

T.C.
BAHÇEŞEHİR ÜNİVERSİTESİ

**A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CONCEPTS
OF HOLY WAR AND THE IDEALIZED *TOPOS* OF
HOLY WARRIOR IN MEDIEVAL ANATOLIAN AND
EUROPEAN SOURCES**

Master's Thesis

CEREN ÇIKIN SUNGUR

İSTANBUL, 2014

T.C.
BAHÇEŞEHİR UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Supervisors: Prof. Dr. Heath W. LOWRY
& Ass. Prof. Dr. Derya GÜRSES TARBUCK

**THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
BAHCESEHIR UNIVERSITY**

**GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
HISTORY GRADUATE PROGRAM**

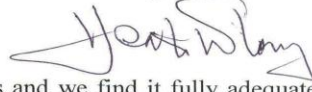
Name of the thesis: A Comparative Analysis Of The Concepts Of Holy War And The Idealized *Topos* Of Holy Warrior In Medieval Anatolian And European Sources
Name/Last Name of the Student: Ceren Çıkın
Date of the Defense of Thesis: 06.06.2014

The thesis has been approved by the Graduate School of Social Sciences.

Asst. Prof. Burak Küntay
Graduate School Director
Signature

I certify that this thesis meets all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Prof. Heath W. Lowry
Program Coordinator
Signature



This is to certify that we have read this thesis and we find it fully adequate in scope, quality and content, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

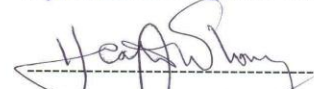
Examining Comittee Members

Thesis Supervisor
Asst. Prof. Derya Gürses Tarbuck

Member
Prof. Heath W. Lowry

Member
Asst. Prof. Emrah Safa Gürkan

Signature



To my beloved Can, for all his kindness and support...

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I must thank my research supervisors, Professor Heath W. Lowry and Assistant Professor Derya Gürses Tarbuck for giving me the chance to work together and the opportunity to study at Bahçeşehir University. Without their support and assistance this thesis could not even exist as an idea.

I would also like to thank Associate Professor Dr. Fikret Yılmaz for making me question certain matters on the military warfare of the early Ottomans I had not noticed before. I also have to thank Professor Paul Latimer from Bilkent University for his assistance and for lighting my path to an understanding of European history with his advice.

ABSTRACT

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CONCEPTS OF HOLY WAR AND THE IDEALIZED *TOPOS* OF THE HOLY WARRIOR IN MEDIEVAL ANATOLIAN AND EUROPEAN SOURCES

Ceren Çıkm Sungur

History

Supervisors: Prof. Dr. Heath W. Lowry & Ass. Prof. Derya Gürses Tarbuck

June, 2014, 199 pages

Claims of holy war characterized the Middle Ages in both Muslim Anatolia and Christian Europe, where soldiers on both sides were portrayed as holy warriors. Named *gazis*, *akıncıs*, *alps*, *chevaliers* and knights, they came from the elite military classes. Literary depictions of these men as holy warriors were fundamentally idealized *topoi* created by writers who were patronized by or were close to those in power. These *topoi* were largely determined by political, social and economic circumstances, as well as the ambitions of the sovereigns, but they also reflected the ideals, beliefs and customs of the past. The idea of holy war was generated by the collaboration of power holders, religious scholars and writers who had received a predominantly religious education. Similar circumstances which arose separately in Anatolia and the West caused transformative movements in the idea of holy war in both regions. Thus, as writers produced works which involved the idealized *topos* of the holy warrior, Islamic and Christian versions of holy war peculiar to the Middle Ages were formed. Written in simple language which ordinary people could understand, these *topoi* represented role models for the people, catering to the needs of the ruling classes and forming society's self-image during this formative period.

Key words: Holy War, Holy Warriors, Idealized Topos, Ghaza Thesis, The First Crusade.

ÖZET

ORTAÇAĞ ANADOLU VE AVRUPA KAYNAKLARINDA İDEALİZE EDİLMİŞ KUTSAL SAVAŞÇI *TOPOSU* VE KUTSAL SAVAŞ ANLAYIŞLARININ KARŞILAŞTIRMALI İNCELENMESİ

Ceren Çıkmın Sungur

Tarih

Danışmanlar: Prof. Dr. Heath W. Lowry & Yard. Doç. Dr. Derya Gürses Tarbuck

Haziran, 2014, 199 sayfa

Ortaçağ'ın başlarından sonuna uzanan süreçte, Müslüman Anadolu ve Hıristiyan Avrupa'da kutsal savaşlar verildiği iddiaları mevcuttu ve her iki coğrafyada yazılan kaynaklarda kutsal savaşçılar resmediliyordu. Bunlar, gazi, akıncı, alp ya da şövalye olarak isimlendiriliyorlardı ve orduların öncelikli sınıflarına mensuptular. Kaynaklardaki bu savaşçılara dair betimlemeler, esasen idealize edilmiş *topos*lardı ve iktidar sahiplerinin himayesinde ya da onlarla yakın ilişkiler içinde olan yazarlar tarafından yaratılmışlardı. İdealize edilmiş *topos*lar, yazarları tarafından, dönemlerinin siyasi, sosyo-ekonomik şartlarının belirlediği ihtiyaç ve gereklilere göre yeniden üretilmişlerdi ve geçmiş dönemlere ait inanç ve geleneklerden izler taşıyorlardı. İktidar sahipleri ile din âlimleri, teologlar ve ağırlıklı olarak din eğitimi almış yazarların işbirliği sonucunda bu yeniden üretim gerçekleşmişti. Aynı şartlar, Anadolu ve Avrupa'da kutsal savaş düşüncelerinin dönüşmesini de sağlamıştı. Böylece Ortaçağ'a özgü İslami ve İsevi kutsal savaş anlayışları ortaya çıktı ve yazarlar idealize edilmiş *topos*lar içeren eserler ürettiler. Bu eserler, sıradan insanların kolayca anlaması için basit bir dille yazılmışlar, *topos*lar ise rol model olarak işlev görmüşlerdir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kutsal Savaş, Kutsal Savaşçı, İdealize Edilmiş *Topos*, Gaza Tezi, Birinci Haçlı Seferi.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
ÖZET.....	vi
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER	4
3. HOLY WAR: CONCEPTIONS IN MEDIEVAL ANATOLIA AND WESTERN EUROPE	15
3.1. THE ORIGINS OF THE IDEA OF HOLY WAR	16
3.1.1. Religious Mythologies and Military Ethics.....	17
3.1.2. Sacred Warfare as a Duty.....	19
3.2. HOLY WAR IN THE MUSLIM EAST.....	21
3.2.1. Ghaza and Jihad: Islamic Concepts of Holy War.....	21
3.2.2. From Nomadic Razzia to Islamic Ghaza/Jihad.....	26
3.2.3. The First Ghazis in History.....	29
3.2.4. Jihad as Warfare and Propaganda against the Crusaders.....	33
3.2.5. Ghaza, Jihad and Early Ottomans.....	35
3.2.6. Relations to the Neighboring Christians.....	40
3.2.7. <i>Ghaza</i>: Motivation against the Mongols and the Crusaders.....	48
3.2.8. Critical Approaches to the <i>Ghaza</i> Thesis.....	52
3.2.9. The <i>Ghaza</i> Literature.....	55

3.2.10. <i>Ghaza</i> : Adopted as an Officially-Invented Trend?.....	58
3.3. HOLY WAR IN CHRISTIAN WEST.....	60
3.3.1. Just War to Holy War in Medieval Europe.....	60
3.3.2. St. Augustine and the Theory of Just War.....	61
3.3.3. The Threats Of Persian And Avars.....	64
3.3.4. The Reformist Movement In The Church.....	68
3.3.5. The Impact Of Gregory VII.....	69
3.3.6. Pope Urban II’s Speech in Clermont.....	73
3.3.7. The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading.....	79
3.3.8. The Reasons Behind the First Crusade.....	84
3.3.9. “It was Becoming Holy War”.....	87
3.3.10. Liberation with an Armed Pilgrimage.....	88
3.3.11. The First Crusade.....	89
3.4. A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO THE CONCEPT OF HOLY WAR.....	91
3.4.1. Regeneration of the Ideas against the Threats.....	91
3.4.2. Turning to Scholars for Justification.....	93
3.4.3. Building a Self-Image.....	94
4. THE <i>TOPOS</i> OF THE IDEALIZED HOLY WARRIOR IN MEDIEVAL SOURCES.....	95
4.1. THE AUTHORS AND THEIR SOURCES.....	95
4.2. HOLY WARRIORS.....	102
4.3. DEPICTIONS OF THE IDEALIZED <i>TOPOS</i> OF HOLY WARRIORS.....	106
4.3.1. Ashiq Pasha’s Ideal Warrior: Alp.....	107
4.3.1.1. Alp and the ideal of world domination of the Turks.....	116

4.3.2. Gamez’s Ideal Knight.....	121
4.4. THE PRIMARY ESSENTIALS OF AN IDEAL WARRIOR.....	126
4.4.1. Courage.....	127
4.4.2. Physical Strength.....	130
4.4.3. Having a Horse.....	131
4.4.4. Arms and Armour.....	134
4.4.5. Having a Good Comrade.....	136
4.5. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF AN IDEAL WARRIOR.....	139
4.5.1. A Paragon Model.....	139
4.5.2. Resemblance to the Heroes of the Past.....	142
4.5.3. Nobility, Lineage.....	145
4.5.4. Violence at War.....	147
4.5.5. Loyalty and Obedience to the Authority.....	152
4.5.6. Religiousness, Divine Providence and the Grace of God.....	156
4.6. THE GLORIFIED VIRTUES.....	161
4.6.1. Doing Justice.....	161
4.6.2. Being Generous.....	166
4.7. THE PROMISES THE EARTHLY GAINS AND HEAVENLY AWARDS.....	170
4.7.1. Heavenly Awards.....	171
4.7.2. Earthly Gains.....	173
4.7.2.1. Slaves and “beauties” as plunder.....	175
4.7.2.2. Lands as earthly gain.....	179
4.7.2.3. Opportunities for religious men and scholars.....	180

4.7.2.4. Reputation and honor: celebrity and eternalizing.....	182
4.8. A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO THE IDEALIZED <i>TOPOS</i>.....	185
5. CONCLUSION.....	188
REFERENCES.....	193

1. INTRODUCTION

Claims of holy war characterize the period between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries A.D., both in Christian Europe and Muslim Anatolia. According to the claims of contemporary sources such as chronicles, chivalric narrations and *gazâvatnâmes*, the wars were “holy” because they were waged at God’s command, with his aid, for expanding the areas ruled by the true religion of God. These literary narratives which were simultaneously created in two separate cultural regions transformed the soldiers taking part into holy warriors.

This thesis focuses on the relations between the idea of holy war and the portrayals of holy warriors in medieval narratives composed by those in the service of power-holders.¹ The main argument is that the *topos*² of the idealized holy warrior was deliberately created by the patronized literary elite for certain purposes. Furthermore, the idea of holy war developed in

¹ “Power-holders” in this thesis refers to people who had any kind of political power and mostly the members of the ruling classes.

² The word “*topos*” (Gk., plural *topoi*) is an older term describing a common motif found in literary works, or for a stock device of rhetoric. Baldick, C., 2001. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 259. The term “motif” is explained by Cuddon as “one of the dominant ideas in a work of literature; a part of the main theme. It may consist of a character, a recurrent image or a verbal pattern” Cuddon, J. A., 2013. *A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*. UK: Wiley - Blackwell Publishing, s. 448. Abrams and Harpham examine this term in the entry on “motif and theme” as “an older term for recurrent poetic concepts or formulas.” Abrams, M. H. & Geoffrey Galt Harpham, 2009. *A Glossary of Literary Terms*. Boston: Wadsworth CENGAGE Learning, p. 205. Mikics, in his work, presents wider information: “*topos* In Greek, “place.” A *topos* is a literary commonplace or (in Latin) *locus communis*, a recognizable spot. *Topos* implies literal location: we come upon certain familiar literary themes or subjects just as a traveler might discover a bend in the road or a broad meadow. (...) *Topos* is comparable to the medieval English term *matere* (i.e., matter), which, as John Hollander remarks, implies a conjoined sense of “topic, question and realm.” (The legends surrounding the court of King Arthur are the “matter of Britain,” as opposed to the Carolingian “matter of France.”) A literary *topos* is a place, but also an issue or argument. (...) In chivalric romance, for instance, the *topos* or archetypal motif of the heroic virgin asks a question, and makes a claim, about the integrity of the lonely self in a hostile social environment” Mikics D., 2007. *A New Handbook of Literary Terms*. New Heaven & London: Yale University Press, p. 297. For using the term *topos* in comparative literature please see: Childs, Peter & Roger Fowler, 2006. *The Routledge Dictionary of Literary Terms*. USA: Routledge Publishing, pp. 29 – 31.

the Middle Ages as the result of comparable socio-political processes in Europe and Anatolia, due to the similar needs and requirements of the period.

A combination of internal and external threats, power struggles and socio-economic circumstances that arose in both geographic and cultural areas led to the generation of military warfare. As a consequence, the power-holders received the support and services of religious scholars and literary men. The scholars provided religious legitimacy and references to the sovereign, while the patronized literary elite wrote their idealized and mostly custom-built narratives across several literary genres. These authors generated a military culture by combining the heritage of old and ancestral knowledge, beliefs, images, and symbols, with the doctrines and teachings of monotheistic religions. They rebuilt the idealized *topos* of the holy warrior, portraying it as a role model for society, especially for the common man which the political units needed to recruit in order to wage war.

The third chapter “Holy War: Conceptions in Medieval Anatolia And Western Europe,” will examine the origins of the idea of holy war, the processes by which the idea arose, and the reasons for its efflorescence. The fourth chapter “The *Topos* of The Idealized Holy Warrior in Medieval Narratives,” analyzes the idea of the holy warrior under thematic subheadings, and suggests that the figure of the warrior acted as a role model. The various traits of the *topos* will be identified with the intention of specifying what was required from the ideal holy warrior in both cultural areas. It will be argued that one of the reasons for creating such an ideal was to provide soldiers for the front by displaying the divine and earthly advantages of becoming a holy warrior, thus making it an attractive option for ordinary people. The role this idea played in building a self-image for both society and sovereign will be touched upon, as well as how it came to forge a common identity against the enemy.

The period during which the idea of holy war was generated, developed and transformed into organized military movements, was also a formative time for both cultural areas. In Europe, it was the time of the First Crusade to the East; in Anatolia, it was the foundation process of the

Ottoman *Beylik*. Therefore, the time-period which forms the focus of this thesis lies between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries.

By adopting a comparative approach, it will be suggested that the idea of holy war arose in both areas as an aggressive military movement due to similar political, socio-economic needs and requirements, and also that these ideas had similar targets and goals.

The aim of this thesis is to achieve an understanding of how the Christian idea of holy war became the state as it did on the eve of the First Crusade. Additionally, analyzing the similarities and differences of the *topos* of the holy warrior may help us reevaluate the *gaza* thesis from a different perspective.

2. INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

The question of how the Ottoman Beylik was founded, and how as a force, it had the ability to gather people together in its early years continues to occupy modern historians' minds. In this debate, the *ghaza thesis* propounded by Paul Wittek³ still has an important place. But “the first stone”⁴ was cast in 1916 by Herbert Gibbons in *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*. Gibbons was pointing to “a new race” consisting of Greeks, Balkan Slavic nationals and Turkish peoples. Lowry explains Gibbons' approach with: “Gibbons' belief that the mighty Ottoman Empire could not have emerged from purely Turco-Muslim roots, hence its Byzantine-Christian origins.”⁵ In 1934, M. Fuat Köprülü, enhanced his 1932 thesis which was mainly concerned with “Ottoman institutional roots derived from Seljuk and Ilkhanid precedents,” with the idea that “the Ottoman state was purely Turkish in nature,”⁶ thus rejecting Gibbons' argument entirely.

In 1937, Wittek presented his ideas in a series of lectures we know today as the *ghaza thesis*. According to him “Ottomans were not a tribe or people linked genealogically, but were rather groups of Anatolian Muslims bound by a common desire to fight the Christian infidels.”⁷ In *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, Wittek claimed that the early Ottomans were “a community of Ghazis, of champions of the Mohammedan religion; a community of Moslem march-warriors, devoted to the struggle with the infidels in their neighborhood.”⁸ His claims were based upon two crucial sources, one of which was Ahmedi's versified chronicle composed in the fourteenth century. For him, Ahmedi's depictions of the early Ottomans were highly realistic, and by portraying how an ideal *ghazi* must behave, he was also narrating the beliefs

³ Wittek, P., 1996. *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*. London: The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

⁴ Lowry, H. W., 2003. *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, New York: State University of New York Press, p. 5.

⁵ Lowry, *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁸ Wittek, *ibid.*, p. 14.

and ideals of the early Ottomans. Wittek's second source was an inscription dating back to 1337 found in Bursa. "On it was written the titles of the second Ottoman sultan Orhan: Sultan, son of the Sultan of the Ghazis, Ghazi, son of Ghazi, marquis of the horizons, hero of the world."⁹ He believed that the titles written in this inscription were further proof that the Ottomans were fighting for God as well as for holy ideas. In addition, he suggested that with the help of holy men called *dervishes*, *babas* who had escaped from their homeland and settled down in *udj* areas as a result of the Mongol invasion, the enthusiasm of these "*ghazis*" soon took on the form of a fanatical resolve to war against the infidel."¹⁰

Besides Ahmedi's chronicle, the term *ghazi* was written in early Ottoman sources such as *gazavatnâmes*, *menakibnames* and other chronicles composed by both known and unknown writers. Köprülü, in *The Origins of the Ottoman Empire*, described them as "soldiers of the Muslim armies in general."¹¹ The term referred to a certain group in the army or large cities. And he suggested that they "existed in the armies of the Anatolian Seljuks, the Danishmendids, and even before that of the Great Seljuks ... also found much earlier at the time of the Samanids in the regions of Khurasan and Transoxiana."¹² For him, they were mercenary soldiers utilised against internal and external enemies, and they owed their existence to this occupation, since they "generally possessing no lands on which to live nor gainful employment, sought, in the face of economic necessity, a means of livelihood in the continuous wars and intestinal turmoil of the Middle Ages."¹³

Köprülü and Halil İnalçık share the same idea regarding the Turkish exodus into Anatolia precipitated by the Mongol invasions in the thirteenth century. İnalçık states that this was only the first phase of a trimerous process, and that they transmigrated in order to "search for good pasture lands for their herds in marginal areas and the opportunity for booty raids into

⁹ Wittek, *ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹¹ Köprülü, F., 1992. *The Origins of the Ottoman Empire*, Gary Leiser (Trans. & Ed.), New York: State University of New York Press, p. 88.

¹² Köprülü, *ibid.*, p. 89.

¹³ *Ibid.*

neighboring Christian lands.”¹⁴ The second massive population movement into Asia Minor occurred in 1256 when the Mongol general Bayju asked Seljukid Sultan Izzeddin Kaykawus II to assign him quarters in Anatolia for his army and tribes, but he received an unfavorable reply. After a war where the Seljukids were defeated, the Mongols settled down in the Tokat-Amasya area. To İnalçık, “this event brought a new flow of Turcoman immigrants into the western border areas,”¹⁵ a movement which continued for thirty years. The third wave took place after the Seljukid ruling class and their Turcoman supporters allied themselves with the Mamluks of Egypt and “rose up to fight a Holy War against the ‘impious’ domination of the Mongols.”¹⁶ According to İnalçık, at the end of this long period, “a new Turkey with great demographic potential and a heightened Holy War ideology was emerging in the old Seljukid frontier zone.”¹⁷

İnalçık also considers another factor to be the slave trade “with the growing demand from the large markets in Asia Minor, Iran, and in the Arab lands.”¹⁸ He says that enslavement of the “infidel” neighbors “became a most profitable business as well as a ‘pious’ act.”¹⁹ And he formulates his main idea with this phrase: “The Holy War ideology, as much as the success of the actual raids, reinforced ties within the band to produce a cohesive social group centered around the leader.”²⁰

While İnalçık addresses Wittek’s thesis, Rudi Paul Lindner raises a series of counter views in *Nomads and Ottomans* (1983). First of all, he suggests that the behaviors adopted by the early Ottomans “do not fit an ideology of religious fervor.”²¹ If it had been the case, then the Ottomans would have excluded the Byzantines because they would have been their

¹⁴ İnalçık, H. “The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State”, *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 2 (2), (1981-82), p. 72.

¹⁵ İnalçık, *ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 72 - 73.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

²¹ Lindner, R. P., 1983. *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*, Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series 144, Ed. Stephen Halkovic, Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies Indiana University, p. viii.

archenemies. But they did not, and there are plenty of sources like Ashiq Pashazade's *Tevârih* which depict the close relationship between Ottomans and Byzantines, including Christians fighting for the Ottomans. Furthermore, the Ottomans' actions were also directed against neighboring Muslims, such as one of the earliest examples of the citadel of Karacahisar. Besides, neither Osman nor Orkhan seemed to have any real desire for converting their Christian neighbors.²² Also, he adds, that if this "motive force" had really been so effective, it must have left some traces in Byzantine or Arabian sources, but none composed in the early Ottoman period mentions the *ghaza* or *ghazis*. Lindner's other grounds for his thesis is the heterodox religious practices of the early Ottomans.

In contrast, Colin Imber, in his 1987 work, suggested that the terms *jihad* and *ghaza* refer to the same thing, and Orhan's adoption of the term *ghazi* means that the Ottomans sultans perceived themselves as *ghazis* from the beginning of the Ottoman state. He also proposed that the geographical position of the new-born state "gave this idea a particular force and immediacy" in order to hold a border with Byzantium. *Jihad* was the idea that "gave legitimacy to their rule and a *raison d'etre* to the state itself," and Orhan and his successors were fulfilling the command of God.²³

However, following İnalcık, Imber does not deny the *ghazis*' motivation to earn a living: "The popular *gazi* ideal had formed in the fourteenth century and earlier among unlettered warriors for whom warfare, whether as raiders on infidel territory or, less often, as mercenaries in the pay of neighboring Christian rulers, was a voluntary means of acquiring a livelihood."²⁴

In 1995 with the publishing of Cemal Kafadar's work *Between Two Worlds*, the *ghaza* thesis was criticized on several counts. First of all, the author makes the important point that *ghaza* and *jihad* are different concepts, the two terms are not synonymous.²⁵ Also, he objects to "the standard depiction of the *gazi* as a social type" derived from the Russian Turcologist W.

²² Lindner, *ibid.*, p. 5.

²³ Imber, C., 1987. The Ottoman Dynastic Myth. *Turcica*, **XIX**, pp. 7-27, p. 8.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁵ Kafadar, C., 1995. *Between Two Worlds*, USA: University of California Press, p. 79.

Barthold, and asks: “Why should the actions of the *gazis* be expected to be guided by religious animosity, fervor, and the upholding of *untarnished Islam*?”²⁶ He suggests that “Wittek's description of the gazi millieux and their ethos was based on what he held to be historical facts and not on an *a priori* definition of *ghaza*.” In other words, Wittek’s conception of *ghaza* “was not a canonical but a historical definition that took into consideration the descriptions by medieval Islamic authors, writing much earlier than the Ottoman chroniclers.”²⁷

In Kafadar’s opinion, “the *gazis* appear as one manifestation of the still ambiguous social phenomenon of quasi-corporate male organizations in medieval Islamic history.”²⁸ They were “potential troublemakers from the point of view of established states”²⁹ and “*gaziyan* was the corporate name given to such associations that functioned in the frontier areas undertak[ing] *ghazwa* (raids) into the *dar al-harb* (abode of war).”³⁰ For central authorities, it was a way of holding off unwanted elements from organized settled life. But it was natural “in the religion-based worldview of the times that such raiders would be ready to see and to present themselves as fighting for a religious cause.”³¹

In recent years Kafadar’s *Between Two Worlds* and Lowry’s *The Nature of the Ottoman State* have contributed greatly to this debate. While Kafadar asks crucial and previously unasked questions, his basic explanation is the “inclusivism” of the culture. On the other hand, Lowry also forms a hypothesis by questioning Wittek’s use of the sources that helped him build the *ghaza* thesis, and by approaching these sources from a fresh viewpoint. Like Kafadar, Lowry holds the opinion that a distinction should be made between *ghaza* and *jihad*. According to Lowry, the term ‘*ghaza*’ means raiding, and has a lesser religious meaning than *jihad*. Particularly in the fourteenth century, *ghaza* would have had a more secular meaning, and its

²⁶ Kafadar, *ibid.*, p. 55.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 57.

primary aim “was the amassing of booty, slaves, and plunder for its practitioners”³² rather than converting the infidels.

In Western historical and philosophical traditions, the medieval idea of holy war was mainly based on the convictions of a fourth and fifth century theologian Saint Augustine, “the father of the just war theory.”³³ He examined theories of Ancient Greek philosophers (especially Platonic), together with his interpretation of Christianity, and set out two main principles: *Jus ad bellum* (the justice of war), and *Jus in bello* (justice in war).³⁴

This concept of ‘just war’ was strengthened by Pontificate Gregory VII (1073-85 A.D.) in the eleventh century before the First Crusade. He turned to scholars to find justification for his conviction that violence could be used in defence of the Church and could be authorized by it. He used the term *milites Christi* to describe the men who fought to protect the Church. Consequently, a crusading ideology began to take shape in the late eleventh century, driven by a politically minded, centralized papacy.³⁵ Ernst-Dieter Hehl’s approach also contributes to this topic: “the crusade was a just war which had been elevated to the status of a holy war.”³⁶ And so the concept of just war became holy war, and was put into practice with the crusades.

In the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas (1225 – 1274) endorsed and strengthened the ‘just war’ ethics laid out by Augustine, and listed three conditions for a lawful war: authorized authority, just cause, and rightful intention.³⁷ In the forthcoming years, the Church and chivalric traditions interlocked, and the evolution of the idea of just war was finalized as “holy war”. So the crusaders, *chevaliers* and knights were “holy warriors”, and as Stanley J.

³² Lowry, *ibid.*, p. 52.

³³ Mattox, J. M., 2006. *Saint Augustine and the theory of just war*. New York: Continuum, p. 2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

³⁵ Smith, J. R., 2003. *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, Great Britain: Continuum Publishing, p. 5.

³⁶ Hehl, E. D., 2008. War, Peace, and Christian Order. *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, David Luscombe, Jonathan Riley-Smith (Eds.), IV, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 185 – 289, p. 211.

³⁷ Kerr, F., 2009. *Thomas Aquinas A Very Short Introduction*, New York: Oxford University Press, p. 6-7.

Kahrl says “were always impelled at least in part by a strong sense of idealism, a belief that the sacrifices they made, the hardships they endured, were for a cause more important than their own lives.”³⁸

In this thesis, while paying attention to the criticism of Kafadar, we follow Lowry’s hypothesis and approach to the *ghaza* thesis and *ghazis*. Additionally, the distinction between being a member or non-member of the ruling elite, and the opportunities displayed in the sources for the warriors will have a central role in our approach:

*Participating in a gaza/akin gave nonmembers of the ruling elite the opportunity of upward social mobility on the basis of their contribution. It was this, rather than religious zeal, which attracted ever-growing bodies of warriors to the Ottoman banner. By becoming an Ottoman the doors of opportunity were opened. The frontier represented the possibility of wealth, security, and advancement, factors which worked like a magnet to attract men of ambition. The resulting Ottoman juggernaut rolled through Bithynia and into the Balkans, fueled not by zeal of a religious brotherhood, but by the greed and ambition of a predatory confederacy.*³⁹

By beginning with Lowry’s emphasis on “the opportunity of upward social mobility,” an attempt will be made to understand the reasons for ascribing holiness to wars and idealizing warriors as holy in Anatolian sources. Furthermore, by researching the idea of holy war and the *topos* of the idealized holy warrior in European written sources dating to a similar period, the results will be comparatively interpreted in order to understand the commonalities and differences which lie within these concepts.

The primary sources composed in Anatolia and Europe in the Middle Ages which will be used to support the arguments of this thesis, have some common characteristics with sources composed in Antiquity, such as epics, sagas, myths and legends. There is a general agreement

³⁸ Kahrl, S. J., 1976. Introduction. *The Holy War*, Thomas Patrick Murphy (Eds.), USA: Ohio State University Press, p. 2.

³⁹ Lowry, *ibid.*, p. 52.

that there is continuity between these different genres, and that the medieval narratives are epigones and successors of the antique genres.⁴⁰ The medieval narratives involve several similar *topoi* as their predecessors, two of which are “holy war” and “holy warrior.” These two *topoi*, albeit with some differences in meaning, are found in sources from Antiquity.

The era in which monotheistic religions became widely accepted by large numbers of people in Anatolia and Europe (although in different centuries) is called the Transitional Period. During this time, surviving antique *topoi* in both written and oral form were transformed together with social institutions in respect to the new religions. Traces of this transformation can be identified in various forms by historians and men of letters.

After the monotheistic religions were incorporated into the ideologies of the ruling classes, writers from educated or aristocratic backgrounds were formally commissioned by those in power to present the newly accepted religious concepts in their works across various genres. Besides these commissioned authors, there were other writers who, without being instructed by any king or sultan, produced narratives with the hope of becoming a member of a court, or of making the move from periphery to center, or even just to make a living from writing. This is one of the main reasons for evaluating these narratives as tools for reflecting the hegemonic ideologies of the ruling classes. Also, we know that these narratives, both in Anatolia and Europe, were read aloud in court and in public. Accordingly, it is possible that these narrations were used as a means of propaganda aimed at their subjects by the sovereigns.

In Anatolia, these narratives showed the way to becoming an Ottoman. “The frontier represented the possibility of wealth, security, and advancement, factors which worked like a magnet to attract men of ambition.”⁴¹ And they also told stories about how “the doors of

⁴⁰ For more on this topic please see: Reich, K. 2000. *Singing the Past, Turkic and Medieval Heroic Poetry*, Gregory Nagy (Ed.), New York: Cornell University Press. And also Heng, G. (Eds.), 2003. *Empire of Magic, Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy*. New York: Columbia University Press.

⁴¹ Lowry, *ibid.*, p. 52.

opportunity were opened”⁴², how *halal*, honest and lawful booties were gained by these warriors.

If this was indeed the case, the question arises: what purpose did the idealization of these mundane ambitions and acts serve? Ascribing ‘holiness’ to wars which basically had social and economic causes, within the context of the stories narrated, strengthened the claims of ruling classes that their rule had divine origins and by this means, aided in extending their areas of legitimacy. The idealized *topos* of the holy warrior was attractive to soldiers and candidates as a recognized and respected social status, a closer place to the ruling classes, the privilege of plundering and gaining booty, and also the possibility of having a name that will be remembered for centuries. In an age when the population was low, these ideas acted as magnets, thus providing manpower for war.

While researching this thesis, no studies comparing medieval narratives in the sense of the *ghaza* ideal and the idealized *topos* were encountered. However, there are several theses written in recent years with a similar approach to this thesis, containing chapters relevant to our topic, and which have aided this work. Here is the key word is “idealize.”

The first thesis is *Painting an Icon of the Ideal Gazi: An Exploration of the Cultural Meanings of the Love Affair Episode in Suzi Çelebi’s Gazavatname of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey* written at the Central European University in 2007 by Ayşe Ezgi Dikici. In her thesis on the *Gazavatname of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey*, (a piece probably composed in the early sixteenth century), Dikici states that “the Ottoman poet Suzi Çelebi of Prizren seems to have hoped to establish the great warlord as an icon of the *gaza* ideal in the eyes of his audience.”⁴³ By centering on Mihaloğlu Ali Bey’s love affair with the daughter of a Wallachian ruler, she focuses its function within the *gaza* narrative. The chapters entitled “Mihaloğlu Ali Bey: The

⁴² Lowry, *ibid.*, p. 52.

⁴³ Dikici, A. E., (2007). *Painting an Icon of the Ideal Gazi: An Exploration of the Cultural Meanings of the Love Affair Episode in Suzi Çelebi’s Gazavatname of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey*, MA Thesis in Medieval Studies. Budapest: Central European University, p. 1.

Historical Person Behind the Hero” and “The Icon: Meaning Beyond the Form” are closer to the approach utilized in this thesis and will provide useful analyses.

The second is a thesis by Ayşegül Keskin, supervised by Paul Latimer at Bilkent University and named *The Late Twelfth-Century Knightly Ethic in North-Western Europe in Life and in Literature*. The author remarks upon a new type of literature that had come into being by the end of the twelfth century in north-western Europe. This new literature, centered on a knightly ethic, combined “an older warrior ethic with the newly formed refined culture of the courts,” and “these works embodied many fictional elements in their nature.”⁴⁴ Keskin indicates that these works “have generally been disregarded by historians as masking or distorting the everyday reality with an idealistic approach,”⁴⁵ and she searches out the similarities between fact and fiction by using evidence from both fictional and non-fictional works of the period.

The third thesis is written by Sibel Çalın, named *Sir Thomas Malory'nin “le morte d'arthur” ve Alfred Lord Tennyson'ın “Idylls of the King” Adlı Eserlerinde Şövalyelik İdeali (chivalric ideal) Kavramının İncelenmesi*. It is a comparative analysis of the work of the fifteenth-century writer Sir Thomas Malory *Le Morte D'Arthur* and the nineteenth-century poet Alfred Lord Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* in the context of the chivalric ideal. The author predicates that as a medieval institution, chivalry was idealized in the period's popular literary genre, the romances.⁴⁶

A primary source for this thesis is the fourteenth-century historian Froissart's *Chroniques*. Kristel Mari Skorge's study on him, labeled as “*the Chronicler of Chivalry*”⁴⁷ has a strongly

⁴⁴ Keskin, A. (2008). *The Late Twelfth-Century Knightly Ethic in North-Western Europe in Life and in Literature*, A Master's Thesis. Ankara: The Department of History, Bilkent University, p. iii.

⁴⁵ Keskin, *ibid.*, p. iii.

⁴⁶ Çalın, S., (2006). *Sir Thomas Malory'nin “le morte d'arthur” ve Alfred Lord Tennyson'ın “Idylls of the King” Adlı Eserlerinde Şövalyelik İdeali (chivalric ideal) Kavramının İncelenmesi*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı.

⁴⁷ Skorge, K. M., (2006). *Ideals and values in Jean Froissart's Chroniques*, PHD Thesis. Bergen: University of Bergen.

analytical point of view which is drawn on in this thesis. The chapters entitled “The chivalrous ideal” and “Chivalry and kingship” are particularly useful.

The last thesis that has aided in clarifying the ideas laid out here was written by Zeynep Kocabıyıkoglu Çeçen from Bilkent University. Her thesis analyses different views on warfare and knighthood in the late Middle Ages. Her argument is that a ‘new view’ was created by certain authors during the reign of Charles VI in France. She places medieval views on warfare and knighthood into two basic categories: “the view promoted through the romances to a lay audience, and the view developed by ecclesiastical authors, i.e. theologians, academics and canon-lawyers meant for a highly educated audience.”⁴⁸ The chapter entitled “The revised ideals of knighthood in the late Middle Ages: Honoré Bouvet, Philippe de Mézières and Christine de Pizan” presents this new view with examples of these writers’ works.

⁴⁸ Kocabıyıkoglu Çeçen, Z. (2012). *Interpreting Warfare and Knighthood In Late Medieval France: Writers And Their Sources In The Reign Of King Charles VI (1380-1422)*, Ph.D. Dissertation. Ankara: Department of History İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University.

3. HOLY WAR: CONCEPTIONS IN MEDIEVAL ANATOLIA AND WESTERN EUROPE

War can be defined as “an organized, purposeful activity directed by one established group against a rival group that involves actual or potential application of lethal force.”⁴⁹ The notion of “holy war” involves a religious legitimization of such lethal force, and while it is not a European invention, the term certainly is.⁵⁰ According to Firestone, the European and Arabian (by which he means to say Christian and Islamic) expressions of holy war, were born and developed in uniquely different historical and religio-cultural circumstances.⁵¹ Distinct religious and cultural contours of each separate tradition developed a *sui generis* formulation of holy war that mirrored its own history, theology, and society.

However, it is still possible to analyze them comparatively. This is because in the recourse to war, both Islamic and Christian expressions of holy war were fundamentally ideological, and partook of the same “ideological nature of justification,”⁵² in the same way all other holy war ideas which exist in almost all religious traditions. However, parallels and disparities may be discovered between the different representations due to historical influences, or simply because of phenomenological similarities.

In western historical scholarship and tradition, “Holy war” refers directly to the Crusades. Therefore, the crusades, but particularly the First Crusade will be central to this work. When considering Anatolian society, however, its Islamic equivalent is slightly more complex. The question of whether holy war can be translated as *ghaza* or *jihad* is not a central theme, but it is considered. This has always been a well-argued field in early Ottoman studies, and the discussions surrounding the terms *ghaza* and *jihad* will be addressed in the next chapters of

⁴⁹ Firestone R., 1999. *Jihad, the origin of holy war in Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 14.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15. Also Mattox (2006, p. 2) mentions: “The idea of a just war is not an exclusively Western innovation. The ancient Chinese, the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Hindus of India, and others, discussed the moral dimensions of war in writings that antedate anything in the Latin West.”

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

this thesis. Nevertheless, the term *ghaza* appears to be the most appropriate term because medieval Ottoman sources predominantly refers to *ghaza* not *jihad* – at least until the sixteenth century - and early Ottoman beys primarily held the title “*ghazi*”, not *mujahid*. Therefore, the term *ghaza* will be used in this work, and lies behind references to holy war in the Anatolian context.

3.1. THE ORIGINS OF THE IDEA OF HOLY WAR

In seeking to understand the idea of holy war, it is helpful to examine its origins as a concept. Both the European and Anatolian versions are traceable to the Near East. “All the monotheistic religions that arose in the Near East - Judaism, Christianity, and Islam - have articulated some form of holy war”⁵³ says Alfred J. Andrea in his article “The Christian Holy War and Jihad.” Judaism was born before Christianity and Islam and its scripture, the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) is full of examples of battles against heathens commanded by God. Via these conflicts, God was calling his believers “to be agents in a cosmic struggle against evil.”⁵⁴

Firestone also came to the conclusion that long before the genesis of Islam and Christianity, “holy war has been a well-known phenomenon in human civilization.”⁵⁵ He emphasizes the intervention of the deity itself as engaging in the fray in the narratives of the Old Testament. Also, the Bible reflects the ideas and beliefs of those living in the ancient Near East, and God’s own vigorous involvement in battle was a common motif. Thus the conspicuous representation of holy war in the Old Testament came to influence Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism as well. Therefore, the idea of fighting for the sake of God, or for God’s people had been well established in the “popular monotheistic religious traditions contemporary to the formative period of earliest Islam.”⁵⁶ However, it was not the only antecedent which affected

⁵³ Andrea, A. J., 2004. Christian holy war and jihad. *Crusades, The Illustrated history*, Thomas F. Madden (Ed.), USA: The University of Michigan Press, pp. 26 – 28, p. 26.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵⁵ Firestone, *ibid.*, p. 19.

⁵⁶ Firestone, *ibid.*, p. 19.

Islam, as there are also phenomenological parallels between Hindu religions as well as Zoroastrianism - before and during the early Islamic period.

3.1.1. Religious Mythologies and Military Ethics

Several Western authors who have researched the idea of holy war generally agree that the origins go back to even older, more ancient times. When Mattox states that “the idea of a just war is not an exclusively Western innovation,”⁵⁷ he also indicates that there are many prototypes of discussions about the moral dimensions of war in ancient Chinese, Egyptian, Babylonian, Hindu and other civilizations’ narratives and oral traditions that antedate anything in the Latin West, although the major axis of his work is not these examples. One of the most specific and detailed studies concerning these relations is James A. Aho’s (1981) *Religious Mythologies and The Art of War*.⁵⁸ In this far-reaching work, the author comprehensively analyzes and describes the interrelations between religious mythologies and war, as well as warrior ethics.⁵⁹ With the examples given based on religious mythologies of the ancient civilizations, he shows that each set of religious symbolism “had shaped distinctive military ethics in cultures and that there is a dialectical relationship between mythologies and martial codes.”⁶⁰

The military ethic and dominant religious mythology of a culture constituted an inseparable whole; the two are a “unified structure of meaning.” This means that a society’s war ethic is embedded in it, “collective raping, looting, burning, and killing – is often ‘dialectically’ or ‘reflexively’ interrelated with its prevailing religious mythology.”⁶¹ The function of

⁵⁷ Mattox, *ibid.*, p. 2.

⁵⁸ Aho, J. A., 1981. *Religious mythology and the art of war, comparative religious symbolisms of military violence*. USA: Greenwood Press.

⁵⁹ Aho, makes a small but significant clarification here, (1981 p 4): “By the term religious mythology, we mean a body of stories dealing with supernatural beings, forces, ancestors, or heroes told among a people ... While there are many different types of mythologies, this study will deal only with those having an essentially religious subject matter.”

⁶⁰ Aho, *ibid.*, p. 2.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

mythology here is legitimization. Because “the mythology legitimizes *a certain ideal* of military practice, and this in turn ‘confirms’, as it were, the validity of the mythology.”⁶²

Most importantly, Aho saw the roots of the concept of “sacred warfare” in ancient times in terms of feminine symbolism: the cult of the Great Mother [*Magna Mater*].⁶³ Accordingly, the common belief – which also existed throughout the medieval period - that all the pain suffered by human beings arose from the corruption of the universal order, is a trace, or a precept remaining from the cult of the Great Mother:

*All human suffering, from psychological neuroses and economic catastrophes, to floods and earthquakes, are viewed as disruptions of this order. They are all understood as symptoms of chaos. And chaos is the direct consequence of mankind’s failures, either through ignorance or sin, to adhere to the cosmic way. It follows that for one’s own inner peace, as well as for the sake of reality as a whole, each must conform to the way peculiar to his position in the cosmos.*⁶⁴

This meant that whether a merchant, farmer, wife or prince, one must abide by one’s duties “incumbent upon his or her status in the world to keep it from slipping into nothingness.”⁶⁵

It is remarkable that the belief which every human being has as a natural and natal duty is almost the same as that of medieval Europe. This excerpt is telling:

*Bishop Jonas of Orleans put it: It is necessary that everyone strive in his own order. Charlemagne had laid it down as law: Every man shall keep to his own life’s purpose and his own profession, unanimously.*⁶⁶

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ DUBY, G., 1980. *The Three Orders Feudal Society Imagined*, Arthur Goldhammer (Trans.), USA: The University of Chicago Press, p. 69.

And it is also noteworthy that in medieval times, European societies were ordered in pursuant of the duties believed to be innate: those who pray, those who fight and those who labor, work or cultivate. We can see this in the simple formulation in the work of Charles Loyseau, published in 1610, and named *Traite des Ordres et Simples Dignitez*:

*Some are devoted particularly to the service of God; others to the preservation of the State by arms; still others to the task of feeding and maintaining it by peaceful labors. These are our three orders or estates general of France, the Clergy, the Nobility and the Third Estate.*⁶⁷

In the fourth century, Augustine, known as the father of the ‘just war’ theory, depicted just war as a duty, “a coping mechanism” for virtuous people. By divine order, people had no choice except to “be subject to the higher powers” and to “seek to ensure that they prosecute their war-fighting duty as justly as they possibly can. Sometimes that duty might arise in the most trying of circumstances, or under the most wicked of regimes.”⁶⁸

3.1.2. Sacred Warfare as a Duty

Aho is certain that during ancient times, sacred warfare was one of these duties. Against the greatest of all threats, that is, chaos (the corruption of the universal order), people should go on a holy war. This is because holy war preserves the cosmic world from chaos. Therefore, holy war is one of mankind’s highest callings. Victory over chaos is attained only by means of sleight of hand, trickery, and magical weapons.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Duby, *ibid.*, p 1.

⁶⁸ Mattox, *ibid.*, p. 36.

⁶⁹ Aho, *ibid.*, p 22.

Holy war was being staged during crises “interpreted by the masses as a sign of impending doom.”⁷⁰ Thus the cosmological universal order and life was symbolically secured against threats to its existence. Regarding this point, one can ask why was violence the vehicle of maintaining order? Aho answers this question by stating a “paradoxical psychological truth.” In other words: “the greater the effort, the treasure, or the lives expended in accomplishing a goal, the more cognitive and emotional value it had.”⁷¹

Moreover, there are examples which demonstrate that religious military rituals had originated during pagan times. In his study *God’s Peace and Holy War in Christian Doctrine* (2010), Grotowski points out that the roots of religious rituals performed in the Christian Byzantine army go back to Roman pagan times, and he sees a historical continuity between the eras.⁷² In Roman legions, it was believed that a pantheon of special military gods was watching over the soldiers. According to Grotowski, whose main points are continuity and transformation, with the Christianization of the army, “*dei militares* were replaced by new symbols and customs. Apotropaic pagan images were replaced by holy icons which served the same function, pagan rituals were replaced by Christian ones.”⁷³

Grotowski rightfully sets forth that there was “an unconscious tie with antique pagan tradition”⁷⁴ and it was probably a strong one. For example, troops used to cleans themselves in a three-day period of fasting and prayer before marching out on a military expedition, consulting omens before important decisions, and using military books such as the *libri exercitiales* for prophecy.

