized the gazi lore around the vitae of Sarı Saltuk was also known for his rapprochement with the gazi circles. His compilation of the *Saltukname,* which is the outmost expression of the dismay felt by the gazis in the aftermath of Mehmed II's controversial centralizing policies, was designed to draw support from those discontented circles while he made alternative claims for the throne.

There are three known manuscripts of the *Saltukname*, which seem to be copies of the same manuscript. The oldest copy made in Edirne in 1576 is in the Bor Halil Bey Library. It consists of 449 folios and includes only the first two volumes of the *Saltukname*.[4] Another copy of the *Saltukname* is in the National Library in Ankara. This manuscript contains only the first volume and consists of 283 folios. We do not have any information about the date of this copy.[5] The manuscript in the Topkapı Palace seems to be the only complete work so far. It has all the three volumes and consists of 618 folios.[6] The main copy which has been used in this study is the published facsimile of the Topkapı Palace Manuscript.[7] A second copy of the *Saltukname* consulted in this study is the edition prepared by Şükrü Haluk Akalın, who mainly used the manuscript in the National Library and supplemented

[3] Guild-like associations.
[4] Kemal Yüce, *Saltukname'de Tarihi, Dini ve Efsanevi Unsurlar*, (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1987), pp. 7-8.
[5] Ibid., pp.9-10.

the missing parts with the Topkapı Palace manuscript. The text is published in three volumes and transcribed into Turkish. According to Fahir İz, the compiler, Ebu'l-Hayr Rumi also seems to have incorporated some previously written fragments into the text.[8] It is evident from the text that the copy of 1591 is not the original one, since many additions were made including some references to events that took place after 1480.

Frontier narratives and hagiographies that originated in the frontier society of late medieval Anatolia will be used along with the early Ottoman chronicles in order to make better sense of the *Saltukname*. The *Danişmendname* written in the late fifteenth century probably based on an original copy of its first compilation under the patronage of Izzeddin (Keykavus II, d. 1279) of the Seljuks of Rum, the *Vilayetname-i Otman Baba* completed in 1483 and Aşıkpaşazade's history, completed circa 1485, are some of the most referred sources in this study.[9]

Studies on Late Medieval Turkish Frontier Narratives

Late medieval Anatolian Turkish frontier narratives such as the *Saltukname* have generally been studied for their linguistic and literary qualities and with only limited discussion of the cultural environment that shaped them. By and large, the studies on these narratives are limited to general commentaries attached to their

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[6] *Saltuk-name: The Legend of Sarı Saltuk. Collected from Oral Tradition by Ebu'l-Hayr Rumi.* Text in fascimile with a critical and stylistic analysis and index by Fahir Iz, 7 vols. (Harvard University, 1974), see preface.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Irène Melikoff, *La geste de Melik Danişmend*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Adrien Maisonneuve, 1960); *Otman Baba ve Velayetnamesi*, ed. Hakkı Saygı, (Istanbul, 1996); Ahmet Bican, Yazıcıoğlu, *Dürr-i Meknun: Saklı inciler*, edited by Necdet Sakaoğlu. (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999); Aşıkpaşazade, *Osmanoğulları'nın Tarihi*, Eds. Kemal Yavuz, M. A. Yekta Saraç, (İstanbul: K Kitaplığı, 2003).

published facsimiles, mostly focusing on their analysis in terms of content, language and style.

A first group of scholars examined these narratives with regard to their religious content by analyzing and comparing various motifs embedded in these texts. The focus of these studies was to find out the particularities of the Islamic experience of the Muslim Turks in medieval Anatolia and in this regard these texts were treated as key examples of an emergent "Turkish folk literature" in Anatolia. Mehmed Fuad Köprülü laid down the foundations of this approach, and his pioneering works have been carried further by recent studies.[10] Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı regarded these sources in continuum within the general prospect of "Turkish hagiographic literature". According to him, the book of Dede Korkut, *Hamzaname*, *EbuMüslimname*, *Battalname*, *Danişmendaname*, *Saltukname*, *Vilayetname-i Otman Baba* and *Vilayetname-i Hacı Bektaş* constituted different cycles of this 'religious' literature.[11] Ahmet Yaşar Ocak adopted a similar approach and categorized these sources according to their content. From a broader perspective, Ocak dealt with such questions as the emergence and dissemination of the hagiographic literature in Anatolia with an emphasis on the peculiarity of the Turkish concept of sainthood, which was also permeated by the pre-Islamic Turkic beliefs aside from Islamic concepts.[12]

A second group of scholars examined these sources from the perspective of intertextuality with references to the earlier layers of the frontier traditions, both Arab and Persian. While Irène Mélikoff was the first to provide a complete picture

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[10] Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, *Anadoluda Türk Dil ve Edebiyatının Tekamülüne Bir Bakış*, (Istanbul: Akşam Matbaası, 1930); Köprülü, "Anadolu'da İslamiyet: Türk İstilasından Sonra Anadolu Tarih-i Dinisine Bir Nazar ve Bu Tarihin Menbaları", *DarülfünunEdebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 2, (1922).
[11] *Vilayet-name: Menakıb-ı Hünkar Hacı Bektaş-i Veli*, ed. Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, (Istanbul: Inkilap Kitabevi, 1990).

of the Persian background of the Anatolian frontier narratives, she nevertheless underlined the Turkish contribution to the genre. Accordingly, the cultural experience of the Muslim Turks in Anatolia was not confined to the translation and adoption of the Persian traditions but also involved their incorporation into the orally transmitted Turkish lore.[13] More recently, Yorgos Dedes provided an elaborate analysis of the frontier narratives of Anatolia in continuum with Arabo-Persian traditions with an emphasis on their oral transmission into Turkish. He also stressed the narratological and thematic continuities in these texts.[14]

A more comprehensive third approach considered these sources as informed by the political and cultural realities of the late medieval Anatolian frontier environment. Even though Mehmed Fuad Köprülü had already underlined the historical value of these texts for studying the mentality of the frontier peoples in the early twentieth century, his early efforts in this regard were not followed by other historians until relatively recently.[15] While Hasluck was the first to spell out various aspects of the cultural experience of the Muslim Turks in medieval Anatolia such as cohabitation, mutual influences, acculturation, syncretism and continuity,[16] more recently Cemal Kafadar provided an elaborate definition of the frontier environment on the basis of a close analysis of the frontier narratives.[17] Kafadar put forward new perspectives to treat these sources within their respective socio-cultural environment and highlighted new areas of study. His definition of the Turco-Byzantine marches

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[12] Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Kültür Tarihi Kaynağı Olarak Menakıbnameler: Metodolojik Bir Yaklaşım*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1997).
[13] Irene Melikoff, *Abu Muslim, le "porte hache" du Khorassan: dans la tradition epic turco-iranienne*, (Paris : Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve, 1962).
[14] *Battalname*. Facsimile edited by Şinasi Tekin and Gönül Alpay Tekin with introduction, English translation, Turkish transcription and commentary by Yorgos Dedes, 3 vols. (Harvard University, 1996).
[15]Mehmet Fuad Köprülü, *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Their History and Culture according to Local Muslim Sources*, translated and edited by Gary Leiser (Salt Lake City, 1992).
[16] Frederick William Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2 vols. (New York: Octagon Boks, 1973).

emphasized the interaction between the Muslim and Christian societies in medieval Anatolia, putting forward the syncretic elements and the cultural heterogeneity embedded in the complex structure of the frontier culture on the one hand, and the continued relationship between the frontier areas and the political centers on the other.

A number of studies have been published so far concerning Sarı Saltuk and his cult. While most of these studies have intended to reveal the historical figure of Sarı Saltuk, they have disregarded the *Saltukname* as a historical source to achieve this end. In most of these studies, Sarı Saltuk has been associated with the Turcoman settlement in Dobrudja in the thirteenth century. Jean Deny, Franz Babinger, Paul Wittek and Aurel Decei are some of the earlier historians who provided information about Sarı Saltuk in the light of the contemporary Ottoman and Byzantine accounts.[18] Tayyib Okiç published an article on Sarı Saltuk based on a fetva[19] by the Sheikh al-Islam Ebu's-suud Efendi.[20] In terms of the cult of Sarı Saltuk, Hasluck was the first to make research on the subject by making use of the cults that grew around the shrines and *tekke*s (dervish lodges) in the Balkans dedicated to Sarı Saltuk.[21] More recent studies by Machiel Kiel also concentrated on Sarı Saltuk's cult by mostly relying on artistic and architectural evidence.[22]

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[17] Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, (Berkeley, 1995).
[18] Jean Deny, "Sary Saltyq et le nom de la ville de Babadaghi", *Melanges Emile Picot*, vol.II, (Paris:1913), pp.1-5; Franz Babinger, *EI* (First Edition), s.v. "Sari Saltuk Dede"; Paul Wittek, "Yazijioghlu Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobrudja", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XIV/3, (1952), pp.639-688; Aurel Decei, "Le probleme de la colonisation des Turcs Seljoukides dans le Dobrogea", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 10-11, (Ankara: 1968), pp. 85-111.
[19] An opinion on a matter involving Islamic religious law.
[20] Tayyib Okiç, "Sarı Saltuk'a Ait Bir Fetva", *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, I/1 (1952), pp.48-58.
[21] Frederick William Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2 vols. (New York: Octagon Boks, 1973).
[22] Machiel Kiel, "The Türbe of Sarı Saltık at Babadag-Dobrudja" in *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*, (Great Britain: Variorum, 1990), pp.205-220.

The works making use of the *Saltukname* are limited in number. Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı in his work concerning Yunus Emre provided a biography of Sarı Saltuk departing from Ebu'l-Hayr Rumi's *Saltukname*. [23] The monograph by Kemal Yüce was the first work that provided a detailed analysis of the *Saltukname* in terms of its historical, religious and legendary components.[24] A more recent study by Ahmet Yaşar Ocak incorporated previous discussions on Sarı Saltuk and analyzed the *Saltukname* in terms of the common elements it shared with other hagiographies.[25] However, none of these studies has analyzed the *Saltukname* as a historical narrative shaped by the broader political and cultural environment of late medieval Anatolian frontier society.

The present study on the *Saltukname,* then, is an attempt to fill the existing gap in the secondary literature, following the third of the approaches articulated above. It attempts more specifically to further the interpretative effort begun by Kafadar by undertaking a closer reading of this frontier narrative within its fifteenth-century context. Before outlining the general themes explored in different chapters of this study, however, it might be helpful to first situate the *Saltukname* within the cycle of late medieval Anatolian frontier narratives and present a brief summary of its complex narrative line.

The Saltukname: A General Overview

With regard to the scope, the narrative style and the content the *Saltukname* constitutes the third cycle of the warrior epics in medieval Anatolia following the

[23] Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre ve Tasavvuf*, (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1961).
[24] Kemal Yüce, *Saltukname'de Tarihi, Dini ve Efsanevi Unsurlar*, (Ankara, 1987).
[25] Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Sarı Saltuk: Popüler İslam'ın Balkanlar'daki Efsanevi Öncüsü*, (Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002).

Battalname and the *Danişmendname*. The historical backgrounds of both the *Danişmendname* and the *Saltukname* follow chronologically the period within which the *Battalname* is set. Like Danişmend Gazi, Sarı Saltuk, with the original name Şerif, is a descendant of Seyyid Battal and both are modeled after him. All three works share the same subject-matter: gazas against the Byzantine "infidels". They also share the same style and narrative structure. The language is simple and direct, with little use of ornate expressions and rhyming prose. The structure is also very simple. All three works consist of multiple stories that form the biography of the eponymous heroes.

The three works also share a variety of themes. In all three, the future achievements of the hero are prophesied before or soon after he is born. The hero always has a companion, a former "infidel" whom he converts and to whom he gives a new Muslim name. The dream apparitions of the Prophet or of the Seyyid himself in the *Danişmendname* and the *Saltukname* are very common. The helper figure of *Khidr*[26], whenever our eponymous heroes feel desperate is also typical.

Like Battal and Danişmed, Sarı Saltuk speaks seventy two languages and has good knowledge of the four holy books. By using all kinds of ruses he enters churches and even the palaces of many infidel rulers where he preaches like a scholarly monk or kills all the infidels. Fantastic elements play a central role in most of the stories and they are incorporated within the narrative with sharp digressions. Aside from the infidels, Sarı Saltuk also fights with dragons, discovers countries under the sea, travels for days in the stomach of a fish, encounters marvelous

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[26] *Khidr* or *Hızır* has a disputed status amongst scholars; some say he is a saint while others say he is a Prophet in Islam. He is assumed to be referred to in Qur'an, in sura Al-Kahf (18:66), in an encounter with Moses. In the Turkish tradition it symbolizes the renewal of vegetation in spring. It is believed that he brings abundance, fertility and happiness. Another feature of this legendary

creatures such as the *Kıl-baraks*[27] and reaches countries no one can (such as the mountain of *Kaf*). Sarı Saltuk is also able to perform miracles, and some Muslim genies who are servants of the Prophet *Khidr* come to help him whenever he is in need. In addition to engaging in continuous warfare in Anatolia and Rumelia, he also makes many trips and joins battles in Syria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Turkistan, Iran, India, the Caucasus and even such European countries as Spain (Andalusia). The scale of his travels, as will be shown, is so extensive that they are part of an imaginary world. From one day to the other he may "jump" from Turkistan to China.

The *Saltukname* differs most sharply from other heroic epics in that Sarı Saltuk is a Sufi in close relation with the eminent sheikhs of the age, such as Hacı Bektaş, Tapduk Emre, Karaca Ahmed, Fakih Ahmed, Seyyid Mahmud Hayrani and Mevlana. He even visits the tomb of Ebu İshak Kazaruni in Kazarun. His followers like Kara Davud and Kemal Ata are also mentioned for their successful gazas around Crimea. They are described as great warrior-dervishes fighting with wooden swords. Sarı Saltuk in return is the greatest of all the Sufis of his age and possesses many holy relics, such as the Prophet's sword or the armor of Hamza.

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personality, which is more relevant to the present study, is that he comes to aid of beings in distress and in danger. *EI²*, vol.V, s.v. "Khidr", p.5.

[27] *Kıl-barak* or *It-barak* refers to dog-headed people that are mentioned in many Ancient Turkic and Mongol epics. Some European legends mention the *Borus* in similar appearance in the northern and western parts of Russia. Also, in the Ancient Egyptian and Indian mythologies as well as in some Ancient Greek and Byzantine texts there are references to *Kyno-Kephaloi*, dog-headed people. Even in Marco Polo's travels we come across with people having "heads like dogs" on the Andaman Islands. The version of *Oğuzname* by Reşideddin gives a great deal of detail about these people, by referring them as *Kıl-barak*. This version also seems to have an influence on Ibn Battuta for they both indicate their place of origin as India and describe their women as beautiful human beings. The *Saltukname* must have been also inspired by the Persian version of the *Oğuzname* for it calls them *Kıl-barak* instead of *It-barak* but states their homeland as the mountains of *Kaf*. Also, in the *Oğuzname* by Reşideddin, there is a section where *Oğuz Han* takes refuge on an island surrounded by two rivers. Because the *Kıl-baraks* are naked and without any equipment, they fail to cross over the rivers and to catch *Oğuz Han*. Keeping this in mind, in the *Saltukname* the fact that there is a passage where water destroys all the *Kıl-Baraks* may be seen as an indication of this influence.

Sarı Saltuk starts his gaza career in Sinop from where he undertakes attacks against the infidels in Anatolia and the Balkans. Şerif Hızır is his real name. At the age of three, his father gets killed by the infidel sultan of Harcenevan.[28] Until his mother's death he receives his education from a Sufi (*pir*). After that, he interrupts his education and the family's servant Seravil takes him to the court of Sultan Süleyman where he continues his education until he proves himself a courageous warrior in the eyes of the sultan at the age of fourteen. The sultan gives him many gifts and sends him back to Sinop.[29]

One day, Seyyid Battal appears in Sarı Saltuk's dream and tells him to find his sword and his horse hidden in a cave.[30] This is how he starts waging gazas against the infidels. His early gazas are against the allied Christian forces, who can be identified as the crusaders. With the help of Khidr (Hızır) he starts performing miracles, which often help convince the infidels to convert to Islam. For instance, one day, disguised in monk clothes, Sarı Saltuk flies from the roof of a Church with the help of the Muslim genie (*Minü-çihr*). When the infidels of Rum see this miracle they pay him great respect identifying him with their own saint, Saint Dimitri (*Aya Dimitri*).[31]

Sarı Saltuk interrupts his gazas as he loses his mind due to a medicine that a Jewish doctor has given him.[32] He starts wandering around Kayseri and Sivas where he falls in love with the son of a *Hoca*. Here, the *Saltukname* informs its audience that Sarı Saltuk is from the Kırvan Turks. After having traveled around in the deserts and in the lands of the Tatars, Aleppo and Damascus, he arrives at Jerusalem

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[28] Harcenevan points to somewhere in the north of Anatolia as Amasya makes part of its territory. Its location will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.
[29] Ebu'l Hayr-i Rumi, *Saltukname*, ed. Şükrü Haluk Akalın, vol. I, pp.2-4.
[30] Ibid., pp.7-8.
[31] Ibid., p.37.
[32] Ibid., p.44.

where he gets cured by an Arab. They both decide to go on pilgrimage to Mecca.[33] On his way to pilgrimage, Sarı Saltuk stops in Egypt and studies with the prominent *ulema* of Egypt. He gives a *fetva* where he asks the sultans and the judges (*kadı*) to accept the supremacy of the Hanefi juridical school.[34] In Medina, the Prophet Muhammad appears in Sarı Saltuk's dream and tells him to fight against the Shiites (Rafizi).[35] Then, he becomes a merchant and makes trips to Cidde, Yemen, Iran and Oman for three years. After having become a rich man, he takes a boat from Alexandria and returns to Kırvan.

When Sarı Saltuk returns to Rum he continues to undertake gazas against the infidels in Rum and in the West. While making conquests in the Latin country, Sarı Saltuk suddenly travels to the mountain of Kaf to save his child from his wife with whom he has gotten married under the sea.[36] From there he returns to Rum. He fights against the infidels in Bosnia (*Bosin Diyarı*), Skopje (*Üsküp*), Theodosia (or Feodosiya, *Kefe*) and Crimea. His gazas around Crimea are of particular importance since Sarı Saltuk no longer conducts war on his own but now he is assisted by hundreds of *abdal*s, wondering dervishes. Sehid Baba, Kara Davud and Kemal Ata are among these gazi-dervishes. During his stay in Crimea, Sarı Saltuk does not engage much in gaza but devotes himself to praying, while other gazis fight against the infidel Rus.[37]

Afterwards, Sarı Saltuk goes to *Acem* (Iran) where he fights against the *Rafizi*s. Next, he passes through the Caucasus (*Gür Suyu*) and arrives at Azerbaijan (*Azerbaycan*) from where he goes to Baghdad through Tebriz. From Baghdad he

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[33] *Saltukname*, ed. Şükrü Haluk Akalın, vol. I, pp.50-51.
[34] Ibid., pp.51-52.
[35] Ibid., p. 55. *Rafizi* was initially referred to those who did not recognize Ebubekir and Ömer as caliphs. In later periods, the term began to be applied by the Ottomans to refer to all the Shiites and especially to the Iranians.

goes further to Damascus (*Şam-ı Şerif*).[38] The rest of the episodes of the first volume recounts Sarı saltuk's travels to Egypt, Ethiopia (*Habeşistan*) and to India.

The second volume of the *Saltukname* starts with Sarı Saltuk's visit to Turkistan and his gazas against the Chingizids with other Muslims in this area. Later, he goes to *Hıtay* (Northern parts of China) and then to China. From there, he travels to Kaşgar, Maçin, Sistan (near the country of Rus according to the *Saltukname*) and to the country of the Tatars (*Tataristan, Kıpçak Vilayeti*). From *Tataristan*, he finally returns to Kefe after having spent seven years with continuous gaza.[39]

After a while, Sarı Saltuk establishes an alliance among the Anatolian *beg*s against the Byzantine maritime attacks. The preparations for the battle take one year, for they build ships to set out for that campaign. This information indicates the beginnings of the naval undertakings, or at least the *Saltukname* underlines this venture for the first time.[40] After the preparations have been completed, Sarı Saltuk passes to Rumelia (*Rum-ili*) through the sea. There he conducts wars against the infidels in Endriyye (Edirne), Dobrudja and in Konstantiniyye (Constantinople). In addition to gaza, Sarı Saltuk takes possession of territories through different ways. He buys a castle for eight thousand *filori* from the lord of Skopje, Ayadimitri or marries the daughter of the Christian Lord, Istafan, to become allies.[41] Further down, the miracles of Sarı Saltuk in Sinop and in Dobrudja are narrated.[42] The centrality of Dobrudja in this part of the text probably points to the formation of the cult of Sarı

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[36] The city underneath the sea is called *Züccac*, a city made of gold, and with its ceiling being water hanging from above and leaving Sarı Saltuk room to breath. Ebu'l-Hayr-I Rumi, vol.I, p.85.
[37] Ibid., pp.156-169.
[38] Ibid., 181-199.
[39] Ebu'l Hayr-i Rumi, *Saltukname*, ed. Şükrü Haluk Akalın, vol. II, pp.1-17.
[40] Ibid., p. 19.
[41] Ibid., pp.19-25.
[42] Ibid., pp.30-37.

Saltuk in this area. Eski Baba (near Edirne) also plays a central role in the narrative as Sarı Saltuk chooses this area as his main residence and builds his convent there.[43]

The rest of the episodes in the second volume are concerned with the disintegration of the Seljuks of Rum and the formation of the Turkish emirates in Anatolia with an emphasis on two emirates; those of Osman and Aydın. There are also many passages praising Edirne at the expense of Constantinople. However, these passages are not devoid of Sarı Saltuk's extensive travels all over the world and his encounter with fantastic elements. After his conquests in Europe (*Frengistan*), Sarı Saltuk travels again to the mountain of *Kaf* to kill the *Yecüc-Mecüc* people who live detained within the walls that were built by Alexander the Great.[44]

In the third volume the praise of Edirne and the disparaging of Constantinople continue, as will be shown in greater detail in the last chapter of the present study. In addition to Edirne/Constantinople disparity, the *Saltukname* goes on to relate Sarı Saltuk's adventures all over the world: Oman, Iran, India, China, Portugal, Morocco, Maghreb, Spain, Milan, Genoa, Venice, Egypt, Jerusalem and Damascus.

During Sarı Saltuk's military expedition to Andalusia in order to save the Muslims, he walks on the sea and arrives to *Fortugal* (Portugal) where lies the strait of *Südde* and behind it, the *Bahr-i Muhit*.[45] In the same passage, the *Saltukname*

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[43] *Saltukname*, ed. Şükrü Haluk Akalın, vol.II, p.58.

[44] In the *Divan-ı Lügati't-Türk* we come across with the walls of *Yecuc-Mecuc*; but described as the great walls of China. In the Islamic tradition the wall of Yecuc-Mecuc points to the mountain pass of *Kafkas*. According to Katip Çelebi, it is near Moscow, somewhere in the North. In the Quran, there is a passage where it is related that *Zülkarneyn* makes iron walls built so that the people of *Yecuc-Mecuc* could not leave. However, in the *Saltukname*, it is told that these people went out of the walls longtime ago and drank the water of all the seas in the world. Ibid., pp.95-96.

[45] Most of the Islamic geographical texts as well as the *Dürr-i Meknun* talk about the *Bahr-i Muhit*, the sea that encircles; a term borrowed from the Greek cartography, indicating the two oceans, namely the Atlantic Ocean in the West and the Indian in the East. The two oceans implied a cosmological meaning since they were considered to be the outermost borders of the inhabited world, the *oikumene*,

gives considerable information about the composition of the world. Accordingly, the earth is set on water. God created the mountains to create a balance between the oceans and the earth, so that the earth would not shake, and He set the mountain of *Kaf* right in the middle of the globe. It was only with the weight of this mountain that the earth could be fixed firmly.[46]

There are also many 'historical' accounts concerning the conquests of Bursa, Gallipoli, Iznik and Edirne by the Ottomans[47] and the conflict between the emirate of Karaman and the Ottomans.[48] Also, there are passages about the conflict between Umur Beg, the ruler of the Aydınoğulları emirate and the Venetians, referring to the Crusade organized against Umur Beg.[49]

Sarı Saltuk dies at the age of ninety-nine in Edirne. The *Saltukname* relates two stories concerning his death. According to one, Sarı Saltuk hears one day a voice that forbids him to no longer perform any miracles and if he does that he will die forty days following this miracle.[50] One day a Jew (*cehud*) comes to him asking him to give life to a tree that has dried out. When Sarı Saltuk refuses to do so, the Jew makes fun of him. Whereupon Sarı Saltuk performs the miracle to revitalize the tree and he dies after forty days.[51] According to the other story, Sarı Saltuk gets wounded by the infidels while he has been praying. Before he dies he asks his coffin to be granted to whoever wishes to have it. After his death, the Khan of the Tatars,

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and all the other seas and the rivers in the *Rub-i Meskun* (one quarter of the earth covered by land) flew into this *Bahr-i Muhit*. André Miquel, *Arap Coğrafyacılarının Gözünden 1000 Yılında İslam Dünyası ve Yabancı Diyarlar*, trans. Ali Berktay, (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2003), p.17.

[46] Ebu'l Hayr-i Rumi, *Saltukname*, ed. Şükrü Haluk Akalın, vol. III, p.195. "Hak Teala Kaf Tağını dünyaya mih itmişdür, anun ağırlığından yirler sakin turur. Zira yirleri su üzre yarattı. Pes daim yir deprendi turmadı Hak teala tağları halk itti, epsem turdı ve fe-amma bu Tağı orta yire kodı, bir yanında ademi-zad olurlar, bir tarafında cinniler. Kaçan gün toğsa anlara gice, ademi-zada gündüzdür ve gün tolansa anlara gündüz bize gice olur."

[47] Ibid., pp.262-264.

[48] Ibid., pp.273-279.

[49] Ibid., p.239.

[50] Ibid., pp.149-150.

[51] Ibid., p.297.

the rulers of *Eflak* (Wallachia, today's southern Romania), *Bogdan* (Moldavia)[52], *Üngürüs* (Hungary), Bosnia, Beravati (?), Karnavata (?) and the Rus (referring to parts of today's Belarus and northern Ukraine) ask for his coffin. As Sarı Saltuk's disciples give each of them a coffin, a miracle is realized and Sarı Saltuk's body has appeared in all of them.[53]

Outline of the Study

The *Saltukname* offers a variety of themes that can be studied from different perspectives. Even a descriptive analysis of this text in terms of the geographical motifs it contains would be demanding by itself. Not only are these motifs permeated by centuries-old traditions, often impossible to trace back to their respective origins, but they are also too fantastic to be deciphered in terms of the political and ideological connotations they generate. Given the aim and the scope of this study, the thesis will be limited to an analysis of three key themes in the *Saltukname*, following the plotline of the narrative. The gazas and the representation of other will constitute the first theme. The Ottoman search for worthy ancestors to legitimize their rule and their efforts for drawing affiliation with *Oğuz* lineage will be the second. The third theme will focus on the centralization process within the Ottoman state. The discussions will be structured along with Sarı Saltuk's biography and hence will provide a chronological history, starting with the rule of the Seljuks of Rum and coming to an end with the Ottomans, a time interval which the life of the protagonist transcended within the text.

