

## New evidence on the Saruhanid Dynasty<sup>1</sup>

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The last two decades of the fourteenth century witnessed the consolidation of the Ottoman power in the Balkans and the reduction of the Byzantine Empire to a Turkish dependency.<sup>2</sup> By then, following the collapse of the Selçuks a series of independent emirates had emerged in Asia Minor, one of the most well established being that of the Saruhan family, the Saruhanoğulları, founded by Saruhan son of Alpagı (ca. 1313 – after 1348), the Emir of Manisa (Magnesia) on the Sipylos.<sup>3</sup> Along with the emirate of Aydın, the Aydınoğulları, it extended its power in the Aegean, collaborating and competing with both the Byzantines and the Genoese.<sup>4</sup> According to the Moroccan traveler Ibn Battuta, who travelled around Asia Minor ca. 1331, the Genoese of Phokaia used to send an annual gift to the emir of Saruhan, one assumes to prevent him from his piratic raids.<sup>5</sup> Together with external conflicts the emirates experienced internal succession struggles. Evidence in a short chronicle contained in a Greek manuscript housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, records such a hitherto unknown internal conflict that took place in 1383, which sheds further light on the Saruhanid succession in this period.

The deluxe Oxford MS. Auctarium T. 1. 2 (Misc. 180, Meerman 65, Clermont 99) has been twice described in detail by Annaclara Cataldi-Palau.<sup>6</sup> It consists of 291 parchment leaves preserving twenty-four Orations by Gregory of Nazianzus (329-390) with scholia, and commentaries to Orations 38 and 39 by Maximus Confessor (ca. 580-662) and to Oration 39 by Pseudo-Nonnus (6th c.). The value of this codex in terms of the textual transmission of these Orations is enhanced by the decorative elements in the annotation. Copied by two different anonymous hands (A and B) the codex is mutilated in the beginning and end, and therefore no evidence of its precise date is recorded in a colophon, if indeed such one existed. However, on the basis of datable scholia and the style of Greek minuscule (*bouletée élançée*) employed by scribe B (ff. 224-269<sup>v</sup>, 294-297<sup>v</sup>), the manuscript has been dated to the tenth century. A possible Southern Italian provenance has also been suggested.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The present joint article started its life in Spring 2012. Since then a number of reasons postponed its completion. Professor Elizabeth Zachariadou read and approved its pre-final version before she passed away on 26 December 2018. It is dedicated to her memory with deep love, respect and admiration. Profound thanks are offered to Dr Georgios Liakopoulos for his kind help and advice on Ottoman sources, and to Professor Stephen Reinert for his valuable comments, corrections and suggestions which substantially improved its final version. Warmest thanks are expressed to Ms Theodora Oikonomides and Mrs Katerina Oikonomides for their kind permission to publish this joint article in memory of their mother.

<sup>2</sup> A key study on this is GEORGE OSTROGORSKY, 'Byzance, état tributaire de l'empire Turc', *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog instituta* 5 (1958), 49–58. See also HALIL İNALCIK, *The Ottoman Empire: the Classical Age, 1300-1600*, trans. by NORMAN ITZKOWITZ and COLIN IMBER (London, 1973), pp. 5-16; articles by ANGELIKI E. LAIOU, MICHEL BALARD, I. METIN KUNT and PETER EDBURY in *New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. MICHAEL JONES, vol. 6: *c.1300–c.1415* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 795-884; and the more recent and comprehensive study on the Ottoman advance against Byzantium by RAÚL ESTANGÜI GÓMEZ, *Byzance face aux Ottomans. Exercice du pouvoir et contrôle du territoire sous les derniers Paléologues (milieu xive-milieu xve siècle)*, *Byzantina Sorbonensia* 28 (Paris, 2014).

<sup>3</sup> FRANZ BABINGER, 'Sarūkhān', in *E. J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam (1913-1936)*, eds M. TH. HOUTSMA, A. J. WENSINCK, H. A. R. GIBB, W. HEFFENING and E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, vol. VII (Brill: Leiden/New York/Copenhagen/Cologne, 1987), pp. 177-178; ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU, 'Sarūkhān', in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, eds C.E. BOSWORTH, E. VAN DONZEL, W.P. HEINRICHS and G. LECOMTE, vol. IX (Brill: Leyden, 1997), p. 69. See FERİDUN M. EMECEN, 'Ottoman Policy of Conquest of the Turcoman Principalities of Western Anatolia with Special Reference to Sarūkhān Beyliği' in *The Ottoman Emirate (1300-1389), Halcyon Days in Crete I. A Symposium Held in Rethymnon, 11-13 January 1991*, ed. ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU (Rethymnon, 1993), pp. 35-40; idem, *İlk Osmanlılar ve Batı Anadolu Beylikler Dünyası* (Istanbul, 2001), pp. 126-130.

<sup>4</sup> See ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU, *Trade and Crusade. Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydın (1300-1415)* (Venice, 1983), pp. 9, 17, 27-33, 37-39, 51-53, 171, 163 n. 684.

<sup>5</sup> H. A. R. GIBB trans., *The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325-1354*, vol. II (Cambridge, 1962), p. 448 with n. 131.

<sup>6</sup> ANNACLARA CATALDI-PALAU, 'Un manuscrit peu connu de S. Grégoire de Nazianze: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T. I. 2', *Byzantion* LXVII (1997), 323-359; revised description in eadem, *A Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts from the Meerman Collection in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2011), pp. 73-86.

<sup>7</sup> CATALDI-PALAU, 'Un manuscrit', pp. 323-359; eadem, *A Catalogue*, pp. 83, 86.

Together with a number of subscriptions in Greek by various thirteenth-fourteenth century hands (ff. 155<sup>r</sup>, 240<sup>v</sup>, 89<sup>v</sup>, 90<sup>r</sup>, 202<sup>v</sup>, 203<sup>r</sup>, 242<sup>v</sup>), a note by a different, crude and undisciplined hand, appears in the upper left-hand margin of f. 295<sup>v</sup> (older no. 303<sup>v</sup>).<sup>8</sup> The note was written in black ink which has now turned into grey green and has almost faded in certain points, making it difficult to read even with the help of ultraviolet light. This text, which contains a number of abbreviations and spelling errors (itacisms and isochronisms) as well as two lacunae, is a short chronicle recording events concerning members of the Saruhanogullari that took place between May and June 1383 (fig. 1):

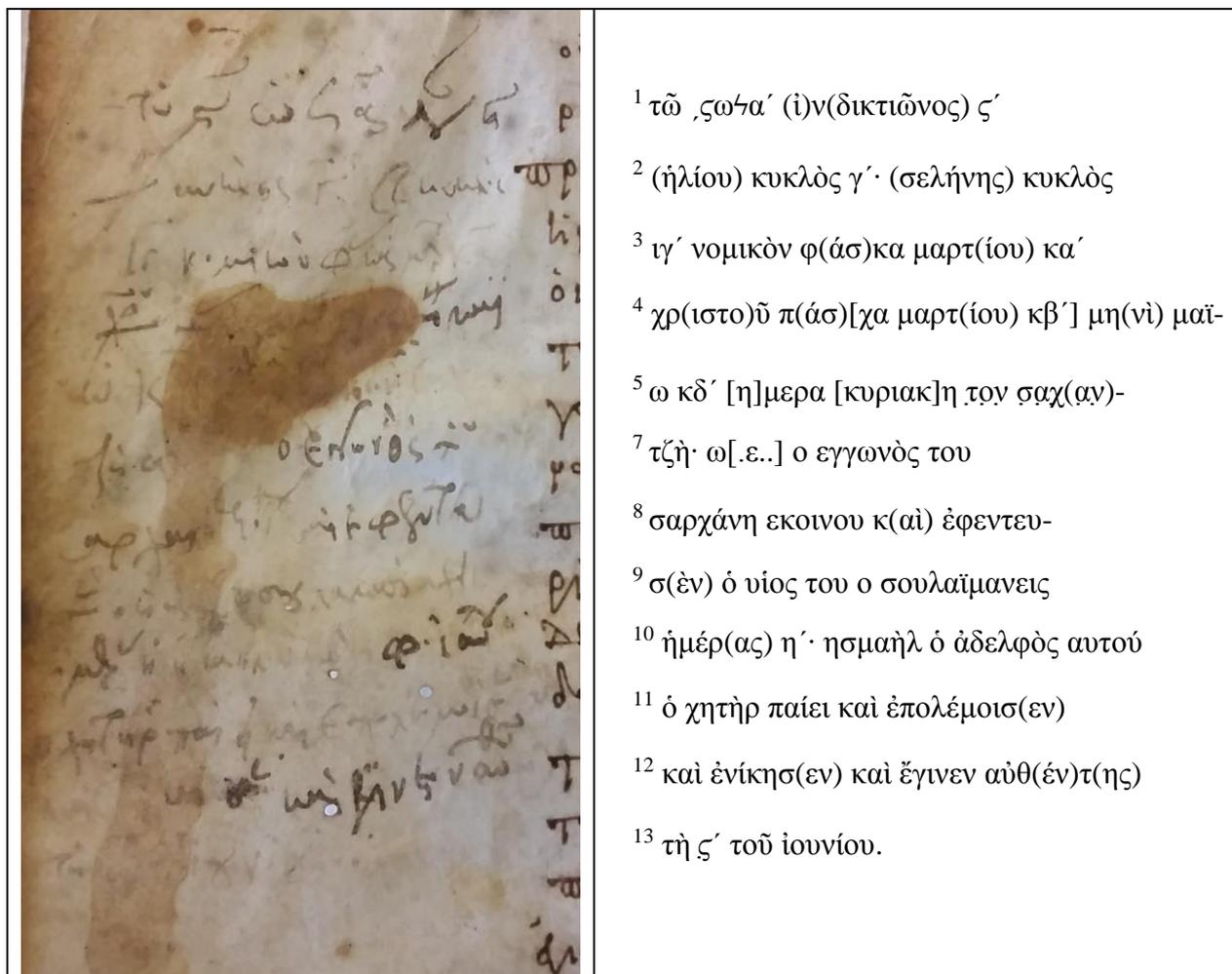


Fig. 1. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auctarium T. 1. 2 (Misc. 180), f. 295<sup>v</sup> (detail)

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The edited text reads as follows:

τῷ ,ζωτα´ <ἔτει> ἰνδικτιῶνος ζ´, ἡλίου κύκλος γ´, σελήνης κύκλος ιγ´, νομικὸν Φάσκα Μαρτίου κα´, Χριστοῦ Πάσχα Μαρτίου κβ´, μηνὶ Μαΐῳ κδ´ ἡμέρα Κυριακῆ τὸν Σαχαντζή· ω[.ε...] ὁ ἐγγονὸς τοῦ Σαρχάνη ἐκεῖνου καὶ ἐφέντευσεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Σουλαϊμάνης ἡμέρας η´· Ἰσμαῆλ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Χητήρπη καὶ ἐπολέμησεν καὶ ἐνίκησεν καὶ ἔγινεν αὐθέντης τῆς ζ´ τοῦ Ἰουνίου.

The year *anno mundi* 6891 / *anno Domini* 1383 serves as our safe guide in our attempt to identify events and persons involved. The precise date of the Easter Sunday of 1383, that is 22 March, admittedly almost illegible in the manuscript, is confirmed in the chronological tables, as are the cycles of the sun

<sup>8</sup> CATALDI-PALAU, 'Un manuscrit', p. 333 with n. 28; cf. revised transcription and information provided by Charalambos Dendrinis in CATALDI-PALAU, *A Catalogue*, pp. 84 (f. 295<sup>v</sup>), 85.

and the moon stated in the note.<sup>9</sup> On the basis of the aforementioned Easter Sunday on 22 March we are able to calculate the day of the week on 24 May 1383 when the specific event took place, that is a Sunday. The last letter is still legible in the lacuna ([κυριακ]η).

Σαρχάνης is clearly identified with Saruhan son of Alpagi.<sup>10</sup> He appears as Σαρχάνης in John Kantakouzenos<sup>11</sup> and Nikephoros Gregoras.<sup>12</sup> He is also mentioned as Σαρχάν by Ducas,<sup>13</sup> Σαρχάνης by Laonikos Chalcocondyles<sup>14</sup> and Pseudo-Sphrantzes,<sup>15</sup> and Σαρχάνις in a short Chronicle.<sup>16</sup> It is, therefore, quite acceptable that the short chronicle concerns Saruhan (r. ca. 1313 – after 1348) and his emirate, recording an event related to succession of power. As is well known, all Turkish emirates in the fourteenth century were ruled by their *ulu beg* (grand beg) who divided his ‘kingdom’ to his sons. For example, Mehmed Bey, father of the well-known Aydınoğlu Umur Bey, who was a friend of John Kantakouzenos, had divided his ‘kingdom’ to his sons, granting Smyrna and its area to Umur. Similarly, Alpagi granted the area of Magnesia to his son Saruhan and the area of Nif (Nymphaion) to his other son Ali, about whom hardly anything is known.<sup>17</sup> Around 1333, three sons of Saruhan – Atmaz, Orhan, and Timur Han – took part in a naval raid organised by the Aydınoğulları, though nothing is known of what happened to them subsequently.<sup>18</sup> It should also be noted that towards the end of the fourteenth century it seems that the titles of emirs become more official. In the treaty with the Venetians in 1375 the emir of Menteşe Ahmed Bey has added beside his traditional title *Çelebi* (Zalapi) also the title of *gazi*, that is *warrior of the faith*. More specifically, in the introductory section of the treaty the emir appears as ‘Cassibegi Zalapi’, while in the closing paragraph he signs as ‘Casibegí Zalappí’ and can be considered certain that he is a *gazi*.<sup>19</sup>

