

## TWO WAVES OF NOMADIC MIGRATION IN THE PONTOS IN THE THIRTEENTH-FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

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### ÖZET

1240-1260 yılları arasında Moğol istilası sebebiyle Orta Asya'dan çıkarılan Türkmenlerin çoğu tercihen hızlı bir şekilde (bir nesil süresinde) Anadolu'yu doğudan batıya doğru geçmişler ve Bizans-Selçuklu sınır boyunda durdurulmuşlardır. Türkmenlerin bir kısmı 1270-1280'li yılların sonunda Kara Deniz sahili boyunca doğuya harekete başlayıp 1290'lı yıllarda Doğu Pontus'a Trabzon Rum İmparatorluğu sınırlarına ulaşmışlar, (bunu "birinci göçebe dalgası" olarak adlandırıyorum) fakat Moğol ve Rum askeri ittifakı bunların ilerlemesini durdurmuştur. 1330'lu yıllarda Anadolu'da Moğol idaresinin çökmesiyle birlikte göçebeler Pontus'un sahildeki tarım alanlarına akınlar düzenlemeye başlamışlardır (ikinci dalga). 14. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Pontus'a yerleşen Türkmenler güneye hareketlenerek Doğu Anadolu'nun iç kesimlerine yerleşmişlerdir.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Türkmenler, Kara Deniz, Moğol istilası.

Starting in the end of the eleventh century, the Turkic nomadic migration to Anatolia resulted in rapid nomadisation and turkification of vast areas, especially, around the edges of the Central Anatolian plateau. Throughout the twelfth century, the Komnenoi of the Byzantine Empire succeeded in halting further advance of the Turkish nomads and even in

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regaining some of the territories conquered by the Turks.<sup>1</sup> By the beginning of the thirteenth century, the role of the nomadic element gradually decreased. Some of the nomads turned to the settled life, others had suffered fatal losses in their fight against Byzantines, Armenians, Georgians, as well as against the Muslims in sedentary zones. However, in the first decades of the thirteenth century, a new tide of immigration to Anatolia was brought about by the Mongol conquests. Numerous Turkmen and other Turkic tribes being ousted by the Mongols from Eastern Turkistan, Central Asia and Iran inundated Asia Minor once again.<sup>2</sup> The waves of the nomadic migration rolled through Anatolia from the east to the west muddling the traditional patterns of the local economic and cultural life. On the Saljuq-Nicaean border, the concentration of nomads reached its highest point, probably, by 1250s-1260s when they stopped at the end of the Anatolian “corridor”. The nomads had flooded vast areas of the Maiandros valleys and up to the north including Phrygia, southern parts of Bithynia and Paphlagonia.

According to Michael Pachymeres, first, the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos enrolled those nomads wishing to create a sort of buffer along the Byzantine eastern borders in case of the Mongol onslaught.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, very soon, having failed in propitiating neighbouring Turks by enticing them to the Byzantine side, according to Pachymeres, Michael VIII Palaiologos wished to use the Mongol military machine as an instrument of suppression of rebellious nomads.<sup>4</sup>

The further increase of nomadic element resulted in swift turkification and nomadisation of Western Anatolia, in the end of the thirteenth through the first decades of the fourteenth centuries, when the central power of the Byzantines, Saljuqs and Iranian Mongols eventually lurched here.

Such is, in brief, the most general picture of nomadic migration in

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<sup>1</sup> Sp. Vryonis, “Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor,” in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 29, 1975, p. 43-71. See also: Sp. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Berkley (Cal.), 1971, p. 169-194; 244-285; C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London, 1968, p. 143, 154.

<sup>2</sup> C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 314–317.

<sup>3</sup> Georges Pachymères, *Relations Historiques*, éd. A. Failler, vol. 1, Paris, 1984, p. 185<sup>25</sup>–187<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Pachymères, p. 441<sup>25ff</sup>. More details see: B.G. Lippard, *The Mongols and Byzantium, 1243-1341*. PhD Thesis. Indiana University, 1984, p. 17–18, 197–198; D. Korobeinikov, “Vizantiia i gosudarstvo Ilkhanov v XIII–nachale XIV v.: sistema vneshnei politiki imperii,” in: *Vizantiia mezhdru Vostokom i Zapadom. Opyt istoricheskoi kharakteristiki*, ed. G.G. Litavrin, Moscow, p. 445–448, 464.

Anatolia, which has been developed by contemporary scholarship. In this piece, I would like to introduce an exception from that chiefly true interpretation of the events.

### *The First Wave*

The fact is that in North-Eastern Anatolia that is in the Pontos the course and the chronology of the nomadic migration differed from the abovementioned general picture at two points. First, as it seems, the Pontic region remained untouched (or touched very little) by the nomadic tide until as late as the last decade of the thirteenth century. Second, in the Pontic region, the nomadic migration was directed from the west to the east and not from the south-east to the north-west (that is from the inner parts of East Anatolia to the Pontic coastal regions), as is commonly believed by modern scholars.