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[52] Bogdan was an early name for the principality of Moldavia named after its ruler Bogdan I (r.1359-1365)

[53] *Saltukname*, ed. Şükrü Haluk Akalın, vol.III, pp.298-302.

The first chapter will offer an introduction by setting both Sarı Saltuk and the *Saltukname* within their respective historical contexts, of the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. While the former discussion will help to figure out the historical figure of Sarı Saltuk, the latter will put forward the fifteenth century Ottoman centralization process in relation with the political motives behind the compilation of the *Saltukname*.

The second chapter will deal with the "infidels" in two sections: the 'neighboring infidels' and the 'infidels' of distant lands, since, as will be shown, the *Saltukname* treated them differently. In the late medieval period, political boundaries kept changing at an astonishing pace remolding the way the frontier society defined itself and the other. By analyzing geographical as well as cultural representations of the infidels, the objective of this chapter is to provide an understanding of how an ideal self-image was constructed through the disparaging of the other. Although the *Saltukname*'s depiction of the infidels devoid of any specific character will be brought in connection with the earlier layers of the warrior epic genre, historical references will also be sought out. In the second part of this chapter, a discussion concerning the figure of Sarı Saltuk as a warrior dervish will be elaborated with an emphasis on his extensive missionary activities in distant countries such as India and Ethiopia.

In the third chapter, Central Asia and Turkistan will become the main geographical setting where Sarı Saltuk fights against the Chingizids helping his Turco-Muslim brothers. The way the *Saltukname* portrayed the Chingizids and Timur will be grounded in the fifteenth century Ottoman context in connection with a discussion on Ottoman efforts to create a self-identity by drawing lineage from the prestigious *Oğuz* descent. Likewise, the last section of this chapter will analyze the

way the *Saltukname* represented the Seljukid past and specifically try to account for the text's critical view of Seljukid rule with reference to the Ottoman political and ideological struggles of the fifteenth century.

The focus of the last chapter will be the Ottoman world. It will start with a discussion on the early gazas against the Byzantine infidels under Osman Beg, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty. The conquest of Thrace and subsequent gazas in that area will be a point of primary interest. In the following section, the outspoken articulation of the resentment among the gazis towards the Ottoman centralization efforts will be built on "Edirne versus Istanbul" debate that extends over the entire text.

CHAPTER I

SARI SALTUK AND THE *SALTUKNAME* IN THEIR RESPECTIVE HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

The 'Historical' Saltuk and His Context: Turco-Byzantine Borderlands in the Thirteenth Century

Following the Battle of Manzikert the political setting of Anatolia was dominated by the struggle between various competing powers and was not to gain stability until the Ottomans established their unitary rule at the end of the fifteenth century. In the eleventh century, Anatolia was divided up among Turkish warrior-bands, Armenian princes and Byzantine commanders. The Frankish knights who arrived with the First Crusade also joined the political landscape of the peninsula. Two powers enjoyed some longevity among the Turco-Muslims, the House of the Seljuks and of Danişmend, which for almost one century, competed to gain supremacy that came to an end in favor of the former. The Seljuks of Rum succeeded in establishing a relatively stable government after the establishment of Konya as their capital during the reign of Mesud I (r.1118-55) and reduced their rival to vassalage after they have captured the core of Danişmendid administration, Malatya in 1177.

Nevertheless, some scholars have viewed the fragile nature of Seljukid rule and argued that it contained all the defects proper to the other medieval Turkic states founded on a nomadic basis:

> There were many frontier zones of various sizes where the administrative apparatus hardly reached; there were many tribal groups

> that were not controlled; there were many ambitious warriors, some of them possibly made by the Seljuks, ready to imagine themselves independent of Seljuk authority and when two or three of these came together, as they frequently did, they were able to shake if not dissolve, state power.[54]

The partition of the territories among the heirs of the sultan still continued, enabling the heirs, once they found support among some Turcoman tribes, to become rival forces opposed to the sultan's authority.

While the thirteenth century witnessed the consolidation of administrative power, the Seljuks of Rum also suffered a major setback in this period due to an external factor: The Mongol invasion which presented not only a severe challenge to the Seljukid authority, but also pushed many tribes towards Anatolia. This is what might be called the second big wave of migrations to Anatolia which is said in many sources to have brought the tribe of the grandparents of Osman.

The Mongol authority that replaced the Seljukid one failed in its efforts to reduce the Turcomans, especially in the western part of Asia Minor. What had been no more than bands of nomadic pastoralists around cities which were more or less governed by representatives of those cities gradually became autonomous groups and took possession of those cities. So principalities, still in a primitive stage of development, came into existence and divided up the realm of the Seljuks of Rum.[55]

According to some scholars, the Turcoman expansion in the thirteenth and the fourteenth century displayed different characteristics when compared to that of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[56] While the earlier expansion had been by

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[54] Kafadar, pp. 4-5.

[55] Claude Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey: The Seljukid Sultanate of Rum, Eleventh to Fourteenth Century*, trans. and ed. by P.M. Holt, (Pearson Education, 2001), p. 227.

[56] Even then, as early as late twelfth century, Anatolia came to be known by Europeans as "Turchia"; although this did not imply any ethnic unity. See, Nevra Necipoğlu, "Türklerin ve Bizanslıların Ortaçağda Anadolu'da Birliktelikleri (11. ve 12. Yüzyılar)", *Cogito: Selçuklular 29*, (Autumn 2001), pp. 87-88.

warfare, the latter showed less of this character and could rather be seen as an infiltration of nomads with whom the native peasants more or less came to terms.[57] Whether this was the case or not, which is a point of debate, what is more important is that the political configuration was unstable due to the competing warrior leaders who were mostly Turkish-speaking but who were not organized along ethnic lines.

Within this context of turmoil, it would be useful to mention that the extensive *gaza* activities did not exclude at any rate religious and cultural acculturation as one might have expected. On the contrary, co-existence in the frontier areas meant the protection of the subjugated "infidel", inter-marriages, profitable commercial exchanges, and exchanges of religious cults too. Accordingly, the thirteenth century Asia Minor saw an immense activity of commerce and culture. The political turbulences and human catastrophes caused by the Mongol invasion should not let us to overlook the formation of a Eurasian economy due to the Chingizid conquests and the creation of pax mongolica as a result of these conquests.[58] But, even before the Mongols, Turkish occupation had already brought profit to the trade. This may be attributed partly to the integration with the Muslim world, however incomplete and partly to the equilibrium established by the states of Konya and Nicaea.[59]

The Historical Figure of Sarı Saltuk

After the death of Sultan Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev II in 1246, following the Seljukid defeat against the Mongol armies in Kösedağ in 1243, the Seljukid throne was divided between the three sons of the sultan; Izzeddin Keykavus II, Rukneddin

[57] Cahen, p. 238.
[58] Kafadar, p.6.

Kılıçarslan IV, Alaaddin Keykubad II. After many years of struggle for the throne Rukneddin finally became the only sultan of what was left of the Seljuks of Rum. Izzeddin fled to Constantinople and took refuge in the Byzantine territory.

The history of George Pachymeres provides a great deal of information about the close relationship between the Byzantine emperor Michael Palaiologos and Izzeddin. Izzeddin was received with considerable respect, was given private guards for his company and was allowed to wear red shoes which were restricted to the emperor's use only.[60]

As mentioned in many accounts, upon Izzeddin's request, the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos granted him some territory in Dobrudja, an unpopulated buffer area between the Byzantine state and the so-called *Deşt-i Kıpçak* of the Tatars.[61] Whether Izzeddin himself emigrated or not, which is a point of debate, it was nevertheless pointed out in many sources that many Turcoman tribes from Anatolia were brought to Dobrudja and among them Sarı Saltuk was said to be one of the leading figures in the process of their resettlement.

The emigration of Izzedin to Dobrudja resulted in his imprisonment and subsequent liberation by the Tatars. According to some sources this incident took place between 1265-1266 or 1269-1270 after the defeat of Michael VIII by the Tatar army under Noghay Khan.[62] While Izzeddin moved to Crimea where he married a daughter of Berke Khan, the Turco-Muslim colonists under the guidance of Sarı Saltuk continued to live in Dobrudja. They appear to have been protected by the

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[59] Cahen, p.92.
[60] Pachymères, *Histoire de Constantinople*, (Paris, 1673), VI, pp.13-14; in Osman Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, (Istanbul: Turan Neşriyat Yurdu, 1971), pp.497-498.
[61] Yazıcızade, v. 376a; Seyyid Lokman, s. 9 vd. ; Georges Pachymères, *De Michalele et Andronico Palaelogis*, trans. Immanuel Bekkerus, (Bonnae, 1835), I, 129 vd. ; Nicephor Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, trans. Immanuel Bekkerus, (Bonnae 1829), I, 82; in A. Yaşar Ocak, *Sarı Saltuk: Popüler İslam'ın Balkanlar'daki Efsanevi Öncüsü*, (Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002), pp. 27-29.
[62] René Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, (Paris: Editions Payot, 1965), p. 477.

powerful Tatar Khan Noghay who himself was recently converted to Islam. This conversion is even brought in connection with the activities of Sarı Saltuk.[63]

The position of the Seljuk Turks in Dobrudja must have been secured until Noghay Khan was killed in 1299 during whose reign Bulgaria remained as a Tatar protectorate. Yazıcızade Ali in his *Tevarih-i Selçuk* written in 1424 remarks that the Muslim Turks decided to emigrate because the Bulgarian princes had risen to power, annexing large parts of their territory. They emigrated in several waves to northwestern Anatolia and Sarı Saltuk must have died at this time, around 1300.[64]

The *Saltukname* does not provide much biographical information about its protagonist. Ottoman chronicles frequently mention his name along with the Seljukid Sultan Izzeddin Keykavus on Turcomans' resettlement in Dobrudja.[65] Yazıcıoğlu Ali's *Tevarih-i Selçuk* and Seyyid Lokman's history may provide two examples.[66] Many other contemporary works do not even mention the migration to Dobrudja. The omission of this incident even in the accounts of Ibn Bibi and Aksarayi, who give great deal of information about Izzeddin's stay in Constantinople, created a debate among some scholars on whether the resettlement of the Turcomans in Dobrudja under Izzeddin actually took place or not.

Furthermore, we do not come across the name of Sarı Saltuk in the contemporary Seljukid and Byzantine accounts even in the passages concerning the Dobrudja resettlement of the Turcomans with Izzeddin. Pachymeres for instance,

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[63] Machiel Kiel, "The Türbe of Sarı Saltık at Babadag-Dobrudja" in *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*, (Great Britain: Variorum, 1990), p. 209; Devin Deweese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition*, (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), p. 86 n.35, pp. 251-155.

[64] Paul Wittek, "Yazijioghlu Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobrudja", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XIV/3, (1952), p. 658. Some other sources noted 1293 as Sarı Saltuk's date of death, see Kemal Yüce, *Saltukname'de Tarihi, Dini ve Efsanevi Unsurlar*, (Ankara, 1987), p.29.

[65] Kemal Yüce, *Saltukname'de Tarihi, Dini ve Efsanevi Unsurlar*, (Ankara, 1987); G. Leiser, "Sarı Saltuk Dede", *EI²*, vol. IX, pp. 62-63.

while relating this incident, does not mention the name of Sarı Saltuk. Only Albert Failler in a footnote refers to Sarı Saltuk as the uncle of Izzeddin Kaykawus.[67] However, stories of Sarı Saltuk appear in Yazıcoğlu's fifteenth century history where it is stated that Sarı Saltuk was the leading figure in the emigration of the Turkish clans to Dobrudja.

One of the earliest sources that mention the cult of Sarı Saltuk is the account of Ibn Battuta who encountered the legends about Sarı Saltuk in a town called "Sarı Saltuk", supposedly fifty years after his death ca.1300.[68] In both the *vilayetname*s of Otman Baba and Hacı Bektaş we come across the story of Sarı Saltuk fighting with the dragon. In the *Vilayetname-i Otman Baba*, it is also mentioned that Otman Baba visits the tomb of Sarı Saltuk in Yeni Sala. In *Menakıb-ı Hacı Bektaş*, Sarı Saltuk is said to be the disciple of Hacı Bektaş.[69] The accounts of Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682) provide considerable information about Sarı Saltuk. According to Evliya, the real name of Sarı Saltuk was Muhammed Buhari and Ahmed Yesevi had sent him to the land of *Rum* with an envoy of seven hundred men to help Hacı Bektaş.

Apart from these sources, *waqf* documents may shed some light on the historical figure of Sarı Saltuk, as a warrior-dervish; or at least on the way he was conceived as such. There were several *zaviyes* in his name in the Balkans. One of them was in Kalikria, in Bulgaria.[70]

According to the *Saltukname*, the genealogy of Sarı Saltuk is traced back to Battal Gazi, the protagonist of the *Battalname*. Like Battal Gazi and Melik

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[66] Paul Wittek, pp.639-688; A. Yaşar Ocak, *Sarı Saltuk: Popüler İslam'ın Balkanlar'daki Efsanevi Öncüsü*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002), pp. 65-66.
[67] Georges Pachymères, *Relations Historiques,* I. Livres I-III, éd. et trad. A. Failler (Paris, 1984).
[68] Ibn Battuta, *Travels of Ibn Battuta,A.D.1325-1354*, translated with revisions and notes from the Arabic text edited by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, by H.A.R. Gibb, vol.2, (Cambridge: 1962), pp.499-500.
[69] *Otman Baba ve Velayetnamesi*, ed. Hakkı Saygı, (Istanbul, 1996), pp.9-10; see also, Kemal Yüce, pp. 34-38.

Danishmend, Sarı Saltuk also had a lineage going back to the Prophet Muhammed. From the *Saltukname*, we learn that, Sarı Saltuk was from Sinop (which also explains the centrality of Sinop throughout the narrative), and that probably his father was the chief of a Turkish tribe. We also learn at the end of the third volume that he died at the age of ninety-nine.

The Saltukname in its Context:
Making Use of the Gaza Ethos in the Fifteenth Century

The Fifteenth Century Political Setting: An Overview

After the collapse of the Mongol Empire in the mid-fourteenth century, the political life of the greater part of the Islamic world was characterized by the struggle between various succeeding states, the majority of which had Turkic nomadic background. Universal dispensation that would prove one's superiority to the others seemed to be the only way to stop the current political instability. Up until the early part of the sixteenth century the political ideals of the steppe became integrated into the sedentary values and institutions of Irano-Islamic culture.[71] The steppe-Islamic synthesis provided the Ottomans, though they were not the only ones to use this synthesis, with a basis for making such universalistic claims; by drawing considerable prestige from *gaza* warfare against the non-Muslims on the one hand and by claiming *Oğuz* descent on the other. At the end of the fifteenth century the

[70] Yüce, pp. 32-34. See also, Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Defter-i Hakani Kayıtları" in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol.II, (Ankara, 1942), p. 309.

rivalry between the Mongol successor states came to an end with the establishment of four regional empires; those of the Ottomans, Özbeks, Safavids and Timurid Mughals. Subsequently, the political climate within the Islamic world gained considerable stability.

As a newly emerging world power the Ottomans made use of different ideologies to legitimize their rule. The earlier phase of universalism that relied on both Islamic and Turco-Mongol nomadic heritage was in this respect an experimental period employing a variety of traditions in response to the needs of the state during its process of formation. Around the mid-sixteenth century, by which time the empire had reached its geographical limits and state formation had taken a steady pace around the central government, the political as well as cultural orientation of the empire headed towards a different character.

The conquest of Constantinople in 1453 has become the symbol of the political and cultural transformation that came about with the centralization process. This process can be traced back to earlier Ottoman history as well; but it was now given the most systematic and radical formulation. The aim was to build a highly centralized imperial administrative apparatus which took pride in its *gazi* past; but which defined itself in a new fashion.[72]

The gazis in the beginning of the fifteenth century were highly aware of where the central state's policy was leading. They were systematically reduced to provincial fief-holders, losing their ancestors' status as mobile and independent frontier warriors. They became attached to pieces of land and their activities were controlled and regularized by the state.[73] The result was evidently a common

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[71]Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600)*, (Princeton University Press, 1986), p.274.
[72] Kafadar, p. 152.
[73] Ibid., p. 147.

discontent among the *gazis* that found its outspoken proponent in the *Saltukname* as will be exemplified in greater detail throughout this study. It will be convenient for the premises of this chapter to first look at the ongoing centralization process in the Ottoman state and secondly to discuss the political motives behind the compilation of the *Saltukname*. Prince Cem's decision to commission the compilation of *gazi* lore built around Sarı Saltuk cannot be attributed to mere curiosity. Likewise, his interest in things Turkish at a moment of increasing cosmopolitanism in Ottoman cultural life does not seem coincidental either.[74]

Revision of the Political Structure: New Orientations

The conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II marks a turning point for Ottoman history. The period prior to the conquest was perhaps the last time where the frontier warlords played an effective role in the state's decision-making by supporting the policy of conquest proper to gaza activity and particularly by encouraging Mehmed II to follow such attempts as opposed to peaceful policies of the grand vizier Çandarlı Halil Paşa.[75] However, the limited influence these gazi warlords enjoyed did not last long; just as Çandarlı Halil was murdered by Mehmed II soon after the conquest, they were also put to death thereafter.[76]

The execution of Çandarlı Halil represents the end of an era marked by the "bureaucratization" process headed by the Çandarlı family that dominated the highest juridical and administrative offices in the Ottoman state between the mid-fourteenth and the mid-fifteenth centuries. Now, Mehmed II was the absolute ruler of

[74] Kafadar, p.147.
[75] Halil İnalcık, *Fatih Devri Üzerine Tetkikler ve Vesikalarl*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954), pp. 81-88.
[76] Ibid., pp. 132-136.

his country and a world-wide emperor. His new imperial project was put into action, which was going to seal the victory of a full-fledged centralist government.

The abolishment of the ancient frontier custom of standing up to the sound of martial music can be considered as an important act symbolizing the change of policy after the conquest. Aşıkpaşazade traces this tradition back to the reign of Osman who followed the ancient custom of providing a communal meal during his accession ceremony[77] and stood to receive the insignia of vassalage sent by the Anatolian Seljuk ruler, Alaeddin. Since that time it had been the custom of the House of Osman to stand up to the sound of martial music (*nevbet*) as a sign of readiness for gaza and to offer food to the people as an act of generosity.[78]

In the early part of his reign Mehmed II continued the ancient rite of appearing before his courtiers during communal meals; but he abolished this practice when he established his own *törü* with his *Kanunname*. Furthermore, he also abandoned the practice of standing up at the sound of martial music.[79]

The architectural evidence may also shed some light on the empire-building process of Mehmed II:

> The New Palace and the *kanunname* were established during a period of empire building and centralization of power which culminated in Mehmed's definition of a new self image. With the construction of the outer wall, which screened the palace from the public, the development toward greater seclusion was brought to its logical conclusion. Mehmed II possessed the autocratic power fully to implement the regulations of his *kanunname*, even when they went against established tradition.[80]

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[77] Halil Inalcık traces this practice back to Ancient Turkic customs where one of the most important duties of the *kagan* was "to fill his people's bellies." See, Halil İnalcık, "Turkish and Iranian Theories and Traditions in Kutadgu Bilig", *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, (Bloomington, 1993), pp. 13-15.

[78] Aşıkpaşazade, *Osmanoğulları'nın Tarihi*, Eds. Kemal Yavuz, M. A. Yekta Saraç, (İstanbul: K Kitaplığı, 2003), p. 330.

[79] Kafadar, p.146.

[80] Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, (1991), p. 21.

The new definitions brought to court ceremonials in the *Kanunname* further assigned to the sultan the role of an absolute monarch of somewhat divine nature. The isolation of the sultan from the public by the construction of the Chamber of Petitions may be considered to be one example. In the *Kanunname*, it is declared that only some high-ranking officials would be given the privilege of having access to present petitions to the sultan:

> First, let there be built a Chamber of Petitions –*arz odası*-. My sacred Majesty sitting behind the curtain, let my viziers and army judges and finance officers enter into my imperial presence with their petitions four times a week.[81]

The curtain mentioned in the *Kanunname* refers to the curtained window opening to the Council Hall of the second court, given the fact that Mehmed II no longer participated in public ceremonies of the Second Hall.[82]

The imperial codes of ceremonials of the Ottoman Empire were firmly established with the *Kanunname* of Mehmed II, but with few exceptions during the reign of Bayezid II, when the struggle for the throne was still going on between Bayezid and his brother Cem. In order to draw the support of the Janissaries and to ensure his sovereignty, Bayezid II found it necessary to appear regularly in public in the second court, conforming to the ancient rite. When the problem of Cem was resolved upon Cem's death, he discontinued this practice.[83]

The main phases of Ottoman state-building process have been so far pointed out. Many segments of the society have been affected by the ensuing policies. The gazis gradually became attached to pieces of land losing their former status as mobile and autonomous warriors. The Turcomans, the nomadic pastoralists also suffered

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[81] Gülru Necipoğlu, p.19; see also Fatih Sultan Mehmed, *Kanunname-i Al-i Osman*, Turkish transcription and commentary by Abdülkadir Özcan, (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2003), p.15.
[82] Gülru Necipoğlu, pp.19-20.
[83] Ibid., pp.21-22.

from the central state's policy. Since the settled peasants could not be mobilized to work in the construction, the Turcomans were employed for such tasks under strict regulations of the central government.[84] Some of the dervish groups were also discontent with the ongoing process. The *waqfs* belonging to some orders were faced with the risk of expropriation with the promulgation of a new law established by Mehmed II and his vizier Karamani Mehmed Paşa, giving the sultan the right to confiscate the property of these groups.[85] The ahi-bands, the guild-like associations in the urban areas also lost their previous autonomy and were turned into guilds under strict control of the central government.[86]

The *Vilayetname-i Otman Baba* may offer a useful standpoint to look at the outcomes of the new political orientations of the Ottoman State, since it seems to reflect the feelings of those groups that are most affected by the ongoing centralization process. The text was completed by one of the disciples of Otman Baba, Köğçek Abdal (or Küçük Abdal) [87] in 1483, five years after Otman Baba's death.[88] With many references to Sarı Saltuk, the miraculous deeds of Otman Baba are recounted within the fifteenth century historical context, giving the account of Otman Baba's career with close relation to Mehmed's. Many examples may be drawn from the text expressing the resentment felt among certain groups as a result of Mehmed II's policies. Furthermore, Otman Baba's opposition to state officers and

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[84] Halil İnalcık, "Dervish and Sultan: An Analysis of the *Otman Baba Vilayetnamesi*" in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, (Bloomington, 1993), pp. 24-25.

[85] Nicoara Beldiceanu, "Recherche sur la réforme foncière de Mehmed II" in *Acta Historica IV*, (Munich, 1965), pp. 27-39.

[86] Kafadar, p. 141.

[87] Halil İnalcık refers to the author as Küçük Abdal, whereas Hakkı Saygı as Köğçek Abdal. Halil İnalcık, "Dervish and Sultan: An Analysis of the *Otman Baba Vilayetnamesi*" in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, (Bloomington, 1993), *Otman Baba ve Velayetnamesi*, ed. Hakkı Saygı, (Istanbul, 1996).

[88] The author tells us that Otman Baba himself asked some of his abdals to transmit his deeds. The work was assigned to Küçük Abdal. The manuscript was originally in the Library of Hacı Bektaş in Kırşehir, a copy by Şeyh Ömer b. Derviş, completed in 1759. Today, it is preserved in the Ankara Genel Library (no.643).

especially to Mehmed II and the centrality of the Balkans and especially of the gazis' support of Otman Baba in those areas are of greater importance for the present study.

In the *Vilayetname*, the supremacy of Otman Baba over Mehmed II is declared many times throughout the text, even by Mehmed II himself. Given that, all gazas should be undertaken with the support and knowledge of Otman Baba. Otherwise, failure is inevitable. In one such instance, Otman Baba when overheard Mehmed II expressing to his grand vizier Mahmud Paşa his intention to conquer Belgrade, warned the sultan not to undertake this campaign: "They shall squeeze fire in the bells and you will flee (*çanlarına od tıkarlar, kaçarsın*)". And when Mehmed II undertook the campaign, all Otman Baba said came true. Some time after this incident, Mehmed II encountered Otman Baba as he was wandering around in Istanbul. Otman Baba asked him right away: "Who is the sultan, you or I?" Mehmed II, when recognized Otman Baba immediately dismounted and kissed his hands, and said to him: "You are the sultan, you are the Divine Secret (*Sırr*) and I am your humble servant, my father".[89] In another instance, in order to find out the opinions of the dervishes about his regime, Mehmed II was paying visits to the monasteries, disguised. Otman Baba recognized the sultan, and he asked him: "Now tell me at once, who is Otman, you or I?" Mehmed II replied: "You are Otman, I am not, my father". Thereupon, Otman Baba called him his son.[90]

The most striking story in the *Vilayetname* is the one describing how Otman Baba imposed himself as the mentor of the sultan in Edirne, where he also declared: "It is I who created this city; I am the sign of Truth (*hakk*). I am the Prophets Adam, Muhammed, Jesus and Moses..." After Otman Baba uttered these words, the *ulema* and the *kadı* asked Otman Baba to leave the city. Soon after, Mehmed II ordered the

[89] *Otman Baba ve Velayetnamesi*, ed. Hakkı Saygı, (Istanbul, 1996), pp.14-15.
[90] Ibid., p. 16.

transfer of Otman Baba and his abdals to Istanbul. At this point, the *Vilayetname* relates the dream of one of Otman Baba's disciples which is worth mentioning here; for it reflects how the abdals have actually felt about the order of the sultan. In the dream, a man with the appearance of Ali descends from the sky wearing a red headgear (*kızıl börk*) and holding a sword, and addresses Otman Baba, saying: "You, the *sırr* of the two worlds, do me a favor and let me massacre these hypocrites." Otman replies that it is not the time, and asks him to be patient. The man further says: "How can we be patient in the face of such oppression and injustice, already beyond endurance?"[91]

A last remark to be made concerning the *Vilayetname*, is the central role of Sarı Saltuk in the text. When Otman Baba walks around the places Sarı Saltuk had once passed through, he commemorates him with reverence. Sarı Saltuk conveys him messages appearing in Otman Baba's dreams. The Balkans overrun by Sarı Saltuk's memory are also the territories where Otman Baba was received with great respect. For instance, when Otman Baba and his disciples were on their way to Istanbul -upon the order of Mehmed II-, they enjoyed considerable prestige and respect, especially in Baba-Eski which is identified in the *Vilayetname* as the hometown of Sarı Saltuk and where, according to the *Saltukname*, Sarı Saltuk had built his convent which probably became a center for his cult later on. It is therefore no coincidence that the people of Baba-Eski welcomed Otman Baba with great respect; they kissed his hands to get his blessings and sacrificed sheep to his honor.[92]

The rebellious feelings expressed in the *Vilayetname* have already been pointed out. The resentment felt by the gazis is far more pronounced in the

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[91] *Otman Baba ve Velayetnamesi*, p. 44; Halil İnalcık, "Dervish and Sultan: An Analysis of the *Otman Baba Vilayetnamesi*" in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, (Bloomington, 1993), p. 30.
[92] *Otman Baba ve Velayetnamesi*, pp.44-45.