Current scholarship has revealed that several aspects of the Abrahamic religions bear the stamp of these old customs and practices, interactions that affected military culture and

⁷⁰ Aho, *ibid.*, p. 23.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Grotowski, P. L., 2010. *Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints, Tradition and Innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843 – 1261)*, Hugh Kennedy (Ed.), Richard Brzezinski (Trans.), Leiden: Brill Press.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

warfare. In the Anatolian case, although there are certain works based on several books composed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries like *Battalname*, and *Dede Korkut*, historical studies are lacking on the question of to what extent the military culture and concepts of the early Ottomans had any bearing upon shamanic lore. As is the example with Byzantium, it appears that old pagan and/or shamanic beliefs and principles inspired new thoughts and rituals in both the European and Anatolian medieval ages, when the monotheistic religions of Christianity and Islam reigned. There will be more examples of the Anatolian case in the next chapters of this work.

3.2. HOLY WAR IN THE MUSLIM EAST

3.2.1. Ghaza and Jihad: Islamic Concepts of Holy War

As mentioned in the Introduction, the *ghaza* thesis was first developed by Paul Wittek. Although criticizing it to some extent, Halil İnalçık revised and used the thesis in his works. According to İnalçık, *ghaza* (which he defines it as the *holy war ideology*) was one of the two principals which lead to the conquest and expansion politics of *uc beyliks*; the other was “*istimâlet*”.⁷⁵ Besides the desire for booty, *Ghaza* was the idea which held groups of warriors together. These consisted of *alps*, and fellows (*yoldaş, nöker*) grouped around a *ghazi* leader.⁷⁶ The combination of successful raids and a holy war ideology were “reinforcing ties within the band to produce a cohesive social group centered around the leader.”⁷⁷ And dervishes, who were the supporters of the *ghazi* leaders, brought “the spiritual sanction of Islam.”⁷⁸

⁷⁵ İnalçık, H., 2010. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun kurucusu Osman Beg. *Kuruluş*, Halil İnalçık (Ed.), İstanbul: Hay Kitap, pp. 109-170, p. 125.

⁷⁶ İnalçık, H., 2009. *Devlet-i Aliyye*, c.1. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, p. 9.

⁷⁷ İnalçık, 1981-82, p. 76.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

In contrast, some historians like Lowry, Kafadar, Anooshahr and Darling do not entirely agree with this widely accepted thesis, suggesting that it needs to be revised in many aspects. They propose that *ghaza* could not carry the meaning “holy war” as early as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Anatolia, and played a central role in the early times of the Ottomans. They generally accept that the word *ghaza* is a literary and ideological motif, used in early sources by writers for “aggrandizing their [or their patrons] ancestors, trying to make their raids holy wars.”⁷⁹ Additionally, there is another ongoing and more conceptual discussion centred around construing the lexical meanings of *ghaza* and *jihad*. Some suggest that *ghaza* and *jihad* have completely different contents, while others attempt to prove that the two were used interchangeably, and still others remark that the one derived from the other. For the purpose of understanding what holy war could have meant to the early Ottomans, it is important to examine these various debates.

The use of the word *ghaza* in the sources composed or written in western and northwestern Anatolia during the period between the late thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries has been indisputably identified. But among the early Ottoman sources it first appeared in Ahmedi’s *İskendernâme* dating to the fourteenth century, and in old dictionaries was described as “fighting with the enemy.”⁸⁰

Notable Turcologist Şinasi Tekin, in his article written in 1993, analyzed the origins and lexical meanings of *ghaza* and *jihad*, and showed that the word *ghaza* originated from Arabic.⁸¹ “Loanwords entered into Turkish, becoming the main wealth of the language and these have very interesting stories and adventures as well as domestic ones,”⁸² among them is the intriguing story of the term *ghaza*.

⁷⁹ Kafadar, C., 1996. Gaza. *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Ansiklopedisi*, Cilt 13, pp. 427, 428, p. 428.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

⁸¹ Tekin, Ş., 1993. Türk dünyasında gazâ ve cihâd kavramları üzerine düşünceler 1, Başlangıçtan Osmanlıların Fetret Devrine Kadar, *Tarih ve Toplum*, 109, pp. 9 – 16.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 1993-I, p. 9.

Tekin searched dictionaries for the first Quranic translations in Anatolia and other types of text, mostly dating to the fourteenth century. In an Arabic dictionary composed in 1334 named *Misbah*, *ghaza* means “fighting with the enemy and plundering them in their own country.” It is interesting that in this dictionary, there is the word “*mugziye*” which means “the woman whose husband went to *ghaza*”. In a famous dictionary named *Tercüme-i Burhan-i Katı* translated from Persian to Ottoman Turkish by Mütercim Asım Efendi, the word *ghaza* does not exist. However, there is the word *ghazi*, but it has different, rather disconcerting meanings: “zenân-ı fâhişe”⁸³ (female prostitute); tightrope walker, and also fighting with the infidels for acquiring merits. In some other dictionaries translated from Arabic or Persian to Ottoman Turkish, *ghaza* generally means fighting with the enemies and *jihad* is going to *ghaza*. In several anonymous dictionaries composed by Turkish intellectuals between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, *ghaza* means fighting with the enemy or with the infidels, and *jihad* is going to *ghaza* for the love of Allah. From the earliest times, the literate Ottoman elite began to compose small pocket dictionaries, which mostly included unknown and disputed words. These works include the term *ghaza*, but not *jihad*, thus suggesting that the latter is an alien word. In other respects, contrary to expectations, the terms *jihad* and *mujahid* are not present in the first translations of the Quran in Anatolia during the fourteenth century.⁸⁴

There is a remarkable source named *Gazilik Tarikası* (The Ways of Being a *Ghazi*) dating to the fourteenth century. Although it is the first known text about being a *ghazi*, the word *ghaza* is only used once, and means “fighting with the enemy”, however, neither *jihad* nor *mujahid* exist in this text.⁸⁵

According to a book of catechism named *Bahrü'l-Fevâid* (Sea of Useful Lore), dating to the twelfth century, written in Persian by an unknown author and presented to Atabeg of Damascus, *jihad* means “fighting with the enemy who came to invade one’s country”, and

⁸³ On this point, Tekin asks whether it is derived from the older meaning “woman whose husband went *ghaza*,” or there were women warriors fighting with the men in raids.

⁸⁴ Tekin, 1993-I, pp. 10 – 11.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

ghaza is explained as “advanc[ing] upon the enemy’s country to fight with them for several reasons.”⁸⁶

In Ahmedi’s chronicle, while *ghaza* and *ghazi* are repeated twenty-four times, *jihad* can be seen in only four places, and two of them are used together with the word *ghaza*. For Tekin, the use of the term is closely connected with the author’s artistic concern. That is, it was used only for rhyming purposes.⁸⁷

Based on these examples and more, Tekin comes to the conclusion that *ghaza* and *jihad* were used for different purposes, and this distinction in use goes back a long way. And if the early Ottomans had a *ghaza* ideology, it should match this description in view of the fact that after the Turks came to Anatolia in the eleventh century, they always marched towards Byzantine territory, and were rarely in a defensive position.⁸⁸

Thirteenth and fourteenth century writers, while speaking of soldiers and armies subjected to urban centers like Konya, chose the terms *çeri*, *asker*, *asakir* and *leşker*, countenancing the terms *ghazi*, *ghaza*, *gaziyan* for Ertuğrul, Osman, Orhan and the warriors around them. The question of why they needed to make a distinction in this manner is still unclear.

Developed through criticizing the use of historical sources, H. Lowry’s *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* presents the strongest antithesis to the *ghaza* thesis as theorized by Wittek.⁸⁹ In Lowry’s view, during the early Ottoman period and throughout the fifteenth century, “the term *gaza/akın* seems to have had the meaning of raiding.”⁹⁰ The *ghazis* or *akıncıs* took part in these raids, but did not have the aim of converting native infidels to Islam, nor of slaughtering them for not embracing Islam. Their goal was to gain booty, slaves and

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p 12.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Lowry, H. W., 2003. *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, New York: State University of New York Press.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

plunder. In his article addressing the meaning of the terms *ghaza* and *akin*, Lowry puts forward his conclusion that during the period between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in Ottoman phraseology, the terms *ghaza/ghazi* were synonymous with *akin/akıncı*, and that “the Ottomans in that period viewed their activities primarily as raids rather than as Holy War.”⁹¹

Lowry recognizes Colin Imber’s inference that *ghaza* and *akin* have the same meaning, based on these verses:

*The helpers of religion flowed [over] the unbelievers,
And that’s why they called gaza (Holy War) akin (raiding).⁹²*

Also, the Byzantine historian Doukas observed and recounted this in his chronicle in the fifteenth century:

If they [The Turks] hear the herald’s voice summoning them to the attack – which in their language is called aqin - they descend like a flooding river, uninvited, the majority without purse and food pouch and without spears and swords. Countless others come running, swelling the number of troops, the majority of them carrying nothing but a club in their hands. They rush against the Christians and seize them like sheep.⁹³

Some notable scholars, who will be mentioned in the following chapter such as Watt, published conceptual and theoretical works towards the end of the twentieth century, and proposed several conclusions that corroborate Lowry’s opinions in some aspects. Their

⁹¹ Lowry, H. W., 2006. Some Thoughts on the Meaning of Gaza and Akin in Early Ottoman Usage. *The Ottoman Empire, Myths, Realities and ‘Black Holes’, Contributions in Honour of Colin Imber*, Eugenia Kermeli (Ed.) & OktayÖzel (Ed.), İstanbul: The Isis Press, pp. 47 – 50, p. 47.

⁹² “*Kâfir üzre akdılar a ’vân-ıdîn, Andan itdiler gazâ adına kın*”. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 48 – 49.

findings can bring a new, previously undiscussed perspective to the Islamic concept of holy war, *ghaza* and *jihad*.

3.2.2. From Nomadic *Razzia* to Islamic *Ghaza/Jihad*

Montgomery Watt, in his article “Islamic Conceptions of the Holy War”, remarked that *razzia* (*akin*) was a feature of the nomadic lifestyle of early Arabs.⁹⁴ They were organized into clans and tribes, and *razzia* was “the national sport of nomadic Arabs.” The Islamic idea and practice of *jihad* or holy war gradually derived from this traditional practice. Watt describes it as “a marauding expedition aimed at capturing camels, goats or, less frequently, women from a hostile tribe.” When prophet Muhammed’s pagan antagonists made dispositions against the Muslims, they had to fight for survival. So long as a threat existed, the link between Islam and fighting grew strong. Then, when Muslims formed a political community, the link became stronger and began to make more effectual *razzias*.⁹⁵

Watt indicates that there is no proof that any of these expeditions were carried out for the aim of offering pagans the choice of Islam or the sword. He is certain about the real aim of these *razzias*; they were plundering expeditions the primary goal of which was material gain:

*This might be either in the form of movable plunder (which could be taken away and sold), or in the form of a poll tax and land-rents paid by protected minorities, and collected centrally by the Islamic state. The participants in these expeditions doubtless thought of themselves as ‘fighting in the way of God’ and expected to go straight to Paradise if they died; but the immediate aim of the expeditions seems to have been always material gain or the removal of obstacles to further material gain.*⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Watt, W. M., 1976. Islamic Conceptions of the Holy War. *The Holy War*, Thomas Murphy (Ed.), USA: Ohio State University Press, pp. 141 – 157.

⁹⁵ Watt, *ibid.*, pp. 141 – 146.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

Additionally, it is true that Muhammed offered to the pagans of Arabia the options of "Islam or the sword," however the main aim was not make them Muslims "but the plunder to be gained from them." Besides, the hostile *razzias* were only against idolaters. The other members of Abrahamic religions, Jews and Christians and even Zoroastrians, Buddhists and Hindus were "protected minorities" (*dhimmis*) and were secondary, but equal members of the federation. After Muhammad's death, *razzias* carried on, and the Islamic state sent out its soldiers to the regions of present-day Syria and Iraq. The aim of these large-scale expeditions was also worldly profit.⁹⁷

James A. Aho's findings are very close to Watt's. To him, the term and practice of *jihad* evolved from "*ghazw* (*razzia*)," and the etymology of the term *ghazi*, as warrior for the faith, proved it.⁹⁸ But he also reasons that the *ghazw* and the *jihad* are not identical either in their terms or in their meanings. The *ghazw* (*razzia*) was the camel incursion, "a stage for the Bedouin male to demonstrate his endurance, daring, and skill, so as to secure public confirmation of his *muruwwa*, his manliness."⁹⁹ It was a sporting contest "between equals, played during the dry season when the herds grazed some distance from the main camp, and were thus susceptible to theft at little danger to humans."¹⁰⁰

Watt's and Aho's emphasis on the connection between *razzia* and Islamic *ghaza* raises a possibility: a similar transformation to that of the Arabian example could have occurred in the Turkish context. Both early Arab and Turkic people were tribal nomadic societies. Furthermore, in both cases, it appears that there was a connection between being a tribal nomad society and being raiders. Perhaps due to the nature of the raid, their reasons for raiding were similar too. In the light of these connections and similarities, it seems that, after accepting Islam as the true faith, not surprisingly, traditional raids did not disappear but gained a religious color and transformed into something different. The raiders became warriors and possibly began to perceive themselves as fighters for God, and their raids as

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Aho, *ibid.*, p. 187.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

ghaza, or holy war. Although one of the aims of these raids was to gain booty, in their eyes, they were still holy raids.

When it comes to *jihad*, the situation is more complicated. The following sections will examine arguments such as the idea that the term *jihad* was being used in the sources more often than it had been in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the authors used it for describing a kind of warfare. It will also be argued that *jihad* was more than that.

The most common idea shared by researchers regarding *jihad* is that *jihad* does not directly and necessarily mean to fight for God against the infidels, but that it has a broader meaning. Originally and ideally, *jihad* is an alliance of virtues comprising new Islamic thoughts and behaviors which has the goal of abolishing old customs and traditions belonging to *Jahiliya* (a pre-Islamic age of ignorance).¹⁰¹ It is a war for God, not primarily with infidels but with one's own personality and soul (*nafs*).

Firestone, by depending on the semantic meaning of the Arabic term *jihad*, observed that it has no relation either to holy war or the war itself:

*Jihad has no relation to holy war or even war in general. It derives from the root j.h.d., the meaning of which is to strive, exert oneself, or take extraordinary pains. Jihād is a verbal noun of the third Arabic form of the root jahada, which is defined classically as 'exerting one's utmost power, efforts, endeavors, or ability in contending with an object of disapprobation.'*¹⁰²

Jihad has many expansions and dimensions, and most of them have nothing to do with warring or warfare. Some of them are: *jihad* of the hand - doing good deeds, especially acts of charity; *jihad* of the mouth - proclaiming the faith; *jihad* of the heart - self-transformation to

¹⁰¹ Watt, *ibid.*, p. 187.

¹⁰² Firestone, *ibid.*, p. 16.

the point of becoming God-centered; *jihad* of the soul - the struggle to reach God through mystical experience.¹⁰³

3.2.3. The First *Ghazis* in History

In the seventh century when the Umayyad State took control of Khorasan and Transoxiana, nomadic Turks began to descend upon towns especially during hard winters, asking for help from the townsmen, and sometimes stealing out of need. In response, the Umayyad rulers recruited military volunteers as a defensive measure. Despite the fact that their main duty was to safeguard towns and their inhabitants, the volunteers began instead to raid the nomad camps. It became such a profitable business that the number of the volunteers increased greatly. The first Islamic sources named them *gâziyân* (plural of “*ghazi*”). They were living in *ribats* which were fortresses consisting of houses for the *gâziyân*, mosques, bathhouses and horse barns. Since the nomads that the *gâziyân* were fighting against were non-Muslims, over the course of time, the assignment took on a religious nature and offering the nomads the chance to convert to the true religion, Islam, became another duty for the *gâziyân*. There was a large number of newly Islamized Turks in these *ghazi* groups who which plundering the nomadic Turks who still subscribed to a shamanic belief system. However, as many Islamic histories record, soon afterwards, the *gâziyân* turned to robbing the very caravans which they had been ordered to guard. Starting from the Abbasid period from the eighth to the eleventh centuries, local and central rulers made every effort to solve this problem, but to no avail. Thus, being a *ghazi* during these centuries lost its prestige, although it still existed as a duty.¹⁰⁴

Köprülü’s writings, first published in 1935 are in agreement with Tekin in his work.¹⁰⁵ To him, these *ghazi* groups:

¹⁰³ Andrea, *ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁴ Tekin 1993 – I, pp. 14 – 15.

¹⁰⁵ This work of Köprülü first published in French as *Les Origines de l'Empire Ottoman* in 1935; the Turkish version first published in 1959 *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu*. In this thesis the English

took advantage of the internal struggles of the Abbasid dynasty to become powerful in Baghdad, and in the first half of the eleventh century intercepted revenue for that city and collected taxes for its own benefit. In the ninth century, during the time of the Tahirids and Saffarids, there existed in Iran similar organizations, again having the same names. In the Samanid period, the ghazis in Transoxiana were so called because they fought a holy war on the borders against unbelievers, that is, against the pagan Turks, and this was a title connoting religious pride. Because of their numerical significance, their organization was officially recognized by the state.¹⁰⁶

As Tekin puts it, “the permanent solution was ensured by the natural course of history.”¹⁰⁷ On this point, he summarizes the traditional approach to *ghaza* ideology and indicates that the nomadic and newly Islamized Turks, the Seljukids, chose to move towards the west and south of Anatolia instead of migrating into India and inner Asia:

Since the Turks were a warlike nation, the ghaza ideology was a world view in accordance with their temperament, thus they embraced Islam and under the Seljukid rule migrated towards the western lands. (...) We are overlooking an important question under the thumb of romanticism: Why did they not head for India which was under their noses and also within the boundaries of the abode of war (dâr-ül harb), besides its climate and living conditions were more appropriate to the nomads' nature? Why did they pound at the doors of Byzantium, sweeping their herds before them by going beyond thousands of leagues?¹⁰⁸

version published in 1992 is referred to: Köprülü, F., 1992. *The Origins of the Ottoman Empire*, Gary Leiser (Trans. & Ed.), New York: State University of New York Press.

¹⁰⁶ Köprülü, 1992, p. 90.

¹⁰⁷ Tekin *ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁰⁸ Tekin, 1993 – I, p. 16, in the 30th footnote.

Tekin states clearly that he cannot find the answer to this question. But a recently published article by Uli Schamiloglu¹⁰⁹ addresses this question. Schamiloglu argues that the bubonic plague, popularly called “the Black Death”, struck in the second half of the fourteenth century mainly along the borders of the Golden Horde and spread widely across Asia, Europe, and Africa. During this period, while the population in Anatolia was gradually decreasing, the nomadic groups in Central Asia who suffered less from the plague “became relatively populous and powerful enough to begin a steady push to the south to Central Asia.”¹¹⁰ This may explain why the nomads chose to move to a nearly-unpopulated Anatolia.

Subsequently, the Seljukids established a state based in the city of Konya which was subject to the Abbasid Caliphate. Here, they functioned as gate keepers on the borders of Byzantium, using the Turkomen to perform this duty. The Turkomen then established their own beyliks. Osman’s grandfather Ertughrul was also tasked with this purpose in the Söğüt and Bilecik regions.¹¹¹

Another contribution to the history of the first *ghazis* is made by Ali Anooshahr.¹¹² He looks at several prominent Turks in India and finds the roots of the image of *ghazis* and *ghazi* king in early Islamic historical writings. According to his theory, the Prophet Muhammad’s first struggle against non-Muslims remembered as *ghazas*, inspired the first examples of Islamic histories, and the authors who were in the service of Gaznavids built narratives including this *ghazi* image. Furthermore, the idealized *ghazi* image in the Ottoman historical sources and narratives was also derived from these sources:

Utbi and other early eleventh-century authors serving under the Ghaznavids had created a heroic role model – that of the ghazi (roughly meaning holy warrior) king –

¹⁰⁹ Schamiloglu, U., 2004. The rise of the Ottoman Empire: The black death in Medieval Anatolia and its impact on Turkish civilization. *Views from the Edge, Essays in Honor of Richard W. Bulliet*, New York: Columbia University Press for The Middle East Institute, Columbia University, pp. 255 – 279.

¹¹⁰ Schamiloglu, *ibid.*, pp. 255 – 268.

¹¹¹ Tekin *ibid.*, p. 9.

¹¹² Anooshahr, A., 2009. *The Ghazi Sultans and the Frontiers of Islam, A Comparative Study of the Late Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, New York: Routledge.

*in their descriptions of the campaigns of their patrons in India. Of course the Ghaznavids were not the first ghazi kings. There existed a whole genre of literature remembering figures as early as the prophet Muhammad for having undertaken raids remembered as ghaza (or, in the older parlance, ghazw and maghazi). What was important about the specific Ghaznavid model was that their texts proved of long-lasting popularity during the Middle Period of Islamic history (between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries). Not only did later chroniclers draw on Ghaznavid literary prototypes in composing their own works of history; even later, army leaders, particularly in the frontier regions of India and Anatolia, read them as sources of information and inspiration for modeling the successful career of ghazis and heroes of old.*¹¹³

He also argues that, Mahmud of Ghazna, together with the scholars who were in his service, included himself in the process of creating the image of a *ghazi* king by using the images of older heroes:

*Mahmud and his secretaries were combining the histories of at least three major heroes, kings and prophets, from contemporary Islamic tradition; Moses, Alexander, and the legendary king of the ancient Iranian tradition, Faridun. There is enough material in the sources to allow us to infer how Mahmud had been exposed to such tales and, significantly, how he had tried to model his actions on them.*¹¹⁴

There were several reasons for Mahmud's decision to model himself after ancient heroes. Politically, it was the need to establish a dynastic legitimacy against his rivals, the Samanids and the Buyids. He was also representing himself as a reincarnation of the heroes of the past, which was an even more extraordinary kinship than being a descendent of the ancient warriors and prophets. Thus, "his image survived because he and his courtiers succeeded in occupying the position of storyteller during the sultan's lifetime."¹¹⁵

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹¹⁴ Anooshahr, *ibid.*, p. 58.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

The Anatolian sources which bear striking similarities to their literary counterparts in the East were written after the invasion of Anatolia by Timur in 1402. Before this date, Anooshahr indicates that in the fourteenth century, *ghaza* seems to have “anti-Mongol connotations” but the rulers of Anatolia did not launch themselves as *ghazis*. Only after the incursion in 1402, did Bayezid I begin to assert the *ghazi* identity of the House of Osman against Timur. However, Bayezid died at the hands of Timur, and this event precipitated a crisis. When the ensuing chaos came to an end, Murad II was on the throne and he commissioned several authors to translate, collect and write about *ghaza*. For example, one of the oldest epics ‘*Battalnâme*’ was collected in this period. Another point worth remarking on is that to Anooshahr, these created *topoi* of ideal *ghazis* functioned as role models not for only ordinary people but also for the Ottoman sultans, starting with Murad II himself.¹¹⁶

3.2.4. Jihad as Warfare and Propaganda against the Crusaders

These types of *jihad* are categorized as “The Greater *Jihad*” (*al-jihad al-akbar*) by most Muslim thinkers and mystics, and they represent one’s struggle against oneself. Although there is a “Lesser *Jihad*” (*al-jihad al-asghar*), and it refers to warring, *jihad* of the sword (*jihād al-sayf*), which means defending Islam as a *mujahid*, or warrior of God.¹¹⁷ Yet, *jihad* of the sword also does not include attacking people directly simply because they are infidels. One should offer to an infidel not Islam or the sword, but Islam or the poll tax.

In his *Treatise on Law*, Ibn Abi Zayd al-Kayrawani, a renowned tenth-century Islamic legalist from northwestern Africa described *jihad* of the sword as "a precept ordained by God" and maintained that:

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 13 – 14.

¹¹⁷ Firestone, *ibid.*, p 17.

*It is preferable not to begin hostilities with the enemy before they have been invited to embrace the religion of God, unless the enemy attacks first. They have the choice of either converting to Islam or paying the poll tax. Failing either, war will be declared against them.*¹¹⁸

Therefore, if *jihad* takes the form of an armed conflict, as a holy war against the enemy, it must be organized according to the book. It must be declared by proper religious authority. Additionally, before attacking, an invitation to Islam must be sent to the enemy, if they are People of the Book. They have the right to choose to accept Islam or Islamic political rule, and pay tax.¹¹⁹

Thus, *jihad* means originally and ideally one's fight with one's own *nafs* and against the old traditions of *Jahiliya*. Over the course of time, under specific circumstances, its meaning evolved into a term, that when it is first heard, brings to mind an armed fight against infidels. Also over time, the term "infidel" (*kâfir*) began to include People of the Book, that is, the members of the other Abrahamic religions.

According to Helen J. Nicholson (2005), this change in meaning commenced with the Crusades. Muslim authors, poets, and the writers of the other kind of sources, systematically began to present the war against the Crusades as *jihad*, holy war.¹²⁰ During the reigns of Zengi of Mosul and his son Nur al-Din in the twelfth century, even the simplest conflicts over land were depicted in the narratives as *jihad*.¹²¹ This was particularly representative of Nur al-Din's reign:

He used the concept of jihad as propaganda to unite his subjects behind him and establish himself as a legitimate ruler and overlord. Not only did Nur al-Din's reign

¹¹⁸ Andrea, *ibid.*, p. 26

¹¹⁹ Aho, *ibid.*, p. 185.

¹²⁰ Nicholson, H. J., 2005. Muslim Reactions to the Crusades. *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades*, Helen J. Nicholson (Ed.), New York: Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 269 – 289.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, p. 274.

*see the production of monuments, but also poetry promoting jihad. The city of Jerusalem itself became a focus for jihad. The concept of jihad continued to be an important ideological weapon against the crusaders throughout the existence of the so-called crusader states in the Middle East.*¹²²

Jean Flori agrees that the Crusades “reactivate the jihad in the Muslim Near East.”¹²³ And in turn, he suggests that *jihad* ideology aroused other ideologies in the West which lead to the Protestant Reformation and to the birth of secular thought.

Jihad was not only used as a vehicle of propaganda against the Crusades, but also used against the (mostly) pagan Mongols, whom Nicholson defines as “arguably a much greater threat to Islam than the Christians of Western Europe,”¹²⁴ as well as heretics or heterodox elements inside Islam itself.

3.2.5. Ghaza, Jihad and Early Ottomans

*Turkmen tribesmen come down from the hills, motivated by ghaza (and more recently population pressure), to raid and then to conquer the unprotected remnants of Christian Byzantium, first in Asia Minor and then in the Balkans.*¹²⁵

This citation is a summary of how the early Ottoman *beylik* was founded. A definition of the *ghaza* thesis has already been mentioned in the Introduction. In this chapter, the basic arguments used as proof for this thesis first developed by Wittek and then advanced by several historians will be discussed, as well as contrary opinions against the idea.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ Flori, J., 2005. Ideology and Motivations in the First Crusade. *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades*, Helen J. Nicholson (Ed.), New York: Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 15 – 37, p. 15.

¹²⁴ Nicholson, *ibid*, p. 274.

¹²⁵ Darling, L. T., 2011. Reformulating the gazi narrative: when was the Ottoman State a gazi state?. *Turcica*, **43**, pp. 13-53.

The school of thought which argues that the Ottoman state was a *ghazi* state created by *ghazis* is based on several points. One of them is the adoption of the title of ‘*ghazi*’ by various beys, commanders and sovereigns, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Anatolia. For example, the Byzantine historian Pachymeres, the author of the oldest source which speaks of the early Ottomans, recorded a certain “Amourious” as fellow soldier of Osman Beg, in the latter’s first conflict with the Byzantine army, which was called the Bapheus Battle (Koyunhisar) in 1301. Kafadar, says that Amourious was “Ali Beg” from Çobanoğulları and the author Huyi, spoke of him as “*nusretü’l-guzât*” in his tractates dating to the thirteenth century. One of the contemporaries of Osman Beg, the Bey of Sinop’s name is written in the sources as “Ghazi Celebi”. In the inscription of Birgi Mosque built in 1312, the title of Aydınoglu Mehmed Beg, who raided together with Orhan Beg in Thrace, is recorded as ‘*el-emîrû’l-kebîr el-gâzi*’.¹²⁶

There are also other examples of inscriptions dating to the fourteenth century which carry the title “*ghazi*.” Feridun Emecen compiled various samples in his article and showed that the title of *ghazi* was not indigenous to the Ottomans.¹²⁷ The inscriptions of the Milas Mosque built in 1378, and the Madrasa of Peçin, have the name “Ahmed Ghazi” in them. In the inscriptions of the Manisa Grand Mosque the title of Saruhanoglu Ishak Celebi “*sultânü’l-a’zamnâsirü’l-guzâtve’l-mücâhidîn*” is recorded.¹²⁸

But the most important example is the Bursa inscription, written in Arabic and dating to 1337, used by Wittek as proof of his thesis. However, as Lowry points out “Wittek does not name the mosque in Bursa which contains the 1337 inscription, nor does he provide the full text of the *kitabe* from which he has excerpted the lines he cites.”¹²⁹ Lowry states that the inscription

¹²⁶ Kafadar 2006, p. 427.

¹²⁷ Emecen, F., 1995. Gazaya dair: XIV. yüzyıl kaynakları arasında bir gezinti. *Hakkı Dursun Yıldız’a Armağan*, Ankara, pp. 191 – 197.

¹²⁸ Emecen, *ibid.*, pp. 194 - 196.

¹²⁹ Lowry, 2003, p. 34.

is located above the eastern door of the Şehadet Mosque, and built in memory of Sultan Murad Hüdavendigâr (d. 1389).¹³⁰

The text of the inscription is presented in Tekin's article:¹³¹

*My almighty God. Great and supreme emeer, the sultan of the ghazis fighting in the way of God, ghazi, son of a ghazi, stalwart of the realm and the religion, his benevolence covers the worlds, to Orhan who is the son of henchman of the faith Osman. May God give him a long life, be merciful, and forgive him. [He] ordained of building this sacred mosque for mercy's sake in 738 [hijri]. God builds a house in heaven for those who build mosques.*¹³²

In Tekin's opinion, the inscription's date cannot be 1337, and it must have been created in a subsequent period by counterfeiting another inscription, since its literary style does not reflect the original style of fourteenth century. Kafadar also agrees with Tekin in this respect.¹³³ Even if it is an original inscription, this does not mean that Orhan Beg himself adopted the title *ghazi*, or thought that the raids he made were *ghazas*. Rather than representing a legal position, it may well signify the public beliefs and judgments of the Sunni/Orthodox Muslim inhabitants of Bursa.¹³⁴

However, Tekin's conclusion is closer to another possibility: Orhan had built a small mosque in the old city (Bursa Hisar) which burned down in 1809, and was badly damaged by an earthquake in 1855. The same earthquake demolished the Şehadet Mosque, which was

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ Tekin, 1993 – II, p. 11.

¹³² Tekin, Ş., 1993. Türk Dünyasında Gazâ ve Cihâd Kavramları Üzerine Düşünceler-II, Gâzi Teriminin Anadolu ile Akdeniz Bölgesinde İtibarını Yeniden Kazanması, Tarih ve Toplum, 110, pp. 9 – 13, p. 11. “Allahım, ulu ve yüce emir ve Allah yolunda savaşıyan gazilerin sultanı, gazioğlu gazi, devlet ve din yiğidi, ihsanı alemlere şamil, imanın sağ kolu Osman oğlu Orhan'a –Allah ömrünü dayım etsin- sen mağfiret et, onu bağışla! Allah rızası için mübarek mescidin inşasını 738 tarihinde emretti. Allah için bir mescit yapana Allah cennette bir ev yapar.”

¹³³ Kafadar, 1996, p. 427.

¹³⁴ Tekin, 1993 – II, p. 9 – 11.

subsequently rebuilt in 1892. During its reconstruction, the inscription which originally belonged to the small mosque was placed above the eastern door of newly built Şehadet Mosque.¹³⁵ To Lowry, “there is no way that its present site could have been its original location”¹³⁶ since its own dated restoration inscription shows that it was erected in 1417 by Mehmed the son of Bayezid, while it was being repaired. The original structure had been built in 1339 by Orhan Bey the son of Osman Bey and then destroyed by the Karamanids in their sack of Bursa in 1413 and thus, we cannot know exactly “what it may have originally adorned, or when it was moved to its present location.”¹³⁷

Yet the text commemorating Orhan Beg is still significant for our purposes because it likely reflected the common people’s beliefs regarding him, or rather, the ideal *topos* created by power holders. On the other hand, there is a religious foundation document (*vakfiye*) dating to 1324 from Orhan’s reign written in Persian which can be used to support the argument that the Bursa inscription was created after the fourteenth century. The first publication concerning this historical document was produced by İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, in 1941.¹³⁸ This document shows Orhan’s endowment of a dervish lodge as an entailed estate to one of his emancipated slave Tavaşi Şerefeddin.¹³⁹

A summarized narration reads:

*I, Orhan, the Champion of Religion, the son of Glory of the Faith Osman, endowed the entire township of Mekece for the sake of passers and visitors, dervishes and the poor and deputed my emancipated slave Tavaşi Şerefeddin Mukbil as trustee. The ones who would read this [endowment], with the testimony of the appeared congregation, recognize its authenticity and believe in what was written on it.*¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹³⁶ Lowry, 2003, p. 34.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ Lowry 2003, p. 43. Uzunçarşılı, İ. H., 1941. Gazi Orhan Bey Vakfiyesi. *Belleten*, **5**, pp. 277-288.

¹³⁹ Uzunçarşılı 1941, p. 277; Tekin 1993, II – p. 11.

¹⁴⁰ Tekin 1993, II – p. 10. “*Ben Fahreddin Osman oğlu Şücaeddin Orhan, Mekece nahiyesinin tamamını gelene gidene dervişlere fakire fukaraya yardım olsun diye vakfettim ve azadlı köl*

Here there is neither the title *ghazi* nor sultan. Moreover, as a philologist, Tekin deduced that its expressions, connotations, titles and literary wording are very different from that of the Bursa inscription. And indeed, the two narratives are poles apart. Furthermore, since the document does not include any title, “it manifestly reveals that neither Orhan perceive[d] himself as *ghazi* nor the people around him see Orhan as *ghazi*. If Orhan Beg wanted to be called as *ghazi*, no *kadi* (Muslim judge) could ever have the brass to deprive him of the *ghazi* title.”¹⁴¹ Besides, neither do Osman’s other children such as Fatma Hatun, Hamid Beg, Alaeddin Beg, Melik Beg, Çoban Beg, Pazarlu Beg (who were named as witnesses to the endowment), have any kind of title attached to their names.

However, in the document there are two appellations for Orhan as “*şücaüddin*” (champion of the faith) and Osman as “*fahreddin*” (glory of the faith). Kafadar asserts that these epithets mean the early beys of the Ottomans were familiar with the idea of *ghaza*.¹⁴² In his opinion, a bey who was called *Şücaüddin* could not be considered uninterested towards the idea of *ghaza* which was pervasive among several coteries active in other regions of Anatolia at that time. Quite the contrary, these epithets were born by at least four other beys around the same period, indicating that certain cultural motifs and political claims were commonly and widely shared in fourteenth-century Anatolia.

Tekin disagrees with Kafadar by citing a coin minted in Orhan’s reign that does not include the title *ghazi*. He asks “if being a *ghazi* was such a substantial thing during that time, should

em Tavaşi Şerefeddin Mukbil’I müteveli tayin ettim. Bu vesikayı okuyanlar, hazır olan cemaatin şهادetiyle bunu gerçek sayımlar ve inansınlar.” Lowry, 2003, p 73: “By this endowment, Orhan was establishing a *hâneğâh* (hospice), in the Bithynian town of Mekece, to feed and house the *faqêran* (traveling poor), *gharî`bân* (strangers), *miskînân* (the mendicants), *darwishân* (dervishes), and *tâlibân-i`ilm* (searchers after knowledge). As the administrator of the foundation he names his freed slave, the Eunuch (*Tavâşî*) Şerefeddîn Mukbil and orders that from that time forward he will be succeeded by the most capable of the sons of the slaves of the *hâneğâh*. As if acknowledging the strange nature of this bequest he then goes on to state: “No single one of my children or any of my heirs has any claim whatsoever [on this property].”

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² Kafadar, 1996, p. 428.

not there be a ghazi title on the coin?”¹⁴³ According to Tekin, the absence of the *ghazi* title both in the endowment document dating to 1324, and the coin from Orhan’s reign, is proof that for Orhan, being a *ghazi* was not a primary consideration. Also, Orhan’s retinue had no plans to award him the title. In fact, until the end of Murad I’s reign during the second half of the fourteenth century, when Sunni and literate groups of people settled in Anatolia, the entire Mediterranean area did not use the title *ghazi*, or perhaps avoided its use. The reasons for this are still not clear, but Tekin’s detection appears correct.¹⁴⁴

3.2.6. Relations with Neighboring Christians

Rather than exclusionary Islamic zeal as the driving force in society, there is convincing evidence of the contrary. For instance, the largely non-hostile relations between the early Ottomans and their Christian neighbors, as well as some evidence of a certain level of intertwining of Ottoman society and local Christians can be considered. For example, Nagy (1976) refuted the idea that it was hatred which motivated Muslim Ottomans to war with the Christians:

*It has often been forgotten that Christian countries sought to ally themselves with the Muslim Persians against the Ottomans, or that Christian France entered into alliance with the Muslim Ottomans against the Christian Habsburgs. In view of this, it is difficult to explain the Turks’ attacks upon Europe as stemming from a hatred of Christianity fanned by the spirit of Islam.*¹⁴⁵

Lindner draws attention to a “pool” in thirteenth-century Bithynia consisting of Greek-speaking Christians and Turkish-speaking nomads, and suggests that “if fervor for the holy

¹⁴³ Tekin, 1993, II – p 12.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Kaldy-Nagy, G., (1979–1980). The holy war (*jihad*) in the first centuries of the Ottoman Empire. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 4, pp. 467–473, p 471.

war played an important role in this frontier area, then our pool would clearly exclude Byzantines, for they would have become the detested enemy of the faithful.”¹⁴⁶

The case of Köse Mihal, Lord of Harmankaya, a close friend, a comrade (*nöker/nököd*) of Osman Beg of Byzantine Greek origin (as written in Aşıkpaşazade’s chronicle and others), is the most remarkable example of affiliation with the Christians. The term ‘*nöker*’ meant servant and brother in arms in thirteenth-century Mongolian society; they lived in their master’s house, had a lifelong attached to them and participated in military campaigns with them.¹⁴⁷

Since he joined forces with Osman and Orhan in the campaigns, Köse Mihal is mostly perceived as a Muslim. But Lowry rightly states that there is no evidence and no source which declare that “Mihal was a Muslim prior to the closing years of the reign of Osman (1299–1324).”¹⁴⁸ The remarkable point here is that Köse Mihal was a *ghazi* at the same time that he was still formally a Christian. At this juncture, it appears reasonable to accept Lowry’s point of view which he explains in more detail, that what the Ottomans *akıncıs* do was not “killing their Christian enemies, nor do they give them the choice of conversion to Islam or death.”¹⁴⁹ Their main intention was to enslave them. As the *nöker* of Osman and Orhan beg, Köse Mihal, too, must have been enslaved and then become the comrade of both. What is certain, is that Köse Mihal was not the only example of collaboration between the Ottomans and Byzantines. Osman himself had developed joint relations with the Bithynians, some of whom had been interacting with Turkish forces for decades.

At this point, one may question the *nökers*’ loyalty to their masters, for they were firstly slaves and only later became servants. But there must have been very real reasons for an enslaved person to show loyalty and allegiance to the man who enslaved him. Another question is how could the Ottomans trust these Christians if they perceived them as enemies

¹⁴⁶ Lindner, *ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁴⁷ İnalçık 2010, p. 131.

¹⁴⁸ Lowry, 2003, p. 8.

¹⁴⁹ Lowry, 2006, p. 49.

just because of their religion? Furthermore, they often recruited them into their army and thus fought together, shoulder to shoulder. In this case, it is not unreasonable to suggest that there must have been some sort of material gain for maintaining fidelity. Most likely, it would have been the promise of shared booty, a prosperous life and also, as Lowry indicates, becoming a member of the Ottoman elite.

Linda Darling (2011), in her informative article about the *ghaza* thesis and narrative, argues that Byzantine Greeks plunged into the “pool” willingly:

Individuals and entire towns joined the Ottoman enterprise voluntarily. The fact that the villages in the area around Söğüt long sent their own soldiers (müsellem and yaya, horse and foot troops) to the army, rather than supporting a timar-holder, confirms their status as Ottoman auxiliaries rather than ‘conquered people.’¹⁵⁰

İnalçık, although describing the early activities of the Ottomans as *ghaza*, shares the opinion that *ghaza* movements were not aimed at converting the people of the conquered territories to Islam. Instead, the main intention was the expansion of the field ruled by Islamic sovereigns.¹⁵¹

Establishing close relations and alliances with members of the “Other,” and especially a politically rival religion, seems incompatible in every respect to the concept of holy war. Being in a peaceful relationship, trading with each other, or making peace settlements is one thing; going to war together, fighting side by side, and sharing the booty is another. And so once more, the question arises of what kind of holy war was imagined and realized by the early Ottomans, if at all. The demand for answers to this question grows stronger when we look at the mutually advantageous relations which existed between the fifteenth-century Ottomans and Balkan Christians.

¹⁵⁰ Darling, L. T., 2011. Reformulating the gazi narrative: when was the Ottoman State a gazi state?. *Turcica*, **43**, pp. 13-53, p 29 – 30.

¹⁵¹ İnalçık, 2010, pp. 125 – 126.

İnalçık, in his article “The Ottoman Methods of Conquest,” explains how the Christian population – especially the noble families which had political reputations in their territories - became part of Ottoman society and contributed to the administrative system through the privileges and rights granted them by the Ottomans.¹⁵² In his 1991 work, he names the system “*istimâlet*”, as Lowry points out.¹⁵³

“*Istimâlet*” was a policy carried out by the early Ottomans initially for expediting their conquests, and the endowment of concessions, prerogatives and rights was part of it. For İnalçık, the essential objective of this policy was appeasing the peasants, townspeople, members of the military class and clerics. Furthermore, the Ottomans “sometimes went beyond the well-known, tolerant stipulations of Islamic Law concerning non-Muslims who had submitted without resistance [aman].”¹⁵⁴

As a matter of fact, Christians and Muslims exhibited an exceptional coexistence in the fifteenth century Balkans and in Anatolia:

*What is more unusual, they incorporated the existing military and clerical groups into their own administrative system without discrimination, so that in many cases former pronioia-holders and seigneurs in the Balkans were left on their fiefs as Ottoman timar-holders.*¹⁵⁵

But in Kafadar’s opinion, building good relationships with members of the rival religion does not connote the absence of the idea or ideology of *ghaza*. To him, “If the concept of *ghaza*

¹⁵² İnalçık, H., 1954. Ottoman methods of conquest. *Studia Islamica*, vol. **III**, pp. 103-129. For the latest and up-to-date information on fifteenth-century Christian life, see: Lowry, *The Nature of the Ottoman State*, 2003.

¹⁵³ Lowry, 2003, p. 92. İnalçık, H., 1991. The status of the Greek Orthodox patriarch under the Ottomans. *Turcica* **21–23**, pp. 407–436.

¹⁵⁴ İnalçık 1991, p. 409.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

excluded this kind of relations, the sources written with the aim of idealizing the representatives of *ghaza* would not have mentioned these connections.”¹⁵⁶

Darling explains the situation with these words:

*During Orhan's reign, claims to conquest of infidels in the name of Islam coexisted and competed with conquest in the name of the Byzantines, conquest of fellow Muslims, and conquest without any religious connotations whatsoever.*¹⁵⁷

But she also attracts notice to the contemporary activities of Aydın and Menteşe *beyliks*.¹⁵⁸ She states that they were “definitely involved in holy war.”¹⁵⁹ Menteşe squared up to the Hospitalers, and also traded with Italian merchants, while simultaneously making “*gazi* warfare on the Knights of Saint John and their allies.”

Citizens of the *beylik* of Aydın, based around İzmir, cruised the Aegean islands and the coasts of Greece and Thrace with a large fleet, trading with the Italian city-states, but also engaged in piracy and naval raids on Venetian possessions. “Both *beyliks* acquired Greek sailors and shipbuilders when the Byzantines disbanded their navy in 1282, and they also recruited fighters from the other *beyliks*.”¹⁶⁰

According to Darling, when one considers the ideal(ized) standards of being a *ghazi*, Mehmed Bey of Aydın (d. 1334), Orhan’s contemporary, was the real ‘sultan of the *gazis*’ during this period. His forces under his brother Umur Gazi raided Italian positions in the Aegean. And

¹⁵⁶ Kafadar, 1996, p. 428.

¹⁵⁷ Darling, *ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁵⁸ Darling pays great attention to the activities of Aegean beyliks in the fourteenth century and the crusades against them. For a brief glimpse: “Because of Umur’s depredations, the Western Europeans actually proclaimed a crusade against Aydın in 1332 and won a major victory. A decade later, Aydın’s attacks on Venetian possessions in the Aegean brought on another crusade that captured the naval base of İzmir; Umur died trying to retake it in 1348. It’s not surprising to discover that a *gazi* literature (with Umur Gazi as one of its outstanding heroes) emerged in the western Anatolian beyliks in the first half of the fourteenth century” (2011, p. 33).