It seems that on entering Anatolia in the first decades of the thirteenth century most of the Turkmen newcomers rather fast, in the course of a generation, moved to the west as far as the Saljuq-Nicaean border. It is important that their westward movement in the 1240s and 1250s almost in no way affected the Pontic region: probably the nomads passed through the territories located farther south from the seacoast. Probably, in the 1270s-1280s, some of them began their reverse moving to the East, and, as it were, moving in a loop, but this time passing closer to the Black sea coast.

What could have been the cause of this strange backward movement of the nomads? One may suggest that one of the causes consisted in the overpopulation of borderland areas from Pamphylia to Paphlagonia by day-to-day augmenting nomads. However, more demonstrable and tangible is a purely political and military explanation. In the 1260s and 1278, the Mongols undertook a number of large-scale military operations against Turkmen *uc* on the Saljuq-Byzantine frontier<sup>5</sup>.

In this sense, the early history of the Çepni Turkmens is quite significant. The earliest indirect reference to Çepni known to me can be found in the Anatolian and, Mamluk sources. According to Aqsarayi and Qalqashandi (d. 1418), in 1265-66, some Turkmens (*tarākima*) participated in Mucin al-Din Parwana's conquest of Sinop, which since 1254 had been in the hands of the Grand Komnenoi.<sup>6</sup> There could be little doubt that the

<sup>5</sup> B.G. Lippard, *The Mongols and Byzantium*, 1984, p. 24-33.

<sup>6</sup> Mahmud Aksarayi, *Musameret ul-Ahbar. Moğollar Zamanında Türkiye Selçukluları Tarihi*, Ankara, 1944, p. 83 (Aqsarayi writes that Mu'în al-Din Parwana's army included cavalry

sources imply under “Turkmens” the Çepni Turkmens. In the same passage Qalqashandi and earlier al-‘Umari (d. 1348) noted in this connection “there occur wars between him [i.e. the emperor of Trebizond] and the *amirs* of the Turks, in most of which he suffers defeat.”<sup>7</sup> We know nothing how far in from the coast extended the power of the Grand Komnenoi in 1254-65/66 during the last Greek occupation of Sinop and therefore how close to the seashore the Çepni resided. However, it is obvious, that the Trapezuntine authorities, during the reign of Andronikos II (1363–66) or even as early as in the reign of his father Manuel I (1238-63), had encountered with the pressure of the nomadic Çepni upon their Sinop possessions prior 1265-66. According to Ibn Bibi, in 1277 (before the 20s of June) the Çepni were again on the edge of struggle against Greeks beating off a Greek naval attack on Sinop<sup>8</sup>. Consequently, one may think that the Çepni appeared in the neighbourhoods of Sinop as early as in the 1260s and stayed there at least until the late 1270s. The earliest history of the Çepni conforms well to the general picture of the Mongol-Turkmen fight in the Byzantine-Saljuq borderlands adduced above: obviously, the Çepni, as well as many other tribes, had been ousted by the Mongol military expeditions to the marginal areas closer to the Black Sea.

I suggest that some time after that date – the end of 1270s – Turkmens started their roaming eastwards leaving the former province of Paphlagonia for the Pontos. Some indirect references to a burst of nomadic activity may be found: Karim al-Din Aqsarayi wrote that “after the death [of Mu‘in al-Din Parwana] diabolically tempered Turks tore themselves away from the bottle of restraint and the flame of sedition inflamed because of the raids of *uc’s* heretics.”<sup>9</sup> Mu‘in al-Din Parwana died in 1277, therefore the nomadic

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summoned in the region of Danishmandiya; it is not impossible that these cavalry detachments in fact were neighbouring nomads); Abu al-‘Abbas Ahmad al-Qalqashandi, *Kitab subh al-d’sha’ fi katabat al-insha’*. Cairo, 1915, t. VIII, p. 48-49. For an English translation of Qalqashandi’ text see: R. Shukurov, “Trebizond and the Seljuks (1204-1299),” in: *Mésogeios. Revue trimestrielle d’études méditerranéennes*, Special Edition “The Saljuqs”, ed. G. Leiser [T. 25-26], Paris, 2005, p. 125-127. More detailed analysis see my Russian book: R. Shukurov, *The Grand Komnenoi and the Orient (1204-1461)*, St. Petersburg, 2001, p. 166.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Fadl-Allah al-‘Umari, *al-Ta’rif bi al-mustalah al-sharif*, Cairo, 1312 (1894/5), p. 58; Qalqashandi, *ibidem*; R. Shukurov, “Trebizond and the Seljuks (1204-1299),” p. 125. For more details see: R. Shukurov, *The Grand Komnenoi and the Orient*, p. 172-173, 177 and, especially, p. 185.

<sup>8</sup> *Histoire des Seldjoucides d’Asie Mineure d’après l’abrégé du Seldjouknameh d’Ibn-Bibi*, texte persan publié ... par M.H. Houtsma, Leiden, 1902, p. 332-333; R. Shukurov, *The Grand Komnenoi and the Orient*, p. 184-185.

<sup>9</sup> Aksarayi, p. 118.

*uclar* came into motion at the end of the 1270s.