Saltukname. Starting in the fifteenth century, the Ottomans, while building a world empire, also engaged in the construction of a new self-image. Although most of their ancestors' customs were abandoned this new self-image took pride in its gazi past. The following pages will try to examine how Prince Cem made use of this past in order to draw support from the gazi circles while making alternative claims to the throne. As will be shown, such claims find their vivid expression in the *Saltukname* centered around the "Edirne versus Istanbul" discussion which extends over the entire text, and where the *Saltukname* openly states Edirne as an alternative vis-à-vis Istanbul, the newly conquered capital of Mehmed II's newly conceived empire.

Before moving on to a detailed analysis of the *Saltukname*, it will be useful to look at the political motives behind Prince Cem's decision to commission the compilation of the stories concerning the vitae of Sarı Saltuk. In order to do so, a brief discussion concerning Cem's venture for the throne is needed.

Prince Cem's Political Claims

The *Saltukname* gives the following account of how the stories of the legendary gazi-dervish Sarı Saltuk were compiled by Ebu'l- Hayr-i Rumi:

> These stories were compiled due to this reason; Sultan Mehmed went to Persia for a military campaign against Uzun Hasan[93]. Hasan Beg was the sultan in Persia from the lineage of Gündüz-oğlı Ömer Khan. There was enmity between him and Sultan Mehmed. They gathered their armies on the frontier and fought. At that time, he (Sultan Mehmed) had put Cem Sultan in Edirne to watch the city. According to Ottoman tradition, if the sultans go on a campaign to a far away

[93] Uzun Hasan, Ali B. Kara Yoluk Uthman, Abu Nasr (1425-1478). He was the ruler of the Turcoman Akkoyunlu State. His territory extended from western Persia to Khorassan, and from the eastern Caucasia to the east of Anatolia. He became the rival of the Ottoman State. Sultan Mehmed II passed to the Asian coast of Istanbul in 1472 to march against him. As he was trapped by the cold, he began his campaign in March 1473. V.Minorsky-C.E. Bosworth, *EI²*, vol. X, pp.1041-1043.

> land, they do not leave the city unguarded. Someday a white wolf appeared in the Province of Rum (Rum-ili) and caused detriment in the country. Many wolves joined him, as he was the chief of all monsters. They slaughtered men and cattle. Sultan Cem went hunting after him, he gathered his army. And they killed the wolf. Sultan Cem walked and arrived to Tuna Baba. There he visited the convent of Baba (Sarı Saltuk) and listened carefully to the life and the deeds of Baba from his disciples. He beckoned this humble, me, who is known as Ebu'l-Hayr-ı Rumi and ordered me to compile all the *menakıb*s concerning this saint that I could find and that I could learn from the dervishes by consulting them. Upon the assignment of Prince Cem, I walked around the country. Whenever I heard a legend I wrote it down. By arranging the material I made it into a book. It took me seven years to complete, and then I submitted the book to Prince Cem. Sultan Cem always listened to the stories of this book which he asked to be read out loud. He would not listen to the stories of Hamza; but only these he would listen to. He swore and he said: 'if one day I become sultan I will reside nowhere else but in Edirne'.[94]

The passage is extremely significant for it indicates the drives behind Cem's assignment of Ebu'l- Hayr-ı Rumi for the compilation of the *Saltukname*. As it can be detected from the passage, the work must have been completed circa 1480, given the fact that Cem assigned Ebu'l-Hayr-ı Rumi this task during Mehmed II's campaign against the Akkoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan which took place in 1473, and it took Ebu'l-Hayr-ı Rumi seven years to fulfill it. Although the exact date of the completion of the text is unknown the task was in any case undertaken before Mehmed II's death on the 3rd of May 1481. Therefore, one might think that Cem's preparations for drawing support in his political bid started even before his father's death. This should come as no surprise when one thinks of Bayezid's patronization of the cult of Hacı Bektaş to draw the support of the Janissaries. Such attempts among the candidates of the throne seem to have been the norm rather than the exception. Except in Cem's case, the campaign for support was directed towards the resented gazi circles, provoking anti-imperial feelings.

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[94] Ebu'l Hayr-i Rumi, *Saltukname*, ed. Şükrü Haluk Akalın, vol. III, pp.365-366.

When Mehmed II died he left two sons behind. His elder son Bayezid (b.1447) was at that moment in Amasya as the governor of the province of Rum and Cem (b.1459) resided in Konya as the governor of Karaman. The relationship between Mehmed and his elder son Bayezid is believed to have been bitter. This is attributed to a letter written by Mehmed II to Bayezid in which Mehmed criticizes him for his pleasure-seeking life style and his addiction to opium.[95] Prince Cem on the other hand, was considered to be his father's favorite and the most likely heir to the throne. Mehmed II openly states him as his successor in the *Kanunname*.[96] As it is also mentioned in the *Saltukname*, when Mehmed II went on the military campaign against Akkoyunlu Uzun Hasan he positioned Cem in Edirne as regent during his absence. He also appointed Cem as governor of Karaman, one of the most important Ottoman provinces at that time.[97] Furthermore, Cem was supported by most of the prominent statesmen of the time, such as Mehmed's tutor Molla Gürani and the grand vizier Karamani Mehmed Paşa.

Upon the death of Mehmed II, following established state procedure the grand vizier Karamani Mehmed Paşa sent Keklik Mustafa to Amasya and one of his personal officers to Konya to inform Bayezid and Cem. While doing that he probably expected Cem to arrive at Istanbul earlier than his brother due to the shorter distance between Konya and Istanbul. However, the vizier İshak Paşa who supported Bayezid for the throne was into further arrangements on his side. The officer sent by Karamani Mehmed Paşa to Cem was killed on his way to Konya upon the order of

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[95] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, v.II, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998), p.161.

[96] All this brings to mind an important question to be answered by further research: why would Mehmed II have favored Cem if the latter had started a controversial campaign against his centralizing policies. "Ferzend-i ercmend, esad ü emced, varis-i mülk-i süleymani, nur-i hadaka-i sultani tac-i ru'usü's-selatin sahibü'l-'izzi ve't-temkin mahzu lutfi'llahi'l-ekrem oğlum Cem edamallahu bekahu.", Fatih Sultan Mehmed, *Kanunname-i Al-i Osman*, Turkish transcription and commentary by Abdülkadir Özcan, (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2003), p.25.

[97] Nicolae Iorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, v. II, (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1908), pp.233-234.

the *Anadolu beğlerbeyi* -the governor of Anatolia- Sinan Paşa, the son-in-law of Bayezid II.[98] Although it is argued that Cem was soon informed about his father's death, the following incidents must have prevented him from setting out for Istanbul. Accordingly, in spite of Karamani Mehmed Paşa's efforts to keep Mehmed's death a secret, the news quickly spread among the state officers and the janissaries, and a certain state of turmoil prevailed in Istanbul. The atrocities caused by the Janissaries included the murdering of the grand vizier Karamani Mehmed Paşa, an event that was to change the course of all others. İshak Paşa who had also a great authority over the army took control and made it impossible for Cem to accede to the throne through legitimate ways. Bayezid II arrived at Istanbul and became the sultan.[99]

In spite of all the support Cem held, the murdering of his party in Istanbul made him realize very soon that he had no chance for the throne in Istanbul. Therefore, only five days after his father's death and the day after he had been reported he set out for Bursa instead of Istanbul.[100] When Bayezid learned that Cem was marching towards Bursa with his army he sent a Janissary army to Bursa. The battle concluded with the victory of Cem's forces, which is mainly attributed to the assistance of the local population.[101] After his victory Cem proclaimed himself sultan, struck coins and had the *hutbe* (Friday sermon) read in his name –ultimate symbols of sovereignty-. However, his reign in Bursa did not last long. When he

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[98] Aşıkpaşazade while mentioning Keklik Mustafa, omits the murdering of the messenger sent by Karamani Mehmed Paşa to Cem. Aşıkpaşazede, *Osmanoğulları'nın Tarihi*, eds. Kemal Yavuz, M.A. Yekta Saraç, (Istanbul: K Kitaplığı, 2003), pp.546-547. See also, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, v.II, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998), p.162; Selahattin Tansel, *Sultan II. Bayezit'in Siyasi Hayatı*, (Istanbul, 1966), p. 16; Joseph Von Hammer, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol.I,(Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2005), p.294.

[99] Selahattin Tansel, *Sultan II. Bayezit'in Siyasi Hayatı*, (Istanbul, 1966), pp. 16-24.

[100] Bayezid for instance left Amasya eight days after Mehmed's death and three days after the news had reached him. Haydar Bey, Vakıat-ı Sultan Cem. (İstanbul: Vakit matbaası, 1956); in Tansel, p.19 and p.25.

[101] The support that Cem held in Bursa was not suprising to Aşıkpaşazade, after all he was one of the sons of Mehmed II and had equal rights in his claims for the throne. Aşıkpaşazede, *Osmanoğulları'nın Tarihi*, eds. Kemal Yavuz, M.A. Yekta Saraç, (Istanbul: K Kitaplığı, 2003), pp.546-547.

heard that Bayezid set out for a military campaign against him, he waited for him in Yenişehir, in the east of Bursa, where the two armies fought with the resultant victory of Bayezid.[102] Cem's army was dispersed and Cem had to flee and took refuge in the country of the Mamluks.[103]

Cem made another attempt for the throne after he established an alliance with Karamanoğlu Kasım, the *sancakbeyi* of Ankara, Mehmed, and some leading fief holders in Anatolia.[104] Although Cem managed to lay siege to Konya, Ankara and Akşehir successively, he failed to capture them, as those cities remained loyal to the central government.[105] Also, Karamanoğlu Kasım was encouraging Cem to pass to *Rumeli* through the sea and to continue his struggle from there, "as Musa Çelebi, the son of Yıldırım Bayezid had once done."[106] What Kasım had in mind was to take advantage of a rebellion which would break out in Rumeli; since it was more probable for Cem to draw supporters in Rumeli. However, Cem decided to seek cooperation from the Knights of Rhodes and made an agreement with them, which brought him all the way to Rhodes and then to France. Likewise, Bayezid also made arrangements on his side; first with the Knights and then with the Pope. Accordingly, Cem was to be held in hostage and to spend the rest of his life in exile, until he died – or was killed- in 1495.[107]

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[102] Joseph Von Hammer, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, (Istanbul: MEB, 2005), pp. 295-296.
[103] Tansel, pp. 28-35; Hammer, pp. 296-298; Uzunçarşılı, pp. 164-166.
[104] *Vakıat-ı Sultan Cem*, p.5 in Tansel, p.36; Hammer, p. 298; Aşıkpaşazade, p.549.
[105] Uzunçarşılı, pp.168-169.
[106] *Vakıat-ı Sultan Cem*, p.7 in Tansel, pp.41-42. Rumelia and in particular Gelibolu play a central role in the struggles for the throne of Musa and Mustafa. Since it is the only passage to Rumelia, before the conquest of Istanbul, Musa who enjoys the support of the gazis in Rumalia vis-à-vis Mehmed I assisted by the *ulema* and the Janissaries choses Gelibolu as his headquarter which obliged Mehmed I to ask permission from the Byzantine emperor to pass through the Bosphorus. In the struggle for the throne between Murad II and Mustafa in 1422, the latter prefers again Gelibolu as his base for rebellion. Aşıkpaşazade, *Osmanoğullarının Tarihi*, (Istanbul: K Kitaplığı, 2004), pp. 417, 432-433.
[107] Uzunçarşılı, pp.170-174. For more details concerning Cem's life in exile: Nicolas Vatin, *Sultan Djem: Un prince ottoman dans l'Europe du XVième siècle d'après deux sources contemporaines: Vakıat-ı Sultan Cem, Oeuvres de Guillome Caoursin*, (Ankara: IFEA, 1997).

The struggle of Cem for the throne is significant since it gives an idea of his broader political project that also finds expression in the *Saltukname*. His cooperation with the opposing groups should not be conceived as an act resulting merely from his ambitions for power. As it has been aforementioned his drawing support from the gazis started long before his struggle with Bayezid for the throne, with the compilation of the *Saltukname*. The fact that he named one of his sons a symbolically charged name like Oğuz[108], his preference for listening to the stories of Sarı Saltuk rather than to those of Hamza[109] and following the Turkic custom of dividing up the territories into the heirs, his proposal to Bayezid of the partitioning of the lands between the two[110] –although after some point of admission of his defeat- give some idea of his concern about where the central state policy was leading and his desire for a change; which could be best demonstrated with the change of the capital, as Cem promised to the gazis in the *Saltukname*: "If one day I become sultan I will reside nowhere else but in Edirne."[111] Cem's political campaign must have been influential to such an extent that, after his death, Bayezid II had a magnificent shrine, a mosque and a convent built in Dobrudja in the name of Sarı Saltuk, with a similar attempt to patronize his cult and to draw support from the discontented gazis of Rumelia.[112]

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[108] Kafadar, p. 147.

[109] Hamzavi composed a collection of the tales of Hamza, the uncle of the Prophet from the existing lore. The earliest redaction of Ahmedi's chronicle dates from the same period (end of the fourteenth century) and they both exemplify, according to Kafadar, Ottomans' growing acquisition of the modes of governing and ideologies associated with the nonfrontier culture, during the reign of Yıldırım Bayezid. Ebu'l Hayr-i Rumi's statement about Prince Cem's preference of the tales of Sarı Saltuk to those of Hamza therefore seems to be convenient with Cem's political project and his rapprochement with the gazi circles. For tales of Hamza, see Kafadar, p.94.

[110] During his stay in Egypt, Cem writes Bayezid a letter proposing him to divide the realm into two parts, namely into Rumeli and Anatolia and demands Anatolia to be granted to him. Tansel, pp.35-36.

[111] "Eğer padişah olursam Edirneden gayri yirde oturmayam".*Ebu'l* Hayr-i Rumi, *Saltukname*, ed. Şükrü Haluk Akalın, vol. III, pp.366.

CHAPTER II

CREATING AN ANTI-IMAGE: INFIDELS

The first volume of the *Saltukname* starts with a brief description of the world after the disintegration of the Caliphate following the Chingizid invasion and a list of the earlier conquests of the "most prominent" gazis, such as Seyyid Battal, Melik Danişmend, Sultan Tahir of Egypt, Sarı Saltuk's grandfather Seyyid Hüseyin and his father Seyyid Hasan who all fought against the 'infidels' and contributed to the Islamization of the world. One night following the death of his father Seyyid Hasan who was killed by the infidel Sultan of Harcenevan[113] Battal Gazi appears in Sarı Saltuk's dream:

> The corner of my liver, make a *huruc*, now. Nobody shall defeat you. Go to such-and-such cave, there you will find the horse I rode, my *Aşkar* and all the war relics. Take the perfect sword of Dahhak, Giv's lance, the shield of Güştasb and the armor of Hamza. They all are in there.[114]

In pre-modern Islamic sources, the term *huruc* (coming out) means making a political bid.[115] When Sarı Saltuk decided to make his "huruc" to fight the infidels, there was little political stability in the lands of Rum. In the thirteenth century the political boundaries kept changing at an astonishing pace. Paradoxically, the ongoing

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[112] Machiel Kiel, "Güney Romanya'da Sarı Saltuk'un Çalışmaları ve Doğu Bulgaristan'da Erken Bektaşilik Merkezi Üzerine Tarihsel Önem Taşıyan Notlar", *Hacı Bektaş Veli Bildirileri, Denemeler, Açık Oturum*, (Ankara: 1977), pp.19-20; cf. Kemal Yüce, pp.78-79.

[113] It will be assumed that Harcenevan stands for somewhere in the Black Sea region, as Amasya and Kastamonu make part of its territory. See *Saltukname*, vol.I, pp.13, 40 and vol.III, p.256.

[114] According to the *Şehname* Güştasb (Vishtaspa in old Persian and Hystaspes in Greek) is the protector of Zarathustra and the father of Dara, the king of Persia, Darius the Great (549 BC-486/485 BC). And Giv is a character in the *Şehname*. "Ciğer-guşem Dur yiründen huruc eyle. Sana kimse mukabil olmaya. Yüri falan mağaraya var, benüm bindüğüm Aşkar'ımı anda bulasın. Ve esbab-ı alat-ı harbi, mükemmel tiğ-ı Dahhak bilesinde al. Giv sünüsin ve baki yarağın, dahi ol Güştasb kalkanı, ne kim Hazret-i Hamza'nun yarağıdur hep andadur". *Saltukname*, ed. Şükrü Akalın, v.I, p.5.

[115] Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp.118-119.

Turco-Byzantine conflict did not discourage peaceful contacts. Likewise, the frontier areas did not constitute a barrier between Muslim and Christian societies but in spite of the permanent state of war they might also function as an area of contact and cohabitation governed by diffusion of cultural and religious practices, and intensified commercial ties. Political and military alliances could also be established across religious, ethnic and tribal lines. Such a symbiotic atmosphere left little or no room for speculation about the rival with whom acquaintance was the norm rather than the exception. Nevertheless, the "infidels" in the *Saltukname* are portrayed in a caricaturized manner and are reduced into stereotypes as foolish, corrupt and bestial people, devoid of any further specific character. The fact that they constituted the undistinguished category of "infidels" in Sarı Saltuk's binary world (composed of Muslims and the rest; i.e. the infidels) must be partly attributed to a shared tendency with other heroic epics and hagiographies in medieval Anatolia that argued within the framework of set patterns, motifs, *topoi* and polemics. These in return, must be contextualized within former Muslim traditions, both Arab and Persian.

By analyzing representations of the infidels in the *Saltukname*, the aim of the present chapter is to try to uncover the stereotypes embedded in the *Saltukname* and in so doing to provide an understanding of the way the people who transmitted the stories of Sarı Saltuk constructed their own ideal self-image, through the negation of the "other". The first section will deal with the "neighboring infidels" namely the *Frenks*, the *Rum* and the *Yunani*. The geographical definitions of the countries to which these people are referred will be followed by their illustrations which will be steeped in their respective historical contexts. The second part of this chapter will focus on the infidels of distant lands. Sarı Saltuk's missionary activities in those lands will be underlined with an attempt to unravel his dervish figure.

Drawing Boundaries: Neighboring Infidels, *Frenks*, *Rumis*, *Yunanis*

The earlier conquests of Sarı Saltuk take place in the lands of Rum against the 'neighboring infidels'. The (eastern) frontier of Rum (*Rum haddi*) is drawn by the Euphrates, since, when the ruler of Harcenevan, Tırbanos, asks the Muslims to leave the territory of Rum he points to the area beyond the Euphrates.[116] Although the *Saltukname* does not mention explicitly until where *Rum* stretches in the west, in the following pages and following the traces of Sarı Saltuk, we will try to define the boundaries of *Rum* a little more precisely.

In the early parts of the *Saltukname*, the term infidel (*kafir*) indicates the Christians in the neighboring areas of the Anatolian peninsula, in *Rum* and in *Frengistan*, against whom, especially in the first volume of the *Saltukname*, Sarı Saltuk engages in extensive gaza activities. Although the names of these 'neighboring infidels' are familiar, it seems that they are also part of a quasi-imaginary world, where our courageous protagonist undertakes many adventurous gazas against numerous kingdoms, and defeats them all. This may be partly attributed to the fact that for the *Saltukname* none of the infidels deserves sufficient attention to be mentioned with their particular characteristics. At the end, they all are alike and part of the same, undistinguished world of the infidels. As confusing and incoherent as this world may seem, it will nevertheless be useful to try to make sense of its composition.

Sarı Saltuk's first attack is undertaken against the infidels of Harcenevan who poisoned his father. It can be detected from the text that Harcenevan is located somewhere in the northeast of Anatolia, since later in the text we learn that the city

[116] *Saltukname*, ed. Şükrü Akalın, vol.I, p.18.

of Amasya is part of its territory. According to Tırbanos, Harcenevan is the gate opening to Rum.[117] Therefore, when our protagonist sets out for gaza, it should come as no surprise that his priority would be Harcenevan.

After Sarı Saltuk kills Tırbanos, upon the invitation of the Byzantine emperor (*Konstantiniyye tekürü*[118]) an alliance is made between the 'infidels'. This alliance may be interpreted as a Crusade. In the *Saltukname*, it is often the case that some distorted memory of the past may recur within a different arrangement. Here, the rule of the *Yunan*, referring to the Byzantines, is set in *Kayseriyye*, Kayseri, although this area was already captured by the Danişmendids as early as 1082. However, during the First Crusade (1096-1099) Kayseri changed hand, to which the *Saltukname* may be referring here.

The alliance which is established following the death of Tırbanos is between four *Frenk* begs, three *Rum* begs and two *Yunani* begs: "In the *Rum* language,[119] the names of the *beg*s are as follows: Geylevan-ı Frenk, Persan-ı Venedik, Mesnun-ı Gedelani and Çerdevan-ı Cenbuşi (all of them *Frenk*), from the *Rumi*s Behrenos-ı Rumi and Tarmus-ı Rumi, Bardini Kırvan and the son of the sultan of Kayseriyye, Giryanos (the *Yunani beg*s)."[120]

In the *Saltukname* the names of the "infidels" are distorted to such an extent that their association with any historical figure seems impossible. The same is true of the *Danişmendname* written in the first half of the fifteenth century. This is partly due to the changes caused by the phonetic adaptation of foreign words into Turkish

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[117] *Saltukname*, ed. Şükrü Akalın, vol.I, p.11. "Rumun kapusu bendedür". This argument requires a distinction between Rum and Anatolia. As will be shown in the following pages, "Rum" also points to the further west of Anatolia.

[118] *Tekür* is used instead of *Tekfur* to refer to the Byzantine ruler. The distortion of the Christian names will be discussed seperately.

[119] Here, what is meant by the Rum language is probably a Christian, European language in general; or better a non-Muslim, non-Turkic and therefore an 'infidel' language.

[120] Ibid., p.21-22.

and partly to the compilation of the texts after centuries of oral recitation.[121] A second remark to be made concerning the passage above is that the *Saltukname* makes a distinction between the *Frenk*, the *Rum* and the *Yunani*. Bearing the names of these *beg*s in mind and with some additional information that can be obtained from the *Saltukname*, some conclusions will be drawn concerning what *Frenk*, *Rumi* and *Yunani* denoted.

Frengistan, the country of the *Frenks* (*Frenk İli*) which is also referred to as *Pap İli* (the land of the Pope) or *Filyon Frenk İli* is adjacent to the domain of Rum (*Rum mülki*) and is governed by Filyon Frenk or the Pope (*Pap*).[122] In medieval Arab accounts, the word *Frenk* designated all western and north-western Europeans.[123] In the *Saltukname*, this area may also be referred to as the Latin country (*Latin diyarı*). Since what the *Saltukname* records as *Frenk beg*s bears similarity with some of the Latin countries: *Gedlan*, *Frençe*, *Milan*, *Cinevis*, *Frankal* and *Espan*. It can be observed that *Frenk* and *Frençe* are used interchangeably throughout the text. However, *Frenk* has also a broader meaning to include all the Christians in Western Europe. The *Frenk beg*s were said to be: Geylevan-ı Frenk (indicating the country of the *Frenks*), Persan-ı Venedik (Venice), Mesnun-ı Gedelani (the Latin country Gedlan, maybe referring to the Catalans?). The rest of the Latin *beg*s may be translated as follows: *Frençe* as France, *Cinevis* as Genoa, *Frankal* as the country of the Franks and *Espan* as Spain.[124]

The confusion between *Frenk* and Latin in the *Saltukname* also existed in Byzantine texts. Whereas previously the Byzantines had thought of the West as composed of separate political units with distinct peoples, following the First

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[121] Irene Melikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend*, (Paris: Librairie Adrien Maisonneuve, 1960), pp.131-132.
[122] *Saltukname*, ed. Şükrü Akalın, vol.I, p.88.
[123] Aziz Al-Azmeh, "Barbarians in Arab Eyes", *Past and Present*, No: 134, (February, 1992), p. 6.

Crusade, especially by the twelfth century, the Byzantine intellectuals began to consider the "Latin" West as a unified entity with its own Latin peoples, Latin language and Latin customs. Although "Frank" had a relatively more specific meaning, it had also different usages. Some Byzantine authors used it to refer to the *Germanoi*, the Germanic tribes allied with the Vandals, while some others used it to refer to the Normans. It was also often the case that "Franks" and "Latins" were used interchangeably.[125]

According to the *Saltukname*, there are seven rulers associated with seven mountains in Rum. These are *Eflak* (Wallachia, today's southern Romania), *Üngürüs* (Hungary), *Alaman* (Country of the Germanic people)[126], *As* (?), *Leh* (Poles), *Çeh* (Czech country), *Rus* (Land of the Rus; parts of today's Belarus and northern Ukraine)[127] and *Çesar* (emperor? -maybe referring to the Holy Roman Emperor).[128]

The Rum *beg*s are called *kayser* (Caesar).[129] Here, Caesar is used not because these rulers were deliberately referred to as such with an emphasis on their Roman Christian nature (besides, not all of them were so); but simply to separate them from the *Frenk*s. After all, the *Saltukname* does not contain that kind of subtle distinctions

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[124] *Saltukname*, ed. Şükrü Akalın, vol.I, p.99.
[125] Alexander Kazhdan, "Latins and Franks in Byzantium: Perception and Reality from the Eleventh to the Twelfth Century", *The Crusaders From the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh, (Washington, D.C. : Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), pp.83-90.
[126] The word *Alaman* is probably used here to refer to the German speaking people in general, or to the *Germanoi* as some Byzantine authors referred to them. Kazhdan, p.89. The ethnic origin of the word Alamanni from which the word *Alaman* might be derived goes back to the third century. The Romans distinguished among the *Germani* those who lived on the lower Rhine as the Franks and those on the upper Rhine as the "Alamanni", that is "the people". Such distinction was not linguistic but geographical. In the fifth century the kigndom of Alamannia was succumbed to the Frankish state. Patrick J. Geary, *The MYth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, c2002), p.81.
[127] The medieval meaning of Rus is associated with the Kievan Rus, in today's Ukraine and Belarus: "Ancient Rus is ancient Ukraine, not ancient Russia, and certainly not ancient Rossiia (a late medieval re-import from the cognate Greek form Rhosia)." Simon Franklin, "The Invention of Rus(sia)(s): Some Remarks on Medieval and Modern Perceptions of Continuity and Discontinuity", *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Mediveal Europe*, ed. Alfred P. Smyth, (New York: Palgrave, 2002), p.184.
[128] These however add up to eight instead of seven. *Saltukname*, v.I, p. 24.
[129] Ibid., pp.17-18.

about the infidels. Further in the text we see that although *Alaman*, *Üngürüs* and *As* are again mentioned within the territory of Rum, next to *Abadanlık* (Albania), it is also stated that they are further in the direction of *Ayurusapur* (*Avrupa*? –Europe-) and that *Alaman* is (also) *Frenk*.[130]

As will be shown in greater detail, Rum normally stood, in Arabo-Persian texts, for the Byzantine territory. The use of Rum to refer to western Christian countries may be attributed to the confusion that also appeared in the eleventh century Arab texts which failed to differentiate the Byzantines from the new Christian presence in the area: the Crusaders. The Byzantines were still referred to as Rum; but especially during the early period of the Crusades the term was also used to refer to the Franks.[131]

As far as *Yunan* is concerned, the *Saltukname* makes the following statement: "they say that Anatolia is *Yunan*."[132] This requires a distinction between Rum and Anatolia. It is further asserted that the rule of the *Yunan* is in Kayseriyye[133], Kayseri, although Kayseri was long before captured by the Danişmendids. Yet again, the perplexity in the use of the terms Rum and Yunan may be attributed to a certain level of confusion also present in medieval Arab accounts pertaining to the legacy of the Byzantine past:

> By and large, Arab Muslim observers at the empire's periphery... viewed the history of the Byzantines as an extension of the histories of Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire. This led Arab authors to mingle and confuse the names by which they referred to the Byzantines: the term *Rum* was used to refer interchangeably to the Romans, the Byzantines, and the Christian Melkites, and, later, *al-Rum* also came to signify one of the subordinate lines of the Muslim Seljuk family in Anatolia. On occasion, *al-Rum* was used to refer to the ancient Greeks, although the predominant term in that context was

[130] *Saltukname*, ed. Şükrü Akalın, vol.I, pp.178.
[131] Nadia Maria El Cheikh, *Byzantium viewed by the Arabs*, (Harvard University Press, 2004), p.192.
[132] "Anatolya yunan dirler." *Saltukname*, ed. Şükrü Akalın, vol.I, p.21.
[133] Ibid., p.12.

al-Yunaniyyun/Yunan, a name derived from the Greeks' biblical name: Yonan (Genesis 2:10).[134]

Given all that, it will be useful to recapitulate the piecemeal information above in order to obtain a general understanding of Sarı Saltuk's "infidel" neighbors. Although, one might come across different implications of the terms in question (*Frengistan*, *Rum* and *Yunan*) within the *Saltukname* itself[135], for the time being, they all are to be examined according to their general usages that will help to draw their locations as 'neighboring infidels' within Sarı Saltuk's world.