¹⁵⁹ Darling, 2011, p. 33.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 32 – 33.

she states that Orhan may have begun to use the title *ghazi*, to contest with Aydın's prestigious image, or in order to gain "the banner of *ghaza*" after Mehmed's death.¹⁶¹

In addition, Lowry raises the matter of Christian *akincis*. Via two case studies, he shows that in the late fifteenth century, *akıncı* forces were primarily comprised of non-Muslims, including a large number of Christians, and this was entirely in accord with the orders of Mehmed II and Bayezid II.¹⁶²

Mehmed II's order, dated 1472 stated:

*When there are persons among the Unbelievers (Christians) who are able to serve as akincis they are to be registered [first], and only if it is not possible to find such persons among them are you to register Muslims [as akincis].*¹⁶³

Çirmen was one of the provinces to which Mehmed's order was sent, and as the result, 423 Christian *akincis* were recruited, while just 53 Muslims were. Even in campaigns against a Muslim ruler of the 'White Sheep' confederation, the forces involved many Christian *akincis*.¹⁶⁴

Bayezid II's imperial order of 1484, issued for recruiting warriors to a Moldavian campaign, is important both for giving clues about the perception of *ghaza*, and showing once again that Christians participated in the raids:

Edict of the Sultan to all Kadıs (religious judges and governors of kazas): To defenders of the right path for Muslims and Islam, you are ordered to communicate in your

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁶² Lowry, 2003, p. 52.

¹⁶³ "Kafirlerden içlerinden akıncılığa kabil bulunur ise yazalar ve eger bulunmaz ise Müslümanlardan yazalar." Lowry, 2003, p. 52. Lowry issued this document and its translation of "1472 Order by Mehmed II for the Conscription of Akıncıs" in his book, pp. 53 – 54.

¹⁶⁴ Lowry, 2003, p. 52.

respective districts the decree for the campaign I have ordered for all those wishing to comply with the obligation of gaza. All those wishing to join in the sacred conquest, engage in the pleasure of gaza and cihad, [all those] desiring booty and plunder, [all those] brave comrades who gain their bread by the sword, and all those wishing to receive a timar by comradeship, are requested to join me with their weapons and accessories in this blessed gaza and for a share in the rewards of this gaza and cihad. And all those who gain booty and comradeship will enjoy my kindness and assistance. And those seeking timars will have my help in obtaining timars and dirliks, and as this year there will be no pençik [the fifth, i.e., the 20 percent normally accruing to the Sultan], taken from anyone's booty, they should perform accordingly. Issued in the beginning of May 1484 in Kabağaç.¹⁶⁵

Using this evidence, Lowry rightly suggests that the responsive *gazis/akıncıs* may have been “following the footsteps of several generations of earlier recruits.”¹⁶⁶ Seeing that such a call could be made in a period when emphasis was centered on Islam and religious zeal, it could have been done in earlier times as well.

In light of this information, both the supporters and detractors of the *ghaza* thesis share the opinion that the early Ottomans did not have the goal of Islamizing Christians, at least by way of the sword. If the early Ottomans adopted the concept of *ghaza* as an ideology or motivating force, it is clear that they did not use it as a tool for converting non-Muslims.

Furthermore, the author's opinions discussed in the previous chapter “Islamic Conceptions of Holy War, *Ghaza* and *Jihad*” are in harmony with the above inferences. They almost unanimously state that the central objective of both *ghaza* and *jihad* was not creating more Muslims, but rather was to obtain lands and booty, collect taxes, and sometimes was simply self-defensive fighting. Therefore, if the early Ottomans internalized the idea of *ghaza*, they must have performed it “faithfully” according to its original nature.

¹⁶⁵ Lowry, 2003, p. 48. Also Lowry issued the document and its translation of “Bayezid II's 1484 Summoning of the *Gazıs* for His Moldavian Campaign” on page 49.

¹⁶⁶ Lowry, 2003, p. 54.

Perhaps it is worth stating simply, that the nature of the activity lay mainly in raiding for mundane reasons: the raids were carried out to acquire plunder and booty, an activity which was then legitimized by means of religious justifications.

Even supporters of the *ghaza* thesis accept that the primary goal of this “holy” war was not to spread Islam. If that were the case, it should be understood under what conditions or most importantly, against which threats *ghaza* as an ideology came into the picture or was once again revived.

The most broadly accepted theory in the discipline of Turkish history regarding the relevancy of *ghaza* to the early Turcomen in Anatolia is the transformation of the nomadic Turcoman tradition of raiding into Islamic *ghaza* activities once they adopted Islam. According to the theory, they combined a habitual practice of raiding together with the Islamic concept of holy war. From then on, they raided only with an Islamic savvy and sensibility, *per pro* Islam, and in order to spread Islam; sometimes in the form of *ghaza* and sometimes *jihad*. Another general acceptance is the alteration of appellation “*alp*” which means “brave warrior” to Islamic title “*ghazi*”.

At first glance, this theory does not appear unreasonable since the basic practice of the two are the same: gathering together as troops under a leader’s flag, riding horses to other lands, and gaining earthly material. However, it is the goals and motivations that create the difference between a secular or worldly activity, and a holy or Islamic one. As mentioned above, in terms of the tangible acquisitions at the end of the activity, there is no huge distinction between secular *akin* and holy *ghaza*. And just as Lowry argued, the two terms were using for the same action.

In this case, it is important to look at how *ghaza* as an ideology arose, or was revived, and in the face of which threats.

3.2.7. *Ghaza*: Motivation against the Mongols and the Crusaders

Several primary sources narrate that Osman and his tribe lived in peace with their Christian neighbors and local *tekvurs* for a long time in the frontier zone between Sultan-Öyüğü and Bilecik. Osman's impetus to begin raiding, according to İnalçık must have been closely connected to the resistance and rebellions occurring among frontier Turkoman tribes against the Mongols.¹⁶⁷ Thus the first *ghaza* was the conquering of Kulaca in 1284.

The Mongols had come from Inner Asia, defeated the Anatolian Seljuk Sultanate in the Battle of Köseadağ in 1243, and had dominated nearly the whole of Anatolia as the new masters. The Seljuks allied themselves with the Mamluks of Egypt, which had an originally Turcoman ruling class, and together, began to fight a holy war against the "impious domination of the Mongols."¹⁶⁸ The sultan of the Mamluks, Baybars won large and small victories against the Mongols, thereby reactivating "the aggressive spirit of *jihad*."¹⁶⁹ This spirit had a huge influence, especially on the Turcomans of *ucs* (frontiers), and motivated them to fight the Mongols.

Taking into consideration Tekin's conclusions on the meaning of *jihad* in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries based on several Islamic sources, İnalçık appears to be correct when stating that the spirit of *jihad* revived in the fight against the Mongols, since its meaning was "to fight against the enemies invading one's own land." However, he also argues that, as mounting pressure from the Mongols increased, Turcomans started to rush in to the lands of Byzantium, and to a lesser extent, into Armenian Cilicia, and these raids took the form of "*ghaza*". It seems a very quick shift from the spirit of *jihad* to *ghaza*, and İnalçık does not explain how this transition took place:

¹⁶⁷ İnalçık, 2010, p. 136.

¹⁶⁸ İnalçık, 1981-82, p 73.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*.

*Hard pressed by the Mongol forces, the most warlike and mobile elements of the frontier Turcomans moved further west and south and directed their energies for Holy War in raids (ghaza) against the inadequately protected territories of Byzantium in western Anatolia and Lesser Armenia in Cilicia.*¹⁷⁰

In a later work, İnalçık (2009) more strongly underlines the impact which the Crusades and the Mongols had on the rebirth of the idea of holy war. He points out that these two elements posed a challenge to the entire Islamic world. Additionally, İnalçık asserts that the Islamic world found itself facing life or death, thus the *esprit* of “holy war, namely *ghaza*” was enhanced in Islamic societies, and they were thus able to withstand assaults and incursions against them. The Seljuks waged war against these threats by means of the same *esprit* and motivation. The early Ottomans inherited this from the Seljuks, and formed it into an ideology once more. Consequently, “Holy war came out as almost an obligation in the Islamic world.”¹⁷¹

Power-holders and elites tend to generate new ideologies or renovate older ones whenever they encounter military, political or economic threats, in accordance with the necessities and requirements of their time. Therefore, the awakening of the idea of holy war in the form of *jihad* in such a way, and the fueling of a ‘do or die’ struggle - a fight for existence – by utilizing this idea, seems fairly reasonable. Also, it is possible that the Seljuks who waged wars against the Crusades and Mongols sympathized with and partook of this energy, and that the early Ottomans also participated in it. If it were merely a matter of a total war for the sole purpose of subsisting, of surviving, it is difficult to identify it as a holy struggle. It also does not seem appropriate to characterize the Ottomans’ raids on Byzantine lands, while they were being pushed by the Mongols, as *ghaza*, or holy war. İnalçık does not rule out the agent he calls “satiating”, namely booty, but he emphasizes the impact which the idea of holy war, the *ghaza* factor, had in these raids.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰İnalçık, 1980, p. 73.

¹⁷¹İnalçık, 2009, pp. 9-10.

¹⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 10.

It is certainly true that the Mamluks used the discourse of holy war against the Mongols. As a brief example, Halil Çetin's article includes a passage taken from a letter written after the invasion of Baghdad in 1258 by the Mongols, from Nasır, Sultan of the Mamluks to Hulagu, chief of the Mongols:

*Throughout Holy Quran it is written that you are cursed. Every prophet spoke of you as having evil and malice natures. In fact Almighty God commanded us to wage war with you and kill you wherever we find you. Thus, you are the infidels indicated by God.*¹⁷³

Although Çetin, too, argues that the Turcomans took over the idea and expression of *ghaza* from the Mamluks, he sets the main matter between Turcomans and the Mongols as a competition of taking possession of fertile grasslands, not holy war. He concludes by basing his idea on the information on Aksarayı's work: Baycu Noyan demanded summer pastures and winter quarters from Sultan İzzettin Keykavus, his demand was rejected, and with the influence of Vizier Kadı İzzeddin, who desired *ghaza* and *jihad*, it was decided to wage war against Baycu Noyan and his people.¹⁷⁴

On the other hand, the ruling class of the Mongols which the Mamluks fought against with the spirit of *jihad*, had already converted to Islam; and to some extent, their subjects had too. Furthermore, Ilkhanid Mongol Governor Timurtas (1318-1327), also adopted Islamic holy war ideology. He "even approached the Mamluks in an effort to overshadow the Turcoman *ghazi* leaders who had gained such prestige in Asia Minor through their exploits against the Byzantines."¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Halil Çetin (201, p. 1207), takes this passage from Aksarayı; translation belong to the writer of this thesis. Çetin, H., 2012. İlhanlı hâkimiyeti altında Anadolu'da siyasetin temel dinamiği: Göçebe Moğol-Türkmen çatışması. *Turkish Studies International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*. 7 (4), p. 1203-1216.

¹⁷⁴ Çetin, *ibid.*, p. 1207.

¹⁷⁵ İnalçık 1980, p. 74.

However the early Ottomans were not targeted by the Ilkhanid Mongols, as they were living in the border (*uc*) territories, at peace with the Christian *tekvurs* and their subjects at the time. In fact, they did not fight, and it seems that they had no intention of fighting the Mongols, who were called infidels and enemies of their religion by the Mamluks and also nearly the whole Islamic world.

Several Turcomans had risen in rebellions against Mongol domination, mainly in eastern and central parts of Anatolia at the very beginning of the fourteenth century. Since the Ilkhanid Anatolian Governor Timurtas did not solve the problem, his father, the Great Ilkhanid Governor Emir Coban came to Anatolia and quelled the continuance of the riots in 1314. Then some rebellious Turcoman beys were invited to display their loyalties and make obeisance to Emir Coban and to the Ilkhanid Mongol State; some accepted while others did not. Strangely, at the same time, when conflicts and infightings between Turcoman “*ghazi*” leaders and the “infidel” Mongols were at their height, neither Osman nor Orhan engaged in any *ghaza* activities.¹⁷⁶ Besides, İnalçık adds that one of Osman’s sons had the name “Coban” like the Great Ilkhanid Governor Emir Coban. İnalçık thereby implies Osman may well have been inspired by the Mongol, and named his son after him to show him an example of royalty.

More importantly, even if the early Ottomans adopted a holy war ideology from the Mamluks, and a military discourse in the form of *ghaza* or *jihad*, it appeared that this did not occur in the first quarter of the fourteenth century when the Ottoman state was still in the process of forming, and while the Turcoman beys and the central Ilkhanid Mongol state were in conflict with each other. Or perhaps the early Ottomans, enjoying the tranquility of being distant from the threat of the Mongols, chose to use the power and effectiveness of the *ghaza* or the idea of holy war for conquering Byzantine lands, and then continued to use it for subsequent wars.

From what Tekin deduced, in the fifteenth century, the idea of *ghaza* was adopted by all nomads and settled Turcoman communities in Anatolia. However, its meaning was different

¹⁷⁶ İnalçık, 2010, p. 135.

from the presentations of the fifteenth and following centuries' sources. *Ghaza* was the act of patrolling borders, namely *ucs*, and being a *ghazi* meant the one who fulfilled this duty. Moreover, *ghaza* became one of the religious services as *salaat* (*namaz*) and fasting.¹⁷⁷

3.2.8. Critical Approaches to the *Ghaza* Thesis

One of the arguments which seeks to explain the early Ottomans' motivation is that it was not *ghaza* or the idea of holy war that was the motivating factor, but that neither the first beys like Osman and Orhan nor their subjects were Muslims "enough." This controversial claim is made by Káldy-Nagy (1979), who explains that as the early Ottomans had only loose ties with Islam, consequently, they could not have been filled with religious zeal. He criticizes the commonly-held belief that "the members of the Turkic tribes that came over to Asia Minor were all devout Muslims, imbued with the fighting spirit of the *jihad* ."¹⁷⁸ According to Nagy, the Old Turkic names that Ertughrul, his two brothers (Gündoghdu and Sungur) and two sons (Gündüz and Savji) carried – as well as Osman's name, ascertained as "Ataman," and his chief followers like Qonur Alp, Aqche, Qoja, Samsa, and Chavush, all prove that they were only loosely affiliated to the Islamic religion. And the goal of the Turkic military campaigns – some of which were against Muslims - was not to make conquered people convert, but because *jizya*, that is, tax income, was highly important and desired by the Ottomans. But the Turkic sources which used the words *ghazá* or *jihad* in connection with nearly every battle reflect the attitude of a later period. Nagy states that the later chroniclers "often saw religiousness where there was none, and referred to their ancestors' military activity as holy war for the faith" (p. 471).

¹⁷⁷ Tekin, 1993, p. 13.

¹⁷⁸ Káldy-Nagy, *ibid.*, p. 469.

Lindner's (1983) similar approach is based on the early Ottomans' attitude of social, political and cultural inclusiveness. He states that their "actual behavior does not fit an ideology of religious fervor" (p. 1), and; the reason for "Wittek's texts stem from an *ex post facto* desire to fit the early Ottoman deeds squarely within an Islamic heritage" (p. viii). He describes *ghaza* ideology as "exclusive or adversarial", and as it was thus incompatible with Ottoman culture, it is unlikely that it was taken on board.

Lindner's other ground for his thesis is the heterodox religious practices of the early Ottomans. "It seems reasonable to suppose that religious zeal would find some sort of reflection in religious practice; but if so, the fact that the early Ottomans allowed heterodox freedom in their midst argues against their commitment to an untarnished Islam."¹⁷⁹ Also, he adds that if this "motive force" had really been so effective, it must have left some traces in the Byzantine or Arabic sources, but neither "composed in the early Ottoman period mentions the *ghaza* or *ghazis*."¹⁸⁰

The problematic issue in Lindner's line of reasoning is his assumption that the idea of *ghaza* was originally an exclusive one, as well as his lack of questioning of what *ghaza* ideology may have meant for the early Ottomans during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As Kafadar reasonably claims, the early Ottoman beys and warriors may not have perceived *ghaza* as "a perpetual and cutthroat holy war with the infidels"¹⁸¹, instead, they put into this practice what was congenial to the sociological and cultural circumstances of the period. Furthermore, he suggests that *ghaza* as an idea was not a crucial factor for the foundation of the Ottoman State, but was a significant source of motivation for conquests and thus expansion.

Like Kafadar, Darling too reasons that the idea of *ghaza* has been differently perceived by distinct circles in various periods. She is in pursuit of a new formulation of the *ghaza*

¹⁷⁹ Lindner, *ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ Kafadar, 2006, p. 428.

narrative, since “the role of *ghaza* in Ottoman military activity and identity evolved over time in response to specific circumstances. Moreover, the Ottoman rulers found different uses for the ideology of *ghaza* as the conquests progressed.”¹⁸² According to her, the early Ottomans did not start out as *ghazis*, but over time, first the military forces and then the Ottoman state adopted and used *gazi* ideology as a tool for legitimization and a relatively more exclusivist Islamic bearing.

Here Darling rightly sees the *ghaza* ethos as a cultural reproduction which was restored and regenerated over the course of time, harmonious to the requirements and needs of each period. That is, the whole ethos of *ghaza* should be approached as a cultural reproduction. Like all historical ideas and ideologies, *ghaza* too, must have changed and transformed over time.

Several other scholars agree with the idea that the *ghaza* concept transformed over time. For Kafadar, *ghaza* meant “fighting for expanding the area dominated by Muslims”¹⁸³ at the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of fourteenth century. According to Imber “The popular *ghazi* ideal had formed in the fourteenth century among unlettered warriors” and “was a voluntary means of acquiring a livelihood.”¹⁸⁴ However, despite raids to frontier lands which continued during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries after the 1370s, the *ghazi* groups became insignificant compared to the Sultan’s regularized, official troops. Furthermore, from the middle of fifteenth century onwards, “the vast majority of troops in the Ottoman armies were fief-holders or *kapikulus*, for whom military service was not voluntary, but a contractual obligation.” When it came to the end of the fifteenth century, the *ghaza* ideal, that is, the ideology of holy war, was abandoned by the Ottoman dynasty. Nevertheless, “the heroic concept of Holy War” was still important in popular culture and “the Sultan still claimed legitimacy as the leader of *gaza*.”

¹⁸² Darling, *ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁸³ Kafadar, 1996, p. 428.

¹⁸⁴ Imber, *ibid.*, p. 8.

Kafadar suggests that while *ghaza* may have lost its central significance, it did not lose favour.¹⁸⁵ The sources which told the stories of the Ottoman victories continued to be named as “*gazâvatnâme*,” and several sultans, commanders, and frontier warriors were still called *ghazis*.

In opposition to Imber’s opinion, Darling asserts that in the fifteenth century, “the *gazi* identity shifted to the state.”¹⁸⁶ The numerous victories during Murad I’s reign in the Balkans were gained in a *gazi* manner, and as a result, *ghaza* ideology transformed into “an instrument of policy” for the sultans. Additionally, Darling defends the idea that *ghazis* were not replaced by *kapıkulu* soldiers and fief-holders - on the contrary - they were incorporated into the regular army: “The *gazis* were no longer merely autarkic frontier raiders but the disciplined army of the sultan, and the Ottoman state became a *gazi* state such as Osman’s polity could never have been.”¹⁸⁷ On the other hand, as mentioned above, Lowry does not regard the Ottomans as *ghazis* “motivated by a desire to spread Islam” and the Ottoman state “dedicated to the concept of *gaza* (Holy War).”¹⁸⁸

3.2.9. The *Ghaza* Literature

But the arguments produced against the *ghaza* thesis inevitably raise the question, “How, then, did this terminology and literature come to permeate the Ottoman tradition?”¹⁸⁹ Linder answers his own question by explaining that it was due to “the need for *ulema* to institute a new system that would serve to the welfare of the Ottoman subject.”¹⁹⁰ This is evident in the fact that Orhan needed the specialization of such men, particularly for securing the organization of a settled administration after the successful conquest of a town. These religious scholars set the grounds for the first Ottoman bureaucracy. Also, the point which

¹⁸⁵ Kafadar, 1996, p. 428.

¹⁸⁶ Darling, *ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁸⁷ Darling, *ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁸⁸ Lowry, 2003, p. 44.

¹⁸⁹ Linder, *ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Lindner makes must have been among the effective reasons for the cultural regeneration of the *ghaza* ethos that Darling propounds: “In the earliest days the most visible representatives of Islam were dervishes, but soon thereafter more Orthodox figures emigrated from the east in order to serve, and be well served by the Ottomans.”¹⁹¹

These literate men had left the interior of Anatolia and had settled along the western frontiers between the 1320s and 1330s. These were decades of insecurity and instability since the Mongol governors fought amongst themselves and continued to pose a threat to both nomadic and settled Turcomans. These scholars were also simply making a living. At the time, Orhan ensured their security and livelihoods and made use of their administrative, religious and cultural skills. Thus “a sedentary tradition and a pool of capable, literate men to staff an administration”¹⁹² were established.

It was these literate men who gave “the gift of an Orthodox heroic past”¹⁹³ via their writings. They looked back on the frontier life of Osman’s youth, and they did not see “the nomad pragmatists, but clever holy warriors.”¹⁹⁴ In addition, as Orthodox Muslim schoolmen they could never promote “a *déclassé* pastoralism.”¹⁹⁵ For this reason, the ideological contents of the 1337 inscription was “its *ex post facto* purification of early Ottoman deeds, [and] speak[s] more of later propaganda than of early history.”¹⁹⁶

On the other hand, the *topoi* the Ottoman ulema reproduced and regenerated arose from early Islamic historical writings. Early examples of the *topoi* of the ideal *ghazi* warrior derived from Muslim authors’ creations dating to the period between the tenth and eleventh centuries. In a period when Muslim leaders were fighting against each other, several Muslim scholars

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² Lindner, *ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

such as al-Mawardi began to build narratives glorifying the Islamic state and “create ideal images.”¹⁹⁷ Watt explains this building process with these words:

*They were creating an image of the ideal Islamic state, as a unitary state or empire administered in all respects according to Islamic principles. Although this image had no practical relevance in the circumstances of the time, the fact that it was widely accepted by ordinary Muslims placed certain restraints on the warlords and forced them to pay at least lip service to Islamic norms.*¹⁹⁸

Thus, the earliest examples of the literary *topos* of the ideal *ghazi* were created by these same writers for building a larger, ideal image of an Islamic state. This idealized image and narrative contributed to the Anatolian conception of the ideal *ghazi*, and it “inspired countless men to volunteer for service in Asia Minor on the frontier with the Byzantines from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries and thereby seriously weaken the Byzantines.”¹⁹⁹

Hence, when the Muslim Middle East was faced with the threat of the Crusades, the concept of *jihad* progressively gained importance and finally became “a part of the self-image of Islam.”²⁰⁰ Darling states that, since the Ottomans were trying to present themselves as the true heirs of the Seljuks, fifteenth-century authors, unlike earlier Anatolian writers, began to use *ghaza* and *jihad* interchangeably, and their works constituted the first sources of holy war narratives.²⁰¹

The reason why the Ottomans wanted to build an image of a *ghazi* state may have been primarily because they wanted to be accepted as the legitimate leaders of the Muslim world. This status was not just for the eyes of Muslim subjects, but also for rival Christian enemies:

¹⁹⁷ Watt, *ibid.*, p. 147.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹⁹⁹ Watt, *ibid.*, p. 154.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

²⁰¹ Darling, *ibid.*, p. 50.

*The reformulated gazi identity was highlighted for political purposes by later 15th century chroniclers who opposed Mehmed's Byzantinization and its costs. Through the repeated employment of their chroniclers as historical sources, subsequent generations came to consider it the foundational Ottoman identity. By another process of oversimplification, gaza became the dominant aspect of Ottoman identity in the eyes of Western Europeans, who knew nothing of the Ottomans' society and culture but who feared their military capability and their otherness.*²⁰²

When it came to the sixteenth century, the *ghaza* narrative became “a standard” in histories and chronicles on both the Anatolian and European sides.²⁰³ Lowry explains this situation by looking at the imperial chronicle tradition of the sixteenth century. The sources written after the Ottoman state's first two centuries, “sanitize the early centuries” by depicting the warriors and the leaders as *ghazis* and the raids as *ghazas*.²⁰⁴

Also Tekin emphasizes that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the terms *jihad* and *mujahid* began to be used more frequently than in former centuries. He defines it as another “trend” followed by the literate and intellectual administrative/military class of the Ottoman state. These elites, with the desire of differentiating their use of language and discourse from the lower classes, preferred the words *jihad* and *mujahid*. Eventually both *ghaza* and *jihad*, and *ghazi* and *mujahid* were used in the sources according to different social circles.²⁰⁵

3.2.10. Ghaza: Adopted as an Officially-Invented Trend?

The creation or regeneration of dominant ideology by intellectuals patronized by sovereigns is not a new phenomenon. An example is Yazıcıoğlu Ali who wrote his *Târîh-i Âl-i Selçûk*. He committed to paper his work at the request of Murad II and completed it between 1436 – 1437

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ Darling, *ibid.*, p. 50.

²⁰⁴ Lowry, 2006, p. 49.

²⁰⁵ Tekin, 1993 I, p. 13.

A.D.²⁰⁶ According to İnalçık the “*Oğuzname*” part of his work, a genealogy claiming that Osman’s and his people’s origins lay in the Kayı Clan, became a diplomatic matter of debate within the context of the politically competitive environment at the end of fourteenth century and again in middle of the fifteenth century. It was the first example of “the theory of the Kayı Clan”²⁰⁷ which had been invented as a defense against the claims of another ruler Timur, also of Turcoman origin and his son Şahruh, who asserted that Osman and his people were of noble Turkic origin, and thus had no right to rule Turcoman communities. From then on, the Ottoman sultans adopted this Kayı Clan Theory and feverishly defended it during following centuries.

This invented trend became a tradition over time – followed by historians such as Ruhi, İdris-i Bitlisi, etc..., and was named “*Oğuzculuk*”. It became so accepted, that the seal of Kayı Clan was stamped on several weapons and coins. Furthermore, the Ottoman sultans’ sons were given names like Oguz, Korkud, mentioned in part of “*Oğuzname*,” which had Turkic origins.²⁰⁸ Taking into consideration this example, it could be said that when political legitimacy crystalized into a question of ethnic origins, the act of inventing a trend became a lifesaver for Murad II. The inventor of this trend which İnalçık called “The Kayı Origins Trend,” was a literate man patronized by the sovereign. Yazıcıoğlu Ali fabricated a narrative, an ideal genealogy and it became an impeachable fact, and a tradition over the course time.

When considering this situation, such a process could have taken place with the *ghaza* narrative. The Ottoman dynasty, for certain reasons and requirements, adopted a “*ghaza* narrative” just like they adopted the Kayı Origins Theory. In light of recent historical research, re-examining the primary sources of the Ottomans within the context of patronage between the authors and their protectors becomes necessary. The widely accepted *ghaza* thesis needs to be revised and a new *ghaza* narrative carved out. Darling explains this necessity by stating that:

²⁰⁶ Özgüdenli, O. G., 1996. Târih-i Âl-i Selçûk, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, **40**, pp. 72-73, p. 72.

²⁰⁷ İnalçık, 2010, p. 117.

²⁰⁸ İnalçık, 2010, p. 118.

*It is not enough to protest that we can no longer regard the early Ottomans as zealous warriors for the faith whose purpose was to offer to the infidel Islam or the sword. To banish the stereotypes, we also need a new narrative of early Ottoman history.*²⁰⁹

3.3. HOLY WAR IN THE CHRISTIAN WEST

3.3.1. Just War to Holy War in Medieval Europe

According to the main Western sources for the idea of holy war, the roots of the concept go back to the ‘just war’ theory, established by the fourth and fifth century theologian and philosopher Saint Augustine. Although there are numerous examples of literature which encouraged Christians to bear arms and wage war prior to Augustine’s ‘just war’ theory, it is generally agreed that Christianity was originally a religion of goodwill which canonized an attitude of peace. The ‘just war’ ideology was a composite of Greco-Roman thought, Christian dogma and Teutonic cultural traditions, and despite the religion’s pacifist beginnings, formed as a result of the turbulent social needs and events of the period. In much the same way that the *ghaza* ideology developed in Anatolia, the idea of ‘just war’ was generated in the West by literate men working in the service of power-holders. That is, war became legitimized through religious justification, and this was an ideological development.²¹⁰

In early Christian thought, peace was considered a gift of God which needed to be preserved. God’s commandments in the Old and New Testaments constituted a pacifist tendency in the

²⁰⁹ Darling, *ibid.*, p. 13.

²¹⁰ Firestone, *ibid.*, p. 15.

Church in the early centuries of Christianity. This pacifist tendency involved the refusal to take part in military service or to use violence. For instance, a third-century theologian known as the first antipope, Hippolytus of Rome (A.D. 170-235), stated that people using violence, like gladiators and their teachers, executioners and Christian soldiers, were scorning God and were “forbidden from killing even if ordered to do so by a superior.”²¹¹ However, not all early Christian thinkers supported this peaceful attitude. Another third-century theologian Origen (c. 185 – 254) put forth in his work *Contra Celsus*, that Christians should take the side of “the ruling authority with arms if the need arises.”²¹² The word “need” is key here, because according to Origen, “the existence of troops as the defenders of Christians was a necessary evil until the time that all pagans were converted, when all wars would cease and soldiers become unnecessary.”²¹³ In other words, Origen legitimized war against pagans with the aim of Christianization and the establishment of an ideal peace. Furthermore, this “necessity” became an instrument for the justification of Christians killing their enemies in battle.

Several years later, following Constantine’s (272 – 337 A.D.) Edict of Toleration (313), a radical change occurred in the Christian approach to war. The emperor recognized military service by Christians as permissible, “even ordering those who refused to perform it for religious reasons to be treated as deserters.”²¹⁴ Then, several fourth-century church hierarchs such as Athanasios, archbishop of Alexandria (328 – 373 A.D.), and Ambrose, bishop of Milan (373 – 397 A.D.), also agreed to the idea of bearing arms against enemies.

3.3.2. Augustine and the Theory of Just War

Saint Augustine (354 – 430 A. D., Aurelius Augustinus) can be described as one of the most significant figures in the development of Western philosophical traditions. He is known as the father of the ‘just war’ theory, because his philosophy constitutes an important crossroad

²¹¹ Grotowski, *ibid.*, p. 62.

²¹² Grotowski, *ibid.*, p. 63.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

between the postulates of ancient Greek thought (particularly Neo-Platonic), and Augustine's interpretation of Christianity.²¹⁵ His impact on Western thought is explained thus:

*It may be said that Augustine is to just-war theory in the West as Christopher Columbus is to the discovery of America: not the first to come in contact with it, but certainly the one whose contact with it, unlike all those who came before him, made a lasting impression upon the entire subsequent development of the Western world.*²¹⁶

Augustine, whose world was facing barbarian invaders who were either Arian heretics or pagans, defined his idea as “warfare against sin.”²¹⁷ For him, war was both a consequence of sin and also its cure. If waged by a proper authority for moral and religious reasons, war was not simply an acceptable defensive action, but “a positive moral act benefiting both the just warrior and the sinful enemy.”²¹⁸

Augustine's formulization of ‘just war’ comprises two essential principles that still effect today's concept of ‘just war’. These are: ‘*jus ad bellum*,’ which means the justice of war, and specifies the criteria for a just war, providing a moral license to engage in war: “the right of one sovereign power to engage in violent action against another,”²¹⁹ and; ‘*jus in bello*,’ which means justice in war, and outlines the limits and manners of morally acceptable conduct in a war.²²⁰

For Augustine, just like everything in the universe, wars owed their existence to the will of God. Wars had their place in the cosmic order, and so served a divinely-appointed purpose as did every part of the universe. Furthermore:

²¹⁵ Mattox, *ibid.*, p. 2.

²¹⁶ Mattox, *ibid.*, p. 2.

²¹⁷ Andrea, *ibid.*, p. 26.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ There are nine principles: Just cause, comparative justice, right intention, competent authority, last resort, public declaration, reasonable probability of success, proportionality, and peace as the ultimate objective of war. For an explanation of these principles in detail, see: Mattox 2006 pp. 9 – 10.

²²⁰ There are three principles: Proportionality, discrimination and good faith. For an explanation of these principles in detail, see Mattox, *ibid.*, pp. 10 - 11.

*In jus ad bellum terms, the just war is a coping mechanism for righteous sovereigns who would ensure that their violent international encounters are minimal, to the greatest extent possible a reflection of the divine will in the specific case at hand, and, in any case, just. In jus in bello terms, it is a coping mechanism for righteous subjects who, by divine edict, having no choice but to 'be subject to the higher powers', seek to ensure that they prosecute their war-fighting duty as justly as they possibly can. Sometimes that duty might arise in the most trying of circumstances, or under the most wicked of regimes.*²²¹

When Augustine referred to 'just wars', he was not referring to imperialistic expansion, but rather "wars intended to quell internal rebellions with the end objective of restoring the peaceful temporal order, or defensive wars waged to protect the borders of the Empire." In addition, punitive wars were just too, because such wars were necessary to preserve moral values. Of course, all the wars described in the Old Testament were considered by Augustine as just. The battles fought by Moses, for example, were evidence of his claim that "to wage a divinely directed war is a supremely praiseworthy act of obedience."²²² In this way, the peaceful nature of Christianity was combined with the aim of reestablishing a nonviolent atmosphere, the desire to increase the impact of true religion, and the right of self-defense for providing security.

In view of the contrast between Christianity's initial manifesto for peace and its subsequent transformation into a warring religion, and more specifically, why the necessity arose in the fourth century to incite peaceful Christians to fight wars, it is useful to examine what kind of political, military and socio-economic elements caused this change.

²²¹ *ibid.*, p. 36.

²²² Mattox, *ibid.*, pp. 47 – 48.

3.3.3. The Threats of the Persians and Avars

The growing conflict between the Roman Empire and Zoroastrian Persia in the fourth century is offered by Grotowski as one of the factors which brought about this transformation.²²³ The need to protect Christians against “the pagan Persians” increased as a reaction to the fact that the Sassanian Emperor Shapur II (309-379) had been persecuting Christians. Waging war, especially defensively against pagan barbarians, was accepted by the Church “as a necessary evil for maintaining a Christian state.”²²⁴ However, the concept of ‘holy war’ was used by the early Byzantines only in reference to the wars conducted from the fourth to the sixth century for control over the Delphic oracle, and “functioned exclusively as a historical term.”²²⁵

When it came to the seventh century, the threat posed to the Byzantine Empire by the Persians and Avars impacted the Christian mind more radically. In 610 A.D., the Persians camped in Chalcedon, preparing to take the imperial capital of Constantinople. But the emperor Phocas did not implement an appropriate strategy to eliminate this threat, which led Heraclius (Heraclius I, 610 – 641 A.D.), son of the exarch of Carthage, to revolt and set sail in order to claim the throne. Subsequently, lengthy wars with the Sassanids began in 602 A.D. While approaching the walls of Constantinople, Heraclius's fleet raised the icon of the Virgin Mary on its masts. By doing so, the future emperor was putting religious symbols to military use, and also exploiting them as a political tool. In 614 A.D., when the Persians captured Jerusalem, Heraclius appealed directly to God for assistance, and recognized himself as “the executor of the plan of Providence.”²²⁶ This time, he was handing over a pretext for initiating a “holy war” against the Sassanid Empire himself. In the lengthy wars which followed, in his 623 and 624 A.D. campaigns, Heraclius announced to his armies that God was their sole ally in the fight against non-believers, and was watching over the Christians.

²²³ Grotowski, *ibid.*, pp. 66 – 67.

²²⁴ Grotowski, *ibid.*, p. 66.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

In 626 A.D., the combined forces of the Persians and the Avars laid siege to Constantinople, threatening the very existence of the Empire. Heraclius was not present in the city during the siege, as he was leading his army through the Caucasian mountain passes against the Sassanid Empire. In the emperor's absence, the defense of the city was entrusted to the patriarch Sergius. However, according to Constantinople's citizens, it was Christ and the Virgin *Theotokos* (the Greek title for Mary), who took care of the city.²²⁷ After several defeats on land and at sea, the Avars were beaten back; they lifted the siege and withdrew from the city. The city's inhabitants believed that a vision of Constantinople's patron, the Virgin *Theotokos*, had appeared on the walls and was seen by the khan of the Avars, thus miraculously preventing the capital from falling.²²⁸ As a result, after the Byzantine victory, the *Theotokos* became firmly established in Byzantine public sentiment as the supernatural guardian of the city. When Heraclius victoriously returned from his expedition, he believed that he received his capital as preserved by the Virgin and her divine Son.²²⁹

The emperor's eulogist George of Pisidia and a deacon of Hagia Sophia who was a sophisticated court poet with an impressive classical education, wrote in his epic poem *Bellum Avaricum*, that Heraclius was “a tool in the hands of God, carrying out the plan of Providence and defending his chosen people, the Greeks, from the pagan barbarians.”²³⁰ We can see here an early medieval example of the relationship of patronage with epic literature which arose in later centuries.²³¹

²²⁷ Sivertsev, A. M., 2010. *Judaism and Imperial Ideology in Late Antiquity*, New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 96.

²²⁸ Grotowski, *ibid.*, p. 69.

²²⁹ Sivertsev, *ibid.*, p. 96.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

²³¹ Sivertsev discusses the writings of George of Pisidia, who describes how the Virgin Mary herself defended the city (*Judaism and Imperial Ideology in Late Antiquity*, 2010, pp. 96 – 97): “The poem is designed to lionize the role played by the patriarch Sergius, George's patron and benefactor, during the siege. One of the dominant themes in the poem is the direct intervention of the Virgin in the course of events. George emphasizes two aspects of this intervention in particular. First, the Virgin appears as a supplicant for the city and its inhabitants before her divine son. By organizing a supplicatory procession and beseeching intercession from the Virgin, the patriarch Sergius secures the Virgin's advocacy before Christ and, as a result, the victory in battle, described by George as a judicial trial before God. Second, the Virgin takes a hands-on role as a supernatural combatant during the siege itself and particularly during one of its turning points: a sea-battle against the fleet of Slavs allied with

After these events, Heraclius continued to use the elements of religious struggle in subsequent conflicts, especially against enemies proclaiming other religions. However, the same religious arguments were not raised against the pagan Slavs and Bulgars who were raiding the Empire's Balkan provinces. Whether this was because of the lesser economic importance of these lost territories, or whether the Byzantines had not yet found a formula for using religious arguments against people whom they did not perceive as complete strangers is not clear.

Flori points out that during Charlemagne's reign in the ninth century, the distinction between a defensive, 'just' war fought with Christian principles and a "holy war" directed by God and sanctifying those engaged in it, had become blurred. Charlemagne had invaded pagan Saxony in 772 A.D., and had forced its people's conversion to Christianity by the sword.²³² In 778, he invaded northern Spain which was by then ruled by the Muslim Moors. Between 780 and 800 A.D., Charlemagne subdued the Avars and the Magyars. His defense and extension of Christendom (notably his conquest of the pagan Saxons) was the main reason that the pope crowned him emperor and defender of the Roman church.²³³

In the eleventh century, the process of transformation of 'just' war into the idea of holy war which would render the First Crusade possible was completed. In eleventh-century France, political power had fragmented due to the Carolingian wars. The king had no direct control over most of the provinces, and the dukes and counts were governing without conferring with him. The castellans and their *milites* (knights) were now the only authorities. Since their word was law and there was no-one to restrict them, violence had spread. In addition, conflict

Avars. She herself shoots arrows, deflects and delivers blows with a sword, inflicts wounds, and overturns and sinks enemy vessels, eventually wiping out the attackers. George asks his listeners not to be amazed (apparently some were) at this. After all, the earlier capture of the church at Blachernae by Avars "pierced" the Virgin's soul, "wounding" her very being. By destroying the Slav fleet, the Virgin merely fought back."

²³² Flori, *ibid.*, p. 17.

²³³ *Ibid.*

between feudal lords and vassals became a frequent occurrence.²³⁴ French society had become extremely violent, dominated by the needs of war and the enjoyment of plunder. There were no invaders threatening security, and in the absence of an enemy, the local armed companies which were based in castles turned their attention to the ordinary villagers. They were reluctant to “lose a standard of living built on looting,”²³⁵ and “forced the peasantry to produce more and more for them, thus indirectly bringing about a sort of rural economic revolution.”²³⁶

Social unrest and violence was so extensive that the Church had to step in and declare a peace movement called “The Peace and Truce of God.”²³⁷ Painter describes this movement: “The Peace of God forbade attacks on non-combatants, merchants, women, and peasants while the Truce prohibited fighting on weekends and on religious days.”²³⁸

The Peace of God movement began at a Church Council in France in the late tenth century, and expanded progressively into the whole of Western Europe during the eleventh century. In this way, the church brought peace to certain classes of society and to particular seasons of the year, and peace-breakers were excluded from society. By 1054 A.D., at the Council of Narbonne, it was even asserted that “no Christian should kill another Christian, for whoever kills another Christian undoubtedly sheds the blood of Christ.”²³⁹

The Peace and Truce of God movement, “at first openly opposed to knighthood in all its forms, engendered a hatred of knights, justifiable in the circumstances,”²⁴⁰ despite the fact

²³⁴ Painter, S., 1969. Western Europe on the eve of the Crusades. *A History of the Crusades, V. 1, The First Hundred Years*, Kennet M. Setton (Ed.) & Marshall W. Baldwin (Ed.), USA: The University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 3 – 31, p. 15.

²³⁵ Riley-Smith, *ibid.*, p. 3.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ For more information see article written by Gergen, T., 2002. The Peace of God and its legal practice in the Eleventh Century. *Cuadernos de Historia del Derecho*, **9**, pp. 11-27.

²³⁸ Painter, *ibid.*, p. 15.

²³⁹ Cowdrey, H. E. J., 1976. The genesis of the Crusades: The springs of Western ideas of holy war. *The Holy War*, Thomas Murphy (Ed.), USA: Ohio State University Press, pp. 9 – 33, p. 14.

²⁴⁰ Riley-Smith, *ibid.*, p. 3.

that the bishops in the monasteries were themselves lords and had their own knights. On the other hand, the Church was preparing to organize military action against peace-breakers. Therefore, while the Church blamed the knights for the violence, churchmen were trying to find a more positive, acceptable and respected social role for them.

3.3.4. The Reformist Movement in The Church

The clergy, who sought support from laymen and especially from soldiers, were in fact the precursors of a reform movement. These reformers “were inspired by monastic values” and in particular by the ideas of the great Burgundian Abbey of Cluny. They wanted monkish ideals to predominate and considered it necessary to reconcile with the world in a different, and if necessary, a radical way.

Pope Leo IX (1049 -54) who came from Lorraine where the reformist ideas blossomed, had dealt with the use of *militia* when he was the deacon and bishop of his church in Toul. Two months after his consecration, he convened a Lateran Synod and called for the Roman *militia* to fight against his opponents in the region. In order to protect the papal domains, he recruited many warriors against the Normans in 1053 A.D. by offering them spiritual rewards. He took command of the army himself and proclaimed the warriors who gave their lives in the Battle of Civitate as martyrs.²⁴¹

After him, Pope Nicholas II (1059-61) also turned to the same southern Italian Normans for military support, and for several decades they fulfilled the duty of protecting the papacy.

A few years later, Pope Alexander II (1061-73) “granted the first indulgence for war to fighters in Spain in 1063, and may well also have given them the right to bear a *vexillum*

²⁴¹ Riley-Smith, *ibid.*, p. 3. Flori, *ibid.*, p. 16.

sancti Petri,”²⁴² the banner of St. Peter which represented papal approval for a military venture.

3.3.5. The Impact of Gregory VII

Some historians regard ‘The Peace and Truce of God’ movement as a preparative element for the First Crusade. However, it was the impact of Hildebrand, namely Pope Gregory VII, and the reformist movement in which he took the lead, which caused a more radical change.

Gregory was archdeacon of Rome from 1059 to 1073 A.D., and pope from 1073 to 1085 A.D. Cowdrey states that the change of mind which occurred in the late eleventh century was “largely owing to only him.”²⁴³ The very beginnings of the change that Gregory brought about, known as the “Gregorian Reform,” began with his use of the phrase “*militia Christi*” in his letters. It was in fact a traditional phrase, harking back to Saint Paul's discussion of Christian warfare “that was not against flesh and blood.” Thus, the critical step that Gregory VII took was to proclaim that earthly warfare could be an authentic part of the *militia Christi*. When he was involved in a struggle with Henry IV of Germany, he appealed to the knights of all lands to dedicate their swords to the service of Christ and of Saint Peter.²⁴⁴

Soon, a new kind of soldier-saint emerged. There had been soldier-saints before, such as Saint Maurice, Saint Sebastian, Saint George, or Saint Martin. But they were accepted as “saints *despite* being soldiers.”²⁴⁵ In Gregory VII's time, soldier-saints were recognized as saints *because* they were soldiers.

²⁴² Riley-Smith, *ibid.* Flori, *ibid.*

²⁴³ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 19.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 19 – 20.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Riley-Smith draws attention to the atmosphere of crisis generated by the “Investiture Contest” (or Investiture Controversy) between Gregory VII and the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV (1056–1106).²⁴⁶ It was mainly a challenge between European monarchies and the popes over the control of appointments, or investitures of church officials such as bishops and abbots.²⁴⁷ This contest led to conflict in Italy and Germany, where a group of nobles rebelled against King Henry IV, dragging the papacy into war with him. As reform led to open conflict, Gregory VII decided to consult scholars “for justification for his conviction that violence could be used in defence of the Church and could be authorized by it.”²⁴⁸ As a result, Pope Gregory VII commissioned Anselm of Lucca to compile a collection of canon laws. In his work, Anselm “put forward a strong theoretical justification for Christian holy violence with reference to precedents and authorities, drawn especially from the Fathers, above all St. Augustine of Hippo.”²⁴⁹ The reformers could easily find the justification they were seeking in Augustine's writings.

