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Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia

Edited by
A.C.S. Peacock,
Bruno De Nicola and
Sara Nur Yıldız

ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY IN MEDIEVAL ANATOLIA

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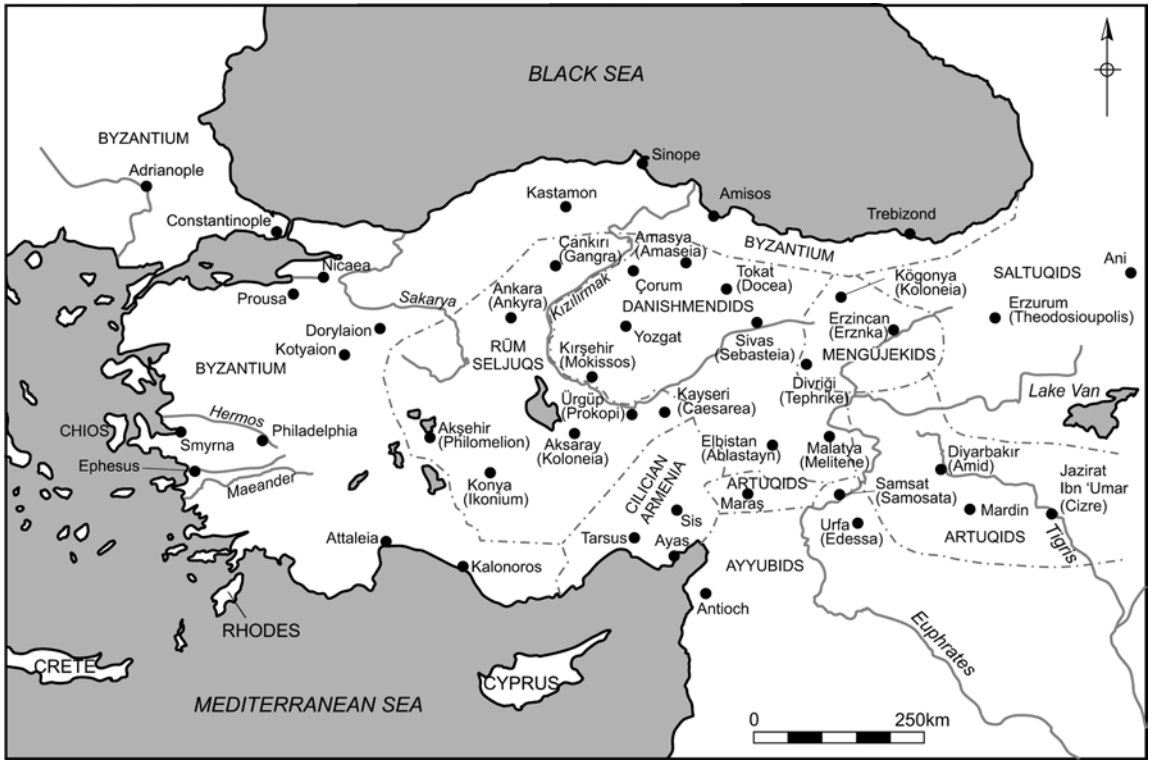

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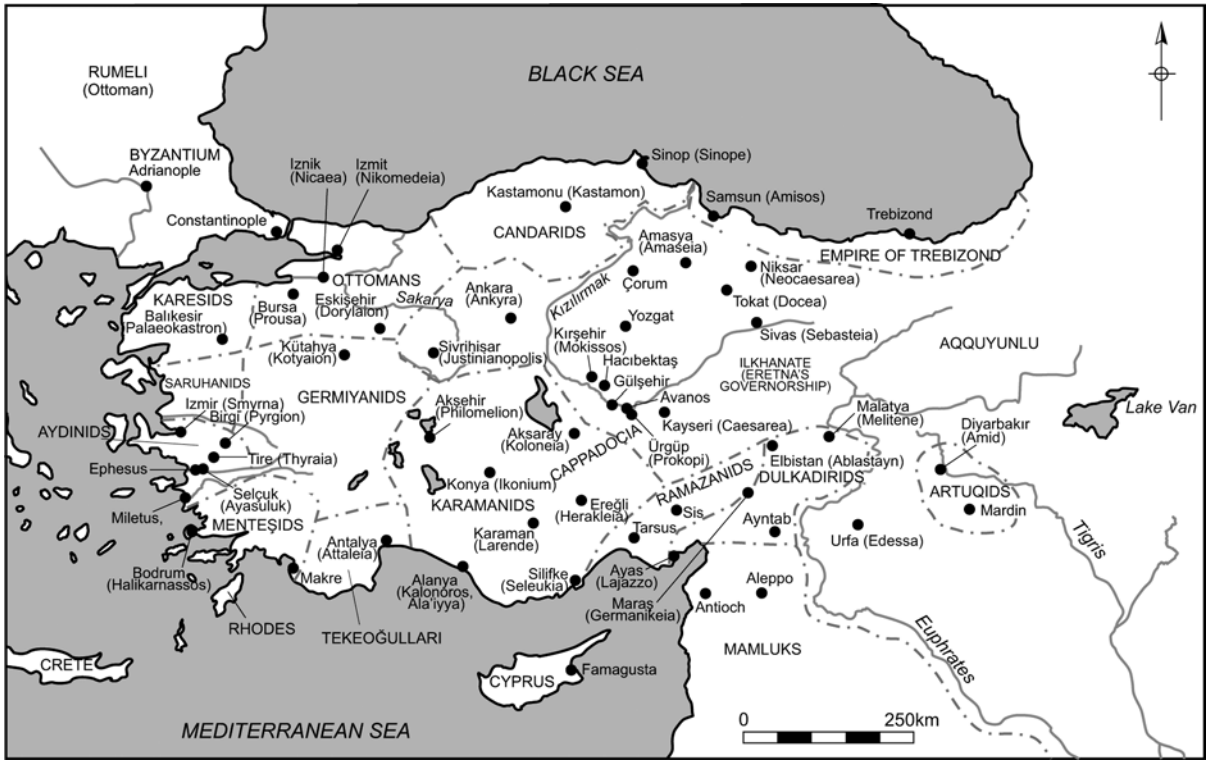

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Note on Transliteration and Place Names

Any volume attempting to bring together materials in Arabic, Armenian, Greek, Latin, Persian, Syriac and Turkish brings formidable editorial problems, and the readers' indulgence is begged if we have not invariably been able to achieve consistency. For place names, to aid ready identification on a map we have generally given the modern Turkish version in addition to the Greek or Armenian versions where authors have preferred these. The index contains comprehensive cross-references to variant forms used in this volume. Arabic and Persian follow the standard forms of transliteration in English language publications; for Turkish names, the modern Turkish orthography has generally been preferred except in the case of some eleventh- and twelfth-century Turkish names which are much more familiar in their Arabised guise (e.g. Tughril, Duqaq, Qutlumush, not Tuğrıl, Dukak, Kutlumuş). Vowel length is not indicated on Turkish words.

Abbreviations

CEEOC	*The Concise Encylopedia of Eastern Orthodox Christianity*, ed. John Anthony McGuckin (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014).
EQr	*Encyclopedia of the Qur'an*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2001–2006).
EI^2	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, ed. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2005).
EI^3	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Third Edition, ed. Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas and Everett Rowson (Leiden: Brill, 2007–).
EIr	*Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London: Routlege and New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 1983– and www.iranicaonline.org).
GEDSH	*Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, ed. Sebastian P. Brock, Beth Mardutho et. al. (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011).
İA	*İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1978–86).
TDVİA	*Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*. (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1988–2013).