There are three main geographies: *Frengistan*, *Rum* and *Yunan*. *Frengistan* points to the western parts of Europe, whereas *Rum* denotes the central and eastern European territories that adjoin Anatolia. *Yunan*, probably referring to what was left from the Byzantine Empire, indicates Anatolia; although it is difficult to explain how Sarı Saltuk encountered its traces in central Anatolia (more specifically in Kayseri) as late as the thirteenth century and especially when one thinks of the surviving memory of Melik Danişmend in the *Saltukname*, who had been entrusted with the glory of his conquests in these areas. It might be assumed that by claiming the legacy of the earlier gazis, as well as Melik Danişmend's, Sarı Saltuk also takes over their earlier achievements.

Although it is generally asserted that *Rum* comprises western Anatolia, the Balkans and eastern Europe it deserves more attention; since the various meanings assigned to this term offer a good example concerning the changing perceptions in medieval Anatolia as the boundaries kept changing remolding religious and ethnic compositions.

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[134] El Cheikh, pp, 21-22.
[135] Different connotations of the "Rum" will be examined shortly.

> When Humayun (Hümayun Şah of India, d.1556) asked him (Seydi Ali Reis) a tricky question as to which country was bigger, the country of Rum (*vilayet-i Rum*) or Hindustan, he had boldly answered: 'If, by Rum, one means Rum, strictly speaking, that is, the province of Sivas (called Rum in Ottoman administrative division), then Hindustan is bigger. But if one means the lands under the rule of the Padishah-ı Rum, Hind does not amount to one-tenth of it...'[136]

In the *Saltukname*, Rum is composed of seven (eight?) Christian countries and Anatolia, as a separate entity, is defined as *Yunan*. However, it is also stated that the (eastern) frontier of Rum -*Rum haddi*- is drawn by the Euphrates.[137] Aside from its use as a territory of some western Christian states, Rum has a broader definition embracing half of Europe as well as Anatolia. In order to have a better understanding of the reasons why in the first volume of the *Saltukname*, *Rum* is associated with the Ottomans' rival Christian neighbors it will be useful to look at its different geographical as well as ideological associations in other medieval sources.

In the early Islamic sources, Bilad al-Rum (countries of Rum) stood for Byzantine territory. Muslim scholars such as Bukhari, Tabari and Masudi referred to these lands as Rum.[138] Accordingly, the natural frontier of Bilad al-Rum was defined by the Taurus Mountains and the Euphrates,[139] as it is also the case in the *Saltukname*. The term began to be applied to the Seljuks in Anatolia as "Selçukiyan-ı Rum" setting them apart from the Seljuks in Baghdad. The Ottomans on their part

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[136] Cemal Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum"*Muqarnas*, 24 (2007-Forthcoming), p.17. I am grateful to Cemal Kafadar for having let me use his unpublished article which had a great contribution to the shaping of the present discussion.

[137] See above. *Saltukname*, vol.I, p.18.

[138] N. El-Cheikh, "Rum" in "Arabic Literature", *EI²*, (Leiden). See also, Ramazan Şeşen, *Müslümanlarda Tarih-Coğrafya Yazıcılığı*, (Istanbul: ISAR, 1998).

[139] Ernst Honigmann, *Bizans Devletinin Doğu Sınırı*, (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1970), et passim.

appropriated this term by calling the country that they inhabited, "Memleket-i Rum" (the country of Rum). [140]

Nizameddin Şami (fl. 1392) who accompanied Timur in his military campaigns, recounts in his *Zafername* the Battle of Ankara (1402) against Bayezid I (r.1389-1402) and he refers to the Ottomans as *Rumiyan*, the heirs of the Roman Empire and to the Ottoman ruler as the "Sultan-ı Rum".[141] Indeed, as the new owners of the (Eastern) Roman territory in the Balkans and in Asia Minor, the Ottomans relied on its legacy as much as they did on Islamic and Turkic nomadic traditions.

The Ottomans made different usages of the word "Rum". The earliest Ottoman chronicles of the fifteenth century employed such terms as "Memleket-i Rum", "Bum-i Rum" and "İklim-i Rum" to define the Ottoman realm.[142] A second usage, *Rumili* or *Rumeli*, points to the Ottoman lands in the Balkans. Thirdly, Aşıkpaşazade, in his account pertaining to the formation of the Ottoman state refers to Rum as an Ottoman province (*vilayet*) located in Sivas. While recounting the Turcoman advance in Anatolia, Aşıkpaşazade also defines the location of Rum in relation to the neighboring provinces: "He (Süleyman Şah) came. From Erzurum he went down to Erzincan. From Erzincan he entered the province of Rum. For one year they marched through the country and made conquests."[143] Also, it is stated that Bayezid took possession of the province of Rum by capturing Malatya, Behisni (Besni, today in Adıyaman) and Divriği.[144]

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[140] In addition to "Memalik-i İslam" (for a religious) and "Al-i Osman" (for a dynastic definition), this one was used especially when a regional (geographical) description was needed. Bernard Lewis, *Multiple Identities of the Middle East*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1998), p.II.
[141] Nizameddin Şami, *Zafername*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1987), s.294 in. Salih Özbaran, *Bir Osmanlı Kimliğ: 14.-17. Yüzyıllarda Rum/Rumi Aidiyet ve İmgeleri*, (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), p. 99.
[142] Özbaran, pp.99-100.
[143] Aşıkpaşazade, p. 322.
[144] Ibid., p. 405.

Examples to define "Rum" can be multiplied. However, the most frequent use of "Rum" in the early Islamic sources as well as in the fifteenth century Ottoman chronicles, points to the Byzantine territory in the Balkans and in Anatolia which were later on annexed by the Ottomans and which became the nucleus of the Ottoman administration. The reason why in the earlier parts of the *Saltukname* Rum is described as the territory of the infidels stretching as far as central Europe is perhaps to emphasize, with a certain degree of exaggeration, their subsequent adjustment to the Muslim world as a result of Sarı Saltuk's successful gazas.

The geographical identification of Rum with the former Byzantine territory and the association of its people (with a certain degree of confusion) with the Romans, the Byzantines and some other Christian Melkites can be found both in some Arabo-Persian texts and in the *Saltukname*, as aforementioned. However, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries new meanings were attached to the word *Rumi* (a person from the land of Rum) and "it came to be adopted by, or used with respect to, some of the Muslims of that geography, perhaps at first by outsiders but eventually also by insiders."[145] The new meaning of the word *Rumi* created a certain degree of confusion, since in some Ottoman texts it is juxtaposed with the old one:

> There was a period of transition, and perhaps confusion, when some sources written by Anatolian Muslims continued to use "Rumi" to refer to Byzantine or ex-Byzantine Christians. In the *Danişmendname* written in the first half of the fifteenth century but likely based on an original composition of the mid-thirteenth, "Rumis" regularly appear as the Christian enemies of "Muslims".[146]

This is even more apparent in the *Saltukname*. After having fought against the "infidels of Rum", we see that Sarı Saltuk also considers himself a *Rumi* (a person from the land of Rum), as he traveled around in the East; in Arab lands, in Ethiopia

[145] Cemal Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum"*Muqarnas*, 24 (2007-Forthcoming), p.10.

and India.[147] This brings to mind further questions about what exactly *Rumi* implied; whether it was simply used to refer to one's geographical location or whether it carried additional connotations and if so what these were. Referring to the conception of the Ottomans as "the Romans of the Muslim world"[148] a broader definition of "Rumi" is given by Cemal Kafadar:

> They were indeed called just that -*Romans*- when they, like various other peoples of medieval Asia Minor, were referred to as Rumi, that is, those of the lands of (Eastern) Rome. This was primarily a geographic appellation, indicating basically where those people lived, but it did not escape the attention of the geographers and the travelers that the Turco-Muslim populations of Rum, a frontier region from the point of view of the central lands of Islam, had their own peculiar ways that distinguished them from both the rest of the Muslim world and from other Turks. Namely, being a Rumi Turk also implied belonging to a newly emerging regional configuration of Islamic civilization that was on the one hand developing its own habitus in a new land and on the other engaged in a competition to establish its political hegemony over a rival religio-civilizational orientation.[149]

The absorption of the Ottomans' rival in Rum was to be sealed by the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that Mehmed II, in addition to his titles "Sultanü'l-Berreyn" and "Hakanü'l-Bahreyn" (the ruler of two continents and two seas), also took the title of "Kayser-i Rum", a symbolic declaration of his takeover of the Roman legacy, while setting his imperial project in motion. [150]

Likewise, the *Saltukname* tried to evoke this legacy by recounting Sarı Saltuk's victorious gazas over the infidel *Rum* (that composed of *Eflak*, *Üngürüs*, *Alaman*, *As*, *Leh*, *Çeh*, *Rus* and *Çesar*) which gradually transformed into a Muslim territory and of which Sarı Saltuk later proudly declared to be a part. He presented

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[146] Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own", p.11.
[147] For more examples see the following discussion on Sarı Saltuk's gazas in distant lands.
[148] Albert Hourani, "How Should We Write the History of the Middle East?", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol.23, (1991), p.130 in Cemal Kafadar, p. I.
[149] Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, pp.1-2.

himself as Sarı Saltuk-i Rumi, as he went to the Arab lands, Africa and to India.[151] It was also a way of describing geographically where he was coming from, referring to the previous territory of the (Eastern) Roman Empire which as aforementioned denoted the Ottoman realm in the medieval Muslim world.

Infidels in Rum

The "infidels" of the *Saltukname* are modeled after centuries-old Arabo-Persian conceptions, misconceptions and cognate representations of the "other". In medieval Arab accounts the Byzantines, for instance, were often depicted as arrogant, unfaithful, deceitful and unjust people in contrast to their Muslim counterparts. Their portrayal was devoid of any personal characteristic: "*Homo Byzantinus* does not appear as a three-dimensional character, and whenever he is allowed direct speech, he is expressing the thoughts, assumptions and prejudices of the Arab Muslim narrator. The latter's object was to contrast the Byzantine with the Muslim behavior to affirm the superiority of the latter."[152]

This is also the case with the *Saltukname*. The "infidels" are described as arrogant, ridiculous and immoral people who deserve a good lesson, which often means their being slaughtered without any hesitation. This is how all the violence shown by Sarı Saltuk towards them is justified. Although, the *Saltukname* narrates at length the gazas undertaken against them, very little is known concerning their

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[150] Salih Özabaran, *Bir Osmanlı Kimliğ: 14.-17. Yüzyıllarda Rum/Rumi Aidiyet ve İmgeleri*, (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), p. 17.
[151] "Sarı Saltuk-i Rumi", for his travels in Aleppo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Egypt, Yemen. *Saltukname*, vol.I, pp.51-57; for Africa, Ibid., p.226 and for India see, Ibid., p.336.
[152] Nadia Maria El Cheikh, *Byzantium viewed by the Arabs*, (Harvard University Pres, 2004), pp.122-123.

particularities; except their constant negation at the expense of the "high ideals of Islam".

In addition to gaza, Sarı Saltuk has many other ways to cope with the infidels, to convert them and to show them the right way. It is important to note that throughout the text the wisdom of Sarı Saltuk in addition to his miraculous deeds is an efficient tool for Islamization. Some of the infidels freely accept conversion due to their admiration of Sarı Saltuk's knowledge about the world. Some convert as they lose the bet over a miraculous deed. Some others convert to Islam merely due to their fear of Sarı Saltuk. Those who resist Sarı Saltuk's callings for conversion are eventually killed, especially when the invitation is hostilely turned down, which is often the case. The aim of the present section is to try to unravel the stereotypes embedded in the *Saltukname* and in so doing to understand the ideal self-image the text projects back of the Muslims by disparaging the "other". Many examples will be given from the *Saltukname*, in which the narrative style of the text will also be reflected.

The following passage is significant for it gives an idea about the way the "infidels" conceived of the Turks (or what the Turks thought about how the others conceived of them), which can help us to draw the counter-image of the infidels. It will be useful here to briefly mention the general connotations of the word Turk in the *Saltukname*. The term Türk is mostly used by the 'infidels' to refer to the Muslims who make conquests in Rum. Also, the Tatars refer to the abdals (wandering dervishes) in Crimea as Turks. The Turkish religion (*Türkler dini*) stands accordingly for Islam. The term sometimes has a geographic connotation to refer to Rum.[153] *Melik-i Türk* (the Sultan of the Turks) stands for the ruler of Turkistan.[154]

[153] "Bir şerif adlu kişi huruc itti Türk'ten", *Saltukname*, vol.II, p.3.
[154] Ibid., p.6.

The Turcomans (*Türkmen*) distinct from the Turks, are used to refer to the people living in Buhara.[155]

At the beginning of the first volume as Sarı Saltuk starts his gaza career, he disguises as a priest in order to spy on (*casuslamak*) the sultan of Harcenevan, Tırbanos, and on his way to Harcenevan, he participates in a meeting of priests in the great church where Tırbanos also comes to pray. As he has mastered the four books and speaks twelve languages[156], Sarı Saltuk has no difficulty acting like a *kafir*. In fact, he knows about the rival religion more than anyone else. That is also how its negation is rendered legitimate for him:

> The highest priest went up to the *minber* (the pulpit) and addressed the clergymen: 'Do you know why the followers of Muhammed (*Muhammediler*) defeat us?' They replied: 'We do not know.' He said: 'The reason is because they conform to the teachings of their Prophet and they cooperate.' One of the priests asked: 'Who are these Turks? Do they go to Heaven?' The priest (the chief) replied: 'They do not enter; but they come. They just look inside from the door and they go back.' Suddenly, one boy who is worth ten (*on yaşar bir oğlan*) appeared among the clergymen, cursed the priest and said: "You, impure! Do not lie. These Turks even now in this world expel you from your home, your proprieties and your country. After having come all the way to Heaven, what makes you to think that they will stand at the door but will not enter inside and throw you out of there?' I will never believe that they will pause and stay quiet (*epsem*).[157]

Aside from the emphasis put on the fear of the Turks among the Christians, there is another point that the passage above underlines: the cooperation among the Muslims. Throughout the text, the triumph of Islam is attributed to strong bonds between the Muslims, which on the contrary do not seem to exist between the Christians. As opposed to Sarı Saltuk's ideal world of the Muslims, the infidels' world is more of a chaotic nature where arrogance, disagreement, corruption and personal interests prevailed.

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[155] *Saltukname*, vol.II p.13, vol.III, p.311.
[156] Which increases to seventy two later in the text. *Saltukname*, vol.I, p.6.

Soon after an alliance is established between the infidels, which can be interpreted as a reference to a Crusade, Sarı Saltuk again disguises as a *Rumi*[158] witnesses a quarrel between the rulers of *Yunani* and *Frençe* during a meeting in a church where they were, as usual, all drunk:

> The ruler of *Frençe*, Geylevan, rose among the others and said: 'O the rulers of *Yunan* and *Kırvan*[159]! There are no people worse than you are in this world and this is why the Turks took over your territories. Allied with *Tekür* (*Tekür yanında*) you became so miserable and so contemptible (*h'ar ü zar*). Now you say that Armenians are better than the Rum and the *Frenk* and that Alexander the Great (*İskender-i Zü'l-karneyn*) arose from the *Yunan*. So tell me, where is your effort?' And the son of the sultan of Yunan replied: 'You did not encounter the Turks as we did. If you had, you would all have been smashed.' The ruler of *Frençe* sprinkled a sip from his glass on the son of the *Yunan* (*Yunan oğlı*). The son of the Yunan responded: 'I am the descendant of Caesar and you are insulting me. Alright then, you will see, I will become Turk and create so much trouble for you!' The sultan of *Frençe* replied: 'I am the descendant of *Filyon* (Pope). I am the highest of all powers (*cemi mihallerün ulusıyam*). I will replace *Pap* (Pope) and become *Pap* in *Frenk*. I will march against the Turks, slaughter them all and make the Christians stronger!'[160]

The dispute between the two goes on with mutual insults and ends up with the *Yunani* prince's slaughtering of Geylevan by cutting him into two pieces. The passage is significant for it reflects the conflict between the Crusaders and the Byzantines in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Many contemporary Byzantine intellectuals portrayed the Crusaders (Latins) in a similar fashion to the *Saltukname*. Anna Komnene (d.1153), daughter of the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos, in her history *Alexiad* described them as arrogant, avaricious and greedy for power.[161] The Byzantine chronicler Niketas Choniates (d.1215 or 1216), used many negative

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[157] *Saltukname*, vol.I, pp.6-7.
[158] *Rumi* here refers to infidel, since Sarı Saltuk has not yet adjusted Rum into Muslim world. Later in the text, after his conquest of Rum, he will also call himself *Rumi*.
[159] What Kırvan exactly stood for is not clear. Although here it denotes some infidel country it is also stated in the *Saltukname* that Sarı Saltuk is from the Kırvan Turks.
[160] *Saltukname*, vol.I, p.23.
[161] *Anne Comnène, Alexiade*, ed. P. Gautier, (Paris, 1976) in Alexander Kazhdan, "Latins and Franks in Byzantium: Perception and Reality from the Eleventh to the Twelfth Century", *The Crusaders*

adjectives to characterize them: "cruel, treacherous, stupid, unrestrained in speech, arrogant, unreliable, ambitious for glory and profit, and hostile toward the empire."[162]

> "Between us and them" he (Choniates) says, "lies an open gap, and we are separated in our views and diametrically opposed." The historian presents the Byzantines as gentle and modest, whereas the Latins are supercilious, boastful, arrogant, and stupid.[163]

This must be due to this "stupidity" that there are many instances in the *Saltukname* where Sarı Saltuk ridicules his "infidel" enemies by fooling them. The following passage is one such example. After he was saved from burning by the "Sunnite" djinn *Minü-çihr*[164] Sarı Saltuk goes to meet *Tekür* and *Pap* and introduces him as the son of a Serbian priest. As he goes up to the pulpit and reads out the Bible, all the clergymen including *Tekür* and *Pap* burst into tears:

> Şerif (Sarı Saltuk)[165] descended from the pulpit, kissed the hands of the *Tekür* (Byzantine emperor) and *Pap* (Pope) and said: "One of you is the Caesar of Rum and the other is the *Filyon* of all the *Frenk*s. Once you are devout (*kaim*) the livers of all the Turks will be smashed." He prayed and continued: "O rulers! Know that last night the Messiah (*Mesih*) appeared in my dream and told me: 'Kick my people (*ümmet*) with the foot of my donkey and slap their nape. Those you hit stronger will go to heaven in advance.' It turned out that the donkey's foot was hung within a coffer made of ebony in the great church of that city. They brought the coffer to Şerif. Şerif slapped his hands and they took out the donkey's foot which was covered with silver on the back. He [Sarı Saltuk] recited the Bible with his beautiful voice and cried. And all the *kafir*s there shed tears. Şerif said: "O people (*iy kavm*)! I am going up to the sky to meet Jesus (*Hazret-i İsa*). If you do not believe me watch that: With the blessing of this foot I will fly up to the dome of this church." Then he read out the prayer that Minü-çihr had taught him. And the genie (*peri*) came right away. Şerif said: "Take me to the dome." The *kafir*s watched Şerif fly and hover in the sky. Then he landed back and said: "Do you believe me now?" All the *kafir*s prayed[166] and said: "We believe you, o you the supreme

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From the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World, eds. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh, (Washington, D.C. : Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), p.87.

[162] *Nicotae Choniatae Historia*, ed. J.L. van Dieten (Berlin-New York: 1975) in Ibid., p.88.

[163] Ibid., p.88.

[164] *Minü-çihr* caught Sarı Saltuk in the sky as he was thrown to fire by a catapult. This was his first encounter with *Minü-çihr* who taught Sarı Saltuk a prayer to call him when he needed help. *Saltukname*, vol.I, pp.32-33.

[165] Sarı Saltuk is also referred to as Şerif throughout the text, emphasizing his holy figure.

[166] The Ancient Turkic term, b*aş açmak* is translated as to pray.

> of religion (*din ulusı*)! You are the sanctioned companion of the Messiah. Be gracious and beg the Messiah to forgive our sins." Sarı Saltuk replied: "From now on I will not serve you (*hürmet itmezem*). Just give me one gold per person and I will hand them to Hazret-i *İsa*." These foolish and uncomprehending people (*akılsız ve idraksız kavm*) came en masse, man and woman. Şerif hit their nape with the donkey's foot so harshly that blood came out from their nose and mouth, and most of them lost their mind.[167]

As can be detected from the passage above Sarı Saltuk also creates a profitable business by fooling the 'stupid' infidels.[168]

The defeat of the infidels by their Muslim counterparts, as aforementioned, was attributed to many reasons. Along with antagonisms among the infidels and their lack of wisdom another important explanation was their corruption and immoral ways. In the following passage, Sarı Saltuk teaches a good lesson to the corrupt priests of Haghia Sophia who lost consciousness due to intoxication:

> That night the *kafirs* drank so much that they became tipsy (*ser-mest*) and fuddled (*kanzil*) and went to bed. The same night Şerif brought excrement (*neces*) and put it all over their hair and beard. He put it even on *Tekür*'s. Şerif had not drunk (alcohol) and had eaten little. He had apologized by saying that it would damage his fasting (*riyazet*). So he had eaten only olives and sugar and had cloistered himself into his cell. In the morning, when Tekür and all the priests saw that excrement had spread over their face and their beard was all covered with shit (*poh*), they became shocked. They screamed and ran towards the Tekür. When they saw that he was also covered with excrement they asked: "Who did this refinement (*zerafet*) to us?" They came to Şerif's cell. Even Şerif had put on him some excrement. He was sitting, sad (*melul*). They said: "Hey the sultan of our religion (*dinümüz sultanı*)! Why did this happen to you, to us?" Şerif got enraged at the people: "O ominous people (*şom halk*)! Your thoughts are sinister and your deeds are wicked. (It turned out that) You had denied me. Tonight *Hazret-i İsa* descended from sky and said to me: 'This is the place where Satan (*şeytan*) set foot and you have set yours too. What do you think you are doing among

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[167] *Saltukname*, vol.I, pp.36-37.

[168] Making fun of the infidels probably demanded a certain level of self-pride that seems to exist within the fifteenth century Ottoman context, where many successful military campaigns were undertaken with the surviving memory of the past. However, most of these stories can also be seen as merely funny with the sole purpose to make the audience laugh. According to Irène Mélikoff, many stories in the *Saltukname* although unrelated to the protagonist were incorporated within the text just in order to entertain Prince Cem with whose request the text was compiled. Whether for mere fun or not, they nevertheless convey an understanding of the way the infidels were imagined within medieval Ottoman world. Irène Mélikoff, "Qui etait Sarı Saltuk? Quelques Remarques sur les Manuscrits du Saltukname", *De l'Epopée au Mythe*, (Istanbul: ISIS, 1995), p.57.

these people?' And he beat me so that my excrement came out and spread all over my caftan. I know my situation but I do not know yours. Oh, they had even tortured you, what a pity!"[169]

Haghia Sophia is one of the most referred spaces throughout the text and functions as the symbol of the rival religion where Sarı Saltuk performs a number of cruel and damaging actions. In one instance, Sarı Saltuk destroys everything in Haghia Sophia. When the Byzantine ruler sees Haghia Sophia in ruins he bursts into tears and his retinue takes him to a mountainous area (mountain of *Macar*) to cheer him up. This incident becomes more meaningful from the viewpoint of the nomad, according to which the mountains were considered as places to get away from the troubles of the everyday city life. Many sources attributed the Turcoman resettlement in some mountainous area in Dobrudja to the fact that the nomadic Turkish tribes could not get used to the monotonous life they were pursuing on the Byzantine lands, without any mobility, without any conquests.[170] In the *Saltukname*, to be on the mountain was thought to be the only way to cure the Byzantine governor who felt so depressed because of the catastrophes caused by Sarı Saltuk.[171]

It is also very common in the *Saltukname* that once they acquire enough knowledge, the infidels easily convert to Islam and friendly relations occur between them and Sarı Saltuk. Even the Pope once confesses to Sarı Saltuk that he had always had an inner desire to become Muslim; but feared the reaction of 'the infidels':

> They performed noon prayer together. Şerif led the prayer. They recited Quran and when they finished they sat. Şerif asked to the Pope (*Pap*): If you believe in this faith why do not you raise to the rank of becoming Muslim?[172]

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[169] *Saltukname*, vol.I , pp. 38-39.
[170] See Yazıcızade, f.376a; Seyyid Lokman, p. 9vd; Pachymères, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaelogis*, ed. Immanuel Bekkerus, (Bonnae, 1835), v.I, 129 vd. in Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Sarı Saltuk: Popüler İslam'ın Balkanlar'daki Efsanevi Öncüsü*, (Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002), p.27.
[171] "Tekür bu hali görüp melul olup ağladı Vezirler tekürü alup gönli açılsun diyü şehirden çıkarup yaylaya iletdiler...Ol tağa vardılar kim adına Macar Tağı dirlerdi". *Saltukname*, v. I, p. 68.
[172] Ibid., p.97.

After the Pope explained to him his responsibilities as the leader of the rival religion, he quoted Ali and told Sarı Saltuk that running away from 'these cruel infidels' was not the solution and that in fact popes had already been adherents of Islam for centuries. He further gave a list of the popes in the past who were all Muslims but kept their real faith secret.[173]

What is remarkable about the relation between Sarı Saltuk and the Pope is not only their praying together (indeed this is one of the rare instances where Sarı Saltuk is described as praying); but also Sarı Saltuk's respect for the Pope, who is described, in contrast to other "infidels", as a wise man. The message given by the *Saltukname* through this example (in addition to many others) is that wise men will sooner or later end up finding the right way and convert to Islam.

