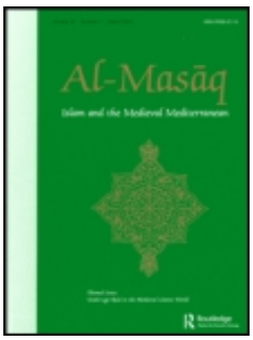

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A.C.S. Peacock

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The Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm and the Turkmen of the Byzantine frontier, 1206–1279*

A.C.S. PEACOCK

ABSTRACT *This article examines the frontier between the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm and its Byzantine neighbours in the thirteenth century, concentrating on the place of these frontier districts within the Seljuk state. Scholarship on the frontier, influenced by the ideas of Paul Wittek, has seen it as something of a "no man's land", politically, economically, culturally and religiously distinct from the urban heartland of the Seljuk sultanate in central Anatolia, dominated by the nomadic Turks, the Turkmen, who operated largely beyond sultanic control. It is often thought that the Seljuk and Greek sides of the border shared more in common with each other than they did with the states of which they formed a part. In contrast, this article argues that in fact the western frontier regions were closely integrated into the Seljuk sultanate. Furthermore, with the Mongol domination of the Seljuk sultanate in the second half of the thirteenth century, the Seljuk and Mongol elites became increasingly involved in this frontier region, where some of the leading figures of the sultanate had estates and endowments.*

Keywords: Politics / Geography / Eastern Mediterranean; Anatolia – politics; Rūm (sultanate) – politics; Byzantine empire – politics; Frontiers – between Byzantium and Rūm; Mongols – people; Türkmen – people; Seljuks – Turkish dynasty; Nicaea (empire)

In the thirteenth century, the main political frontier between the Muslim and Christian worlds in the eastern Mediterranean lay across western Anatolia, in a line stretching roughly from Bithynia in the north to the Maeander Delta in the south (Figure 1). To the east lay the Seljuk sultanate of Rūm, with its capital in Konya, while on the west the Byzantine successor state of Nicaea (1204–1261) ruled by the Laskarid dynasty and, after the reconquest of Constantinople from the Latins in 1261, the restored Byzantine Empire. Byzantinists have devoted considerable attention to the frontier region.[1] In part, this reflects the vital importance

Correspondence: A.C.S. Peacock. Email: acsp@st-andrews.ac.uk

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[1]Among the most important studies are: Hélène Ahrweiler, "L'histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081–1317), particulièrement au XIII siècle", *Travaux et Memoires* 1 (1965): 1–204; Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Hellenism in Medieval Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, Cal.: University of

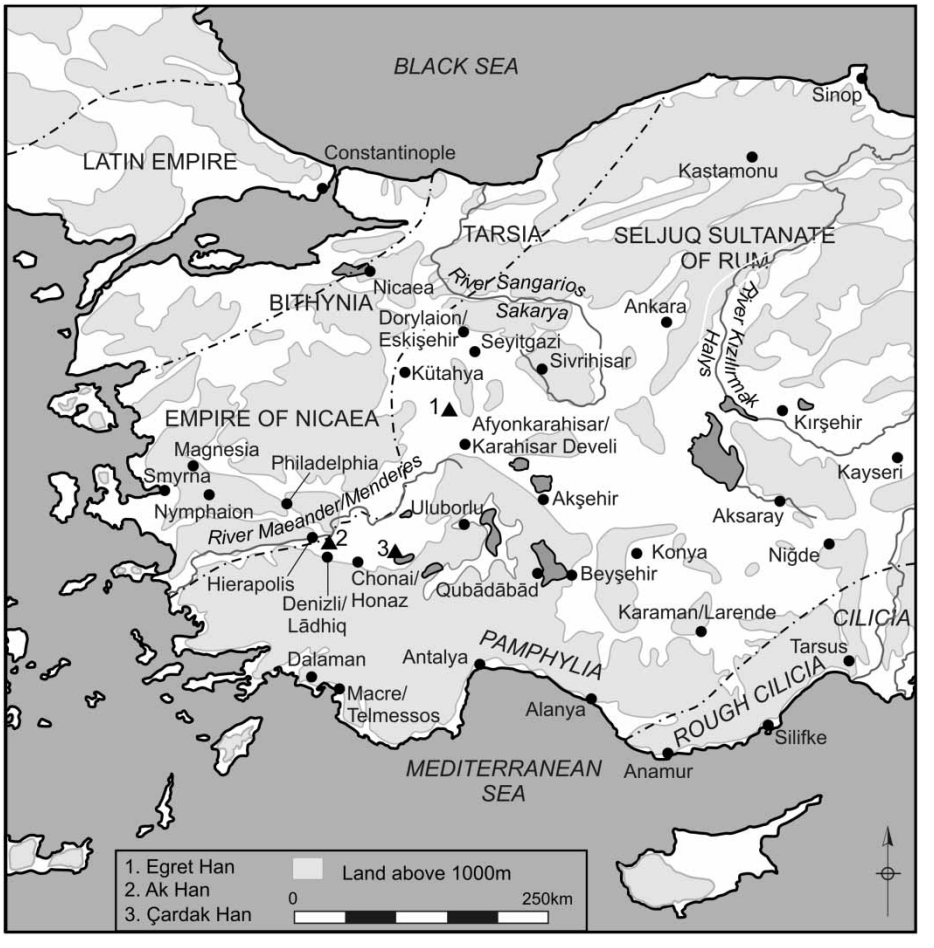

Figure 1. The Seljuk-Byzantine frontier region in the thirteenth century

of the region to Nicaea, for some of the Empire's major cities – Nicaea itself, Nymphaion and Philadelphia – lay in close proximity to the frontier. The Byzantine sources of the period are also quite rich in information, especially the chronicles of Niketas Choniates (d. ca. 1215–1217, a native of the frontier town of Chonai,

(*footnote continued*)
California Press, 1971), esp. pp. 130–3; *idem*, "Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975): 41–71; P.I. Zhavoronkov, "Nikeiskaia Imperiia i Vostok", *Vizantiiskii Vremmenik* 39 (1978): 93–100; Alexios Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East: Its Relations with the Seljuk Sultanate of Rûm in Asia Minor, the Armenians of Cilicia and the Mongols A.D. c.1192–1237* (Thessalonike: University of Thessalonike, 1981); John S. Langdon, *Byzantium's Last Imperial Offensive in Asia Minor: The Documentary Evidence for and Hagiographical Lore about John III Ducas Vatatzes' Crusade against the Turks, 1222 or 1225 to 1231* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1992); Keith Hopwood, "Nicaea and Her Eastern Neighbours", in *The Ottoman Empire: Myths, Realities and "Black Holes". Contributions in Honour of Colin Imber*, ed. Eugenia Kermeli and Oktay Özel (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2006), pp. 39–45; Peter Thonemann, *The Maeander Valley: A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) covers the region up to the end of the thirteenth century.

Turkish Honaz), Akropolites (d. 1282), and Pachymeres (d. ca. 1310). However, despite considerable interest on the part of Islamicists in both the Byzantine frontier in the ʿAbbāsid and early Ottoman periods,[2] specialists in Seljuk history have paid it little attention. Characterised as the "*ūj*" (lit. "extremity, tip, end"), it is often described as "a sort of no man's land",[3] dominated by the Turkmen, the nomadic Turks who by the thirteenth century are commonly seen as having become alienated from the ruling Seljuk dynasty.[4]

Over the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, the region had been a zone of constant contention,[5] as its rich pastures, river valleys and proximity to mountains provided the perfect environment for the Turkmen to pursue their pastoralist lifestyle.[6] Bithynia was one of the first areas of Anatolia to be settled in large numbers by Turks, with Nicaea briefly becoming the capital of the Seljuks between ca. 1081 and 1097. The town of Dorylaion (modern Eskişehir) had been the site of two major battles between the Seljuks and crusaders allied with Byzantium, first in 1097 and second in 1147. Niketas Choniates describes "the fertile plains of Dorylaion on which [the Turkmens'] herds of goats and cattle grazed, romping in the

[2]For the ʿAbbāsid frontier, see Michael Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War: Studies in the Jihad and the Arab-Byzantine Frontier* (New York: Eisenbrauns, 1997) and now A. Asa Eger, *The Islamic-Byzantine Frontier: Interaction and Exchange among Muslim and Christian Communities* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014). Other noteworthy contributions include: J.F. Haldon and H. Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organisation and Society in the Borderlands", *Zbornik Radova* 19 (1980): 79–98; N. Oikonomidès, "L'organisation de la frontière orientale de Byzance aux X^{e}–XI^{e} siècles et le Taktikon de l'Escorial", in *Actes du XIV^{e} Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Bucarest, 6–12 Septembre, 1971*, ed. M. Berza and E. Stănescu (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1974), pp. 285–302. The literature on the Ottoman frontier is extensive. Important recent works include: Colin Heywood, "The Frontier in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths", in *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700*, eds. D. Power and N. Standen (London: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 228–50; Heath W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State (*Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2003) and Rudi Paul Lindner, *Explorations in Ottoman Prehistory* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007).

[3]The phrase is Cahen's; see Claude Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane* (Istanbul: Institut français d'études anatoliennes, 1988), pp. 104, 206.