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Introduction

A.C.S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola and Sara Nur Yıldız

The eleventh-century invasions of the Seljuq Turks affected to some degree almost every part of the Middle East. Nowhere, however, was their legacy as profoundly transformative as in the Anatolian peninsula. Up to the mid-eleventh century, Anatolia had been an almost entirely Christian land, populated largely by Greeks and Armenians and smaller numbers of Georgians and Syrian Christians. Anatolia represented the core territories of the Byzantine empire upon which Constantinople relied for revenue, and many emperors were themselves of Anatolian origins, whether Greek or Armenian. Over the seventh to tenth centuries, Byzantium had resisted, more or less successfully, Arab attacks that had reached on occasion as far west as Constantinople itself. Indeed, in the late tenth and early eleventh century, Byzantium started to expand eastwards, incorporating Arab territories around Lake Van and even in northern Syria. There was little clue that the infiltration of Turkish nomads of Central Asian origin, whose leaders had recently founded the Seljuq empire in Iran and Iraq in the 1040s, would lead to the sudden collapse of the Byzantine empire in Asia in the wake of the great Turkish victory at Manzikert in 1071. By the 1080s, however, Turkish Muslims controlled most of Anatolia; Byzantine territories were reduced to a few coastal outposts. Byzantium at times regained some coastal and western parts of Anatolia, but it was never able to challenge Turkish suzerainty in the Anatolian interior. Although Byzantium survived, much weakened, until the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453, it never recovered from the loss of its Anatolian heartland. Nonetheless, Muslim rule in medieval Anatolia was never monolithic (see Maps 1–4). Alongside the best known Turkish dynasty, the Seljuqs (r. in Anatolia *c.*1081–1307), existed a host of other Muslim dynasties, such as the Artuqids of the Diyar Bakr, the Mengüjekids of Erzincan and the Danishmendids of central Anatolia.[1] The situation was further complicated by the dominance in Anatolia from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth centuries of the Mongols, whose early rulers,

[1] The standard survey of this period in a Western language remains Claude Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane* (Istanbul, 1988), which is to be preferred to the earlier and later English versions of this book that lack references (idem, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History c.1071–1330*, trans. J. Jones-Williams (New York: Taplinger Publishers Co., 1968); *The Formation of Turkey: The Seljuqid Sultanate of Rūm: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century*, trans. and ed. Peter M. Holt (Harlow, UK and New York: Longman, 2001)). The standard work in Turkish remains Osman Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye, Siyâsi Tarih Alp Arslan'dan Osman Gazi'ye (1071–1318)* (Istanbul: Turan Neşriyatı, 1971, and many reprints). For a sample of more recent scholarship on the Seljuq dynasty in Anatolia see *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, ed. A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013).

and many of their troops, were pagan. In the wake of Mongol collapse, Muslim Anatolia was divided into numerous different Turkish principalities (*beylik*s) in the fourteenth century, of which the leading ones were the Karamanids of south-central Anatolia, and the Aydınids in the southwest. It was out of this complex political situation that the Ottoman *beylik* first arose in northwestern Anatolia.[2]

The Byzantine legacy was remembered in the name the Muslims gave to Anatolia, Rūm (i.e. Rome; the Byzantines identified themselves as *Rhomaioi* or 'Romans', alluding to their own claim to inherit the legacy of the Roman empire). The branch of the Seljuq dynasty that established itself in Rūm sought to appropriate the classical and Byzantine heritage.[3] Indeed, the ensuing social and cultural transformation of Anatolia was much less rapid than the political change. However, over the course of the Middle Ages, the dominant religion became Islam, spread not just by the settlement of the Turkish migrants but also by the conversion of local Christians, and Islamic languages – Persian and Turkish – came to supplement, and eventually replace, Greek and Armenian as the main *lingua franca*s of the Anatolian cities (Arabic remained reserved largely for religious purposes, and Greek and Armenian continued to be important in many rural communities).[4] Although the final transformation of Anatolia into an almost entirely Muslim, Turkish-speaking land did not take place until the First World War and its immediate aftermath, it was during the period between roughly 1100 and 1400 that Islam achieved its position of dominance. The Anatolian territories that the Ottomans conquered in the fifteenth century were ones where, even if still inhabited by numerous Christians, perhaps often a majority of Christians, society was dominated by not just the faith of Islam, but more generally by Muslim institutions and culture.

The Turkish invasions did not, therefore, suddenly destroy Christianity in Anatolia, any more than the Arab invasions of other parts of the Middle East in the seventh century had led to sudden and wholescale conversions to Islam. Islam and Christianity long coexisted. Although no doubt the political and cultural supremacy of Islam made it at times an attractive choice for converts, there must have been other, more complex reasons for its appeal: in Anatolia, we have some of the earliest evidence anywhere in the Middle East for the conversion

[2] On the rise of the Ottomans, see Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1481* (Istanbul: Isis, 1990); Elizabeth Zachariadou (ed.), *The Ottoman Emirate, 1300–1389* (Rethymon: Crete University Press, 1993). The complexities of Anatolian history in the wake of the Mongol period are treated by Rudi Paul Lindner, 'Anatolia, 1300–1451', in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1: *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071–1453*, ed. Kate Fleet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 138–91.

[3] On this point see Scott Redford, 'The Seljuks of Rum and the Antique', *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 148–56 in addition to the chapters by Alexander Beihammer and Antony Eastmond in this volume.

[4] As the Greek and Turkish vocabulary found in the works of the late thirteenth-century Anatolian Persian poet Sulṭān Walad suggests, all three languages must have coexisted to a degree. Certainly Muslims also knew Greek. See the discussion in Rustam Shukurov, 'Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Princes', in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, ed. A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 129–32.

to Islam of Mongol soldiery in the mid-thirteenth century,[5] suggesting political dominance was not the sole, or even necessarily the decisive factor in prompting conversions. The nature of this coexistence, and the gradual process of cultural, religious and societal transformation which medieval Anatolia experienced, have been surprisingly rarely investigated. In part, research has doubtless been deterred by both the apparent lack of sources – we have very few Muslim chronicles of Anatolia, and the documentation of Christian communities under Muslim rule is often extremely sparse – as well as the linguistic diversity of those that are known.[6] The purpose of this volume is to bring together contributions by specialists in both the Christian and Muslim societies of medieval Anatolia to offer fresh perspectives on the relationship between the two faiths, and the emergence of Islamic society there in this formative period of *c.*1071–1400. Later in this introduction we shall survey these contributions. First, however, it is worth reflecting on the state of the art in research on the theme of this volume.

The Historiography of 'Turkish Islam' in Medieval Anatolia and Christian-Muslim Relations

In terms of theoretical approaches, scholarship on Islam and Muslim–Christian relations in medieval Anatolia has until very recently been largely static. The prevailing scholarship, especially that produced in Turkey, remains stubbornly entrenched in nineteenth-century theoretical paradigms and notions regarding religion and thus largely unaffected by current international trends in religious studies and history due to the Turkish nationalistic framework in which these paradigms have been embedded. Indeed, an ossified nationalist discourse, devised to confirm the Turkish state's 'natural' rights to its territorial holdings in Anatolia, leaves little room for paradigmatic shifts. Thus, these outdated paradigms and notions continue to define medieval Anatolian Islam, as well as its relationship to Christianity, in both Turkish and western scholarship.[7] Nevertheless, recent years have seen a shift in approach by some scholars and the attempt to create alternative narratives for the religious history of Muslim Turkish Anatolia is now well underway.

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[5] Judith Pfeiffer, 'Reflections on a "Double Rapprochement": Conversion to Islam among the Mongol Elite during the Early Ilkhanate', in *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, ed. Linda Komaroff (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 369–89, esp. 373, 375–6.

[6] For some of these issues in the historiography see A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız, 'Introduction', in Peacock and Yıldız, *Seljuks of Anatolia*, 6–10.

[7] A salient example of the static nature of the field is Ahmet Yaşar Ocak's long chapter on the religious, social, cultural and intellectual life of Anatolia (1071–1453), in the recently published vol. 1 of *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, which, in its survey of the historiography and overview of the period, makes no acknowledgement of perspectives lying outside the Köprülü paradigm (Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, 'Social, Cultural and Intellectual Life, 1071–1453', in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1: *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071–1453*, ed. Kate Fleet [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009], 353–422).

Here we will briefly survey the prevailing scholarship of the religious history and interfaith relations of late medieval Anatolia, addressing the question of how scholars have conceptualised Islam as it was established in Anatolia following the Seljuq invasions to the rise of the early Ottoman dynastic state. We likewise review the role given to Sufism and its main actors, charismatic dervishes, in the spread of Islam in Anatolia, as well as the dynamics of Muslim–Christian interaction and the influence Christianity has exerted on the shaping of Anatolian Islam.

Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Modernist Discourses on Monotheistic Religion: Pagan Residues, Religious Authenticity and Heterodoxy

In order to understand better how Islam has been conceptualised in medieval Anatolia, it would be helpful to review notions regarding religion and religious history circulating in both the popular imagination and academic circles in the nineteenth-century. Since its conception, the field of religious studies has been shaped by tension between the study of revealed religion based on scripture, designated as 'high', and popular or 'natural' religion, defined by practices found outside scripture and designated as 'low'.[8] Equally important to the modernist conceptualisation of religious history are Darwinian evolutionary models and the notion of primitive religion and its residues in monotheisms. Discourses of modernity not only emphasise the essence and boundaries of phenomena, but also their origins. Thus, within this nineteenth-century modernist evolutionary perspective of religious development, one of the most popular themes in the history of monotheistic religions such as Christianity and Islam was that of pagan residues, which Durkheim worked systematically into sociological theory. Durkheim's notion of the primitive origins of religion, which sees pagan residues in all religions, was in turn assimilated by Orientalists such as Ignaz Goldziher. Indeed, the brilliant Goldziher, whose formulations laid the foundations of the modern academic study of Islam,[9] in the 1880s examined pagan residues and customs found in various Islamic practices such as the veneration of saints and the visiting of sacred shrines.[10]

Long before scholars specialising in the languages and history of Islamic Turcophone Anatolia began to lay down the foundations of their field, popular ideas influenced by modernist discourse on religion circulated among Europeans with various (and often, colonial) interests in Anatolia. Nineteenth-

[8] E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Theories of Primitive Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 1–5.

[9] Lawrence I. Conrad, 'The Dervish's Disciple: On the Personality and Intellectual Milieu of the Young Ignaz Goldziher', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, New Series, 2, no. 2 (1990): 225.

[10] Ignaz Goldziher, 'On the Veneration of the Dead in Paganism and Islam', in idem, *Muslim Studies* (*Muhammedanische Studien*), ed. S.M. Stern and trans. C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, vol. 1 (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1967), 209–238; idem, 'Veneration of Saints in Islam', in idem, *Muslim Studies (Muhammedanische Studien*), ed. S.M. Stern; trans. C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, vol. 2 (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1971), 255–341.

century and early twentieth-century Europeans and Americans travelling and living in Ottoman Anatolia and the Balkans interpreted their encounter with Islam according to these emergent modernist discourses on religion. Whether archaeologists, classicists, New Testament scholars, Protestant missionaries or geographers on state-sponsored missions, these European travellers were keen to seek out pagan residues and heretical practices among Muslim communities in Anatolia.[11] Indeed, the notion of heterodoxy, a term which came to be applied quite widely to local practices of Islam in Anatolia, rose out of modernist discourses of essences, origins and boundaries, which distinguished pure authentic forms of religion from those which were less so; supposedly less pure forms thus constituted heterodoxies tainted with unauthentic and incompatible elements.[12]

The Köprülü Paradigm

In the early twentieth century, the Turkish scholar Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, thoroughly steeped in the works of Durkheim, applied these modernist discourses in his creation of an alternative narrative for Anatolian Islam cast within a Turkish nationalist framework.[13] In this act of reappropriation of what he considered his national history, he interpreted pagan or Christian residues in Islam as shamanistic traces originating from a largely imagined ancient Turkish

[11] The ascription to Anatolian Muslims as heretics had political consequences, as Ayfer Karakaya-Stump argues in a fascinating study of Protestant missionaries who 'discovered' Qizilbash/Alevis long before scholars in the mid-nineteenth century. Employing 'a discourse which differentiates between authentic/original religions and those which are less so (heterodox)', American Protestant missionaries considered these heretics prime candidates for conversion, or reconversion, since they saw them as 'primordial Anatolians' who had been forcibly converted by Muslim Turkish invaders. Since Alevis fell outside the proper fold of Sunni Islam, and thus had the status of heretics, Protestant missionaries could legally direct their proselytising efforts towards them without fear of retribution on the part of Ottoman officials. See Ayfer Karakaya-Stump, 'The Emergence of the Kızılbaş in Western Thought: Missionary Accounts and their Aftermath', in *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878–1920*, ed. David Shankland, vol. 1 (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2004), 329–354.

[12] For recent critiques of the use of the term 'heterodoxy' for the Islamic context, for which there is no equivalent expression in Arabic, see M. Brett Wilson, 'The Failure of Nomenclature: The Concept of "Orthodoxy" in the Study of Islam', *Comparative Islamic Studies* 3, no. 2 (2007): 169–4; Robert Langer and Udo Simon, 'The Dynamics of Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy. Dealing with Divergence in Muslim Discourse and Islamic Studies', *Welt des Islams* 48 (2008): 273–88; Markus Dressler, 'How to Conceptualize Inner-Islamic Plurality/Difference: "Heterodoxy" and "Syncretism" in the Writings of Mehmet F. Köprülü (1890–1966)', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 37, no. 3 (2010): 241–260, esp. 252.

[13] For more on how modernist discourse was assimilated by Köprülü, see Dressler, 'How to Conceptualize Inner-Islamic Plurality/Difference'.

Central Asian past, and characterised heterodox folk Islam as harbouring the true unchanging essence of Turkishness over time and geography.[14]

The Köprülü paradigm, as it has recently come to be referred to by its critics, has remained dominant up to the present, passed on more or less intact by subsequent generations of scholars examining Anatolian Islam and Sufism, such as Irène Mélikoff and her student, Ahmet Yaşar Ocak. Scholarship produced according to the Köprülü paradigm conceives of popular religion as a static, unchanging and undynamic construct, and maintains a strict dichotomy between high and low Islam, with conformist urban Sufis contrasted with non-conformist rural Sufis. For instance, Ocak maintains that the 'non-Sunni' Sufi order of the Qalandariyya broadly appealed to the Turkmen of the thirteenth century because they were only superficially Islamised, and its practices better accommodated local pre-Islamic beliefs and traditions. For, as Ocak points out, Sufism probably meant little more for the Qalandariyya 'than a form of social life, rather than being a means of attaining any mystic goals'.[15]

The Köprülü paradigm likewise accommodates the dichotomy between the Anatolian hinterland, the centre of power characterised by Perso-Islamic urban and court culture and 'high' Islam, and the western frontier (and, in particular, the Balkans during the early Turkish conquests), populated by Turkish raiders or *ghāzī*s waging holy war against the Christians. According to this perspective, popular Turkish Islam flourished in this frontier society; indeed, far away from the control mechanisms of the centre, the frontier was the ideal environment for heterodox Islam.[16] Both Paul Wittek's foundational *ghāzī* thesis explaining the rise of the Ottoman state and Rudi Paul Lindner's counter argument based on tribal rather than religious solidarity as the motivating force behind the

[14] Köprülü's international standing as a scholar was first established with the dispute he had in 1922 with Franz Babinger with the latter's article, 'Der Islam in Kleinasien', one of the earliest scholarly attempts to appraise the religious environment of medieval Anatolia, posing the basic question as to when Islam first appeared in Anatolia and when it became the religion of its inhabitants. Rejecting Babinger's conclusion that the Anatolian Seljuqs were Shi'ite, Köprülü, in a long article on Islam in Anatolia, proposed an alternative nationalistic narrative. Köprülü, however, had elaborated this framework earlier in his *Türk Edebiyatı İlk Mutasavvıflar* (*Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*), a work dating from 1918 (Franz Babinger, 'Der Islam in Kleinasien. Neue Wege der Islamforschung', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morganländischen Gesellschaft* 76 [1922], 126–152; [Mehmed] Fuad Köprülü, 'Türk istilâsından sonra Anadolu tarih-i dînisine bir nazar ve bu tarihin menbaları', *Darülfünûn Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* [1388/1922], 1–129; idem, *Anadolu'da İslamiyet*, ed. Mehmed Kanar (Istanbul: İnsan Yayınevi, 1996); idem, *Islam in Anatolia after the Turkish Invasion (Prolegomena)*, trans. and ed. Gary Leiser (Salt Lake City, UH: University of Utah Press, 1993); idem, *Türk Edebiyatı İlk Mutasavvıflar* (1918; 9th edn Ankara: Akçağ Yayınevi, 2003); idem, *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, trans. and ed. Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff (London and New York: Routledge, 2006).