Then, Gregory VII turned to laymen for military support. He raised the idea of gathering a group of knights together, bound to himself as a duty to the Church and scattered them throughout western Christendom. He began more commonly to use the term “*fideles* or *milites sancti Petri*” to describe them. At this time, turning to the laity for material aid had become a standard for monastic reformers and clergy, and now, as the head of the Church, the pope was doing the same.²⁵⁰

In the same way his predecessors had done, Gregory VII recruited warriors in pursuit of actualizing papal plans, particularly in freeing the Church from the influence of lay-princes.

²⁴⁶ Riley-Smith, *ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁴⁷ Emma Knight examines the matter in detail in her thesis, and says it is not as it is seen at first sight: “It is not simply about the gift of investitures by lay persons with which it is concerned, nor the issue of simony and clerical marriage which provided the sole troubles for eleventh and twelfth-century relations between the papacy and secular leaders. The Investiture Controversy was representative of the division, conflict and blurring of borders between the two realms of sacerdotium and regnum; Church and State.” Knight, E., (2005). *What was the Investiture Controversy a Controversy About?*, M.A. Thesis, Great Britain: University of Durham Department of Politics, p. 1.

²⁴⁸ Riley-Smith, *ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

One of the warriors to whom he sent the banner of St. Peter was the Knight Erlembald, the military leader of the *pataria*, which was an association of clergy and lay people fighting against the partisans of the clergy of Milan opposed to the reform. He approved of the idea that Erlembald was fighting God's war and when the Knight died, he proclaimed him a martyr. Before calling for the crusade, Pope Urban II would beatify him.²⁵¹

However, in the second half of the eleventh century, the dominant official view of Western Christianity was still one of peace. On the very eve of the First Crusade, the Church's precept was that being a professional soldier was not good for a Christian. Killing or wounding in warfare, even in a just war, or however legitimate the cause, was seriously sinful and required penitence. Canonists like Burchard of Worms and reform-minded propagandists were against the acceptance of war, even if it was a just war as theorized by Augustine. For example, Cardinal Peter Damiani (c. 1007 – 1073 A.D.), insisted that "to take up arms in defence of the faith of the universal church" was an iniquitous act for a Christian in any circumstances. Cardinal Humbert (c. 1000 – 1061 A.D.) also refused the oppression of heretics by force of arms.²⁵²

On the other hand, nearly twenty years before the First Crusade, popes and senior churchmen had occasionally referred to a "knighthood of Christ, knights of Christ or knights of God,"²⁵³ fighting wars in defence of righteousness. Cowdrey describes this contradiction as an "ambiguity of attitude", a "double-think."²⁵⁴ One of its applied examples was the Battle of Hastings in 1066, where the Normans had fought under a papal banner given by Pope Alexander II. After the battle, the Norman bishops, "with a papal legate at their elbow, imposed penances upon the warriors" for their evil sins upon the field of battle. To kill a man required a year's penance; to wound a man needed forty days, and so on.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8. Flori, *ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁵² Cowdrey, *ibid.*, pp. 17 – 19.

²⁵³ Riley-Smith, *ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁵⁴ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 17.

Nevertheless, the germ of the idea of taking up arms to fight in a just war began to grow in some parts of Western Christendom. Many scholars have underlined that the belief that one could ascend to heaven after death if he was carrying his weapons for the Church became popular among common and lay people. Due to repeated appeals by the churches, popes, and the clergy for protection against their enemies, the ideological valorization of warriors and the sacralization of certain wars increased.²⁵⁵ However, it was only in the twelfth century that a chivalric ideology would flower. In 1095 A.D., as historians of knighthood have shown, this chivalric ideology had not yet formed. Nevertheless, a kind of transformation was taking place, and the warriors who would take part in the First Crusade would no longer fight only for St Peter, but “they transformed themselves into the soldiers of Christ.”²⁵⁶

When Pope Gregory VII heard the news of Turkic advances in Asia Minor after the defeat of the Greeks at Manzikert in 1071 A.D., he attempted to organize a Crusade to the East with the aim of helping Byzantium against the Turks.²⁵⁷ In still-surviving letters dating from February to December 1074, he speaks of protecting the Christian faith, and giving one’s life to ‘liberate’ his brothers in the East. To die for such a heavenly service was more glorious than to die for the fatherland. He wanted to lead an army himself, leaving Henry IV of Germany (with whom he was soon to be in a serious conflict with), to protect the Church. However, Riley-Smith does not characterize Gregory VII’s enterprise as a crusade appeal since “there was no indulgence, no vow was required of the volunteers, and the protection of the Church was not offered to them, their lands and families.”²⁵⁸

But the knights of Western Europe did not respond to his call, and after December 1074, Gregory VII never referred to these plans again. But this attempt is important because it demonstrates:

²⁵⁵ Flori, *ibid.*, pp. 16 – 22.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁵⁷ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 25; Riley-Smith, *ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁵⁸ Riley Smith, *ibid.*, p 8.

*How easy it was for a reformer to transfer the associated ideas of brotherly love, physical liberation and military force to an eastern theatre of war and how quickly, once he began to think of the East, his mind would turn to Jerusalem.*²⁵⁹

Before 1095, most reformist churchmen's appeals to laity were unsuccessful since Western Europe was still relatively poor and insecure. There had been a rapid population growth, and the inheritance system, especially the principal of primogeniture, had left many individuals in difficulties. For example, in northern France, Italy, and Burgundy, younger sons had to earn their keep since they inherited little or nothing from their families.²⁶⁰ In contrast to Gregory VII, Pope Urban II had other abilities and resources which made him successful in recruiting a Crusader army.

3.3.6. Pope Urban II's Speech in Clermont

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the ideology of crusading did not suddenly appear with Pope Urban II's appeal; instead, it went through several phases. The long-held view that Peter the Hermit was the instigator of the first crusade has been overturned by recent scholarship which asserts that it was more likely Pope Urban II's speech on 27 November 1095 A.D. at the Council of Clermont that fanned the flames, and led thousands to take up the cross.²⁶¹

Pope Urban II "was the very man to bring to a head the developments,"²⁶² and he added to this ideology a new dimension: the discourse of liberation. That is, liberation of Jerusalem, and the holy places in the city, and of the Christian brothers and sisters who lived under the rule of Muslim sovereigns. Thus, the call to arms was transforming a just war into a most holy war.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁶¹ Carleton, M. D., 1906. The speech of Pope Urban II. at Clermont, 1095. *The American Historical Review*, **11** (2), pp. 231-242, p. 231.

²⁶² Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 24.

Like other popes before him, Urban II also turned to scholars, requesting help from them to legitimize his cause. One of the greatest contemporary canonists, Ivo of Chartres was his favorite. At the request of Urban II, he wrote a collection of canon law on the eve of the First Crusade. Ivo utilized passages from earlier works with the aim of finding something on the justification of using force against pagans. Among his excerpts was the statement that penance must be performed for killing even in a just war.²⁶³

In March 1095, when Pope Urban II was directing a council at Piacenza, he received an embassy from Constantinople calling for help from him personally against the Turks in Anatolia. A positive answer was quite likely, given that ever since the beginning of his pontificate, he had been in negotiations with the Emperor Alexius about the relations between the churches of Rome and Constantinople, and about possible military aid for the Byzantine Empire which had now lost most of Asia Minor to the Turcomans. And Urban did indeed respond to them encouragingly, “as far as they were able against the pagans.”²⁶⁴ He promised to help the Byzantine Emperor by taking an oath. According to Riley-Smith the crusade was “his personal response”²⁶⁵ to the Greeks.

Urban II stayed in France from August 1095 to September 1096 A.D. He had returned to his homeland both to watch over the reform of its Church, and with the intention of preaching the crusade. Soon after his arrival, he deliberated with Adhemar of Monteil, the bishop of Le Puy. Urban appointed Monteil as his personal representative in the army. In the speech he gave in Clermont on 27 November 1095, he proclaimed the crusade, and then journeyed through central, western and southern France. (He carefully avoided areas under the direct control of the king, since he had excommunicated the monarch twice with accusations of adultery). Urban II also preached the crusade at Limoges, Tours, Angers and Le Mans and at a council

²⁶³ Riley Smith, *ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁶⁴ Riley Smith, *ibid.*, pp. 13 – 14.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

at Mimes in 1096, and probably elsewhere. He organized and directed ceremonies where knights held the cross. Thus, the preparation for the Crusade had begun.²⁶⁶

In his sermon at Clermont, Urban II touched on several topics taken from the Gospels: Jesus gave his life on the cross to save his people; in return, he asks today that they take his cross to free his tomb and to deliver his faithful people from oppression; there is no greater love than to give up one's life for one's brothers. However, our Christian brothers of the East are persecuted by the Muslims, the holy places are profaned, the churches defiled; to give help is a duty of brotherly love, to serve Christ is a duty of the faithful, and so on.²⁶⁷ There are numerous versions of Urban's speech and although "it cannot be proved that any one of them was written until a number of years after the Council",²⁶⁸ Carleton identified the important versions as Fulcher of Chartres, Robert the Monk, Baldric of Dol, Guibert of Nogent, and William of Malmesbury.²⁶⁹

Carleton states that the main point emphasized in all versions of the speech is: "this is God's work."²⁷⁰ In Robert's version, Pope Urban and the clergy agreed on God's direct agency. The second point common to all versions is "the necessity of aiding the Christian brethren in the East,"²⁷¹ since they were all suffering, whether they were inhabitants or pilgrims in the holy lands ruled by Muslims. But cries to avenge the "desecration or destruction of the churches and holy places"²⁷² – especially calls to restore the sanctity of Jerusalem – are absent in these versions.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 13 – 14.

²⁶⁷ Flori, *ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁶⁸ The most frequently referred article on Urban II's speech is H. J. Cowdrey's "Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade", *History*, vol. 55 (1970), pp. 177 – 188. It is first published in 1970 but a new version –which I used- is also available in *The Crusades: The Essential Readings*, eds. Thomas F. Madden, June 2002, Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 16 – 29 with the same name. In this article Cowdrey says that one of the most known versions of the speech is not a reliable one, and he references Dana Munro Carleton's article as the best explanatory work on the speech: "The Speech of Pope Urban II. At Clermont, 1095", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Jan., 1906), pp. 231-242.

²⁶⁹ Carleton, *ibid.*, pp. 236 – 237.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*

²⁷² *Ibid.*

Although the “victorious advance of the Turks” (but with reference to Spain) is rarely mentioned in these works, “expressions of contempt for the Turks” can be found in three versions. William of Malmesbury is the writer of Urban II’s speech who mentions the Turks most. He cites a long list of provinces that the Turks had conquered, and has a passage describing their cowardice and degeneracy. Carleton argues that his way of describing the Turks squares with the general beliefs of the time.²⁷³

Like Cowdrey, Flori, too, warns us against the hyperbole and exaggerated depictions in several of the versions. The chroniclers, “strongly influenced by their own clerical tradition and in their own ways”²⁷⁴ reconstructed Urban II’s speech. The primary reason for these magniloquent, sometimes even theatrical depictions was that when the texts were read aloud to the crowds, a strong wave of enthusiasm would engulf the audience, and so warriors would enthusiastically give positive responses to the call of crusade with cries of “God wills it!”²⁷⁵

Riley-Smith refers to the letters written by Urban II after he gave his speech. The pope wrote of the crusaders as “being inspired by God, as agents of God, engaged in the service of God, and acted out of love for God”²⁷⁶ who in turn, fought for them. Riley-Smith is convinced that the Pope told the Crusaders they were followers of Christ, and although there is no contemporary evidence of Urban’s saying *milites Christi* (knights of Christ), he must have used this term. Additionally:

*The terms exercitus Dei (army of God), exercitus Domini (army of the Lord, which is synonymous with militia Christi or knighthood of Christ) and milites Christi were to be in use in the crusading army in Asia.*²⁷⁷

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 237 – 238.

²⁷⁴ Flori, *ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁷⁵ Flori, *ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁷⁶ Riley-Smith, *ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁷⁷ Riley-Smith, *ibid.*, p. 16.

Flori concurs with the holy characteristic of the Crusade based on the writings of the monk Guibert de Nogent who was a chronicler of the First Crusade. Nogent defined the crusade not only as a legitimate war, but also as “a holy war aroused by God.”²⁷⁸ In his writing, traces of the transition from Christianity’s peaceful tendencies into a warlike state can be seen. Nogent wrote that knights would be able to achieve salvation and go to heaven “without needing to take the monastic habit.” Cowdrey too points out that the warriors could obtain God’s love and gain the remissions of their sins by waging war, “in the service of Christ and in vindication of Christ's name against the Muslims”²⁷⁹ and he cited from Nogent:

*In our own time, God has instituted a holy manner of warfare, so that knights and the common people who, after the ancient manner of paganism, were aforesaid immersed in internecine slaughter, have found a new way of winning salvation. They no longer need, as they did formerly, entirely to abandon the world by entering a monastery or by some other like commitment. They can obtain God's grace in their accustomed manner and dress, and by their accustomed way of life.*²⁸⁰

Despite the absence of any authentic records of what Urban actually said, current-day sources strongly suggest that “the Crusaders thought that they were taking part in a *peregrinatio*, or pilgrimage and, less certainly, that they were going to Jerusalem to worship, and to free the churches of the East from Jerusalem to Constantinople.”²⁸¹

The news was spread in several ways. According to contemporary witnesses, the news travelled so fast that there was no need for preaching. Nevertheless, there were also “inspired popular preachers”²⁸² like Peter the Hermit. Although their contributions and successes are still mostly unheard of, Flori warns us that they must not be neglected, as it was “the impact

²⁷⁸ Flori, *ibid.*, p. 22.

²⁷⁹ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 22.

²⁸⁰ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁸¹ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁸² Riley-Smith, *ibid.*, p. 31 – 32.

of these popular preachers who drove so many towards Christ's tomb."²⁸³ They had similar motivations to other lay-crusaders involving the feudal armies, and the lesser knights which the majority of the Crusade comprised.

Why was Urban II successful in gathering a crusading army while Gregory VII was not? Some scholars like Cowdrey attribute the Pope's attainment to his natural abilities and tactful approach. While Gregory VII imposed "his own view of obedience to the vicar of Saint Peter", Urban II, with his "more understanding and diplomatic"²⁸⁴ attitude, pledged remission of sins for all who would take part in the Crusade. He also employed his communication skills to obtain his goal by using many clerics and religious communities (Bull 1999, p. 27).²⁸⁵ Furthermore, while Gregory desired both political and military leadership, Urban judiciously permitted the military expedition to be commanded by the leaders of the French chivalry.

It appears that both Urban's tactful decision regarding the military campaign's command and his success in recruiting knights to join the army were due to his own personal connection with the chivalry. Historians of the First Crusade agree that Pope Urban II was born to a knightly family, and also that he was a former monk of Cluny.²⁸⁶ He was exceedingly familiar with the knightly mentality, and knew how to make use of it for the sake of the Church. The knights aspired to be accepted and respected as professional warriors by the Church and also by society, and recognizing this, Urban promised them salvation and absolution by waging war.

In fact, the papacy wished to place itself at the head of the knights since they were the rising power in the West, and by using them, aimed to capture and secure the Holy Sepulchre. In the end, all the Christian churches would be united.²⁸⁷

²⁸³ Flori, *ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁸⁴ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 29.

²⁸⁵ Bull, M. 1999. The Origins. *The Oxford History of Crusades*, Jonathan Riley-Smith (Ed.), New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 15 – 35, p. 27.

²⁸⁶ Flori, *ibid.*, p. 15. Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 22.

²⁸⁷ Flori, *ibid.*, p. 17.

3.3.7. The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading

The question of the reasons and motivations leading to the First Crusade is as popular in Western historiography as the matter of the foundation and rise of the Ottoman Beylik is in Ottoman historiography. The topic is still being debated in academia because, as Cowdrey points out “the Crusades left an indelible mark upon the Western consciousness”²⁸⁸, just like the Islamic *ghaza* and *jihad* ideas did in Muslim societies.

It is generally assumed that the idea of holy war originates in a religion through a kind of inherent bias, and that it always supports hostile attitudes and acts against members of other religions. Therefore, it is also presupposed that the wars fought against the rival states or other kinds of political unities with the claims of holy war derived from religious beliefs. However, in the previous chapters of this thesis, it has been shown that this presupposition is not always correct. This chapter will look at whether or not the Western idea of holy war which led to the First Crusade arose out of an animosity against Islam and Muslims, as well as examining the non-religious grounds of this military campaign.

Since “the crusades had their origin in eleventh-century western Europe”²⁸⁹ and one of the subject matters of this thesis is the idea of holy war, we will mainly focus on the “holy” reasons of the First Crusade.

Urban II’s appeal called for the liberation of Christians and the churches of the East ruled by Muslim sovereigns. Also, according to several chroniclers, he was concerned about the Muslim Turks who continued to conquer new Christian lands and wanted to help the Byzantines against them. On the other hand, some historians agree that there was no real

²⁸⁸ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁸⁹ Painter, *ibid.*, p. 3.

threat from the Muslims of Anatolia or the Middle East to their Christian subjects or the churches, and hostile images of Muslims did not exist yet in the eleventh century.

In fact, a bias did exist across the East, but it was not aimed primarily at Muslims, but rather against “heretic” Christians. Even before Muhammad and the Islamic conquest began in the seventh century, the Arabian Peninsula had become a haven for heterodox Christians escaping the Orthodox Church for the fear of persecution. Its geographical distance was an advantage, and the Church was named there as “a breeding ground of heresies”²⁹⁰ (*haeresium ferax*). Perhaps this is the reason why “the Western prejudice toward Islam is as old as Islam itself.”²⁹¹

On the other hand, Islam’s representation as a threat “to the very physical existence of Christendom”²⁹² from the conquest of Spain in eighth century to the siege of Vienna by the Ottoman Turks in 1683 was real, but its reasons were different. Together with the military campaigns and conquests, Islam's scientific and intellectual achievements during the Middle Ages contributed towards the West’s opinion of Islam “as cruel, evil, and uncivilized.”²⁹³ Firestone stresses that “this negative characterization began when Islam was powerful and Christianity weak but has continued into our own day.”²⁹⁴

Marcus Bull also does not see “the developed hatred of Islam”²⁹⁵ as the reason for the response of Western Europeans to the First Crusade. Most of them had never even seen a Muslim. It was true that they believed “the Muslims were idolatrous polytheists”²⁹⁶ and several legendary stories circulated about the life of the Prophet Muhammad. But it was not enough for the Crusaders to leave their homes and families, and to chase after enemies in

²⁹⁰ Firestone, *ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*

²⁹² Firestone, *ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁵ Bull, *ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

distant places. To Bull, the main motivation was to go on “an unarmed pilgrimage to Jerusalem [rather] than on the battlefield.”²⁹⁷

Cowdrey’s views are similar to Bull’s:

*The anonymous knight had little real knowledge of his Muslim enemies or of what was going on in their lands: He just thought of them as heathens, who denied the faith of Christ and holy Christendom for which he had taken arms.*²⁹⁸

But Flori, with regard to the writings of Gregory VII, states that “the theme of the abominable Saracen was very popular with the knights,”²⁹⁹ and this was “the demonization of the adversary, traditional in all war propaganda.”³⁰⁰ By implying the omnipresence of the theme in the epics and in medieval romance, he propounds that this theme was exceptionally useful in motivating the “deeply emotional medieval crowds.”³⁰¹

There may have been a nefarious image of the Muslims in Gregory VII’s writings and also in a few other sources written or compiled in the eleventh century, but most historians differ with Flori on the prominence of this image among the knights or ordinary people at an early date. They also disagree that this image strongly motivated the Crusaders to embark on a military journey. Instead, they mostly agree that the Crusaders perceived this journey as an armed pilgrimage, and that their main religious motivation was the remission of their sins.

Bull’s example supports the notion that a hostile and religious zeal could not have existed as it is claimed at least in the eleventh century:

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁸ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁹⁹ Flori, *ibid.*, p. 24.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*

*It is significant that the crusaders experienced mixed feelings once they had grown familiar with their enemies' methods. They were so impressed by the fighting qualities of the Turks that they speculated whether their resilient adversaries might in fact be distant relatives, a sort of lost tribe which centuries before had been diverted from its migration towards Europe and Christian civilization. This was no idle compliment in an age when character traits were believed to be transmitted by blood and stories about the descent of peoples from biblical or mythical forebears went to the very heart of Europeans' sense of historical identity and communal worth.*³⁰²

Certainly, the relationship between Christians and Muslims was not always without tension. They occasionally encountered one another and were involved in subversive activities against each other. After the Arabs captured Jerusalem from the Byzantines in 638 A.D., they allowed Christian pilgrims to travel without being disturbed in considerable numbers to the city and surrounding sites. The region's Muslim sovereigns conceded the Holy Sepulchre and many other churches and shrines remained in Christian hands. In spite of the fact that there was great tolerance for a long time, in 1009 A.D., the Fatimid caliph of Egypt ordered the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre.³⁰³ The more forbearing successors of "The mad Caliph Hakim"³⁰⁴ had the Holy Sepulchre rebuilt with financial support from Byzantium. It was completed circa 1040 A.D. To Cowdrey such circumstances were infrequent, and this event did not cause any major reaction. As a matter of fact, "Islam was by and large a tolerant religion,"³⁰⁵ and Christian subjects lived in peace and tranquility as long as they paid their taxes. After 1040, Christians continued to visit holy places in the East as pilgrims. After all, religious travellers were profitable for Muslims and best not hampered. "The Muslims did well from their tolls, from their lodging, and from providing them with supplies. So they let them journey."³⁰⁶

³⁰² Bull, *ibid.*, p. 20.

³⁰³ Andrea, *ibid.*, pp. 22 – 23.

³⁰⁴ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 22.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

Another presupposed element relevant to the idea of holy war is the assumption that it necessarily involved the conversion of “heretics.” Among the secondary sources used in this thesis, only Flori touches upon conversion as a motivator. But even so, this was not for the first crusaders, but rather for the preachers, who aspired “to martyrdom rather than for the knights who, as we have seen, could hope for the crown of martyrdom through fighting with the sword.”³⁰⁷ Although the situation was different in later crusades, in the First Crusade, the main focus was not the Muslims, but rather the pagans, and pagans were not always Muslims. It was mostly the “heretic” Christians who were inferred by this appellation. This idea would lead an Albigensian Cathar Crusade against dualist Christians by the appeal of Pope Innocent III two centuries later. However, even though that war too appeared to have mainly religious reasons, there were also material goals “since heretics’ lands could legally be confiscated and their goods plundered.”³⁰⁸

Urban II, as most contemporary chroniclers and authors recorded, said in his famous speech that Eastern Christians, particularly the Byzantines, needed help from co-religionists. However, several pieces of evidence refute this and reduce this preamble to the form of a claim.

Most historians come to the conclusion that in 1095 A.D., the Christians in the East did not require military intervention. The last thing the Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus wanted was to deal with the uncontrollable hordes that were soon to come his way. The Seljuk Turks defeated the Byzantines at Manzikert in 1071 A.D., and by the death of the last great sultan, Malik Shah they had retreated in 1092, long before the organization of the First Crusade.³⁰⁹

These facts notwithstanding, “the pope’s alarmist description”³¹⁰ had a strong influence on his audience. Urban II used his skills to emphasize the theme of the potential harassments and persecutions of pilgrims by the Turks. In fact, when he became Pope in 1088 A.D., he

³⁰⁷ Flori, *ibid.*, p. 26.

³⁰⁸ Flori, *ibid.*, p. 26.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.* Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 13.

³¹⁰ Flori, *ibid.*, p. 24.

attached a special importance to improving relations with Alexius Comnenus since his principal goal was to promote the union of the Eastern and Western Churches. It is true that in March 1095 at the Council of Piacenza, Alexius's emissaries came to ask Urban to call upon western warriors to go to Byzantium and help the emperor to defend the Church against the pagans. But Urban had widened his call and blew it out of proportion.³¹¹

3.3.8. The Reasons Behind the First Crusade

If it was not religious zeal, nor hostile views of Muslims, what made the First Crusade possible? In seeking to address this question, the circumstances which cleared the way for the first organized military campaign to the Muslim East will now be examined.

Bull reads the big picture as a militarization of society, a profound and extensive process rooted in long centuries of development. The the process started with the “slow and painful”³¹² dissolution of the Western Roman Empire.

The Reconquista movement which began in eighth-century Spain against the Muslims of the territory is considered another contributing factor to the First Crusade. Pope Alexander II promised spiritual benefits to the soldiers, and they responded him. To Cowdrey, such wars can be identified as “holy” wars, and they undoubtedly prepared the way for the Crusade.³¹³ Yet, there were no characteristics of pilgrimage or anything equivalent to the Crusader's vow. The Reconquista wars were not like the Crusades, but they paved the way.

Cowdrey mainly specifies four “constraints and shifts”³¹⁴ originating not from Eastern but Western lands which caused the First and subsequent crusades. He defines the real reasons as emanating from “within Western society itself — its social classes, its institutions, and its

³¹¹ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, pp. 16 – 17.

³¹² Bull, *ibid.*, p. 21.

³¹³ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 25.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

ideas.”³¹⁵ These four factors had shaped Western society and were principally responsible for bringing the Crusade into being. They are: pressure of population and growth of internal order; the increasing social and religious sophistication of the knightly class; a radical change in the official Christian ethic of war, and the strains and stresses set up within society by the Church's penitential system.³¹⁶

All these factors are connected to each other, and they had reached their full potency by the end of the eleventh century, thus bringing about the First Crusade. The population of Europe had increased since internal colonization; therefore so did the use of mercenary knights and the expansion of aristocratic households. This process integrated with an acceleration of more sophisticated standards of law and order. This integration produced “a surplus population whose aristocracy had every incentive to seek new, external outlets for its martial ardor and its desire for land.”³¹⁷

Although provisions of landownership and inheritance were not generally based on primogeniture, or descent from father to eldest son, the younger brothers were under pressure, and they had to earn their keep elsewhere — in a monastery, or in holy orders, etc. The reason contemporary writers did not record these circumstances is that they were unaware that such pressures steered men into the Crusade. But this situation must not be understood as the lack of terrain or desire to gain real property, because only a few knights settled permanently in the East, and sources show that there were never enough who would stay to colonize the lands effectively.³¹⁸

Cowdrey's second factor is the rise of the social status of the knights, and the enhanced sophistication that followed this rise. Works which aggrandized the knights began to appear. For example, the south Italian Norman author of *Gesta Francorum* portrayed the eleventh-

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³¹⁷ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 13.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.* Flori, *ibid.*, p. 29.

century Western knight in his work. Although it is not such an idealized image, he makes the point:

He was decidedly a gentleman — a man of substance and standing, who rode on horseback and fought with expensive weapons and equipment. He was proud of his knighthood, and he had a strong professional ethic, based upon loyalty to his feudal lord, Bohemond—bellipotens Boamundus. Yet he was not blindly loyal. He approved of Bohemond when, in real or politic deference to the law of the land, he did not plunder townships in the Byzantine Balkans. But he parted company at Antioch, when Bohemond turned aside from the Crusade to establish a principality for himself.³¹⁹

Painter also finds reasons for the Crusade in the eleventh century's social circumstances. The feudal institutions that had been developing since the eighth century were almost ripe, and the "crystallization and extension"³²⁰ of the feudal system became a fact.

In the eighth century, Frankish King Charles Martel had already given benefices to men who swore loyalty and were ready to serve him as warriors. In the ninth century, during King Charles the Bald's reign, benefices and additionally, countships and other royal offices were becoming hereditary. During these centuries, civil wars and Viking raids put France into a permanent state of anarchy. Under these circumstances, the landholders had two alternatives: one could choose to be a vassal of a powerful neighbor to obtain military protection; or become an unfree villager. Nearly every landholder who could afford to equip himself as a soldier preferred the former.³²¹

As time went by, fighting became "the chief function of the feudal male."³²² From early youth he bore the knightly armor and practiced weapons and arms. He unquestioningly accepted and carried out the orders of Christ and the teachings of the Church, heeding the atonement of his

³¹⁹ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 15.

³²⁰ Painter, *ibid.*, p. 10.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3. Bull, *ibid.*, pp. 24 – 25.

³²² Painter, *ibid.*, p. 15.

sins. Hence, the assurance of remission of sins in the First Crusade was highly attractive to the knights.

3.3.9. “It was Becoming Holy War”

The rise of the knights brought with it developments in military technique, castles, and the increase in fighting on horseback. The Church and the clergy found that they had to accommodate these processes. After the Roman Empire collapsed, the duty of defending the people devolved to the knights, while the clergy began to pray for the knights. As the clergy interfered in the process, wars that knights fought took on “holy” characteristics:

In the eleventh century, we also find formulas for the blessing of swords and weapons. There emerged a religious ceremony of knightly investiture; in France after 1070, the dubbing of knights appears widely in the sources. As kings were crowned, so knights were invested. Knighthood now was, or could be, a vocation. The Church was in direct touch with the profession of arms, without the king as an intermediary. The warfare of knights was securing a new sanction and a new prestige. It was becoming holy war.³²³

As part of this process, the clergy enabled the knights to assert their social and professional roles, and behave according to the expectations of kings, society and the Church. And they performed these duties by supplying them with what was naturally a religious ideology. Fighting was the knights’ way of life, so the clergy sanctioned warfare, blessed their weapons and organized ceremonies for them. Through the Church’s patronage, the knights “were being well prepared to experience a great stirring of heart” when the call came for the Eastern Crusade.³²⁴

Conversely, the clergy patronized and assisted the knights not only in order to avoid rowing against the tide, but also for other, internal reasons. The eleventh-century Church reformers

³²³ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 16.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

were in a power struggle with ecclesiastical and secular rivals, so they badly needed the support of the armored knights. Riley-Smith especially refers to three reformist French monks, Robert the Monk, Guibert of Nogent and Baldric of Bourgueil and points out that “their picture of the crusade accorded with the ideals of the eleventh-century reformers, whose chief aim had been to infuse secular life with monastic values.”³²⁵

3.3.10. Liberation with an Armed Pilgrimage

While Augustine justified violence against violence, Urban responded to violence with a justified war of liberation. “Liberation” was the most frequently-used word by Urban in his speech. Before him, Gregory VII had already referred to the need to liberate the eastern Christians, many of whom labored under more burdensome circumstances than their Western brothers and sisters. Therefore, the eleventh-century sources were full of the words *libertas* and *liberatio*.³²⁶

Urban’s invitation to liberation involved two purposes: liberation of the Eastern Christians, that is, the baptized members of the church, and liberation of the holy city of Jerusalem and its churches. Jerusalem was the patrimony of Christ, and what is more, in the eleventh century, Christians’ attitudes towards Jerusalem were “obsessive.”³²⁷ The city was perceived as the center of the world, a place God himself especially focused on. Therefore, the liberation of this city and the Eastern Christians constituted the liberation of the Church as a whole. And Urban counted the crusade as part of a wider movement of Christian liberation. Besides, the pope certainly believed the military campaign was also an armed pilgrimage, and it was the goal of Jerusalem that made the crusade a pilgrimage. The theme of pilgrimage in the eyes of lay people was the true way to salvation and was an extremely strong idea.³²⁸ Thus, with an

³²⁵ Riley-Smith, *ibid.*, p. 1.

³²⁶ Riley-Smith, *ibid.*, p. 17.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 20 – 22.

³²⁸ Flori, *ibid.*, p. 20.

armed pilgrimage both the salvation of souls and the liberation of the Christians were achieved. Naturally, liberation meant “freedom under the popes.”³²⁹

Flori evinces that the theology of indulgence did not develop until after 1095 A.D. However, the knights, the lay people, and even some ecclesiastics could have misunderstood Urban’s speech and believed that their souls would go to Paradise through taking part in the Crusade.³³⁰

The theme of pilgrimage was also important for another reason: the Turks. After the news came of the defeat of the Byzantine Christian army by the Seljuk Turks at Manzikert in 1071 A.D., and then the Turk’s victory over Spanish forces at Zallaqa in 1086, the fear of an invasion by the Turks began to spread. Actually, in the eleventh century a Muslim threat to Western Europe was far from a reality. But this fact did not prevent anxiety especially in southern France, where Urban II met particularly great success during his preaching, and epic poetry like the *Chanson de Roland* and the Guillaume d’Orange cycle began to record baneful memories of Muslim occupation in Europe.³³¹

3.3.11. The First Crusade

Despite the wishes of the Pope that the great journey should begin on 15 August on the Feast of the Assumption, the first Crusader troops started to leave Western Europe in the spring of 1096 A.D. The famous preacher and leader Peter the Hermit had preached in central France and recruited many warriors before leaving in April. With the military command of Walter Sansavoir, and the spiritual leadership of Peter, troops marched into Hungary on 21 May where they were joined by parties of Italian pilgrims, gathering more recruits in the Rhineland. While crossing the Balkans, undisciplined soldiers caused some trouble, but the forces were able to join the others in Constantinople on 1 August. After the crusaders were

³²⁹ Riley-Smith, *ibid.*, p. 17.

³³⁰ Flori, *ibid.*, p. 20.

³³¹ *Ibid.*

ferried across the Bosphorus on 6 August, some friction appeared between French, German and Italian soldiers who had all elected their own leaders. They finally advanced to Nicaea but were surrounded by the Turks and forced to surrender. Those who agreed to apostatize were sent to the East, but all who refused were executed. And those who managed to advance into the interior on 21 October were ambushed by the Turks and annihilated.³³² In the meantime, three other armies were not able to pass further than Hungary. A force constituting Saxons and Bohemians under the leadership of a priest called Folkmar was dispersed at Nitra. A Rhinelander priest Gottschalkwas's force was forced to surrender at Pannonhalma. Count Emich of Leiningen's army of Rhinelander, Swabian, French, English, and Flemish and Lorrainer crusaders was stopped at Wieselberg.³³³

The case of the Reconquista had paved the way for the First Crusade as mentioned above. When the fact that most Crusader armies had persecuted European Jews between December 1095 and July 1096 is taken into consideration, a commonality between the two movements in terms of content and perception becomes visible. The rumors of oppression reached the Near East in advance of the crusade.³³⁴

After the First Crusade, over the course of time, and through the efforts of the popes, the concept of the crusade evolved. It became an institution which would serve the Church. The conversion which came to completion with the crusades evolved into a tool of the papacy. "The ideology of crusade thus went far beyond the ideology of holy war from which it stemmed."³³⁵

³³² Riley-Smith, *ibid.*, p. 48.

³³³ Riley-Smith, *ibid.*, p. 50.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*

³³⁵ Flori, *ibid.*, p. 17.

3.4. A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO THE CONCEPT OF HOLY WAR

This chapter will examine the reasons why the *topos* of the holy warrior was idealized in medieval Anatolian and European narratives, and also presents a comparative review of the Muslim and Western conceptions of holy war. At first glance, it is the differences between the Muslim and Christian approaches to war which stand out. While bearing arms and waging war has never been perceived as contrary to God's law in Islam, most Christian theologians and intellectuals viewed these practices as profanities for long centuries. In fact they held this view to such an extent, that when Western Christendom faced the risk of external threat, Christian thinkers were not able to agree on the idea of Christians fighting. The concessions made in the middle of the eleventh century for situations like the Battle of Hastings in 1066 A.D., where Normans fought under a papal banner given by Pope Alexander II, represented a "double-think" as Cowdrey (1976, p. 17) has described it. But no comparable example ever occurred in the Islamic world. The *razzia* raids, as a form of fighting, had already existed as a tradition in the Arab world. Starting from the beginning, in Prophet Mohammed's time, so long as external and internal threats existed, the bond between Islam and waging war gained in strength. On second glance, however, the two religions share similar characteristics: both Christianity and Islam originated in the Near East, and the concepts of holy war they articulated are basically ideological. Also, it was not the conversion of heretics which formed the primary or the secondary purpose of the idea of holy war in Christianity and Islam. Instead, both religions intended to expand their spheres of political and cultural influences.

3.4.1. Regeneration of the Ideas against the Threats

With regards to this thesis, the most striking common trait is the regeneration of holy war as an aggressive idea, starting in the eleventh century, which arose as a consequence of internal and external political struggles, and also military and cultural threats.

The particular path taken by Western Christendom towards this transformation involved: Augustine's formulation of the 'just war' theory in the fifth century against the threat of barbarian invaders; Constantine's recognition of Christians' military services; the double threats of the Persians and the Avars to Christian lands like Constantinople and Jerusalem, and Muslims' settlement in Spain. Additionally, the Church reformers' power struggle with ecclesiastical and secular rivals, and their desire to reform the Church and gain secular political power made them turn to knights for military force whose social status was ascending. The matured feudal institutions of the period, and the Reconquista wars then paved the way to the First Crusade. But the completion process was aided by the victory of the Turks in Manzikert, and then their advance on the Byzantine Empire. Finally, in contrast to Gregory VII's appeal, Urban II's call to an armed pilgrimage was responded to by lay-people, churchmen, Christian notables, and leaders.

In the Muslim Middle East, the conception of *jihad* was not primarily perceived as waging war against the infidels before the First Crusade. As historians have shown, it was a collection of codes against the traditions and customs of the *Jahiliyya*. But when an external menace arose, that is, the first organized Christian military campaign to the Middle East, *jihad* was reactivated with its lower meaning of fighting against the infidels who occupied one's own land, and it began to be used as propaganda for uniting subjects. Thus, it was a case of action-reaction.

The concept of *jihad* and holy war was reactivated in the Muslim Middle East in the eleventh century through the Seljukids and Mamluks who struggled for existence both against the Crusaders and the pagan Mongols. The idea then appeared in Anatolia which was settled at that time by Turkoman tribes. However, here, unlike the example of Middle East, the idea of holy war was discerned mostly as "*ghaza*", not *jihad*.

The Mongols' decisive victory over the Seljukids in 1243 and their influential political domination over large parts of Anatolia, as well as the Aegean Turkoman beyliks' conflicts against Christians, have been considered by most historians as the motivating factors in holy

war ideology. Although, there is no absolute proof that the early Ottomans adopted *ghaza* as an ideology, from the fifteenth century, the Ottoman sources began to record *ghaza* narratives and the ideal *topos* of *ghazis*. From then on, all the Ottoman narratives had claimed Islamic *ghaza* raids and holy war. The reason for these uses reveals another and probably the most important parallel between the development of the idea in both the Christian West and the Muslim East: the creation of ideal images and narratives by authors who were patronized by power-holders.

3.4.2. Turning to Scholars for Justification

When a group of Italian and German noblemen dragged the papacy into war against King Henry IV, Gregory VII turned to scholars to find justification for the use of force in defense of the Church. Moreover, he commissioned Anselm of Lucca to compile a collection of canon laws and Anselm submitted a strong theoretical rationalization for Christian holy violence. Urban II also requested help from scholars to legitimize his cause. In order to justify the use of force against pagans, he requested Ivo of Chartres, one of the greatest contemporary canonists, to write a canon law collection on the eve of the First Crusade.

Like the example of the idealized narratives in Muslim Middle East, the Ottomans also found literary men for their own “just” causes. These scholars who were mostly educated in cultural centers in the Middle East or Anatolia, had left the interior due to the threat posed by the Mongol governors, and had settled along the western frontiers between the 1320s and 1330s. Orhan Beg ensured their security and livelihoods, and in return, received administrative, religious and cultural services from them. The Ottoman sultans after Orhan continued to patronize scholars who were generally Orthodox Muslim schoolmen, and by commissioning works from them, created an “Orthodox heroic past.” Since the Ottomans wanted to build an image for themselves as the true heirs of the Seljuks, fifteenth-century authors, unlike their predecessors, began to use *ghaza* and *jihad* interchangeably, and constituted the first sources of holy war narratives.

3.4.3. Building a Self-Image

The course of proceedings on both sides was systematic, and the act of patronizing literate men was an important part of a larger policy: the creation of a self-image. We have seen in the previous chapter that the Islamic theory of *jihad* had become part of the identity of Islam. Concomitantly, historians of the Crusades agree that the First Crusade also played a role in a similar process in the West.

It would appear that the Ottomans wanted to build an image of a *ghazi* state in order to be accepted as a legitimate leader in the Muslim world, not only to the eyes of Muslim subjects, but also to rival Christian enemies. And they received support in this regard from the authors whom they patronized. From the sixteenth century, the sources had a more Islamic emphasis, and sanctified the past. The idealized images of warriors of the faith in the Ottoman sources attracted numerous men to fight in Anatolia, especially on the Byzantine frontier from the eleventh to the fourteenth century.

One of Cowdrey's conclusions from his study of the Crusade is that "societies, like individuals, should strive for the self-knowledge that lays bare and relieves the internal pressures that generate wars of ideas and 'holy wars'"³³⁶ The Crusades had begun at a time generally accepted as a formative period for Western Christian culture: it wanted to know, identify and show itself. The First Crusade was the trigger of an accumulation of energy on both sides, and which began a new process completed with identified and idealized self-image.

³³⁶ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 27.

4. THE *TOPOS* OF THE IDEALIZED HOLY WARRIOR NARRATIVES

4.1. AUTHORS AND THEIR SOURCES

Ashiq Pasha and *Gâribnâme*: What we know about Ashiq Pasha's (1272 – 1332 A.D.) life is based on his son Elvan Çelebi's work *Menâkübü'l-kudsiyye fî menâsibi'l-ünsiyye*. According to his son, Ashiq Pasha was the son of Muhlis Pasha the son of Baba İlyas. He was educated by Şeyh Osman in physical and spiritual sciences. He married Şeyh Osman's daughter and carried out his duty of being a vizier of Timurtaş Paşa for a time. He subsequently became embroiled in a political struggle and went to Egypt, but on his way back to Amasya, he became ill in Kırşehir and died. In contrast to these biographic details, his son portrays him as a man who never became involved in politics, and devoted his life to the way of God.³³⁷ To Ocak, he was the most important representative of a large and prominent sheikh family in the second half of the fourteenth century, the founder of which was Baba İlyas-ı Horasani.³³⁸ He must have been known as a mystic who was the head of the Vefaiyye Order in Anatolia; he received an education from important figures that were members of this order beginning in his childhood, and later had a great influence on people. *Garibnâme* is Ashiq Pasha's most known work. Written in 1330 A.D., it is a *masnavi* in terms of literary genre,³³⁹ and consists of 12.000 couplets. It involves religious and sufistic advice, thus it can be called a moral/ethics book.³⁴⁰ Köprülü states that *Garibnâme* was written under the influence of Yunus Emre and describes his work as “after Gulshehri, the most significant work to appear under the influence of Persian literature”.³⁴¹ Kut states that it was written in the Turkish language with the purpose of being comprehensible to the ordinary people and for educating them. It was

³³⁷ Kut, G., 1996. Âşık Paşa. *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. **4**, pp. 1-3, p. 1.

³³⁸ Ocak, A. Y., 1996. Aşık Paşa'nın Tasavvufi Şahsiyeti Hakkında. *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. **4**, p. 3.

³³⁹ Kut, *ibid.*, p. 1.

³⁴⁰ Gül, M., 2010. 14. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da Oğuz lehçesiyle yazılmış eserlerle ilgili bilimsel yayınlar. *International Journal of Social Science*. **3** (2), pp. 1-21, p. 3.

³⁴¹ Köprülü, F., 2006. *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*. Gary Leiser (Trans.), Robert Dankoff (Ed.), New York: Routledge, p. 209.

widely known and read in public, and was influential for centuries. Darling indicates that he “called the warrior hero by the steppe term *alp* rather than *gazi*.”³⁴²

Ahmedî and *Dâsitân-i Tevârih-i Mülûk-i Âl-i Osmân* (The Epic Chronicles of the Ottoman Rulers): Information about this author’s life is quite scarce. He was probably from Germiyan beylik and received his education in Egypt. When he arrived back in Anatolia, he met Emeer Süleyman and became his tutor. *Dâsitân* constitutes only part of his work *İskendernâme*, and is concerned with the Ottoman dynasty. He wrote his work in Kütahya for Emeer Süleyman during the reign of Murad I. However, in the following years of the conquest of Germiyan beylik by Murad I, Ahmedî met Bayezid I. He was encouraged by the sultan to add an Ottoman dynastic history to his work. But afterwards, when Timur waged war against Bayezid I and defeated him, the author seemed to be taken under Timur’s protection. Then he continued to write his work for Emeer Süleyman, and then Chelebi Mehmed who defeated all in the period called the Ottoman Interregnum.³⁴³

İskendernâme was written under the influence of Persian literature and consists of 8,250 couplets, and *Dâsitân* is a section comprising 334 couplets. Banarlı estimates that the author wrote the Ottoman part between 1402-1410 A.D.³⁴⁴ It is the first chronicle written in verse in the Turkish language,³⁴⁵ and was a very popular book in the second half of the fifteenth century.³⁴⁶ Banarlı describes the literary style of Ahmedî as “pretty moralist”³⁴⁷ and to Gül it involves didactic features.³⁴⁸

Sılay, who studied *Dâsitân* and translated the work into English, viewed Ahmedî’s work as “a religious epic (*dâstân*) that manifestly glorifies the sacrifice made by the Muslim Ottoman

³⁴² Darling, *ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁴³ Banarlı, N. S., 1939. Ahmedî ve *Dâsitân-ı Tevârih-i Mülûk-i Âl-i Osman*. *Türkiyat Mecmuası*. **6**, pp. 49-176, pp. 52 – 54.