Anyway, only as late as by the 1290s, Turkmens had reached the Eastern Pontos that is the areas under the control of the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond and adjacent regions up to the borders of Armenia and Georgia. The starting point of the mass nomadic raids here was the revolt of the “Taghāchār emirs” against the Saljuq and Mongol authorities in ca. 1290. The rebels devastated a vast region around Tokat and Sivas.<sup>10</sup> Further, in the mid-1290s, sources reported about the exceptional strength of the “Turkmen robbers”, who apparently were in fact nomads, in the area surrounding Turhal.<sup>11</sup> It is not impossible that in the middle of the 1290s the Turkmens also occupied Chalybia, an inland district belonging to the Grand Komnenoi and situated to the north-east of Niksar.<sup>12</sup>

By 1298 the Turkmens moved as far to the east as the limits of Georgia, devastating İspir and Bayburt; one of the leaders of these Turkmen hordes was a certain “Azat Musa”.<sup>13</sup> In 1298-99, Rashid al-Din reported that the nomadic Turkmens had flooded “the mountains of Trebizond” (apparently, the Pontic Alps were meant) and the regions of Erzincan and Bayburt. Rashid al-Din also maintains that the Turkmens recognized neither the supreme power nor the authority of Muslim *‘ulamā*; their leader was a certain Shams al-Din Turkmani.<sup>14</sup> In these accounts, one can trace a reference to the eastward movement of the Turkmens I am talking about. Further on, Rashid al-Din, who stayed at the time of writing that letter in Erzincan, notified with gratitude about arriving of the Mongol troops under the command of Tūqī-Nūyān.<sup>15</sup> The nomadic migration certainly picked up speed just in the 1290s, while the Mongols still tried to defend the zones of sedentary agriculture.

One may think that, at that time, the nomads turned into a serious

<sup>10</sup> Aksarayi, p. 190–195, 239–247. On the unrest in the region of Kastamonu around the same date and later see a recent study: D.A. Korobeinikov, “The revolt in Kastamonu, ca. 1291–1293,” in: *Byzantinische Forschungen*, Bd. 28, 2004, p. 87–117.

<sup>11</sup> Aksarayi, p. 219–220.

<sup>12</sup> *Michael tou Panaretou peri ton Megalon Komnenon* / Ed. Od. Lampsides. Athena, 1958, p. 63<sup>6-8</sup>; A. Bryer, “Greeks and Turkmens: the Pontic Exception,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 29, 1975 (=Idem. *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos*, Variorum collected studies series. London, 1980, No V), p. 143 (an English translation of the relevant passage).

<sup>13</sup> S.G. Kauhchishvili, *Gruzinskie istochniki po istorii Vizantii*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1974, p. 162; C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 309–310; M. Kuršanskis, “L’empire de Trébizonde et les turcs au 13<sup>e</sup> siècle”, *Revue des études byzantines*, 1988, t. 46, p. 123.

<sup>14</sup> *Letters of Rashid ad-Din Fadl Allah*, pers. text ed. by M. Shafi, Lahore, 1947, p. 275–276.

<sup>15</sup> *Letters of Rashid ad-Din Fadl Allah*, p. 277.

problem for the Empire of Trebizond as well. The emperor John II Grand Komnenos abruptly changed the political orientation of the empire normalizing his relations with the Mongols of Iran, which had been spoilt in the 1260s-1270s by his predecessors.<sup>16</sup> There is little doubt that among other reasons that change in the foreign policy of the empire was initiated by the Grand Komnenoi's concerns about the raising pressure of the nomads. Obviously, John II Grand Komnenos, as Michael VIII Palaiologos some decades before, wished to use the Mongol military strength in his fight with the nomadic offensive. In the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, the Mongol military expeditions in the Pontic region were the main factor of curbing the Pontic nomads.<sup>17</sup>

In this connection, the events of 1300–01 seem to have been exceptionally remarkable, because they demonstrate an instance of the direct collaboration between the Grand Komnenian and Mongol authorities in their fight against the nomads. According to Rashid al-Din, ca. 1301 the Mongols launched an exceptionally massive military operation against the Turkmens, which covered the entire Pontic region from Samsun up to Abkhazia (“at the mountain tops and the slopes of the hills of Samsun, Abkhazia and Trebizond” – as Rashid al-Din put it).<sup>18</sup> A Georgian source confirms this information of Rashid al-Din and its dating reporting that, in the spring of 1301, Georgia was flooded by the Mongol troops.<sup>19</sup> The Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond joined the Mongol operation: in September 1301, the then emperor Alexios II Grand Komnenos was reported to gain an important victory over the Turkmens in Kerasous (modern Giresun), in the result of which “many Turks have been slaughtered” and their chief Κουστουγάνης (probably from Tk. Güç-Tuğan “Mighty Falcon”) was captured.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> R. Shukurov, “Trebizond and the Seljuks (1204-1299),” p. 124ff; For more details : R. Shukurov, *The Grand Komnenoi and the Orient*, p. 159-187.

<sup>17</sup> Sp. Vryonis, *The Decline*, p. 245; C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 295-299; idem. “Notes pour l’histoire des Turcomanes d’Asie Mineure au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in : *Journal Asiatique*, t. 239, 1951, p. 335–354.

<sup>18</sup> *Letters of Rashid ad-Din Fadl Allah*, p. 263. That information of Rashid al-Din was touched upon by A. Bryer in: A. Bryer, “The Fate of George Komnenos Ruler of Trebizond (1266–1280),” in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1973, vol. 66 (=Idem. *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos*, No IV), p.347 and note 73.