[15] Ocak, 'Social, Cultural and Intellectual Life, 1071–1453', 392.

[16] Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California, 1995), 37.

Ottoman conquests, seamlessly fit within this paradigm which construes a strict dichotomy between hinterland and frontier society as first proposed by Köprülü.[17]

Over the past few decades, a few critics, generally scholars working outside Turkey and often in the United States, have questioned aspects of the Köprülü paradigm.[18] In an attempt to work outside the binary constructs of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, Cemal Kafadar revisited the question of Anatolian and Balkan Islam along the frontier in his monograph *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*.[19] Characterising the practice of Islam as fluid as the frontier itself, Kafadar replaces the orthodox-heterodox division with the notion of metadoxy (defined as 'a state of being beyond doxies') to describe the frontier's religious complexity.[20] A new generation of students, largely inspired by Kafadar's reconceptualisation of the fluid and flexible structures of the western frontier, have begun more systematically to chip away at the edifice of the Köprülü paradigm. The edifice, however, remains wholly intact in Turkish academia.[21]

Christian-Muslim Relations: Violent Ruptures or Latent Continuities?

Scholarship on Christian-Muslim encounters and interaction in late medieval Anatolia has been dominated by two principal paradigms: Speros Vryonis's narrative of the decline and destruction of Byzantine Christianity in Asia Minor through the invasions and conquests of Muslim and often nomadic Turks and the establishment of *Turkokratia* in Anatolia, and F.W. Hasluck's conceptualisation

[17] See Cemal Kafadar's overview of Wittek's *ghāzī* thesis and Lindner's counter argument in chapter 1 of his *Between Two Worlds*, 29–58.

[18] For a discussion and critique of the Köprülü paradigm, see Devin Deweese, 'Foreword', in Köprülü, *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, viii–xxix. Although his earlier studies of Anatolian Sufism accommodate the Köprülül framework, such as his master's thesis on the pre-Islamic survivals in the *Velayet-name*, Ahmet T. Karamustafa contests the two-tiered model of religion of a high (normative) and low (antinomian) Islam in his *God's Unruly Friends*. Karamustafa points out that the methodological poverty of this model is demonstrated by its failure to generate any explanatory analysis; rather, it denies popular religion a historical dimension (Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle period, 1200–1550* (Salt Lake City, UH: University of Utah Press, 1994), 9. In his review of Mélikoff's *Hadji Bektach: Un mythe et ses avatars. Genèse et évolution du soufisme populaire en Turquie* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), Hamid Algar writes that Mélikoff approaches Bektashism 'as an archaeological undertaking, one that involves the excavation of successive layers of influence, borrowing and adaptation. The deepest layer, she maintains, is "an ancient phenomenon we can describe as an Islamized shamanism"' (Hamid Algar, review, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36 (2004): 687).

[19] However well received Kafadar's *Between Two Worlds* has been, it is not without its critics. See Colin Imber's scathing review, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 60, no. 1 (1997): 212.

[20] Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 76.

[21] For a revisionist history of Alevism by one of Kafadar's students, see Ayfer Karakaya-Stump, 'Subjects of the Sultan, Disciples of the Shah: Formation and Transformation of the Kizilbash/Alevi Communities in Ottoman Anatolia', PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2008; eadam, 'The Vefāʾiyye, the Bektashiyye and Genealogies of "Heterodox" Islam in Anatolia: Rethinking the Köprülü Paradigm', *Turcica* 44 (2012–13): 279–300.

of Muslim–Christian syncretism, with a focus on shared sacred spaces and the emergence of an Islamic 'heterodoxy' in interaction with Christianity. These two paradigms are diametrically opposed to one another; indeed, Hasluck's anthropological model of peaceful religious accommodation and continuity contrasts sharply with Vryonis's nationalistically tinged historical narrative of violent ruptures.

Vryonis's massive tome, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamisation from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, is perhaps the most cited single work on Muslim–Christian interaction in the late medieval era.[22] Vryonis argues that the Turkish conquest resulted in the destruction of a vital Christian society based predominantly on a medieval Greek cultural element. Constant military strife throughout four centuries caused dislocation and destruction to the Christian and Hellenic culture of Byzantine Anatolia. In an attempt to understand the transformative process by which Hellenistic Asia Minor, or Anatolia, becomes Islamised by the Turks, Vryonis documents the massive devastation rendered by incessant raids throughout the Turkish conquest, occurring in two phases, with the first from the late eleventh to mid-twelfth century, and the second from the mid-thirteenth to the fourteenth century. Vryonis stresses the physical destruction of towns, the uprooting of the Christian population, the decline of agriculture, and the resulting hardship brought upon the local Christian communities. He likewise provides documentation of conversions from the late eleventh and the twelfth century, accompanied by a description of Turkmen and their way of life. Vryonis concludes that during the first phase, the Turks constituted 'a small but powerful minority.'[23] It was during the second phase of the Turkish conquest which continued until the fourteenth century that a large-scale conversion to Islam among Christian communities occurred in parallel to the destruction of the church administration under *Turkokratia*. Vryonis's narrative presents us with short-sighted bureaucratic politicians based in Constantinople with little concern for the provinces while marauding nomadic Turks brought about the destruction of Christian urban centres and towns, and their ecclesiastical structures.

Vryonis relegates his discussion of Islam and conversion to a brief chapter, accounting for Christian conversion to Islam as a result of the second-class position relegated to Christians as *dhimmī* under Muslim rule.[24] Vryonis draws upon the secondary literature of both Western and Turkish scholars regarding the role of dervish orders in the spread of Islam (principally the Bektashi and Mevlevi), and reviews syncretism between Islamic and Christian beliefs (giving some space to the Hasluck paradigm). Vryonis likewise touches upon the themes of dervish toleration and the role of *akhī*s (Turk. *ahi*, members of urban fraternal religious guilds) in conversion, wholesale adopting Ömer Lüfti Barkan's notion that dervish orders were instrumental in making converts to Islam (which

[22] Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*.

[23] Ibid., 181.

[24] This discussion is relegated to chapter 5, entitled 'Conversion to Islam', the shortest chapter in the work (ibid., 351–402).

appears to have been possibly, if not indirectly inspired by Hasluck's emphasis on so-called 'heteredox' proselytising dervishes associated with shared shrines). Yet, with its highly Byzantine-centric perspective, Speros Vryonis' study of the decline of Hellenism and the Islamisation of Anatolia imparts little information about Anatolian Islam and its cultural dynamics. Rather, it is a dense account that documents the purportedly massive devastation accompanying the Turkish raids and conquest beginning in the late eleventh and extending into the mid-fourteenth century. Although Vryonis succeeds in detailing the decline and demise of ecclesiastical dioceses in Anatolia, he presents a rather one-sided picture. Thus, while the work is ostensibly in part about the Islamisation of Byzantine society, we learn little about the actual process.

Vryonis' paradigm has been challenged by recent studies of fifteenth-century Christian communities based on Ottoman archival documentation, such as Heath Lowry's study of the Lesbos and Tom (Anastasios) Papademetriou's recent work on Ottoman tax farming and the Greek Orthodox church.[25] Arguing in contrast to the Vryonis thesis that posits non-Muslim status as a distinct disadvantage in Muslim Anatolia, Heath Lowry demonstrates that Christian populations remained intact during the early Ottoman period largely because of the important services they provided the Ottoman state during the period of consolidation of conquests, a policy referred to as accommodation, or *istimalet*.[26] According to Lowry, the Ottoman state in fact was forced to rely on the highly skilled Christian population in the administration of conquered Christian lands as a result of the 'chronic shortage in manpower'.[27]

However, the best known, and certainly most influential, alternative to the Vryonis approach is the work of Frederick W. Hasluck (1878–1920). Although his contribution has only recently started to be recognised as it deserves,[28] perhaps no one has had as much influence in shaping the course of scholarship on Christian-Muslim interaction in Anatolia, and in particular, the resulting

[25] Heath Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2003); Anastasios G. Papademetriou, 'Ottoman Tax Farming and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate: An Examination of State and Church in Ottoman Society (15–16th Century)', PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 2001.

[26] Halil İnalcık is the original proponent of *istimalet* as an Ottoman administrative strategy (Halil İnalcık, 'Ottoman Methods of Conquest', *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954): 103–129, esp. 112, 115–117).

[27] Despite his reliance on İnalcık's concept of *istimalet*, Lowry presents a new paradigm of Ottoman rule, one by which 'local society and practice define the centre, rather than one which featured a centralized bureaucracy imposing its will on the state' (Lowry, *Nature of the Ottoman State*, 101).

[28] For a reassessment of Hasluck's vast influence on the field, see the three-volume collection of articles dedicated to F.W. Hasluck's work and career: *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878–1920*, ed. David Shankland, 3 vols (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2004–2013), and, in particular, idem, 'The Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck (1878–1920)', in ibid., vol. 1, 15–67. This edited volume has redirected new attention toward the largely marginalised scholar, the work of whom, Shankland points out, 'anticipated some of the most important insights of the Malinowski school nearly two decades before they became apparent ...' (ibid., 15).

'Turkish' Islam shaped by this interaction. Hasluck's monumental study, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*,[29] published posthumously, laid down the framework of syncretic developments in Muslim Turkish Anatolia. His model is grounded in early anthropological theory which emphasises cultural continuity over discontinuity and change: that cultures endure and are intrinsically resistant to change constitutes a major assumption.[30] Hasluck's approach brings to the fore religious continuity in Anatolia by focusing on the transference of sacred space and sites through intermediary cultic figures in Anatolia.[31] Christian-Muslim syncretism not only resulted in the sharing of saints, shrines and sacred space, but also brought about the emergence of Christian-influenced Muslim heterodoxies particular to 'Turkish' Islam, and a corps of 'heterodox' dervishes associated with these shrines shared by Muslims and Christians alike. Thus, whereas Vryonis emphasises the destructive effect of the Turkish invasions, which ultimately led to conversions in the face of a weakened Christian church, Hasluck conceives of Islamisation as occurring in shared sacred spaces where Christians were receptive to tolerant forms of syncretic Islam. Through intimate contact and accommodation, Islam was in turn shaped by Christian practices, beliefs and sensibilities.

Much of subsequent scholarship on Anatolian Islam, and in particular, the Bektashis, is a merging of the Köprülü paradigm with Hasluck's notions of shared sacred space, ambiguous saints and shrines, and Bektashism as an intermediary form of Islamisation, a 'way station' between Christianity and Islam.[32] The heterodox dervish plays a leading role in both concepualisations, as well as the differentiation between urban Sunni orthodox Islam and rural Islamic practices.[33] According to Hasluck's conceptualisation, Bektashism constituted the quintessential religious syncretism, where Bektashi saints or *awliyā*' (Turk. *evliya*) replaced Christian ones, which in turn could be traced to even more ancient cults. As Tijana Krstić observes, Hasluck considered the ambiguous sanctuary claimed by both Muslims and Christians 'a distinct stage of development – the period of equipoise – in the transition both from Christianity to Bektashism …'.[34]

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[29] F.W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929).

[30] Joel Robbins, 'Continuity Thinking and the Problem of Christian Culture: Belief, Time and the Anthropology of Christianity', *Current Anthropology* 48, no. 1 (2007): 5–6.

[31] F.W. Hasluck, 'Plato in the Folk-Lore of the Konia Plain', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 18 (1911–1912): 265–269.

[32] Irène Mélikoff's scholarship in fact is a complete fusion of the Köprülü paradigm with the Hasluck model.

[33] Irène Mélikoff acknowledges that Hasluck was the first scholar, although not a specialist in the field, to make clear the differentiation between rural and urban Islam in Anatolia (Irène Mélikoff, 'Hasluck's Study of the Bektashis and its Contemporary Significance', in D. Shankland (ed.), *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage*, vol. 1, 298).

[34] Tijana Krstić, 'The Ambiguous Politics of "Ambiguous Sanctuaries": F. Hasluck and Historiography of Syncretism and Conversion to Islam in 15th- and 16th-century Ottoman Rumeli', in *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878–1920*, ed. David Shankland, vol. 3 (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2013), 252.

Michel Balivet likewise conceptualises Anatolian and Balkan Islam according to the fusion of the Hasluck and Köprülü models. In his *Romanie byzantine et pays de Rûm turc: histoire d'un espace d'imbrication gréco-turque*,[35] Balivet points out that since Sufism was highly receptive to non-Muslim influences, it was attractive to Christians, and thus was the usual venue of conversion. According to Balivet, heterodoxy and syncretism were prerequisites for a tolerant rapport between Christianity and Islam.[36]

Krstić's Challenge: Rethinking Syncreticism and Tolerance

In the context of the nature of Anatolian and Balkan Islam as well as Muslim–Christian relations, Tijana Krstić's work presents a significant challenge not only to the Köprülü paradigm and its various binaries, but also to notions of shared space and saints as a form of religious toleration.[37] Krstić's reinterpretation of the concept of syncretism (a term which Hasluck never actually used, but which became associated with his ideas) leads her to question some of the most firmly established analytical categories of the field, such as the iconic proselytising frontier dervish, who populates popular hagiographical literature such as Hacı Bektas's *Velayet-name* and the *Saltuk-name*.[38]

Not only does Krstić reject the widely held notion that dervishes were the main agents of conversion and representatives of heterodox Islam, but she also criticises the widely held notion that incomplete or superficial conversions to

[35] Michel Balivet, *Romanie byzantine et pay de Rûm turc: histoire d'un espace d'imbrication gréco-turque* (Istanbul: Isis, 1994). In this work, Balivet steers clear of theorising, but rather uncovers as many facts as can be drawn from the sources to serve as a starting point for subsequent analysis. Thus we have a hodge-podge of Christian–Muslim encounters in medieval Anatolia and the Balkans, ranging from syncretic religious influences on the popular level to inter-dynastic and elite alliances and assimilation.

[36] Balivet, *Romanie Byzantine et pay de Rûm Turc*, 248, n. 5.

[37] In addition to a focused critique of Hasluck in her article, 'The Ambiguous Politics of "Ambiguous Sanctuaries"', Tijana Krstić's monograph *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011) presents a fresh look at Islamisation and conversion in the Ottoman lands by taking into account the narrative source base, which she views through Brian Stock's concept of interpretative communities: 'The spread of Islam in the Ottoman domains entailed the formation of multiple "textual" or interpretative communities – microsocieties organized around common understandings of a "text"'. Krstić explains that two distinct yet intertwined aspects of Islamisation were at work: 'the universalizing impulse', which was expressed primarily through prescriptive texts, and the 'indigenizing impulse', or how Islam was interpreted and practised according to local conditions. Pointing out that the second impulse has often been addressed in terms of syncretism, or 'Islam's absorption of elements from local belief systems', Krstić's concern is with the impact 'indigenization had on relations within the Muslim community and the texts that they produced as a result' (ibid., 27–8). Krstic likewise focuses on the experience of Rumeli, where 'conquest became the central experience, a shared 'text' around which interpretative communities of different social, religious, and political outlook evolved' (ibid., 43).

[38] Krstić, 'The Ambiguous Politics of "Ambiguous Sanctuaries"', 252.

Islam resulted in a syncretic and tolerant form of the religion which provided an easy transition into Islam for those newly converted from Christianity.[39] Krstić proposes that the phenomenon of ambiguous shrines was 'an instance of Islamisation of space rather than people'.[40] Questioning how peaceful the coexistence of Islam and Christianity was in the early Ottoman empire, Krstić reinterprets shared sacred space (or ambiguous sanctuaries, to use Hasluck's phrase) as 'sites of intense inter-religious negotiation', where 'religious differences are upheld rather than collapsed'.[41] Krstić argues that these shared shrines are sites of perpetual competition and negotiation, which need to be understood in terms of local power relations: 'the deeply competitive aspect of ambiguous shrines and thus as points of intense interfaith polemics rather than reconciliation is often lost to modern students of the Ottoman empire'.[42]

Krstić grounds her argument in a masterful critique of the hagiographic sources, hitherto used by historians as evidence of heterodoxy and religious tolerance. For instance, Krstić rereads the frontier warrior-dervish epic, the *Saltuk-name*[43] not as an example of 'Ottoman syncretism and conciliatory attitudes towards Christians'[44] as A.H. Akalın proposes in his interpretation of Sarı Saltuk's preaching to Christians from a supposedly original and unaltered Gospel containing the announcement of Muḥammad's prophethood. Krstić alternatively interprets this passage as a condemnation of Christianity via the accusation of *taḥrīf*, or the changing of scripture. Krstić characterises early Ottoman Turkish narratives such as the *Saltuk-name* and the *Velayet-name* as 'anti-sycretic texts par excellence' which, in their narratives of violence and 'great converting zeal', demonstrate 'ideological investment in a firm upholding of religious boundaries'.[45]

Krstić concludes that the task of the historian is to approach these syncretic forms of Islam with a critical eye by taking into account of the competitive aspects of the 'politics of religious synthesis'.[46] Through a thorough investigation of not only the concepts and theoretical approaches lying behind the historiography of Anatolian and Balkan Islam, but primarily through a close rereading of the sources, paying attention to their rhetorical and polemical constructs, Krstić presents us with a compelling re-evaluation of the phenomenon of Islam in the Ottoman world as well as new analytical tools by which to view Muslim–Christian relations and, in particular, the phenomenon of conversion.

[39] Ibid., 248.
[40] Ibid., 252.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] A.H. Akalın, (ed.), *Saltuk-name* (1987; new edition, Ankara: Milli Kültür Bakanlığı, 1993), vol. 1: 35–8; quoted in Krstić, 'The ambiguous politics of "ambiguous sanctuaries"', 253.
[44] Krstić, 'The ambiguous politics of "ambiguous sanctuaries"', 253.
[45] Ibid., 255–256, 258.
[46] Ibid., 260.

Convivencia: The Andalusian Paradigm

Recent scholarship on religious diversity in Anatolia has also looked for inspiration across the Mediterranean, to the societies of Muslim Spain (al-Andalus) and Sicily.[47] Although the political, economic and social context differed across the medieval Mediterranean, the methodological and conceptual frameworks used in other regions, the individual case studies and even the sporadic encounters between the western and eastern Mediterranean can contribute to a better understanding of the historical processes in the whole area. In addition, scholarship on medieval Iberia has tended to be more sophisticated than that on Anatolia, as well as benefiting from a more accessible source base, and can inform debates on religious diversity in the eastern Mediterranean. Conquered during the first wave of Arab invasion in the early eighth century, the history of Islamic Iberia has been the subject of extensive research.[48] Likewise, the process of Christian *Reconquista* that gathered strength from the mid-eleventh century has also caught the attention of historians.[49]

There is a general view that Islamic Iberia (al-Andalus) was the peak of religious tolerance defined by *convivencia* between Christians, Jews and Muslims, and a recent conference on Byzantium sought to appropriate the Spanish term *convivencia* (lit. 'living together' or 'coexistence'),[50] developed to describe Muslim, Christian and Jewish coexistence in al-Andalus. The notion, in particular, plays a prominent role in the work of Sergio La Porta on twelfth- to thirteenth-century Armenia. La Porta understands *convivencia* as meaning 'a practical modality of co-existence between different religious and ethnic groups that neither prejudices nor presumes modern notions of tolerance or of multiculturalism'.[51] It thus worth pausing to briefly consider, for comparative purposes, the approach of scholarship on Spain and Sicily.

In recent times, the term *convivencia* has become politically charged and has spread beyond the field of history to permeate political discourse aiming to offer a somewhat mythical vision of tolerance and to address modern concerns about religious intolerance.[52] However, *convivencia* has been commonly used

[47] Balivet, *Romanie byzantine et pays de Rûm Turc*, 8–11.

[48] See among many others Pierre Guichard, *Al-Andalus: estructura antropológica de una sociedad islámica en Occidente* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1998); Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (London and New York: Longman, 1996); María Isabel Fierro, *'Abd al-Rahman III: The First Cordoban Caliph* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005).

[49] See Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000–1500* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977).

[50] *Negotiating Coexistence: Communities, Cultures and Convivencia in Byzantine Society*, ed. Sergio La Porta and Barbara Crostini (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2013).

[51] Sergio La Porta, 'Re-constructing Armenia: Strategies of Co-existence amongst Christians and Muslims in the Thirteenth Century', in *Negotiating Co-existence: Communities, Cultures and Convivencia in Byzantine Society*, ed. Barbara Crostini and Sergio La Porta (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2013), 251, n. 3.

[52] Darío Fernández-Morera, 'The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise', *The Intercollegiate Review* 41, no. 2 (2006): 23–31.

in academia since the mid-twentieth century to refer to interaction between different faiths in the Iberian Peninsula. The term was originally coined by the Spanish historian Américo Castro who, in his exile from Franco's Spain, theorised about the uniqueness of the historical development of Spain that was cemented in inter-religious tolerance between Muslims, Jews and Christians which was encouraged by Muslim rulers.[53] According to Castro, this 'ideal world' came to an end with the conquest of Granada in 1492, which resulted in centuries of Christian intolerance towards the other minorities who were eventually expelled from the Peninsula.[54]

Castro's idealistic approach was subject to scholarly criticism from the first, especially given the existence of several examples of violence, persecution and conflict between the three religions in al-Andalus.[55] Indeed, some of the earliest objections came from another Spanish exile, Claudio Sanchez-Albornoz.[56] Sanchez-Albornoz's criticism, however, mostly focused on where the origins of Spain lay (according to him in Roman times) rather than on the debate over the existence of *convivencia* in al-Andalus, which he saw as a less relevant period in the formation of modern Spain. Ever since the mid-twentieth century, these two historians have marked the two opposite poles in the theoretical debate about Islamic Spain and the applicability of the term *convivencia* to define this historical period. Castro's paradigm remains alive and well, especially in Spanish academia. The existence of violence has been explained away as a product of 'external influence' – the Almoravids and Almohads from North Africa, or Christians from northern Spain.[57] However, some studies have attempted to demystify the Andalusian 'paradise of tolerance' by highlighting how contemporary source material records intolerance, violence and persecution not only between members of different religious confessions but also in different groups within Muslim, Jewish and Christian communities living in the peninsula far before the arrivals of the Maghrebi dynasties.[58] The debate is far from coming to an end but

[53] Américo Castro, *España en su historia: cristianos, moros y judíos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1948); idem, *La realidad histórica de España* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1954).

[54] On the expulsion of the Iberian Jews see Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition and Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995); Mark R. Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994); on the expulsion of the *moriscos*, see, among others, *Los Moriscos: Expulsion y diaspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Albert Wiegers (Valencia: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Valencia, 2013); and Kevin Ingram, *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

[55] See Eduardo Manzano Moreno, 'Qurtuba: Some Critical Considerations of the Caliphate of Cordoba and the Myth of *Convivencia*', *Awraq* 7 (2013): 226–246.

[56] Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1956).

[57] Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, *c.*2002); Chris Lowney, *A Vanished World: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Medieval Spain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[58] David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), especially the second part of the book;

a certain general consensus on the existence of both *convivencia* and *violencia* in medieval Iberia seems to be emerging.

In a recent article, Anna Akasoy argued that the exceptionalism of a place's historical circumstances can be challenged by expanding the geographical spectrum of analysis. Certainly, if we look to Muslim Sicily, al-Andalus no longer looks so exceptional.[59] Byzantine-controlled Sicily was conquered by the Muslims and later taken over by the Normans in the second half of the eleventh century.[60] The amalgamation between Byzantine, Arab and Latin cultural trends and the changing status of three different religious affiliations (Orthodox Christianity, Islam and Catholicism) has attracted the attention of scholars trying to address the question of how these religions interacted (or not) with one another. The general view on the Islamisation of Sicily is that the Christian-Italo-Greek population acculturated and Islamised in the coastal regions of the isle, leaving the inner areas somewhere in between both cultures, where coexistence of Arabo-Islamic, Greco-Christian and Arabised Jews survived.[61] Yet, Alex Metcalfe has shown that after the Arab invasion of Sicily, there was a planned re-population of the main towns with people brought from *Ifrīqiya* (North Africa) while the changes in rural areas seems to have followed a more slower process of progressively assimilating Arabic as a second language or converting to Islam in the course of a 'few generations'.[62] Despite the reestablishment of Christian rule in Sicily by Roger I (Count of Sicily, d. 1101), the persistence of the Arabic language among the population and the adaptation of an Islamic administrative system under the Normans also contributed to the interaction between cultural and religious diversity in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Sicily.[63]

Akasoy's claim can be also applied to the religious encounters of medieval Anatolia. Akasoy mentions that occasionally, certain Christian communities in al-Andalus expressed the idea that they were living in a situation similar to

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Alex Novikoff, 'Between Tolerance and Intolerance in Medieval Spain: An Historiographical Enigma', *Medieval Encounters* 11 (2005): 7–36.

[59] Anna Akasoy, '*Convivencia* and its Discontents: Interfaith Life in Al-Andalus', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42, no. 3 (2010): 489–499.

[60] For a general account of Muslim populations under Norman rule in Sicily see, among others, David Abulafia, 'The End of Muslim Sicily', *Muslims under Latin Rule 1100–1300*, ed. J.M. Powell (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 103–133; Alex Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily: Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam* (London: Routledge, 2003); idem, *Muslims of Medieval Italy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

[61] Jeremy Johns, 'The Greek Church and the Conversion of Muslims in Norman Sicily', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 21 (1995): 152. See also, Charles Dalli, 'From Islam to Christianity: The case of Sicily', in *Religion, Ritual and Mythology: Aspects of Identity Formation in Europe*, ed. Joaquim Carvalho (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2006), 157.

[62] Alex Metcalfe, 'The Muslims of Sicily under Christian Rule', in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. Graham A. Loud and Alex Metcalfe (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 289–290.

[63] Especially interesting is the fact that the Norman rulers of Sicily might have adopted not the administrative system of amirate of Sicily but a reformed version of the administration of Fatimid Egypt, suggesting a search for a projection of their own royal image rather than administrative efficiency. See Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: The Royal Diwan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

that of Christians in Anatolia.[64] While direct interaction between the Iberian and Anatolian peninsulas deserves further research, we can cite some well-known links –Ibn ʿArabī, the great thirteenth-century Muslim mystic of Murcian origin who made Seljuq Anatolia his home for several years is the most famous example.[65] However, in terms of historical development and religious diversity, both peninsulas share certain features. The circumstances of Christian communities changed, sometimes dramatically, from period to period. Orthodox Greek communities in Anatolia experienced different conditions under the Seljuqs of Rūm, Mongol domination or the *Beylik* period in the same way that, for example, Mozarabs (Christians living in al-Andalus) had different experiences of Muslim rule under the Umayyad Caliphate, the various *taifa* kingdoms or in the kingdom of Granada.[66] Being aware of these contextual specificities helps to escape the polarisation of the debate either in the case of Anatolia or the Iberian Peninsula and suggests approaching issues of identity and processes of acculturation and Islamisation as a transformative process that occurred over a prolonged period of time and in different stages.

The Current Volume

The scholarship surveyed above suggests that, after nearly a century of dominance, the study of Islam and Christianity in medieval Anatolia is beginning to move beyond the dominance of the paradigms of Köprülü and Hasluck. Nonetheless, the field remains under the shadow of Vryonis's great but problematic work, and progress has been impeded by the fact that few specialists are able to master both the Christian and Muslim source materials, and only rarely have scholars from across the disciplinary divide sought to collaborate. The present volume aims to fill this lacuna, focusing on the relations between Islam and Christianity and the development of Islam in Anatolia in this formative period from the Turkish invasions to the early Ottoman period (*c.*1071–1400).[67] One of the most critical issues to improve our understanding of the issues of Islamisation and interfaith relations in medieval Anatolia is to broaden our source base beyond the scant Muslim chronicles in Persian which exist for the

[64] Akasoy, '*Convivencia* and its Discontents'.

[65] On Ibn ʿArabī's career in Anatolia, see Sara Nur Yıldız and Haşim Şahin, 'In the Proximity of Sultans: Majd al-Din Ishaq, Ibn 'Arabī and the Seljuk Court', in *The Seljuks of Anatolia*, ed. Peacock and Yıldız, 173–205. For works on contacts between the two peninsulas, see Semra Prescot, *Hispano-Turkish Literary, Cultural, and Political Relations (1096–1499) / İspanyol-Türk Edebi, Kültürel ve Siyasi Münasebetleri (1096–1499)* (Ankara Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2011); also Bruno De Nicola, 'Islamisation and Christianisation: The Reception of a Fourteenth Century Anatolian Account in 16th Century Spain' (forthcoming).

[66] Akasoy, '*Convivencia* and its Discontents', 492. On the situation of Christians during the *Beylik* period see Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 229.

[67] An earlier edited volume sought to address this problem with regard to political, religious and dynastic history, mainly from the late twelfth to late thirteenth century: Peacock and Yıldız, *Seljuks of Anatolia*.

period. Accordingly, contributions draw on a wide range of written sources, ranging from unpublished manuscript material (the contributions of Peacock and Rassi both contain editions and translations of previously unpublished texts), other published sources which have rarely been brought to bear on the problem in a cogent and convincing manner (for example the medieval Turkish literary texts used by Yıldız and Karamustafa), and archival documents such as the *waqfiyya*s (endowment deeds) referred to by Redford and Pfeiffer. Other contributions (e.g. Beihammer, Shukurov, Cowe) make use of Christian sources in Latin, Greek, and Armenian, which are little known to specialists on Muslim Anatolia. The volume demonstrates that the written sources are rather richer than is often imagined; but valuable insights can also be gained from material culture. The art historical contributions of Eastmond and Uyar illustrate the potential for art and architecture to offer new perspectives and to shed light on the nature of inter-confessional interaction outside the elites who remain the focus of the literary texts.

The volume is divided into three parts. The first of these, 'Christian Experiences of Muslim Rule' opens with a chapter by Philip Wood which sets the experience of Anatolian Christians in its historical perspective, investigating more generally the fate of Christian communities under Muslim rule in the first centuries of Muslim domination, up to the eve of the Turkish invasion. Wood (following Chase Robinson) suggests that for some, Muslim rule ushered in what he describes as an 'Indian summer', but he also investigates the processes by which conversion to Islam spread. His suggestion that archaeology offers a way of reaching surer conclusions about the rate of conversion assuredly has much to commend it, although current circumstances in parts of the Middle East as well as the continuing disdain of many archaeologists for later periods mean that its realisation is still a long way off. Pahlitzsch likewise notes the importance of archaeology for filling the gap left by the silence of the written sources regarding the fate of Christian communities in Anatolia.

Wood argues that four main factors can explain the gradual conversion of Christians to Islam in the pre-Turkish Middle East: cultural pressure, taxation, discrimination and intermarriage. Certainly all these elements were present in medieval Anatolia too, but their relative degree of importance is much less clear. Several contributions in this volume highlight the role of cultural pressure in creating an environment conducive to conversion (see in particular, Peacock, Yıldız and Karamustafa). Taxation, on the other hand features much less prominently in scholarship. This may, of course reflect our sources, as we have very little financial data relating to medieval Anatolia. Certainly some Christian communities continued to thrive, but they existed in an Islamic legal framework, and even churches and monasteries were made into *waqf*, which was in part a mechanism for avoiding tax. On occasion Seljuq rule is actually said to have been more favourable to Christians than Byzantine;[68] but how general this was

[68] Consider, for instance, the well-known case of the Christians of Lake Beyşehir who found more favourable tax conditions under Seljuq rule than Byzantine: Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, 31, 115; ibid., 133ff. further on the taxation regime in Seljuq Anatolia.

must be debated; assuredly there were financial consequences to remaining an unbeliever in Muslim-ruled Anatolia at times – under, for instance, the Mongol Timurtash. But as yet we really do not understand how representative either of these extremes was. Discrimination also doubtless occurred in certain times and places, notwithstanding the prestigious offices held by some Christians, but again it hardly features in the research presented here. The final element, intermarriage, is also debatable. As Scott Redford notes in his contribution, Turkish scholarship has tended to favour the idea of mass-migration of Turks rather than intermarriage as contributing to Anatolia's Islamisation, while other scholars have often seen marriage as producing a syncretic culture, and to a certain Christian-Muslim symbiosis.