Firm genealogical evidence on the Saruhanoğulları is provided by dated inscriptions in the funerary monument of the Ulu Cami (A.H. 778 = A.D. 1376) and the adjacent medrese (A.H. 780 = A.D. 1378) in their capital, Manisa. These inscriptions mention the ruler responsible for the building of the two monuments, who was alive in April 1378, namely İshak Çelebi, son of İlyas, son of Saruhan.<sup>20</sup> Actually,

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<sup>9</sup> VENANCE GRUMEL, *La Chronologie*, Traite d’Études byzantines 1 (Paris, 1958), pp. 262, 276-277 (cf. cycles of sun and moon calculated with reference to A.D. 851 = A.D. 1383-532 months); cf. chronological tables in London, British Library, Additional MS. 18231 (copied in A.D. 972), fol. 11v.11, confirming this information under A.M. 6891 (ζω΄α) British Library Digitised Manuscripts: <[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add\\_ms\\_18231\\_f011v](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_18231_f011v)> (accessed: 10 February 2018).

<sup>10</sup> ERICH TRAPP et al eds., *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (Vienna, 1976-) (henceforth, *PLP*), 24922.

<sup>11</sup> JOHN KANTAKOUZENOS, *Historiae*, ed. L. SCHOPEN, *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri iv*, 3 vols, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn, 1828-1832), I, pp. 388, 480, 482f., 488, 492, 494; II 65, 77, 529f., 546, 550f, 591f.

<sup>12</sup> NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, *Historia Romana*, ed. I. BEKKER and L. SCHOPEN, *Nicephori Gregorae historiae Byzantinae*, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, 3 vols (Bonn, 1829-1855), I 214.18.

<sup>13</sup> DUCAS, *Historia Turcobyzantina*, ed. V. GRECU, *Ducas. Istoria Turco-Bizantina (1341-1462)*, *Scriptores Byzantini* 1 (Bucharest, 1958), 2.3.5, 16.5.9, 18.3.5.

<sup>14</sup> LAONIKOS CHALCOCONDYLES, *Historiae*, ed. E. DARKÓ, *Laonici Chalcocondylae historiarum demonstrationes*, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1922-1927), I 13.2, 59.17, 60.6; II 22.14-18.

<sup>15</sup> PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES, *Chronicon sive Maius (partim sub auctore Macario Melisseno)*, ed. V. GRECU, *Georgios Sphrantzes. Memorii 1401-1477*, *Scriptores Byzantini* 5 (Bucharest, 1966), 216.33.

<sup>16</sup> PETER SCHREINER ed., *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken. Chronica byzantina breviora*, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 12.1-3 (Vienna, 1979), chr. 8, 2 (29).

<sup>17</sup> EMECEN, *İlk Osmanlılar*, p. 94.

<sup>18</sup> IRÈNE MÉLIKOFF-SAYAR, *Le Destan d’Umur Pacha* (Paris, 1954), pp. 60, 65.

<sup>19</sup> ZACHARIADOU, *Trade and Crusade*, pp. 219, 224.

<sup>20</sup> RUDOLF MEYER RIEFSTAHL and PAUL WITTEK, *Turkish Architecture in southwestern Anatolia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931): Riefstahl, ‘The Ulu Djami of Ishak Bey’, pp. 7-15; Wittek ed. and trans., ‘Inscriptions from Southwestern Anatolia’: p. 109, no. 29 (fig. 225): ‘Inscription over the main portal of Ulu Djāmi’ (Central section) ... ‘the overwheeler of heresy, the fighter in the path of God, the victorious, the victor – (Left section) the confirmed by the aid of the pardoning king, the Sultan and son of Sultan Tshelbi İshāk b. İljās b. Şarukhan – God give eternity to his reign – in the year 778 [beg. 21<sup>st</sup> of May, 1376]’; p. 110, no. 30 (fig. 226): ‘Inscription over the portal of the medreseh adjacent to Ulu Djāmi’ ... ‘(Right) Has ordered the construction of this blessed medreseh the most exalted Sultan, the prince of the Gāzīs and fighters for the Faith İshāk Tshelbi b. İljās b. Şarukhan – may God make their reign eternal! – in (left) the months of the year 780 [beg. 30<sup>th</sup> of April, 1378 A.D.]’; cf. p. 111, no. 31: ‘On the front of the member [of Ulu Djāmi] ‘Has ordered the

this is the last mention of İshak (r. by 1357), who must have died in 1378, when he was succeeded by his son and successor Orhan,<sup>21</sup> as the date (A.H. 780 = A.D. 1378) of the silver coin the latter issued in his own name attests.<sup>22</sup>

The illegible word or words in mid-sentence in our short chronicle (i.e., ω[.ε.] in: Σαχαντζή· ω[.ε.] ὁ ἐγγονὸς τοῦ Σαρχάνη ἐκείνου) do not help in identifying the possible circumstances of İshak's death since whatever the author wrote cannot refer to this simply because the date of the recorded action (1383) in the text does not coincide with the plausible year of İshak's death, as evidenced from the coin of his son and successor Orhan (1378-9). Similarly, the preceding word, Σαχαντζή, presents problems. It seemingly coordinates with a Turkish word 'Sahancı' or 'Şahancı', but what the latter signifies is unclear. It does not appear to designate a personal name or surname, and in any case a name in this form is not, to our knowledge, attested in any Greek source of the period.<sup>23</sup> Likewise it is implausible to connect Σαχαντζή with 'sakabaşı', the term for a janissary regimental 'chief water carrier'.<sup>24</sup> Might Σαχαντζή somehow echo the honorary title of 'Şahzade', reserved for the royal princes? If that is the case, then Σαχαντζή/Şahzade likely refers to the aforementioned İshak Çelebi (known as Muzafferüddin İshak Çelebi), Sarkuhan's grandson (ἐγγονὸς τοῦ Σαρχάνη ἐκείνου). If this interpretation is correct, then the word Σαχαντζή in our short chronicle simply reflects its author's garbled understanding of the correct spelling and pronunciation of the title 'Şahzade'.

Ἰσμαήλ ... ὁ Χητήρη (Χητήρ παῖσι) in our short chronicle must refer to Hızırşah Bey<sup>25</sup> – İshak's son and grandson of İlyas (Fahreddin İlyas) (r. after 1348 – ca. 1357) – accompanied by the honorary appellation 'İsmâil'. Hızır appears as Χηθῆρ in Ducas, who states that when the Emirate of Saruhan was conquered by Sultan Bayezid I, who gave it to his son Süleyman Çelebi in 1390, Hızır surrendered himself to the Sultan and was sent to Bursa, where soon after he was poisoned on the Sultan's order and died.<sup>26</sup> According to Hoca Sâdeddin Efendi (1536/7-1599), after Bayezid I's conquest of the Emirate, Hızır was arrested (in his bath); before he was executed he requested to be buried after his death in his ancestral mausoleum in Manisa.<sup>27</sup> Whatever the case, prior to these events, an internal strife between Hızır and his brother Orhan broke out. Sometime before 1389 Hızır deposed Orhan, who was reinstated by Bayezid in 1390, while after the battle of Ankyra (28 July 1402), when Bayezid was captured by Timur, Orhan was restored to power by the Mongol leader.<sup>28</sup> Soon after Orhan issued copper coins in

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construction of this blessed mumber the most exalted the most exalted sultan, the master of the necks of the nations, Tshlebi İshāk b. İljās – exalted be his victory! – in the year 778 [beg. 21<sup>st</sup> of May, 1376 A.D.]”’. See also HAKKI ACUN, ‘Manisa’ daki Türbe Mimarisi’, *Bellekten* 49 (1985), 479-501; idem, ‘Manisa İshak Çelebi Külliyesi’, *Vakıflar Dergisi* 19 (1985), 127-146.

<sup>21</sup> *PLP* 8290 (Ἰσάχ τζαλαπής), 21130 (Ορχάμπης).

<sup>22</sup> KONSTANTIN ZHUKOV, ‘Ottoman, Karasid, and Sarukhanid Coinages and the Problem of Currency Community in Turkish Western Anatolia (’40s- ’80s of the 14<sup>th</sup> century)’, in *The Ottoman Emirate (1300-1389), Halcyon Days in Crete I. A Symposium Held in Rethymnon, 11-13 January 1991*, ed. ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU (Rethymnon, 1993), pp. 237-242 at 239-240.

<sup>23</sup> Much later, in June 1823, a certain Φώτης Σαχατζής signed, along with other inhabitants of Kyparissia and other towns and villages in the Peloponnese, a document requesting the Greek Supreme Command to appoint the *protosynkellos* Ambrosios Phrantzes as bishop of Arkadia: *Ἀρχεῖα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Παλιγγενεσίας*, vol. 11 (Athens, 1978), no. 60, pp. 64-69 at 65.

<sup>24</sup> Regarding the office of the sakabaşı, see CLAUDE HUART, ‘Janissaries’, *Brill’s First Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. IV, p. 573; MEHMET ZEKI PAKALIN, ‘Sakabaşı’, in *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, vol. 3, Part 1 (Istanbul, 1971), p. 96. For the Hellenization of sakabaşı as σακατζής, see STEPHANOS A. KOUMANOUDES, *Συναγωγή νέων λέξεων ὑπὸ τῶν λογίων πλασθεισῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλώσεως μέχρι τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς χρόνων*, vol. I (Athens, 1900), p. 163: ‘ἀρχιὑδροφόρος, ὁ Τουρκιστὶ σακατζής ὁ ἐν τῷ τάγματι τῶν γενιτσάρων’.

<sup>25</sup> *PLP* 24944. See EMECEN, *İlk Osmanlılar*, pp. 127-130.

<sup>26</sup> DUCAS, *Historia Turcobyzantina*, 4.3.4-7: ‘Καὶ πρὸς Μαγνησίαν τὴν ἐν Σιτύλῳ τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος [ὁ Παγιαζήτ], ἐξῆλθεν εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῦ Χηθῆρ, ὁ ἀρχηγὸς Λυδίας καὶ τῶν Αἰολίδων πόλεων, ὁ ἐγγονὸς τοῦ Σαρχάν, καὶ παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν. Αὐτὸς δὲ μεταδοὺς μερικῆς τιμῆς, ἐπεὶ γαμβρὸς ἐπ’ ἀδελφῆ ἦν ὁ Χηθῆρ, πέμπει τοῦτον πρὸς Προῦσαν, ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ καὶ φαρμάκῳ τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινεν’.

<sup>27</sup> HOCA SÂDEDDIN EFENDI, *Tâcü’ t-tevarih*, ed. İSMET PARMAKSIZOĞLU, vol. 2 (Ankara, 1997), pp. 25-26.

<sup>28</sup> See *Chronica Byzantina breviora*, ed. P. SCHREINER, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 1, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, 12.1 (Vienna, 1975), chr. 95.2 (1402/6910; Ind. 10): ‘καὶ τῆ ἰζ’ τοῦ αὐγούστου, τῆς ἰνδικτιῶνος ι’, τοῦ ςζι’ ἔτους, ἦλθεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ἰσάχ τζαλαπή, ὁ Ὀρχάμπης, εἰς τὴν Μαγνησίαν καὶ ἐσέβην ὡς αὐθέντης’.

his own right (dated A.H. 806 = A.D. 1403/4). The struggle for power between the two brothers resumed in summer 1404, in which Hızır prevailed. His victory was short-lived. In spring of the following year (1405) he was deposed and murdered by the Ottoman Mehmed Çelebi.<sup>29</sup> Whether Hızır played a role during the first years of the war among the successors to the Ottoman Sultanate, allying with İsmâ Çelebi against Mehmed Çelebi, is not clear.<sup>30</sup> What is certain is that Hızırşah Bey was the last of the Saruhanids.

The last person in our short chronicle that needs to be identified is Σουλαϊμάνης. This name cannot refer to Saruhan's son Süleyman (d. 1345), who during the Byzantine civil war (1341-47) fought in Thrace on the side of John Kantakouzenos (r. 1347-54) being an ally of Aydınoglu Umur Bey (r. 1334-48), who assisted John against the Palaeologi.<sup>31</sup> It has been suggested that, apart from Orhan and Hızır, İshak Çelebi had also another son, who at some point ascended the throne of the emirate and whose name is unknown.<sup>32</sup> It seems that the Σουλαϊμάνης in our short chronicle is no other than this third son of İshak and brother of Hızırşah Bey (ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Χητήρπη). So far this is the only source which refers to a son of İshak by the name of Süleyman, who ruled for eight days (καὶ ἐφέντευσεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ὁ Σουλαϊμάνης ἡμέρας η´), before his brother Hızırşah Bey defeated him and became ruler (ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Χητήρπη καὶ ἐπολέμησεν καὶ ἐνίκησεν καὶ ἔγινεν αὐθέντης). The internal dynastic strife among İshak's sons recorded by the anonymous Greek hand in our MS. was brief, lasting only thirteen days, between 24 May and 6 June 1383. In the light of this evidence a translation of the short chronicle is offered below:

In <the year> 6891 (AM = 1383 AD), of the 6<sup>th</sup> indiction, 3<sup>rd</sup> solar cycle, 13<sup>th</sup> lunar cycle; Jewish Passover on March 21<sup>st</sup>, Christian Easter on March 22<sup>nd</sup>; on May 24<sup>th</sup>, the day of the Lord (Sunday), the Şahzade (?) [missing word/s] the grandson of that very Saruhan and his son Süleyman ruled for 8 days; his brother Ismael Hızır Bey fought and was victorious, and became ruler on June 6<sup>th</sup>.

Thus, the genealogy of the Saruhanogulları should be as follows, the numbers in parentheses indicating order of succession:

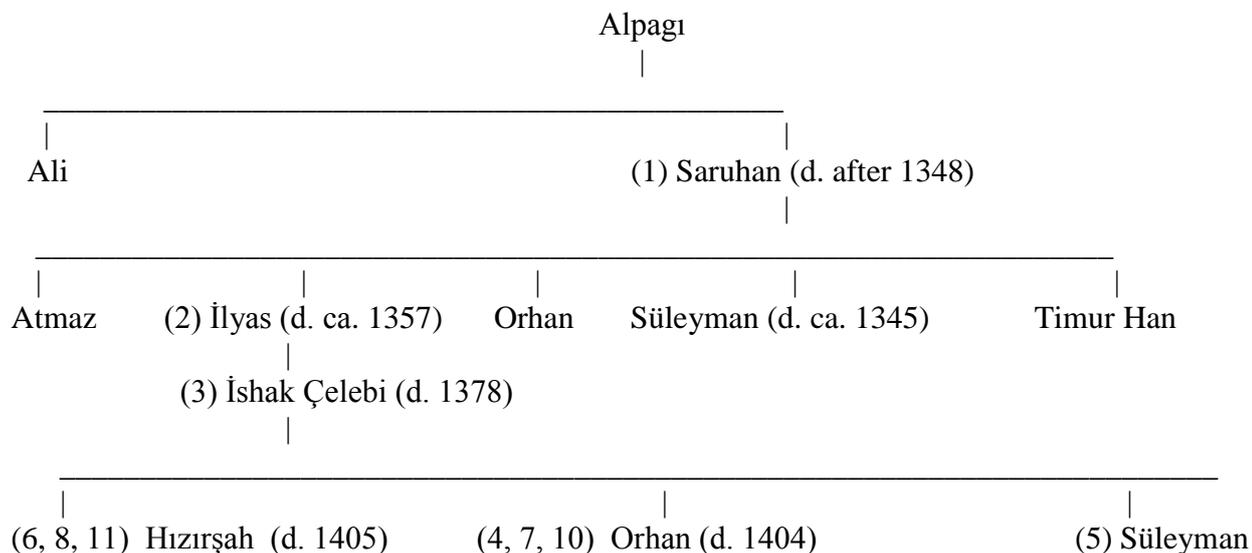
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<sup>29</sup> On these events see EMECEN, 'Ottoman Policy of Conquest', pp. 39-40; ZHUKOV, 'Ottoman, Karasid, and Sarukhanid Coinages', pp. 240-241.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. BABINGER, 'Sarūkhān', p. 177, citing SA'D AL-DĪN (SA'DEDDIN), *Tād̲j al-Tawārīkh* (Istanbul, 1862), I, pp. 287 ff., and JOSEPH FREIHERR VON HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, vol. I (Pest, 1827), p. 343, who cites Sa'deddin (Seadeddine). MARIE-MATHILDE ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA, *La campagne de Timur en Anatolie* (Bucharest, 1942), p. 35, simply mentions that Hızır found refuge with Timur. DIMITRIS J. KASTRITSIS, *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402-1413* (Leiden/Boston, 2007) and NILGÜN ELÂM, *Σχέσεις Βυζαντίου και Οθωμανών κατά τα έτη 1391-1421* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Thessaloniki, 2010), make no mention of Hızır with relation to the events concerning the strife between the sons of Bayezid.

<sup>31</sup> *PLP* 26328.

<sup>32</sup> EMECEN, *İlk Osmanlılar*, p. 127.



Our proposed sequence and chronology of Saruhanid rule is as follows, correcting and emending Bosworth in *The new Islamic dynasties*:<sup>33</sup>

- (1) Saruhan, son of Alpagı (ca. 1313 – after 1348)
- (2) İlyas (Fahreddin İlyas) (after 1348 – ca. 1357)
- (3) İshak Çelebi (Muzafferüddin İshak Çelebi, Şahzade), son of İlyas (by 1357 – 1378)
- (4) Orhan, son of İshak Çelebi (1378 – 24 May 1383)
- (5) Süleyman, son of İshak (24 May – 6 June 1383)
- (6) Hızırşah, son of İshak (7 June 1383 – ?)
- (7) Orhan, son of İshak (? – before 1389)
- (8) Hızırşah, son of İshak (before 1389 – 1390)
- (9) Ottoman partial annexation (1390 – 28 July 1402)
- (10) Orhan, son of İshak (17 August 1402 – 1404)
- (11) Hızırşah, son of İshak (1404 – 1405)

Another important piece of evidence in the MS. concerns a certain Kalothetos, a family name not unknown to Saruhan. On f. 242<sup>v</sup> a later hand copied the same text found on f. 90<sup>r</sup>, the second part of which comes from Libanius, *Epistula* 608 to Philagrius (ed. Förster, *Libanius*, 10, no. 608), in a note which concludes with the phrase ‘+ Καλοθέτου γράμματα : –’.<sup>34</sup> It is possible that this Kalothetos may be

<sup>33</sup> Cf. CLIFFORD EDMUND BOSWORTH, *The new Islamic dynasties: a chronological and genealogical manual* (Edinburgh University Press, 1996; digital edition 2014), no. 112.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. transcription in CATALDI-PALAU, *A Catalogue*, pp. 84-85.

related to the Chiot family with the same name. If so, it is likely that the short chronicle in our MS. is not coincidental but rather intentional.

The most famous of Kalothetoi is undoubtedly Leo Kalothetos (*fl.* 1315-63),<sup>35</sup> a supporter of Andronikos III Palaiologos (1328-41), who appointed him governor of Chios after it was recaptured from the Genoese in 1329. During the civil war Leo fell from power and joined his old friend Kantakouzenos, who after he usurped the imperial throne he offered him the title of *protosebastos*. In 1345 Kalothetos acted as Kantakouzenos' envoy to the *megas stratopedarches* John Vatatzes, and three years later he was appointed governor of Old Phokaea (1348-63). On 9 September 1349 he witnessed a treaty with Venice in Constantinople and in 1358 he took part in the episode with Orhan's son Halil, who fell to the hands of Greek or Genoese pirates and was held captive in Old Phocaea. It was only after he received a ransom of no less than 100,000 *hyperpyra* that Kalothetos agreed to free Halil in response to the demand of Emperor John V (r. 1341-76, 1379-91). Kalothetos held the office of *panhypersebastos* at the time.<sup>36</sup> What links the short chronicle mentioning Saruhan with the name of Kalothetos (though not specifically Leo) in the note in our MS. (fol. 242<sup>v</sup>) is a treaty signed by Giovanni and Francesco Giustiniani with Saruhan and Leo Kalothetos, mentioned in a later document issued by the two Giustiniani on 8 October 1364.<sup>37</sup>

It is not impossible, therefore, that this important theological MS. was owned at some stage by members of the Kalothetos family, who evidently shared political and financial interests with the Saruhanid dynasty, hence their concern for the succession of the emirate and the short chronicle recording the internal dynastic strife. Apart from its value as a new historical piece of evidence on the Saruhanogulları, this short chronicle, and similar ones,<sup>38</sup> reflect the continuity of life of the Greek Orthodox communities under the Turcoman conquerors in a critical period marked by the increasing decline of Byzantine power and the rise of the Ottomans.

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<sup>35</sup> *PLP* 10617.

<sup>36</sup> See KANTAKOUZENOS, *Historiae*, I 371-379, II 553, III 84, 320-322; GREGORAS, *Historia Romana*, III 505. Greek text of the treaty with Venice edited by FRANCISCUS MIKLOSICH and IOSEPHUS MÜLLER, *Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana collecta*, vol. 3 (Vienna, 1865), pp. 114-120 (Leo Kalothetos, p. 119).

<sup>37</sup> Ed. KATE FLEET, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State. The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge, 1999), Appendix 3, doc. 1, pp. 156-157.

<sup>38</sup> See a similar note in Greek recording events related to the Karamanoğlu in ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU, 'The Early Years of Ibrahim I. Karamanoğlu', in *The Sweet Land of Cyprus. Papers given at the Twenty-fifth Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1991*, eds ANTHONY A.A. BYER and G. S. GEORGALLIDES (Nicosia, 1993); reprinted in ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU, *Studies in Pre-Ottoman Turkey and the Ottomans* (Variorum: Aldershot, 2007), pp. 147-156 at 153-154.