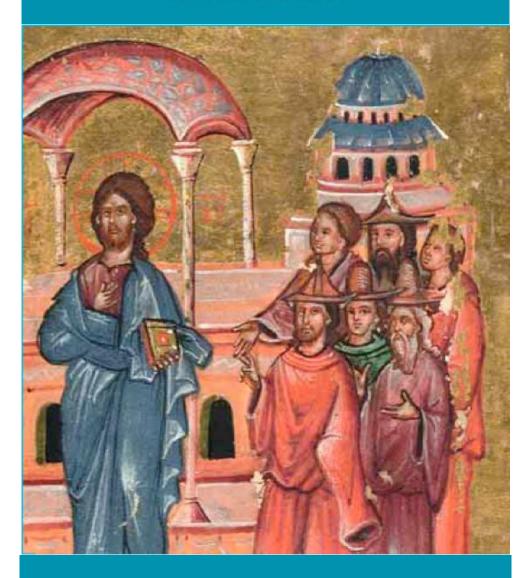
# The Byzantine Turks 1204-1461

Rustam Shukurov



BRILL

Cover illustration: A fragment of a fourteenth-century Byzantine miniature representing a complex mix, Greek and Turkic, in contemporary Byzantine everyday life: the first from the left in the back row is (allegedly) Meletios the Achaemenid – a baptized "Persian" from Anatolia; two persons (presumably Greeks) wear the "Scythian" headdress of sarāghūch, while two others wear Byzantine hats; the entire group is placed in an urban (presumably Constantinopolitan) environment as they appeal to Christ, thus symbolizing the common denominator of Byzantine civil and Christian religious affiliation amongst the ethnocultural diversity. (State Historical Museum, GIM 80272, Synodal Gr. 429, fol. 28v; photo courtesy of the State Historical Museum in Moscow).

# The Medieval Mediterranean

PEOPLES, ECONOMIES AND CULTURES, 400-1500

#### Managing Editor

Frances Andrews (St. Andrews)

#### Editors

Tamar Herzig (Tel Aviv)
Paul Magdalino (Koç University, Istanbul)
Larry J. Simon (Western Michigan University)
Daniel Lord Smail (Harvard University)
Jo Van Steenbergen (Ghent University)

### Advisory Board

David Abulafia (Cambridge) Benjamin Arbel (Tel Aviv) Hugh Kennedy (SOAS, London)

#### **VOLUME 105**

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/mmed

ISBN 978-90-04-30512-0 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-30775-9 (e-book)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Shukurov, R. (Rustam), author.

Title: The Byzantine Turks, 1204-1461 / by Rustam Shukurov.

Description: Leiden: Brill, 2016. | Series: The medieval Mediterranean, ISSN 0928-5520; volume 105 | Includes bibliographical references and indexes.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016007896 (print) | LCCN 2016016014 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004305120 (hardback: alk. paper) | ISBN 9789004307759 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004307759 (E-book)

Subjects: LCSH: Turkic peoples—Byzantine Empire. | Byzantine Empire—History—1081–1453.

Classification: LCC DF542.4.T87 S58 2016 (print) | LCC DF542.4.T87 (ebook) | DDC 949.5/004943509023—dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2016007896

Want or need Open Access? Brill Open offers you the choice to make your research freely accessible online in exchange for a publication charge. Review your various options on brill.com/brill-open.

coss? Brill Open offers you the choice to make your research freely accessible online

Copyright 2016 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands. Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi and Hotei Publishing.

## In memoriam Muḥammad Shakūrī Bukhārāī 1925–2012

••

# Acknowledgements

In the hot spring of 1998, I had the privilege and pleasure to present a paper at the Speros Basil Vryonis Center for the Study of Hellenism in California headed by Professor Speros Vryonis. It was my earliest attempt to discuss the role and place of Asians in Byzantine society using the tools of onomastic study. My paper focused on a rather limited and specific case of the Empire of Trebizond. In the course of discussion, Professor Vryonis suggested in particular that my approach had to be assessed in a much broader historical context. This exchange of ideas, which is so memorable for me, and Professor Vryonis' thoughtful remarks, for which now I have an opportunity to thank him, have become the starting point of the present book.