The contribution by Alex Beihammer opens the volume's examination of the consequences of the Turkish invasions, concentrating on Anatolia in the late eleventh and early twelfth century. Beihammer's use of Latin, Greek, Syriac and Armenian sources illustrates their potential to shed light on not just the fate of Christians under Turkish rule in a period almost entirely neglected by Muslim texts, but also on the emergence of Muslim society in Anatolia. Peter Cowe's contribution concentrates on the relations between Armenians and Muslims over the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, showing how Armenian culture was profoundly affected by its encounter with Islam, its literature and even social structures permeated by Islamic influences. Redford's chapter approaches the status of Christians from another perspective: in contrast to scholarship to date which has seen the spread of Islam as a result of Muslim intermarriage with Christian women as well as Turkish settlement, Redford uses thirteenth-century *waqfiyyas* to argue that unconverted Christian women played an important part in economic and social life in Muslim society in Seljuq Anatolia, as did other 'marginal' groups such as slaves.

Slaves and economic life also feature in Preiser-Kapeller's chapter, which, drawing on tools of network analysis, shows the complexity of the commercial relationships into which Anatolia was drawn in the thirteenth to early fifteenth centuries, and their consequences in producing ethnically and religiously diverse communities in emporia like Antalya on the Mediterranean coast. The contribution by Pahlitzsch, in contrast, focuses on a single confession, the Greek Orthodox community in Ephesus under the rule of the Turkish Aydınid dynasty, and in Nicaea under the early Ottomans. Pahlitzsch's chapter illustrates the deficiencies of Vryonis' paradigm of decline, and suggests – in line with Wood's comments for the pre-Turkish period – that some Christian communities continued to prosper under Muslim domination. His chapter reinforces the impression that we must approach lamentations as to the disastrous consequences of Turkish rule in some Christian sources with a degree of circumspection.

The second part of the volume examines 'Artistic and Intellectual Encounters between Islam and Christianity'. The opening chapter by Rustam Shukurov argues that Byzantium was only open to Islamic cultural influences in a very limited and tightly controlled manner, although the situation may have changed somewhat by the fourteenth century. Eastmond, on the other hand, drawing

on artistic and architectural evidence from eastern Anatolia, the Caucasus, the Jazira and neighbouring regions of the Middle East largely from the late twelfth to thirteenth centuries, argues for the existence of, at least at a popular level, a common cultural vocabulary shared between members of different faiths and confessions. Uyar examines the artistic legacy of thirteenth-century Cappadocia, a Christian-dominated region under Seljuq control, and shows how Christian painters were esteemed at the court and introduced Christian imagery into the manuscripts illustrated for their Turkish patrons. The final two chapters in this part turn from material culture to textual evidence. Peacock's contribution examines interfaith relations from the perspective of an anti-Armenian polemic in an early thirteenth-century Persian text from Anatolia. Despite its polemical nature, the text suggests a profound knowledge on the part of the author concerning Armenian hagiography and legend as well as contemporary confessional debates at a time when the expansion of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia in south-eastern Anatolia was threatening Seljuq interests. Rassi, on the other hand, shows how Christian theology was profoundly affected by its encounter with Islam, examining an early fourteenth-century Arabic treatise by Bishop ʿAbdīshōʿ which highlights the extent to which the language of the Qurʾan and of Muslim theology influenced even tracts aimed at defending Christian practices. Together, the essays illustrate the diversity of exchanges, while underlining, as Shukurov does, that not every confession was equally open to Muslim influences. As Cowe's earlier essay shows, Armenian culture (as well as Georgian) shows a much more obvious Islamic imprint than Byzantine does. The underlying reasons for these differing responses within Christianity should be investigated more thoroughly in the future.

The concluding part of the volume turns to the formation of Islamic society in Anatolia, and in particular the role of Sufis and Sufism. Yıldırım, concentrating on western Anatolia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, examines the nature of Anatolian Islam, in particular as conceptualised by Köprülü and his critics, and argues against the clear distinction between Sunni and Shiʿite Islam that others have perceived in medieval Anatolia. Pfeiffer focuses on the central Anatolian town of Kırşehir under Mongol rule in the late thirteenth century, suggesting how the patronage of the Mongol commander Nūr al-Dīn ibn Jājā (Turk. Cacaoğlu) facilitated the development of Islamic institutions, and his relationship with Sufi groups. The final two chapters concentrate on Turkish sources. Yıldız examines the poet Gülşehri's Turkish adaptation of the famous Persian poem, the *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr* by ʿAṭṭār. She argues that Gulşehri's reworking of the Persian classic of Sufism adopts the tone of a religious polemic, perhaps with the intention of inciting Muslims to combat *kufr*, unbelief, in the predominantly Christian region of Cappadocia. The final chapter, by Karamustafa, looks at the prose epic vita of the largely legendary Sufi saint Sarı Saltuk (late thirteenth century?) and examines it as a source for Muslim attitudes towards Christianity and Islamisation, suggesting that for the author of this text, becoming Muslim was simply a matter of shedding a few superficial aspects of practice. Christians – even the Pope – are depicted as secret Muslims, and religion is reduced to 'communal political allegiance'. As Karamustafa puts it, '[s]alvation is

simply a matter of right belonging, and yesterday's 'cursed' Christians suddenly become today's 'righteous' believers simply by uttering the testimony of faith'. Such attitudes must have played a significant part in making conversion to Islam more attractive to non-Muslims, for all the lack of understanding or interest in Christianity they evince.

Clearly a volume such as this cannot do more than aspire to offer some snapshots of religious diversity and inter-confessional relations at different times and places within medieval Anatolia under Muslim rule. It is hoped, however, that this book will serve to illustrate the progress that is currently being made both in developing new conceptual frameworks for studying the great historical transformation that is the Islamisation of Anatolia, and in uncovering new sources and fresh approaches to them.

PART I
Christian Experiences of Muslim Rule

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Chapter 1
Christians in the Middle East, 600–1000: Conquest, Competition and Conversion

Philip Wood

For the Christian communities of the Middle East, the Turkish invasions of the eleventh century were the second time that their political order had been overturned by an alien foe. The seventh century had already seen the complete redrawing of the political map of the region, as the Persian and Roman empires were catastrophically defeated by the forces of the nascent caliphate. When the dust had settled, the Persian realms had been entirely absorbed by the new Arab state, and the Roman empire was reduced to an impoverished rump state in Anatolia and the Balkans. Yet Christians continued to live and prosper in the conquered territories. There was no sudden conversion to Islam that accompanied conquest.[1]

In this chapter I would like to set out some of the evidence for the continuation and transformation of Christian social and political life under Muslim rule. This is significant firstly because it sets the scene for later developments in Anatolia after the battle of Manzikert (1071). But the earlier period also merits investigation because the period of early Islamic rule in the Middle East suggests a number of different models for how the processes of conversion, political accommodation and inter-confessional competition might work in different circumstances.

The religious conversion of the Middle East is a vast subject. I can only really scratch the surface here. But I do wish to emphasise the variety of the Christian experience, whether by confession, by region or by institution. I begin by setting out the confessional diversity of the Middle East as a whole, before discussing the aftermath of the Arab conquests and their different effects in Syria and in northern and southern Mesopotamia.[2] Finally, I turn to the elements of Arab-Islamic culture and jurisprudence that might allow us to explain the gradual conversion of parts of the Middle East to a new religion.[3]

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[1] My thanks go to Harry Munt and Sarah Savant for their advice.

[2] A useful general survey is provided by A. Eddé, F. Micheau and C. Picard (eds), *Communautés chrétiennes en pays d'Islam: du début de VIIe siècle au milieu de IXe siècle* (Paris: SEDES, 1997).

[3] I recognise that the categories 'Islam' and 'Christianity' are neither homogeneous nor stationary, i.e. that mutual influence meant that neither category remained the same. Therefore, when we speak of conversion to Islam in the seventh century or in the ninth we are actually speaking of different phenomena. Cf. R. Bulliet, 'Process and Status in Conversion and Continuity', in *Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands. Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. M. Gervers and R.J. Bikhazi (Toronto, ON: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990), 1–12, at 3.