<sup>19</sup> K. Salia, *Histoire de la nation géorgienne*, Paris, 1980, p. 241.

<sup>20</sup> *Panaretos*, p. 63<sup>15-17</sup>. F. Emecen interprets the name as Kuş-Tūghān, that is “Bird-Falcon” (F.M. Emecen, “Giresun Tarihinin Bâzı Meseleleri,” in: *Giresun Tarihi Sempozyumu 24–25 Mayıs 1996*. Bildiriler. Istanbul, 1997, p. 22). B. Brendemoen noted that Emecen’s reading is rather senseless and put forward his own interpretation Oğuz Doğan “Oghuz’s Falcon”, which also is not unquestionable from linguistic point of view (B. Brendemoen, *The Turkish*

It is quite remarkable that the Greeks attached great importance to their victory over Güç-Tuğan by Kerasous. Except from the Chronicle of Panaretos, this victory has been referred to in the writings of John Lazaropoulos (fourteenth century), Stephen Sgouropoulos (fourteenth century), Gregory Chionides (fourteenth century), and Bessarion (fifteenth century)<sup>21</sup>. Greek sources, except from mentioning about the death of many Turks along with their leader, did not explain why that battle was so significant. However, one may think that it was an event of the highest significance for the course of the fight of the Grand Komnenoi against the nomads in the adjacent Kerasous valleys.<sup>22</sup> It is not impossible that it was that battle that saved the Kerasous area and the city itself from the threat of the Turkmen occupation and probably stopped the further advance of the Turks to the east.

The above-mentioned Güç-Tuğan, captured in Kerasous in 1301, might have been the earliest known leader of the Chalybia Turkmens.<sup>23</sup> The first explicit reference to Hâcimir oğulları is found in the chronicle of Panaretos who relates that, in 1313, Bayram, the father of Hâcimir, attacked pastures in Maçka. In 1332, Bayram's Turks raided up to Asomatos in Maçka again.<sup>24</sup>

At the turn of the fourteenth century, the common fight against the nomads consolidated the Grand Komnenoi and the Ilkhans. Apparently, they achieved considerable success in that fight. The rule of the emperor Alexios II (1297-1330) was one of the happiest in the history of the Empire of

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*Dialects of Trabzon. Their Phonology and Historical Development*, Vol. I: Analysis [Turcologica, Ed. Lars Johanson. Bd. 50], Wiesbaden, 2002, p. 287).

<sup>21</sup> J.O. Rosenqvist, *The Hagiographic Dossier of St. Eugenios of Trebizond*. A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Commentary and Indexes, Uppsala, 1996, p. 218-220; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta Hierosolymitikes stachyologias*, vol. 1, St. Petersburg, 1891, p. 431-434; N. Oikonomidès, "Semeioma peri ton epistolon Gregoriou tou Chioniadou," in: *Archeion Pontou*, 1955, vol. 20, p. 40-41; O. Lampsides, "Zu Bessarions Lobrede auf Trapezunt," in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1935, Bd. 35, p. 17.

<sup>22</sup> Some scholars consider these evidences of Greek sources about the events in Kerasous in 1301 as an indication of the occupation of the city by the nomads (see for instance: F.M. Emecen, "Giresun tarihinin bâzı meseleleri," *Giresun Tarihi Sempozyumu 24-25 Mayıs 1996*. Bildiriler, İstanbul, 1997, p. 21-22). However, such interpretations seem implausible: more likely that Panaretos, writing "the emperor Lord Alexios ... captured Κουστουγάνης in Kerasous," meant vicinities of the city.

<sup>23</sup> E. Zachariadou, "Trebizond and the Turks," p. 342-343. Cf.: A. Bryer "Greeks and Turkmens," p. 133.

<sup>24</sup> Panaretos, p. 63<sup>24-25</sup>, 64<sup>12-15</sup>; A. Bryer, "Greeks and Turkmens," p. 143-144; A. Bryer & D. Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos*, vol. 1, p. 163 note 38; p. 263; R. Shukurov, *The Grand Komnenoi and the Orient*, p. 219;

Trebizond. The indications of good relationships between the Grand Komnenoi and the Ilkhans are numerous in the contemporary sources, albeit incomplete and not very plenty. For instance, we know that, in the 1330s, a Trapezuntine *protovestiaros* was able to intercede for the robbed Venetian merchants in Tabriz – the word of a Trapezuntine official carried weight in the Mongol capital. Moreover, the intermediation of the *protovestiaros* resulted in the conclusion of a trade treaty between Venice and the Ilkhans in 1331-1332.<sup>25</sup> Upon the same period fell the flourishing of the trade relations of the Pontic Greeks and the Italians basing in Trebizond with Tabriz.<sup>26</sup> It was Alexios II's time when the exchange of Trapezuntine and Constantinopolitan intellectuals with Tabriz scientific school had reached its highest point.<sup>27</sup> Earlier Trebizond began to play the role of a bridge, through which passed Christian diplomatic missions in their way to Tabriz and Mongol ambassadors heading to the West. Thus, in 1287, via Trebizond passed the Nestorian patriarch Rabban Bar Sauma who was in the head of the Ilkhanid embassy to Europe; in 1292, the English embassy to Tabriz of Geoffrey Langley stopped at Trebizond twice in its way to and from Iran; ca 1294 through Trebizond from Iran to Europe passed Nicolo Matteo and Marco Polo, having probably some commission from the Ilkhan to the Pope and Western rulers.<sup>28</sup>