It has been pointed out that the main concern of the *Saltukname* was gaza and conversion. However, friendly relations could also occur between the rivals. In the thirteenth century political context, religious and ethnic differences could surpass the boundaries to create alliances. The sworn enemy could suddenly become the best friend. The following example is a common motif that can also be found in other Anatolian frontier narratives such as the *Battalname* and the *Danişmendname* and demonstrates the closer contacts with the rival proper to frontier areas.

> Seyyid[174] Şerif saw that a cavalryman approached him, greeted him and asked: 'Who are you?' Şerif replied: 'It is me, Şerif.' The cavalryman said: 'Uncover and let me see your face.' Şerif revealed his face. As he saw that this was a young brave man (*yiğit*) he said to him: 'Hey Şerif! You are also a brave man like me. Dismount and put a shroud on your neck and I will hand you to the king and wish that he will forgive you and let me slaughter you.' Şerif replied: 'Speak less and show me more of your skills.' It turned out that this brave man was called in the Rum army *Alyon-ı Rumi* and he was a heroic man (*gürbüz er*). When the situation came to this point, they took their swords and fought a little. Şerif asked: 'Where is your throne?'

[173] *Saltukname*, vol.I, p.96-98.
[174] Seyyid is used for the descendants of Prophet Muhammed. Throughout the text, it is also used to refer to Sarı Saltuk, whose lineage is traced back to Seyyid Battal, descendant of Muhammed.

> Alyon-i Rumi replied: 'I am the son of the sultan of Bahr-i Sevad (?). Except Tekür, there is no higher sultan than he.' 'When is Tekür coming?' further questioned Sarı Saltuk. 'We have been informed that tomorrow the *Frenk* sultan and the sultan of *Relim* and the rulers of the province of *Ziri* and Pap the highest are coming together with the *Frenk* forces (*Frenk mihalleri*)', Alyon-i Rumi replied. Şerif said: 'Then let's go to the field tomorrow and fight. We will see who will prevail (*devlet kime yar olursa görevüz*).'[175]

After this conversation, "Alyon-i Rumi returns happily (*güle güle döndi*)."[176] The whole passage gives an impression of two friends agreeing together on a date. In the following pages, unsurprisingly, Alyon-i Rumi converts to Islam because of a dream he had and becomes the best companion of our protagonist, giving him the name of "Saltık". Because Saltık was "blond and redhead", this was how he began to be called *Sarı Saltık*.[177]

Another outcome of the close contact between Muslims and Christians was that conversion could go in both directions. It should come as no surprise that there are instances in the text that once Sarı Saltuk disappears from the scene, the new converts often become renegades. One example is when Sarı Saltuk gets married with Gül-çehre (one of his wives) and stays away from gaza for forty days. When he sets out for gaza again, he arrives at the city of *Haynub* (?), whose population had previously converted to Islam. When he sees that the mosque was converted back to a church, he first invites its ruler to return to the religion (Islam). Rejected, he decides to kill the ruler. As the ruler gets frightened of being killed he becomes Muslim again (*kılıç korkusundan iman getürdi*). When Sarı Saltuk asked him why he did not remain faithful to Islam, he told him that he was afraid of circumcision.[178] Another example (out of many others) is when Sarı Saltuk almost forgot about his

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[175] *Saltukname*, vol.I, p. 15.
[176] Ibid., p.15.
[177] Up until here, Sarı Saltuk is referred to as Şerif Hızır or Seyyid. Ibid., p.19.
[178] *Saltukname*, vol.II, p.26.

gaza-mission and began to spend time with *Şah-ı Maran*[179] whose friendship he apparently enjoyed to a great extent. As Tekür spread the news among the new converts that Sarı Saltuk had died, they all became renegades.[180]

Some concluding remarks are needed to be underlined concerning the infidels in Rum. The present study is highly informed by the approach that was put forward by Cemal Kafadar, and which emphasized such concepts as cohabitation, acculturation, conversion and syncretism to characterize the cultural transformation in medieval Anatolia. Nevertheless, the tendency to represent the infidels with a high degree of antagonism prevailed throughout the *Saltukname*. While the boundaries between the Muslims and their 'infidel' neighbors could be crossed by conversion, the infidels were still conceived as outsiders, as the "other". Stuck into stereotypes, they were described as devoid of any particular characteristics.

Infidels of Distant Lands: Sarı Saltuk on the Mission

The way Sarı Saltuk treats the infidels in far away lands, in *Habeşistan* (Ethiopia) and in India is different from the way he approaches his infidel neighbors. The former were mostly idolaters, and as opposed to the sworn enemies in the Christian lands who, although aware of the teachings of Islam, committed the worst sin by not accepting conversion, those were described as unfortunate people who remained deprived of the light of wisdom: the Islamic faith. One can argue by departing from the Turkish expression "it is not a shame not to know; it is a shame not to learn", Sarı Saltuk dedicates himself to this task, and sets out for his mission.

[179] *Şah-ı Maran* is a mythological figure having the body of a snake and the head of a woman.
[180] *Saltukname*, ed. Şükrü Akalın, vol.II, pp.66-67.

He travels around Ethiopia and India reciting Islamic teachings, with great subtlety, to show them the path of Truth.

The following passage where Sarı Saltuk, for the first time, defines the *kafir*s (infidels) in such detail may be a good example. It relates the encounter of Sarı Saltuk with a 700 year-old priest in India who asks him who the *kafir*s are. "The infidels are those who deny *Hazret-i Hakk* (God) and those who become disobedient –*asi*-", Sarı Saltuk replies. The priest further questions who they are. Sarı Saltuk gives a long list of all the "infidels" in human history:

> One of the earliest *kafir*s was *Kabil*, the son of Adam. He defied God (*Allah Ta'ala*) and became *kafir*. One of the earliest *müşrik*s[181] is Kenan, the son of Prophet Noah. He said: 'If your God makes these people drowned in water – God forbid- my God will save me'. And he committed the sin of *şirk* (*şerik katdı*).[182] And he said: 'There are two Gods –God forbid- and the third is the tribe of the Prophet *Hud'*. And they (Kenan and his followers) became sinners.[183] They (Some other infidels) denied apocalypse and became *zındık*s.[184] They were of course destroyed and killed. At the time of the Prophet *Halil İbrahim*[185] they became *mecusis*[186], they worshipped fire. At the time of the Prophet *Musa* (Moses), the jews rampaged (*azdılar*). They followed *Samiri* and worshipped a calf.[187] The *Saibis*[188] who were the people of the Prophet *Davud*, worshipped a dog. They relied on the dog (*kelb*-which is also a name given to a famous star-) of *Ashab-ı Kehf*.[189] The *Nasranis*[190]

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[181] Müşrik derives from the Arabic root Ş-R-K, a term of Quranic origin which signifies the act of "associating" with God, accepting the presence at His side of other divinities. The term refers to the Islamic concept of the sin of polytheism specifically, but in a more general way to serving anything other than the One God. It is the opposite of *tevhid*, literally "declaring [that which is] one". Müşrik, is one who commits "şirk". *EI²*, vol. IX, s.v. "Shirk", pp.484-486.

[182] See the preceding footnote.

[183] Hud is a prophet of Islam, one of the earliest five "Arab" prophets mentioned in the Quran (Hud, Salih, Ibrahim, Shu'ayb, Muhammed). The eleventh sura of the Quran, *Hud*, is named after him. The Quran states that Hud was sent as a warning to the people of 'Ad. Maybe the tribe that is mentioned here, Prophet Hud's tribe (*Hazreti Hud Peygamber kavmi*) is the tribe of Ad. *EI²*, vol. III, s.v. "Hud", pp.537-538.

[184] Zındık is referred to a person who denies God and the apocalypse. In the early periods of Islam *zındık*s were called those who preserved their pre-Islamic beliefs referring to the Manichaeans. *EI²*, vol. XI, s.v. "Zındık", pp.510-513.

[185] İbrahim is one of the prophets of Islam (Abraham in Christianity and Judaism), after Prophets Hud and Salih. According to the story, he was born in the 1900's BC. Between him and Prophet Hud there are 630 years of interval.

[186] Mecusi refers to those who worship fire.

[187] According to Quran Samiri is the person who made a golden calf to be worshipped for the Israelites during Musa's absence, as he went up to Mount Sinai in Egypt (also known as Mount Musa) to talk to God.

[188] Saibi is someone who worships stars.

[189] Ashab-ı Kehf, "those of the cave", is a story in Quran,of what is known as "seven sleepers" in Christian mythology. According to the story, seven people (although in the sura of Kehf in Quran

> (Christians) worshipped donkey and became infidels. And yet, when Kabil turned into infidel they deified idols. Since the Prophet *İdris* had been ascended to heaven this was the situation of the world, full of wickedness (*küfr*)[191] and darkness (*zulmet*). God the Greatest (*Hak Ta'ala*) sent a light (*nur*) to this world and decreed: 'good for those who obey you and massacre those who do not.'[192] Just as the Prophet Adam the purest who had come with the *din-i şeriat* (the righteous religion) the Prophet Muhammed Mustafa also belonged to this religion and to the homeland of the Prophet İbrahim Halil. It is permissible to us –*mübah*- to slaughter the infidels and this is our evidence. As He sent a book from the sky and ordered us to do so; this is our proof. We do not exercise coercion to anybody. Whatever we do, we do it upon God's order.[193]

The passage above is of particular importance since it conveys a theological justification of gaza and by doing so, assigns meaning to Sarı Saltuk's deeds. The way Sarı Saltuk conceived of the non-Muslims and why, are bolstered with religious arguments and examples from the past. It deserves further attention also for the terminology it contains. Many references are made to Quran and a number of different terms are applied to refer to the infidels. All these undoubtedly demanded a certain level of religious knowledge which seems to exist within the fifteenth century Ottoman society, the audience for which this work was compiled.

Another remark to be made is about the emphasis put on the corruption among the infidels. Whether Jew, Christian or else, they all somehow ended up by departing from the path of Truth, which in return rendered the emergence of Islam inevitable. And a new prophet was sent in order to "bring light" to their obscure world.

A further example concerning the way Sarı Saltuk promoted Islam and showed the infidels, with great tolerance, the right way takes place in *Habeş* where

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their exact number is omitted,) who believed in one God, went to hide in a cave when faced with oppression because of their beliefs, in the company of a dog named *Kıtmir*. The dog mentioned here should be this Kıtmir. *EI²*, vol. I, s.v. "Ashab-ı al-Kahf", p.691.

[190] *Nasrani* means those who come from *Nasıra*, Nazareth which is known to be the hometown of Jesus today in northern Israel.

[191] *Küfr* (the root Arabic from where derives *kafir*) that is used here in fact stands for a wider set of values –vices- that contradict Islam.

[192] 'Sana her kim uyarsa hoş, uymazsa anları kılıçdan geçür'

Sarı Saltuk has an insightful conversation with the sultan. According to the story, although previously a Muslim country, "three times forty"[194] years ago there appeared a sultan named Cabir. He deviated from Islam and declared himself god and his wife Salita prophet. The people of Habeş began to venerate their idols which made all the wishes come true. "This was how we became subject to them", explained the sultan. Sarı Saltuk reacted to him as followed:

> O Sultan! Did you lose your mind? You must be a sultan with a desolate brain[195]. You know that God is not a creature (*mahluk*), since no creature can build the earth and these skies. If a creature could all this, this would be the humankind; but it is incapable too. No other creature can cope with humankind, since it is the only one having intellectual capacity. Govern your intellect, it is good. Use it well. From Prophet Adam to the last one, all the prophets are men. There are no women. And our prophet (Muhammed) is the last of all. There will not be any other after him. All you said is a wicked product of the devil and its sinful temptation. In this place where there is no book, no science and no religion, it (devil) can make anything that it wishes happen and provoke rampage. Ignorance is a dirty (*murdar*) thing. It pulls you down in the darkness of *küfr*.[196]

The passage above is significant for it reflects the importance ascribed to reason and scholarly activity (although pronounced together with "devil" and its sinful temptations). It is also remarkable for the wise words pronounced by Sarı Saltuk, who quite contrary to his attitude towards the neighboring infidels adopted a rather reconciliatory and much more tolerant comportment. Many times, he presented himself (in addition to Saltuk-i Rumi) as the deputy of God (*elçi*), in charge of bringing His light to those in the dark, like a prophet or indeed, to put it

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[193] *Saltukname*, vol.I, pp. 340-341.
[194] The *Saltukname* has its peculiar way to note (or calculate) the numbers. There are several examples where multiplication is used to reach the number to be mentioned. Here, "three times forty" is used to refer to 120.
[195] *Akl ıssız* (desolate mind) is used instead of *akıl-sız* which means unintelligent (literally without brain or intelligence), creating a new-fashioned expression proper to the *Saltukname*.
[196] *Saltukname*, vol.I, pp.228-229.

rightly like a Sufi. This is perhaps also why there is a continuous emphasis especially in these sections of the *Saltukname*, on Sarı Saltuk's intellectual achievements:

> *Hazret-i Şerif* could write and read in seventy two languages, with the mastery of God (*Hak Ta'ala fazlıyla*). He knew all the books and sheets. Even in *Habeş* language he was talented. He knew it flawlessly (*su gibi*).[197]

All this is not to say that Sarı Saltuk neglected gaza while he was becoming a saintly figure. In spite of all the goodwill there are instances that tried his patience. As Sarı Saltuk left *Habeşistan* (Ethiopia) where he was received with great respect, he arrived to *Zengibar* (Zanzibar) whose population was composed of idolaters and where its fame as *Şerif-i Rumi* had already spread out, evoking a certain degree of fear:

> The name of the sultan of *Zengibar* was *Sinbat-ı Zengi*. He got furious and said: 'What is Saltık doing in my land?' With an irrational (*bi-'akl*) temper, he took the mace (*gürz-i giran* -a very heavy mace-) drove to the seaside, even inside the sea itself. He offended and shouted out. Şerif said: 'O Sinbad! I did not come here to fight with you. Be good and do not offend me, do not make me uncomfortable (*bi-huzur*).' Sinbad responded: 'Is it not you who messed up all around Rum.' *Server* (Sarı Saltuk)[198] when realized that the fellow (*herif*) was insolent and ill-mannered (*bi-edeb*), impossible to conciliate, jumped like an eagle, reached the shore and slaughtered Sinbad with his sword. Then, he dropped Sinbad's head into the water like a ball, and ordered (*ısmarladı* -sent) the soul of Sinbad to hell.[199]

As much as Sarı Saltuk protected his pride and never would let the hostilities towards him unreturned, neither did he ever give up defending his Muslim brothers and indeed he could become very cruel in that, immediately forgetting about his missionary activities. As Sarı Saltuk reached *Kalaküt* (Calcutta) in India whose population was composed of the *Samiri*s, he saw that they were about to hang a

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[197] *Saltukname*, vol.I, p.226.
[198] Server means the highest. Sarı Saltuk is often referred to as such in the *Saltukname*.
[199] *Saltukname*, vol.I, p.226.

Sünni (Sunnite), just because he killed a calf.[200] Astonished, he tried to explain to them that in their religion (in Islam) it was permissible to slaughter cows and said to them:

> 'In Turkish religion (*Türkler dininde*)[201] they do not submit to anyone, not even to *Nasranis* (Christians), Jews (*Yahudi*) or to those from other peoples (*millet*).' They replied: 'This is our custom, so we can.' 'I will not let you', Şerif Gazi further said and took the rope off from the neck of the Sunnite; upon which the people attacked. All of a sudden, *Server* (Sarı Saltuk) shouted out like a thunderclap and pulled out his sword like a streak of lightning. 'It is me *Hazret-i Şerif Gazi* and Sarı Saltuk-i Rumi', he said and slaughtered four of them. The others run away. He further cried out: 'I came here from Rum to kill you all, o you damned infidels!'[202]

After his adventures in India, Sarı Saltuk heads towards Turkistan, the greatest of all countries in the world.

[200] *Samiri* is a person who worships a calf.
[201] Turkish religion is used to refer to Islam.

CHAPTER III

SEARCH FOR ANCESTORS:

REPRESENTATION OF THE TURCO-MUSLIM WORLD

He (Sarı Saltuk) arrived at *Sindbat*. This *Sind* was composed of three kingdoms. One of them was called *Sindbar*, the other was *Sindbat* and another was called *Sind*.[203] The people of this country were Muslims. They received Şerif (Sarı Saltuk) with great respect. After Sind, he reached a sacred mountain. He asked: 'What is this mountain?' They replied: 'Beyond this mountain lies *Türkistan*.' He further questioned: 'Where is *Hıtay*[204]?' 'It starts from the shore of the sea beyond India and ends in *Taberistan*[205]. It is dry (the climate) and the other side of the sea is India', they replied. Further there is *Türkistan*. Next to *Taber* stands *Hıtay*. Further above there is *Haver*[206] (?) from where the sun rises. Below *Hıtay* on the coast of the sea are situated *Çin* and *Maçin*.[207] Beyond, starting from the direction of *Taber* until here, is located *Kaşgar*.[208] Below there is *Sistan*[209] and on the upper eastern side of

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[202] Ibid., pp.335-336.

[203]Here, Sindbat refers to Sind. According to *Hudud al-Alam*, the boundaries of Sind are defined as follows: east of it is the river of Mihran (Indus river); west of it, the region of Kirman; north of it is a desert adjacent to the marches of Khorasan. The geographical definition of Sind as such is consistent with the *Saltukname*'s where Sarı Saltuk passed through Sind to reach Turkistan on his way back from India. *Hudud al-Alam* states that the people of this country are all Muslims, which is also the case in the *Saltukname*. *Hudud al-Alam: "The Regions of the World": A Persian Geography 372 A.H.-982 A.D*, translated and explained by V. Minorsky with the preface by V.V. Barthold, (London: Luzac, 1970), pp.122-123.

[204] Hıtay refers to the area in Northern China and some parts of Mongolia. *Hudud al-Alam*, p. 282.

[205]It is hard to understand to what the *Saltukname* refers here by Taberistan; since Taberistan or Taber is in Khorasan region. *Hudud al-Alam* describes it as a prosperous and large division of the country of Daylaman, which is in the northwest of Khorasan region and on the south shores of the Caspian Sea. Khorasan in return is one of the most important centers of medieval Muslim world, which is situated according to *Hudud al-Alam*, near the center of the Inhabited Lands of the world. Khorasan is also described as the gate to Turkistan. However, Taberistan as it is defined by the *Saltukname* refers to some area beyond India further in the direction of China. Ibid., pp. 102, 134.

[206] While Haver means east. It is difficult to assume what the *Saltukname* exactly refers to by this term.

[207] Çin is China and Maçin refers to the sounthern part of China.

[208] Kashgar is in today Xinjiang Uyghur region. *Hudud al-Alam* describes it as a part of *Chinistan*, situated on the frontier between the Yaghma, Tibet, the Khirkhiz, and China. Yaghma in return is described as adjacent to Toghuzghuz country, "the largest of the Turkish countries" and from where all the kings of Turkistan originally are. *Hudud al-Alam*, pp. 94-96.

> *Sistan* there is *Türkistan*. It is a magnificent country. Further than Turkistan there are *Uygur* and *Kata*.[210] When you arrive in *Haver*, underneath *Haver* there are *Rus* and *Sencab*[211] and they are both *Rumis*.[212]

The second volume of the *Saltukname* starts with the description of the countries in Central Asia stretching as far as China. The hierarchy of states depicted in the *Saltukname* places Turkistan at the top, the greatest among all others. Although a non-Muslim country, Turkistan is followed by Hıtay towards which Sarı Saltuk does not hide his curiosity and which will eventually convert to Islam, given the potential that Sarı Saltuk had previously discerned.

As will be shown, the magnitude of a state is attributed, within the *Saltukname*'s rationale, to several reasons: The number of viziers and soldiers it has, the number of days it takes to travel across the country and the number of its gates of entrance. The same pattern of description may be applied to more or less all the states in the Turco-Muslim world and their eastern neighbors mentioned in this part of the *Saltukname*.[213] It should be noted that in contrast to the representation of the

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[209] Sistan is a province in the southern marches of Khorasan with the capital Zarang. *Hudud al-Alam*, p.24. It is a region in today's southeastern Iran and southwestern Afghanistan.

[210] Here, Kata possibly refers to Qitay (Hıtay) or Khita (Hata) which stands for the Northern part of China. See above, n.2.

[211] Sencab may be referring to the *Sindjabi*, which is a Kurdish tribe of Persia playing an important role in the inter-tribal relations on account of its royalty to Persia and its defense of its frontiers, confronting in particular the Ottomans. *EI²*, vol. IX, s.v. "Sindjabi", pp.641-643.

[212] The word "Rumi" is used to refer to the Christian Rus, and Sencab which seem to be both "infidel" from the viewpoint of the *Saltukname* and perhaps this is why they are called "Rumi". Another possibility is that the *Saltukname* stresses their geographical location being more in the west vis-à-vis other countries mentioned in the passage above. "Sindbat diyarına gitdi. Bu Sind üç padişahlık yir idi, birine dahı Sindbar ve birine Sindbat dirlerdi ve birisine Sind dirlerdi, Müslüman idi. Şerife bu diyar halkı karşu gelüp izzet itdiler. Andan geçüp bir ulu tağa yitişdi. Sordı kim: 'Bu tağ nedür?' didi. Eyitdiler: 'Bu tağdan öte Türkistan'dur.' Didiler. Şerif eyitdi: 'Hıtay ne yanadur?' Eyitdiler: 'Bu Hindistan ardında olan denizün ucı varup Taberistan'da hatm olur. Kurudur. Denizün berisü Hindistan'dur.' Ötesi Türkistan'sur dahı Taber yanında Hıtay'dur, yukarusınadur ve andan yukarı gün doğduğı yir Haver'dür ve bu Hıtay'dan aşağı denizün kenarında Çin ve Maçin'dür ve berüsi Taber'iün bu canibine bize ulaşuk Kaşgar'dur. Andan aşağa Sistan ve bu Sistan'un yukarı gün doğusı tarafı Türkistan mülki kendüdür. O da muazzam ildür. Andan öte Uygur ve Kata'dur. Haver'e varınca Haver'den aşağa Rus ve Sencab'dur kim Rumilerdür." *Saltukname*, vol. I, pp.383-384.

[213] Similar descriptions can also be observed in *Hudud al-Alam*. For instance, the capital of Sistan, Zarang was described with a certain degree of admiration for its elaborated water system, where even

infidel countries neighboring the lands of Rum or the infidels of the far away 'unilluminated' lands [i.e., Ethiopia and India], some non-Muslim countries like Hıtay command Sarı Saltuk's admiration or at least his respect.

> As he (Sarı Saltuk) reached the country of Hıtay, he traveled for seventy nine days and reached a magnificent city whose reign was called *Missak*. As he arrived he settled in a khan. He was informed that the sultan of Hıtay was such a mighty ruler that he had three hundred sixty viziers in his *divan*[214] where the leading men would meet (*sahib-i erkan oturırdı*). If they marched for a year, day and night, his territory would only then be crossed over. Everyday three thousand *nafes*[215] of deer were brought to his *divan*. And he resided in a castle looking like a high minaret. Seven thousand begs and the sons of these begs were under his service (*el bağlayup divan olmuştı*) and stood with great respect (in his presence).[216]

The praise of *Hıtay* becomes meaningful when one thinks of the image of China in medieval Arab texts where "the Chinese were regarded as perhaps the most consummately civilized of all peoples."[217] The passage is followed by Sarı Saltuk's attendance at the *divan* where eighteen ambassadors were gathered:

> First, the great ambassador of Turkistan came in. When Şerif saw this he asked someone: 'Why is he to be venerated (*tazim*) first?' That person replied: 'There is no greater ambassador than him. His sovereign is the (most) magnificent sultan. If he were not here we would have marched against the Muslims (*Muhammediler*[218]) and destroyed them all. He is so powerful that we cannot move.' He continued: 'And below us (Hıtay) there is the sultan of *Çin* (China). The ambassador that comes below his is the ambassador of *Kaşgar*, in the direction of *Hind* (India). Another is (the ambassador of) *Hoten*[219] and another is *Maçin*. Another one is *Bercan* and another is Taber. These are all Muslims. Next, there are the ambassadors of the *Nasranis* (Christians). They are eleven. One is from *Oğuz*[220], another from *Uygur*, one is from *Kıta*, and one is from *Haver*. Another one is

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in the houses there was running water. The city had five gates while its suburb surrounded by walls had thirteen gates of entrance. *Huhud al-Alam*, p.110.

[214] The council of administration.

[215] *Nafe* is the piece of the skin of an animal below the ventral area.

[216] *Saltukname*, vol.II, p.2.

[217] Aziz Al-Azmeh, "Barbarians in Arab Eyes", *Past and Present*, No: 134, (February, 1992), p.7.

[218] Note that infidels always refer to Muslims as *Muhammedis*.

[219] *Hoten or Khotan*, an important station on the southern route of the Silk Road located in the southwest of Kaşgar.

[220] Although the *Oğuz* are referred as *Nasranis* here, later in the text they will be referred as the ancestors of the Ottomans.

> from *Rus*. One is from *Apursupur* (*Avrupa*-Europe), one is from *Cesar*, and another one is from *Sincab*. One is from *Leh*, another from *Çeh* and yet another is from *Üngürus*.' Şerif asked: 'Why is this ruler of Turkistan greater than you?' That person replied: 'The sovereign of that country has four hundred forty four viziers in his *Divan*. There are ten thousand *alem-keşi* begs. And there are one hundred twenty times one hundred thousand *sipahi*s in the army.' Şerif thanked God and said: The mighty God has created a magnificent (*ulu*) rival for this magnificent headstrong (*ser-keş*) infidel.[221]

A detailed analysis of Sarı Saltuk's model of the world within its historical context seems to be beyond the reach of this study. However, some ideas about the way he envisioned the world, especially his Turco-Muslim contemporaries to whom a greater role is attached throughout the text, can be obtained with a general understanding of the fifteenth century political context where many contacts took place between the Ottomans and other Turco-Muslim states.

The Ottomans and the Turco-Muslim World in the Fifteenth Century: An Overview

The fifteenth century was marked by an increasing interest amongst the Ottoman educated elite in the historical origins of the Turkic peoples and a certain curiosity about the cultural products of other contemporaneous Turco-Muslim polities.[222] Some scholars have argued that this early interest among the Ottomans in their Turco-nomadic heritage came after the conquest of Istanbul. The adoption of an ancient capital of international prestige confirmed the empire's new status as a major world power. The growing strength and importance of the Empire and pride in its imperial character hence awakened a romantic interest in the Ottoman origins and

[221] *Saltukname*, vol. II, pp.2-3.
[222] Eleazar Birnbaum, "The Ottomans and Chagatay Literature: An Early 16th Century Manuscript of Nava'i's Divan in Ottoman Orthography", *Central Asiatic Journal*, v.20, (1976), p.158.

encouraged a search for ancestors worthy of themselves.[223] In fact, however the Ottomans' concern with their Central Asian roots had been present even earlier and can be traced back to Timur's invasion of Anatolia at the beginning of the fifteenth century. This development had a great impact on the emergence of a new historical consciousness among the Ottomans, who felt the need to represent themselves in a new fashion in order to escape their status of vassalage. It will be convenient for the premises of this chapter to first draw the political framework of the post-Chingiz Hanid order and to try to set examples from the *Saltukname* in that context.