³⁴⁴ Banarlı, *ibid.*, p. 90.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

³⁴⁸ Gül, *ibid.*, p. 13.

warrior on the path of God”.³⁴⁹ Besides, whether the early raids were perceived as religious *ghazas* or not, “Ahmedi’s text nonetheless strives to construct a historical memory of them that requires a religious justification.”³⁵⁰

Lowry indicates that Ahmedî “was not writing history”, instead “he was writing a mirror for princes.”³⁵¹ Such works formed a popular genre in Medieval Anatolia, and *Dâsitân* was “the earliest Ottoman prototype known as the Mirror for Princes, or as the first known example of a *destân* (epic) used as a piece of written advice, that is, a *nasihatname*, or a book of advice for rulers.”³⁵²

Darling also emphasizes the work’s epic character and states that he “...exalted *gaza* not only in their own time but as a foundational Ottoman characteristic from the start. They all depicted the early fourteenth-century Ottomans as zealous *gazis*, offering Islam or the sword to infidels.”³⁵³

Ashiq Pashazade and *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*: His real name was Dervish Ahmed but he was mostly known as Ashiq Pashazâde, which was a reference to his grandfather Ashiq Pasha. There is not much information about his life except his words in his *Tevârih*. According to this work, he was born around 1400 A.D. in Amasya, growing up in a milieu surrounded by dervishes and religious scholars. He witnessed the power struggle between Murad II and Düzmece Mustafa and joined several military campaigns of Murad II, and Mehmed II,³⁵⁴ going to Mecca as a pilgrim in 1436. When he returned home, he joined the *ghaza* raids in Üsküb under the flag of a famous frontier bey İshak.³⁵⁵ He started to write his *Tevârih* in his

³⁴⁹ Silay, K., 2004. *Ahmedi’s History of the Kings of the Ottoman Lineage and Their Holy Raids against the Infidels*. Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures Series. Massachusetts: Harvard University, p. VIII.

³⁵⁰ Silay, 2004, p. VIII.

³⁵¹ Lowry, 2003, p. 16.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³⁵³ Darling, *ibid.*, p. 43.

³⁵⁴ Özcan, A., 1996. Aşıkpaşazâde. *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, pp. 6 – 7.

³⁵⁵ İnalçık, 1994, p. 141.

declining years, and completed it *circa* 1484 when he was eighty-five years old. He claimed to have used a source written by Yahşi Fakih, and gave information about Mehmed II's reign based on his own witness.³⁵⁶ İnalçık states that he was present at the siege of Constantinople.³⁵⁷

İnalçık identifies him as a *menâkibnâme* writer: “Such *menâkibnâmes* were designed to be read and listened by groups during military campaigns, in *boza*-houses or in other meeting places. In one place, Ashiq Pashazâde addresses himself to the *ghazis*, saying: “O *ghazis*, all these *menâkibs* which I composed are based, I swear on God, on the knowledge and sources which I personally reached; do not think I have written from nothing.”³⁵⁸

Tevârih is one of the most studied Ottoman sources and has many different layers which can be investigated in depth. While İnalçık draws attention to the reflection of the power struggles between elites and the state in Mehmed II's reign in the work³⁵⁹ Çobanoğlu underlines its epic tone and character, addressing the legitimate rule of the Ottoman dynasty.³⁶⁰

Jean Froissart and *The Chronicles*: Jean Froissart was born at Valenciennes, France in 1337 A.D. He was the most representative of the chroniclers of the later Middle Ages,³⁶¹ and has often been labelled as the “Chronicler of Chivalry.”³⁶² Froissart went to England in 1361, and entered the Church, and into the service of Queen Philippa of Hainault, the wife of Edward III as her secretary and clerk of her chapel. He started to write his work when he was only

³⁵⁶ Özcan, *ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

³⁵⁷ İnalçık, 1994, p. 141.

³⁵⁸ İnalçık, *ibid.*, p. 143. The Turkish translation of this article: İnalçık, H., 2000. Aşıkpaşazade Tarihi Nasıl Okunmalı?. *Söğüt'ten İstanbul'a*, Mehmet Öz & Oktay Özel (Eds.), Ankara: İmge, pp. 119-149.

³⁵⁹ İnalçık, *ibid.*

³⁶⁰ Çobanoğlu, Ö., 1999. Sözlü kültürden yazılı kültür ortamına geçiş bağlamında erken dönem Osmanlı tarihlerinden Aşıkpaşazade'nin epik karakteri üzerine tespitler. Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi, **16**, pp. 65 – 82. For another layer, see: Yıldırım, R., 2009. Hacı Bektaş Veli ve ilk Osmanlılar, Aşıkpaşazâde'ye eleştirel bir bakış. *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi*, 51, pp. 107 – 146.

³⁶¹ Eliot, C., 1910. *The Harvard Classics, Chronicle and Romance, Froissart – Malory – Holinshed, with introductions, notes and illustrations*. New York: P. F. Collier & Son, p. 5.

³⁶² Skorge, *ibid.*, s. 4

twenty; the first book was written in its earliest form by 1369; and he kept revising and expanding it to the end of his life. He travelled a great deal, going to France with the Black Prince, and to Italy with the Duke of Clarence, as well as to the Scottish border, Holland, Savoy, Provence, Paris and London. He finally settled down in his native town, where he died *circa* 1410 A.D.³⁶³

From Eliot's inferences regarding the author and his work, the following details appear to be the most important: by birth, Froissart belonged to the bourgeoisie, but his tastes and associations made him an aristocrat. Glimpses of the sufferings which the lower classes underwent in the wars of his time appear in his pages, but they are given incidentally and without sympathy. His interests lie almost solely in the somewhat degenerate chivalry of his age, in the splendor of courts, the pomp and circumstance of war, in tourneys, and in pageantry. Strength and courage and loyalty were the virtues he loved; cowardice and petty greed he hated. Cruelty and injustice could not dim for him the brilliance of the careers of those brigand lords who were his friends and patrons.³⁶⁴

The Chronicles is a historical narrative, written in Middle French prose during the last half of the fourteenth century. It consists of four books and is more than a million words in length. The work relates the events in the period from around 1322 to 1400. Froissart used several texts as sources and also wrote what he heard or experienced himself. He had many patrons during his lifetime. He enjoyed the favour and protection of a series of nobles in Hainault and elsewhere. When he was in the English court, he met with many prominent English knights and French prisoners from the Battle of Poitiers, and gathered first hand information about these events. He went to Brabant in 1366 and met his later patrons, the duke Wenesclas and his wife. After a year, he was present at Edward The Black Prince's court. He also became the chaplain of Guy II de Chatillon, Count of Blois. On the Count's request, he continued work on his chronicles. Then he met Gaston Fébus of Foix, Count of Béarn, and entered in his service. The last part of Froissart's narrative was written at the request of Guy de Blois, and recounts

³⁶³ Eliot, *ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

events like the French-English negotiations at Abbeville in 1393. He returned to England in 1395 – 96, personally met Richard II and became involved with the politics and foreign affairs at the French and English courts.³⁶⁵

Gutierre Diaz de Gamez and *The Unconquered Knight*: Gamez was the manservant of the knight Pero Nino. He entered the knight's service in 1402 A.D. when they were both in their twenties. He managed the knight's military household, and accompanied him on all his wars and adventures. He started to write his master's life and heroic deeds in 1431, and completed his work which he named as *El Victoral* in 1449. This is all that is known about Gamez at present.³⁶⁶

Pero Nino must have liked the work so much that he gave instructions in his will on how to preserve it in detail. But the original work has been lost and only four copies survive to the present day. A translator and editor of the work, John Evans, specifies it as one of the most important primary sources of the Crusades, a mirror of its age, and has a special place in Crusade narratives. At the beginning of his narrative Gamez explains his material cause as “the duty and art of chivalry; the efficient cause is He [God] who instituted chivalry.”³⁶⁷ It can be said that, Gamez's work has a didactic character and a religious tone, and is full of advice on how to lead an ideal Christian life. He portrays his master as a perfect knight, and himself as a perfect loyal servant.

Chandos Herald and *The Life of the Black Prince*: There is very little information about Chandos Herald's life and deeds. He was the domestic herald of the famous Sir John Chandos, constable of Aquitaine, a follower of the Black Prince.³⁶⁸ He most likely entered into his service in 1360 A.D., when Chandos received the rank of banneret, together with the

³⁶⁵ Skorge, *ibid.*, pp. 2 – 16.

³⁶⁶ This is the information given by Joan Evans, the translator and editor of *The Unconquered Knight*. Gamez, G. G., 2000. *The Unconquered Knight, A Chronicle of the Deeds of Don Pero Nino*, Joan Evans (Trans.), Cambridge: In Parentheses Publications, Medieval Castilian Series, p. i –iii.

³⁶⁷ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 1.

³⁶⁸ Chandos Herald, 1910. *Life of The Black Prince*. Mildred K. Pope & Eleanor C. Lodge (Trans. & Ed.), Oxford: The Clarendon Press, p. 1v.

territory of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte. He accompanied his master on several military campaigns. As a clearly reasoning mind is apparent in his writings, he must have received some degree of education. He is one of the most important witnesses to certain episodes in the Hundred Years War.³⁶⁹

The work is a poem written in Middle French, in plain language and in a straightforward manner. It was probably written in 1385 or 1386 A.D. Except for the Spanish expedition made by the Black Prince on behalf of Pedro of Castile, the author was not an eye-witness of the events he related. It is not clear whether he used any texts as a source for his work or not.³⁷⁰ Tidwell suggests that the work must have been written between 1376 and 1387 A.D. He describes it as a “modern collection of campaign letters written during the Crécy campaign of 1346 and the 1355-1356 military campaign, and includes excerpts from two chronicles devoted to the military campaigns of the Black Prince.”³⁷¹ Historians agree that it is not a reliable historical account, but it does provide alive and vivid details of the battles of Crécy and Poitiers. Tidwell says that it is a reflection of “how the people saw the prince not long after his death when the poem was composed.”³⁷² Pope and Eleanor examine the author’s false chronology, and state that his “desire to sing the praises of his hero has probably affected the impartiality of his narrative.”³⁷³ Besides, according to them, it is not “so much a continuous historical narrative, as a record of the leading events in the life of this same Prince, and a eulogy upon his prowess and piety.”³⁷⁴ Instead, it is a narrative devoted to the relating of “exploits of its hero.”³⁷⁵

³⁶⁹ Chandos Herald, 1883. *The Life & Feats of Arms of Edward The Black Prince*. Francisque-Michel & J. G. Fotheringham (Trans.), London & Paris: J. G. Fotheringham, pp. VI – VII.

³⁷⁰ Francisque-Michel, Fotheringham, *ibid.*, p. VIII. Pope & Eleanor, *ibid.*, pp. 1v - 1vii.

³⁷¹ Tidwell, A. K., (2008). *The Military and Administrative Leadership of the Black Prince*, M.A. Thesis, USA: Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of Baylor University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts, p. 3.

³⁷² Tidwell, *ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁷³ Pope & Eleanor, *ibid.*, p. 1vii.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1v.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1v.

Tidwell's description of the author's manner of wording gives a hint of Chandos Herald's approach and the main importance of his work:

The prince emerged as a romantic and heroic figure able to cause the river to run "crimson, to everyone's amazement, with the blood of dead men and horses" at the battle of Najera. On the other hand, Chandos Herald does cover some of the prince's life in Aquitaine, including his response to Charles V upon being summoned to France in 1369. Though the author still portrays the prince as capable of handling his administrative affairs, it is clear where his devotion lies, for the prince is said to have responded with a threat to march on Paris despite his physical incapacity due to an illness contracted after the Spanish campaign. England mourned the loss of what they believed was a prosperous future, especially when faced with the disastrous reign of the prince's son, Richard II. This poem was a subtle lament on behalf of the people, to mourn the passing of a valiant figure.³⁷⁶

4.2. THE HOLY WARRIORS

The phrase "holy warrior" as used in this thesis refers to members of the prominent warrior class and also to ordinary men who became engaged in "holy" wars. The writers discussed in the previous section recorded the lives and heroic deeds of kings, beys and others who were renowned warriors. In the context of so-called holy wars, they were accepted as holy warriors. In the early Ottoman sources, these warriors were predominantly *alps*, *ghazis*, *akıncıs* and at the same time beys, sultan's heirs, as well as their comrades. In the European sources they were kings, princes and their comrade knights, *chevaliers*, and the crusaders.

In Aşıkpaşazâde's history *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, a group of *ghâziyân-ı Rûm*, namely the *ghazis* of Anatolia (also known as *Rum Abdalları*) who contributed to the foundation of the Ottoman state are mentioned. However, several historians such as Köprülü reveal that in Anatolia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, "one encounters the title *ghazi* primarily in

³⁷⁶ Tidwell, *ibid.*, p. 4.

the names of the march beys, but there is no reference to any organization under this name in either the cities of central Anatolia or on the marches.”³⁷⁷ Instead, the title *alp*, which among the pre-Islamic Turks was a title meaning “hero, warlike”³⁷⁸ prevails mostly among the early Ottoman sources. *Alp* was a title mostly given to princes, but in the Anatolian Seljukids, it was very common among the military commanders of the march beyliks. Thus, Ashiq Pashazade’s definition of *gâziyân-ı Rûm* mainly referred to the *alps* “the nature of which he did not understand very well,” organized under several commanders’ flags and constituting a social class on the frontiers.³⁷⁹

İnalçık believes that *gâziyân-ı Rûm* included *alps* and *ghazis*. He finds Ashiq Pasha’s tendency to use the word “*alp*” instead of *ghazi* notable, and comes to the conclusion that *alp* and *ghazi* were synonymous terms. Therefore, Osman Ghazi, his brother Gündüz Alp and their comrades like Saltuk Alp, Aykut Alp, Turgut Alp, Hasan Alp were *alp-ghazis*.³⁸⁰

On the other hand, Lowry, as previously mentioned, suggests that the warriors on the frontiers were in fact *akıncıs* (raiders), and “even when it was for the purpose of waging Holy War (*gaza*) was called *akın* (raiding).”³⁸¹

Darling sees the *ghazi* identity as one identity among a number, “whose prominence changed over time.”³⁸² According to her, being a “nomad raider (*akıncı*)” was a common identity “governed by Turco-Mongol cultural norms rather than Islamic ones, often identified with that of the *gazi* but essentially secular and economic.” Besides, according to her thesis, the *ghazi* identity must have arisen in several phases. After the mid-fourteenth century with the conquests of Murad I and Süleyman Pasha, “from 1359 to 1371 both the Byzantines and the Ottomans justified their warfare against each other religiously, which they had not earlier

³⁷⁷ Köprülü, 1992, pp. 92 – 93.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

³⁸⁰ İnalçık, 2010, pp. 129 – 130.

³⁸¹ Lowry, 2006, p. 48.

³⁸² Darling, *ibid.*, p. 18.

done.” The activities of the Turkish forces in the Balkans, the nature of military leadership in the European context, and (as in the article of Uli Scahmiloglu mentioned above), the Black Death, combined to create an environment where Turkish mercenaries were much in demand.³⁸³

When it comes to the case of Medieval Europe, holy warriors were mainly knights and *chevaliers*. Cowdrey points out that, up to the thirteenth century, neither Latin nor the vernacular languages had words for "crusade" or "crusader."³⁸⁴ In *Gesta Francorum*, they were recorded as *peregrini*. The word “crusader” was an invention made after Urban's appeal to the First Crusade. There were knights and “lesser knights who constituted the major part of the crusade contingents”³⁸⁵ whose “chief function”³⁸⁶ was to fight:

*From early youth he was conditioned to bear the weight of knightly armor and drilled rigorously in the use of arms. He had to learn the extremely difficult feat of hitting a target with his spear while riding at full gallop with his shield on his left arm. When he was considered adequately mature and trained he was made a knight. This was a simple ceremony in the eleventh century. An experienced knight gave him his arms and then struck him a terrific blow with his hand or the flat of his sword. Throughout his life the knight spent most of his time in practicing with his arms or actually fighting. Dull periods of peace were largely devoted to hunting on horseback such savage animals as the wild boar He accepted without question the teachings of the church and was deeply interested in the welfare of his soul.*³⁸⁷

In the eleventh century, chivalry and chivalric ideals were not yet fully developed. “The society was largely illiterate and the vernacular expression of chivalric values through song was no more than nascent.”³⁸⁸

³⁸³ Darling, *ibid.*, pp. 34 – 37.

³⁸⁴ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p 26.

³⁸⁵ Flori, *ibid.*, p. 18.

³⁸⁶ Painter, *ibid.*, p. 15.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁸ Bull, *ibid.*, pp. 24 – 25.

When Urban II called for forces to liberate Jerusalem, the *milites* were foremost in his mind. They were the best soldiers in the West and also the necessary core into which armies were able to become integrated. Over the course of time, with the effects of an increased population and the needs of the Church, becoming a knight became a preferable choice. The knights started to acquire land and gentility, and enter into more honorable service and company.³⁸⁹

Kocabıyıköğlü Çeçen highlights the interchangeability of the terms ‘knight,’ ‘man-at-arms,’ and ‘soldier’ in her thesis, and states that “the term knighthood (*chevalerie*) can be found in reference to the occupation of arms in general (as in *discipline de chevalerie*), or to all men engaged in the occupation (as in *chevalerie de France*).”³⁹⁰

Keskin discusses the history of knighthood and its prevalence through Europe during the Middle Ages. First of all, the history of knighthood can be traced as far back as the eighth century when *miles* and in plural *milites* — that later became the Latin equivalent of “knight” — was used to mean soldier almost everywhere in continental Europe. Gradually however, *miles* started to be used to express a more limited sense - a mounted soldier, having its equivalents in vernacular languages that suggested a man on a horse: the equivalent of *miles* was *chevalier* in French, *Ritter* in German, *cavaliere* in Italian, and *caballero* in Spanish. In any of these languages or in any usage, we do not see *miles* used to refer to a socially high-ranked person before the eleventh century, and often not very high even then. It is true that his military skill and the rising significance of cavalry for the Frankish army after the ninth century gained *milites* a respectively higher standing among the other members of the army, but this relatively distinguished place did not bring along with it a high social degree to the mounted soldiers.³⁹¹

³⁸⁹ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁹⁰ Kocabıyıköğlü Çeçen, *ibid.*, p. 207.

³⁹¹ Keskin, *ibid.*, pp. 2 – 3.

Keen calls chivalry “an evocative word,”³⁹² used during the Middle Ages with different meanings, in different contexts by different writers. But what is certain is that it cannot be “divorced from the martial world of the mounted warrior, from aristocracy, because knights commonly were men of high lineage, and from the middle of the twelfth century on, it very frequently carries ethical or religious overtones.”³⁹³ Kauper also refers to the relation between nobility and knighthood. According to him, in time, “knighthood fused with nobility as a result of common military function.”³⁹⁴ And genetic lineage gained a special importance in the thirteenth century: “Works of literature show the conviction that chivalric qualities are rooted in genetic inheritance In fact, knights in chivalric literature who fail to show the highest qualities may turn out to have a bad genetic line or other ignoble formation.”³⁹⁵

On the other hand, Huizinga propounds that the religious tone of being a noble warrior was added afterwards, and that the first prototype was based upon the angel Michael: the primordial feat of arms of the archangel Michael is glorified by Jean Molinet as 'the first deed of knighthood and chivalrous prowess that was ever achieved'. From the archangel, “terrestrial knighthood and human chivalry' take their origin, and in so far are but an imitation of the host of the angels around God's throne.”³⁹⁶

4.3. DEPICTIONS OF THE IDEALIZED *TOPOS* OF THE HOLY WARRIOR

Most writers idealized individuals such as particular princes, beys, sultans or warriors. In contrast, both the Muslim authors Ashiq Pasha and the Christian Gamez created more intangible patterns of ideal warriors by describing their essential characteristics. Although the fundamental attributes that they described are often met in other *topoi* of the idealized

³⁹² Keen, M., 1984. *Chivalry*. New York: Yale University Press, p. 2.

³⁹³ Keen, *ibid.*, p. 2.

³⁹⁴ Kauper, R., 1999. *Chivalry And Violence In Medieval Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 189.

³⁹⁵ Kauper, *ibid.*, p. 190.

³⁹⁶ Huizinga, J., 1987. *The Waning of the Middle Ages, A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought, and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, F. Hopman (Trans.), New York: Penguin Books, p. 65.

warrior, none are as clearly formulated as those of the works *Garibnâme*, and in *The Unconquered Knight*.

4.3.1. Ashiq Pasha's Ideal Warrior: Alp

Ashiq Pasha, in his work called *Garibnâme* dating to 1330 A.D., portrayed his ideal warrior as an “alp”. This word was widely used among pre-Islamic Turkic Oguz tribes, as well as by Altai and Kirghiz people. Its meaning was “brave, hero” and was used as a title for leading warriors.³⁹⁷ When describing his ideal warrior, Ashiq Pasha did not idealize a particular individual such as a bey or sultan. Instead of presenting a covert or vague description of the hero, his direct and definitive portraiture is so explicit, that it is possible to reason that his main goal was to create a role model for the young men who wanted to become renowned warriors, and/or to show the way to those wanting to make a living by fighting, and to attract them into the ranks of the Ottoman army.

Ashiq Pasha categorized two types of *alps* and built them as *topoi*: The ‘worldly’ *alp* and the ‘ethereal’ (religious) *alp*. When considering his characterizations, it can be said that the former is similar to the pre-Islamic *alps*, while the latter more closely resembles a Muslim warrior. But in either case, “alp” is a title which must be achieved in order to become a reputable warrior.

Ashiq Pasha presents these types in the ninth section of the ninth chapter of his work, and both have nine essential characteristics. A common trait is the burning desire to defeat the enemy, the wish to overcoming one's foes. The *alps* must look forward to beheading their enemies and hanging the heads on their horses:

*Whoever wants to be named as alp
And feel the joy of defeating his enemies*

³⁹⁷ Köprülü, F., 1989. Alp. *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 2, İstanbul, p. 379.

He is the one desire to attack them

*And he wants to hang his enemies' heads on his horse's neck*³⁹⁸

To be a 'worldly' *alp*, one must possess nine qualities or objects - some are personality traits and some are tangible items. These are: to be brave and fearless; to have a strong and sturdy body; to be assiduous and benevolent; to have a well-bred horse; to have an appropriate suit of armour; to have a bow and arrow, also a backsword, and a bayonet, and to have a trustworthy comrade.³⁹⁹

The first and the most important necessity is to be brave and courageous. An *alp* must not avoid conflicts:

He needs nine things

The first thing is a courageous heart

*So that he does not fear and escape from anything.*⁴⁰⁰

The second is to have strong muscles, that is, physical power, as the *alp* would be fighting enemies equal in strength to himself. But it must be a visible power so that the enemies would fear at first sight:

If one's muscles are not strong

He is not suitable for being an alp if he is weak

Suits an alp eren being powerful

Since he would fight the ones who are powerful

If his body is brawny enough

³⁹⁸ “*Kanı ol kim ister alplik adını / Almag ister düşmanından dadını / Düşmanın kahreyleyip basmak diler / Başını at yanına asmak diler.*” Aşık Paşa, 2000. *Garîbnâme*, Kemal Yavuz (Yay. Haz.), İstanbul: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, p. 430.

³⁹⁹ Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, pp. 430 – 433.

⁴⁰⁰ “*Ana elbette tokuz nesne gerek / Evveli şol kim ola muhkem yürek / Ürmeye hiç nesneden kaypınmaya*”, Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 430.

*So the enemies would know that he is strong.*⁴⁰¹

An *alp* must be so assiduous and benevolent that he can easily lay down his life. These characteristics take their sources from each other and maintain themselves when the two are together.

He must also be assiduous

*So that he can sacrifice his life.*⁴⁰²

The fourth necessity an *alp* must have, if he has the first three features, is a fine horse of good blood. It is an essential requirement since the service of being an *alp* can only be performed with a horse. An *alp* can also obtain glory and reputation by his horse:

He needs a horse worthy of him

A proper horse brings an alp into prominence

*So that he can attack all four sides.*⁴⁰³

The fifth necessity is a suit of armour. It should cover the midsection of the horse so that the armour can protect it from possible impact, and grant the horse a stately appearance. The *alp* also must have armour, the second factor in becoming a renowned warrior. In another part of his work, Ashiq Pasha implies that these two sets of armour must be made of iron, and that only iron armour could avail the *alps*.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰¹ “*Bâzusında kuvveti olmaz-ısa / Alp olamaz tende gücü az-ısa / Alp erende kuvvet olmak yaraşur / Zîra çok kuvvetlülerle uruşur / Çünkü kuvvet oldı cisminde tamâm / Bildi anuñ güçlüligin hâs u ‘âm’*”, Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 430.

⁴⁰² “*Pes bu kez gayret gerek ol kişide / Kim anunla kendü cânına kıya*”, Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 431.

⁴⁰³ “*Ana lâyıq pes gerek bir at ana / Kim anunla çapına ol dört yana*”, Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 431.

⁴⁰⁴ Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 431.

In the sixth, seventh and eight places are bow and arrow, backsword and bayonet. These are the weapons that had been used from the earliest times of the Central Asian Turkic tribes.⁴⁰⁵

Importantly Ashiq Pasha dwells upon the backsword.

The seventh thing is a backsword

It is the gold and pearl of an alp

Oaths are taken upon it

*And the infidels escape from it.*⁴⁰⁶

At the very end of the above line he abruptly passes on to rendering about the *ghazis* and mentions them in two lines by linking them together with Islam and property:

Ghazis spread Islam with their swords

*Infidels scampered away from these swords.*⁴⁰⁷

And then, he again turns to use the word “*alp*”, and for the first time in the ninth chapter, refers to material gain:

The primary thing the alps need is a sword

*They are given goods in return for their swords.*⁴⁰⁸

Then he proceeds to touch upon the significance of the dagger and states that an *alp* must have a dagger besides other weapons. He calls the last necessity a close comrade, a good and

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 431-432.

⁴⁰⁶ “Pes kılıçdur âletün yidinçisi / Oldur alpın altını vü inçüsi / Kılıç üzre and anun çun içilür / Kim bu kâfir kanu anda saçılır”, Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, pp. 431-432.

⁴⁰⁷ “Gâziler dîni kılıçla açdılar / Kâfir oldur kim kılıçdan kaçdılar.” Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 432.

⁴⁰⁸ “Pes kılıçdur evvel âlet alplara / Kılıç için mal virürler alplara” Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 432.

brave friend who would be an accompanier to *alp*, fighting together with him neck and neck, and always an aid.⁴⁰⁹

At this point, Ashiq Pasha once again makes a religious reference and states that the prophet Muhammed (Mustafa) also had close comrades. They all devoted their lives to the path of God, and the prophet spread the true religion with their help. By using the phrase “*feth-i mübîn*” (an obvious triumph) he directly refers to a verse from the Triumph *Sura* in the Quran.⁴¹⁰

*Hence Mustafa was not alone,
God had given him an obvious triumph,
Thanks to him Islam was spread,
His comrades were always with him.*⁴¹¹

Ashiq Pasha uses the words *alp*, *alp er*, and *alp eren* interchangeably with each other, seemingly without distinction. However, the author of a thesis on *Garîbnâme*, Aslı Şeker reasons this point in reference to the appropriate age of a warrior.⁴¹² She concludes, in reference to a line – in another chapter of Ashiq Pasha’s work - which says a man could only be strong and healthy until he reaches his forties: “Valour persists until one’s forties.”⁴¹³

Based on this, Şeker argues that the author, by writing this line, was advising older *alps* to apply themselves to religion and carry on to live as sermonizing wise men. However, it does

⁴⁰⁹ Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 432.

⁴¹⁰ The complete verse is: “Truly We have opened up a path to clear triumph for you [Prophet], so that God may forgive you your past and future sins, complete His grace upon you, guide you to a straight path, and help you mightily”, *The Qur’an*, trans. M. A. S. Abdel Haleem, 2005. *Oxford’s World’s Classics*, New York: Oxford University Press.

⁴¹¹ “*Nitekim yalnız degüldi Mustafâ / Hak ana virmiş-idi feth-î mübîn / Anun elinde açıldı uş bu dîn / Şol yaranlar kim anunla var-ıdı*”, Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 432.

⁴¹² Şeker, F. A., 2006. *Aşık Paşa’nın Garib-Nâmesi’nde Devrin Toplum Hayatı*, Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Danışman: Prof. Dr. Mehmet Çelik, Manisa, p. 52.

⁴¹³ “*Hem bahadırlık dahi kırka değın*”, Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 119.

not seem possible to infer such a conclusion as Şeker does from this line, and there is no evidence of Ashiq Pasha's using the words *alp*, *alp er* and *alp eren* related to such advice.

Another remarkable point is the author's use of the word "*ghazi*," using it directly related to Islam and property. It may carry several meanings. One is that *alp* and *ghazi* were different titles belonging to different military classes, but their function and deeds were technically the same: fighting the enemy. However, in the manner that Ashiq Pasha associated the *ghazis* with Islam and its spread, *ghazis* had much more an Islamic character than the *alps*. It may also indicate that the *alps* were outnumbered by the *ghazis*, and/or the title *alp* was the most widely-known one, not *ghazi*, and that the Ottoman state had not yet taken on such an Islamic flavour. If so, it would explain Ashiq Pasha's emphasis on *alp* as the ideal warrior hero, since this image which belonged to the pre-Islamic culture, was still stronger than the Islamic title *ghazi*.

The other explanation is that the warriors described as *alps* may actually be the ones we know as *ghazis*. In other words, *ghazis* were originally *alps* in the beginning, and there were no certain differences between the two in the first half of the fourteenth century, when Ashiq Pasha was writing *Garîbnâme*. But still, the title "*alp*" was a widely-known and respected one, and *ghazi* was not (yet).

Or, perhaps being an *alp* was the essence of being a *ghazi* since the meaning of *alp* was basically being a brave, fearless and strong warrior. Even at this stage, it can be considered that the image of an *alp* was stronger than that of a *ghazi*, and that the Islamic character of the state was not yet so prominent. There is another line in *Garîbnâme* which can be seen as evidence for this conclusion:

When the muscles get strong, alp shows himself up

*And then ghazis start to behave as alps.*⁴¹⁴

⁴¹⁴ "*Bâzular kuvvet dutar alplik gelür / Ol eserden gâziler alplik kılır*", Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 235.

Here, it seems that being an *alp* means being physically strong, and if there was anyone known as a *ghazi*, he was also an *alp*. Apart from that, *ghazis* are mentioned several times more in the work, but not as much as *alps*. And whenever *ghazis* are mentioned, it is in relation to Islam, God's blessing and the spreading of religion:

*The bad habit for a ghazi is the fear of the enemies of the religion,
God does not approve this bad habit, namely the fear when the enemy attacks,
A ghazi grieves for his religion, and God vows upon the dust of his horse.*⁴¹⁵

The necessities a 'worldly' *alp* must have as stated by Ashiq Pasha are made up of several personality traits and weapons an *alp* must possess. However, the ethereal, or religious *alp* is assumed already a Muslim, and also almost a Sufi. Continuing from the ninth section of the ninth chapter, Ashiq Pasha describes this *alp* with the nine necessities he must possess. These are some principals of Sufism, the Islamic mysticism: being a dervish (*velâyet*); abstemiousness (*riyâzet*); competence (*kifâyet*); love (*aşk*); fatalism (*tevekkül*); knowing the Sharia (*şeriat*) well; knowledge of Islam (*ilim*); benevolence (*himmet*), and; an appropriate comrade.

Ashiq Pasha clearly distinguishes the religious *alp* from the worldly *alp*, and states that the former's primary goal is to mortify one's *nafs*, that is, the flesh. His main purpose is to train himself according to Islam, and also to teach and spread religion through his own knowledge. The author does not associate this type with fighting or waging war. He should hold "the sword of Islamic knowledge" (*ilm*) and use it against the infidels, so that he can reign over lands.⁴¹⁶ One can only be one of the two: the worldly or the religious *alp*, not both. However, this religious man is also an *alp* since he is waging a war with the enemy. Unlike the worldly

⁴¹⁵ "Gâzinüñ nefsinde şoldur hôr husı / Kim ola dîn düşmanından korkusı, Tañrı sevmez gâzilerde hôr huyı / Ya 'ni kim yağı güninde korkuyı, Gâzi oldur dîn-içün gussa çeker / Anuñ atı tozına hak and içer", Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 465.

⁴¹⁶ "Her kim aldı bu 'ilim kalcın ele / Sürdi kendü hükmini ilden ile", Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 435.

alp, his main purpose must be to spread religion, not with an actual sword, but with the sword of *ilm*.⁴¹⁷

“*Alp*” is a word belonging to the Old Turkic culture which continued in use after the adoption of Islam. Many literary historians have written on the type of *alp* portrayed in old Turkic epics, legends and myths. There are many examples between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries of the Muslim sovereigns who carried the title ‘*alp*’ before their names: Abbasid Governor of Damascus Alp Tegin, the founder of the Ghaznavid State Alp Tegin, Seljukid Sultan Alp Arslan. According to some early Ottoman sources, Osman’s grandfather’s name was also Gündüz Alp. Köprülü states that *alp* had become an official title in the Great Seljukid Empire and that grand emirs were called with *alp*.⁴¹⁸ Additionally, to Köprülü, the title *alp eren* indicates the *mujahid* dervishes, who, after Sufism spread widely amongst Anatolian Turks, gained a respected place, living in the border lands of the Ottoman State and contributed to its foundation to a great extent. Köprülü’s main argument is based on the following conclusion: after Turcoman tribes embraced Islam, they encountered the Islamic appellation “*ghazi*,” and adopted it. Firstly, they used the two terms together as “*alp ghazi*” to mean warriors, although several centuries later, the main title became only “*ghazi*”. However, he does not answer the question of why the Muslim Seljukids did not use the title “*ghazi*” as much as the Ottomans did. The fact that even the Seljukids, who perceived the wars waged against the Crusaders as “holy wars,” did not use the titles *ghazi* or *mujahid* as much as they did *alp*, which leads us to the conclusion that the title *ghazi* was invented some centuries after the Ottoman state was founded.

Besides, Köprülü points out that the fourteenth-century Anatolian Turks perceived the period starting from their ancestors’ migration from Central Asia to the settlement in Anatolian lands as an era of *alps*:

⁴¹⁷ Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, pp. 435 – 436.

⁴¹⁸ Köprülü, 1989, p. 379.

*After leaving the banks of the Syr Darya and experiencing a long career of migration filled with adventures and crowned with continuous victories and booty, the Turkmen, who, fighting for their national-religious ideals, settled in Anatolia, saw this as a period of alps (heroes), i.e. as a heroic era. The old national and warlike traditions, which even exerted an influence on the official ceremonies and institutions of the {Seljuk} state, developed further among the Anatolian Turks as a natural consequence of unremitting conflict with the Byzantines, Armenians, Georgians, and other Christian peoples. The march tribes in particular, who lived along the frontiers, maintained their customs and pastoral existence and, in their traditions, the harsh and heroic spirit of the early migratory Turkish hordes.*⁴¹⁹

In relation to this idea, whether it was the ordinary Turcoman people who perceived the period as an era of the *alps*, or whether it was just the carriers of oral tradition who did, is a question still waiting to be answered. On the other hand, while the literary elite who had received a *madrasa* education in the urban centers of Anatolia were composing works heavily affected by Persian literature and culture, “the aesthetic needs” of the masses, “the nomadic Turkmen tribes and the march tribes who guarded the frontiers, and a large part of the urban population” who “remained almost total strangers” to these works, were inspired by the *ozans* (minstrels) who appealed to them in a language they understood, and most importantly, with images they were familiar with and fond of: heroic poems and narratives which had a “heroic nature.”⁴²⁰

The very first examples of this literature were works such as *Kitâb-ı Dede Korkut* (*The Book of Dede Korkut*), *Battalnâme*, *Saltuknâme* compiled in the tenth and eleventh centuries which had much stronger Old Turkic characteristics than *Garîbnâme*. Then, after the Sufi movement had spread and became widely known amongst the masses, almost all the *ozans* “attached themselves to a *pir* and attempted to give a Sufi flavor to their work.”⁴²¹ They then abandoned

⁴¹⁹ Köprülü, M. F., 2006. *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, Gary Leiser (Ed.) and Robert Dankoff (trans.), USA: Routledge, p. 210.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴²¹ *Ibid.* p. 367.

the name title *ozan*, which evoked pre-Islamic elements, and adopted the title “*ashiq*” instead which means Sufi poet.

Ashiq Pasha was both a member of this literary tradition and also influenced by Persian Sufi poetry. Köprülü identified his work *Garîbnâme* as “after Gûlshehri, the most significant work to appear under the influence of Persian Sufi literature and of Mawlana and Sultan Walad.”⁴²² Ashiq Pasha had much information on the *alps* and wrote his work in “an atmosphere permeated with heroism.”⁴²³

In the ninth section of the ninth chapter of his work which was entirely committed to describing the ideal warrior as ‘*alp*,’ Ashiq Pasha used mostly elements, images and motifs of pre-Islamic and Central Asian Turkic culture. The interlacing of his narrative with verses from the Quran exemplifying the Prophet Muhammed and his companions, indicates that he tried to reproduce a pre-Islamic ideal of the acceptable warrior with a new Islamic countenance. Instead of creating a totally new ideal hero, Ashiq Pasha preferred to transform the old and familiar ideal warrior into a more Islamic hero. His rehabilitation is understandable in view of the circumstances surrounding the beginnings of a new political and cultural era. In accordance with his work’s literary genre, it is possible to say that his main goal was to present a role model for ordinary people by transforming the older *topos* of the ideal warrior into a most needed and acceptable one.

4.3.1.1. *Alp* and the ideal of world domination of the Turks

One of the tasks of the history of literature is to determine and categorize the types as well as the motifs, themes, and social relations in old epics. Turkish scholars, who specialize in Old Turkic oral traditions and literature in Central Asia and Anatolia have produced a great number of works which categorize *alp* as a type of early oral and written Turkic literary

⁴²² *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

tradition.⁴²⁴ They generally agree that the *alp* type is a highly idealized category, created as a role model for Turkic societies.⁴²⁵ Yardımcı determines that the *alp* type is offered as an “example” in the epics.⁴²⁶ Kaplan clarifies the relation between these role models and societies’ circumstances and needs:

*Any certain type’s survival in human life and in literature depends highly on a society which idealizes this type. A type is an expression of a kind of longing of a society. This longing is closely connected with the historical period the society is in, the social circumstances and the form of civilization. When these situations and circumstances change, the real and the idealized types that satisfy the needs also change.*⁴²⁷

However, this already romanticized type of *alp* has been re-idealized again and again by the same literary historians.⁴²⁸ For example, soon after propounding the idealization of the *alps*,

⁴²⁴ For the ‘*alp*’ type of epic created in Central Asia see: Bars, M. E., 2014. *Alp Tipi Kavramı Çerçevesinde Manas. Tarih Okulu Dergisi (TOD)*, 7 (XVII), pp. 345-357. Uçak, S., 2013. Şan Kızı Destanı’nda Alplerin yaratılışı ve alp tipi üzerine bir değerlendirme. *Bilim ve Kültür - Uluslararası Kültür Araştırmaları Dergisi, Science and Culture - Journal of International Cultural Studies*, 4, pp. 133-143. Duymaz, A., 1996. Kıpçak sahası Türk destanlarında bir Oğuz alpı: Salur Kazan, *Milli Folklor Dergisi*, 8 (31/32), pp. 49 – 60. On the other hand, unlike the works written or compiled after the fourteenth century in Anatolia, Old Turkic epics gave a large role to women as heroines, such as Burla Hatun or Selcen Hatun in *The Book of Dede Korkud*, and as wives, daughters or rulers. For the female *alp* type see: Akyüz, Ç., 2010. Manas Destanı’nda alp kadın tipi. *Mukaddime*, 1, pp. 169 – 180. And also the pages 97 – 98 of the article: Turgunbayer, C., 2007. Türk dünyası destanlarında ortak motifler üzerine, *Türk Dünyası Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi*, 24, pp. 93 – 102. Kaplan M., 1995. Dede Korkut Kitabında Kadın, *Türk Edebiyatı Üzerine Araştırmalar 1*, Dergah Yayınları, İstanbul, pp. 51-55. Besides, there are several works on Turkic epics and oral traditions written by Western historians who have adopted a comparative approach such as: Bates Lord, A., 1991. *Epic singers and oral tradition*. New York: Cornell university press. Reich, K. 2000. *Singing the Past, Turkic and Medieval Heroic Poetry*, Gregory Nagy (Ed.), New York: Cornell University Press. Reich, K. 1992. *Turkic oral epic poetry, traditions, forms, poetic structure*. New York: Garland Publishing.

⁴²⁵ It is not just the literary tradition, but also its reflection in art that spread out to Anatolia to Savaş Maraşlı: Türk alp geleneğinin Ortaçağ Anadolu tasvir sanatına yansımaları, The reflection of the Turkic *alp* tradition on Turkic Medieval Anatolian illustrative arts. *Siberian Studies (SAD)* 1 (3), pp. 17-42. Maraşlı argues that the heroic image of mounted troops was chosen for sustaining psychological pressure. This image had been transformed into a rich variety of artistic items made of various materials which appeal to the visual world of the Anatolian people in the Middle Ages.

⁴²⁶ Yardımcı, M., 2007. *Destanlar*. Ankara: Ürün Yayınları, p. 50.

⁴²⁷ Kaplan, *ibid.*, p. 58.

⁴²⁸ Even in the latest thesis on Ashiq Pasha’s *Gâribnâme*, the same re-idealizations of *alps* as real representatives of Turkic people take place. Aslı Şeker’s thesis (2006) mentioned above is full of such

Yardımcı argues that “with their personal characteristics and behaviors, *alps* who are the celebrated ones are chasing after a great ideal.”⁴²⁹ Furthermore, he defines the *alps* as the men who commune with “the virtues we call strong masculine senses” and also they represent “the core power of the people.”⁴³⁰

These re-idealizations are closely connected with the hypothetical “ideal of world domination of the Turks,” explained in Osman Turan’s 1955 article of the same name.⁴³¹ Based on various sources such as *Oghuzname*, *The Orkhun Monuments*, and the writings of several Byzantine chroniclers, Turan claims the existence of an ideal of world domination specific to the Turks, that fundamentally “springs from the requirements of their shamanist creed, and from the belief that God has created them as a chosen people.”⁴³² To him this ideal had begun “in a legendary form” and became prominent under the Gok-Turks.

After the Turks adopted Islam they maintained this ideal, and the Seljukids reinforced it via a “holy tradition” (*hadis-i kudsi*) by indicating a polemical *hadith* from Mahmud of Kashgar which says “I have an army in the East which I call Turk, I set them on any people that kindle my wrath.”⁴³³ Turan argues that this tradition is “nothing but an Islamized form of the pre-Islamic belief of the Turks that they were a chosen people of God, and that the domination of the world was bestowed on them by Him.”⁴³⁴ Despite his suspicion of the authenticity of this tradition, he accepts it as a historical truth and sees as important the “psychology reflected by it and its results.”⁴³⁵

re-idealizations. Another example is Cafer Can’s 2006 thesis. On the one hand, he defines Ashiq Pasha as an ideologue, but on the other, claims that the type of *alp* is the man who “makes real the historical mission of Turkic people which is World domination” (p. 15); Can, C., 2007. *Garibnâme’de İnsan ve İnsan Tipleri*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı, Danışman: Prof. Dr. Kemal Aşık Paşa.

⁴²⁹ Yardımcı, *ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴³⁰ Yardımcı, *ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴³¹ Turan, O., 1955. The ideal of world domination among the Medieval Turks. *Studia Islamica*, pp. 77 – 90.

⁴³² Turan, *ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴³³ Turan, *ibid.*, p. 83.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

The most problematic point is Turan's approach to medieval sources.⁴³⁶ He regards them as true reflections of the ideas, beliefs and desires of fourteenth-century Anatolian Turks, free from idealizations, ideological and traditional motifs or patterns: "In fact, the existing sources contain an adequate amount of records indicating that throughout the Middle Ages the Turks sincerely believed not only in an ideal of world domination, but also in their being a chosen people of God."⁴³⁷

Ömer Lütfi Barkan, in his 1943 article on the foundation of the Ottoman state, reveals the necessity of analyzing the idealized "ghazi hero" and having a more realistic and rational approach to studying the early Ottomans. He emphasizes that even if the early Ottomans had possessed an idealism for spreading Islam one must not forget that there is no point in researching this idealism if one is filled with an absolute belief in a foundation process full of heroes and glory. On the other hand, he suggests that "one does not kill the heroes", if any of them exist, instead s/he makes them "shape in flesh and bones."⁴³⁸

Attention is given to the topic of the idealization of a hypothetical ideal here in the thesis because of its relation with the *alp* type, and also with the idea of holy war in medieval

⁴³⁶ In a recent thesis by Lâle Özdemir, Ashîq Pashazade's work was analyzed as a medieval source for national history building. In the chapter named "Portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade by modern Turkish scholarship," Özdemir argues that "the portrayal of Aşıkpaşazade carried nationalistic overtones in the first half of the twentieth century with regard to the utilization of some of the themes present in Aşıkpaşazade that have been used by Turkish scholars to argue for a particular ideological stance" (p. 89). She also analyzes the works of Köprülü, Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, Nihal Atsız, and Halil İnalcık with this approach. Özdemir, Lâle. 2011. A study of the *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* by the fifteenth-century writer Aşıkpaşazade, London: Department of the Languages and Cultures of Near and Middle East School of Oriental and African Studies.