It is obvious that the relations between the Grand Komnenoi and the Ilkhans were not equal, and the former were subordinate to and depended from the Mongols of Iran. However, sources preserve too vague information about the exact model of that subordination and dependence, as well as about the institutes of the Mongol control over the Empire of Trebizond. We have at our disposal only indirect indications of the Trebizond Empire's paying a *jizya* to the Mogols.<sup>29</sup> It is also possible that a permanent Mongol emissary holding the rank of *elchī* ("messenger") resided in Trebizond: as we know, in

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<sup>25</sup> For more details see: S.P. Karpov, *L'impero di Trebisonda, Venezia, Genova e Roma. 1204-1461*, Roma, 1986, p. 80.

<sup>26</sup> See Karpov's Russian book: S.P. Karpov, *The Italian Maritime Republics and the South Black Sea Region in the Thirteenth-Fourteenth Centuries: Problems of Trade*, Moscow, 1990, p. 291-296.

<sup>27</sup> See, for instance: K. Vogel, "Byzantine Science," in: *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4/2, Cambridge, 1967, p. 277-278.

<sup>28</sup> *History of Yaballaha III*, transl. J.A. Montgomery, New-York, 1927, p. 52; J. Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World*, New Haven & London, 1999, p. 39; S.P. Karpov, *L'impero di Trebisonda, Venezia, Genova e Roma*, p. 236-237; A. Bryer, "Edward I and the Mongols," in: *History Today*, vol. 14, 1964, p. 696-704.

<sup>29</sup> Aksarayi, p. 257-259ff; R. Shukurov, *The Grand Komnenoi and the Orient*, p. 196-197.

the 1290s, the Mongol *elchī* Qūjaba stayed in the city for rather a long time.<sup>30</sup> At the same time, judging by anthroponymics, one can trace some influx of the individuals of Mongol stock to the rural areas of the Empire of Trebizond.<sup>31</sup>

This alliance between the Grand Komnenoi and the Mongols of Iran vanished with the sudden decline of the power of the Ilkhans in Anatolia in the 1330s.<sup>32</sup> From that time on the Empire of Trebizond lacked any external support in its fight with the nomads.

### ***The Second Wave of Nomadic Migration (1330s-1340s)***

The decline of the Ilkhanid military control over Asia Minor immediately resulted in the rapid increase of the pressure of nomadic elements upon sedentary zones in North-Eastern Anatolia. Thus, in the 1330s began the second wave of the nomadic migration in the region. The second wave preserved the abovementioned remarkable feature of the first one: it was directed again from the west to the east along the Black Sea coast. At least four Turkmen tribes – the Çepni, Akkoyunlu, Bozdoğan and Duhar – went in the last migration wave choosing the most northern rout through the coastal areas. It is not impossible that all the four tribes formed a sort of tribal confederation, which later disintegrated in the result of military and diplomatic measures of the Grand Komnenoi.

It seems the most numerous and powerful among these four tribes was the Çepni tribe. The first reference to Çepni's presence in the Pontos belongs to Michael Panaretos and dates to 29 June 1348 when the Çepni in alliance with Akhi Ayna Bek from Erzincan, and the Turkmens of Akkoyunlu and Boz Doğan attacked the city of Trebizond. Panaretos called them Τζαπνί (pronounced ἀσδεῖς *çapnides*, sing. Τζαπνίς, *çapnis*) that was an exact counterpart of the Turkish *çapni*. After three days of battle, the Greeks won and the Turkmens retreated “loosing on their way many Turks”.<sup>33</sup>

As I have shown above, the earliest references to the Çepni in the sources date to 1265-1266 and 1277. Thus the Çepni disappeared from the sources for more than seventy years. During that period, they covered more

<sup>30</sup> R. Shukurov, “The Byzantine Turks of the Pontos,” p. 16; R. Shukurov, “Eastern Ethnic Elements,” p. 78. On the institute of *elchī* and its role in Anatolia see: Lippard B.G. *The Mongols and Byzantium*, p. 168.

<sup>31</sup> R. Shukurov, “The Byzantine Turks of the Pontos,” p. 30–32.

<sup>32</sup> For a detailed account on the subject see C. Melville, *The Fall of Amir Chupan and the Decline of the Ilkhanate, 1327–37: A Decade of Discord in Mongol Iran*, Bloomington, 1999.

<sup>33</sup> Panaretos, p. 68<sup>13–19</sup>.

than 400 km from Sinop to the vicinity of Trebizond, however, as I have suggested above, they seem to have left Paphlagonia only in 1270s or 1280s and, probably to have been stopped for a few decades somewhere in between by the Mongol punitive actions; in the 1330s, they again came into motion.