[4]See further Elizabeth Zachariadou, art. "Udj", in *EI*^{2}. For a recent example of the assumption of the alienation of Turkmen and Seljuks, see Lindner, *Explorations in Ottoman Prehistory*, 3–4; for a critique see A.C.S. Peacock, "Court and Nomadic Life in Saljuq Anatolia", in *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*, ed. David Durand-Guédy (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 191–222. The western frontier features very little in the standard work on Seljuk Anatolia, Osman Turan's *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye* (Istanbul: Ötüken, 1971). Turan (*ibid.*, p. 281) remarks of the conquest of the area in 1207 that "Uj Turkmen were concentrated in this *ūj* region and undertook raids and conquests. [Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn] Kaykhusraw conquered … this region and made it a principality [*beylik*] subject to him". Note the assumption that the region was somehow separate, a "beylik" not directly incorporated into the Seljuk state, even though no such term is found in the primary sources. See further, *ibid.*, p. 516.

[5]For an overview of Seljuk expansion to the west, see Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, pp. 22–6, 43–8, 60–4.

[6]The Persian and Arabic sources for the thirteenth century rarely refer to the Seljuk dynasty as Turks, although they certainly had done so in earlier periods, especially the eleventh century. When "Turk" appears in the Islamic texts dealing with Anatolia, it often clearly means a nomad, a point that is sometimes clarified by the addition of the term "*ūj*" – *atrāk-i ūj*, for example. The term "Turkmen" occurs occasionally in thirteenth-century texts, and is unambiguously a nomad, whereas a "Turk" may also mean a military slave. To some extent, the ambiguous terminology reflects the fact that distinction between groups was more fluid than often admitted. For further discussion, see Peacock, "Court and Nomadic Life", esp. 192–3, and for the terminology also A.C.S. Peacock, *Early Seljūq History: A New Interpretation* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 48–53.

verdant meadow".[7] There had also been a Turkmen presence on the Maeander at least since the beginning of the twelfth century.[8] Kinnamos (d. after 1185) gives a detailed account of the Emperor Manuel's encounter with Turkmen grazing their horses by the source of the river, apparently returning after raiding Byzantine territory in 1146.[9] In both the Sangarios and Maeander regions, the Turkmen presence was seasonal – summer time would be spent on cool high ground, while in winter the nomads would bring their flocks down to the warmer lower ground beside the river.

Over the twelfth century, important frontier fortresses gradually fell to the Seljuks, such as Dorylaion in 1176 and Sozopolis (modern Uluborlu, Burghlū in the mediaeval Persian sources) in 1180. Following their annexation of Laodikea (known in the Islamic sources as Lādhiq/Denizli) and Chonai (Honaz) around 1206[10] and the death of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw in battle at Antioch on the Maeander in 608/1211, the Seljuk advance halted. Despite some fighting between Laskarids and Seljuks around 1225–1231, the frontier stayed roughly where it had been before;[11] and even after 1243, when the Seljuk state became effectively a protectorate of the Mongol Empire, the frontier remained broadly unchanged. Even with the influx of new waves of Turkmen migrants, displaced from their pastures in eastern and central Anatolia by the Mongols, which is reported to have disturbed the frontier in the 1260 s, the Byzantines do not seem to have suffered significant territorial losses, at least not initially.[12] Although the picture began to change somewhat in the last two decades of the thirteenth century, when the Mongol governor of Anatolia, Geikhatu, campaigned in person on the southern reaches of the frontier on the river Maeander in 691/1292, his aim was not to expand the Mongol world empire at the expense of Byzantium (with whom the Mongols were allied), but to chastise local rebels.[13]

Doubtless this very stability, lasting almost a century, is one factor that has discouraged research. Indeed, the modern understanding of the frontier under

[7]*O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne Sate Unversity Press, 1984) (henceforth, Niketas, *Annals*), p. 99. In general on the geography of Bithynia and nomadism there, see Lindner, *Explorations in Ottoman* Prehistory, 35–62. On early Turkmen settlement around Dorylaion, see also John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Komnenos*, trans. C.M. Brand (New York: University of Columbia Press, 1976), pp. 220–1.

[8]See Kinnamos, *Deeds*, 14, noting a seizure of Laodikeia by the Turks before 1119.

[9]Kinnamos, *Deeds*, 53. See Niketas, *Annals*, 70–1, 108–11 for Byzantine operations against Turkish nomads around Maeander, Laodikea and Chonai in ca. 1162–1167, 1177–1179. In general, see Thonemann, *Maeander Valley*, esp. 4–10, 161–70.

[10]Lādhiq seems to be used interchangeably in the Islamic sources with Denizli. See Tuncer Baykara, art. "Denizli", in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, volume IX (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1995), 155–9, esp. 156; further on the town, s.v. Laodikea, in, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, ed. Klaus Belke and Norbert Mersich [Tabula Imperii Byzantinii VII] (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), pp. 323–6. For the annexation see also Niketas, *Annals*, 350–1; Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj*, trans. Ernest Wallis Budge, volume 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), I: 362.

[11]On these events, see Langdon, *Byzantium's Last Imperial Offensive*, *passim*.

[12]On these nomadic movements, see Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 505–18. On the Mongols in Anatolia, see Charles Melville, "Anatolia under the Mongols" in *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071–1453*, ed. Kate Fleet [Cambridge History of Turkey I] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 51–101, esp. 52 on relations with Byzantium. I do not mean to suggest the frontier was entirely static. In 1257, for instance, Nicaea briefly regained control of Laodikea: George Akropolites, *The History*, trans. Ruth Macrides (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), § 69, pp. 236, 327.

[13]*Tārīkh-i Āl-i Saljūq dar Anāṭūlī*, ed. Nādira Jalālī (Tehran: Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 1999), p. 127. On the campaign, see also Melville, "Anatolia under the Mongols", 76–9.

Seljuk rule remains dominated by the ideas of Paul Wittek (1894–1978). Although Wittek is best known for his theses on early Ottoman history, which continue to provoke debate,[14] the most substantial work published in his own lifetime was his 1934 study of the south-west Anatolian *beylik* of Menteshe, *Das Furstentum Mentesche*.[15] The first three chapters of this book are devoted to the history of the southern parts of the Seljuk-Byzantine frontier on the Maeander River where Menteshe emerged, and many of the ideas that appear in his studies of Ottoman origins also surface here. He identified the following characteristics in the west Anatolian frontier zone:

1 - Ethnic differentiation from the central state, but with common features on both sides of border.
2 - The emergence of local military leaders who formed war-bands ("Krieger-Clans"), and resisted attempts by central authorities to tax them.
3 - A distinctive common culture on both sides of the frontier, owing to its distance from the cultural centres and constant contact with the enemy side.
4 - The use of the frontier as a refuge for heresies, owing to the lack of state control.
5 - An economy dominated by cross-frontier raiding in this zone of constant war, where fighting was also the main source of income.
6 - A completely different way of life from the theological, literary, legal and commercial organisation of government centres, showing a heroic, chivalric, romantic but primitive spirit.[16]

These ideas have proved vastly influential on subsequent scholarship on the frontier, as may be seen from the recent article on "Udj" by Elizabeth Zachariadou in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*:

> The inhabitants of these districts were obliged to be continuously in readiness to confront an attack or to organise a raid themselves penetrating into the enemy territory. Their way of life inspired folk poets who composed the epic of the Byzantine ἀκρῖται and that of the famous Muslim hero Ghāzī Sayyid al-Baṭṭāl. On both sides, the population of the frontier zones presented peculiarities as it constituted a mixture of ethnic, religious and cultural elements. Changing sides was not unusual for the warriors; women abducted from the enemy side and prisoners taken facilitated some assimilation, while adventurers who aspired to a brilliant military carrier, sheer bandits seeking legitimacy and persecuted heretical elements took refuge in them.[17]

The idea that the frontier possessed its own distinctive culture, common to both sides but not to the imperial centres has been especially influential. The frontier city

[14]See now Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire: Studies in the History of Turkey, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Colin Heywood (London: Routledge, 2012); and Heywood, "The Frontier in Ottoman History".
[15]Paul Wittek, *Das Furstentum Mentesche: Studie zur Geschichte Westkleinasiens im 13.-15. Jh.* (Istanbul: Universum Druckerei, 1934; repr. Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1967); Turkish translation: Paul Wittek, *Menteşe Beyliği* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1944).
[16]Wittek, *Das Furstentum Mentesche*, 3–4.
[17]Zachariadou, "Udj".

of Philadelphia has been described as a "Greek emirate", while Michel Balivet has emphasised the frequent Turkish alliances and marriages of Philadelphia's Greek rulers, who often sought to assert their autonomy from the Byzantine Empire.[18] Keith Hopwood also saw the frontier zone as an area where "Byzantine and Turkish cultures merged",[19] while Dimitri Korobeinikov has recently affirmed the many common features shared by Greek and Muslim society under Seljuk rule.[20] Such scholarship as has touched on the Seljuk side of the border has tended to emphasise the other strand in Wittek's thinking, that of the *ūj* as a lawless land, remote from the customs or even concerns of Konya. In a different article and noting the ignorance of events there in the Persian sources, in particular Ibn Bībī (d. after 684/1285), Wittek describes the situation thus: " … as if the chancery at Konya either would or could care about nomad movements on a distant frontier".[21] The Seljuks' allegedly tenuous grip on the frontier is thought to have evaporated completely in the second half of the thirteenth century as the Mongol invasions both encouraged the new influx of displaced Turkmen and sapped such power as the Seljuk state had, resulting in the installation of a pro-Mongol vassal Seljuk sultan, Rukn al-Dīn IV Kılıç Arslan in Konya in 659/1261. This event has been described as "the end of aspirations [for the Seljuk state] to be an independent sultanate".[22] As Claude Cahen put it:

> Les efforts des Mongols pour réduire les Turcomanes avaient échoué, tout particulièrement dans la moitié occidentale de l'Asie Mineure (plateau central exclu). Petit à petit ce qui n'avait été que des bandes de pasteurs nomads autour de villes encore plus ou moins gouvernées par des représentants de l'autorité central étaient devenus autonomes et avaient pris possession de ces villes. Ainsi se formaient des principautés encore élémentaires.[23]
> (The efforts of the Mongols to reduce the Turcomans had failed, especially in the western part of Asia Minor, apart from the central plateau. Little by little what had been no more than bands of nomadic pastoralists around cities which were still more or less governed by representatives of central authority had become autonomous groups, and had taken possession of those cities. So principalities, still in a primitive stage of development, came into existence.)[24]

The first of these "principalities" (Turkish *beylik*) was that founded in the Denzli region by the Turkmen chief Muḥammad Beg in 660/1262, about which we shall

[18]Michel Balivet, *Rhomanie byzantine et pays de Rum turc: Histoire d'un espace d'imbrication greco-turque* (Istanbul: Isis, 1994), pp. 43–5, 85–99, 105–9.
[19]Hopwood, "Nicaea and Her Eastern Neighbours", 42.
[20]Dimitri Korobeinikov, "How Byzantine Were the Early Ottomans? Bithynia in c. 1290–1450", in *Osmanskii Mir i Osmanstika: Sbornik Statei k 100 letiu so dnia rozhdeniia S.A. Tveretinovoi*, ed. I.V. Zaitsev and S.F. Oroshkova (Moscow: Institut Vostokovedeniya RAN, 2010), pp. 215–39, esp. 219–23 (available at https://www.academia.edu/1505091/How_Byzantine_Were_the_Early_Ottomans_-_A_Fuller_Version).
[21]Paul Wittek, "Yazîcîoghlu 'Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobrudja", *BSOAS* 14/3 (1952): 639–68, p. 654.
[22]Melville, "Anatolia under the Mongols", 59; cf. Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, 249–50.
[23]Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, 339.
[24]Claude Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey: The Seljukid Sultanate of Rūm, Eleventh to Fourteenth Century*, trans. P.M. Holt (Harlow, 2001), p. 227.

have more to say in due course. This process of *beylik* formation coincided with the restoration of Constantinople as the Byzantine capital in 1261. In the view of Speros Vryonis, this led to a fatal neglect of the frontier zone on the part of the Byzantines: "These western Udj or Turkmen borders slipped from Seljuk control, and the Turkmen groups began to conquer and settle in the remainder of the river valleys";[25] ultimately, Vryonis states, these nomads, in the form of the Ottomans, would destroy Byzantium.

No doubt the frontier zone did indeed have some peculiar cultural and demographic characteristics. The Nicaeans, for instance, not only allowed Turkmen settlement within their territories, but also settled Qipchaq (Cuman) Turkish nomads in certain areas of the frontier.[26] Wittek was doubtless also correct to argue that both sides of the frontier shared much in common. How else can one explain an instance such as the Byzantine Theodore Mangaphas (d. 1205), whose surname appears to be Turkish, and who proclaimed himself emperor with the support of his Turkish troops?[27] Niketas Choniates recounts in horrified tones how the Greek Mangaphas behaved exactly like an archetypical Turkmen chief, sacking the church at Chonai in 1196, selling Christian prisoners into captivity and pillaging settlements in Byzantine territory.[28] A similar case was Manuel Mavrozomes (fl. early thirteenth century), a Greek who established himself as a frontier lord serving first Byzantium then the Seljuks. Niketas records of Mavrozomes that, "marching out with Turks, he plundered and laid waste the land watered by the Maeander river"[29] – again much as one would expect of a Turkmen chief leading his troops to plunder.

Despite these common features, this article will argue that in fact the western frontier zone formed an integral part of the Seljuk state, one which in fact became more integrated, not less, with the imposition of Mongol rule. In addition to its close economic and political links to central Anatolia, the region actively participated in the Islamic, Sufi-influenced culture of the Konya court, with which it had more in common than with Byzantine towns across the border, such as Philadelphia. The period we shall concentrate on is that between the Seljuk annexation of Chonai/Honaz and Laodikea/Lādhiq in 1206, and 678/1279, when the Mongols sought to assert more direct control of Anatolia in the wake of a major rebellion, although I shall occasionally refer to evidence from both earlier and later periods. In particular, I shall evaluate the evidence for the so-called "*beylik*" of Muḥammad Beg and ʿAlī Beg based in Lādhiq/Denizli, which features

[25]Vryonis, "Nomadization and Islamization," 47, see also 55; cf. Thonemann, *The Maeander Valley*, 1.
[26]On the Qipchaqs/Cumans in the Nicaean Empire, see D.A. Korobeinikov, "Kypchaki na Vostochnykh Granitsakh Nikeiskoi (Vizantiiksoi) Imperii v. XIII v", in *Polemogos: Sbornik Statei Pamyaty Professora V.V. Kuchmy* (Volgograd: Izd. Volgogradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2012), pp. 343–58 (available at https://www.academia.edu/5826298/The_Cumans_in_the_Empire_of_Nicaea).
[27]On Mangaphas, see Niketas, *Annals*, 219–20; Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East*, 60–3; Jean-Claude Cheynet, "Philadelphie, un quart siècle de dissidence, 1182–1206", in *Philadelphie et autres études*, ed. Hélène Ahrweiler (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1984), pp. 45–54. On the name, see Akropolites, *History*, 122, n. 17.
[28]Niketas, *Annals*, 220.
[29]*Ibid*., 343. On Mavrozomes, see further Sara Nur Yıldız, "Manuel Komnenos Mavrozomes and his Descendants at the Seljuk Court: The Formation of a Christian Seljuk Elite", in *Crossroads between Latin Europe and the Near East: Corollaries of the Frankish Presence in the Eastern Mediterranean, 12th-14th centuries*, ed. Stefan Leder (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2011), pp. 55–77.

frequently in the secondary literature but whose place in the Seljuk sultanate has not been sufficiently understood.[30]

A short excursus on terminology is in order. In this essay, I eschew using the term *ūj* to mean the frontier. This is for the simple reason that, despite being well established in modern scholarly usage with this meaning, it is not at all clear that this was the term's thirteenth-century signification. In fact, *ūj* can frequently signify not a place but a people – the Turkmen.[31] The term *wilāyat-i ūj*, which we frequently meet in the Persian sources, does not therefore necessarily mean a frontier province but rather one that is inhabited by Turkmen. Whether or not, as Cahen believed,[32] the *wilāyat-i ūj* had a special administrative status within the Seljuk state (a contention for which the evidence is uncertain), territories with such a name could certainly stretch far into the heart of Seljuk Anatolia, to regions such as Amasya, and even Konya and Antalya, where the Seljuk sultans had their palaces and which were nowhere near any frontier. Certainly, given their substantial Turkmen populations, the western frontiers of the Seljuk state were sometimes referred to as the *ūj*,[33] but they were not the only regions described as such. For this reason, clarity is better served if we avoid the usage of *ūj* to mean frontier.

The economic and cultural structures of frontier life

One of the inspirations for Wittek's conception of frontier life was the description by the Maghribi traveller Ibn Saʿīd (d. 685/1286) with which *Das Furstentum Mentesche* starts:[34]

> The mountains of the Turkmen and their land: there are a numerous people of Turkish descent who conquered the land of Rūm in the period of the

[30]On Muḥammad Beg and his polity, see Claude Cahen "Notes pour l'histoire des Turcomanes d'Asie Mineure au XIIIe siècle", *Journal Asiatique* 249/3 (1951): 335–54, pp. 335–40; Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 514–18; Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, 250–1; Tuncer Baykara, art. "İnançoğulları", in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, volume XXII (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2000), pp. 263–4 with further bibliography; an article by Mikail Bayram is more misleading than helpful: "Türkiye Selçukluları Uc Beği Denzlili Mehmet Bey", in Mikail Bayram, *Türkiye Selçukluları Üzerine Araştırmalar* (Konya: Kömen Yayınları, 2003), pp. 132–42, and see the critique in Sara Nur Yıldız, "Manuel Komnenos Mavrozomes", 66, n. 53.

[31]See the discussion in Peacock, "Court and Nomadic Life", 199–205; see also Korobeinikov, "How Byzantine Were the Early Ottomans?", 224–7, who reaches different conclusions from those proposed here.

[32]Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, 206. Elsewhere Cahen describes the *ūj* as "autonomous", but does not expand further. See Claude Cahen, "Selǧukides, Turcomans et Allemands au temps de la troisième croisade", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 55 (1960): 21–31, p. 29.

[33]See, for example, Shams al-Dīn Aḥmed al-Aflākī, *Manāqib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, volume 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1976), II: 990: *az safar-i wilāyat-i ūj bi-ḥawālī-yi shahr-i Lādhiq nazdīk rasīdīm*. It should be noted that Korobeinikov questions the size of the Turkmen population of the frontier: Korobeinikov, "How Byzantine Were the Early Ottomans?", 227–9. It may well be the case that some of the estimates in the medieval sources are excessive, but the question of the proportion of Turkmen to settled population in these areas cannot easily be resolved.