After the collapse of the Mongol Empire in the mid-fourteenth century, the political life of the greater part of the Islamic world was characterized by the struggle between various successor states, the majority of which had Turkic nomadic background. The fifteenth century was marked by the efforts of those states to create a political ideology that could counter the Mongol universalistic ideology and prove their superiority to the others. After the dissolution of the Ilkhanid State in the mid-fourteenth century, another steppe tradition that increasingly came to rival Chingiz Hanid ideology was that of the Oğuz Turks, held by such Turcoman tribal confederations as the Karakoyunlu and the Akkoyunlu.[224]

Among the post-Chingizid states, the Ottomans had the weakest claims to political legitimacy from the standpoint of both Islamic and nomadic political traditions. The Timurids for instance claimed universal dispensation through their Chingizid lineage, whereas the Safavids based their claims on their being *seyyids*, descendants of the Prophet. The Ottomans attempted to emphasize both Islamic and

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[223] Birnbaum, p.159.
[224] Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600)*, (Princeton University Press, 1986), p.273.

nomadic political traditions by invoking prestige accorded to *gaza* warfare against non-Muslims, and by claiming Oğuz descent.[225]

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the "legitimacy deficit" that the Ottomans felt they still played a significant role in shaping state policies. The desire to draw the support of the Turcoman elements on the Ottoman borders found its outspoken expression in the *Saltukname*, the very departure point of the present study. The target audience of Cem's political campaign to accede the throne aftermath of Mehmed II's controversial centralizing policies, was all the discontented groups, the larger part of which was composed of the Turcomans.

A Shared Lineage: Oğuz

The Ottomans were not the only ones to invoke Oğuz genealogies for drawing support from the Oğuz Turcoman tribes in Anatolia, in Iraq, in Syria and in Iran. Likewise, in order to form the basis for a universal appeal with nomadic legitimizing principles, other competing Turkish dynasties also sought affiliations with the Oğuz descent, among which the Karaman and the Akkoyunlu may be cited as examples.[226]

As early as 1077, Kaşgarlı Mahmud pointed to the Oğuz tribe of Kınık to which, he argued, his present sultans also belonged, referring to the Seljuks.[227] The Ottomans in return, took on this legacy and claimed to be the successors of the

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[225] For a general reading on Ottoman claims for legitimacy and discussions about Ottoman genealogy see Barbara Flemming, "Political Genealogies in the Sixteenth Century", *Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 7-8 (1988), pp.123-137; Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600)*, (Princeton University Press, 1986); Colin Imber, "The Ottoman Dynastic Myth", *Studies in Ottoman History and Law*, (Istanbul: ISIS, 1996).

[226] Barbara Flemming, "Political Genealogies in the Sixteenth Century", *Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 7-8 (1988), pp.123-127.

[227] Robert Dankoff, *Mahmud al-Kasgari, Compendium of the Turkish Dialects (Divan-ı Lügat at-Türk)*, vol.I, (Harvard Printing Office, 1982), p.82; cf. Flemming, p. 124.

Seljuks of Rum.[228] The prophecies of the worthy ancestors, of Korkut Ata and Oğuz became a way for the expanding Ottomans to assign justification to their struggle especially against other Muslims.[229]

The following passage in Yazıcıoğlu Ali's *Tevarih-i Al-i Selçuk* presented to Murad II in 1423 may be a good example showing the Ottomans' need for drawing continuity with the House of Selçuk in order to justify their rule vis-à-vis Timur's:

> After his father, Kayı was Khanlar Khanı for a long time. And according to this custom the greatest padishah... Sultan Murad Khan who is the most suitable and the most worthy of sovereignty of all the remaining clans (*uruk*) of the Oghuz Khans, yes even of the clan of the Djingizid Khans, he is the highest in origin and "bone" (ancestry). Therefore it is fitting by holy law as by customary law that not only Turkish khans but also Tatar khans come to his Porte to salute and to serve him.[230]

The efforts to draw affiliation with the Seljuks of Rum and with the Oğuz descent can also be observed in the *Saltukname*:

> At that time, the sons of Süleyman Şah fleeing from the *Cengis* (Chinghizids) came from Horasan to Rum. They were three brothers and they were called the boys of Ben-i İshak. They were the descendants of *Ays*, the son of Prophet İshak –peace be upon Him-. On their way to Rum, their ancestors who were from Bayezid Han's and Korkut Ata's descent, kept being drowned (*gark olub tururdı*) in the Euphrates. One of these boys was Baysunkur Tekin. He drove back to Acem and became the ruler of Merv and Mahan in Horasan. The other boy was called Gündüz. He arrived to the plain of Erzincan and resided there. Then, the sultan gave his son Ömer Erzingan and Hamid –which constitute the province of Diyar-ı Bekir-. The name of the third –who is the brother of these two-, was Ertuğrul. He descended to Rum and sent his son Saruhan and an envoy composed of the leading Turkish *beg*s to the sultan requesting the *Sürmeli-çukurı*[231] to be handed to him as both *kışlak* and *yazlak*.[232]

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[228] Fleischer, p. 288.
[229] Flemming, p. 126.
[230] Yazıdjıoghlu Ali, *Tevarih-i al-i Seldjuk*, Leiden University Library, Cod. 419 Warn., fol.19b; cf. Flemming, pp.125-126.
[231] Sürmeli-çukurı refers to the plain area of Iğdır.
[232] Kışlak is a sheltered place where nomads and their flocks go during winter and yazlak refers to mountain pastures used in the summer. *Saltukname*, vol.II, p.108.

For comparative purposes it will be useful to look at the way other contemporary sources made use of the *Oğuz* descent in order to make better sense of the passage above. A piece from the *Oğuzname* was found attached to Yazıcıoğlu's history where Süleyman Şah was also mentioned along with other members of the Oğuz tribe: Bayındır Han, Dede Korkut and Salur Kazan.[233] Aşıkpaşazade omits Dede Korkut and Gündüz while listing the names of the lineage of the House of Osman. Accordingly, Osman was the son of Ertuğrul son of Süleyman Şah whose genealogy originated from the Prophet Noah (*Nuh*) who had a son named *Maçin*, the father of *Çin* and a number of other ancestors between him and back to Süleyman Şah.[234]

The arrival of the Turcomans and the Tatars under Süleyman Şah to Anatolia (Rum) is related in a similar fashion in the *Saltukname*. Arriving from *Acem* the Turcoman tribes under Süleyman Şah came to settle in Sürmelü Çukurı. Süleyman had three sons, Ertoğrul, Sunkur Tigin (Baysunkur Tekin in the *Saltukname*) and Gündüz. After a while, the brothers of Ertoğrul decided to go back to their homeland (*asıl vatanlarına gitdiler*) whereas Ertoğrul remained in Sürmelü Çukurı with 400 tents, took shelter in winter camp (*kışlak*) in the winter and went to summer camp (*yazlak*) during the summer. This situation lasted until Ertoğrul started to undertake raids against Rum on behalf of the Seljukid sultan Ala'ad-din.[235]

In the fifteenth century there was a discussion among the Ottoman genealogists concerning the parentage of Ertuğrul. While one party argued that Süleyman was the father of Ertuğrul, the other party acknowledged Gündüz as his father. The discussion came to an end in the sixteenth century with the recognition of

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[233] Orhan Şaik Gökyay, *Dede Korkut*, (Istanbul: 1938), pp.121-124.
[234] This may be also why the *Saltukname* assigns a significant role to Maçin, Çin and Hıtay in its account of Central Asia. Aşıkpaşazade, p. 321.
[235] Ibid., pp. 321-323.

Süleyman Şah as Ertuğrul's father.[236] The discussion must have had its impact on the *Saltukname* as well as Aşıkpaşazade's account and a middle way was found to include Gündüz within the Ottoman genealogy.

Timur: A respected enemy

Timur's invasion of Anatolia played an important role in bringing Ottomans into closer contact with their own past. Whereas the Ottomans had to accept Timur's suzerainty aftermath of 1402, they also tried to represent themselves as equals of the Timurid state. By tracing their lineage to the prestigious Oğuz tribe, they tried not only to escape from their status as a vassal but also to claim supremacy over the Anatolian principalities.[237] The search for ancestors who would be esteemed by their Turco-muslim rivals brought with it closer contacts with Central Asia. This was perhaps also why the *Saltukname* as opposed to its portrayal of Timur's Chinghizid forefathers attributed considerable respect to Timur throughout the text.

The Timurid invasion of Anatolia, although often conceived as a break-up between the Ottomans and their Turco-Muslim counterparts, had many cultural consequences that brought the two geographies into closer contact. In addition to the exchange of scholars, further evidence for cultural exchange comes from the field of literature. To give an example, the manuscript of Ahmed-i Dai's Turkish *Divan*, who served as tutor to Mehmed I' son, prince Murad, later Murad II, includes one piece in Chagatai: a seven verse gazel, whose orthography is in the Ottoman tradition, as

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[236] Flemming, p.129.
[237] Halil İnalcık, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography", *Historians of the Middle East*, eds. B. Lewis and P.M. Holt, (London:1962), pp.155-156.

distinct from the Central Asian one.[238] Another instance of such contact can be documented between Timur and the Anatolian poet Ahmedi, the author of a world history in verse entitled *İskendername*. The discovery of a Chagatai version of Ahmedi's work has led some scholars to think that Ahmedi had composed this version himself to present it to Timur.[239]

From a broader perspective, the educated Ottomans were well aware of the Timurid influence that played an important role in the development of Ottoman culture. In this respect, the sixteenth century Ottoman historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600) may constitute an example concerning the Ottoman respect for Timurid courts and courtly traditions. Mustafa Ali referred to the Timurid court of Husayn Bayqara as a model of cultural sophistication and political wisdom.[240]

The *Saltukname* gives a number of examples concerning contacts with other Turco-Muslim states, often with a religious make-up. The following passage illustrates Sarı Saltuk's, collaboration with the Chaghatai and the Ghurids against the enemies of Islam, the Chingizids:

> The sultan of Maçin received Sarı Saltuk with great respect; offered him Godsent blessings (*nimet*). They ate and drank together. Then, the sultan said to him: 'Hey Server! On one of our sides –which is the direction of *Acem* (Iran) - there are a number of peoples (*taife*). Among those there are what they call *Gûr*[241] and *Gûrça*. There is another one that they call *Çağatay* (Chagatai), and another one they call *Cengis*. This *Gûr* is Muslim. *Gûrça* is infidel. *Çağatay* is Muslim and *Cengis* is infidel. This *Cengis* allied with both *Gûr* and *Gûrça*.

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[238] Osman Sertkaya, *Osmanlı Şairlerinin Çağatayca Şiirleri*, v.II, (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1971), pp. 3-4.

[239] Eleazar Birnbaum, "The Ottomans and Chagatay Literature: An Early 16th Century Manuscript of Nava'i's Divan in Otoman Orthography", *Central Asiatic Journal*, v.20, (1976), p. 162.

[240] Fleischer, p.276. For more on the artistic and cultural achievements of the Timurid courts see, *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, eds. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny, (Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1992); Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, c1989).

[241] The Ghurids were a Sunni Muslim dynasty in Khorasan. The Ghurid state that flourished between 1148-1215 was named after Ghur mountains in Afghanistan between Herat and Ghazni and stretched over a vast area including modern Iran and Afghanistan, parts of South Asia (India and Pakistan) and parts of Turkistan. *EI²*, vol.II, s.v. "Ghurids", pp.1099-1104.

> They attacked *Çağatay* and defeated them (*sıdılar*). They (*Çağatay*) run away from them and took refuge in *Gûr*. The *Gûris* –they are Tatars- went back and fought. They were again defeated and fled. They are on their way to here.' Şerif responded: 'Let's mount and join them to help the Muslims!'[242]

When the rulers of Çağatay and Gur hear about the coming of Sarı Saltuk, they both go to meet him and kiss his hands. Sarı Saltuk then says to the *Melik* of Çağatay: "These *Cengisi*s are all enemies of Islam. They wiped out the *Halife-i Abbassiyye* (Abbasid Caliphate). They are all malicious (*hain*)."[243] Accordingly, an alliance is established under the leadership of Sarı Saltuk between "the Sunni states of *Harizmi* (Khwarezm), *Kabil*[244] and *Kandehar*[245]" and the Chingizids are defeated.[246]

The *Saltukname*'s depiction of Timur may be a good example of the awareness concerning the early contacts that had existed even before Timur's invasion of Anatolia. Timur is described not just as a plunderer who destroyed everything on his way to Anatolia; but on the contrary as a brave warrior who reacted against injustice and oppression. As a result, a long list of the cities destroyed by Timur is followed by explanations for the atrocities he has committed[247]:

> Now that Timurleng came from the *Çağatay* soil where there are the cities called *Buhara* (Bukhara) and *Semerkand* (Samarkand), he destroyed *Kırım* (Crimea). The storytellers (*raviler*) relate that the reason for this was that they [i.e. the Crimeans] had begun to be known for not giving *zekat* and *sadaka*.[248] And they became faithless (*emn ü emansuz*)[249] and abolished the cooperation of Islamic regulations (*ittifak-ı şer*) between them. Due to deception (*hile*) and slander (*iftira*), lies inside them became many. The Tatars would irritate everyone without minding anything. Timur undoubtedly must

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[242] *Saltukname*, vol.II, p.11.
[243] *Saltukname*, vol.II, p.12.
[244] Today in Afghanistan.
[245] Kandahar is a region in today southern Afghanistan.
[246] Ibid., pp.12-13.
[247] While Sarı Saltuk is argued to live in the thirteenth century, the time period covered by the *Saltukname* extends over the fifteenth century. According to the *Saltukname*, Sarı Saltuk was able to witness the rule of Orhan *Beg*, at latest. Although Sarı Saltuk does not encounter Timur in person, there are many digressions where Sarı Saltuk's prophecies about Timur are justified.
[248] Zekat and sadaka are two Islamic terms. The former refers to the distribution of one fortieth of one's income as alms and the second is anything given freely to a poor person, alms.
[249] *Emn ü eman* means to be safe from fears, to believe, to procure the safety of others. The concept of faith in Islam (*iman*) is related to this word, as one feels safe and becomes fearless with the faith in God. *Emn ü emansuz* refers to one who does not have *emn ü eman.*

> have heard about all this and slaughtered them all by saying: 'They are all tyrants. It is a binding duty (*farz*) for me to stop (*sekitmek*) them all. He committed massacres and destroyed all *Kırım*. Then he destroyed *Sivas*, because there they would slaughter young lambs and in winter butcher pregnant cows to make *pastırma*. He called these atrocity (*zulümdür diyü*) and killed them all and said: 'I brought you God's ferocity because of your deeds. I have no words to say to the oppressed.' And he also demolished *Erzenü'r-Rum* (Erzurum). Their wickedness was that some people would sell the goods inferior to their fixed price (*narhı eksiğine satarlardı*) by bribing those in charge of the shops, the balance, the *kile*[250] and the bazaar. Treacherous, wicked liars and pitiless they were. Timur slaughtered them and he even killed the little boys (*oğlancuklar*) in their cradles. Some people say that in *Sivas* and *Erzenü'r-Rum* there was one more cruelty on account of which God Almighty caused him (Timur) to destroy all the people. That atrocity was that all the cats and dogs when they gave birth would be abandoned in the streets. These cats and little dogs (*kelpcüğezler*) after crying and crying would draw their last breath. In fact, Timur was serving the cause of justice. 'I will never leave the least oppression unreturned', he always said. He was such a stern (*yavuz*) man that whenever he sent a letter to a ruler and this ruler did not pay respect to and act upon (his letter), he would march against and fight with him.[251]

The *Saltukname*'s negative portrayal of the Tatars in the passage above is not surprising as will be discussed soon. However, even agreeing on what Timur did to his brothers in Sivas and Erzenü'r-Rum is worth underlining. However, indirectly, the *Saltukname* criticizes the injustice that prevailed in Anatolia prior to Timur's invasion of Anatolia. This should perhaps be explained in terms of the political conjuncture of Bayezid I's reign. The period is often identified with the rise of orthodox Islam and of classical Islamic culture, aided by an intensified policy of centralization in the Ottoman lands.[252] It should not be coincidental that all these somehow led to what the *Saltukname* regarded as injustice, especially when one thinks of the political motives behind Cem's request for the compilation of the text.

In describing the conflict between Timur and Yıldırım Bayezid the *Saltukname* attributes the defeat of Bayezid I to Timur with the betrayal of the

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[250] Kile is a measure equal to forty litres.
[251] *Saltukname*, vol.I, pp.157-158.

Tatars. Accordingly, Bayezid had greatly depended on the Tatars who in return abandoned him in the battlefield. Subsequently, Yıldırım moved forward leaving his army behind and got killed. After some time, Süleyman Şah, the son of Bayezid, crossed to Anatolia (from Edirne?) and defeated Timur. Timur, injured, fled to the land of *Acem* and died in Semerkand. The *Saltukname* further claims that "all this is well-known in the Ottoman historical records (*Tevarih-i Osman'da malumdur*)."[253] Let us now look at those for comparison.

The *Saltukname*'s version of the incidents prior to and after Timur's invasion of Anatolia share many elements in common with Aşıkpaşazade's history, although within a different arrangement. First of all, the moderate attitude of Timur towards Bayezid as described in Aşıkpaşazade's account needs closer attention. According to Aşıkpaşazade, the upcoming conflict between Timur and Yıldırım was the result of the provocative actions of some of the Anatolian *beg*s who fled from Bayezid and took refuge in Timur's court. These *beg*s were Taharten[254], the rulers of Germiyanoğlu, Aydınoğlu and Menteşeoğlu and the ambassador of İsfendiyar (the principality of Candaroğlu or İsfendiyaroğlu) who presented Timur their complaints about Yıldırım Bayezid. Timur's response to their claims was as follows:

> Hey *beg*s! Now this *Yıldurum Han* is a gazi sultan. You say that you have not done anything wrong. The sultans do not harm anyone for no reason. And the reasons are many. One might be that they request money from you. Or your services might be demanded. Another option could be that you might have to provide them with soldiers for gaza. In the case that these demands shall not be fulfilled it is custom that they will harm you. Besides, how can I know if you are telling me the truth or not? If you are truthful, such comportments are not proper to any ruler. And if you are lying, it is not proper for you to slander against rulers. First, I will send an envoy to understand the situation of this ruler and see his response.[255]

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[252] Halil Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600*, (London: Phoenix Pres, 2000), p.188.
[253] Ibid., pp. 158-159.
[254] Taharten is the governor of Erzincan.
[255] Aşıkpaşazade, *Osmanoğullarının Tarihi*, (Istanbul: K Kitaplığı, 2003), p.408.

Yıldırım Bayezid received Timur's envoy; but did not pay any compliment to the gifts or to his letter. Then he started to get prepared for the battle. Aşıkpaşazade further recounts Timur's invasion of Sivas just as it is related in the *Saltukname*. Although some other sources also mention about Timur's crossing through Erzurum before reaching Sivas[256], Aşıkpaşazade omits this incident.

The treason of the Tatars during the battle of Ankara (1402) is also mentioned in Aşıkpaşazade's account:

> The Tatars turned into traitors. They passed to the side of their *beg* Tahartan. And the soldiers of *Germiyan* also became treacherous. They went to the side of *Germiyanoglı*. In short, the soldiers of each province turned back to fight with their own ruler. They became traitors, since all of their *beg*s took side with Temür.[257]

Aşıkpaşazade also notes that Yıldırım Bayezid was abandoned even by his own sons and remained in the battlefield with his Janissary army. However, "he drove his horse and moved forward leaving his subjects behind." As a result, Bayezid did not get killed as the *Saltukname* had recorded but this was how he was taken prisoner.[258]

The *Saltukname*'s version of the incidents following the Battle of Ankara is quite different when compared to Aşıkpaşazade's account and did not seem to comply with other historical records either. It rather reflects the *Saltukname*'s tendency for a constant denial of defeat while formulating Ottoman fairytale-like gazi past full of achievements.

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[256] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol.I, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003), p.303.
[257] Aşıkpaşazade, p. 411.

Sarı Saltuk versus *Acem*

In the *Saltukname*, the criticisms about injustice and misconduct as shown are not confined to the *kafirs* and become even harder when directed against the Muslims. The following example is about a blinded Arab sheikh (*şeyh*) from *Maşrık*[259] who comes to visit Sarı Saltuk with a long list of the evil acts committed by the sovereigns of Iran and Umman (Oman). He tells him about the way they oppress people and deviate from the Islamic rules, overwhelmed by intoxication and adultery. He further tells him that his eyes were blinded with red-hot iron rod after he had warned them about their wicked actions. Sarı Saltuk saddened (*melul*), decrees: "Get ready without delay. I am going to the East. Wherever the Islamic rules are not obeyed, the people of this country must be destroyed. Whichever sultan is corrupted, even if he is powerful, it is the main concern and the binding duty for all the believers (of Islam) to correct him."[260]

Not only the *Saltukname* criticizes some parts of the Muslim world for being immoral; moreover, it also asserts that Rum is superior to the East in which evil is embedded and lays this claim on a solid ground: Prophet Muhammed:

> Şerif (Sarı Saltuk) said: Muslims! It is from the lands of *Acem* and *Babil* that come all wickedness and oppression and from *Arab* that came all the prophets. Until the Apocalypse it will be from *Acem* that all the malicious will keep coming. They are not auspicious people. Besides, our venerable Prophet damned the East (*şarka beddua itmişdür*). This Rum is a harmonious people (*sulh taifedür*), they are loyal.[261]

The *Saltukname*'s division of the world into East and West with a preference of the latter should come as no surprise when one thinks of the political setting

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[258] Aşıkpaşazade, p.411.
[259] Maşrık denotes the place from where sun rises. Also, it is often used to refer to the area including southern Iran, parts of Pakistan and India.
[260] *Saltukname*, vol.III, pp.1-2.

behind the text and must rather be attributed to the need for justification for the Ottoman advance towards the West which in return seems to be consistent with the emphasis put on gaza activity throughout the text and the urge for further conquests in a period where most of the gazis had lost their primary status at the expense of the centralist policies.

The use of the Prophet as a point of validation may also derive from the need for religious legitimacy which was lacking on the part of the Ottomans when compared to the Safavids who claimed a direct lineage with the Prophet Muhammed. The Safavids traced their descent to the seventh of the Twelver Imams, Musa al-Kazim and in doing so drew the lineage of the Şah of Persia to Ali b. Abi Talib and Fatima, the Prophet's daughter.[262]

Turning back to the *Saltukname*, the most evil country of the "inauspicious East" is, not surprisingly, *Acem* (Iran), the center of sectarian divisions and all sorts of wickedness. However, the negative portrayal of *Acem* and the depiction of Sarı Saltuk as a Sunnite militant fighting against it are matters that must be examined within the sixteenth century Ottoman context rather than the fifteenth, since the fifteenth century was too early for such definitions to have established usages and instead constitute the subject of the following century.[263] Bearing in mind that the oldest copy of the *Saltukname* at hand was made in 1576 in Edirne,[264] one might conceivably attribute these anachronisms to the late sixteenth century copyists. I shall now look at the sixteenth century Ottoman context that might have inspired the copyists of the text.

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[261] *Saltukname*, vol.I, p.181.
[262] Flemming, p. 131.
[263] See also Irène Mélikoff, "Qui etait Sarı Saltuk? Quelques Remarques sur les Manuscrits du Saltukname", *De l'Epopée au Mythe*, (Istanbul: ISIS, 1995), pp.57-63.
[264]Kemal Yüce, *Saltukname'de Tarihi, Dini ve Efsanevi Unsurlar*, (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1987), pp. 7-8. Also, the most complete copy which is also used for the present study is the

When the Ottoman Empire reached its territorial limits in the mid-sixteenth century a new sense of self-identity emerged. As opposed to their earlier universalism that made use of different legacies and which was more suited to an expanding empire, Ottomans had started to define themselves as an Orthodox Islamic society. By adopting the Sunnite sect as the official state's religion, the Ottomans also rendered the non-Sunnite beliefs heretical. The Turcomans already discontented by the centralist policies were now declared as heretics and were subject to further oppression.

From a closer perspective, the Kızılbaş[265] movement and its ties with Iran may be one of the reasons for the hatred towards Iran that was expressed in the *Saltukname*. The rebellion that broke in 1511 under the command of one of Şah Ismail's followers, Şah Kulu shook Ottoman rule in Anatolia to its foundations. Although Selim I repressed the rebellion and defeated Şah Ismail in Çaldıran in 1514 the tension between the Kızılbaş and the central government as well as between the Safavids and the Ottomans continued throughout the sixteenth century.[266]

The discussions about the sectarian divisions in the *Saltukname* center around the *Rafizis* whose seat is in *Acem*. The *Haricis* are another group to be mentioned separately from the Sunnites and thus as heretics.[267] The founder of the *Rafizis* is

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copy in the Topkapı Palace Treasury Library and dates back to1591. See, Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu II*, (Istanbul, 1961), p. 294.

[265] Starting from the late fifteenth century, the Turcomans in the East who came under the influence of an extreme Shiite sect of Safiyy al-Din of Ardabil (1252-1334) -the ancestor of the Safavid dynasty- became known as Kızılbaş (red head) from the red head-dress which they wore. Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600*, (London: Phoenix Pres, 2000), pp.194-195

[266] Ibid., pp.194-197.

[267] *Rafizi* was initially referred to those who did not recognize Ebubekir and Ömer as caliphs. In later periods the term began to be applied by the Ottomans to refer to all the Shiites and especially to the Iranians. Some of the Rafizis identified Ali with God and believed that Ali would be reincarnated one day in order to bring justice to the world. *Harici* is a general term embracing a variety of Islamic sects which, while initially supporting the caliphate of Ali, later rejected him. They first emerged in the late 7th century and are distinct from the Sunnis and Shiites. The origin of the *Haricis* lies in the first Islamic civil war: a struggle for political supremacy over the Muslim community in the years following the death of Muhammed. The third Caliph, Osman, was killed by mutineers in 656, and a struggle for succession ensued between Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of Muhammed, and Muaviye,

Dadgar (sometimes referred to as Dadgir) born of a Jewish (*Cehud*) father in *Mazendaran*[268]: "One day while this wicked bastard was sitting at some place the Devil came to talk to him."[269] When Dadgar asked him who he was he replied: "I am the Prophet *Hızır* –God forbid-. I came to help you. You shall go forward and conquer the world."[270] This was how the evil career of Dadgar had started and how "the *Rafizi*s had become the flesh and blood of the peoples of *Acem*."[271] The following account recounts the malicious actions of the *Rafizi*s, their killing of the people (also the *Haricis*) and their taking-over of many cities; since Dadgar was able to possess anything he wanted by casting spells that the Devil had taught him. This was how "he convinced people to recognize Ali as God –God forbid-." Dadgar even defeated Izzü'd-din, the Seljukid sultan in *Acem* with his rule extending from Horasan to Rum[272] and became the new ruler of *Acem*.