As Bryer has shown elsewhere, in the subsequent decades the Çepni settled in the valley of the Philabonites River (Harşit) some 70 km west of Trebizond, from where they drove out the local Greeks.<sup>34</sup> Sacrificing the valley, the Grand Komnenoi managed to put limits for the further spread of the Çepni through agricultural regions. We know nothing what was the institutional paradigm of the interrelations between the Çepni and the imperial authorities: whether the Çepni Turkmens acknowledged the supreme power of the Grand Komnenoi and whether they pay to the authorities any tax or tribute? We only know about two Trapezuntine punitive expeditions in 1370 and 1380, which were to clear the valley of the Philabonites from the Turkmens. Although both military operations were more or less successful for Greeks, they failed to achieve their main object: according to the Ottoman sources of the second half of the fifteenth century, the Çepni continued controlling the valley.<sup>35</sup>

However, the Greeks obviously succeeded in redirecting the expansion of the Çepni to the south. Apparently due to the Greek military pressure, by the end of the fourteenth century, the Çepni Turkmens began to settle in Cheria from where they subsequently moved eastwards. In the eighteenth century, they were found in Lazistan; by 1915, they reached the border of the Russian Empire.<sup>36</sup>

The Çepni tribes seem to have been a irreconcilable enemy of the local Greeks. Due to this antagonism and their persistent fight against the Grand

<sup>34</sup> A. Bryer, "Greeks and Turkmens," p. 132–133.

<sup>35</sup> Panaretos, p. 77<sup>10-16</sup>, 79<sup>12-29</sup>; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Trapezountiaka," in: *Vizantiiskii vremennik*, vol. V, 1898, p. 680; A. Bryer, "Some Trapezuntine Monastic Obits (1368–1563)," in: *Revue des études byzantines*, vol. 34, 1976 (=Idem, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos*, no. IX) p. 136–137 note 25; A. Bryer, "Greeks and Turkmens," p. 133; A. Bryer, D. Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos* (DOS, XX), vol. 1, Washington, 1985, p. 140–141, 258.

<sup>36</sup> Abu Bakr Tihriani, *Kitab-i Diyarbakriyya*, ed. N. Lugal, vol. 1-2, Ankara, 1962-1964 (repr.: Tehran, 1977), vol. 1, p. 42; Laonici Chalcoconylae *Historiarum Demonsrations*, Vol. 1-2, rec. E. Darkó. Budapestini, 1922-1924, vol. I: p. 59<sup>9-11</sup>; A. Bryer, "Greeks and Turkmens," p. 133; A. Bryer, D. Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments*, Vol. I. p. 102, 173. For the history of Çepni see also: F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler) Tarihleri, Boy Teşkilatı, Destanları*, İstanbul 1992, p. 241-248; M. Bilgin, "Türkmen Beylikleri ve İskan Hareketleri", in: *Giresun Tarihi Sempozyumu*, p. 101-109; B. Brendemoen, *The Turkish Dialects*, p. 284-286.

Komnenoi, the sources have recorded their history with unprecedented details, while other Turkmen tribes, which as I believe, came in the same migration wave as Çepni, deserved much less attention in sources.

A different instance pattern of relationships between the Turkmens and the Pontic Greeks is represented by the history of the Akkoyunlu tribe.<sup>37</sup> In the 1330s, in the head of the Akkoyunlu probably stood a certain Tūghānjūq whose state was situated west of the city of Trebizond.<sup>38</sup> By 1340 the Akkoyunlu roamed in the region of Kenchrina and Kerasous. Greeks called them ἀμιτιώται, the name derived, apparently, from the place name where the Akkoyunlu resided ca 1340 or not long before that date. It is not impossible, as Bryer suggested, that the name ἀμιτιώται has originated from the place name Omidie (west of Kerasous),<sup>39</sup> where Akkoyunlu might have settled in their way from West Anatolia to the Pontos and where one of their leaders Pahlawan Bek might have died.<sup>40</sup>

The justification of my hypothesis concerning the West Anatolian provenance of the Akkoyunlu may be found in the genealogy of that tribe, which preserves the Akkoyunlu oral tradition and was written down in the fifteenth century. According to Abu Bakr Tihrani, the abovementioned Akkoyunlu leader Pahlawan Bek first fought against Byzantines in the region of Bursa as an ally of “Ajam Shēr”, that is apparently one of the emirs of the Germiyan principality. Abu Bakr Tihrani dates the life of Pahlawan Bek to reign of the Saljuq sultans Rukn al-Din (1249-1266) and Ghiyath al-Din (1266-1282), which seems quite plausible.<sup>41</sup> Drawing a parallel with the early history of Çepni discussed above, one may suggest that Akkoyunlu resided in West Anatolia in 1260s and 1270s and was ousted by the Mongols to Paphlagonia towards the Black Sea coast.

<sup>37</sup> For a quite fresh account of the early history of Akkoyunlu see: B. Brendemoen, *The Turkish Dialects ...* p. 286–288.

<sup>38</sup> Umari, p. 31; Abu Bakr Tihrani, vol. I, p. 174. For more details see: R. Shukurov, *The Grand Komnenoi and the Orient*, p. 236-237; Cf.: E. Zachariadou, “Trebizond and the Turks,” p. 346.