[34]Wittek, *Das Furstentum Mentesche*, 1–3. Wittek was reliant on the text as transmitted by Abū l-Fidāʾ. For an edition (albeit flawed) of Ibn Saʿīd's original, see Ibn Saʿīd, *Kitāb al-Ǧughrafīyya*, ed. Ismāʿīl al-ʿArabī (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Tijārī li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 1971), p. 185; there is also a French translation by Claude Cahen, "Ibn Sa'īd sur l'Asie Mineure Seljukide", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 6/10–11 (1968): 41–50, reprinted in Claude Cahen, *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus* (London: Variorum, 1974). My interpretation differs from that of Cahen in a few places.

> Seljuks. They have become accustomed to raid the *akritai* who live on the coast, to take their possessions and sell them to the Muslims. Only the existence of a peace treaty (*hudna*) and the force of the sultan hold them back. They make Turkmen carpets, which are exported. On their coast is a gulf called Macre,[35] which is famous among travellers, from which timber is exported to Alexandria and elsewhere. There is located the river of Baṭṭāl,[36] which is deep. Across it is a bridge, which is lowered when there is peace (*hudna*) and raised when war breaks out, and which is the border between the Muslims and Christians. The Baṭṭāl after whom it is named often raided Christians in Umayyad times … To the north of the aforementioned Antalya are the mountains of Denizli, in which region and its surroundings are said to be around 200,000 Turkmen households, who are the ones called the *ūj*. The distance between it and the castle of Khūnās [Chonai] where bows [?] are made is two *farsakh*s. The mountains of the Turkmen adjoin the lands of al-Lashkari, the ruler of Constantinople, from the gate of Denizli.

Many of the key elements of Wittek's characterisation of frontier life are present here: nomads, cross border-raiding, and romantic, heroic legends in the form of Baṭṭāl, the Umayyad warrior who was the subject of a Turkish prose epic.[37] The region is depicted as having its own character, for sure, but in contrast to Wittek's view, Ibn Saʿīd suggests that the Seljuk state could indeed make its will felt here. The Turkmen are restrained not just by the sultan's coercive power (*qahr al-sulṭān*), but also by a peace treaty – a *hudna*, a word that implies a formal written agreement, not merely a state of peace (*ṣulḥ*). This is confirmed by Greek sources, which indicate that, at least at certain times and places, there was a delineated frontier between Byzantium and the Seljuks, marked by geographical features such as the Sangarios and Maeander rivers.[38] Sometimes, however, formal agreements might be negotiated directly with the nomads. As pastoralists, the latter's major concern was to maintain access to their winter pastures in the low-lying river basins. Pachymeres relates that, as part of a peace treaty following his campaigns on the Maeander in 1269, the Byzantine general John Palaiologos (d. 1274), "… accepted [the Turks'] request and fixed limits where they could move and descend for their pastures, it being understood that they would pay very dearly if they broke the agreement."[39]

[35]i.e., Telmessos/Fethiye.

[36]Cahen, "Ibn Saʿīd sur l'Asie Mineure", 42, n. 10, follows Wittek, *Das Furstentum Mentesche*, 2 in interpreting this as the Dalaman Çay on the basis of its association with Macre. However, it is equally, if not more, likely that as so often Ibn Saʿīd's information is confused. If we are looking for a river near the sacred sites associated with Baṭṭāl Ghāzī (whose tomb at Seyitgazi near Eskişehir is discussed below), the most obvious candidate is the Porsuk Çay which flows past Seyitgazi and Dorylaion/Eskişehir, in the northern section of the frontier.

[37]For a survey of the legend of Baṭṭāl, see Zeynep Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiography in the Ottoman Empire: The Politics of Bektashi Shrines in the Classical Age* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 31–4; for an edition and translation of the Turkish epic devoted to him, see *Battâlnâme*, ed. and trans. Yorgos Dedes (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1996).

[38]Pachymeres specifically refers to the Sangarios delineating the frontier: George Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, ed. Albert Failler, trans. Vitalien Laurent, volume 2 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984–2000), IV.27, pp. 404–5 cf. ibid. III.21, pp. 290–1. See further Thonemann, *The Maeander Valley*, 5–7, 136, 168–70.

Such a policy of accommodation with the Turkmen was not an innovation of the Nicaean state. Dorylaion was fortified by the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Komnenos (d. 1180) in the late twelfth century, but it proved impossible to keep out the nomads, and eventually a deal was agreed whereby they would pay for pasture rights.[40] In the Islamic world, such arrangements are well known from Seljuk Central Asia.[41]

It is worth dwelling briefly on the better researched Nicaean/Byzantine side of the frontier to give some context to our investigations. Recent scholarship on the Byzantine frontier economy has painted a rather more complex picture than one of simple raiding and occasional trading. After the fall of Constantinople in 1204, members of the Byzantine elite rushed to acquire property on the Maeander, and numerous disputes ensued as wealthy members of the Nicaean elite tried to evict existing landowners.[42] This suggests that, despite the Turkmen incursions that had by this point being going on for a good century, territory right in the heart of their summer pastures remained valuable and attractive. This does not mean that there was no Turkmen impact: on the Maeander delta there was a shift away from settled agriculture, as the Byzantines themselves turned to pastoralism. The Nicaean Empire established lucrative and important stud farms in the areas[43] and, although there is no direct evidence of it, it would seem likely that Turkmen were employed thereon, famous as they were for their equestrian skills.[44] However, the agricultural decline was certainly not uniform, and the situation on the Maeander delta may represent only a localised trend. Further north, the fifteenth-century Ottoman tax registers for Bithynia attest a vibrant agricultural economy,[45] and this impression is reinforced for the late-thirteenth century by the list of lands belonging to the villages of a *waqf* at Sultan Öyüğü (Eskişehir, on the Seljuk side of the frontier), which refer to the income expected from farm land (*mazārīʿ*), fruit trees and mills.[46]

Indeed, there is some evidence that the Nicaeans came to see Turkmen as an asset to be managed and propitiated, in a least certain circumstances. According to an encomium by Theodore II Laskaris (d. 1258) written around 1250, after settling his Qipchaqs on the frontier, the Nicaean Emperor John Vatatzes (d. 1254) had wed the Qipchaqs' children to those of the "Persoi" – by whom must be meant the Turks, and more specifically, the Turkmen. Both Qipchaqs and Turkmen accepted baptism.[47] In Bithynia, on occasion the Nicaean borders seem to have

[39]Pachymérès, *Relations*, III.22, pp. 290–1.
[40]See Andrew F. Stone "Dorylaion Revisited: Manuel I Komnenos and the Refortification of Dorylaion and Soublaion in 1175", *Revue des études byzantines* 61 (2003): 183–99, p. 196.
[41]For a twelfth-century negotiation over pasturage rights in Central Asia, see *Nāmahā-yi Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ*, ed. Qāsim Tūīsirkānī (Tehran: Dānishgāh-i Tihrān, 1383), pp. 29–32.
[42]See Thonemann, *The Maeander Valley*, 271–3. On the suitability of the Maeander for pastoralism, see also Pachymérès, *Relations*, IV. 27, pp. 402–3.
[43]Thonemann, *The Maeander Valley*, 303–6.
[44]On the modern Turkmen presence in the area, see *ibid*., 297–8.
[45]Bernard Geyer, Yunus Koç, Jacques Lefort and Christine Châtaigner, "Les villages et l'occupation du sol au debut de l'époque modern", in *La Bithynie au moyen âge*, ed. Bernard Geyer and Jacques Lefort (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 2003), pp. 411–30.
[46]Ahmet Temir, *Kırşehir Emiri Cacaoğlu Nur el-Din 1272 Tarihli Arapça-Moğolca Vakfiyesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989), p. 61, ll. 544–9.
[47]Korobeinikov, "Kipchaky", 353–4, citing Theodore II Ducas Lascaris, "In laudem Iohannis Ducae Imperatori", in *idem*, *Opuscula rhetorica*, ed. A. Tartaglia (Munich: B.G. Teubner, 2000), pp. 28–29.

been carefully calibrated specifically to *include* a Turkmen population. A prime example is Tarsia, lying on the eastern side of the Sangarios – on the other side of what Pachymeres (supra, n. 38) tells us was the frontier – and basically consisting of a large plain, today known as Akova, near modern Adapazar – a major Turkmen pasture.[48] From the point of view of defensive strategy, it would make relatively little sense to invest in holding this scantly populated region; far better to retreat to the western bank of the Sangarios than try to defend a prime winter pasture with little other strategic or economic value. The Nicaean governor of Tarsia must therefore have been responsible for managing and harnessing the nomad presence rather than simply keeping it out. The story of a remarkable defection underlines this point. The future Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (d. 1282) had been governor of Tarsia and neighbouring Mesothynia on behalf of the Laskarids since 1254.[49] In 1256, fearful of Theodore II Laskaris and for his own safety, Michael suddenly fled to the Turks, to the court of ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāʾūs II (d. ca. 1280), where several of his Komnenian relatives were already in the Seljuk service.[50] Michael was appointed to a senior position in the Seljuk army, the office of *beglerbeg*, in which position he led the Seljuk forces to their disastrous defeat by the Mongols at Aksaray in 654/1256. In the wake of the defeat, Michael, still supported by his Turkish troops, fled to the northern province of Kastamonu, possibly becoming its governor or *muqṭaʿ*. Kastamonu was famous in the thirteenth century for its Turkmen population, and would have been the very province adjoining his old territory of Tarsia. Effectively, therefore, he was moving from administering the Nicaean side of the frontier to its Seljuk counterpart.[51] Āqsarāʾī (d. ca. 1323–1333), our major Persian source for Michael's activities in Rūm, is profoundly hostile to him, accusing him of inciting Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn to seek Turkmen support for his resistance to the Mongols. Apparently, Michael somehow incurred the profound enmity of Muḥammad Beg, the "amir of the Turks of the *ūj*".[52] All these factors suggest that Michael was intimately entangled with Turkmen politics; it is probable, if impossible to prove, that his involvement in and understanding of Turkmen affairs derived from his time as governor of Tarsia.[53]

[48]See Clive Foss, "Byzantine Malagina and the Lower Sangarius", *Anatolian Studies* 40 (1990): 161–83, pp. 178–82.