I would like to express my gratitude to those who helped me, directly or indirectly, in compiling this book: to the librarians of Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC, of the Bibliothèque byzantine in Paris, and of the University of Cincinnati, as well as to my colleagues and friends Sergej Karpov, Anthony Bryer, Peter Mackridge, Michel Balivet, Gérard Dédéyan, Natalia Teteriatnikov, Bernt Brendemoen, Nina Garsoïan, the late Évelyne Patlagean, the late Angeliki Laiou, the late Elvira Grunina, Scott Redford, the late Andrej Ponomarev, Sonia Colpart, Mikhail Dmitriev, Igor P. Medvedev, Mikhail V. Bibikov, Andrew Peacock, Mikhail S. Meyer, Michael Maas, Peter Baird, Oya Pancaroğlu, Nina Iamanidze, Deborah Brown Stewart, Ksenia Krijger-Lobovikova, Natalia Sazonova, Artemij Streletskij, Elina Dobrynina, Brill's editor Marcella Mulder, copy-editor Karen Anderson Howes, and my son Oyat Shukurov. I am especially indebted to my late mother Claudia Loukanina and my brothers Sharif Shukurov and Anvar Shukurov whose unflagging help and encouragement speeded up the completion of this study.

I am also grateful for the generous financial help of a number of institutions which supported my research at different stages: La Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme (Paris), Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3, Dumbarton Oaks (Washington, DC), University of Cincinnati, the American Council of Learned Societies (New York), and the most recent aid from the Russian Science Foundation (project no. 14-28-00213) which greatly facilitated bringing the book to fruition.

# Contents

List of Figures and Tables x11  Introduction 1  The Byzantine Classification of the Turks 11  On Byzantine Epistemology 11  The Locative Criterion and the Theory of Climates 23  Two-Part Classification: Genera and Species 26  Generic Categories 27  The Species 33  The Concept Hépon 37  The Defects of the Method 42  The Linguistic Criterion 44  The Languages of the Turks 48  Turks and Religious Identity 53	17	
1 The Byzantine Classification of the Turks 11 1 On Byzantine Epistemology 11 2 The Locative Criterion and the Theory of Climates 3 Two-Part Classification: Genera and Species 26 4 Generic Categories 27 5 The Species 33 6 The Concept Πέρσαι 37 7 The Defects of the Method 42 8 The Linguistic Criterion 44 9 The Languages of the Turks 48	17	
1 The Byzantine Classification of the Turks 11 1 On Byzantine Epistemology 11 2 The Locative Criterion and the Theory of Climates 3 Two-Part Classification: Genera and Species 26 4 Generic Categories 27 5 The Species 33 6 The Concept Πέρσαι 37 7 The Defects of the Method 42 8 The Linguistic Criterion 44 9 The Languages of the Turks 48	17	
1 On Byzantine Epistemology 11 2 The Locative Criterion and the Theory of Climates 3 Two-Part Classification: Genera and Species 26 4 Generic Categories 27 5 The Species 33 6 The Concept Πέρσαι 37 7 The Defects of the Method 42 8 The Linguistic Criterion 44 9 The Languages of the Turks 48	17	
1 On Byzantine Epistemology 11 2 The Locative Criterion and the Theory of Climates 3 Two-Part Classification: Genera and Species 26 4 Generic Categories 27 5 The Species 33 6 The Concept Πέρσαι 37 7 The Defects of the Method 42 8 The Linguistic Criterion 44 9 The Languages of the Turks 48	17	
The Locative Criterion and the Theory of Climates Two-Part Classification: Genera and Species 26 Generic Categories 27 The Species 33 The Concept Πέρσαι 37 The Defects of the Method 42 The Linguistic Criterion 44 The Languages of the Turks 48	17	
Two-Part Classification: Genera and Species 26 Generic Categories 27 The Species 33 The Concept Πέρσαι 37 The Defects of the Method 42 The Linguistic Criterion 44 The Languages of the Turks 48	-	
4 Generic Categories 27 5 The Species 33 6 The Concept Πέρσαι 37 7 The Defects of the Method 42 8 The Linguistic Criterion 44 9 The Languages of the Turks 48		
5 The Species 33 6 The Concept Πέρσαι 37 7 The Defects of the Method 42 8 The Linguistic Criterion 44 9 The Languages of the Turks 48		
6 The Concept Hépou 37 7 The Defects of the Method 42 8 The Linguistic Criterion 44 9 The Languages of the Turks 48		
7 The Defects of the Method 42 8 The Linguistic Criterion 44 9 The Languages of the Turks 48		
8 The Linguistic Criterion 44 9 The Languages of the Turks 48		
9 The Languages of the Turks 48		
The second contract to		
n Marriages with Non-Christians 55		
12 The Validity of Baptism 59		
Byzantine Onomastics: Problems of Method 65		
<ol> <li>The Onomastic Database 65</li> </ol>		
2 The West Byzantine Lands in the Database 68		
3 The Byzantine Pontos 70		
4 On Byzantine Patterns of Naming 72		
5 A Linguistic Problem 74		
6 The Problem of Generations 77		
7 Credibility of Anthroponymical Data 78		
8 "Scythian" and "Persian" Names 84		
- 71 - 80		
3 The "Persians" and the "Scythians" 86 1 Historical Background 86		
2 The "Scythians" 90		
3 The "Persians" 94 4 The Byzantine "Persians" in 1204–1262 96		
5 The "Persian" Resettlement of 1262-1263 98		
6 Kaykawus' Family in Byzantium 105		
7 Kaykāwus' People 120		