<sup>39</sup> The question of the origin and semantics of the place name *amitiotai* in the chronicle of Panaretos first was posed by C. Cahen (C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 363-364) and later discussed by A. Bryer (A. Bryer, “Greeks and Turkmens,” p. 133-134) and E. Zachariadou (E. Zachariadou, “Trebizond and the Turks,” p. 339-341).

<sup>40</sup> Abu Bakr Tihrani, Vol. I, p. 15: Abu Bakr maintains that Pahlawan Bek died in Amid, which, basing on my hypothesis of the west Anatolian origin of Akkoyunlu, I incline to interpret as Omidie (initially, Bryer’s hypothesis – see above), misunderstood by Abu Bakr. see: R. Shukurov, *The Grand Komnenoi and the Orient*, p. 233-236.

<sup>41</sup> Abu Bakr Tihrani, vol. I, p. 15.

The first earliest reference to the Akkoyunlu is found in the Chronicle of Panaretos and dates to 1340. After a series of clashes with the Pontic Greeks (in August 1340, July 1341, August 1341, June 1343, June 1348 and probably not long before 1352), they concluded, unlike the Çepni, an alliance with the Grand Komnenoi, which was strengthened by the marriage of the Akkoyunlu emir Qutlu Bek and a Trapezuntine princess.<sup>42</sup>

Thus, in the 1340s and probably until the late 1360s, Akkoyunlu tribes resided in the neighbourhood of the city of Trebizond. This idea is justified by the remarkable frequency of their attacks against the city itself; in addition, as Bryer has shown, in June 1367, the camp of Qutlu Bek Akkoyunlu was situated in the western part of the *bandon* Trikomia, approximately in the same area as the Çepni.<sup>43</sup> Obviously, after 1367 the Akkoyunlu migrated towards Bayburt and Erzincan. According to Muslim Anatolian sources, the first appearance of the Akkoyunlu in the East Anatolia Muslim regions (on the northern frontiers of the emirates of Karahisar, Sivas and Erzincan) dates to as late as 1379.<sup>44</sup> A. Erzi's suggestion that, in the 1330s, Ibn Battuta, when writing about Turkmen nomads by Erzerum, implied Akkoyunlu and Karakoyunlu, is not substantiated by available sources – 1330s was too early date for the appearance of at least Akkoyunlu here; in the 1330s, the Akkoyunlu were still in their way from the West to Trebizond.<sup>45</sup>

In connection with the events of June 1348, Michael Panaretos mentions one more Turkmen tribe residing in the vicinities of Trebizond: he refers to a certain Ποσδογάνης that is Bozdoğan. Apparently, Bozdoğan was the leader of a Turkmen tribe and later his name would become the eponym

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<sup>42</sup> Panaretos, p. 68<sup>13-19</sup>; Libadenos, p. 74<sup>26-30</sup>; Abu Bakr Tihrani, vol. I, p. 12-13 (a Turkish translation of this passage: A. Erzi, "Akkoyunlu ve Karakoyunlu tarihi hakkında araştırmalar," in: *Belleten*, 1954, vol. 18, p. 190-191. An abridged version of this passage see: Muslih al-Din Muhammad, *Mir'at al-Adwar*, St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, C. 427, p. 237v). Detailed discussion of the sources see: R. Shukurov, *The Grand Komnenoi and the Orient*, p. 238-244.

<sup>43</sup> A. Bryer, "Greeks and Turkmens," p. 146 note 136; A. Bryer, D. Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments*, vol. 1, p. 258.

<sup>44</sup> Aziz ibn Ardaşir Astarabadi, *Bazm-u razm*, F.Köprülü-zade tarafından eser ve müellifi hakkında yazılan bir mukaddimeyi havidir [ed. Hazırlayan Kilisli Muallim Rif'at], İstanbul, 1928, p. 163. Aziz Astarabadi reports that a certain "son of Kutlu Beg" fought against the Sivas army that besieged Erzincan. Since at that time there was no other emir Kutlu Beg by name at that region except the abovementioned Akkoyunlu leader, I suggest that Aziz means here one of the Akkoyunlu princes.

<sup>45</sup> A. Erzi, "Akkoyunlu", p. 188, note 36; J. Woods, *The Aqqyunlu. Clan, Confederation, Empire. A Study in 15<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> Century Turco-Iranian Politics*. Minneapolis & Chicago, 1976, p. 46.

of Bozdoğanlı. In this case also one may suggest that Bozdoğanlı appeared in the Pontos having come from the West, and not from inner East Anatolia: in the Oriental sources of East Anatolia, the first references to that tribe belong to as late dates as 1392, 1395 and 1396.<sup>46</sup> Toponymics may also be of some help to my hypothesis: in the emirate of Aydın one may find a place name Boz-Doğan, one more place Boz-Doğan by name is registered in Trikomia in the Pontos.<sup>47</sup>

The same is with the Turkmens of Duharlu, a branch of Karakoyunlu Turkmens: the Duharlu first appeared in the Chronicle of Panaretos (1340) and their presence in Muslim part of East Anatolia would be attested much later, by the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>48</sup>

One more note: it is very probable that all the above-discussed Pontic tribes came to Anatolia from Central Asia during the Mongol invasion. At least, legendary tradition of Karakoyunlu, the branch of which the Duharlu was, explicitly justifies this idea.<sup>49</sup> Apparently, some other Turkmens, who appeared in the coastal regions of the Pontos in the 1330s, came from the West: it is plausible that with that second nomadic wave came those Turks who established the emirate of Niksar in Canik.<sup>50</sup>

I would like to adduce one more justification to the idea of West Anatolian provenance of the fourteenth-century Pontic Turkmens.

It is not impossible that the Anatolian Salur Turkmens, or at least some part of them, “moved in loop” in the same way as known from Greek sources Pontic Turkmens in the fourteenth century. According to ‘Aziz Astarabadi, the ancestors of the Sivas sultan Burhan al-Din Ahmad (d. 1398) belonged to the tribe of Salur, which in former times lived in Kharazm.

<sup>46</sup> Aziz ibn Ardaşir Astarabadi, p. 475, 491-492; Taqi al-Din Maqrizi, *Kitab al-suluk li-ma'rifat duwal al-muluk*, ed. M.M. Ziyad, vol. 3, al-Qahira, 1956, vol. 3, p. 422, 442, 782, 906; Ibn Taghri Birdi, *Annals, entitled 'an-Nujum az-zahira fi muluk Misr wal-Qahira'*, Arabic Text ed. by W. Popper, Vol. 5 (Pts. 1-4), Berkley; Los Angeles, 1932-1936, p. 548, 584. More details see: R. Shukurov, *The Grand Komnenoi and the Orient*, p. 237-238, 249. On the Boz-Doğan oğulları in the time of the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II see: F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler)*, p. 267. On the twentieth-century Boz-Doğan Turkmens see: Y. Rıza, 'Cenupta Bozdoğanlılar,' in: *Ülke*, 1934, vol. III/17.

<sup>47</sup> P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentese*, İstanbul, 1934, p. 168, 169, 174; A. Bryer & D. Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos*, vol. 1, p. 161.

<sup>48</sup> J. Woods, *Akkoyunlu. Clan, Confederation, Empire*, p. 203; F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler)* p. 276; R. Shukurov, *The Grand Komnenoi and the Orient*, p. 242, 249.

<sup>49</sup> 'Ibad-Allah b. 'Abd-Allah Nishapuri. *Ta'rikh-i Turkmaniyya*, British Library MS, Ethé 573, fol. 21r-22r. An edition and Russian translation of the relevant passage see: R. Shukurov, *The Grand Komnenoi and the Orient*, p. 248.

<sup>50</sup> See: R. Shukurov, *The Grand Komnenoi and the Orient*, p. 216-219.

Major part of the Salur Turkmens left Central Asia in the time of the Saljuq conquests in the eleventh century and settled in Fars, where they established a state.<sup>51</sup> However, a certain Muhammad, the great grand-father of the sultan Burhan al-Din in the sixth generation, lived in the region of Kastamonu and there was born his son Jalal al-Din Habib, the founder of the family of Burhan al-Din.<sup>52</sup> Muhammad, belonging to the sixth generation, probably lived about the middle of the thirteenth century during the Mongol invasion and mass migration of the nomads to Anatolia. It is not clear where the ancestors of Burhan al-Din came from: Central Asia or South Iran. Although, in the sixteenth century and later, Anatolian Salur Turkmens lived exceptionally in South and South-East Anatolia from Konya to Nigde and up to the border of Syria, nonetheless, one may suggest that, in the thirteenth century, Burhan al-Din's ancestors found themselves in the region of Kastamonu being among a group of Salur, which had come there from the West, like the Çepni, Akkoyunlu, Dukhar and others. An indirect confirmation to this idea may be found in F. Sümer's list of place names: he refers to the existence, in the region of Kastamonu, of a number of toponyms deriving from the tribal name Salur (Salur, Salur Beği). Place names connected with Salur are also found in Canik, in the region of Bafra and Osmancık (Salur), and especially numerous they are in the region of Sivas. It is not impossible that toponymics preserves the traces of the itinerary of the Salur's migration from North-West Anatolia to Canik and then Sivas, and later further to the east and south.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler)*, p. 249ff.

<sup>52</sup> Aziz ibn Ardaşir Astarabadi, p. 42-43; F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler)*, p. 249, 251.

<sup>53</sup> F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler)*, p. 251-253, 318-319 (the list of place names).

**ABSTRACT**

In the 1240s-1260s, most of the Turkmens, who had been ousted from Central Asia by the Mongol invasion, rather rapidly (during one generation) crossed Anatolia from the east to the west and stopped in the Byzantine-Saljuq borderland. Some of them started the eastward movement through the Black Sea coastal regions in the late 1270s and 1280s. By the 1290s they reached the Eastern Pontos and the frontier of the Empire of Trebizond (I call it "the first nomadic wave"), but the Mongol and Greek military alliance stopped their advance for some decades at the turn of the fourteenth century. In the 1330s, with the collapse of the Mongol power in Anatolia, the nomads attacked the coastal agricultural zones of the Pontos again (the second wave). During the second half of the fourteenth century some of the Turkmens settling in the Pontos moved southwards to the inland areas of East Anatolia.

**Key words:** Turkmens, Black Sea, Mongol invasion.