⁴³⁷ Turan, *ibid.*, pp. 77 – 78. Turan also claims that Turks believed their superiority against all other "races" but despite this belief "the ideal of world domination ran parallel with an ideal of humanity", they ruled the conquered lands with justice, and that was why their rule lasted so long. Turan, *ibid.*, p. 90). Besides, the nationalistic view also affected folklore studies. For these effects and the relationships, see: Başıoğlu, İ., 1972. Folklore Studies and Nationalism in Turkey. *Indiana University Press, Journal of the Folklore Institute*, 9 (2/3), pp. 162-176. Öztürkmen, A., 2006. Türkiye'de Folklor ve Milliyetçilik. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

⁴³⁸ Barkan, Ö. L., 1943. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun teşekkülü meselesi. *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 1 (2), pp. 343 – 356, pp. 347 – 348. This article is also available in internet: <http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/42/352/3659.pdf>

Anatolia. Several historians' views on the medieval Ottoman idea of holy war are similar, but neither dwells on the relationship of patronage between the authors and the rulers. Besides, despite taking into consideration the idealizations in these sources, both overlook their ideological terms, opinions and goals. Moreover, this common approach does not touch upon the Middle Eastern roots of *ghaza* literature, and its formation by Middle Eastern authors who were also in the service of Muslim sovereigns. The approach of Mehmet Kaplan, which continues to inspire many theses on history of literature, seems to be an absolute acceptance of what was written by the authors:

*After adopting Islam, the Turks reached syntheses which produced beautiful works in every cultural area. The most important one is the type of alp glorified in Old Turkic epics that became the type of ghazi. Just like the type of alp, the type of ghazi is also a hero who aimed to conquer the whole world. Islam redounds his war a supreme meaning and a rich content.*⁴³⁹

Among the innumerable works on the topic, dissenting voices or different interpretations in Turkish literary history are rare.⁴⁴⁰ On the other hand, Tekin summarizes the traditional approach and questions this ideal of world domination by implying the direction of Turkic migrations in a humorous manner:

Since the Turks were a warlike nation, the ghaza ideology was a world view in accordance with their temperament, thus they embraced Islam and under the Seljukid rule migrated towards the western lands. (...) We are overlooking an important question under the thumb of romanticism: Why did they not head for India which was under their noses and also within the boundaries of abode of war (dâr-ül harb),

⁴³⁹ Kaplan, 1996, p. 112.

⁴⁴⁰ For example, in an article which claims a new approach to the concept of *alp* and Turkic epics, Aça refuses several new theories such as the old Turkic people's Shamanic religion may have been a polytheistic one, insisting on a religion of one God. Also, he proposes to return back to Köprülü's works for all the new works that will be done. Aça, M. 2000. Türk destancılık geleneğine bütüncül yaklaşabilme ve alp kavramı üzerine bazı yeni yaklaşım denemeleri, Approaching completely to Turkish epic tradition and some new approaching tests on "alp" concept. *Milli Folklor Dergisi*, 6 (48), pp. 5 – 18.

*besides its climate and living conditions were more appropriate to their nomadic nature? Why did they pound at the doors of Byzantium, sweeping their herds before them by going beyond thousands of leagues?*⁴⁴¹

It appears that the overall tendency of this approach lies towards rendering the relations between Old Turkic traditions, warlike characteristics, the types of *alp* and *ghazi*, the ideal of world domination and the *ghaza* thesis mainly based on Köprülü's opinions, conclusions and interpretations in his works like *The Origins of the Ottoman Empire*, and *The Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*. However, it would appear that Köprülü's academic touch upon these topics cannot be maintained, as both his as well as Tekin's suspicions and questions are left unanswered by the followers of this *ecole*.

4.3.2. Gamez's Ideal Knight

Guiterre Diaz de Gamez, the author of the *The Unconquered Knight* dating to the fifteenth century, portrays an ideal knight before he begins to narrate his master's life and deeds. He arrays "four cardinal virtues"⁴⁴² that all men should have knowledge of. He believed that not just knights, but everyone should be ruled by these virtues: prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude. If a man's heart is governed by these virtues it means he is a noble man and fit for being a knight. Additionally, Gamez emphasizes religiousness in an ideal warrior: "He must have great faith in God, hope of his Glory, that he may attain the guerdon [reward] for the good that he has done, and finally he must have charity and the love of his neighbour."⁴⁴³

Gamez establishes the relationship between nobility and being a knight by using the four virtues mentioned above. Being a noble through bloodline is not considered relevant, although when describing his master Don Pero Nino as an ideal knight, he highlights Nino's blue-blooded origins. Perhaps the reason for this duality is to show that the way to become a knight

⁴⁴¹ Tekin, 1993 – I, p. 16, in the 30th footnote.

⁴⁴² Gamez, G. D., 2000. *The Unconquered Knight, A Chronicle of the Deeds of Don Pero Nino*, Joan Evans (trans.), Cambridge: In Parentheses Publications, p. 1.

⁴⁴³ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 5.

is open also to those of lesser blood, as long as they have all the necessary virtues. Thus, it can be said that, Gamez's ideal warrior is one who has these four virtues, and is a good Christian. But as mentioned above, both Ashiq Pasha and Gamez, by propounding these necessities, are only preluding before presenting the main essence of being an ideal warrior.

Gamez categorizes knighthood in three different orders which evokes the distinction made by Ashiq Pasha (the worldly *alps* and the ethereal *alps*). However, all categories are related to God and religion. "Our Lord God has three orders of knighthood" he says; the first one is a group of angels who are fighting with Lucifer who rebelled against God. Their leader is "St. Michael, chief Archangel and defender of the Church of God."⁴⁴⁴ The second group consists of the martyrs "who have died for the Holy Catholic Faith." Jesus promised that they would eat from the Tree of Life in Heaven. And the last group is "the good knights of the earth, just, upright and God-fearing."⁴⁴⁵ They vowed to defend and protect the Church, and the Holy Catholic Faith and the honour of their King and of the realm. Lucifer and the other evil angels had lost their chance to settle in Heaven while these holy warriors – despite being humans - deserved them by sacrificing their lives.⁴⁴⁶

Like Ashiq Pasha, Gamez also defines courage as necessary for being an ideal hoy warrior. However, due to cultural and historical differences, his narrative involves nobles and nobility. According to him, the class of nobility was formed in society since they were the people who lived their lives in compliance with the four cardinal virtues mentioned above. And so the time came for choosing men to provide security for their estates and for fighting. It was "the way of the Gentiles for forming their estate."⁴⁴⁷ Firstly, they chose the physically strongest men "who practice the mechanic arts, such as stone-cutters, carpenters and smiths"⁴⁴⁸ but because of fear in their hearts they did not succeed - they were not brave enough. The nobles decided to find bolder men to fight and deemed the butchers suitable for fighting "who were

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁶ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴⁴⁷ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

cruel and accustomed to shedding blood without pity, men who slaughtered great bulls and strong beasts.”⁴⁴⁹ Unfortunately, they did not succeed either. Then the patriarchs came into play and decided to choose men who had no profession but had no fear of anything or anyone and also could fight well. They were sent into battle and won. So the nobles and the patriarchs banded these brave men together, expressed their gratitude, and named them as “*omes bien*” (good men). Thus, a warrior class was formed.

In this way, as portrayed in Gamez’s work, several customs and rituals were created. After warriors lost their lives in battles, a period of mourning was observed, their wives and children were honored and all privileges belonged to the martyrs were also granted to their children. These children were named as “*fijos de bien*”, good children of good men, and were trained to be warriors just like their fathers. But their numbers were not enough, so they decided to make a new arrangement. New men were chosen and put under the “*fijos de bien*”’s order. The title “centurion” was given to the brave men who ruled one hundred men. One military leader was chosen from every ten centurions and they were called “*miles*” and then “knight”. The nobles that bore the title “duke” began to lead these knights.⁴⁵⁰

At the very end of the narration above, Gamez adds that there was another way of choosing a knight. This was God’s way revealed in the Old Testament. According to this, Gideon was one of the adjudicators of the Israelites and he recruited men for waging a war. But he knew that there were cowards amongst them and so he asked God the question “Which ones should I take with me and which ones should I leave behind?”⁴⁵¹ God answered:

On that day when thou goest into battle, it shall be very hot, for the sun shall strike a straight and thy men shall be athirst. When thou comest to the river, mark thou those who shall drink with their mouths in the water; do thou leave those, take them not with

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁰ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 2 – 3.

⁴⁵¹ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 3.

*thee, lead them not into the battle but give heed to those who drink out of their hands
and these take thou into battle boldly.*⁴⁵²

The men “who had no shame to drink as beasts”⁴⁵³ were the men whose lives were ruled by their appetites. But the other ones were the men who could rule their appetites. In the following pages of his work, Gamez refers to Plato’s words, and in a didactic manner writes that “We should not go according to our appetite, but against our appetite for it pertains to the nature of the soul.”⁴⁵⁴

Gamez’s emphasis on the appetite, his punctilious treatment of this subject, and the examples he describes, bring to mind Ashiq Pasha’s emphasis on “*nafs*” relevant to the *topos* of the ethereal *alp*. Ashiq Pasha remarks that an ethereal *alp*’s main occupation must be the struggle to mortify his flesh (*nafs*), and that he must work on this night and day, learning the Islamic manners until his wisdom and intelligence surpass his *nafs*.⁴⁵⁵

In continuation of his narrative, Gamez begins to touch once more upon the nobility, and associates being an ideal knight to being virtuous. “What is required of a good knight?”⁴⁵⁶ he asks and then answers his own question with “he should be noble. What means noble and nobility? That the heart should be governed by the virtues. By what virtues? By the four that I have already named.”⁴⁵⁷ He sums the ideal warrior up in this portraiture:

*So the virtuous Knight should be wary and prudent, just in the doing of justice,
continent and temperate, enduring and courageous; and withal he must have great*

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 4.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁵ “*Dîn içinde şoldur alplık kim kişi / Nefsini basmak ola her dem işi / Dün ü gündüz çalışa nefsi-y-ile / Tâ ki nefsi düzige ‘aklı bile.’*” Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 433.

⁴⁵⁶ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

*faith in God, hope of his Glory, that he may attain the guerdon of the good that he has done, and finally he must have charity and the love of his neighbour.*⁴⁵⁸

After these virtues, an ideal knight must have a good horse as Ashiq Pasha also indicates. His horse must be as “strong, fiery, swift and faithful”⁴⁵⁹ as its lord. This is because knights are not chosen from “among feeble or timid or cowardly souls, but from among men who are strong and full of energy, bold and without fear.”⁴⁶⁰ For this reason “there is no other beast that so befits a Knight as a good horse.”⁴⁶¹ However, not all knights who ride upon horses are good. Since noble knighthood “is of all offices the most honorable, all men desire to be uplifted to this honor; they wear the mantle and bear the name but they do not observe the rule of life. They are not knights but phantoms and apostates.”⁴⁶² A real knight is the one who “makes it his calling,”⁴⁶³ namely who hearkens the call of war, of the king and does what is necessary.

It is noteworthy that Gamez enunciates that being a knight “is of all offices the most honorable,”⁴⁶⁴ and thus “all men desire”⁴⁶⁵ this official duty. However, he feels the need to warn the young men desirous of being a knight, and the picture he paints is of long, daily suffering which was probably close to reality:

Knights who are at the wars eat their bread in sorrow; their ease is weariness and sweat; they have one good day after many bad; they are vowed to all manner of labour; they are forever swallowing their fear; they expose themselves to every peril; they give up their bodies to the adventure of life in death. Mouldy bread or biscuit, meat cooked or uncooked; today enough to eat and tomorrow nothing, little or no wine, water from a pond or a butt, bad quarters, the shelter of a tent or branches, a

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

*bad bed, poor sleep with their armour still on their backs, burdened with iron, the enemy an arrow-shot off.*⁴⁶⁶

As it is seen in this portrayal, even if this picture is a realistic scene, Gamez places it in such a context that it conjures up a figure who shuttles between a good warrior and an ascetic saint. And it evokes once more Ashiq Pasha's ethereal *alp*, who is not quite such an ascetic but a close ideal to Gamez's.

In light of this discussion, it can be said that the idealizations created by Gamez and Ashiq Pasha have more points in common than differences. On the one hand, it can be seen that both authors emphasize being a brave man and having a good horse. These are the two main essentials an ideal warrior must have since technically being a warrior requires each one. On the other, in terms of highlighting the morals and manners originated from religions another common trait is apparent: Ashiq Pasha and Gamez create an ideal *topos* of the holy warrior as the man who can rule his appetites and mortify his *nafs*, and lead a life imbued with religious principles besides his fighting abilities. However, *Garîbnâme* and *The Unconquered Knight* also have very dissimilar themes and these differences will be examined in the next subheadings of this work.

4.4. THE PRIMARY ESSENTIALS OF AN IDEAL HOLY WARRIOR

The primary characteristics of an ideal holy warrior are: courage, physical strength, having a horse, having certain arms and armour, and a good comrade. But for both Ashiq Pasha and Gamez, even above these necessary attributes, there are other essentials one must possess in order to become an ideal warrior.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

In the following section, besides looking at the works of *Garibnâme* and *The Unconquered Knight*, the common idealizations of all sources used in this thesis will be identified under thematic subheadings and analyzed comparatively.

4.4.1. Courage

As we see in Ashiq Pasha's work, the first and most important attribute for an ideal warrior is to be brave and courageous. An alp must not avoid conflict:

He needs nine things

The first thing is a courageous heart

*So that he does not fear and escape from anything.*⁴⁶⁷

Ahmedî emphasizes Orhan's courage by comparing him to the heroes portrayed in Persian culture and mythology:

Orhan was such a brave leader

*that they used to call him Nerimân-ı Zamân.*⁴⁶⁸

Silay explains that "Nerimân of the Time," is an allusion to the Iranian epic *Şahnâme* by Firdevsi. His name often appears in Ottoman poetry as a symbol of physical power and extraordinary heroism.⁴⁶⁹

Also Ahmedî in his chapter "Orhan's Sending of Süleyman Paşa to İsreyaka in Order to Wage a Holy Raid and Holy War,"⁴⁷⁰ praises Süleyman as a courageous man in whom "the qualities

⁴⁶⁷ "Ana elbette tokuz nesne gerek / Evveli şol kim ola muhkem yürek / Ürmeye hiç nesneden kaypınmaya", Aşık Paşa, V.2, *ibid.*, p. 430.

⁴⁶⁸ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 7, 86th couplet.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

of leadership were perfected.”⁴⁷¹ In Ahmedî’s imagination, Süleyman was a warrior who embodied all the necessities an ideal warrior must possess:

He was a person of courage and generosity.

He was a person of both administrative and ruling (abilities).

*He was endowed with such excellent qualities
that he was renown for his grace.*

*He always strived to do his utmost,
to wage holy war on behalf of the religion until he died.*⁴⁷²

Süleyman is depicted as being totally conscious of the holiness of wars and such a brave and devoted leader that he could easily give up his life for God. “He knew what a virtue the holy raid was. He sacrificed his life for the sake of the True One.”⁴⁷³

Likewise, Gamez’s narration of the birth of knighthood is closely connected with courage. He prefers an indirect wording to emphasize the importance of being brave. Accordingly, the nobles decided to choose men for fighting. They picked strong men who had no profession but could fight exceptionally well, since “they were not afraid of death.”⁴⁷⁴ These men were chosen for the next battle and they were victorious.

In the course of Gamez’s narration, we encounter a teacher figure created by the author for clarifying the moral values of knighthood in detail. The teacher trained Pero Nino in ethical virtues for being a knight, and Gamez conveys information from his mouth to the listeners and readers. The teacher’s foremost advice is on being brave: “My son, fear not death for its

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 8, 95 – 97th couplets.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 8, 99th couplet.

⁴⁷⁴ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 2.

own sake; death is so certain that no men may avoid it Only he who has done much evil and little good should fear death. Death is good for the good man, for he goes to receive the reward of his goodness.”⁴⁷⁵

During his military adventures, Pero Nino frequently gives speeches to his warriors about courage. For instance, when pursuing the corsairs along the coasts of Marseille, he tells his men that they proceed in the eyes of all Christians so they should honor Castile and fight bravely.⁴⁷⁶

As for Froissart, he describes Edward III in his first battles as a skillful, courageous and noble warrior. Skorge describes the author’s portraiture of the prince “as being able to stand their ground in man-to-man combat.”⁴⁷⁷ His son “the brave and noble” Edward the Black Prince was also renowned for his bold military attempts that gained him much land.⁴⁷⁸ He proved that he had a fearless heart when he saved his father’s life “with his very perfect prowess” in the battlefield while he as only fifteen years of age.⁴⁷⁹ A final example is the bravery of the King of France. According to Froissart, the King never feared anything he saw or heard on the field at Poitiers from beginning to end, and fought stoutly like a brave knight. He did not retreat while his men were fighting on foot. When he saw them dismounted, he did the same and stood in front of them with a battle-axe in his hands, ordering forward his banners in the name of God and St. Denis.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25 – 26.

⁴⁷⁷ Skorge, *ibid.*, p. 38.

⁴⁷⁸ Chandos Herald, *ibid.*, p. 138.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁰ Skorge, *ibid.*, p. 38 – 39.

4.4.2. Physical Strength

Ashiq Pasha's second necessary attribute is to have strong muscles, namely, physical strength, for the *alp* would fight enemies just as strong as himself.⁴⁸¹ But it must be a visible power so that the enemies would be afraid at first sight:

*If one's muscles aren't strong
He is not suitable for being an alp if he is weak
It suits an alp eren to be powerful
Since he would fight the ones who are powerful
If his body is brawny enough
So the enemies would know that he is strong.*⁴⁸²

When Ahmedî is portraying Murad I, he also eulogizes the Sultan's powerfulness, and relates it to his heroic manners:

*There was in him strength, power and might.
He was in the prime of his life and his valor.
He was greatly renowned for his heroism.
And (all) his zeal was expended on the holy raid.*⁴⁸³

⁴⁸¹ Ashiq Pasha's emphasis on physical power brings to mind the Old Turkic epics' heroes whose bodies are depicted after the style of several animals for highlighting their strength. For example, in Oghuz Kaan Epic, the hero Oghuz Kaan's body is depicted as strong as a bear, an ox, wolf, and a sable. On this topic, see: Duymaz, A., 2007. Oğuz Kağan Destanı'ndan Dede Korkut Kitabı'na kahramanların beden tasvirlerinin sembolik anlamları üzerine değerlendirmeler, *Millî Folklor*, 2007, **19** (76).

⁴⁸² "Bâzusında kuvveti olmaz-ısa / Alp olamaz tende gücü az-ısa / Alp erende kuvvet olmak yaraşur / Zîra çok kuvvetlülerle urışur / Çünkü kuvvet oldı cisminde tamâm / Bildi anuñ güçlüligin hâs u 'âm", Aşık Paşa, *ibid*, p. 430.

⁴⁸³ Sılay 2004, p. 12, 152-153th couplets.

Gamez pictures his master Pero Nino's body in more detail. Nino was "of a heavy build, and well-formed."⁴⁸⁴ He was neither very tall nor yet short. He had wide shoulders, a deep chest, "hips high on his body, thighs thick and strong, arms long and well made, thick buttocks, a hard fist."⁴⁸⁵

The Black Prince was valiant and bold. Chandos Herald makes one of King Pedro's knights, a noble lord Fernandez de Castro speak for the Prince's "strong body". Castro tells that the Prince was "so strong in men-of-arms that I ween there is no man living, save God that would do him wrong; and, if you find him well minded to succour you, be certain that you will have Spain again in your hands before this year is over."⁴⁸⁶

Froissart generally defines a good knight as the warrior who has a large body. For instance, the knight Robert Sale "was of his body one of the biggest knights in all England."⁴⁸⁷ In his chapter on the expedition to Turkey he praises the earl of Nevers's and his accompanying valiant knights' physical strength.⁴⁸⁸

4.4.3. Having a Horse

The fourth necessity an *alp* must have is a good horse. It is an essential requirement since the service of being an *alp* can only be performed with a horse. An *alp* can also obtain glory and reputation by his horse:

He needs a horse worthy of him

A proper horse brings an alp into prominence

⁴⁸⁴ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴⁸⁵ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴⁸⁶ Chandos Herald, *ibid.*, p. 151.

⁴⁸⁷ Froissart, 1904. *The Chronicles of Froissart*. Macaulay, G. C. (Ed. and reduced into one volume), John Bouchier & Lord Berners (Trans.), New York: The Macmillan Company, p. 257.

⁴⁸⁸ Froissart, *ibid.*, pp. 435 – 436.

*So that he can attack all four sides.*⁴⁸⁹

As a distinct motif, horses exist in the Old Turkic epics like Er Sogotoh, Manas and Oghuz Kaan. They are fellow travelers, inseparable comrades of the warrior heroes.⁴⁹⁰ In some epics, even the horses are portrayed as *alps*.⁴⁹¹ In Ashiq Pashazade's history, a Shamanic element of the horses is encountered. Osman Ghazi's brother Gündüz Alp's son Aydoghdu was killed in a battle, and his body was buried in Koyunhisarı. His grave was hedged with stones and people brought their sick horses there to lead them around it, and so they were healed.⁴⁹²

Importantly, during the Middle Ages, it was horses which gave the military advantage of the Ottoman armies over the Western forces. Cavalrymen were members of the ruling class' and riding was perceived as a privilege, as ordinary subjects generally were not allowed to ride horses.⁴⁹³ In Europe, with the rise of the social standing of the knights, the practice of fighting on horseback also grew, enhancing the status and prestige of those who were warriors.⁴⁹⁴ The word '*chevalier*' is derived from "*cheval*", meaning horse in French.⁴⁹⁵ Due to the general lack of technology in the Middle Ages, the knights and *chevaliers* gained an advantage over infantries through their horses.⁴⁹⁶

In Ashiq Pashazade's work, horses are mentioned in almost every section. They are not the extraordinary and fantastical creatures of the old epics, but are still prominent figures of the

⁴⁸⁹ "*Ana lâyük pes gerek bir at ana / Kim anunla çapına ol dört yana*", Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 431.

⁴⁹⁰ Yardımcı, *ibid.*, p. 55. Turgunbayer, C., 2007. Türk dünyası destanlarında ortak motifler üzerine, *Türk Dünyası Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi*, 24, pp. 93 – 102, p. 99.

⁴⁹¹ See: Çınar, A. A., 2002. Türk Destanlarında Alp Tipi At, The Horses Like the Heroes in Turkish Epic, *International and Quarterly Journal of Folklore*, 7 (56), pp. 153 – 157. For information about the Shamanic beliefs, rituals of Central Asian Turkic people on horses, the mythological symbolism in epics, and its continuity through the Ottoman period, see: Esin, E., 2002. Türk sanatında at. *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, V. 4, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, pp. 125 – 143. For ancient rituals about horses in the Ottoman period see: Keskinliç, E., 2014. Ata Ağıt, Elegy for a Horse. *Acta Turcica*, VI (1-2), pp. 1 – 14.

⁴⁹² Aşıkpaşazâde, 1949. *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*. Nihal Atsız (Ed.), İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, p. 105.

⁴⁹³ İnalçık, 1981-82, p. 77.

⁴⁹⁴ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴⁹⁵ Keen, *ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴⁹⁶ White, L., 1964. *Medieval Technology & Social Change*, New York: Oxford University Press, p. 1.

military campaigns. An ideal *ghazi* is always defined in relation to his “not getting down from his horse.”⁴⁹⁷ For example, after Osman Ghazi became a flag officer of the Seljukids, he started to ride more on his horse, and the author states that “he never dismounted from his horse again.”⁴⁹⁸ This indicates he was continuously busy with making *ghazas*. However, “never dismounting from one’s horse” is not related directly to making *ghazas*, rather, it is a portrayal of a zealous warrior. For example, an infidel named Kalakonya, a feudal landlord (*tekvur*) of the fortress of Konur is also depicted as a man “always on his horseback” against the Ottomans. He was “a rather gallant infidel.”⁴⁹⁹

Froissart all through his narrative describes the knights proudly showing up in public on horseback, and also of “good horses” and “well mounted horses” which, indeed, belonged to the knights and *chevaliers*, not to ordinary people. For instance, some Scottish men came to England with their companions: “they are all on horseback, without it be the trandals and laggars of the host, who follow after afoot. The knights and squires are well-horsed, and the common people and other on little hackneys and geldings.”⁵⁰⁰

According to Gamez, the horses must be as “strong, fiery, swift and faithful”⁵⁰¹ as their masters. This is because knights are not chosen from “among feeble or timid or cowardly souls, but from among men who are strong and full of energy, bold and without fear.”⁵⁰² For this reason, “there is no other beast that so befits a knight as a good horse.”⁵⁰³ Besides, Gamez was writing his work in a period during which chivalry and knighthood were declining in social status. Although being a member of the warrior class was still a desirable profession compared other kinds of life styles, and due to this point alone, more men wanted to be part of it. On the other hand, corruption was widespread. Thus, Gamez, despite establishing a strong bond between horses and knights, warns his listeners and readers: “They are not all good

⁴⁹⁷ Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, p. 90.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁵⁰⁰ Froissart, *ibid.*, p. 17.

⁵⁰¹ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*

knights who ride upon horses neither are they all knights to whom kings give arms. He who rides upon a horse is not for that reason a Knight.”⁵⁰⁴ Only if a knight answers to the call to war is he a “good knight.” Thus, he emphasizes:

*For since noble knighthood is of all offices the most honourable, all men desire to be uplifted to this honour; they wear the mantle and bear the name but they do not observe the rule of life. They are not knights but phantoms and apostates. The cowl does not make the monk, but the monk the cowl.*⁵⁰⁵

4.4.4. Arms and Armour

Ashiq Pasha’s fifth requirement is the suit of armour. Its dimensions should be such that it covers the midsection of the horse in order to protect against possible impacts and grant the horse a stately appearance. The *alp* also needs armour - the second prerequisite for becoming a renowned warrior. Elsewhere in his work, Ashiq Pasha implies that these two sets of armour must be made of iron, and that only iron armour is adequate enough for the *alps*.⁵⁰⁶ Besides, in sixth, seventh and eighth places, are bow and arrow, backsword and dagger respectively. These weapons had been used by Central Asian Turkic tribes from the earliest times.⁵⁰⁷

Among the weapons, the most ancient ones for Turkic people are the bow and arrow. They were the most effective weapons in ancient times, and continued to be used in the Middle Ages, transforming into important symbols in the following eras.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁵ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵⁰⁶ Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 431.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 432 – 433.

⁵⁰⁸ Yardımcı, *ibid.*, p. 58. For more information on Turkish archery please see: Mary Işın, P., 2009. Türk Okçuluk Araştırmaları ve Paul E. Klopsteg (1889-1991). *Acta Turcica*, **1** (1), pp. 233 – 241.

In several poems, Ashiq Pashazade uses the bow and arrow as symbols for being a good warrior. “Being straight as an arrow” is one of them, and in present-day Turkey, it is still a common idiom. And also:

*These warriors came to this world as straight men and died as straight men,
You should follow the truth standing straight as an arrow,
Follow the leader who draws his bow and shoot his arrows,
See which grades he reached.⁵⁰⁹*

Ashiq Pasha also pays great attention to the backsword.

*The seventh thing is a backsword
It is the gold and pearl of an alp
Oaths are taken upon it
And the infidels escape from it.⁵¹⁰*

During Middle Ages, Central Asian Turkic societies had their own specific kinds of swords,⁵¹¹ Furthermore, there are several rituals such as taking oaths on swords like the one between a leading warrior and his *nöker* (head comrade). For example, Köse Mihal was the *nöker* of Osman Ghazi so they both must have taken this oath on a sword. Ashiq Pasha also indicates the oaths taken on swords.⁵¹²

Ashiq Pasha, Ashiq Pashazade or Ahmedî do not write about traditional authentic Turkic swords, but they usually use the word when describing warriors fighting. The following example is from Ahmedî:

⁵⁰⁹ Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, p. 115.

⁵¹⁰ “*Pes kılıçdur âletün yidinçisi / Oldur alpın altını vü inçüsi / Kılıç üzre and anun çun içilür / Kim bu kâfir kanu anda saçılır*”, Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, pp. 431-432.

⁵¹¹ For more information please see: Ögel, B., 1948. Türk kılıcının menşe ve tekâmülü hakkında. *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, 6 (5), pp. 431-460.

⁵¹² İnalçık 2010, p. 131.

His sword was a representation of death.

You would think it was the wind, and (those) souls were leaves.⁵¹³

Ashiq Pasha established a relationship between the swords of *ghazis*’ and *alps*’, and material gain. Thus, the sword became a tool of the warriors’ livelihood:

Ghazis spread Islam with their swords

Infidels scampered away from these swords.⁵¹⁴

At the very end of the above line, he turns to use the word ‘*alp*,’ and for the first time in the ninth chapter, refers to material gain:

The primary thing the alps need is a sword

They are given goods in return for their swords.⁵¹⁵

In the narratives of Frossiart, Gamez and Chandos Herald, there are numerous accounts of armored knights and mounted horses. However, these weapons and armour do not play leading roles despite their functions in daily life and military campaigns.

4.4.5. Having a Good Comrade

In all the medieval narrations discussed in this thesis, the warriors always travel on their path together with their comrades. This is not just about being a member of the same legion or army, but involves a kind of brotherhood.

⁵¹³ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 7, 88th couplet.

⁵¹⁴ “*Gâziler dîni kılıçla açdılar / Kâfir oldur kim kılıçdan kaçdılar.*” Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 432.

⁵¹⁵ “*Pes kılıçdur evvel âlet alplara / Kılıç için mal virürler alplara*” Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 432.

The teacher of the knight Pero Nino advises him to “seek the company of good men.”⁵¹⁶ This is important both for living a virtuous life and fighting in the battlefield. If a knight makes good friendships, he “will be numbered among them.”⁵¹⁷ When the Black Prince was knighted by his father, the King, following his victorious deed after the conquest of Normandy, there were many good comrades and true knights around him such as the “Earl of Warwick, of high esteem, and the right noble Earl of Northampton, the Earl of Suffolk, and the Earl of Stafford, of the stout and bold heart, and the Earls of Salisbury and Oxford.”⁵¹⁸ The author describes scenes of comradeship between the companion knights, saying that “there might one see the flower of chivalry”⁵¹⁹ amongst them.

Likewise, Ashiq Pasha stresses the importance of an ideal *alp* having a good comrade, and gives a religious reference, stating that the prophet Muhammed (Mustafa) also had close comrades. They had all devoted their lives to God’s path, and the prophet had spread the true religion with their help. By using the phrase “*feth-i mübîn*” (an obvious triumph) he directly refers to a verse from the Triumph Sura in the Quran.⁵²⁰

*Hence Mustafa was not alone,
God had given him an obvious triumph,
Thanks to him Islam was spread,
The comrades of him were always with him.*⁵²¹

Ashiq Pashazade presents many examples of comrade warriors in his *Tevârih*. He writes in the poem of the eighth chapter that everybody needs a close comrade, whether they are young

⁵¹⁶ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 11.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁸ Chandos Herald, *ibid.*, p. 136.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁵²⁰ The complete verse is: “Truly We have opened up a path to clear triumph for you [Prophet], so that God may forgive you your past and future sins, complete His grace upon you, guide you to a straight path, and help you mightily”, *The Qur’an*, trans. M. A. S. Abdel Haleem, Oxford’s World’s Classics, Oxford University Press, New York, 2005.

⁵²¹ “*Nitekim yalnız degüldi Mustafâ / Hakana virmiş-idi feth-î mübîn / Anun elinde açıldı uş bu dîn / Şol yaranlar kim anunla var-ıdı*”, Aşık Paşa, *ibid.*, p. 432.

or old. Then the ninth chapter opens with a summary of the story to come: “it is about Osman Ghazi’s comrades and confidants, the people surrounding him, how he kept company with them and what measures he took against them.”⁵²² Osman Ghazi’s close friendship with his comrade (*nöker*), the bey of Harmankaya Köse Mihal, is especially emphasized in this chapter. They were so close that there was never “any conflict or rumour between them.”⁵²³ On the other hand, the Ottomans and the Germiyans were at sword’s point, as enemies.

In the tenth chapter, Ashiq Pasha returns to the subject of the friendship between Osman Ghazi and Köse Mihal. After Osman Ghazi became a flag officer, they began to spend more time together. Ashiq Pashazade states that Köse Mihal was also a *ghazi* like Osman, despite the fact that he was still a Christian. Furthermore, the infidels of Harmankaya, the place where Köse Mihal was bey, were in the service of Osman Ghazi and Köse Mihal. Apparently the Christian *ghazis* of Harmankaya and Köse Mihal contributed to the conquests of several places such as Tarakçı Yenicesi. And Köse Mihal, despite being an infidel, was a close comrade of Osman.⁵²⁴ Furthermore, in the following eleventh chapter, Mihal is praised with these words: “Look what Mihal’s deeds were. He laid a foundation on sublimity of the *ghazis* who fought for God.”⁵²⁵

Another favor shown by Mihal to Osman Ghazi is his respectful presentation to the landlords (*tekfür*) of the outlying territories at his daughter’s wedding. First, he invited the landlords to the wedding with a note saying “come and meet the Turk (Osman) so that you may fend yourselves from him.”⁵²⁶ Osman was the last to appear in the field and brought with him generous gifts. Thus, the landlords met Osman Ghazi, and it can be said that they saw the signs and symbols of his sovereignty. Nine chapters afterwards, we see that some of the

⁵²² Aşıkpaşazâde, *ibid.*, p. 98.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

landlords such as Çadırılı and Lefke, welcomed Osman Ghazi, showing loyalty to him and they “became distinguished friends.”⁵²⁷

Additionally, when Ottoman sultans sent their sons with armies to conquer lands, they also commissioned experienced warriors to accompany them as “helpful comrades.” Osman charges Köse Mihal and Turgut Alp, and also “a lover of God” Sheikh Mahmud and Sheikh Edebali’s nephew Ahi Hasan to help Orhan as comrades in the conquest of Bursa.⁵²⁸ Konur Alp, Ghazi Evrenos, the brother of Samsa Chavush Sülemiş, Yakup Ece, Ghazi Fazıl were among the useful comrades sent with the sultans’ sons.

4.5. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF AN IDEAL WARRIOR

4.5.1. A Paragon Model

An ideal warrior is also a paragon by the very nature of being a perfect holy warrior. After King Arthur, Edward III was “the wittiest and the most prowess man” that England had ever seen and it is certain that “the opinion of Englishmen most commonly was as then.”⁵²⁹ In Froissart’s account, the noble warriors, the valiant knights and *chevaliers* are all portrayed as being able to stand their ground in man-to-man combat. When describing the first battles of Edward III, Froissart makes a point of describing him as a very competent warrior and a noble knight in his own right.⁵³⁰

Gamez’s ideal knight, Pero Nino, is distinguished by his pure soul full of moral virtues as well as his proficient martial skills: “He gave all his life to the calling of arms and to the art of chivalry, and from his childhood laboured at no other matter.”⁵³¹ The education he received

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁵²⁹ Froissart, *ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵³⁰ Skorge, *ibid.*, p. 38.

⁵³¹ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 6.

also made him a faithful Catholic. In contrast to the Ottoman sources, the warriors' good manners are complimented in the European narrations – for instance, mellifluous speaking, soft tone or mode of dress. Gamez praises Pero Nino for having “a low and pleasant voice and lively and gracious speech,”⁵³² and also for his sense of dress: “he ever dressed well, with care and thought, making the most of what he wore. He had a better understanding of new fashions than any tailor or robe-maker, so that the finely dressed always took him as their pattern.”⁵³³

When examining the Ottoman sources we see that their perfection is at the forefront of the narrations, and that it derives from their invincibility. Ahmedî's Osman is a victorious *ghazi* who is always “attacking realms and kill[ing] the infidel.” He is a great holy raider, “wherever he went, he found success.”⁵³⁴ Orhan was a constantly triumphant *ghazi* too: “whatever he did came out right / whatever he undertook was successful.”⁵³⁵

According to Ashiq Pashazade, whatever Osman Ghazi did, he always did the right thing, and “should the need arise he would do the same against the infidels.”⁵³⁶ Osman's perfection lay behind these virtues:

*Osman is the son of Ertughrul,
The one who killed the infidels who stubbornly refused Islam,
Osman is the leader of the Muslim soldiers,
His justness and generosity expanded to the World,
He bestowed donations and blessings,
He broke the idols and puthouses,
The tent of his state pitched in preeternity,
Know well that his dynasty will last till posteterity.*⁵³⁷

⁵³² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁴ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵³⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, p. 102.

In this poem, Osman's justness of character and invincibility are closely connected with his religiosity. Orhan also owes his excellence to being a devout Muslim. When Orhan mounts his horse, he fights only for God. "His newly-born bastion was seen by the Prophet"⁵³⁸ and Orhan himself "became a bastion to the halo of Islam."⁵³⁹ Orhan is such a great *ghazi* that, "when he moves even Rüstem whose name is written on the epics cannot resist him."⁵⁴⁰

Murad I, the son of Orhan, is depicted just as his father:

*Wherever he turned, he obtained victory,
His sword became a workman on the anvil.*

*Of course, he obtained victory against the infidel,
He turned the region of blasphemy upside down.⁵⁴¹*

Also he is undoubtedly "a perfect holy raider":

*When the Holy Raider Murad took his place (on the throne),
holy war and holy raid were his desire.
He was a perfect and wise Padişah,
He had a circumspect and perceptive nature.
He was humble in heart and lofty in zeal.
His generous qualities were many and he had no harm in him.⁵⁴²*

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 103 – 104.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴¹ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵⁴² Silay, *ibid.*, p. 12.

The *ghazis*, the ideal holy warriors, always resembled their ancestors in terms of all virtues, victory and prosperity. Sultan Bayezid I is just like his father and grandfather. “He was of perfect conduct in all his affairs.”⁵⁴³

Chandos Herald lauds the Black Prince as a noble knight in whom “the chivalry was upheld in his person”⁵⁴⁴ and he was the “flower of chivalry.”⁵⁴⁵ The prince is also the most gallant man who ever came into the world: “Nobly he spent his life, for I would dare to say this, that since the time that God was born there was none more valiant than he, as you shall hear in my records.”⁵⁴⁶ He is “right valiant and bold, and so strong in men-of-arms that there is no man living, save God, that would do him wrong.”⁵⁴⁷ He is so successful that, when he gained renown, he was only eighteen years old.⁵⁴⁸

4.5.2. Resemblance to the Heroes of the Past

The ideal warrior in medieval sources from Anatolia and Europe bears the traces of older heroes such as bravery, permanently victorious, and adventurousness. As it was argued in the third chapter on conceptions of holy war, these sources were reproduced by intermingling elements of old cultures, beliefs and customs, some of which were still alive in the period when the authors’ were writing these narrations according to monotheistic religious teachings. Thus, such similarities cannot be coincidental, but rather are intentional; the relations were established on purpose.

Some of these exemplary heroes are mentioned in the sacred books of Islam and Christianity, and some are from the ancient epics. The authors sometimes compare the holy warriors to

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁵⁴⁴ Chandos Herald *ibid.*, p. 136.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

heroes and at other times draw parallels between them. At the same time, the ideal warriors seem to out-shine the older ones.

Ahmedî's praise of Orhan with references to Persian mythology and culture is notable. He says "Orhan was such a brave leader that they used to call him Nerimân-ı Zamân." Nerimân of the Time, is an allusion to the Iranian epic *Şahnâme* by Firdevsi. His name often appears in Ottoman poetry as the symbol of physical power and extraordinary heroism.⁵⁴⁹ Besides, the author also likens Orhan to an Arab hero Hatem, known for his generosity and also to Rüstem who was a famous hero and warrior of Iranian mythology. He was also mentioned in *Şahnâme*: "His nature was to give, just as Hâtem / His nature was to strive, just as Rüstem."⁵⁵⁰ Ashiq Pashazade, too, used the figure of Rüstem for praising Orhan. Orhan is such a great *ghazi* that, "when he moves even Rüstem whose name is written in the epics cannot resist him."⁵⁵¹

Orhan's son Süleyman is depicted by Ahmedî as a hero who can overcome strong animals with ease just like the old heroes of Turkic and Persian epics: "He was both a lion-grabber and a sword-hefter / He was both an enemy-squasher and an army-smasher."⁵⁵²

Froissart, when reciting "the honorable and pleasant history of the noble Edward king of England" makes an analogy between King Arthur and Edward III, and claims that after King Arthur, Edward III was "the wittiest and the most prowess man" that England had ever seen.⁵⁵³ For Edward III's son the Black Prince, Chandos Herald states that he was the most valiant prince since "the days of Claris, Julius Caesar, or Arthur."⁵⁵⁴ The author also compares him with Roland, the hero of the French epic *The Song of Roland*, as well as to others to explain the victories gained by the Prince against the English: "There were achieved

⁵⁴⁹ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵⁵¹ Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, p. 110.

⁵⁵² Silay, *ibid.*, p. 8.

⁵⁵³ Froissart, *ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵⁵⁴ Chandos Herald *ibid.*, p. 135.

so many feats of arms that one might have compared Roland, and Oliver, and the very courteous Ogier the Dane.”⁵⁵⁵ The celebrations after the victory are also likened to the ones in Arthur’s time: “There was dancing, hunting, hawking, feasting, and jousting, as in the reign of Arthur, the space of four years or more.”⁵⁵⁶

Gamez states clearly that the knights should take the heroes mentioned in the Bible (the Old and New Testaments) as examples for themselves. He enumerates the names and deeds of these heroes such as “Joshua against the Philistines, King David who was fighting for the Faith, Duke Godfrey of Bouillon, who endured so many labours and gave battle so often that he might conquer the Holy Sepulchre and exalt the Faith”⁵⁵⁷ and also Alexander the Great, Caesar and Charles Martel. The first heroic deed Pero Nino did evokes the memory of Alexander’s cutting of the Gordion Knot. While returning from a voyage to Seville in company with the King Don Enrique, a rope which was as “thick as a human arm”⁵⁵⁸ suddenly bursts forth and stops them. Nino cuts the rope at a stroke with his strong arms and helps them to get back on their road. Gamez declares that if he had not done so, no man on the ship could survive.

These comparisons between medieval heroes and more ancient warriors have much to tell us about the Middle Ages and its intellectual and political history. Although such an avenue of investigation lies outside the remit of this thesis, a citation from the article of Hülya Taflı Düzgün⁵⁵⁹ provides tantalising clues about the topic:

Before Islam and Christianity, the hero was considered to be the god-like creature that has exemplary characteristics and does his best for the sake of his nation. In the belief system of the Sky-God and shamanism before Islam, the hero is selected by the Sky-God by means of a trance, dream or the deed, and that he gains success by killing the

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁵⁵⁷ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁹ Taflı Düzgün, H., 2009. The alp (hero) and the monster in Beowulf and The Book Of Dede Korkut. *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Güz (11), pp. 109 – 119.

*supernatural character. Similarly in the belief system of Paganism before and after Christianity, the hero who endures the worst possible scenarios in life to save his people from disasters, has supernatural powers or inborn abilities to fight against the monsters. Therefore, the epic is usually known by the hero's or the alp's name. Furthermore the other character which shapes the structure of the epic is known as the monster. It is sometimes in the disguise of a giant, a wicked hag, a serpent, Satan, wicked angel or underworld creature.*⁵⁶⁰

4.5.3. Nobility and Lineage

The greatest difference between the idealizations of holy warriors in medieval Anatolia and those in European narratives lies in the warriors' gentility. In European sources, except for a few examples, warriors are mostly noble. Considering the fact that the kings and princes were members of aristocracy, this is unsurprising. However, the warriors who are not direct members of the ruling class are also depicted as nobles, since being noble is a requirement of being a knight or *chevalier*. In fact, the European authors, when praising the warriors' nobility, do not only refer to their lineage but also to their civilized and courteous behaviors.

Regarding the Ottoman sources, lineage is only emphasized in relation to the justification of Osman's and his dynasty's right to rule. Differently from knights in Europe, one does not need to be a member of a noble family or even of high Turkic descent in order to become a *ghazi*, *akıncı* or *alp* in Anatolia. There are plenty of examples – such as Köse Mihal and the infidels of Harmankaya - of local Christians of Greek descent becoming *ghazis* and joining several battles. Furthermore, “the Ottomans take kindly to the destitute” as written in the *History of Oruc Beg*, preferring to include them in their armies, a practice which lasted from the very beginning up to the last days of the Ottoman state.⁵⁶¹ Additionally, this is not a situation specific to the foundation period of the Ottoman state. In the following years, as Lowry states

⁵⁶⁰ Taflı Düzgün, *ibid.*, p. 109.

⁵⁶¹ İnalçık 2009, pp. 9 – 10.

Balkan Christians served as *sipahis*, *timar*-holders, and also in some areas even made up the majority of the auxiliary forces known as *akıncıs/gazis*.⁵⁶²

The most notable example relevant to the question of lineage and the right to rule of Osman's dynasty takes place in the fourteenth chapter of Ashiq Pashazade's history. According to this passage, after Osman Ghazi conquered Karacahisar, the townsfolk wanted to perform Friday prayer and conveyed their desire to the *kadi*, Tursun Fakih. When Osman Ghazi learns of this desire, he orders it to be fulfilled. But Tursun Fakih objects and states that they must get ratification from the Seljukid Sultan. Thereupon Osman answers:

*I myself conquered this city with my own sword. The Sultan made no contributions to it. So why should I get his permission? The God who gave him the sultanate also gave me the khanate through ghaza raids. If the matter is the sanjack, I carried my own sanjack and fought against the infidels. If he says that 'I come from the Seljukid descent' I can say that I am from the Gök-Alp lineage. If he says that 'I came to this land (Anatolia) before them (the Ottomans) so I say that my grandfather Süleyman Shah came here before his family.'*⁵⁶³

Thus, the Friday *khutba* is announced, resulting in Osman Ghazi becoming a leader and founding his own state independent from Seljukid rule. This anecdote concerns the justification of Ottoman rule in the face of contemporary political rivals, and lineage plays an important role here.⁵⁶⁴ Throughout his narrative, whenever Ashiq Pashazade mentions lineage, it is always about the Ottoman dynastic right of sovereignty.