[49]*Ibid*., 174; Akropolites, *History*, 352.

[50]On Michael Palaiologos in the Seljuk lands, see D.A. Korobeinikov, "Mikhail VIII Palaeolog v Rumskom Sultanate', *Vizantiskii Vremmenik* 64 (2005): 77–98. See also D.A. Korobeinikov, "Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century", DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2003, ch. 2 (revised version forthcoming with Oxford University Press, 2014). The exact sequence of these events is somewhat unclear; see *ibid*. for the chronology, where Korobeinikov proposes that Michael in fact made two trips to Rūm, the first as a refugee and the second in 1258 with the blessing of Theodore Laskaris.

[51]Korobeinikov, "Mikhail VIII Palaelog", 92; *idem*, "Byzantium and the Turks", 62–8. On Kastamonu's Turkmen population, see Ibn Saʿīd, *Kitāb al-Ǧughrafīyya,* 195; Cahen, "Ibn Saʿid sur l'Asie Mineure", 48.

[52]Āqsarāʾī, *Musāmarat al-akhbār*, ed. Osman Turan as: Aksaraylı Mehmet oğlu Kerimüddin Mahmud, *Müsâmeret ül-ahbâr: Moğollar Zamanında Türkiye Selçukluları Tarihi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1944), p. 66.

[53]This suspicion of his nomadic alliances is in fact strengthened by one superficially contradictory piece of evidence, the testimony of Akropolites that as Michael fled across the frontier in 1256, he was waylaid and robbed by a group of Turkmen, arriving in Konya in desperate straits. Why does Akropolites, ever anxious to present an idealised portrait of Michael, provide this information – the sole source to do so? One credible explanation is that it was precisely to defuse rumours of the emperor's close association with the Turkmen to a Constantinopolitan audience. See Akropolites, *History*, § 65, p. 315, and see also p. 317, n. 2.

If relations between the Greeks and the Turkmen could be subject to negotiation and mutual accommodation, as illustrated by the cases of the lower Maeander and Tarsia, we should anticipate that it is likely that something similar would have happened on the Seljuk side of the border. The political structures that facilitated this will be investigated in the subsequent section. For the moment, I wish to return to the economic and cultural characteristics of the frontier, now adducing the evidence from the Seljuk side, to show how the region was integrated into the Seljuk state. Given the paucity of references to the frontier in the Persian chronicles that constitute our main source for Seljuk history, the most striking evidence for the region's status are the surviving architectural remains, in the form of caravanserais and religious buildings.

Most of the dated caravanserais are from the period before the disturbances of the year 659/1261.[54] One group clusters around the Phrygian hills near the source of the Sangarios, between modern Afyonkarahisar and Seyitgazi, and two more survive in the Maeander region, near the town of Denizli. Unfortunately, the inscriptions from the northern set of caravanserais have not survived, although that at Deve Han near Seyitgazi was apparently constructed in 1207–1208, and Egret Han perhaps in 1260. Slightly further from the frontier lies an earlier caravanserai, the Çardak Han, built in 627/1230. As we shall see, there is also literary evidence of other caravanserais in the area that have not survived. The caravanserais, traditionally thought to have been used as rest places for itinerant caravans, suggest cross-border trade, linking the western peripheries of the Seljuk state and the Nicaean Empire to the major economic centres in central Anatolia, Konya and Kayseri, and to Seljuk emporia on the Mediterranean. However, there are few such buildings on the Nicaean side of the border,[55] and it has been suggested that commerce was just one function of caravanserais. They also projected and symbolised the power of the Seljuk state and its officials who built them, and served a variety of purposes to facilitate state administration, among them accommodation for itinerant officials or even sultans, as part of the postal and intelligence system, and supporting tax collection and military manoeuvres.[56] Whatever their exact purpose, the caravanserais are certainly testimony to the engagement of the most senior members of the Seljuk elite in the frontier zone. According to epigraphic evidence, the best known of these caravanserais, the Ak Han outside Denizli, was built in 652/1254 by Qarāsonqor

[54]Kurt Erdmann and Hanna Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1976). For a discussion of these caravanserais in the context of Seljuk-Nicaean relations, see Scott Redford, "Caravansarais and Commerce", in *Papers from the Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium (Istanbul, June 2013)*, ed. N. Necipoğlu and P. Magdalino (Istanbul: Koç University Press, forthcoming). I am very grateful to the author for sharing his paper in advance of publication.

[55]*Xenodocheia* (hostels) dating from the ninth and tenth centuries are known, but seem to have been intended to link Nicaea with Constantinople. It has been suggested that Bithynian trade in the thirteenth century was of regional rather than international importance. See Maria Gerolymatou, "Le commerce, VIIe-XVe siècle", in *La Bithynie au moyen âge*, pp. 485–98, esp. 485–6.(See note 45.) However, more recent research has indicated that Nicaea was a major commercial player in the thirteenth century eastern Mediterranean. See Redford, "Caravansarais and Commerce".

[56]Ayşıl T. Yavuz, "Anatolian Seljuk Caravanserais and the Post System", in *CIÉPO XIV. Sempozyumu bildirileri, 18–22 Eylül 2000, Çeşme* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2004), pp. 799–813; Mustafa Önge, "Caravanserais as Symbols of Power in Seljuk Anatolia", in *Power and Culture: Identity, Ideology and Representation*, ed. Jonathon Osmond and Ausma Cimdiņa (Pisa: Plus-Pisa University Press, 2007), pp. 49–69; Redford, "Caravansarais and Commerce".

b. ʿAbdallāh – brother of the leading political figure in the Seljuk state, the vizier Jalāl al-Dīn Qaraṭāy (d. 652/1254). Meanwhile, the Çardak Han was built by the *amīr* Rashīd al-Dīn Iyāz b. ʿAbdallāh al-Shihābī, an officer of sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Din Kayqubād (r. 616/1219–634/1237).[57]

The other form of investment was in religious structures, of which the most prominent was the shrine of the Umayyad ghazi hero Baṭṭāl at Seyitgazi. Although the surviving structures at Seyitgazi were all erected by the Ottomans, popular legends that circulated in the later Middle Ages recorded that the shrine had been founded by the mother of the Seljuk sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayqubād after a vision. She is also reputed to have been buried there.[58] Other evidence suggests that the shrine may have been endowed or restored by Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw I in 1205 after his release from captivity in Constantinople, possibly to thank the Danishmendid Turkmen chiefs who had played a key role in securing his restoration to the throne.[59] The fact that a member of the Seljuk family, Masʿūd b. Kılıç Arslan, had been appointed as governor of the Dorylaion region after 1176,[60] gives these claims of Seljuk involvement further credibility.

Did the turmoil around 1261 result in an abandonment of Seljuk investment in the region, as might be suggested on the tenuous evidence of the absence of caravanserai construction? On the contrary, the frontier region remained the focus of considerable elite investment in the 1260 s and 1270 s by both Mongol and Seljuk officials. Land around Sivrihisar near Eskişehir was owned by the immensely powerful *nāʾib al-salṭana* (deputy of the sultanate), Amīn al-Dīn Mīkāʾīl (d. ca. 676/1277), who converted it into *waqf*, as well as in 673/1274 restoring the main mosque of Sivrihisar, where he probably also built several other structures including a madrasa, a library and a *zāwiya*, according to the evidence of Ottoman documents.[61] In Sultan Öyüğü (Eskişehir), the leading Mongol *amīr* and governor of Kırşehir, Nūr al-Dīn Ibn Jāja, undertook an even more extensive campaign of building. According his *waqfiyya* dated 670/1272, he built a new mosque and a caravanserai, restored no fewer than 17 other mosques and a *zāwiya*, and endowed two nearby villages, their lands and their produce for the support of his foundations in the town.[62] An indication of some of the products traded in the caravanserais is also given: that outside Sultan Öyüğü had a "market for cloth, coloured and raw silk",[63] which

[57]Erdmann and Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, I: 67–72, 59–61.

[58]See Redford, "Caravansarais and Commerce"; and Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiography*, esp. pp. 35–6, 55–6.

[59]Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiography*, 79–85; Wittek, *Das Furstentum Mentesche*, 8.