Meanwhile, from the tribe of *Şa'şa'a*, another heretical sultan emerged, Muhsin Tuli the poet, who also made an agreement with the Devil whose sole purpose apparently was to divide the Muslim world into different sects. Tuli claimed himself *mehdi* (prophet) and read out poems in Arabic which made people believe in him.[273] He further conquered Iraq, Egypt, *Şam-ı Şerif* (Damascus) and *Haleb* (Aleppo) and even had the *hutbe* (Friday sermon) read in the names of Muaviye, Mervan and Yezid, son of Muaviye, instead of Ali.

Governor of Damascus and cousin of Osman. In 658, Ali's forces met Muaviye's at the Battle of Sıffin. The conflict came to an end by Muaviye's proposal to go to arbitration which Ali agreed on. The arbitration resulted in the favor of Muaviye and Ali was removed from caliphate. A group turned on both Ali and Muaviye, opposing Muaviye's rebellion against whom they considered to be the rightful caliph, and opposing Ali's subjecting his legitimate authority to arbitration. They became known as *Haricis*. *EI²*, vol. IX, s.v. "Rafizi", p.593 and Ibid., vol. IV, s.v. "Kharidjites", pp.1074-1077.

[268] Mazenderan or Mazandaran is today a province in northern Iran, on the southern coast of the Caspian Sea.

[269] *Saltukname*, vol.I, p.182.

[270] Ibid., p.182.

[271] Ibid., p.183.

[272] Ibid., p.184.

[273] Ibid., p.185.

In the meantime, Izzü'd-din who had fled from Dadgar took refuge in the country of Tatars, the former enemies. When he asked the Tatar sultan where Sarı Saltuk was, this was his reply:

> 'He returned from gaza, he resides in Kefe now. He enjoys the taxes that he has raised from the infidels.' Izzü'ddin further asked: 'Why did not he show up for help?' The sultan of Tatars answered: You hurt his feelings; this is why he did not come.[274]

Izzü'd-din drove his horse to Kefe and made efforts to conciliate Sarı Saltuk who finally agreed to help the Muslims and undertook a number of gazas to eliminate the *Rafizi*s and Tuli, as well as some additional non-Sunnite groups, one of them being the *Haricis*.[275]

Sarı Saltuk's hesitation to aid the Muslims seems to be surprising when one thinks of his priority being their protection throughout the text. The reason for his reluctance is to be found in the *Saltukname*'s portrayal of the Seljuks of Anatolia.

Seljuks of Rum

The early fifteenth century accounts considered Ottoman forefathers as members of the Oğuz tribe who came to Anatolia escaping from the Chingizids and who served the sultan of the Seljuks of Rum, Ala'üd-din, in undertaking gazas against the infidels. The emphasis was put on the Ottomans' Oğuz descent –though the Ottomans were not the only ones to make such claims- in order to draw support of all the Oğuz Turcoman tribes on the one hand and more importantly to render Ottomans legitimate successors of the Seljuks on the other. The aim of the present discussion is to look at the *Saltukname*'s conception of the Seljukid legacy and to try

[274] *Saltukname*, vol.I, p.187.
[275] Ibid., pp. 188-200.

to interpret this legacy in terms of the fifteenth century context where Ottomans were highly concerned about searching for ancestors worthy of themselves.

From a general perspective, the *Saltukname* has a critical view of the Seljuks of Rum. There are many instances where the Seljukid rulers are reproached for not being just sovereigns. Their incompetence is often attributed to their weak position vis-à-vis the viziers who hold the real power and manage to manipulate them in a number of ways.

According to the *Saltukname*, the Caliphate which came to an end following the Chinghizid invasion was replaced by the House of *Al-i Selçuk* with their founding leader Mahmud Sebüktigin.[276]

> At that time, from where the sun rises (the East, *-gün doğısından-*) Çingis Han made a *huruc*[277], undertook attacks and martyred the Caliph. They (the Chingizids) captured Baghdad and arrived at Rum. They marched through Rum, crossed the sea and slaughtered the infidels (*kafirler*-referring to Christians). They returned back and arrived at Rum. The infidels of *Üngürus* caught them up on the way...and slaughtered all of their soldiers. The House of Seljuks (*Selçuk*) has replaced the Caliphate and the first sultan (*evvel sultan*) Mahmud Sebüktigin acceded to throne.[278]

Throughout the text, Sarı Saltuk witnesses the reigns of three Seljukid sultans. The first one is Gıyasü'd-din Keyhüsrev whose rule was most respected by Sarı Saltuk as he sent him some portions of the booty that he had collected from the infidels as an act of recognition of his sovereignty.[279] After Gıyasü'd-din's death the Seljukid throne is succeeded by Izzü'd-din Keykubad (?) whose rule is further taken over by his son Ala'üd-din.

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[276] Two historical figures are incorporated into one, Mahmud Sebüktigin; probably referring to the Ghaznavid ruler Mahmud (r.998-1030), the son of Sebüktigin.
[277] Making *huruc* means coming out, often used to refer to making a political bid. For more, see the second chapter.
[278] *Saltukname*, vol.I, p.2.
[279] *Saltukname,* vol.I, p.42; for friendly relations between Gıyasü'd-din and Sarı Saltuk, pp.14, 16-17.

The *Saltukname* does no more than providing the reader with the names of the rulers and some vague information attached to these names. The same "Gıyaseddin-Izzeddin-Alaeddin" trio in the same order can be found at different periods of the Seljukid reign in Anatolia. Although it is difficult to trace in the *Saltukname* the historical grounds for the reigns of these three rulers, it will be assumed that the trio in question corresponds to the second generation, given the fact that Sarı Saltuk is argued to have participated to the Turcoman resettlement in Dobrudja under the leadership of the son of Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev II, Izzeddin Keykavus II (and not Izzeddin Keykubad) and who had a son named Alaeddin (Alaeddin Siyavuş) who declared his rule in Konya in 1277 with the help of Karamanoğlu Mehmed.[280] In fact, all early Turkish accounts concerning Osman and his father Ertuğrul contained the figure of the Seljukid Sultan Alaeddin, which refers, according to some scholars, to a mythologized version of the real Seljukid Sultan Alaeddin I Keykubad.[281] Alaü'd-din of the *Saltuknanme* is also a symbolical figure within which many different Seljukid rulers are embedded. Given the fact that Ala'üd-din of the *Saltukname* is portrayed as the last Seljukid ruler to whom the leaders of the *beğlik*s paid allegiance, the Alaü'ddin in question may also be referring to Alaeddin Keykubad III who was put to throne by Gazan Han in 1298 and was one of the last Seljukid sultans.[282] In the *Saltukname*, the same Ala'üd-din is said to have engaged in conquests around Antalya and Alanya (*Alaiyye*) so could also stand for Alaeddin Keykubad (d. 1237).[283] These rough assumptions will not at any rate form the basis of the present discussion. However, some historical information is also

[280] Emine Uymaz, "Anadolu Selçuklu Çağı Kronolojisi" in *Cogito: Selçuklular*, vol.29 (Istanbul: 2001), p. 181.
[281] Colin Imber, "The Ottoman Dynastic Myth", *Studies in Ottoman History and Law*, (Istanbul: ISIS, 1996), p.310.
[282] Uymaz, "Anadolu Selçuklu Çağı Kronolojisi", p.182.

needed in order to make sense of the *Saltukname*'s interpretation of the Seljuks of Rum.

To find out where Sarı Saltuk historically stands within this picture one should look at the time of Izzeddin Keykavus II. After the death of Sultan Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev II in 1246, following the Seljukid defeat against the Mongol armies in Kösedağ in 1243, the Seljukid throne was divided between the three sons of the sultan; Izzeddin Keykavus II, Rukneddin Kılıçarslan IV, Alaaddin Keykubad II. Having lost the struggle for the throne to Rukneddin, Izzeddin took refuge in the Byzantine territory where he was received with great respect. After a while, upon Izzeddin's request, the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos granted him some territory in Dobrudja, an unpopulated buffer area between the Tatar state of the Golden Horde, the Bulgarian state and the Byzantine Empire.[284] Many Turcoman tribes from Anatolia were brought to Dobrudja and Sarı Saltuk was said to be one of the leading figures in the process of their resettlement.[285]

Not surprisingly, the *Saltukname* does not mention any of these incidents. In fact, the portrayal of the Seljukids must be examined within the fifteenth century context, rather than the thirteenth. The resentment felt by the gazis as a result of the extensive centralizing policies of Mehmed II is pronounced in the *Saltukname* in the disguise of an imaginary past, of the Seljuks'. Despite the disagreement between Sarı Saltuk and the Seljukid rulers that prevails throughout the narrative and which might even lead to Sarı Saltuk's deportation from Rum, the *Saltukname* always refers to

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[283] Emine Uymaz, "Anadolu Selçuklu Sultanı I. Alaeddin Keykubad Dönemine (1220-1237) Bir Bakış", *Cogito: Selçuklular*, vol.29, (Istanbul: 2001), pp.121-130.

[284] Yazıcızade, v. 376a; Seyyid Lokman, s. 9 vd. ; Georges Pachymères, *De Michalele et Andronico Palaelogis,* trans. Immanuel Bekkerus, (Bonnae, 1835), I, 129 vd. ; Nicephor Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia,* trans. Immanuel Bekkerus, (Bonnae 1829), I, 82; in A. Yaşar Ocak, *Sarı Saltuk: Popüler İslam'ın Balkanlar'daki Efsanevi Öncüsü*, (Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002), pp. 27-29; Machiel Kiel, "The Türbe of Sarı Saltık at Babadag-Dobrudja" in *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*, (Great Britain: Variorum, 1990), p. 207.

[285] A. Yaşar Ocak, pp.27-29; Machiel Kiel, p.207.

them as *Sultan-ı İslam*, sultans of Islam. Sarı Saltuk never ceases to pay them respect but criticizes them for their unjust behavior. It will be useful to look at some examples where the *Saltukname* raises criticisms against the reigns of Izzü'd-din and Alaü'd-din and to try to understand why.

Izzü'd-din and Alaü'd-din

After Gıyasü'd-din's death Izzü'd-din became sultan. He had a vizier called "Affan who was a *rüşvet-hor* (bribe-taker) person and who did not like Şerif. After Gıyasü'd-din's death, this mischief-maker (*münafik*) took on power. He held the whole control of the state and the sultan trusted him. This vizier said to Sultan İzzü'd-din: 'You indulged Şerif to such a great extent that he intends to become a rebel.'"[286] As İzzü'd-din was "an unwary (*gafil*) sultan"[287] he fell for his vizier's words and decreed Sarı Saltuk's banishment from his lands. The resentment between Sarı Saltuk and İzzü'd-din lasted until the sultan asked for his help against the *Rafizis* which Sarı Saltuk accepted half-heartedly.[288] From then on, İzzü'd-din paid great respect to Sarı Saltuk and listened carefully to his advices which elevated him to become a virtuous sovereign.

Following İzzü'd-din's death, the Seljukid throne is succeeded by Alaü'd-din and the hostilities against Sarı Saltuk in the beginning of İzzü'd-din's reign are repeated once more and are again attributed to the same wicked vizier Affan because of whom not only Ala'üd-din sent Sarı Saltuk on exile; but furthermore he also

[286] *Saltukname*, vol.I, p.63.
[287] Ibid., p.89.
[288] Ibid., p.187.

oppressed his own people, confiscated their lands, raised the taxes and turned all his subjects against his rule.[289]

Such examples can be multiplied throughout the text and departing from those what conclusion can be drawn? Did the Seljukid sultans have a negative image in the eyes of the gazis for whom the compilation of the *Saltukname* was partly designed? This assumption does not seem likely; since both Ala'üddin Keykubad (r. 1220-1237) and Izzeddin Keykavus II (d.1279) applied reconciliatory policies with the warrior bands that intended to a rapprochement with the ruling house of the Seljuks of Rum. These two Seljukid figures, "whether through personal qualities or prevailing circumstances, came indeed to be revered by Türkmen tribes and dervishes and to find a respectable place in the historical consciousness of the people of the frontiers."[290] It does not seem coincidental either that these two characters Alaeddin and his grandson İzzeddin were the ones who patronized the cults of Seyyid Battal Gazi and of Melik Danişmend respectively.[291]

The reasons for the negative portrayal of Izzü'ddin and Alaü'ddin hence must be looked for in the fifteenth century Ottoman context itself, rather than in its recollection of the Seljukid past; since as will be shown in more detail in the next chapter the *Saltukname* was compiled upon prince Cem's request to draw support from the resented gazis who were gradually subdued by the centre and lost their former status as mobile warrior bands. Here, both İzzü'd-din and Alaü'ddin serve as the mirror of the Ottoman central government against which the *Saltukname* directs its criticisms about the ongoing transformations in the Ottoman state.

An example to support this argument can be given concerning the dismay caused by Alaü'd-din's assignment of the converts as high-ranking officials which

[289] *Saltukname*, vol.II, pp.46-47.
[290] Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, p.66.

can be also read as the expression of the discontent because of the introduction of the *kul* system which aimed at creating "artificial kinship" under direct command of the sultan which in return weakened the important status once enjoyed by the old families of *uç*.[292]

The following passage is extremely important for it explicitly reflects the discontent caused by the recruitment of the converts into the state machinery at the expense of the Turcomans. After having listed all the corruption caused by the evil acts of the viziers of Alaü'd-din, the passage goes on as follows:

> They (the viziers) were deceitful (*hile-baz*), smooth tongued (*mizac-gir*) and spell-maker (*sihir-baz*) unscrupulous (*haramzade*) people... By addressing the eyes and the heart of the sultan they seized control of inner affairs. They always sowed discord. And the sultan listened to their words, firmly believed in them and relied on them. He came across many incidents where their words proved to be right. The grand vizier said to the sultan: 'my sultan, what is the use of appointing your viziers from the unfamiliar Turkic stock (*yabandan türk neslinden*) and of getting yourself plunged in thought? Assign vizierate to those subjects of yours and let us become your viziers on your right and left sides.'[293]

To conclude, following Timur's invasion of Anatolia the Ottomans, in order to escape from the status of a mere vassal, felt the need to define themselves in a new fashion. This in return gave way to the emergence of a new historical consciousness among the Ottomans that aimed at formulating a past worthy enough to counter Timur's universalistic claims and in so doing led Ottomans to discover continuity with their efforts of restoration after Timur. The Ottoman claims for legitimacy by

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[291] Ibid., p.66.

[292] The establishment of the Janissary army and the initiation of the *kul* system can be traced back to the reign of Murad I (1362-89). According to the *kul* system the slaves who were captured in war or bought by the Sultan were trained with absolute devotion to the Sultan. These kuls were to be entrusted with important military and administrative duties. Their appointment by the Sultan as timar-holders in the provinces brought these areas under direct control of the Sultan and prevented local begs from dominating the empire at the expense of the central government. By the time of Mehmed II, the Sultan's *kul*s had become predominant all over the empire and the old powerful families of the *uc* lost their previous importance to a large extent. Halil İnalcık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", *Stvdia Islamica*, II, (Paris), pp.120-122.

drawing affiliation both with Oğuz lineage and with rule of the Seljuks of Rum can also be observed in the *Saltukname*, although the *Saltukname* has a highly critical view of the latter.

[293] *Saltukname*, vol.III, pp.129-130.

CHAPTER IV

INVOKING GAZA: EDIRNE VERSUS ISTANBUL

The second and the third volumes of the *Saltukname* concentrate on the period of the Turkish emirates in medieval Anatolia after the disintegration of the Seljuks of Rum. The emphasis is put on two emirates; those of Osman and Aydın. Many passages in the narrative while underlying the gazi nature of the early Ottomans also contain discussions about the superiority of Edirne, the hearth of the gazis, over Istanbul, the new capital of the Ottoman state at the date of the compilation of the text, circa 1480. This should come as no surprise, since the *Saltukname* was compiled by Ebu'l-Hayri Rumi upon the request of Prince Cem who was known for his rapprochement with gazi circles who felt abandoned as a result of the extensive centralizing policies of Mehmed II.

The aim of the present chapter is two-fold: to give an initial understanding of how the Ottomans made use of gaza ideology in the fifteenth century while they were becoming a strong centralized state and to understand gazis' dismay at the ascendancy of a *kapıkulu*-dominated central administration in Istanbul as expressed in a discussion centered around Edirne versus Istanbul in the *Saltukname*.

Making Use of Gaza

> One day Sarı Saltuk had a dream. Two white falcons flying from *Yunan*[294] arrived at the land of *Rum* and killed all the birds on the mountains of *Rum*. Flocks of pigeons gathered around them. He saw the land of *Rum* full of sheep. The second falcon shook and from under his wings many falcons came out. They all flew away to hunt.[295] The

[294] Yunan refers to western Anatolia. For more, see Chapter II.
[295] The word that is translated here as hunting is *şikar*, which has a second meaning for booty.

> first falcon flew to perch on his hand. Then he flew back to hunting and disappeared. He further saw the other falcon sitting on a tree together with all the other falcons. Sarı Saltuk caressed each; none of them flew away.[296]

The passage is followed by Sarı Saltuk's interpretation of his own dream:

> Gazis! From the province of *Yunan* emerge two gazis who will become the future sultans. They will cross over the territory of *Rum* and conquer it entirely. This territory will become the abode of Islam. One of the rulers will pass by. The other's descendents will dominate the country generating many magnificent sultans.[297]

One of these gazis was Umur Beg from the province of Aydın, who came all the way to Kefe to visit Sarı Saltuk and to get his blessings. In the following pages we learn that the other gazi was Osman, son of Ertuğrul, who also visited Sarı Saltuk, presented him many gifts, kissed his feet. Sarı Saltuk in return called him his son and kissed him on his eyes. It is important to note here that not only Osman's and Umur's future achievements were forecasted but furthermore they were also given legitimacy by Sarı Saltuk.

In the second and the third volumes of the *Saltukname* there are many passages pointing to the collaboration between the Ottoman and the Aydınoğulları emirates. There are many instances where Umur Beg would go to help "his brother" Osman in his campaigns against the infidels or vice versa. In one instance, Umur Beg or Ömer Gazi encounters Sarı Saltuk around Sinop:

> -The corner of my liver, where are you going after having wiped out all these infidels?

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[296] *Saltukname*, v.II. p.106. "Ol hinde Şerif bir nice düş gördi. Gördi kim iki şahbaz toğanlar Yunan tarafından uçtılar, geldiler Rum mülkine geçtiler, Rum tağlarında olan kuşları kırdılar, yırttılar, veli yanlarına çok çok güğercinler cem oldılar. Bu Rum ili koyunlarla totolu görür. Girü ol toğanun son geleni silkindi kanadı altından toğanlar çıktılar, kendü gibi dahı uçup şikara başladılar. Ol ön gelen toğan uçup kendü eline geldi, turdı. Girü uçtı, şikar iderek gayb oldı. Ol bir toğana Şerif ilerü varup gördi kim bir ağaç üzre oturur, kalan toğanlar bile otururlar, Şerif onları bir bir ohşar, andan kaçmazlardı."

[297] Ibid., p. 106. "Gaziler! Yunan vilayetinden iki gazi belüre, padişah aslı olalar, gelüp Rum'a geçtiler, cümle feth ideler, bu mülk Müslümanlık ola, birisi geçe gide ve amma birinün nesli hakim olalar, ulu padişahlar ve azim hakanlar olalar."

> - Father Sultan, my brother and your subject Osman was waging gaza against Harcenevan and we heard that the infidels of Harcenevan were carrying attacks against him. I was on my way to help him.[298]

The Ottoman-Aydınoğulları alliance would go on throughout the third volume of the *Saltukname*; however with an emphasis on Osman to become the heir of Sarı Saltuk and the ultimate ruler of the land of Rum.

Following the victory over Harcenevan, the "infidels" of Harcenevan sent an envoy with many gifts to Sarı Saltuk to make peace. However, Sarı Saltuk sends them to Osman for he argued that Osman was their ruler, and he was the one to make peace with them. He also added that all the gazis should consider him as their leader and obey him.[299]

In another passage, Sarı Saltuk invites Osman to Edirne to wage gaza together with him against the infidels:

> He (Sarı Saltuk) addressed Osman: 'The light of my eyes, the corner of my liver, my son Osman' and then he kissed him on his two eyes and caressed his back, for he adopted him as his son and said to him: 'I wish that you would make efforts and come to the land of Rum, to Edirne, so that we can wage gaza together'.[300]

When they reach Edirne, Sarı Saltuk declares Osman as his heir and advises him never to abandon Edirne, the hearth of the gazis:

> This is the heartland of Rum, the hearth of the gazis, never abandon it. This is how you prosper. I declare to you, friends of God, Osman is going to replace me, lay down the prayer rug in front of him. Very soon, it seems to me that I will move from this transitory world to the eternal one. Yet, my son Osman, be benevolent and bring as many tribes as you can from the other side [Anatolia] so that Islam can flourish in this place and so that all the Arabs and the Persians when

[298] *Saltukname*, vol.II, p. 183. "Ciğer-guşem, bunca kafirleri basup kanda gidersin? Baba Sultan, bilmiş ol karındaşum Osman kulcuğazunuz Harcenevan'a gaza idermiş, üstine bu Harcenevan kafirleri gelür imiş. Ana yardıma giderdüm..."
[299] Ibid., p.185.
[300] *Saltukname*, vol.III, p.256.

they see you (your achievements) would want to come here and volunteer for gaza and so that all these lands would be yours.[301]

The following pages recount the conquest of Edirne by Osman and Umur Beg. The mention of Umur Beg together with Osman throughout the second and third volumes of the *Saltukname* is not coincidental. In the attacks in Thrace, the role of the non-Ottoman military chiefs such as Umur Beg was of greater importance. The conquest of Edirne was achieved by an alliance of warrior chiefs such as Hacı İlbeyi and Evrenos. Such alliances can be traced back to earlier periods, especially to the period of Umur Beg where such cooperations often took place between the Ottomans and the emirate of Aydın. For instance, when Kantakouzenos[302] asked Umur Beg for his help in his struggle for the throne, Umur Beg, preoccupied with the internal affairs of his emirate advised him to call Orhan for aid.[303]

The recognition of Umur Beg as one of the leading warrior chiefs in the *Saltukname* should come as no surprise; since his lore was kept alive and his adventures were orally transmitted especially among the Aegean sailors for many centuries. The Ottomans did not hesitate to claim his heritage by patronizing his cult, only a few decades following their annexation of the emirate of Aydınoğulları in 1425. The *Düsturname* edited by Enveri (completed in 1465), relates the military exploits of Aydınoğlu Umur Beg (d.1348).[304] The compilation of the text was commissioned by the grand-vizier of Mehmed II, Mahmud Paşa whose actions were

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[301] *Saltukname*, v.III, p. 257. "İmdi asıl Rum bu yirdür ve şehr-i makam gazilerün ocağı bu yiri zinhar terk eylemen. Ta kim saadet birle olasız. Veli sizlere malum olsun ki yirüme Osmanı geçürdüm seccadeyi onun önüne döşeyesiz. Ben yakında bu dar-ı fenadan dar-ı bekaya rıhlet eylerem gibi. Ve amma oğlum Osman sen dahi kerem eyle, ne kadar öte yakada büyük kavmün varsa göçürgil kim Müslümanlık bu yirde çoğala. Arab Acem seni göre bu diyara gelmeğe heves idüp gazaya talib olalar. Bu yir sizün mülkünüz olsun."

[302] John VI Kantakouzenos, the Byzantine emperor (r.1347-1354).

[303] I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "La Conquete d'Adrianople par les Turcs", *Travaux et Mémoires*, v.1, (Paris: Editions E. De Boccard, 1965), pp. 446-447.

[304] Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, p.70. See also, Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Their History and Culture According to Local Muslim Sources*, translated and edited by Gary Leiser, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992), p.20.

regarded as opposing certain policies of Mehmed II. Accordingly, Mahmud Paşa had his own mosque -"the most perfect" mosque- built by the same architect who built the mosque of Mehmed II around the same time (completed in 1463). Also, the legend of Mahmud Paşa, which relates the life and deeds of Mahmud Paşa, magnifies his character vis-à-vis Mehmed II's to such an extent that even many of Mehmed's undertakings are attributed to Mahmud Paşa. Regardless its negative portrayal of Mehmed II, this text cannot be classified as "anti-imperial" since it does not contain any discussion reacting against his imperial project.[305] However, it is worth mentioning that its copy in the Atatürk Library is grouped within the same collection of Edirne's myth of foundation as well as an "anti-imperial" version of the legend of foundation of Constantinople.[306] Given that, one might reach the conclusion that the use of gaza ideology even by the leading proponents of centralist policies, such as Mahmud Paşa, still proved to be effective to lay political claims. This was also the case with Cem who, by patronizing the cult of Sarı Saltuk, sought support from the Turcomans in his struggle for the throne.

In addition to Umur-Osman cooperation, the *Saltukname* makes clear from the very beginning that Osman will eventually be the supreme ruler of Anatolia and more importantly that he will gain legitimacy for his power through Sarı Saltuk, the father of all gazis. The following passage is remarkable, for Sarı Saltuk advises Osman about how to become a just and virtuous ruler:

> My son, God has bestowed upon you and your descendants a country, happiness, greatness and glory. Never neglect gaza, always be just to the poor, never harm your subjects. Always avoid decadence and immorality. Never oppress and give no one the opportunity to oppress. Guard the *sharia*, be beneficent and merciful. Protect the weak, never exercise tyranny. Always be aware of the conditions of your people, be

[305] Theoharis Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs: The Life and Tunes of the Ottoman Vezir Mahmud Pahsa Angelovic (1453-1474)*, (Leiden, Boston: Brill,2001), 368.
[306] Stephane Yerasimos, *La Fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques*, (Istanbul: Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes, 1990), pp.157-158.

> watchful and alert. Always inspect the judges, governors and local chiefs. Be just so that your country would last long and your subjects would be loyal to you. Avoid corruption, execute the bribers. Never trust the infidels, do not let them become domineering or powerful; in Islam it is unacceptable and illegitimate to depend on their collaboration or to be in agreement with them.[307]

Sarı Saltuk had a sense of the requirements of a sound administration, rooted in ancient Turco-Iranian traditions.[308] Many of the practices highlighted by Sarı Saltuk above were to gain new definitions during the reign of Mehmed II, as a new imperial project was set in motion after the conquest of Constantinople. A general remark has to be made concerning Sarı Saltuk's emphasis on gaza activity both in this passage and in the previous passages about the two falcons emerging from *Yunan*, for these imply broader political ambitions proper to the motives behind the compilation of the text itself and which constitute the subject of this chapter.

The first and foremost requisite of a sound administration according to the *Saltukname* is never to neglect gaza activity. The praise of gaza activity can be expected to overrun in texts like the *Saltukname*, which was the product of the frontier society where gazi lore prevailed. However, the preoccupation with a

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[307] "Zinhar gazayı elden komanuz, adl ve dad idüp fakirin bedduasından hazer idün raiyeti incitmen, fısk ve fücurdan kaçun, bidad itmen ve ittürmen şeriatı gözedün, ihsan eylen ve hem garibi hoş tutun, zulm ve cevri terk eyle. Bir kulağunuz taşra alup raiyyet halin görüp sorup agah olasız. Gafil olmayasın. Sana vasiyetüm bu ola kim ekser kadıları, valileri ve boy beğlerin daim teftiş idüp adl eyleyesin, ta kim kaim-mülk olasın, raiyyet sana tabi olalar. Ve hem bidad itme ve hem rüşvet-horı katl eyle, zinhar kafire itibar eyleme, amil ve hakim eyleme. İslam dininde anlara ihtiyaç gösterüp müsalaha dahl ittürmek yoktur ve na-meşru iş işlemeğe". *Saltukname*, vol.III, p. 109.

[308] Such advices concerning how to become a good sultan can be traced back to ancient Indo-Iranian sources. Yusuf Has Hacib's *Kutadgu Bilig* for instance, seems to be a good reference for it integrates those concepts of statecraft into eleventh century's wide-spread Sassanid advice books such as *Andarzname* or *Pandname* which aimed at teaching the sovereigns the essentials of a sound administration. The *Kutadgu Bilig* completed in 1069, is a Karakhanid work, submitted to the prince of Kaşgar. The author is Yusuf Has Ḥacib of Balasagun. Rober Dankoff translated the title as "The Wisdom that Conduces to Royal Glory or Fortune" or more concisely as "The Wisdom of Royal Glory." Halil İnalcık, *Turkish and Iranian Political heories and Traditions in Kutadgu Bilig*, The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society, (Bloomington, 1993), pp. 1-18; Yusuf Khass Hajib, *Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilig): A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes*, translated, with an introduction and notes, by Robert Dankoff, (University of Chicago Press, 1983).

possible abandonment of the gaza activity expressed several times throughout the text seems to reflect more distinctive worries about the change of policy in the Ottoman State, which find its outspoken expression in the discussion around Edirne versus Istanbul.

Edirne: The Abode of the Gazis

> Whoever wishes to conquer (all of) the land of Rum, must be stationed in Endriyye. And whoever wishes to destroy the infidels and the enemy, should remain in Edirne since it is the hearth of the gazis. There is no better place for gaza than that. This world is like a ring; Rumelia is the seal of the ring and the middle of that seal is Endriyye. Whoever has this (land of) Rum like a seal on his finger, the center ("the capital") of this ring should be this site. It is the inner sanctum of (the land of) Rum.[309]

The emphasis put on Edirne and on gaza activity in the *Saltukname* could not be expressed more openly. Just as Strabo's circular model of the world is built around Rome, the center of Sarı Saltuk's world is Edirne where gaza must prevail.[310] Edirne with its close relation to gaza activity is praised throughout the text. We shall now see those more closely.

The conquest of Thrace marked a turning point for the Ottomans who, by taking charge of the raids and settlements, gained superiority over other emirates. The *Saltukname* gives a detailed account of the conquests in Rumelia. These accounts are probably the most 'historical' ones that one can encounter while reading

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[309] "İmdi Rumu her kim ki zapt itmek isterse Endriyye'de karar duta ve andan her kim küffarı ve bu aduyı zebun itmek isterse Kala-i Endiryye'de dursun, zira gaziler ocağıdur. Gazaya andan özge yir olmaz. Bu dünya bir yüzük gibidir, hatemün nigini gibidür Rum-ili ve ol niginin ortası Endriyyedür. Her kimün elinde bu Rum hatem gibi parmağında ola, peso nun niginün merkezi bu yir gerektür ve hem Rum'un iç ili oldur". *Saltukname*, v.II, pp.241-242.

[310] Strabo's notion of a circular world asserted a united world encircled by the Ocean with the center of Rome and which was based on "Roman" versus "others" dichotomy. According to the *Saltukname* this model is based on "Muslim" versus "others" opposition which finds an expression in the form of

the *Saltukname*. Although sometimes mixed with legends, one can at least associate the well-known actors of the era with their respective historical contexts. The military activities of Orhan hand in hand with Aydınoğlu Umur Beg are followed by those of Süleyman, son of Orhan, and his conquest of Gelibolu.[311] The conquests are further carried on by Murad (still prince at that time), who is sent there with his tutor Lala Şahin after Süleyman's death.[312]

As far as the conquest of Edirne is concerned the *Saltukname* gives considerable information. Accordingly, after Sarı Saltuk's death the 'infidels' took control of Edirne and the gazis of Rumelia called Murad, when he became sultan, to re-conquer the city. That night Murad dreamt of the Prophet Muhammed who said to him:

> My son, pass through Rumelia and reach Endriyye, do not hold back or be afraid. From now on, Edirne will be the abode of Islam. There will prosper our people. You must put your throne there for it is the seat of conquests and the highest city. You will conquer the world from there.[313]

Thereupon, Sultan Murad passed to Rumelia through Gelibolu and took Çorlu before attacking Edirne. It should be also noted that the *Saltukname* attributes an important role to the non-Ottoman warrior chiefs such as Hacı İlbegi and Evrenos in the conquest of Edirne. The *Saltukname* gives a list of the cities in Rumelia conquered by these gazi leaders. Accordingly, they conquered *Dimetok* (Dimetoka,

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gaza activity. For Strabo's cicular model of the world, see Katherine Clarke, *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Construction of the Roman World*, (Oxford: Clarendon Pres, 2001),pp.210-223.

[311] For more information about Ottoman Conquest of Edirne, see Halil İnalcık, "The Conquest of Edirne" in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, (1971), pp. 185-210. See also, I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "La conquete d'Adrianople par les turcs: La penetration turque en Thrace et la valeur des chroniques ottomanes" in *Travaux et Memoires*, vol.I, (Paris: 1965), pp.439-460.

[312] *Saltukname*, vol.II, p.264.

[313] *Saltukname*, vol.III, p.355.

Didymoteichon), *Malgara* (Malkara) and the area around *Siroz* (Saros).[314] Just as Sarı Saltuk had made Baba-Eski his residence according to the *Saltukname*, it should be pointed out that Murad also chose Baba-Eski to set up his headquarters just before the conquest.[315]

The passage concerning the conquest of Edirne is followed by a description of the construction efforts of the Ottoman sultans in the city. Accordingly, Murad had a big palace and new mosques built, and 'turned Edirne into the Jerusalem (*Kudüs*) of Rum.' Bayezid I also erected many buildings. In the following pages that relate the Timurid invasion of Anatolia, Edirne is described as the only place that could overcome the attacks and where Yıldırım Bayezid could defeat Timur. It was also the city where Mehmed I had brought an end to the struggle for the throne - which had also ended the interregnum period after the defeat of the Ottomans at the battle of Ankara-, by crossing to Rumelia and defeating his brother Musa with the support of the gazis of Rumelia.[316] Mehmed in return awarded the support he had enjoyed in Rumelia by engaging in a number of construction activities in Edirne. The *Saltukname* presents all this to suggest that each sultan somehow paid back what he owed to the city, by bestowing it with buildings and services as an act of gratefulness.

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[314] *Saltukname*, vol.III, p.356. For more information about the role of the non-Ottoman warriors, see Irene Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "La conquete d'Adrianoplepar les turcs: La Penetration turque en Thrace et la valeur des chroniques ottomanes" in *Travaux et Memoires*, 1, (Paris: 1965), pp. 439-460.

[315] Sarı Saltuk makes Baba-Eski his residence from where he goes back and forth to Edirne. *Saltukname*, vol.II, p.58. For Murad I chosing Baba-Eski as his headquarter see Halil İnalcık, "The Conquest of Edirne" in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 1971, p.198.

[316] As aforementioned, Rumelia and in particular Gelibolu play a central role in the struggles for the throne of Musa and Mustafa, since before the conquest of Istanbul it was the only passage to Rumelia. Musa who enjoys the support of the gazis in Rumalia vis-à-vis Mehmed I choses Gelibolu as his headquarter which obliged Mehmed I to ask permission from the Byzantin emperor to pass through the Bosphorus. In the struggle for the throne between Murad II and Mustafa in 1422, the latter prefers again Gelibolu as his base for rebellion. Aşıkpaşazade, *Osmanoğullarının Tarihi*, (Istanbul: K Kitaplığı, 2004), pp. 417, 432-433. The *Saltukname* makes a few alterations here: Rather than Mehmed I, it was Musa who was actually supported by the gazis. However, what is more important here is the message the *Saltukname* would like to convey: Whoever choses Rumelia as his seat gains the support of the gazis and hence the struggle for power.

The *Saltukname* goes on to describe the construction efforts of Murad II and Mehmed II to emphasize Edirne's transformation into an imperial as well as a religious center. Not surprisingly, the passage ends with the disparaging of Istanbul vis-à-vis Edirne. When Mehmed II expresses his desire to conquer Istanbul, the gazis around him warn him about how previous sultans failed in this task and about all the evils that might result from the conquest of this city. Istanbul was anti-Edirne and the source of all wickedness; corruption, adultery, sexual perverseness, destruction and earthquakes.[317]

Edirne: Anti-Constantinople

The negative portrayal of Istanbul as opposed to Edirne overruns the text. In the second volume of the *Saltukname*, Sarı Saltuk prophesies the conquest of *Konstantiniyye* by a gazi sultan named Mehmed from the House of Osman. Soon after, "a priest with a saintly look" appears. Sarı Saltuk tells him his dream and asks about the future of the city. The priest says to him:

> This city will be destroyed under the control of the Muslims. The reasons for its destruction are wickedness, corruption, malevolence, adultery, perversity between men, tyranny, injustice and wrong-doings. God will generate famine and plagues and there will be lots of earthquakes. At the end, the city will be destroyed and after the lunar eclipse will sink underneath the ground. Only one part of the city will remain and I hope that this part will be the surroundings of Ayasofya; since this area has been blessed.[318]

[317] For the whole passage after the conquest of Edirne, see *Saltukname*, vol.III, pp.357-365.
[318] "Bu şehr akıbet Müslümanlar elinde harab olur. Sebeb-i harab fısk ve fücur, fesad ve zina ve livatadan ve zulm ve cevrden ve bed efalleri çok ola, en son bu şehr harab ve hasf olub yire geçe, gide, amma bir tarafı kala, ol yir umaram Ayasofya tarafıdur. Zira anun-çün dua olınmıştur." *Saltukname*, vol.II, p. 244.

Next, Sarı Saltuk asks the priest about the destruction of Edirne. And the *rahib-i alim* replies: "There will be no destruction of this city. If the Muslims abandon gaza, this city is watched by God and only God knows its fate."[319]

Such an anti-Constantinople approach is not confined to the *Saltukname*. There are other texts confirming the existence of an "Edirne versus Constantinople debate" accelerated after Istanbul was labeled as the new capital and reflecting broader anti-imperial sentiments. Stephane Yerasimos analyzes the legends about the foundation of Constantinople in Ottoman Turkish texts with regard to the omissions and additions in different versions and in comparison to other contemporary texts such as the Chronicle of Oruç Beğ, *Dürr-i Meknun* by Yazıcıoğlu and others.[320] The version of the legends of foundation of Constantinople dating back to 1491 contains apocalyptic expectations in the city after its conquest.[321] The *Dürr-i Meknun* on the other hand, invents a cursed founder for the city, Yanko bin Madyan.[322]

In contrast to the depiction of Constantinople with an evil origin and subject to destruction at the end, there are a number of other texts -including the *Saltukname*- that depict Edirne as anti-Constantinople, with all the benedictions from its very foundation. One such text is "the story of the doctor Beşir Çelebi and the history of the Old Mosque, the New Palace and the Fortress of Edirne"[323], which dates back to the early sixteenth century, and where Edirne is ascribed with a sacred foundation predestined for Islam. Accordingly, Edirne was founded by Idris –an Old Testament prophet, Enoch, also recognized by Islam- four hundred years before the deluge and

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[319] "Onun harabı olmaz. Meğer gazadan Müslümanlar vazgeçeler, ol şehr nazar-gah-ı Hak'dur. Onun halin Allah Teala bilür." *Saltukname*, vol.II, p. 244.
[320] Stefanos Yerasimos, *Legendes d'Empire: La fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques*, (İstanbula: IFEA, Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1990).
[321] Ibid., p.201.
[322] Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed Bican, *Dürr-i Meknun*, ed. Necdet Sakaoğlu, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), pp. 72-73.

was destined to become "the abode of Islam". The second founder is Adrian (Edrenus) who, upon the advice of his vizier Arkas, expert in the science of the astrolabe, founds the city for a future people called Muslims and who will conquer the world from there. According to this text, Adrian constructs a church where Sarı Saltuk, the conqueror of the city, will come to pray every night, after it has been converted into a mosque.[324] This sacred place is probably what is referred to as the *Ak Cami* in the *Saltukname*.

According to the myth of foundation of Edirne in the *Saltukname*, the city is founded by *Adrin*, son of *İslam*, son of *Adem* (Adam). When Sarı Saltuk arrives at the city for the first time, he is captured and condemned to be put on fire. The genie *Minü-çihr* saves him from getting burned and takes him to the top of a hill overlooking the city, where he meets prophets *Hızır* and *İlyas*. Surprised to encounter these saintly figures in the country of the 'infidels', Sarı Saltuk asks them what they are doing there. They reply him that the city is the sacred place of the country of Rum and that one day it will become the hearth of the gazis (gaziler ocağı).[325]

It has been pointed out that when Sarı Saltuk conquered Edirne he declared it as the center of the world, and hence stated that whoever wished to conquer this world had to dwell in Edirne.[326] In another instance, Sarı Saltuk appears in Mehmed II's dream, where he gives him the key of Istanbul. However, he tells him never to keep the key in Istanbul but to take it back to Edirne, and otherwise that they will never be able to open any more gates.[327] Similar arguments are repeated many times throughout the text, at the expense of Istanbul. The *Saltukname* provides a number of

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[323] Hikaye-i Hekim Beşir Çelebi ve Edirne'de olan Eski Cami Tevarihi ve Yeni Saray ve Hisar-ı Edirne. The manuscript used by Stéphane Yerasimos is from the Atatürk Library. Stefanos Yerasimos, p.207.
[324] Yerasimos, pp. 207-208.
[325] *Saltukname*, vol.I, pp.30-33.
[326] *Saltukname*, v.II, pp.241-242.

reasons for the preference of Edirne as the capital vis-à-vis another city and especially Istanbul. It has been argued earlier that such arguments reflected broader concerns stemming from the change of policy in the Ottoman State. However, the *Saltukname* has its own rationale to communicate, and hence its peculiar "plus/minus" chart of both cities. To conclude, we shall now briefly look at those.

First of all, as aforementioned, Edirne is considered to be the most sacred city in the land of Rum, and according to its myth of origin, it is predestined to become the abode of Islam, whereas Istanbul, with a wicked foundation legend, is condemned to destruction under Muslim control.

Secondly, Edirne is the hearth of the gazis from where the Ottomans are promised to conquer the world, as it is forecast by a number of holy figures throughout the text: Prophet Muhammed, a saintly priest and evidently Sarı Saltuk. However, this end can be achieved only if they remain in Edirne and never neglect gaza activity.

Thirdly, there is the question of security of both cities. The following passage besides emphasizing the protected nature of the city of Edirne, also reveals a somewhat nostalgic feeling towards the glorious days where Mehmed II would set out for victorious campaigns from Edirne. Furthermore, the maintenance of power in Edirne meant further conquests and protection of the entire country; since Edirne - "the center of this world"- is the gateway opening to all sides.

> When Sultan Mehmed accessed to the throne and became the ruler of Rum, he conducted his conquests from Edirne and starting with the Tuna (river) he got hold of all the lands from the infidels and the *Tekur*s (Byzantine governors). The infidels remained behind the Tuna. The river of Tuna is like a sea; only by ships one could cross it. They (the Ottomans) captured all the quays and blocked the passage of the infidels to the province of Rum (Rum-ili). Free from any threat, all the Muslims were safe and secure and the country protected. And the

[327] *Saltukname*, v.III, pp.366-367.

> Muslims constantly carried on raids crossing over the Tuna, never let the infidels in peace.[328]

As can be detected from the passage above, alongside the security purposes the *Saltukname* also refers to the strategic ones for Edirne to preserve its status of capital. This is due to Edirne's geographical location, which is much more preferable when compared to Istanbul's, as it will be soon pointed out with more examples.

The following quotation is remarkable for combining various arguments, including even "health", to oppose the siege of Istanbul. When Mehmed II expresses his desire to conquer *Konstantiniyye*, the *beg*s around him disagree with him:

> For its (Istanbul's) festive atmosphere ruins the country. And the sultan, who indulges himself in it, neglects gaza. Its weather is bad and heavy. Gout (*nikris*) and various other diseases grow here and cause damage (to the inhabitants). If the sultan is set to it and makes it his throne, he will not rely on the masters of war, the gazis anymore, because of the sea (naval undertakings). Now that the military campaigns befall on the sea, they (the gazis) will be abandoned.[329]

The passage is significant; since it elucidates the feelings of the gazis in direct connection to the new orientations of the Ottoman state. The concerns of the gazis are no more confined to mere suppositions which are served to us throughout the text as warnings –to preserve gaza activity-; but they are now attached to a concrete phenomenon; naval undertakings.

A second remark to be made concerning this quote is about the "unhealthy" climate of Istanbul. Given the fact that similar thoughts are repeated in other sections of the *Saltukname*, one might suppose that certain worries existed concerning the *nikris* –the gout-, from which a number of Ottoman sultans had suffered. According

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[328] *Saltukname*, ed. Şükrü Haluk Akalın, vol. III, p.366.

[329] "Zira anun mamurlığı memleketi harab ider, hem içine giren padişah gazadan kalur, havası kemdür ağırdur. Nikris ve enva marazlar ol yirde peyda olurdı ve idene zarardur. Şayed padişah ana meyl idüp taht idine deniz sebebinden ötürü ehl-i harb gazilere itibar kılmaya, sefer denize düşe diyü mukayyed olmadılar." Ibid., p.366.

to the *Saltukname*, Sarı Saltuk was also caught by this disease, as well as Osman who after the conquest of Bursa could not stand to stay there:

> The reason why Osman left Bursa is because his legs were aching. Under the weather conditions of Bursa Sarı Saltuk got worse with the *nikris*, from which he had suffered earlier. Bursa is on the sea level and this disease is not good-natured with sea weather. Sea worsens all the diseases.[330]

The meaning of this paragraph reaches its purpose as one reads through. Before Osman dies of this disease, he declares his will to his son Orhan asking him to cross to Rumelia and to make conquests there and also to capture *Endriyye*, since "it is the hearth of the gazis."[331]

So far, the praising of Edirne whenever it fits the narrative and with references to the earlier sultans who all, at some point came to recognize the superiority of Edirne over other cities has been pointed out. The *Saltukname* attributes this to various "practical" reasons. However, it also takes into account sentimental ones: falling in love with the city.

The passage about Hazret-i Emir Seyyid can provide one such example.[332] Accordingly, this saintly figure from Buhara comes to settle in Bursa and later gets married to the daughter of the sultan Yıldırım Bayezid and sister of Mehmed I. After Mehmed dies, he is succeeded by his son Murad II. Hazret-i Emir Seyyid goes to Edirne to give the new sultan his blessings. Next, he asks Murad to grant him some land above "the rock with holes", *delüklü kaya*, to build his convent:

> My heart is attracted to this sacred place. And whoever decides on gaza here, should possess a piece of land to inhabit, as it is worth

[330] *Saltukname*, vol.III, p.353.
[331] Ibid.
[332] Emir Sultan (Muharrem Şemseddin) was born in 1368 in Buhara. After having traveled around Medine, Kudüs and Anatolia, he settled down in Bursa, where he was received with considerable respect. After he got married to the daughter of Yıldırım Bayezid, Hundi Fatma, he began to play an important role in politics. He is said to have encouraged Murad II for the siege of Constantinople in 1422. He died in Bursa in 1429. For more information, see Hasan Turyan, *Bursa Evliyaları ve Tarihi Eserleri*, (Istanbul: Hünkar Ofset, 1997); Hakkı Şinasi Çoruh, *Emir Sultan*, (Tercüman, 1972).

> seventy more in Heaven. This is the hearth of the gazis and it is sanctified. I will stay here, if you let me.[333]

Murad II first agrees; but then Ürgeç Paşa convinces him to send Emir Seyyid back to Bursa, by saying that "there cannot be two rulers in one city."

> (Once acknowledged about this outcome) *Hazret-i Emir* got very upset and departed with the crowd that followed him. As Seyyid left Edirne behind, he constantly looked back shading in tears. The crowd questioned: 'My Sultan, what are you looking at?' And he responded: 'My heart and my eyes melted in this hearth of the gazis (Edirne) and were absorbed by that soil; how can I not look?' Then, Emir Sultan arrived to Bursa, and soon after he got sick and passed away.[334]

To conclude, the conquest of Constantinople and the making of that city into the capital, the new seat of power, has marked the definitive consolidation of Ottoman imperial politics and represented a final blow to the gazi circles, which had been gradually losing their autonomy since at least the late fourteenth century. The period before the conquest of Constantinople was the last time when frontier warlords played an effective role in state's decision-making, by supporting the conquest. Aftermath of the conquest, Mehmed II undertook extreme measures that eliminated all alternative sources of political influence and sealed his ultimate authority.[335]

The *Vilayetname-i Otman Baba* (c. 1483) is a particularly outspoken expression of the discontent within various segments of the Ottoman society and where Mehmed II was openly criticized for his policies. The *Saltukname*'s constant reference to Edirne as an alternative to Istanbul, the new capital of Mehmed II's newly conceived empire is not coincidental and must be considered as the expression

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[333] *Saltukname*, vol.III, p. 265.

[334] "Emir Hazreti melul oldı, gitmek kasdın eyledi. Halk gönderi vardılar şehirden. Seyyid biraz yir gidince döner ardına bkardı dahi gözlerinin yaşı akardı. Halk eyittiler: 'Sultanum, neye bakarsın?' Eyitti: 'Gönlüm gözüm aktı gaziler ocağına gitti, anda kaldı, ben nice bakmayayım' didi. Andan Emir Sultan Bursa'ya vardı, sehl müddet geçti, hasta oldı, vefat eyledi." Ibid., p. 265.

of Cem's desire for an ultimate rupture from the existing political order. His political project to draw support from the gazis made use of a number of symbolic acts that are also mentioned in the *Saltukname*, such as, for instance, his preference of listening to the stories of Sarı Saltuk to those of Hamza, or more importantly, his desire to change the capital, which he openly stated: "If one day I become sultan I will reside nowhere else but in Edirne."[336]

[335] For more on his centralizing policies, see the first chapter.
[336] "Eğer padişah olursam Edirneden gayri yirde oturmayam".*Ebu'l* Hayr-i Rumi, *Saltukname*, ed. Şükrü Haluk Akalın, vol. III, pp.366.

CONCLUSION

This study has tried to make sense of the *Saltukname*, the legendary account of gazi-dervish Sarı Saltuk, in its fifteenth century historical context. While the stories about Sarı Saltuk have circulated in the Balkan fringes since at least the late thirteenth century, based on the existing oral material, the text we have at hand was compiled in the late fifteenth century by a member of Prince Cem's court, Ebu'l-Hayr Rumi, upon Cem's request. In this study, the *Saltukname* has been analyzed not just as a collection of frontier traditions reflecting the perceptions of the people living in the Balkan borderlands; but also as an authored text that articulated the concerns of certain segments of the Ottoman court about the ongoing transformation within the Ottoman state.

The present study has examined the *Saltukname* in three parts around three key themes. Gazas against the infidels and the representation of the "other" constituted the first theme. In the second part, the representation the Turco-Muslim world has been analyzed in connection with Ottoman efforts to create a self-identity with an increasing interest in the legacy of steppe traditions. In the third part, reactions to state centralization have become the main focus.

The *Saltukname* is heavily informed by set patterns, motifs and cognate representations culminating from centuries-old frontier traditions. The *Saltukname*'s description of the "other" devoid of any particular characteristics has been explained in terms of the stereotypes embedded in both Arabo-Persian and Byzantine texts. To the medieval Muslim authors, this significant "other" was their Byzantine rivals. To the Byzantines, it was in return the Muslims. By the twelfth century, after the

Crusaders made their appearance in the area, a new rival came to be imagined not only by the Muslims but also by the Byzantines: the Frenks. The *Saltukname* stood in the middle and made use of both traditions.

As used in the Saltukname, the term "Rum" sometimes denoted the Byzantine realm, and was sometimes extended to cover central Europe as well and some other times it was used to refer to the homeland of Sarı Saltuk. Maybe because the *Saltukname* was molded by the confusions in both Muslim and Byzantine traditions, or maybe because clear-cut boundaries did not exist for the audience of the *Saltukname*, the distinctions between Frenk, Latin or Yunani were blurry, no matter how much effort was put to define them within different geographies. Although, the boundaries between the self and the other could be crossed over by cohabitation and conversion, the tendency to represent the infidels as an undistinguishable entity with a high degree of antagonism dominated the perceptions of the gazi-dervish milieus in late medieval Balkan fringes. As a result, the infidels were considered as too close enemies that must be eliminated. Yet, ideologically, they were also too remote from the Muslim world to be defined with distinctiveness.

The representation of the Turco-Muslim world was also imbued by vague definitions, however with greater awareness about its geographical as well as cultural implications, which made it possible for this study to draw a number of conclusions when combined with the political landscape of the post-Chingizid period in which Ottomans, in order to counter the universalistic claims of the Timurids, made efforts to create a self-identity and sought to draw affiliation with Oğuz lineage. The search for ancestors that would be esteemed by Ottomans' Turco-Muslim rivals brought the Ottomans in closer contact with other Turco-Muslim states. Sarı Saltuk's gazas against the Chingizid infidels hand in hand with the Chagatayids and the Ghurids, the

depiction of Turkistan as the greatest among all countries in the world, an Ottoman genealogy based on Oğuz descent with a high degree of consciousness about the Ottoman ancestors represented the way the Ottomans imagined their history and themselves.

Likewise, the depiction of the Seljuks of Rum was grounded in the fifteenth century political context, rather than the thirteenth, since the negative portrayal of the Seljukid sultans Alaü'ddin Keykubad and Izzeddin Keykavus II who were known for their reconciliatory policies with the gazi bands, could not be attributed to the thirteenth century. These two characters were revered to a great extent by the Turcomans and they were also the ones who had patronized the cults of Seyyid Battal Gazi and of Melik Danişmend. Therefore, İzzü'd-din and Alaü'ddin functioned as the mirror image of the Ottoman central government against which the *Saltukname* raised its criticism about the ongoing transformations in the Ottoman state.

The reaction to state centralization found its most outspoken expression in the discussion centered around "Edirne versus Istanbul" that extended over the entire text. In the late fifteenth century, there was widespread discontent about the adoption of Constantinople as the new seat of Ottoman power. Moreover, underneath this discontent lay broader concerns about the change of policy within the Ottoman state. The depiction of Istanbul as a city with an evil origin and the prophecies about its ultimate destruction under the Muslims were juxtaposed with the praise of Edirne as the hearth of gazis, from where Muslims were promised to conquer the world. Such an anti-Constantinople approach reflected broader anti-imperial feelings and constituted the central theme of a number of texts that were composed in the late fifteenth century. It is no coincidence that the passages relating to the conquest of

Thrace by prominent gazi warlords and the construction efforts of the Ottoman sultans in Edirne that "turned the city into the Jerusalem of Rum" are the most 'historical' accounts in the *Saltukname*. These sections seem to have been incorporated into the text by the editorial interventions of its compiler, Ebu'l-Hayr Rumi.

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