In a poem in the twentieth chapter, Ashiq Pashazade emphasizes Osman's lineage again: "Look at how Osman who is descended from Gök-Alp showed himself up."⁵⁶⁵ In another poem in the twenty-ninth chapter, the author states that "one must try to receive the benisons

⁵⁶² Lowry, 2003, p. 92

⁵⁶³ Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, p. 103.

⁵⁶⁴ Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, p. 113.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

and blessings from the members of Ottoman dynasty.”⁵⁶⁶ In a poem in the thirty-third chapter, lineage is again stressed: “Orhan is the descendent of Osman, who is the son of Ertughrul Ghazi.”⁵⁶⁷

When it comes to the European sources, Gamez answers the question of “what is required of a good knight?”⁵⁶⁸ with the answer that “he should be noble. What does noble and nobility mean? That the heart should be governed by the virtues.”⁵⁶⁹ Pero Nino’s noble lineage of Anjou on his father’s side and La Vegas from Castille on his mother’s side is explained in detail. Moreover, he grew up in the King’s court and was raised in accordance with his nobility so his manners and behaviors are also noble.⁵⁷⁰

One of the few examples of non-noble knights is Robert Sale from Froissart’s *Chronicle*. Sale is a knight in the city of Norwich despite the fact that he is not noble-born: “He was no gentleman born, but he had the grace to be a reputed sage and valiant in arms, and for his valiantness King Edward made him knight.”⁵⁷¹ The King’s knighting of Robert Sale is another anecdote which demonstrates loyalty to the King, and this theme will be analyzed in the section “Loyalty and Obedience to the Authority.”

4.5.4. Violence in War

The authors seem eager to portray the warriors as bloodthirsty fighters. The level of violence the warriors employ in conquests and wars is considered a sign of the warriors’ martial skills and invincibility.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁵⁶⁸ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁵⁷¹ Froissart, *ibid.*, p. 257.

Lowry shows the idealization of Osman by Ahmedî in the couplets of 51 – 56 in this light: “Ahmedi bestows the title of *gazi* on Osman the real founder of the dynasty, describing him as having ‘attack[ed] the cities and kill[ed] the infidels’, and having ‘annihilated the infidel,’ that is, having fulfilled Ahmedî’s definition of what a good *gazi* was.”⁵⁷²

Not only is Osman ruthless, but his *akıncıs* are also merciless: “He dispatched a company of soldiers in every direction / So that they would attack realms and kill the infidel.”⁵⁷³ Osman’s son Orhan is depicted as a holy raider who “annihilated the infidels”⁵⁷⁴ in İznik and made “that territory a place of the believers.”⁵⁷⁵ The act of “annihilating the infidels” is relevant to making *ghaza* raids without ceasing, and it is, as Lowry points out, the sign of being a “*gazi* par excellence.”⁵⁷⁶ Furthermore, Ahmedî created this model primarily for his patrons. Lowry’s analysis is of key importance on this point:

In his next segment, which Ahmedî titles: “The Padışsahi (Reign) of Orhan, the Son of Osman” [couplets: 57–93], the author makes it clear that it is the model of Orhan which he is setting forth for his patrons. Over and again he reiterates the extent to which Orhan busied himself with the gaza. In numerous passages he not only underlines the importance of this role but repeatedly emphasizes the material blessings that accrued to Orhan as a result of his never deviating from it:

- *He [Orhan] plundered the infidels day and night.*
- *[He] crushed the rest, old and young.*

⁵⁷² In contrast, Lowry (2003 p. 19) shows that Ahmedî hides the wars between the early Ottomans and Germiyans who were both Muslims: “What he conveniently overlooks is the fact that some of Osman’s earliest battles were fought against the Turkish Beylik of the Germiyans, his neighbor to the south and east. As will be repeatedly stressed, Ahmedî’s silence in this regard may well have stemmed from his desire to depict the early Ottoman rulers (in contrast to Bayezid) as having been exclusively concerned with the *gaza*.”

⁵⁷³ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁶ Lowry, 2003, p. 19.

• *They drove the infidel out from their own land.*⁵⁷⁷

Ahmedi pictures Orhan's son Süleyman as an ideal warrior who carries forward the flag he inherited from his father. He lays waste to the conquered lands where he was sent on holy raids. Just like Osman, his troops also ravaged and devastated the lands. Furthermore, he claims that they compelled the Christians to convert Islam: "Lay waste to whatever he found among the infidels, torch all of their homes."⁵⁷⁸ In the hundred-and-fourth couplet, it is said that: Süleyman "kill[ed] those who did not heed the call (to accept Islam), and [made] the troops of Islam victorious."⁵⁷⁹ In the following couplets, then, "by the command of Tangri and with his father's approval" he headed for the realm of the infidel with his troops, "waged many holy raids there for the sake of the religion"⁵⁸⁰ and he became a real *ghazi*.

Demolishing the churches and monasteries, and building mosques and Muslim prayer rooms instead in their place is another theme one encounters when reading the Ottoman sources. Since Süleyman is an ideal holy warrior he behaves accordingly:

Wherever he found a church he laid waste to it.

He torched their bells and sashes.

He pounded the blasphemy into the ground (to make it) invisible,

He made manifest the Lâ ilâhe illâ'llâh.

He laid waste to many churches. He built mosques.

*He had no dualism. He served the One.*⁵⁸¹

This kind of violence intimates zeal for Islam. After Süleyman conquered Vize, Muğalkara and Ipsala in Thrace "cities and realms filled with the sound of Allâhu Ekber,"⁵⁸² and "in

⁵⁷⁷ Lowry, *ibid.*, pp. 19 – 20.

⁵⁷⁸ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 8.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸¹ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 9, 112 – 114th couplets.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

places where Jesus was being worshipped then, all at once it was Muhammed they talked of.”⁵⁸³ In the idealization of Süleyman by Ahmedi, Lowry also implies that he was modelled as an ideal *ghazi* like his father.⁵⁸⁴

The theme of devastating the conquered lands is frequently repeated in Ashiq Pashazade’s *Tevârih*. Some of the examples seem almost extraordinary. One of them describes the conquering of Karacahisar. The landlord of the territory had a brother named Kalanoz. His troops together with Osman’s waged a great war and a large number of soldiers were killed there. Amongst them was Saru Yatı, the brother of Osman. When Osman heard that Kalanoz was also dead he ordered his men to “disembowel him first, then grub the ground and bury him worthy for dogs.”⁵⁸⁵ Ashiq Pasha states that the place where Kalanoz was buried is named after this incident as *İteşeni*.⁵⁸⁶

Another story depicts violence quite graphically even for the period in which it was written. The armies of Sultan Alaeddin and the Sultan of the Mongols waged a severe war in Biga, Dardanelles which lasts for two days and nights. Finally, the Mongol troops were defeated. A wide range of Mongol warriors were killed. For some reason, the soldiers of Sultan Alaeddin cut the Mongols’ testicles off, sewed their skins together, and covered the dead bodies with felt and threw them in front of wild animals which devoured them. This treatment was probably a show of strength, or a punishment for enemies who did not behave valiantly since the Mongols attacked the Sultan’s army unexpectedly. Ashiq Pashazade, perhaps in order to make his narrative convincing, states that the place where this war was waged is named after this cruel incident.⁵⁸⁷ This anecdote seems singular, since the theme of violence mostly relates to spreading the true religion, but here, the question of Islam is not involved. The main

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁴ Lowry 2003, p. 20. On this point, Lowry once again indicates that conflict against other Muslim beyliks was not mentioned: “Not surprisingly, Ahmedi is totally silent on the career of Süleyman *Pas*a* prior to his assuming the role of leader of the *gaza* in southeastern Europe. For this was the period in which this Prince led the Ottoman forces against their Muslim neighbors, most particularly the Turkish Beylik of Karası” (Lowry 2003, p. 21).

⁵⁸⁵ Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, p. 96.

⁵⁸⁶ The meaning is close to “the place where the dog was buried.”

⁵⁸⁷ Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, pp. 97 – 98.

concept that justifies the use of violence in early Ottoman sources is summarized by Ashiq Pasha with this couplet: “They devastated the land of heresy and brought there the light [of Islam] instead.”⁵⁸⁸

On the other hand, the same sources tell stories of obedient infidels who hand over their castles, lands and property voluntarily to the *ghazis*. In such cases, the ideal warriors do not use violence, and indeed behaving as merciful Muslims, do not ravage anything, do not kill anyone and spare the lives of all infidels. For example, when the infidels of Bursa decided to surrender and give the castle to the *ghazis*, no blood was shed, and no-one’s property was plundered except the landlord’s.⁵⁸⁹

As the narrator of the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396, Froissart depicts the Crusaders as coldhearted warriors. They come before the city of Comette, besiege it, and “the city was taken by force of assault and destroyed with great slaughter of men, women and children for the Christian men that entered had no mercy nor pity.”⁵⁹⁰ They continue on their path and find the town of Quaire, “and laid siege to it fifteen days or it was won, but finally it was won by assault and clean destroyed, and so passed forth.”⁵⁹¹ Froissart’s use of violence, as in the Ottoman sources, is justified because of the threat from enemies who are “infidels”. These heretics are depicted as men whose foremost aim is to extinguish and destroy the religion (Islam or Christianity). For Froissart, the infidels are Ottoman Muslims, and in this instance, Bayezid I (whom Froissart mentions by the name: “Amurath-baquin”), who had raised an army consisting of “many great men of the Saracens to destroy Christendom.”⁵⁹² Thus, as ideal holy warriors who devoted themselves to the protection of Christianity and the Church, the Crusaders behaved “like valiant men of arms and slew the Turks; there were many slain, the Christian men took none to mercy.”⁵⁹³

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁵⁹⁰ Froissart, *ibid.*, p. 435.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 435 – 436.

⁵⁹² Froissart, *ibid.*, p. 443.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 442.

Chandos Herald almost appears cheerful whenever he is speaking of how the Black Prince spread terror. The Prince overrode all the Cotentin, “and wholly burnt and laid waste”⁵⁹⁴ to an area consisting of towns like La Hogue, Barfleur, Carentan, Saint-Lo, Bayeux, and up to Caen. This is “a right goodly beginning” for “the fair and noble Prince.”⁵⁹⁵ The Prince and his father King Edward together ride through Normandy, going through Caux, “burning, laying waste, harrying.”⁵⁹⁶

The enthusiasm in the manner of telling of a fearsome war seems to be related by the authors to the bravery, victory and religiousness of the warriors:

*That day was there battle so horrible that never was there man so bold that would not be abashed thereby. Whoso saw coming the puissance and power of the King of France, great marvel would he have to relate! Inflamed with ill-will and anger they set forth to encounter together, bearing themselves in such true knightly fashion that never since Christ's coming did one behold fiercer battle. There was seen many a banner embroidered in fine gold and silk, and there the English were all afoot like men ready and eager to fight. There was the good Prince who led the vanguard; so valiantly he bore himself that it was a marvel to behold. Hardly did he suffer any one to attack, however bold or strong he might be.*⁵⁹⁷

4.5.5. Loyalty and Obedience to Authority

In medieval Anatolian and European sources, it is the stories of the members of the ruling class such as beys, sultans, kings, princes and their best comrades who also became members of this class that are mostly retold. Namely, these warriors were the authorities or constituted

⁵⁹⁴ Chandos Herald, *ibid.*, p. 136.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 136 – 137.

part of them. On the other hand, the loyalty and obedience of those warriors who were not kings or sultans are also praised by the authors.

All the kings, the sultans and their sons are surrounded by valiant, brave and fearless holy warriors as was shown previously in the section “Having a Good Comrade.” Being a good companion to a leader requires being a good and accepted warrior, and the most honorable virtue of a good warrior is his obedience to his leader.

Ramon Lull explains the relationship between the warriors and the official authorities in the fourteenth century with this statement: “an armed soldier is obliged to service to the needs and requirements of the Church as much as ecumenic soldiers since they are under the command of the princes who rule the lands in accordance with God’s judgments.”⁵⁹⁸

It appears that Lull and all the authors of the sources analysed here are attempting to idealize the relationship between the warriors and the political leaders. And when doing so, they frequently emphasize the obedience of the warriors. Nevertheless, this dutifulness is not bestowed on just anyone. A group of *ghazi* went to Osman Ghazi only after they saw that the Khan was always victorious, saying “Now that we have a sovereign as assiduous as you so it is not appropriate for us to do nothing.”⁵⁹⁹

Murad I sent his vizier Hayreddin Pasha and Ghazi Evrenos to conquer the land and they subjugated Kavala, Drama, Zihna and Serüz. They plundered these places, capturing the locals as slaves. Since they had great respect for Murad I, they did not practise any deceit at all, and with due regard to the law of sultanate, they sent to the Sultan his share of the booty. They also allocated some of the booty to the “valiant warriors who are fighting for God.”⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁸ Lull, R., 2013. Silahlı Askerlerin de Ruhban Sınıf Mensupları Gibi Tanrı’nın Hizmetinde Olmalarına ve Askerliğin Onur ve Zorluk Anlamına Geldiğine Dair. *Batıya Yön Veren Metinler*, Şükran Ünser (Çev.), V. 1, İstanbul: Alfa Yayıncılık, pp. 347 – 348, p. 347.

⁵⁹⁹ Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, p. 107.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 132 – 133.

Gamez asks the question “of what profit is a good Knight?”⁶⁰¹ and answers it with: “a king without good knights is like a man who has no hands and no feet.”⁶⁰² The author praises the loyalty and honesty of Pero Nino towards his king:

*He was always faithful to the King; never did he make treaty or league with any man to the King's disservice, whether within or without the realm. Ever did he labour to defend his King's cause, always did he hate and combat those who rebelled against his King. Never did he let himself be bought by gifts or promises.*⁶⁰³

One of the few examples of knights of non-noble birth is Robert Sale from Froissart's *Chronicle*. Sale is a knight in the city of Norwich despite the fact that he is not noble-born. In the midst of the Hundred Years War, on June 13 1381, a peasant revolt rose against the miseries caused by the War and the heavy taxes excised by the King Richard II. The anger of the rebels (“these ungracious people”⁶⁰⁴), directly turned towards the aristocracy and they plundered and set fire to the houses and castles of the nobels and the knights. “These people entered into London and burnt the duke of Lancaster's house, brake up the king's prisons and did all this hurt” and afterwards they rested before Norwich. Robert Sale is “the captain of the town” and “Sir Robert Sale. He was no gentleman born, but he had the grace to be reputed sage and valiant in arms, and for his valiantness king Edward made him knight.”⁶⁰⁵

Then, Froissart shows us what kind of bravery Sir Robert Sale has by telling the story of how he is loyal to his King. First, Sale attempted to speak with the rebels to discourage them from pursuing the revolt, while they presume that he would support them since he is also from a non-noble family. They even proposed that he be their master but he answered “I had rather

⁶⁰¹ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*

⁶⁰³ Gamez *ibid.*, p. 17.

⁶⁰⁴ Froissart, *ibid.*, p. 257.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

ye were all hanged”⁶⁰⁶ because “it was greatly contrarious to his mind.”⁶⁰⁷ Upon his refusal, the rioters attack him when he is unarmed and mercilessly kill him by cutting his legs and arms. Thus we perceive that the King was right to make Robert Sale a knight, he was such a loyal man that even when people from his own social class offered him fealty, he denied it for his love, loyalty and obedience to his king.⁶⁰⁸

The valiant knight Lord Audeley beseeches his prince: “Sire ... I have vowed to God and promised and sworn that wherever I should see the banner of the King of France in power there I would set on the first, so that I beseech you for God give me leave, for it is high time to join battle.”⁶⁰⁹

This type of dialogue is abundant in Chandos Herald’s narrative. The fictional conversations stress honor and the chivalric behavior of the knights, the most distinct element being loyalty.

*Then was King John brought before him; the Prince gave him right hearty greeting, and rendered thanks to Almighty God, and to do more honour to the King would fain help him to disarm. But King John said to him: Fair, sweet cousin, for God's pity, let be, it beseems me not, for, by the faith I owe you, you have today more honour than ever had any Prince on one day. Then said the Prince: Sweet sir, it is God's doing and not ours and we are bound to give thanks to Him therefor, and beseech Him earnestly that He would grant us His glory and pardon us the victory.*⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁹ Chandos Herald *ibid.*, p. 146.

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

4.5.6. Religiousness, Divine Providence and the Grace of God

The virtues of loyalty and obedience are not only requested by worldly authorities, but must also be directed towards God, towards his commands, and for Christian knights, towards the Holy Church.

In the beginning of his work, Ahmedî opens his main narrative with a section called “The Beginning of the Epic,” and commences with an imaginary question asked by Sultan Alâüddin:

*One day that Auspicious Sultan Alâ'ü'd-dîn asked:
What is the situation with holy raiders and martyrs?*

*He knew that the holy raid is a noble deed.
Judgment of the holy raider is uncomplicated.⁶¹¹*

It is noteworthy that the terms ‘holy raid’ and ‘martyrdom’ are juxtaposed in this manner, and also that they proceed from the mouth of the Seljukid sultan. In the very next couplet, the impact of Islam appears as expected:

*He who is a holy raider is an instrument of the true religion.
Of course, his situation (in the next life) is to be pleasant.*

*He who is a holy raider is a servant of Tangri.
He cleans this land from the filth of polytheism.*

He who is a holy raider is the sure sword of the True One.

⁶¹¹ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 2.

*The holy raider is the support and refuge of people of the (true) religion.*⁶¹²

As evidenced in Ahmedî's words, a holy raider has a close relationship with religion. Although we know there were plenty of Christian examples, the ideal *ghazis* and raiders are always depicted as members of Islam who live their whole lives as devoted Muslims. Thus, in accordance with the Islamic faith, when they die, they do not in fact die, but by becoming martyrs, go directly to Paradise and maintain their lives in a different form:

Should he become a martyr on Tangri's path,

Do not assume that Auspicious One died. He lives.

They are in the presence of the True One, within His sustenance.

*They have not died, rather they are alive.*⁶¹³

Sultan Murad I was a man of "pure sincerity and of pure belief."⁶¹⁴ As for Bayezid, he was such a devoutly religious man that "for some time, he openly practiced pious ascetism. The pious act was his (only) concern day and night."⁶¹⁵ The author emphasizes Bayezid's orthodoxy when writing that "he never took in his hand a glass of wine. He never even listened to the *çeng*, harp or *ney*."⁶¹⁶

Osman who had the honour of receiving prayers from Islamic saints notifies his bequest to his son Orhan as a devout Muslim in Ashiq Pashazade's *Tevârih*: "If anyone wants anything that is not appropriate to the commands and judgements of God you will not accept it. If you do not know what God's orders are, you will consult the one who knows them."⁶¹⁷

⁶¹² *Ibid.*

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁷ Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, p. 112.

Likewise, Gamez seeks to highlight the importance of the religion and religiousness of an ideal knight. Towards this aim, he creates a teacher-figure who trains Pero Nino from ten years of age on “the art of chivalry” and how to be a good Christian. This “learned and wise man”’s most important teaching is that you must be completely attached to the Holy Catholic Faith:

*If it should befall that you must fight with your body alone against whomsoever would deny the Holy Catholic Faith, then you must do it; for that is the fair feat of chivalry, the fairest that a Knight can do, to fight for his law and his faith, above all things holdings fast to the Truth. If it hap that you fall into the hands of enemies of the Holy Catholic Faith, and they would make you deny it, prepare yourself to suffer every torment, howsoever great it be, that they may offer you; and if you uphold and confess the Holy Faith of Jesus Christ unto death, in this holy conflict, as I have bid you. Death is called the Victor, and it is the Slayer who is conquered.*⁶¹⁸

And whenever Pero Nino was in a fix, as befitting his education, he “prayed God to guide and guard”⁶¹⁹ both for himself and for all the Christians. As an ideal knight, the Black Prince “began to celebrate from the first days of his youth and upheld it all his life zealously, without evil thought its festival and solemnity.” In addition, he “loved so well the holy Church with his whole heart, and, above all, the most lofty Trinity.”⁶²⁰

Since the warriors all have pure and sincere faith in their hearts, they deserve and receive the grace of God. For instance, Ahmedî alludes that God always helps the Ottomans since they sincerely believe in God and Islam:

*Because the sincerity of the Ottoman lineage was unblemished,
They attained a special status in the sight of the True One.*

⁶¹⁸ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁶²⁰ Chandos Herald *ibid.*, p. 136.

Wherever they went, they obtained success.
They seized realms. They became victorious over peoples.
Had there been a (single) deficiency in their sincerity,
*Then defects would have befallen their affairs (at least) once.*⁶²¹

Furthermore, it was God who chose Orhan to be the *padişah*, and this trope is frequently repeated, as in the following couplets: “Because the True One made Orhan the Padişah / he was the support and refuge of people of the (true) religion.”⁶²² Moreover, Orhan could besiege and conquer Bursa since “the celebrated one received help from the True One.”⁶²³

Ahmedî’s portraiture of Murad I is noteworthy: “Murad is depicted as the just ruler who was a true and devout believer, who, due to the efforts he expended in constructing poorhouses, mosques, and tombs (for his ancestors), prepared himself for the next world.”⁶²⁴ Furthermore, he is a *ghazi* who always rides his horse to wage holy wars against the infidels, and his sole goal is pleasing God: “Because he had no other goal apart from the holy raid other than that / in exchange, the True One would be satisfied with him.”⁶²⁵ According to Lowry Ahmedî “reestablishes Murad’s reputation as the *gazi par excellence*, one whose sole motivation is the service of God.”⁶²⁶

Similarly, when Spanish ships were gathered at Sluys, the King decided to make an expedition by sea. A fierce battle with the Spaniards took place, but “God gave him fortune,”⁶²⁷ the enemies “were all discomfited and slain.”⁶²⁸

⁶²¹ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 17.

⁶²² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶²³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶²⁴ Lowry, 2003, p. 23.

⁶²⁵ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 13.

⁶²⁶ Lowry, 2003, p. 22.

⁶²⁷ Chandos Herald, *ibid.*, p. 139.

⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*

It was a sheikh who heralded Osman's sultanate by interpreting his dream. After Osman heard the Sheikh Edebali's words he attempted his first experience of *ghaza*, marching towards Kulaca, plundering it and setting fire to its castle and killing the infidels.⁶²⁹ Likewise, when Orhan became bey, the dervishes (*ehl-i kerâmet*) encouraged him to wage war: "When he [Osman] died, Orhan took his place (on the throne) / The saints said to him 'Hân, attack!'"⁶³⁰

Ahmedî also establishes a link between religious people and the idea of *ghaza*, adopting it as an ideology: "Learned men arrived from all directions / They lectured on the holy law (and) what is (the true) religion."⁶³¹ Here monotheism replaces polytheism and *ghaza* becomes a compulsory duty for Muslims:

*Wherever there were stains of polytheism,
monotheism cleansed them until no filth remained.*

*Because from that time, the holy raid became a sacred obligation,
Who has ever made a holy raid such as they did?*⁶³²

As for the Christian knights in Europe, as demonstrated earlier in the chapter on the conceptions of the idea of holy war, the transformation of soldiers into holy warriors is closely connected to the Church and the clergy. Every idea, act and deed became "holy" with their effects and efforts. On this point, Cowdrey's explanation is valid for early Ottoman history too:

*Since the knights were becoming so important, the clergy were also concerned to effect
what German historians, in a good but untranslatable word, call their Versittlichung*

⁶²⁹ Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, pp. 95 – 96.

⁶³⁰ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶³¹ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶³² Silay, *ibid.*, p. 5.

— that is, the raising of their social, ethical, and religious outlook through the determination of the objectives and limits of their warfare. They supplied them with an ideology.⁶³³

4.6. THE GLORIFIED VIRTUES

It appears that the glorified virtues are mentioned in the sources firstly in order to praise the warriors as virtuous men, and secondly in order to justify their existence and rule. Besides, these panegyric virtues constitute the codes and rules of being a good and accepted warrior. Thus, these codes provide behavioral patterns for both the patrons of the authors and for the men wishing to become holy warriors.

4.6.1. Doing Justice

One of the glorified virtues ascribed to the idealized holy warrior is being just and always acting justly. All the sources discussed in this thesis narrate anecdotes of the justice displayed by the warriors - when they were fighting, ruling their lands, sharing booty, and even sometimes against their archenemies and the infidels. Thus, the justification for their existence and sovereignty is assured.

Ahmedî's first words on the Ottomans are about justice, contrasting "rulers such as the Mongols (known for their injustice) with the early Ottomans (hailed for their justice)."⁶³⁴

*Those kings whom I mentioned
I have spoken of their deeds and characters.*

Some were infidels, some showed cruelty,

⁶³³ Cowdrey, *ibid.*, p. 16.

⁶³⁴ Lowry, 2003, p. 17.

more of that in them than kindness.

Concerning the justice of the Mongol Sultans,

Hear now the explanation of what it was.

They did not mention the fact that

Cingiz Han clearly oppressed the people.

They [the Mongol rulers] oppressed them with the law,

but they did not paint their hands with blood.

Lawful oppression and confiscation

Are amenable to the people as a form of justice.

Since all those of a cruel nature have been remembered,

let us bring to mind those of a just nature.

Let us recall those lords who, first to last,

were both Muslims and dispensers of justice.⁶³⁵

When comparing the Mongol rulers who were famous for their unjust deeds and cruelty towards the Ottomans, he strengthens the latter's position as just rulers. Lowry states that "it was the Ottoman's adherence to the duty of fighting against the infidels which establishes them as just."⁶³⁶ It was because the author's intention was to write a *gazavatnâme* that he primarily paid attention to "outlining the heroic deeds of the early Ottoman rulers."⁶³⁷ So he set *ghaza* as a literary *topos* in his work.

⁶³⁵ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 1.

⁶³⁶ Lowry, 2003, p. 17.

⁶³⁷ *Ibid.*

Ahmedî's perfect *ghazi* Orhan was so "equitable and a dispenser of justice" that "because of him, the justice of Ömer was forgotten."⁶³⁸ However, he is not a unique example, wherever the Ottomans went they brought with them their justice: "Where the justice of the Ottomans exists, why would the justice of Ömer be mentioned there?"⁶³⁹ He used the Islamic figure Ömer who had a respected reputation as being the most just leader of the first years of the Islamic state. Furthermore, he positioned the Ottomans as the rulers whose justice was even beyond that of this hero.

Like his ancestors, Sultan Bayezid too, "established great justice and equity in the country."⁶⁴⁰ Thus he rendered his lands prosperous: "Since the people received that justice from him, whether big or small, they became industrious."⁶⁴¹ Ahmedî uses a comparative method to once more praise Bayezid and depict him as a just leader by contrasting him with Timur, who was Bayezid's archenemy, and comparing him to caliph Ömer. "Temür was injustice, a cruel tyranny he was,"⁶⁴² but Bayezid did not tolerate injustice. For this reason when Bayezid, who was "the Ömer of justice," heard that "the judges were dispensers of injustice,"⁶⁴³ they accepted bribes and corrupted the holy law, and they even stated that "right is wrong and wrong is right."⁶⁴⁴ So he assembled and questioned them, seizing what he had given them before and punishing them.

In Gamez's narrative, justice is also one of the virtues of the nobles and of his protagonist, Pero Nino. Gamez defines justice as "a habit of the mind,"⁶⁴⁵ by which he means a "union in human fellowship, not to will evil to a neighbour, but to do him service; not to rob any man of his rights, but to restore to each man his due; and to love God above all things."⁶⁴⁶

⁶³⁸ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁵ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 1.

⁶⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

Furthermore, it is also an obligation: “Justice is to accord to each man dignity and honour according to his due, lordship to whom lordship is due, tribute to whom tribute is due.”⁶⁴⁷ In accordance with this virtue, Pero Nino is a just and ideal warrior in all his manners. For example, Pero Nino recaptures the ship that was stolen by the corsairs and also takes several galleys from the King of Tunisia. When he arrives back in Cartagena, he sends to the king “all the Moors that he and the others had taken, and share[s] the rest of the booty with his men, and satisfie[s] them all.”⁶⁴⁸

Chandos Herald’s hero, the Black Prince turned away from all the privileges he was endowed with in order to devote himself every day of his life to establishing justice on earth.

*This noble Prince of whom I speak, from the day of his birth cherished no thought but loyalty, nobleness, valour, and goodness, and was endued with prowess. Of such nobleness was the Prince that he wished all the days of his life to set his whole intent on maintaining justice and right, and therein was he nurtured from his childhood up; from his generous and noble disposition he drew the doctrine of bounty, for gaiety and nobleness were in his heart perfectly from the first beginnings of his life and youth.*⁶⁴⁹

The virtue of being just is displayed in the early Ottoman narratives in several different forms. Sometimes it takes the form of capturing a castle or land without shedding the blood of the local people, or sharing a bey’s booty with his men equally. However, the most remarkable and thought-provoking examples depict meting out justice to the infidels, the people whom the Ottomans had subjected. This theme is widely used in Ashiq Pasha’s *Tevârih*.

One such example describes how Osman championed an infidel’s (*kâfir*) right against a Germiyan Muslim’s. The story tells how Osman had built a bazaar in Hamam, Eskişehir. The

⁶⁴⁷ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 1.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶⁴⁹ Chandos Herald, *ibid.*, p. 135.

neighboring infidels as well as the Germiyan people sometimes came to the bazaar to sell or buy goods. One day, a group of infidels came to sell the cups they had made, and a Germiyan man one but paid nothing in return. Thereupon, the infidels turned to Osman to complain about this injustice. Just the fact that non-Muslims who were not even subjects could come and trade in the bazaar and expect equal trading rights portrays Osman as a fair and just ruler. As for the rest of the story, Osman's deeds when assessing the complaint seem indeed heroic. He tracked down the wrongdoer Germiyan, made him pay the price of the cup, and punished him, forbidding any other unjust practice against the infidels. Osman's fairness was so effective that the local infidels continued to come to the bazaar, even bringing their wives. They put their faith in Osman and said "he is treating us justly."⁶⁵⁰

In the following years, news of the righteous rule and just behaviour of the Ottomans spread so widely that several lands were conquered without bloodshed, and the infidels became more prosperous than before.⁶⁵¹ Furthermore, in some cases, the infidels voluntarily came to the lands where the Ottomans ruled and became subjects.⁶⁵²

In addition, there are examples of the infidels allying themselves with the Ottomans to conquer their own homeland, like Süleyman Pasha in taking the castle of Aya Şılonga together with Ece Beg and Ghazi Fazıl.⁶⁵³ The reason for such events is the just rule of the Ottomans. Ashiq Pashazade makes it clear with an rhetorical question-answer conversation:

Did Bayezid Khan capture these lands in forcefully or in kindly ways?

*He took all with kindness. Because the former leaders had hurt their people by oppressing them. So wherever Bayezid Khan went the people welcomed him. Several governors also saw his just deeds and auspicious favors and showed loyalty to him.*⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵⁰ Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, p. 99.

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 102 – 103.

⁶⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁶⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

4.6.2. Being Generous

The virtue of being generous in the sources appears to correlate with several different morals. Principally, it lies in not valuing worldly possessions which in turn evokes religious morals. We see it in the form of justness in some examples, especially when the case is sharing booty among the ideal warriors. Specific to the early Ottoman sources, being generous sometimes means helping and nurturing the subjects and rendering them prosperous. Often, the authors use this virtue to show that the ideal warriors were not fighting to acquire material gain. In this manner, the warriors are proven religious and devotedly brave men. The amount of effort the writers put into proving that this was the case, seems to suggest that perhaps reality did not quite measure up to these ideals.

“Remove desire for this world from your heart, (such) longing (also) does not survive this way-station,”⁶⁵⁵ states Ahmedî when calling out to the listeners, among whom were also his patrons. Thus, he portrays his exemplary idealized warriors as generous leaders. When Sultan Alaüddin arrived from Konya, to Sultan Yüği, “he showed honor and respect to the rich, he bestowed donations and benefactions upon the destitute.”⁶⁵⁶ He depicts one of his masters, Emir Süleyman as “a generous man, a magnanimous figure. He is the master of munificence. *Ni'me'l-fetâ*”.⁶⁵⁷ Orhan Ghazi is compared to the Persian and Arabian mythological figures when described by Ahmedî: “His nature was to give, just as Hâtem / His nature was to strive, just as Rüstem.”⁶⁵⁸

In Gamez’s narrative, the teacher figure whose role is to manifest the religious morals of chivalry, advises Pero Nino to avoid being greedy:

⁶⁵⁵ Sılay, *ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

*My son, beware of avarice, if thou wouldst remain master of thyself; otherwise shalt thou be a slave, for as the pile of riches increases. Judge not a man by that which fortune has done for him, judge him by what wisdom and virtue there is in him.*⁶⁵⁹

Mercy for the poor is emphasized in all the main sources. Gamez's teacher advises Pero Nino to be bounteous and pitiful towards the poor: "Incline your ear to the petitions of the poor man; listen to him, answer him in peace and kindness and give him alms."⁶⁶⁰ He also pays special attention to the poor: "Gladly would he undertake to speak for the poor, and to defend those who commended themselves to his care, and he would help them from his purse. Never did man or woman who asked an alms of him go away empty-handed. He was true and staunch."⁶⁶¹

This manner of wording is paired with feeding the subjects and making them prosperous in the early Ottoman sources. For instance, Ashiq Pashazade depicts the members of the Ottoman dynasty as generous leaders who "invite everyone to their dining tables" and "feed the people of the realm with godsend,"⁶⁶² since it is derived from Islamic beliefs, and also since Prophet Muhammad and his companions behaved this way.

Ahmedî praises Murad I for his generosity:

*The poor and the destitute, whoever came to him,
would obtain a great share of his good fortune.
He gave a hand to the many who had fallen.
He made princes of many when they were destitute.*⁶⁶³

⁶⁵⁹ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁶⁶² Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, p. 98.

⁶⁶³ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 11.

Chandos Herald's Black Prince is also a generous warrior and he "drew the doctrine of bounty,"⁶⁶⁴ since "gaiety and nobleness were in his heart perfectly from the first beginnings of his life and youth."⁶⁶⁵ Froissart also portrays his noble warriors as open-handed men.⁶⁶⁶

One of the anecdotes he reports is a good example of nobleness, benevolence and bounteousness by both the Prince and the knight Lord James Audley. After the Battle of Poitiers, the Prince looked for Lord Audley and demanded that the knights find him since he knew that Audley fought heavily and might be in a bad state. Some knights answered his request by explaining that "he is sore hurt and lieth in a litter here beside."⁶⁶⁷ The Prince's words in return prove his nobility and kindness towards his comrade: "By my faith, said the prince, of his hurts I am right sorry. Go and know if he may be brought hither, or else I will go and see him thereas he is."⁶⁶⁸ When the news and request of the Prince reach Lord Audley, in a humble manner says: "Ah, sir, said the knight, I thank the prince when he thinketh on so poor a knight as I am."⁶⁶⁹ Then he commands eight of his servants to take him to the place where the Prince is. It a conversation between them follows:

Then the prince took him in his arms and kissed him and made him great cheer and said "Sir James, I ought greatly to honour you, for by your valiance ye have this day achieved the grace and renown of us all, and ye are reputed for the most valiant of all other."

"Ah, sir," said the knight, "ye say as it pleaseth you. I would it were so and if I have this day anything advanced myself to serve you and to accomplish the vow that I made, it ought not to be reputed to me any prowess."⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁶⁴ Chandos Herald's *ibid.*, p. 135.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁶ Froissart, *ibid.*, p. 130.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 129 – 130.

Here the Prince is portrayed as an unpretentious leader who is anxious about a single knight and sends his men to find him. At the end of this conversation, he bestows much booty on Lord Audley for his successful deeds in the war, a sign of generosity and justness. But at first Audley does not accept this present, for he feels already satiated. Finally the knight takes the present and shares it equally amongst his men. The Prince also puts him on a high salary from the state treasury. The purpose of this narration is to demonstrate the material gain a knight achieved as a result of his loyalty, brave fighting and chivalric virtues. The bounteousness of the warrior prince is highlighted and the opportunities available to a knight are displayed.

In the Ottoman sources, the virtue of generosity is portrayed in a different manner. The lavish deeds of the just Ottoman sultan take the form of architectural works built for public use. A sultan commissioning a mosque, madrasa, or bazaar built after conquering a city or territory is a typical story in the sources. In this context, Ashiq Pashazade's portrayal of Orhan is noteworthy. After conquering Nicaea, Orhan transforms a large church into a mosque, and a monastery into a madrasa. He places the scholars Davud of Kayseri, Taceddin the Kurdish, and Kara Hodja as *mudarrises*. He also founds an *imaret*, a kind of public poorhouse, and commissions a dervish named Hadji Hasan to work there. Most importantly, as a devoted Muslim, the father of poor people and a modest warrior-king, Orhan himself serves out the first soup cooked in this *imaret*, and lights the first lamp.⁶⁷¹

In another example, Murad I subjugates the Castle of Çorlu and the warriors plunder the city since the infidels did not voluntarily give their homeland over to the Ottomans. After the conquest, the *ghazis* "magniloquently were satisfied with the booty"⁶⁷² since Murad I allowed it. Then, they marched to the Castle of Misini to capture it. The landlord of the Castle gives presents to Murad I who shares it all out evenly to the *ghazis* equally since he is a just and generous *ghazi*-sultan.

⁶⁷¹ Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, p. 120.

⁶⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 126.

The Ottoman ideal *ghazi's* generosity is also a symbol of their sovereignty and power. Especially in wedding ceremonies, Ottoman sovereignty is displayed by expensive gifts. During the wedding of Köse Mihal's daughter, Osman Ghazi presents precious carpets, beautiful rugs, numbers of sheep herds, and many other valuable gifts. The neighbouring Christian landlords "are filled with admiration for Osman's presents and generosity."⁶⁷³

At the wedding ceremony of Bayezid I, son of Murad I and Sultan Khatun, daughter of Germiyans' beg, Ghazi Evrenos who is one of the leading *ghazis* of the Ottomans in the Balkans, presents such meritorious gifts that the invited ambassadors gaze at them with admiration: one hundred slaves, one hundred concubines, ten silver plates of golden florins, ten golden plates filled with several gifts, eighty silver stoups, and more. The ambassadors marvel "if one of the Ottoman *ghazis* is such a rich man, what about the rest of them?"⁶⁷⁴ On the other hand, Murad I's bounteousness goes beyond Evrenos's, indeed:

*Look at what Murad Khan Ghazi did. He shared out the slaves and concubines to the ambassadors. Additionally, he gave them the golden and silver tackles. He gave all the horses presented as gifts from the ambassadors to Ghazi Evrenos. He bestowed on them some filorins, too. The rest of them were shared amongst the scholars and the poor. He kept nothing for himself. Numbers of people came to the wedding as poor and left the place as rich people, and prayed for Murad I.*⁶⁷⁵

4.7. THE PROMISES: EARTHLY GAINS AND HEAVENLY AWARDS

Although the authors advise their audiences that the primary aim of a holy warrior must not be to obtain worldly goods, their narratives tell a story of great earthly acquisitions. The authors remind their readers that they must keep in mind the divine rewards which God promises, and reprimand those who chase after material gains. However, this does not stop

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

the writers giving a wide coverage to such gains. While heavenly rewards consist of God's love, the remission of sins, ascension up to Heaven and an eternal life of peace, the list of earthly gains is longer: goods, precious objects of golden and silver, lands and women as well as general booty; sometimes a regular income or the possession of land, owning young slaves to sell or employ, being a member or drawing closer to the ruling class, and being celebrated and immortalized.

4.7.1. Heavenly Rewards

As we saw earlier, the Crusaders believed that the First Crusade was primarily an armed pilgrimage, and that by embarking on such a quest, their sins would be forgiven by God. From the eleventh century onwards, knights, *chevaliers*, and all the warriors who were in the service of the power-holders were acknowledged as holy warriors since war itself (whether it was against Muslims or not, or whether it was a Crusade or not) was sanctified for the reasons mentioned in the third chapter of this thesis. Thus, the main heavenly reward was directly or indirectly described as being received into heaven itself. However, particularly in European sources, it was generally not promised directly, but rather it was indirectly implied that if you fight for the name of God and carry out his orders, naturally remission of sins would be granted and you would go to Heaven to be with God in peace forever.

As discussed in the section "Religiousness, Divine Providence and the Grace of God," in the main narratives of Anatolia and Europe, warriors were declared to have grace, blessings and help from God. For since they fought for God, and for making his "true religion" dominant in the world, they deserved to go to Paradise.

An example of a direct mention of ascension to Heaven comes from Ahmedî's narrative: "Ertuğrul left this world for his place (in Paradise), His son Osman remained in his place (on

the throne).”⁶⁷⁶ Another one regards Orhan. When he died, “he carried (his) horse’s gear to the rose garden of Paradise.”⁶⁷⁷

The promise of Paradise is held out to all warriors who wage war for God, because by fighting, they are removing polytheism from the earth, and helping those who live their lives according to God’s precepts:

He who is a holy raider is an instrument of the true religion.

Of course, his situation (in the next life) will be pleasant.

He who is a holy raider is a servant of Tangri.

He cleans this land from the filth of polytheism.

He who is a holy raider is the sure sword of the True One.

*The holy raider is the support and refuge of people of the (true) religion.*⁶⁷⁸

Furthermore, even if the warriors die in this world, they remain alive, since they become martyrs:

Should he become a martyr on Tangri’s path,

Do not assume that the Auspicious One died. He lives.

They are in the presence of the True One, within His sustenance.

*They have not died, rather they are alive.*⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁶ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

4.7.2. Earthly Gains

If a warrior emulated the idealized *ghazi*, he could expect to acquire all manner of earthly goods such as slaves, concubines, objects made of gold and silver, or land. Additionally, he might gain a prestigious reputation, or become a member of, or move closer to the ruling class.

However, in all the main sources from both cultural regions, fighting with the primary goal of obtaining material wealth is despised; such an aim is deemed unsuitable for an ideal warrior. As we saw in previous sections, kings and princes share the spoils of war and privileges equally with their warriors, in some cases they even take nothing for themselves while making their subjects rich.

İnalçık emphasizes the link between the religious character of *ghaza* and material gain. He states that according to the religious laws of Islam, booty which is gained in a *ghaza* raid is also a religious reward, as it is considered a *halal* earning. He also points out that: “In the works written in the Christian West, *ghaza* is perceived as a tool of legitimation for warring and plunder, and thus its special meaning and function for a society [for the early Ottoman society] are ignored.”⁶⁸⁰

On the other hand, in the main sources, it appears that the only special meaning and function of gaining booty is the prospering of the *ghazis*. Thus, I will argue that obtaining material gains is treated as a promise, several examples of which can be seen in several scenes from the wars in the Ottoman sources. The military campaign to Karacahisar-Göynük during Osman’s reign and its narration in Ashîq Pashazade’s *Tevârih* are more of a particular issue.

In this campaign which takes place in the tenth chapter of *Tevârih*, Osman Ghazi, his comrade Köse Mihal who is still a Christian, and the infidels of Harmankaya together with the Muslim

⁶⁸⁰ İnalçık 2009, p. 26.

ghazis plunder and capture the towns of Tarakçı Yenicesi, Göynük and Karacahisar. Köse Mihal leads the way aided by Samsa Chavush who has given him the land of Mudurnu by Osman since he and his people “got on with the neighbouring infidels.”⁶⁸¹ Because the infidels of Karacahisar voluntarily give their town over to them, the Ottomans “did not take any slaves but they seized goods and booty to subjugate the locals.”⁶⁸²

İnalçık argues that the Ottomans held this “campaign of plunder”⁶⁸³ with the intention of increasing the numbers of the *ghazis* because “organizing *ghaza*-plundering campaigns was the only way of gathering the *ghazis* together.”⁶⁸⁴ In one of his latest works İnalçık alleges that the main aim was to capture Nicaea which held a special importance for the Crusaders who took the town in 1097 A.D. The Ottomans wanted to “regain this town for Islam,”⁶⁸⁵ and “*ghaza*, namely holy war, was a sacred ideology which gave new meaning to the raids aimed at collecting booty and motivating the *alps* and *alperens* who had been fighting in the frontiers.”⁶⁸⁶ Another goal of this campaign was subjugating the neighbouring Christian landlords.⁶⁸⁷ In other respects, Lindner (1983, p. 4) indicates that “the Ottoman chronicles imply that the lord of Karacahisar was Christian, but such a claim is false” because Eskişehir had already been captured by the Muslims over a century before the Ottomans arrived on the scene.”⁶⁸⁸

As regards to Ashiq Pashazade’s narration, the emphasis is mainly on pillaging and the gaining of wealth by the *ghazis*. In the poem of the tenth chapter, the author almost commends the richness of the *ghazis* and heralds the coming days full of wealth.

⁶⁸¹ Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, p. 99.

⁶⁸² *Ibid.*

⁶⁸³ İnalçık 2010, p. 146.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸⁵ İnalçık, 2009, p. 10.

⁶⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶⁸⁷ İnalçık 2010, p. 148.

⁶⁸⁸ Lindner, *ibid.*, p. 4. On this point, the revealing letter sent from Akşemseddin’s letter to Mehmed II before the conquest of Constantinople is noteworthy (Lowry, 2006). The letter states: “As you know, most auxiliary troops are Muslim; therefore, the number who will actually put their souls and their heads on the line for God is less than none. However, if they see the possibility of booty, they will throw their souls into the fire for worldly goods” (p. 49).