[60]Peacock, "Court and Nomadic Life", 203, with further references at n. 67.

[61]See Cem Boz, "Saltanat Nâibi Eminüddîn Mîkâ'îl'in Hayatı ve Türkiye Selçuklu Devleti Tarihindeki Yeri", Yüksek Lisans Tezi (Masters thesis), Ankara University, 2013, pp. 22–6; Halime Doğru, *XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Sivrihisar Nahiyesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1997), p. 89.

[62]Temir, *Kırşehir Emiri*, 60–2 (Turkish trans. pp. 127–8). For more on Ibn Jāja and his endowments, see Judith Pfeiffer, "Protecting Private Property vs Negotiating Political Authority: Nur al-Din b. Jaja and His Endowments in Thirteenth-Century Anatolia", in *Ferdowsi, the Mongols and the History of Iran: Art, Literature and Culture from Early Islam to the Qajars*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand, A.C.S. Peacock and Firuza Abdullaeva (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), pp. 147–65, esp. 157–8. For the inscription on Ibn Jāja's mosque at Sultan Öyüğü, see İhsan, "Eskişehir kitabeleri", *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi* 2 (1934): 262–8, pp. 262–3.

[63]Temir, *Kırşehir Emiri*, 61–2, ll. 554–5: *al-khān alladhī fīhi sūq al-bazz wa-l-khazz wa-l-qazz*.The spelling for *al-khazz* as الحز in the text is evidently a misprint. Temir's Turkish translation gives "bez, yünlü ve ipekli kumaşlar" ("cloth, wool and silk textiles"), which is wrong.

was produced by the Empire of Nicaea.[64] Another Seljuk grandee involved in the frontier was Fakhr al-Dīn Ṣāḥib ʿAṭā (d. 687/1288). He endowed a madrasa and a caravanserai to the west of Akşehir, and carved out much of the western frontier as a family fief. Ibn Bībī tells us that he gave Lādhiq, Honaz and Karahisar Develi (Afyonkarahisar) to his sons,[65] and his descendants held sway in Afyon until the middle of the fourteenth century, as inscriptions there attest.[66]

The investments of these leading figures suggest that the frontier enjoyed a degree of prosperity and was economically and politically integrated into the Seljuk state through the elite's involvement as much as through trade networks. The presence of *waqf*s such as those endowed by Nūr al-Dīn b. Jāja at Eskişehir and Amīn al-Dīn Mīkāʾīl near Sivrihisar raises the question of the broader religious and cultural orientation of the region. While the presence of the shrine at Seyitgazi may seem to support Wittek's contention of a distinctive frontier culture inspired by romantic, heroic epics such as the tales of Baṭṭāl Ghāzī, the early-fourteenth-century hagiographer Aflākī tells a rather different story, stressing the enthusiasm of the Turkmen elites of Lādhiq for Sufism.[67] Muḥammad Beg, "the ghazi and hero (*ghāzī wa bahādur*) of the land [of the *ūj*]" is portrayed as a disciple of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273) (*sar-nihād wa murīd shud*), whom he visited in Konya, while Shujāʿ al-Dīn Inanj, who may have been Muḥammad's grandson and who ruled in Lādhiq/Denizli ca. 1292–1333, is said to have been a *murīd* of ʿĀrif Chelebi, Rūmī's grandson.[68]

Two surviving manuscripts produced in the city shed a certain light on its cultural and religious atmosphere. The first was produced in Lādhiq in Rajab 660/May-June 1262, when, as we shall see, the city was under the control of the Turkmen chief Muḥammad Beg. Written by a scribe named ʻAlī b. Sulaymān al-Qūnawī, the manuscript (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Halet Efendi Ek 92) is a collection (*majmūʿa*) of three Persian works dealing with Sufism in the Akbari tradition of the great Seljuk intellectual Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnawī (d. 673/1274). These are a work dedicated to an otherwise unknown Turkish or Turkmen *amīr*, Sayf al-Dīn Ṭughril, *al-Manāhij al-Sayfiyya*; and two further works dealing with the faith and behaviour of the Muslim from a Sufi perspective, the *Maṭāliʿ al-īmān* and the *Tabṣirat al-mubtadī*.[69] Both the *nisba* of the scribe, attesting his affiliation with Konya, and the contents of the work suggest the penetration of the theology, language and culture of the Seljuk capital into the Turkmen heartland of the frontier. Another slightly later example of this

[64]See Redford, "Caravansarais and Commerce".

[65]Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir al-ʿalāʾiyya fi-l-umūr al-ʿalāʾiyya*, facsimile edition prepared by Adnan Sadık Erzi (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1956), p. 657; cf. Āqsarāʾī, *Musāmarat al-akhbār*, p. 74, which names Kütahya, Sandıklı, Gorgorum (Beyşehir) and Akşehir in the *wilāyat-i ūj* as the appanage of Ṣāḥib ʻAṭāʾs sons.

[66]See M. Ferit and M. Mesut, *Selçuk Vezir Sahip Ata ve Ogullarının Hayat ve Eserleri* (Istanbul: Türkiye Matbaası, 1934), esp. pp. 23–33 on Ṣāḥib ʻAṭāʾs career, pp. 87–99 on his construction activities at Akşehir and Ishaklı, and pp. 126–42 on his descendants and their activities in the Afyon region. See also Erdoğan Merçil, art. "Sahib Ata", in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, volume XXXV (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2008), pp. 551–6; and *idem*, art. "Sahib Ata oğulları", in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, volume XXXV (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2008), p. 518.

[67]e.g. Aflākī, *Manāqib al-ʿārifīn*, II:. 864, 869, 934, 939, 945.

[68]*Ibid*., I: 475; II: 864. On Inanj Beg, see Baykara, "Inançoğulları", and Faruk Sumer, "Anadolu'da Moğollar", *Selçuklu Araştırmalar Dergisi* 1 (1970): 1–147, esp. pp. 50–1.

[69]The texts in this *majmūʿa* have been translated into English by William C. Chittick, *The Faith and Practice of Islam: Three Thirteenth-Century Sufi Texts* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992).

interpenetration of Turkmen and Islamic culture is MS Süleymaniye Hudai 71, a manuscript of Najm al-Dīn Rāzī's (d. 654/1256) *al-Taʾwīlāt al-najmiyya*, consisting of a Sufi *tafsīr* of selected Qurʾānic *sūra*s, copied in Dhū l-Ḥijja 738/1338, according to the colophon "in the madrasa in the [God]-protected frontier city of Lādhiq" (بمدينة المحروسة دار الثغر لاذق حرسها الله تعالي في المدرسة المبنية بها). The copyist's name is ʿAbd al-Salām b. Turkmān b. Ṭughānshāh al-Qūnawī, suggesting both Turkmen ancestry and a connection with Konya. Even the quintessential *dār al-thaghr* (frontier city) of Lādhiq thus possessed madrasas, manuscript copyists, and Persian texts, and its Turkmen elite shared in the same Sufi culture as Konya.

Political structures on the frontier

By what means might what Ibn Saʿīd calls the *qahr al-sulṭān*, the force of the sultan, be brought to bear on the Turkmen to facilitate Seljuk control? There were of course governors appointed to towns in the frontier region. After the annexation of Chonai and Lādhiq, the Seljuks appointed the Greek marcher lord, Manuel Mavrozomes, as governor.[70] By 612/1215, Chonai had been granted to a high ranking Seljuk *amīr*, whose name we know from an inscription at Sinop – Asad al-Dīn al-Ghālibī. The last element of his name is particularly interesting as it indicates he was personally connected to the Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykhusraw I, who bore the title "*al-sulṭān al-ghālib*", most likely as a member of his personal slave (*ghulām*) retinue.[71] In contrast to the Nicaean side, which witnessed widespread construction of fortifications in the thirteenth century on Lower Sangarios and the Maeander,[72] to date little evidence of Seljuk military architecture or construction from the border region has come to light. The most significant Seljuk garrison in the vicinity of the frontier (at least to judge by the frequency of references in the sources) was the re-used Romano-Byzantine fortification at Uluborlu. This had something of the character of a high security prison for elite prisoners,[73] and in any event was not particularly close to the frontier, lying a good 120 km southwest of Lādhiq/Denizli. As mentioned above, caravanserais may also have played a role as government outposts and in maintaining local security, and many of them were situated much nearer to the frontier, next to the shrines, with

[70]Niketas, *Annals*, 350–1. On the governors of Honaz, Lādhiq and Kütahya, see further Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, 204. On Mavrozomes, see further Yıldız, "Manuel Komnenos Mavrozomes".

[71]For the inscription, see Scott Redford, *Legends of Authority: The 1215 Citadel Inscriptions of Sinop Citadel, Turkey* (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2014), pp. 228–30.

[72]For fortifications in Bithynia, see Christopher Giros, "Les fortifications médiévales", in *La Bithynie au moyen âge*, pp. 209–24 (See note 45); Foss, "Byzantine Malagina"; for fortresses in the Maeander region, see Thonemann, *The Maeander Valley*, 1, 261, 275–8. See also Keith Hopwood, "The Byzantine-Turkish Frontier, 1250–1300", in *Acta Viennensia Ottomanica: Akten des 13. CIEPO-Symposiums* (*Comité international des études pré-ottomanes et ottomanes), vom 21. bis 25. September 1998 in Wien*, ed. M. Kohbach, G. Prochazka-Eisland and C. Romer (Vienna: Selbstverlag des Instituts für Orientalistik, 1999), pp. 153–61, esp. 155.