VIII CONTENTS

8	"Persian"	Immigrations until the Beginning of the Fourteenth
	Century	131

- 9 The Turkic Immigrants in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century 134
- 10 The Last Byzantine Turks? 147
  - 10.1 Text 148
  - 10.2 Translation 150
  - 10.3 Commentary 152

## 4 The Byzantine Turks in the Balkans 157

- Byzantine Macedonia 159
- 2 The Lower Strymon and Serres 161
- 3 Kalamaria in Western Chalkidike 164
- 4 Eastern Chalkidike 166
- 5 Berroia and Lake Giannitsa 168
- 6 The Vardar Valley, Skopje, the Strumica 170
- 7 Thessalonike and Other Localities 174
- 8 Ethnic and Social Structure 174
- 9 Constantinople and Some Other Regions 177
- 10 A Note on Chronology 179
- The Problem of Merchants 181

## 5 The Noble Lineages 183

- Constructing a "Family" 184
- 2 The Gazes Families (1 and 11) 184
- 3 The Melik/Melikes/Melek Family 187
- 4 The Soultanos Family (1) 190
- 5 The Soultanos Family (11) 194
- 6 The Apelmene Family 196
- 7 The Masgidas Families (1 and 11) 197
- 8 The lagoupes Family 200
- 9 The Anataulas Family 209

#### 6 Assimilation Tools 216

- The Motivation of the Turks 216
- 2 An Opposite Example 220
- 3 Christianization 223
- 4 More on Inclusion and Exclusion 231
- 5 Proprietors and Pronotars 234

- 6 Imperial Service 239
- 7 Slaves, Servants, and Hostages 244
- 8 Cultural Adaptation 249
- 9 Turkic Minority? 251

#### 7 Asians in the Byzantine Pontos 255.

- Oriental Names of the Pontos 255
- 2 Nations and Tribes 259
- 3 Social Standing 268
- 4 The Pontic Nomads 281
- 5 Christians and Crypto-Muslims 290
- 6 Penetration of Asians into Trebizond 297

Appendix 1: The Wives of Alexios 11 Grand Komnenos 303

Appendix 11: The Marriages of the Grand Komnenoi with Muslims 305

#### 8 "Turkophonia" in Byzantium 306

- Byzantine Diglossia 306
- 2 Oriental Borrowings 308
- 3 Textiles 312
- 4 Clothes and Household Items 315
- 5 Spices, Delicacies, Medications 324
- 6 Birds and Animals 326
- 7 Trading Terminology 327
- 8 Imperial Court and Military Terminology 332
- 9 The Positive Image of the East 339
- 10 Expanding the Horizon 343
- n Diglossia and Place-Names 349
- 12 Diglossia and the Redoubling of the World 354
- 13 Evidence of Modern Greek 358
- 14 Byzantine Turkophonia 359
- 15 Latent Turkification 380
- 16 Cultural Interchange and a Lethal Outcome 381

#### 9 Etymological Glossary 388

- Proper Names 388
- 2 Appellatives 404

X CONTENTS

## Epilogue 413

- 1 The Turkic Minority 413.
- 2 Regional Features 414
- 3 Cultural Transformation 418