*Osman assured that the ghazis became men of property,
Some of them gained gold, some silver and some horses.
And some chose from the young girls they liked
Yet already the ghazis took the opportunity
They gathered around Osman's aims
Wealth will be increased from now on
The sun of blessedness had already rose
Look and watch it in the mirror of the ghazis.⁶⁸⁹*

However, in the next pages of *Tevârih*, in the twenty-ninth chapter, the author depicts Osman Ghazi as a poor man. According to his narrative, when Osman died, his legacy was portioned out between his sons. But it was discovered that there was neither gold nor silver belonging to him. All he had were materials such as a piece of cloth, a barde, several sheep, and horses.⁶⁹⁰ That is to say, the author portrays Osman Ghazi as a leader who made his warriors rich but took nothing for himself. It appears that this portraiture carries a message for contemporary sultans of the author's period.

4.7.2.1. Slaves and “beauties” as plunder

In the following chapter of the poem, Ashîq Pashazade states that Osman and his *ghazis* “did not take slaves or buy them, the wars were not waged for gaining slaves.”⁶⁹¹ Throughout the rest of his narration, however, the author goes on to report the slaves, concubines, and material gains that the *ghazis* obtained: “when the infidels of İnegöl were killed, the *ghazis*

⁶⁸⁹ Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, p. 100.

⁶⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

acquired numerous goods and blessings,”⁶⁹² or “the *ghazis* took the landlord to Osman Ghazi and captured whatever they found as property.”⁶⁹³

As for Ahmedî, he also praises the material gains obtained as booty and depicts them as promises for the warriors. In contrast to Ashiq Pashazade, he lays greater emphasis on the Islamic character of the *ghaza* raids, and the spoils gained from the lands of the infidels. Describing the grandfather of Osman, Ertughrul Ahmedî says he “attacked realms without limit. He seized treasure and property. The troops trampled the region of blasphemy.”⁶⁹⁴ The Ottoman “soldiers marched in every direction”⁶⁹⁵ and “they plundered the infidel day and night,”⁶⁹⁶ and this is a common theme in his *Dâsîtân*.

Although Ashiq Pashazade’s claim that the wars were not waged for taking slaves, Ahmedî mentions it:

*They enslaved women and children, whomever they found.
They wiped out for all time (the seed of) young men and old
Much silver and gold came to him from all directions,
(as well as) slaves and servants, fair and silver-breasted.*⁶⁹⁷

Additionally, in another couplet the author seems to imply that the *ghazis* obtained political power: “In a very short time, that body (of warriors), whereas they had been destitute, became kings.”⁶⁹⁸ As Lowry indicates, in Ahmedî’s *Dâsîtân*, Orhan “also concentrates on the material

⁶⁹² Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, p. 102.

⁶⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁶⁹⁴ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁸ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 4.

benefits which such activity brought to practitioners of the *gaza*: plunder, slaves, silver, gold, and concubines are enumerated among the rewards which accrue to the *gazis*.⁶⁹⁹

Regarding the emphasis on captured slaves in the early Ottoman and Christian sources, İnalçık implies the growing demand from the large markets in Asia Minor, Iran, and in the Arab lands, and “enslavement of the neighboring ‘infidels’ became a most profitable business as well as a ‘pious’ act.”⁷⁰⁰ Furthermore, when it came to young women, they were not always traded or treated as mere chattel. Orhan makes his first independent raids into Akyazı and Kocaeli and Ashiq Pashazade, despite his former claims, describes the goods, treasures, and “gentle, svelte and graceful young girls”⁷⁰¹ the *ghazis* gained. Furthermore, in the narration of Nicaea’s conquest the author reports that there were many “beautiful women” who were widowed after their husbands were killed in the war. Orhan commanded the *ghazis* to take and marry these women, and to settle in their houses. When considering the following poem in thirty-second chapter, it appears that beautiful women were also portrayed as promises for the warriors, as earthly gains:

*When the Greek beauties swung and jounced,
The hearts of the ghazis melted like lighted candles,
When these women came to the garden [where Orhan and the ghazis were]
The ghazis wondered if they were angels?
They had rosy cheeks and lips were scarlet red,
These silver arms, and chins like peaches...
Oh friends! The girls who had the angels’ light came,
The hearts [of the ghazis] who saw them became slaves [to these women]
Even the shadow of their images enticed my soul and my heart
The ambergris scented hair bewitched my mind
When these women gazed enticingly,*

⁶⁹⁹ Lowry, 2003, p. 20.

⁷⁰⁰ İnalçık, 1981-82 p. 74.

⁷⁰¹ Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, p. 108.

*Young and old men sacrificed themselves [to these women]
These musky beloved ones got the minds drunk
These Greek women hunt the minds
They sing songs in Greek and coquet
just like they are playing reed flutes, çeng and saz,
When the ghazis saw them in that position
Orhan gave these women to the ghazis
He also gave those houses and money
These women became wives of the ghazis.⁷⁰²*

This poem is probably the longest description of women in the early Ottoman sources. They are Greek and widowed, given to the *ghazis* by Orhan to marry them. Although Ashiq Pashazade himself states that these women had lost their husbands in the recent war with the Ottomans, he unrealistically pictures them in his poem as happy and content with their lives. Furthermore, these women seem to have been flirting with the *ghazis* who caused them become widows, by gazing enticingly. Thus, it can be argued that the young women slaves, too, are depicted as an earthly gain, a promise for the warriors.

Murad Han I and his *ghazis* capturing golden and silver plates, filorins and numerous goods in the conquest of Pulunya Castle is also painted in glowing colours in *Tevârih*.⁷⁰³

The news and rumors of Turkish plunder must have been so effective and frightening that “when the infidel [the landlord of Alaşehir Castle] heard that Yıldırım Khan commanded [his *ghazis*] to plunder, he asked for mercy and the land was conquered by making a pact.”⁷⁰⁴

⁷⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁷⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 131 – 132.

⁷⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

Ashiq Pashazade, runs afoul of his former claims once more when recording Yıldırım Khan's siege of Constantinople. The *ghazis* gained so many slaves that "there remained no one who did not have any slaves in Rumelia and Anatolia. The *ghazis* gained much booty."⁷⁰⁵

As distinct from the Ottoman sources, the main emphasis of European writings used in this thesis is not on gaining booty; however there are still references to material gains that can be interpreted as promises for the warriors. On his way to Poitiers, the Black Prince together with his knights plundered several towns and brought with him "much booty, for they had wrought much damage in France by their great valour."⁷⁰⁶ Gamez's master Pero Nino is much more desirous of capturing property and booty. In his wars, he mostly captures ships, galleys, slaves and precious goods of gold and silver. And he always share them with his comrade knights.⁷⁰⁷ In a conflict with the Moors for taking their tents from them, the booty's content is sorted:

*They found (in the tents) a quantity of carpets, royal and small alcatifas and alfombras, worked in divers manners; many casks and jars of butter and of honey, salt and smoked meat, bread and corn, dates and almonds, and dishes all prepared for those that had time to eat them, ostrich feathers and packets of porcupine quills.*⁷⁰⁸

4.7.2.2. Lands as an Earthly Gain

Acquiring land is another earthly gain promised in the main narratives. However, to seize such a chance, a man must be a leading warrior, close to the power-holders and in general, be prepared to gain more for his leader than for himself.

⁷⁰⁵ Aşıkpaşazâde, *ibid.*, pp. 136 – 137.

⁷⁰⁶ Chandos Herald, *ibid.*, p. 140.

⁷⁰⁷ Gamez, *ibid.*, pp. 27 – 31.

⁷⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

Just like slaves, gaining land is also a rare theme in the European sources. The only example we come across is the Black Prince's bestowal on Lord Audley after the knight's successful raids and deeds in the Battle of Poitiers. The Prince appointed him as his constant *chevalier*, giving him a piece of land in England, and also granting him a salary.⁷⁰⁹

In contrast, in the Ottoman sources there are plenty of narratives depicting *timars*⁷¹⁰ given to the *ghazis*. Osman Ghazi gives Yarhisar to a "useful comrade" Hasan Alp, İnegöl to Turgut Alp as *timar* after conquering these lands. Then, together with his son, Orhan and the troops march to İznik, capturing more land and bestowing it on several soldiers as *timar*.⁷¹¹

They continue to advance into the territory, taking Yenişehir and giving "each of the *ghazis*"⁷¹² villages and lands again. So "the *ghazis* got stronger and started to desire to permanently wage war."⁷¹³ These conquests of the Ottomans discouraged the landlord of Gallipoli, and he voluntarily surrendered his domain to them. The Ottoman sultan gives the place as *timar* to Yakup Ece and Ghazi Fazıl.⁷¹⁴ Hadji İlbey and Ghazi Evrenos are also given lands in the Balkans for their militarily successful deeds.⁷¹⁵

4.7.2.3. Opportunities for religious men and scholars

In the early Ottoman state, there are chances to be seized not only for warriors but also for *ghazi* dervishes and literary men such as scholars. After Sheikh Edebali heralds Osman his sultanate, one of his disciples, Dervish Tururoğlu asks Osman to bestow the village they live

⁷⁰⁹ Froissart, *ibid.*, p. 130.

⁷¹⁰ *Timar*: a bestowed piece of land given with military and administrative reasons. İnalçık, H., 1996. *Timar*. *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, V. **41**, pp. 168 – 173.

⁷¹¹ Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, p. 105.

⁷¹² *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

in, and Osman agrees.⁷¹⁶ Orhan almost miraculously changes the life of a poor and literate man, Sinan:

*That poor man Sinan came into his presence
The poor man had been a prisoner in his hands.
While he was saying poverty is close to blasphemy (el-fakru kâde en yekün)
(divine) fortune became a guide to him in adversity
In the name of science, he (Orhan) made him Paşa Sinan,
He (Sinan) obtained from him prosperity, position, fame and livelihood.⁷¹⁷*

Murad I is quite generous towards the scholar:

*On the whole, his scientific knowledge was small.
In every grace, he was lacking and untoward.
He (Murad) understood the difficult situation and poverty of his exile (from Çender).
Graciously, he appointed him to high office.
Ultimately, he made him vizier of the domain.
What a vizierate! He became a great prince.⁷¹⁸*

Ahmedî depicts Bayezid I as a sultan who had an exclusive sympathy for scholars: “that man of good repute liked scientific people. He supported them financially. He showed them respect. He welcomed those who were devoted. He treated well those who were devout.”⁷¹⁹ Therefore the Sultan helps Şeyh Efendi and turns him from a poor man into a man of prosperity and prestige:

⁷¹⁶ Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, p. 95.

⁷¹⁷ Silay, *ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

⁷¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁷¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

*Şeyh Efendi came to him as a beggar.
He made him an exemplar to all the people.
That sovereign gave him many high offices,
realms and subjects, castles and cities and regions.*⁷²⁰

As they were members of the ruling class, the identifications and depictions of both Sinan Pasha and Çandarlı Halil should be examined in detail, particularly with regards to the author's relationship to this class, his personal opinions of them, and even his subjective feelings towards them. However, this theme of seizing opportunities for literate men and dervishes is supported by other examples during the narrative. In this manner, it can be argued that the Ottoman narratives signal to the literate men who they can use or appoint as ideologues for maintaining the holy wars, and religious men who can raise new soldiers to the armies of the Ottoman state.

4.7.2.4. Reputation and honor: celebrity and eternalizing

Gaining a reputation of note often seems to be more important than any other earthly gain in the main sources.

*Take heed of those, Christian and Paynim,⁷²¹ who have endured so much to gain honour and renown; and so follow their example that ye lose not the lasting joy, which is to see God in His glory, and therein to dwell for ever in perfect felicity. Therefore take examples from the faithful knights who have fought for the Faith of Our Lord God.*⁷²²

This passage, in which Gamez calls out to both Christian and Muslim warriors, can be accepted as a case in point, depicting the importance for holy warriors of having a good

⁷²⁰ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 19.

⁷²¹ Paynim means “pagan” and Christians mostly used this term for addressing the Muslims.

⁷²² Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 4.

reputation. Besides, his words also refer to the relationship between waging war for God and the desire to be known and immortalized. When considering the profession of soldiery where men faced the risk of death every day, it is not surprising that they had such a desire to be remembered. The warriors took risks out of a desire to gain a good reputation, and this is accepted as ordinary behavior for a warrior.

Pero Nino is a brave knight who “took no account of any danger when it was a question of gaining honour.”⁷²³ The Black Prince was only eighteen years old when he “gained renown, for he was eager to acquit himself well.”⁷²⁴ Similarly, when Murad I heard the news that the enemies were getting closer, he “marched out eagerly, thinking he would become famous.”⁷²⁵ And from that day on, Ahmedî speaks about him as “the celebrated one.”⁷²⁶ The author praises Murad I’s ancestor Ertughrul who “fought many battles,”⁷²⁷ and accordingly, “of course, he became celebrated in the world.”⁷²⁸ Osman and Sultan Bayezid, too, is mostly referred to as a “celebrated *ghazi*.”⁷²⁹ Ashiq Pashazade records that “the *ghazis* tried so hard and waged so many wars to Islamicize the lands and to be remembered in the course of time.”⁷³⁰

The authors of the main sources explicitly state that one of the reasons they undertook their works was to immortalize the memories and the names of the warriors. They are eager to record the names of the warriors and sometimes point out the location of their graves.

Ashiq Pashazade relates numerous names of the warriors and indicates several of their graves such as Osman Ghazi’s nephew Uysal Hodja, Ghazi Fazıl and Yakub Ece.⁷³¹ Froissart seems

⁷²³ Gamez, *ibid.*, p. 27.

⁷²⁴ Chandos Herald, *ibid.*, p. 136.

⁷²⁵ Silay, *ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷²⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁷²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 53; p. 266.

⁷³⁰ Aşıkpaşazade, *ibid.*, p. 108.

⁷³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 125; p. 136.

to dedicate his work of twelve volumes to recording the names of the knights and *chevaliers*, some of whom are members of the ruling class, some less important warriors or “lesser knights.”⁷³² For example, he states that “the prince made the king and his son, the lord James of Bourbon, the lord John d'Artois, the earl of Tancarville, the earl of Estampes, the earl Dammartin, the earl of Joinville and the lord of Partenay to sit all at one board, and other lords, knights and squires at other tables.”⁷³³

Chandos Herald pays special attention to the names of the knights killed in battle: “and, by what I heard, they died there, I warrant you: the right noble Duke of Bourbon, the brave Duke of Athens, and the Marshal de Clermont, Matas, Landas, and Ribemont, with Sir Renaut de Pons and others.”⁷³⁴ In addition, the author gives wide coverage to the comrades in arms of the Black Prince:

*Now it is very right that I should recount to you the names of these noble barons. First of all the Lord de Rays, good and valiant in deeds, next the Lord d'Aubeterre, eager in pursuit of war, Messire Garsis de Castel, valiant and loyalhearted, and Gaillard de la Motte also, and Aimery de Rochechouart, and Messire Robert Camyn, Cresswell, and the true-hearted Briquet and Messire Richard Taunton and William Felton and Willecock le Boteller and Peverell of the proud heart, John Sandes, a man of renown, and John Alein, his companion, next afterwards Shakell and Hawley. All these pennons were companions to Chandos, and placed under his pennon. Next were the Marshals, loyal men of valour, one Stephen of Cosinton, a very noble knight, the other the good Guichard d'Angle, who ought not to be set aside, rather is it very right that he should be remembered; with them they had the banner of St. George, and many other knights in their company.*⁷³⁵

⁷³² Froissart, *ibid.*, p. 131.

⁷³³ *Ibid.*

⁷³⁴ Chandos Herald, *ibid.*, pp. 146 – 147.

⁷³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

4.8. A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO THE IDEALIZED *TOPOS*

There are more similarities between the *topos* of the holy warrior in Anatolian and in European sources than there are differences. The idealizations created by Gamez and Ashiq Pasha show that courage, physical strength, having a horse, possessing certain arms and armour, and having a good comrade are essential to a such a warrior. Also, by being “holy,” one must have religious morals and manners. In this context, Ashiq Pasha and Gamez create an ideal *topos* of the holy warrior as a man who can control his appetites and mortify his *nafs*, leading a life replete with religious piety alongside his fighting skills.

Thus, when these most desirable features come together in one man, an ideal man for waging war, it is not surprising that he is a role model for both patrons and subjects, since it is the very nature of being a perfect holy warrior.

The ideal warriors in the medieval sources of Anatolia and Europe bear traces of older heroes in terms of characteristic features such as being brave, permanently victorious, and adventurousness. It is a result of the intermingling of elements of old cultures, beliefs and customs, some of which were still practised in the periods when the authors’ were writing these narrations according to monotheistic religious teachings. Thus, such similarities cannot be coincidental, but rather are intentional; the relations were established on purpose. Furthermore, the ideal warriors seemed to outshine the old ones.

The most distinct difference between the idealizations of holy warriors in medieval Anatolia and those in European narratives lies in the warriors’ gentility. In European sources, except for a few examples, warriors are mostly noble. Considering the fact that the kings and princes were members of the aristocracy, this is unsurprising. However, the warriors who are not direct members of the ruling class are also depicted as nobles, since being noble is a requirement of being a knight or *chevalier*. In fact, the European authors, when praising the warriors’ nobility, do not only refer to their lineage but also to their civilized and courteous behaviors.

Regarding the Ottoman sources, lineage is only emphasized in relation to the justification of Osman's and his dynasty's right to rule. Differently from Europe, one does not need to be a member of a noble family or even of high Turkic descent in order to become a *ghazi*, *akıncı* or *alp* in Anatolia. Therefore, if a warrior does not descend from Osman, his lineage is not mentioned at all.

The authors seem eager to portray the warriors as bloodthirsty fighters. The level of violence the warriors employ in conquests and wars is considered a sign of the warriors' martial skills and invincibility.

All the kings, the sultans and their sons are surrounded by valiant, brave and fearless holy warriors. Being a good comrade of a leader means being a good warrior. Its details are in these sources, and the most honorable virtue of a good warrior is his obedience to his leader.

It appears that the glorified virtues are mentioned in the sources firstly in order to praise the warriors as virtuous men, and secondly to justify their existence and rule. Besides, these panegyric virtues constitute the codes and rules of being a good and accepted warrior. Thus, these codes provide behavioral patterns for both the patrons of the authors and for the men wishing to become holy warriors. The virtues of loyalty and obedience must be shown not only towards worldly authorities, but also towards God, his commands, and towards Christian knights of the Holy Church. Specific to the early Ottoman sources, being generous sometimes means helping and nurturing the subjects and rendering them prosperous. Often, the authors use this virtue to show that the ideal warriors were not fighting to acquire material gain. In this manner, the warriors are proven religious and devotedly brave men. The amount of effort the writers put into proving that this was the case, seems to suggest that perhaps reality did not quite measure up to these ideals.

Although the authors advise their audiences that the primary aim of a holy warrior must not be to obtain worldly goods, their narratives tell a story of great earthly acquisitions. The

authors remind their readers that they must keep in mind the divine rewards which God promises, and reprimand those who chase after material gains. However, this does not stop the writers giving a wide coverage to such gains. While heavenly rewards consist of God's love, the remission of sins, ascension up to Heaven and an eternal life of peace, the list of earthly gains is longer: goods, precious objects of gold and silver, lands and women as well as general booty; sometimes a regular income or the possession of land, owning young slaves to sell or employ, being a member or drawing closer to the ruling class, and being celebrated and immortalized.

5. CONCLUSION

The two main similarities between medieval Christian and Islamic ideas of holy war is the fact that both religions originated in the Near East, and that the holy war conceptions they articulate are basically ideological.

However, although both religions derive from the same source, they developed different approaches to waging war. In early Christian thought, peace was the gift of God which must be preserved. God's commandments in the Old and the New Testaments created a pacifist tendency in the Church during the early centuries of Christianity. Thus, most Christian theologians and intellectuals viewed war and violence as profanities for centuries. In contrast, bearing arms and waging war was never perceived as contrary to God's law in Islam from its very conception.

Starting in the seventh century, the Christian West faced several threats such as the attacks by the Persian and Avars. This period also saw the reformist popes and clergy's efforts to obtain wider secular-political power throughout Europe. Upon receiving the news of the defeat by the Turks of the Greeks at Manzikert in 1071, Pope Gregory VII attempted to organize a kind of crusade to the East with the aim of helping Byzantium against the Turks. However, his efforts met with little success. Later, Pope Urban II added a new dimension: a discourse of liberation. That is, liberation of Jerusalem, the holy places in that city and of the Christian brothers and sisters who lived under the rule of Muslim sovereigns. Thus, the doctrine espoused by Augustine transformed from just war into a most holy war. Gregory VII decided to consult with scholars in order to justify his conviction that violence could be used in defence of the Church and could be authorized by it. Thus, he commissioned Anselm of Lucca to compile a collection of canon laws. Urban II, too, turned to scholars, requesting help from them to legitimize his cause. One of the greatest contemporary canonists, Ivo of Chartres, wrote a collection of canon law on the eve of the First Crusade.

As for Muslim Anatolia, the story began in twelfth-century Middle East, precisely when the First Crusade took place. Before the First Crusade, the conception of *jihad* was not primarily perceived as waging war against the infidels for the Muslim world. As historians indicate, it was a collection of codes against the traditions and customs of the *Jahiliyya*. But when an external menace showed itself in the form the First Crusade, *jihad* (with its lower meaning of fighting against infidels who occupied one's land) was reactivated as a reaction, and was used as propaganda for uniting the people.

Through the Seljukids and Mamluks who fought against the Crusaders and the pagan Mongols, this concept of *jihad* and holy war became known in Anatolia via the Turkoman tribes. However, unlike the example of the Middle East, the idea of holy war was perceived mostly as "*ghaza*", not *jihad*. The Mongols' decisive victory over the Seljukids in 1243 A.D., their influential political domination in large parts of Anatolia, as well as the Crusades are considered together to be the key triggers for the development of a holy war ideology. Although there is no absolute proof that the early Ottomans adopted *ghaza* as an ideology, from the fifteenth century the Ottoman sources, written by the authors who were patronized by beys, emirs or sultans, began to record *ghaza* narratives and ideal toposes of *ghazis*. From then on, all the Ottoman narratives claimed Islamic *ghaza* raids and holy war.

In fact the roots of the image of *ghazis* and *ghazi* kings lay in early Islamic historical writing. Prophet Muhammad's first struggles against the non-Muslims which were remembered as *ghazas* inspired the first examples of Islamic histories, and the authors who were in the service of Gaznavids built narratives including this *ghazi* image. Mahmud of Ghazna, together with the authors who were in his service, included himself in the process of creating the image of a *ghazi* king by using the images of older heroes. Furthermore, the idealized *ghazi* image in the Ottoman historical sources and narratives also derived from these sources. This reveals the most important parallel between the two ideas of holy war in the Christian West and Muslim East: the creation of idealized images and narratives by authors who were patronized by power-holders.

Thus, it can be said that the processes which took place in both Anatolia and Europe during the Middle Ages share similar characteristics such as their responses, and the methods of dealing with new circumstances. In both cultural areas, a combination of internal and external threats, power struggles and socio-economic circumstances led to the regeneration of military warfare. As a consequence, the power-holders received the support and services of religious scholars and literary men. In turn, the scholars provided religious legitimacy and references to the sovereign, while the patronized literary elite wrote their idealized and mostly custom-built narratives across several literary genres. These authors generated a military culture by combining the heritage of old and ancestral knowledge, beliefs, images, and symbols, with the doctrines and teachings of monotheistic religions. They rebuilt the idealized *topos* of the holy warrior, portraying it as a role model for society, especially for the common man, who was needed by the political units in order to wage war.

The early Middle Ages was a formative period for both Anatolia and Europe. It was a time when the idea of holy war sprung up in the Islamic East and Christian West and the culture of warfare was regenerated by literate men in the service of sovereigns,. Significantly, the concepts of holy war re-formed in both societies during the same period of history. This is another similarity between these Islamic and Christian cultures, and can be related to another common trait: the creation of identity. That is, ultimately, the aim of regenerating military warfare and creating the idealized *topos* of the holy warrior in both cultural areas was the creation of a strong collective identity. Thus, the societies were formed in accordance with the needs of the power-holders and circumstances of the periods, and as a result, the idea of holy war became an ideology over the course of time, strongly effecting and forming those societies for centuries to come.

The basic similar features of the idealized *topos* of the holy warrior in the main sources are that as an image, it functioned as the representative and carrier of regenerated cultural and military warfare. It appears that these similar *topoi* which developed separately in two cultural regions had more commonalities than differences due to the very nature of soldiery. Being

courageous, having physical strength, a war-horse, certain arms and armour, and a good comrade are the basic essentials of any warrior.

In both the East and the West, the kings, sultans and their sons were seen to be surrounded by valiant, brave and fearless holy warriors. Being a good comrade of a leader means being a good warrior, and the most honorable virtue of a good warrior is his obedience to his leader.

In order to be “holy,” one must have religious morals such as being devoted, having religious zeal, and being generous and just to all, but especially the poor. An idealized holy warrior must also aim to expand the political and cultural domain of his religion. Thus, an ideal warrior is always loyal and devoted to God and his commands, to his king or sultan, and to his comrades. The only difference between a knight and a Muslim warrior is that the former is also loyal to the Church, an organized religious institution which had no counterpart in the Muslim world.

This *topos* also carries the traces of heroes from the old epics, with the authors frequently comparing their protagonists with ancient characters from the sacred books or ancient narratives, and praising their resemblance. These similarities were not coincidental but intentional creations; a relationship was established on purpose. Furthermore, in most cases, the medieval heroes even out-shine the older models with their supreme attributes.

Additionally, the authors seem eager to portray the warriors as bloodthirsty fighters. The level of violence the warriors used in conquests and wars is considered a sign of a warrior’s martial skills and invincibility.

The most notable difference between the idealizations of holy warriors in medieval Anatolian and European narratives is the warriors’ gentility. In the European sources, except for a few examples, the warriors are mostly noble. This is not unexpected, since kings and princes were members of the aristocracy. And although the warriors who were not direct members of the

ruling class were also seen as nobles, this was because being a knight or *chevalier* required nobility. However, the European authors, when praising the warriors' nobility, do not only refer to their lineage, but also denote their civilized and courteous behavior.

With regards to the Ottoman sources, lineage is only emphasized in relation to the justification of Osman, and in turn, his dynasty's right to rule. In contrast to the situation in Europe, one does not need to be a member of a noble family or even of high Turkic descent in order to become a *ghazi*, *akıncı* or *alp* in Anatolia. Therefore, if a warrior is not descended from Osman, his lineage is simply not mentioned at all.

The main sources are full of promises to the warriors. Some are heavenly rewards such as obtaining God's love, the remission of sins, ascension into Heaven and an eternal life of peace. And although the authors advise their audiences that the primary aim of a holy warrior must not be the attainment of worldly goods, their narratives tell stories of great earthly acquisitions. The list of earthly gains is longer than the one detailing divine rewards: goods, precious objects of gold and silver, lands and women as booty; sometimes a regular income or the possession of lands, having young slaves to sell or employ, being a member or closer to the ruling class, and being celebrated and immortalized. Nevertheless, the authors advise the audiences that they must keep the divine rewards which God promised foremost in their minds, and they reprimand those who actively chase after material gains.

In conclusion, there are more similarities than differences between the Eastern and Western concepts of holy war and the idealized holy warrior *topos*. Such a parallel development was primarily caused by certain circumstances and needs which arose as a consequence of similar internal and external threats and power struggles. The combination of a reinterpretation of the old concepts of heroism with the elements of monotheistic religions, and the appearance of a new and transformed holy warrior hero literature are also noteworthy factors. In light of these conclusions, with a comparative approach, the *ghaza* ideology that the early Ottomans claimed to adopt and the theory which asserts the transformation of *alp* to *ghazi* as a holy warrior can be re-examined.

REFERENCES

Books

- Abrams, M. H. & Geoffrey Galt Harpham, 2009. *A Glossary of Literary Terms*. Boston: Wadsworth CENGAGE Learning.
- Aho, J. A., 1981. *Religious mythology and the art of war, comparative religious symbolisms of military violence*. USA: Greenwood Press.
- Anooshahr, A., 2009. *The Ghazi Sultans and the Frontiers of Islam, A Comparative Study of the Late Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, New York: Routledge.
- Aşık Paşa, 2000. *Garîbnâme*. Kemal Yavuz (Yay. Haz.), İstanbul: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları.
- Aşıkpaşazâde, 1949. *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*. Nihal Atsız (Ed.), İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi.
- Baldick, C., 2001. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Başgöz, İ., 1972. *Folklore Studies and Nationalism in Turkey*. *Indiana University Press, Journal of the Folklore Institute*, 9 (2/3), pp. 162-176.
- Bates Lord, A., 1991. *Epic singers and oral tradition*. New York: Cornell university press.
- Chandos Herald, 1883. *The Life & Feats of Arms of Edward The Black Prince*. Francisque-Michel & J. G. Fotheringham (Trans.), London & Paris: J. G. Fotheringham.
- Chandos Herald, 1910. *Life of The Black Prince*. Mildred K. Pope & Eleanor C. Lodge (Trans. & Ed.), Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- Childs, Peter & Roger Fowler, 2006. *The Routledge Dictionary of Literary Terms*. USA: Routledge Publishing.
- Cuddon, J. A., 2013. *A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*. UK: Wiley - Blackwell Publishing.
- Duby, G., 1980. *The Three Orders Feudal Society Imagined*, Arthur Goldhammer (Trans.), USA: The University of Chicago Press.
- Eliot, C., 1910. *The Harvard Classics, Chronicle and Romance, Froissart – Malory – Holinshed, with introductions, notes and illustrations*. New York: P. F. Collier & Son.
- Firestone R., 1999. *Jihad, the origin of holy war in Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Froissart, 1904. *The Chronicles of Froissart*. Macaulay. G. C. (Ed. and reduced into one volume), John Bourchier & Lord Berners (Trans.), New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Gamez, G. D., 2000. *The Unconquered Knight, A Chronicle of the Deeds of Don Pero Nino*. Joan Evans (trans.), Cambridge: In Parentheses Publications.
- Grotowski, P. L., 2010. *Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints, Tradition and Innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843 – 1261)*, Hugh Kennedy (Ed.), Richard Brzezinski (Trans.), Leiden: Brill Press.
- Mattox, J. M., 2006. *Saint Augustine and the theory of just war*. New York: Continuum.
- Mikics D., 2007. *A New Handbook of Literary Terms*. New Heaven & London: Yale University Press.
- Heng, G. (Eds.), 2003. *Empire of Magic, Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Huizinga, J., 1987. *The Wanning of the Middle Ages, A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought, and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, F. Hopman (Trans.), New York: Penguin Books.
- İnalçık, H. 2009. *Devlet-i Aliyye*, c.1. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.
- Kafadar, C., 1995. *Between Two Worlds*, USA: University of California Press.
- Kaplan, M., 1996. *Türk Edebiyatı Üzerine Araştırmalar III, Tip Tahlilleri*, İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları.
- Kaeuper, R., 1999. *Chivalry And Violence In Medieval Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Keen, M., 1984. *Chivalry*. New York: Yale University Press
- Kerr, F., 2009. *Thomas Aquinas A Very Short Introduction*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Köprülü, F., 2006. *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*. Gary Leiser (Trans.), Robert Dankoff (Ed.), New York: Routledge.
- Köprülü, F., 1992. *The Origins of the Ottoman Empire*, Gary Leiser (Trans. & Ed.), New York: State University of New York Press.
- Lowry, H. W., 2003. *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, New York: State University of New York Press.
- Lindner, R. P., 1983. *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia, Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series Volume 144*, Stephen Halkovic (Ed.), Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies Indiana University.
- Öztürkmen, A., 2006. *Türkiye'de Folklor ve Milliyetçilik*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Reichl, K. 1992. *Turkic oral epic poetry, traditions, forms, poetic structure*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Reich, K. 2000. *Singing the Past, Turkic and Medieval Heroic Poetry*, Gregory Nagy (Ed.), New York: Cornell University Press.
- Sılay, K., 2004. *Ahmedi's History of the Kings of the Ottoman Lineage and Their Holy Raids against the Infidels*. Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures Series. Massachusetts: Harvard University.
- Sivertsev, A. M., 2010. *Judaism and Imperial Ideology in Late Antiquity*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- White, L., 1964. *Medieval Technology & Social Change*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wittek, P., 1996. *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*. London: The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
- Yardımcı, M., 2007. *Destanlar*. Ankara: Ürün Yayınları.
- The Qur'an*, trans.M. A. S. Abdel Haleem, 2005. *Oxford's World's Classics*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Publications

- Aça, M. 2000. Türk destancılık geleneğine bütüncül yaklaşabilme ve alp kavramı üzerine bazı yeni yaklaşım denemeleri, Approaching completely to Turkish epic tradition and some new approaching tests on "alp" concept. *Milli Folklor Dergisi*, **6** (48), pp. 5 – 18.
- Akyüz, Ç., 2010. Manas Destanı'nda alp kadın tipi. *Mukaddime*, **1**, pp. 169 – 180.
- Andrea, A. J., 2004. Christian holy war and jihad. *Crusades, The illustrated history*, Thomas F. Madden (Ed.), USA: The University of Michigan Press, pp. 26 – 28.
- Banarlı, N. S., 1939. Ahmedi ve Dâsitan-ı Tevârih-i Mülûk-i Âl-i Osman. *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, **6**, pp. 49-176.
- Barkan, Ö. L., 1943. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun teşekkülü meselesi. *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, **1** (2), pp. 343 – 356. This article is also available in internet: <http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/42/352/3659.pdf>
- Bars, M. E., 2014. Alp Tipi Kavramı Çerçevesinde Manas. *Tarih Okulu Dergisi (TOD)*, **7** (XVII), pp. 345-357.
- Bull, M. 1999. The Origins. *The Oxford History of Crusades*, Jonathan Riley-Smith (Ed.), New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 15 – 35.
- Carleton, M. D., 1906. The speech of Pope Urban II. at Clermont, 1095. *The American Historical Review*, **11** (2), pp. 231-242.
- Cowdrey, H. E. J., 1976. The genesis of the Crusades: The springs of Western ideas of holy war. *The Holy War*, Thomas Murphy (Ed.), USA: Ohio State University Press, pp. 9 – 33.
- Çetin, H., 2012. İlhanlı hâkimiyeti altında Anadolu'da siyasetin temel dinamiği: Göçebe Moğol-Türkmen çatışması. *Turkish Studies International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, **7** (4), pp. 1203-1216.
- Çınar, A. A., 2002. Türk Destanlarında Alp Tipi At, The Horses Like the Heroes in Turkish Epic, *International and Quarterly Journal of Folklore*, **7** (56), pp. 153 – 157.
- Çobanoğlu, Ö., 1999. Sözlü kültürden yazılı kültür ortamına geçiş bağlamında erken dönem Osmanlı tarihlerinden Aşıkpaşazade'nin epik karakteri üzerine tespitler. *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, **16**, pp. 65 – 82.
- Darling, L. T., 2011. Reformulating the gazi narrative: when was the Ottoman State a gazi state?. *Turcica*, **43**, pp. 13-53.
- Duymaz, A., 1996. Kıpçak sahası Türk destanlarında bir Oğuz alpi: Salur Kazan, *Milli Folklor Dergisi*, **8** (31/32), pp. 49 – 60.
- Duymaz, A., 2007. Oğuz Kağan Destanı'ndan Dede Korkut Kitabı'na kahramanların beden tasvirlerinin sembolik anlamları üzerine değerlendirmeler, *Millî Folklor Dergisi*, 2007, **19** (76).
- Ekici, M., 2002. Destan araştırmaları ve incelemelerinde kullanılan bazı terimler hakkında. *Milli Folklor Dergisi*, **7** (53), pp. 27 – 34.
- Emecen, F., 1995. Gazaya dair: XIV. yüzyıl kaynakları arasında bir gezinti. *Hakkı Dursun Yıldız'a Armağan*, Ankara, pp. 191 – 197.
- Esin, E., 2002. Türk sanatında at. *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, V. 4, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, pp. 125 – 143.
- Flori, J., 2005. Ideology and Motivations in the First Crusade. *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades*, Helen J. Nicholson (Ed.), New York: Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 15 – 37.

- Gergen, T., 2002. The Peace of God and its legal practice in the Eleventh Century. *Cuadernos de Historia del Derecho*, **9**, pp. 11-27.
- Gül, M., 2010. 14. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da Oğuz lehçesiyle yazılmış eserlerle ilgili bilimsel yayınlar. *International Journal of Social Science*. **3** (2), pp. 1-21.
- Heath Lowry, 2006. Some Thoughts on the Meaning of Gaza and Akın in Early Ottoman Usage. *The Ottoman Empire, Myths, Realities and 'Black Holes', Contributions in Honour of Colin Imber*, Eugenia Kermeli (Ed.) & Oktay Özel (Ed.), İstanbul: The Isis Press, pp. 47 – 50.
- Hehl, E. D., 2008. War, Peace, and Christian Order. *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, David Luscombe, Jonathan Riley-Smith (Eds.), **IV**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 185 – 289.
- Imber, C., 1987. The Ottoman Dynastic Myth. *Turcica*, **XIX**, pp. 7-27.
- İnan, A., 1952. Müslüman Türklerde Şamanizm kalıntıları. *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, **1** (4), pp. 19 – 30.
- İnalçık, H., 1994. How to read Ashık Paşa-zâde's history. *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, Colin Heywood & Colin Imber (Eds.), İstanbul: Isis Press, pp. 139 – 156.
- İnalçık, H., 1996. Timar. *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, **V**, **41**, pp. 168 – 173.
- İnalçık, H., 1998. How to Read Ashik Pasha-zade's History. *Essays in Ottoman History*. İstanbul: Eren, pp. 139-156.
- İnalçık, H., 2000. Aşıkpaşazade Tarihi Nasıl Okunmalı?. *Söğüt'ten İstanbul'a*. Mehmet Öz, Oktay Özel, (Eds.), Ankara: İmge Yayınevi, ss. 119-149.
- İnalçık, H., 2010. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun kurucusu Osman Bey. *Kuruluş*, Halil İnalçık (Ed.), İstanbul: Hay Kitap, pp. 109-170.
- İnalçık, H., 1981-82. The Question of the emergence of the Ottoman State. *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, **2** (2), pp. 71-79.
- İnalçık, H., 1991. The status of the Greek Orthodox patriarch under the Ottomans. *Turcica* **21–23**, pp. 407–436.
- İnalçık, H. 1954. Ottoman methods of conquest. *Studia Islamica*, **III**, pp. 103-129.
- Kafadar, Cemal, 1996. Gaza. *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Ansiklopedisi*, **13**, pp. 427 - 428.
- Kaldy-Nagy, G., (1979–1980). The holy war (jihad) in the first centuries of the Ottoman Empire. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, **4**, pp. 467–473.
- Kahrl, S. J., 1976. Introduction. *The Holy War*, Thomas Patrick Murphy (Eds.), USA: Ohio State University Press.
- Kaplan, M., 1976. Aşık Paşa ve birlik fikri. *Türkiyat Mecmuası*. **17**, pp. 148 – 160.
- Kaplan M., 1995. Dede Korkut Kitabı'nda kadın. *Türk Edebiyatı Üzerine Araştırmalar 1*, Dergah Yayınları, İstanbul, pp. 51-55
- Keskinkılıç, E., 2014. Ata Ağıt, Elegy for a Horse. *Acta Turcica*, **VI** (1-2), pp. 1 – 14.
- Köprülü, F., 1989. Alp. *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, **2**, İstanbul, p. 379 - 384.
- Kut, G., 1996. Aşık Paşa. *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. **4**, pp. 1-3.
- Lull, R., 2013. Silahlı Askerlerin de Ruhban Sınıf Mensupları Gibi Tanrı'nın Hizmetinde Olmalarına ve Askerliğin Onur ve Zorluk Anlamına Geldiğine Dair. *Battıya Yön Veren Metinler*, Şükran Ünser (Çev.), **V**, **1**, İstanbul: Alfa Yayıncılık, pp. 347 – 348.
- Maraşlı, S., 2013. Türk alp geleneğinin Ortaçağ Anadolu tasvir sanatına yansımaları, The reflection of turkic alp tradition on Turkic Medieval Anatolian illustrative arts. *Siberian Studies (SAD)* **1** (3), pp. 17-42.

- Mary Işın, P., 2009. Türk Okçuluk Araştırmaları ve Paul E. Klopsteg (1889-1991). *Acta Turcica*, **1** (1), pp. 233 – 241.
- Mengi, M., 1985. Garîb-Nâme’de alplik geleneğiyle ilgili bilgiler. *Belleten*. **XLVIII** (31), pp. 481 – 496.
- Nicholson, H. J., 2005. Muslim Reactions to the Crusades. *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades*, Helen J. Nicholson (Ed.), New York: Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 269 – 289.
- Ocak, A. Y., 1996. Aşık Paşa’nın Tasavvufi Şahsiyeti Hakkında. *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, **4**, p. 3.
- Ögel, B., 1948. Türk kılıcının menşe ve tekâmülü hakkında. *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Cografya Fakültesi Dergisi*, **6** (5), pp. 431-460.
- Özcan, A., 1996. Aşıkpaşazâde. *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, pp. 6 – 7.
- Özgüdenli, O. G., 1996. Târîh-i Âl-i Selçûk, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, **40**, pp. 72-73.
- Painter, S., 1969. Western Europe on the eve of the Crusades. *A History of the Crusades, V. 1, The First Hundred Years*, Kennet M. Setton (Ed.) & Marshall W. Baldwin (Ed.), USA: The University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 3 – 31.
- Riley-Smith, J., 2003. *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, Great Britain: Continuum Publishing.
- Schamiloğlu, U., 2004. The rise of the Ottoman Empire: The black death in Medieval Anatolia and its impact on Turkish civilization. *Views from the Edge, Essays in Honor of Richard W. Bulliet*, New York: Columbia University Press for The Middle East Institute, Columbia University, pp. 255 – 279.
- Sılay, K., 1992. Ahmedî’s History of the Ottoman Dynasty. *Journal of Turkish Studies*, **16** (1992), pp. 129-200.
- Taflı Düzgün, H., 2009. The alp (hero) and the monster in Beowulf and The Book Of Dede Korkut. *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Güz (**11**), pp. 109 – 119.
- Tekin, Ş., 1993. Türk Dünyasında gazâ ve cihâd kavramları üzerine düşünceler I, başlangıçtan Osmanlıların Fetret Devrine kadar, *Tarih ve Toplum*, 109, pp. 9 – 16.
- Tekin, Ş., 1993. Türk Dünyasında gazâ ve cihâd kavramları üzerine düşünceler-II, Gâzi teriminin Anadolu ile Akdeniz bölgesinde itibarını yeniden kazanması, *Tarih ve Toplum*, 110, pp. 9 – 13.
- Turgunbayer, C., 2007. Türk dünyası destanlarında ortak motifler üzerine, *Türk Dünyası Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi*, 24, pp. 93 – 102.
- Sivertsev, A. M., 2010. *Judaism and Imperial Ideology in Late Antiquity*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Watt, W. M., 1976. Islamic conceptions of the holy war. *The Holy War*, Thomas Murphy (Ed.), USA: Ohio State University Press, pp. 141 – 157.
- Uçak, S., 2013. Şan Kızı Destanı’nda Alplerin yaratılışı ve alp tipi üzerine bir değerlendirme. *Bilim ve Kültür - Uluslararası Kültür Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Science and Culture - Journal of International Cultural Studies, 4, pp. 133-143.
- Uzunçarşılı, İ. H., 1941. Gazi Orhan Bey Vakfıyesi. *Belleten*, **5**, pp. 277-288.
- Yıldırım, R., 2009. Hacı Bektaş Velî ve ilk Osmanlılar, Aşıkpaşazâde’ye eleştirel bir bakış. *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi*. 51, pp. 107 – 146.

Other Sources

- Can, C., 2007. *Garibnâme'de İnsan ve İnsan Tipleri*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı, Danışman: Prof. Dr. Kemal Yavuz.
- Çalın, S., (2006). Sir Thomas Malory'nin "le morte d'arthur" ve Alfred Lord Tennyson'ın "Idylls of the King" Adlı Eserlerinde Şövalyelik İdeali (chivalric ideal) Kavramının İncelenmesi, Yüksek Lisans Tezi. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı.
- Dikici, A. E., (2007). Painting an Icon of the Ideal Gazi: An Exploration of the Cultural Meanings of the Love Affair Episode in Suzi Chelebi's Gazavatname of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey, MA Thesis in Medieval Studies. Budapest: Central European University.
- Keskin, A. (2008). The Late Twelfth-Century Knightly Ethic in North-Western Europe in Life and in Literature, A Master's Thesis. Ankara: The Department of History, Bilkent University.
- Knight, E., (2005). What was the Investiture Controversy a Controversy About?, M.A. Thesis, Great Britain: University of Durham Department of Politics.
- Kocabıyıkoglu Çeçen, Z. (2012). Interpreting Warfare and Knighthood In Late Medieval France: Writers And Their Sources In The Reign Of King Charles VI (1380-1422), A Ph.D. Dissertation. Ankara: Department of History İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University.
- Özdemir, L., (2011). A study of the History of the Ottoman Dynasty by the fifteenth-century writer Aşıkpaşazade, London: Department of the Languages and Cultures of Near and Middle East School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Skorge, K. M., (2006). Ideals and values in Jean Froissart's Chroniques, PHD Thesis. Bergen: University of Bergen.
- Şeker, F. A., (2006). Âşık Paşa'nın Garib-Nâmesi'nde devrin toplum hayatı. Yüksek Lisans Tezi. Manisa: Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı.
- Tidwell, A. K., (2008). The Military and Administrative Leadership of the Black Prince, M.A. Thesis, USA: Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of Baylor University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