[73]ʿAlāʾ al-Din Kayqubād's estranged wife Mahparī Khātun was exiled here in the 1220s, where she also engaged in building mosques and caravanserais; on his accession in 1237, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II's half-brothers ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāʾūs and Rukn al-Dīn were sent to Uluborlu. See Scott Redford, "Paper, Stone, Scissors: 'Ala' al-din Kayqubad, 'Ismat al-Dunya wa'l-Din, and the Writing of Seljuk History", in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, ed. A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), pp. 151–70, esp. 152–8; Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir al-ʿalāʾiyya*, 472, 549.

which they may have served to mark the frontier.[74] Doubtless, as at Uluborlu, the Seljuks re-used Byzantine forts where they were available, and it is possible that, given the absence of research, there was more of a military infrastructure than is realised.

The Byzantine sources were frequently sceptical of attempts by the sultans to distance themselves from the nomads. The treaty between Manuel Komnenos and Kılıç Arslan II in 1162 stipulated that "those who lay under his authority, but who are clever at living by thefts and customarily are called the Turkomans" would not be allowed to raid Byzantine territory, obliging the Seljuk ruler to prevent this.[75] Indeed, the Turkmen themselves sent a delegation to Constantinople to ensure that Kılıç Arslan represented their interests – "to be suitor on their behalf to the emperor".[76] Attempts by an ambassador of Kılıç Arslan II to claim to Manuel in ca. 1167 that the Turkmen raiding had taken place against the sultan's wishes were not believed; Choniates remarks that, "Offering other such specious arguments but describing conditions that were not in accordance with the facts, he was caught in the act of lying".[77] The Byzantines had good reason for their scepticism. A careful reading of the sources reveals that, notwithstanding revolts and tensions from time to time, the Seljuk sultans and their court maintained close links with the Turkmen;[78] indeed, when Turkmen revolts occurred, they were frequently sparked by disputes over legitimate succession within the Seljuk family.[79] Notwithstanding the Turkmen revolts that took place from time to time, both Byzantine and Persian sources confirm the enduring "special relationship" between Seljuk sultans and at least some groups of Turkmen in their accounts of the Seljuk Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāʾūs II, dethroned at the Mongols' behest in 659/1261. These sources recall that ʿIzz al-Dīn was accompanied into exile in the Byzantine lands by a mass of Turkmen.[80]

The Persian sources offer some hints as to how sultanic authority made itself felt among the Turkmen. Ibn Bībī mentions the "commanders of the *ūj* province" – *sarwar wa-farmān-rawā-[yi] wilāyat-i ūj* – themselves descended from the Danishmendid Turkmen Yaghibasan, who were instrumental in ensuring the return of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw from exile in Byzantium in 1205. They had command over more junior officials and commanders, described as "*umarā wa-sar-khaylān-i ān nawāḥī*".[81] The three Danishmendid brothers were bound to Ghiyāth al-Dīn by the tightest bonds of personal loyalty, we are told.[82] Elsewhere Ibn Bībī refers to the office of *Turkmān-shiḥna*. From the context, this individual seems to have had responsibility for Turkmen troops in the Seljuk forces,[83] but it is also possible that, as was the case in the Great Seljuk Empire, the *shiḥna*

[74]Redford, "Caravansarais and Commerce"; Oya Pancaroğlu, "Caves, Borderlands and Configurations of Sacred Topography in Medieval Anatolia", in *Les Seljoukides d'Anatolie*, ed. Gary Leiser, *Mésogeios* 25–26 (special issue) (2005): 249–81, pp. 265–79.
[75]Kinnamos, *Deeds*, 158.
[76]*Ibid.*
[77]Niketas, *Annals*, 70.
[78]See Peacock, "Court and Nomadic Life", *passim*.
[79]See Cahen, "Selğukides, Turcomans et Allemands", 24–31; see also the discussion of the Jimrī episode below.
[80]See the discussion of these events in Wittek, "Yazîjîoghlu 'Ali", *passim*.
[81]Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir al-ʿalāʾiyya*, 76–7.
[82]*Ibid.*, 76: *wafā wa-walā'-i sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn-rā shiʿār wa-dithār-i khwud sākhta būdand.*
[83]*Ibid.*, 621.

functioned more generally as the sultan's representative to the Turkmen, with a variety of responsibilities, from collecting taxes from the nomads to mustering them for military operations and allotting pasturage. On occasion, this *shiḥna* was himself a Turkmen.[84] As we shall see below, Muḥammad Beg of Denizli actively sought the appointment of a *shiḥna*, which suggests that the office in the Anatolian Seljuk sultanate was (or at least could at times be) of much greater significance than merely a military command.

The Turkmen also evinced a need for political legitimacy in some form. To appreciate this, it is worth citing the account of the revolt of Muḥammad Beg, the Turkmen chief of Denizli, preserved by the Mamlūk author Baybars al-Manṣūrī. It was this event, coming in the wake of ʿIzz al-Din Kayqubād's defeat by the Mongols, that Cahen saw as marking the collapse of Seljuk power on the frontier (see nn. 23, 24 *supra*):

> [in 659/1261] … Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn fled in defeat [at the hands of the Mongols] to Constantinople … and his brother inherited his kingdom except for the frontiers, mountains and coastline, which were in the hands of the Turkmen. The latter resisted giving allegiance to Sultan Rukn al-Dīn [IV]; their leaders [*kubarāʾuhum*] were Muḥammad Beg and his brother Ilyās Beg and his relative by marriage ʿAlī Beg … They sent to Hulagu [the Mongol ruler of Iran and the west] offering him obedience, and tribute, and asking from him to send a flag [*sanjaq*] and a decree [*firmān*] with their investment, as well as a *shiḥna* to reside with them. He agreed to this, and sent them a *shiḥna* named Qulshar, and wrote for them a decree investing them with the land they controlled, which was Denizli, Honaz, Ṭalamānī (Dalaman), and their surroundings … [In 660/1262] Hulagu sent to Muḥammad Beg the chief [*amīr*] of the Turkmen in Anatolia, summoning him to the *ordu* [Mongol court/military camp]. [Muḥammad Beg] refused and did not go. Hulagu then sent an order to Sultan Rukn al-Dīn and the Mongols in Anatolia to go and fight Muḥammad Beg and the Turkmen who were with him. His relative ʿAlī Beg betrayed him, and went to Sultan Rukn al-Dīn and strengthened the latter's resolve to fight the Turkmen. He showed him their weak points and the entry points to their country … [the Turkmen under Muḥammad Beg are defeated] . and 'Alī Beg was established as chief over the Turkmen [*amīran ʿalā l-Turkmān*] and the Mongols ruled those border lands up to the extremity of Istanbul.[85]

Thus a Turkmen chief required not just the symbolic legitimacy of the standard and *firmān* but even the appointment of a resident representative of authority, the *shiḥna*. No doubt Muḥammad Beg needed these forms of recognition to secure his position locally. What he was trying to do was not to assert independence so much as to swap one overlord – the Seljuk sultan – for another – the Mongol khan; it was essential that

[84]For a discussion of *shiḥna* in the Great Seljuk context see David Durand-Guédy, "The Turkmen-Saljuq Relationship in Twelfth-Century Iran: New Elements Based on a Contrastive Analysis of Three *inšā* Documents", *Eurasian Studies* 9 (2011):11–66. For a *shiḥna* in Lādhiq, see Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, 283.
[85]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra fi taʾrīkh al-hijra*, ed. D.S. Richards (Beirut and Würzburg: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998), pp. 73, 76.

he be seen to have a suzerain, whoever it was. Furthermore, the situation was much more complex than simply one of independent-minded Turkmen throwing off Seljuk tutelage. Muḥammad Beg's ambitions are opposed by his own relative ʻAlī Beg, who was successfully able to harness Seljuk-Mongol support for his own ambitions.

A further impression of Muḥammad Beg's integration into the Seljuk system comes from Aflākī's anecdote about him, noted above (n. 68), which is intended to show his devotion to Rūmī. The incidental details, however, are suggestive of his political role: he is summoned by the leading Seljuk political figure, Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān the Pervane (d. 676/1277), to Konya (where he also meets Rūmī). He is then obliged to continue to Kayseri "to give the *amīr*s account of the realm of the *ūj*" (*umarā-rā ḥisāb-i mamālik-i ūj dihad*).[86] Although his men are implicated in plundering a caravan, this lawlessness is not ignored by the Seljuk state, and Muḥammad Beg is thus portrayed as subject to the Pervane's authority, and summoned to Konya and Kayseri to answer for himself and his supporters.

Under the rule of Muḥammad's successor ʻAlī Beg, the Turkmen principality on the Maeander did not suddenly flake away from Mongol tutelage. As Baybars al-Manṣūrī specifically states, the Mongols thereby actually extended their control over the borderland. Further evidence for the political status of the polity comes from Ibn Bībī's account of ʿAlī Beg's own attempted revolt some fifteen years later, while the Seljuks were distracted by the rebellion in 675/1276 of the pretender Jimrī, who established his base on the western frontier in Karahisar Develi (Afyonkarahisar).[87] However, the response by the Seljuks suggests that they maintained intelligence networks, sympathisers and officials in the heart of ʿAlī Beg's territories:

> The sultan moved from that place and came to the plain at Burghlū [Uluborlu]. The agents and sympathisers of the dynasty [*umanā wa hawādārān-i dawlat*] who were in the region of Lādhiq and Honaz complained about ʿAlī Beg. At the time of the disturbances and the takeover of Funduqdār [i.e. Jimrī], ʻAlī Beg had turned away from the bondage of loyalty to the Seljuk family and had rebelled, and sought to make friends with foreigners [*ajānib*]. They summoned him to the court [*bārgāh*], and confronted him with his enemies. When he admitted his crime, they sent him from the royal tent to Karahisar Develi [Afyonkarahisar], where he died of terror and worry. Afterwards, the sultan went round the vicinity of Karahisar, Sandıklı, Şuhut and other areas to suppress unrest, summoning all the Turkmen [*turkān-i ūjī*] to the rightly guided path [of obedience]. They all took the path of seeking forgiveness and sought pardon for what had happened. The sultan gave each one a decree of amnesty [*firmān-i amān*].[88]

Ibn Bībī's account shows that ʿAlī Beg's revolt was precipitated only by the major crisis posed by Jimrī's rebellion. It is not entirely clear whether ʿAlī Beg actually allied himself with Jimrī; perhaps Jimrī's Karamanid allies are the *ajānib* who are

[86]Aflākī, *Manāqib al-ʿārifīn*, I: 485.
[87]Āqsarāʾī, *Musāmarat al-akhbār*, 131.
[88]Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir al-ʿAlāʾiyya*, 729; cf. Āqsarāʾī, *Musāmarat al-akhbār*, 132.

contemptuously mentioned.[89] If so, however, from a legal point of view, ʿAlī Beg was swapping one form of Seljuk suzerainty for another, as Jimrī claimed to be a legitimate Seljuk. Moreover, as Āqsarāʾī implies, ʿAlī Beg had been considered a loyal vassal of the Seljuk state and his participation in crushing the rebellion was expected.[90] Once Jimrī's rebellion had been put down, thanks to the existing Seljuk network of agents and sympathisers within ʿAlī Beg's territories, control was rapidly restored and the Turkmen proclaimed their loyalty. The western frontier fell largely under the control of the Germiyanid confederation (of obscure origins), who were granted it as a reward for their loyalty to the Seljuks and assistance in suppressing the Jimrī rebellion.[91] Thus, the extent to which ʿAlī or Muḥammad Beg considered themselves as rulers of an "independent" *beylik* – or indeed a *beylik* in any meaningful sense at all – is dubious. They clearly operated within the context of the broader Seljuk polity and, even when rebelling, as far as our sources tell us, they sought the aid not of the Greeks across the border but of the Seljuks' Mongol overlords in distant Tabriz.

Conclusion

With Jimrī's defeat in 678/1279,[92] Anatolian history enters a new phase. The Mongols sought to bring Anatolia under increasingly direct rule.[93] This they largely achieved on the central plateau, but their ability to assert their authority on the Turkmen-inhabited frontiers was limited and frequently challenged. The relatively peaceful equilibrium of the frontier started to break down and, after 1279, Byzantine territories became increasingly subject to Turkmen attacks. Nonetheless, there may have been more accommodation between Mongols and Turkmen than is often recognised. A letter purportedly from the vizier Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318) advises the Mongol Ghāzān Khan (d. 703/1304) to adopt Denizli as a winter camp, stating that it is "the pleasure ground of sultans, the relaxing place of khans, the campsite of Caesars and the army camp of great kings".[94] Now the authenticity of this letter is suspect,[95] but its writer evidently knew well enough that

[89]It is also possible that Byzantines are intended by the term *ajānib*, although here one might expect instead a reference to allying with "infidels" (*kāfir*s) or some such term, a more serious accusation by a Muslim author, and a more common way of referring to the power on the other side of the border. For this reason, given Ibn Bībī's intention to paint ʿAlī Beg in the blackest colours, the Karamanids seem more likely to be meant by *ajānib*.

[90]Āqsarāʾī (*Musāmarat al-akhbār*, 132) states that ʿAlī Beg "had been disloyal to the sultan in suppressing Jimrī" (*dar dafʿ-i Ǯimrī mutābaʿat-i sulṭān nanūmada būd*).

[91]See Mustafa Çetin Varlık, *Germiyan-oğulları Tarihi (1300–1429)* (Ankara: Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1974), pp. 17, 20–1.

[92]For the date, see Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 570.

[93]Āqsarāʾī, *Musāmarat al-akhbār*, 133. See also Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, 271ff.; Melville, "Anatolia under the Mongols", 71ff.

[94]Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh, *Sawāniḥ-i al-afkār al-Rashīdī*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānish-pazhūh (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād, AH 1357), p. 166.

[95]See A.H. Morton, "The Letters of Rashid al-Din: Ilkhanid Fact or Timurid Fiction?", in *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*, ed. Reuven Amitai and David Morgan (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 155–99. Morton's arguments are extremely cogent, but the source contains much detailed local information about Anatolia that it is very doubtful would have been accessible to a putative Timurid forger. If it was, he must have got it from somewhere, and the most likely source would seem to be authentic Ilkhanid documents rather than information gained from an participant in Timur's brief campaign in Anatolia, which never went anywhere near Denizli. For a defence of the letters' authenticity, see Abolala Soudavar, "In Defence of Rashid al-Din and His Letters", *Studia Iranica* 32 (2003): 77–120.

Denizli was an ideal winter pasture; nonetheless, for him it was far from being a den of restless Turkmen rebels. Even if the author was not Rashīd al-Dīn but another medieval compiler, this image of the frontier at the close of the thirteenth century offers an interesting antidote to the usual assumptions about its nature.

The purpose of this article, however, has to been to investigate the structures of life on the Seljuk side of the frontier during the height of the sultanate, and the causes and consequences of the shifts in the nature of the frontier after that date must be addressed on a future occasion. The evidence presented here allows us to modify the image of the Seljuk–Byzantine frontier in the period under discussion in several respects. First, it is worth underlining the political complexity of the Seljuk side of the frontier, especially in the Mongol period. Rather than seeing the western frontier as a political void filled by rebel Turkmen, we should see a complex patchwork of different players. There were Turkmen chiefs like Muḥammad Beg and ʿAlī Beg, sometimes loyal, sometimes disloyal, but requiring a patina of legitimacy through the appointment of a *shiḥna* and the granting of a flag and a diploma of investiture. Alongside them were Mongol or pro-Mongol officials, whose interests doubtless sometimes intersected with and sometimes clashed with those of said Turkmen chiefs. Such, for example, were the sons of Fakhr al-Dīn Ṣāḥib ʿAṭā – allotted, on the one hand, the territories claimed by Muḥammad and ʿAlī Beg, but on the other nonetheless able to successfully bequeath territories elsewhere in the frontier to their descendants, who became tributary to nomadic chiefs like the Germiyanids. Finally, there were evidently Seljuk agents and sympathisers, even in ʿAlī Beg's polity.

These features suggest that we should take issue with Wittek's dismissal of the Seljuk state's interest in the region, or as he put it, "as if the chancery at Konya either would or could care about nomad movements on a distant frontier" (n. 21 *supra*). The evidence presented here suggests that the chancery not just would but also could and did have knowledge of "nomad movements on a distant frontier". After all, the chancery would have been responsible for drafting the *manshūr*s that chiefs like Muḥammad Beg and ʿAlī Beg required, as well as the *firmān*s granting safe conduct to rebel Turkmen who had been forgiven. If the frontier and its Turkmen rarely feature in our Persian historical sources, this has everything to do with the genre and intentions of the historian, and nothing to do with the limits of his knowledge.[96]

The idea propounded by Cahen of the frontier as a no man's land should also be modified. The interest in the region shown by major officials in the Seljuk regime under Mongol domination in the 1250 s to 1270 s, such as Amīn al-Dīn Mīkāʾīl, Nūr al-Dīn Ibn Jāja and Fakhr al-Dīn Ṣāhib ʿAṭā, suggests Muḥammad Beg's attempts to assert his authority did not symbolise or precipitate the collapse of a tenuous central authority on the frontier at all. On the contrary, the thirteenth-century frontier and its Turkmen chiefs were integrated into the Seljuk state through economic and political ties. Of course, the nature of that state requires further enquiry, and the argument made here is not intended to deny the possibility

[96]For a study of the Persian historiography of Anatolia, see Charles Melville, "The Early Persian Historiography of Anatolia", in *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East. Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), pp. 135–66; also Şevket Küçükhüseyin, *Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung im Prozess kultureller Transformation: Anatolische Quellen über Muslime, Christen und Türken (11.-15. Jahrhundert)* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Klasse 825, 2011).

(indeed probability) that its potency fluctuated in both different places and different periods. Even if the Seljuk state was scarcely monolithic, it should be emphasised that, culturally and religiously, the frontier was an increasingly Islamised area that, with the construction of mosques, the endowment of *waqf*s, and the circulation of Persian Sufi treatises, had much more in common with the cultural atmosphere of Konya than it did with Greek Philadelphia. The popular common frontier culture identified by Wittek and Zachariadou, represented by heroic cults like that of Baṭṭāl Ghāzī, represented only one element, and not necessarily a predominant one.