Bibliography 421

Index of Greek and Slavonic Names and Terms 474

General Index 486

# List of Figures and Tables

## **Figures**

- Genus and species 16
- 2 The two-part classification of the Turks 36.
- 3 Πέρσαι as a generic category 41
- 4 A representation of Melania 83.
- 5 "Scythian" warriors 142
- 6 Fortresses on the military road between Skoutari and Nikomedeia 152
- 7 Nucleus areas of Turkic settlements 160
- 8 The Lower Strymon, Serres, Zichna, Drama 162
- 9 Kalamaria 165
- 10 Eastern Chalkidike 167
- 11 Berroia and Lake Giannitsa 169
- 12 Skopje and the Vardar valley 171
- 13 The Soultanos family 11 195
- 14 The Masgidas family 1 199
- 15 The Masgidas family 11 200
- 16 The church of St. George in Belistrma: donator's inscription 201
- 17 Seal of Demetrios Aelgazes 235
- 18 Seal of John Tourkopoulos 237
- 19 Central regions of the Empire of Trebizond 280
- 20 Two waves of nomadic migration in the Pontos 284
- 21 The branches of Alexios 11's scions 304
- 22 The marriages of the Grand Komnenoi with Muslims 305.
- 23 Fourteenth-century Byzantine turbans and robes 322
- 24 Fourteenth-century Byzantine saraghach 323
- 25 Topography of the Horoscope for Trebizond 342
- 26 An (alleged) image of the monk Meletios the Achaemenid 372.
- 27 Antonios' Persian signature 374

#### Tables

- Kaykāwus 11's family in Byzantium 106
- 2 Asians in the Lower Strymon, Serres, Zichna, Drama 163.
- 3 Asians in Kalamaria 166
- Asians in eastern Chalkidike 168
- 5 Asians in Berroia and Lake Giannitsa 170
- 6 Asians in Skopje and the Vardar valley 172
- 7 "Persians" and "Scythians" in Macedonia 175
- 8 Social status 176
- 9 Asians in Constantinople 177
- 10 The lagoupes family 202
- n The Anataulas family 2n
- 12 The social standing of the Pontic Asian immigrants 268
- 13 Distribution of Asian immigrants on timeline 302
- 14 Some doublets in Middle Greek 354
- 5 Social standing of the Byzantine Turks 415.

142 CHAPTER 3





FIGURE 5 "Scythian" warriors with obvious Mongoloid features. The Chinese inscriptions on warriors' helmets, probably, indicate their origin from the Golden Horde. Frescoes in the church of St. John Chrysostom in Geraki, thirteenth–fourteenth c. (after Moutsopoulos, Nikolaos. "Σινικό ιδεόγραμμα σε τοιχογραφία του Γερακιού," Byzantiaka 18 (1998), p. 28, figures 5–6).

## Introduction

Throughout most of its history, Byzantium was in a state of permanent struggle with its eastern neighbors for political and cultural supremacy, for the control of the flow of money and goods in the eastern Mediterranean; on occasion this struggle turned into large-scale armed conflict, comparable to the "world wars" of recent history. For many centuries the most dangerous and skilled enemy, in the Byzantine mentality, was located in the East. The empire generally managed to maintain the status quo with Sasanian Iran. The subsequent era of Muslim conquests, however, significantly reduced Byzantium's territory and greatly weakened its political and economic potential. Byzantium took more than three centuries to recover from the onslaught of the Muslims and to partially restore her position. In the eleventh century, Byzantium suffered another blow from the Turkic peoples who flooded into the Balkans and Anatolia. By the end of the eleventh century, the empire appeared on the verge of annihilation, but in the twelfth century, as in former times, it found the strength to stabilize the situation and restore its prestige. In the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, however, confrontation with the Turkic peoples entered a new phase. By the second half of the fourteenth century, the Byzantines had essentially lost the struggle. This present study is devoted to the final period in the history of the Byzantine empire, a period that ended with its defeat at the hands of the Turkish invaders.

The destruction of the Byzantine world by the Turks is one of the Middle Ages' most essential phenomena. Why Byzantium was unable to withstand the Turkic invasion and what were the real causes of Byzantium's historical defeat in the contest with the Turkish Muslim world are fundamental unresolved questions. This book attempts to formulate new ways to answer those questions. To address the major problem, it is necessary to understand how the encounter with the alien Turkic culture affected Byzantine civilization and what the specific features of the Turkic invasion were that made the Turks victorious. These questions cannot be answered by traditional approaches alone.

With the inception of Byzantine studies as a discipline in the seventeenth century, relations with the Turks occupied a central place in the writings of the historians of Byzantium. No generalizing approach to Byzantine history could

page 1 (out of I-XIV, 1-514) / pdf page 16 out of 528 .......

Copyright 2016 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi and Hotei Publishing.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON