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# The Rum Seljuqs

## Evolution of a Dynasty

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Songül Mecit

Süleyman Şah I (181423)

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It is remarkable that the author begins his account with an alleged statement made by Kutalmış according to which he demanded the Seljuq throne because his father Arslan Isrā'il had been the 'eldest of the tribe' and had died in that function. The rebel based his claim to the Great Seljuq throne on the ancient Turkish tribal tradition of seniorate according to which the eldest member of the chosen family was to lead the tribe. The author reveals that Kutalmış, the ancestor of the Rum Seljuq dynasty, was a rebel. On the other hand he knows Kutalmış' son Sulaymān is 'the father of the sultans of Rum' and makes somewhat contradictory statements to rehabilitate his descendants. He states that the Great Seljuq sultan following the advice of Nizām al-Mulk did not kill Kutalmış' descendants but deprived them of their dynastic rights and titles and send them to the borders.<sup>14</sup> The author ends his report stating that Diyarbakır and al-Ruha were assigned to Sulaymān. This would mean that he was reinstated as Seljuq prince and governor of these frontier regions of the Great Seljuq empire. It is important to observe, however, that the author does not expound *ghazw* and *jihad* against the Christian Byzantines. On the contrary, he stresses that the rebel's descendants were sent to the frontier so that they would not be able to regain their dynastic rights, as they would be 'submissive and needy'. The Great Seljuq authors are biased towards the Great Seljuqs and want to show that the Great Seljuq sultan was the legitimate and superior ruler who delegated power to other family members. All authors portray Kutalmış as a rebel and they recognize that he represented a different type of government but they do not elaborate this point. They construct a form of events which conforms to their understanding of history and their concept of kingship. Hence they claim that Sulaymān was reinstated by the Great Seljuq sultan and that his descendants became sultans ruling over Anatolia.

To sum up: a close examination of the accounts of Kutalmış' rebellion shows that the medieval authors agree that the Rum Seljuq dynasty represented the rebellious branch of the Seljuq family and that they lost their dynastic rights. At the same time all authors claim that Kutalmış' descendants were reinstated as Seljuq princes by their Great Seljuq cousins and allotted frontier regions. By inventing a story of official bestowment our authors are side-stepping the question of rival ideologies based on other traditions than their ideal of Perso-Islamic kingship. It goes without saying that the medieval authors do not discuss the rebellion in the light of an ideology of protest but as the struggle between two throne pretenders. We can however find some clues in their accounts which reveal the real circumstances of the first Rum Seljuqs and give us some idea of the ideological challenges they faced.

### Sulaymān I b. Kutalmış (473-78/1081-86)

The Rum Seljuq writers composed their works in Persian and they did not use any of the Arabic sources quoted above but it is evident that Aksarayi derived his information on the rise of the Seljuqs from the *Saljūqnāma* of Nīshāpūrī.<sup>15</sup>

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##### Sulaymān b. Qutlumush in the light of modern scholarship

As the grandson of Arslān-Isrā'īl, who had died in 1032 as prisoner of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and the son of Tuḡhril Beg's seditious cousin Qutlumush, who had been killed in late 1063/early 1064 fighting Sultan Alp Arslān, Sulaymān was the scion of a very prominent Seljuk lineage, which for decades was in rivalry and sometimes even in open hostility with the dynasty's main branch represented by the descendants of Mīkā'īl.<sup>1</sup> It thus comes as no surprise that he and his brothers made their first appearance in the light of history as restless warlords along with a number of competing Turkmen bands striving for power in northern Syria. Several years later, the same persons reappeared as chiefs of a considerable military force in Bithynia in western Asia Minor, only a few days march from Constantinople. As raiders, military commanders, and valuable allies of Byzantine rebels and emperors, such as Nikephoros III Botaneiates and Alexios I, Sulaymān b. Qutlumush and his companions laid the foundations for the formation of a new political entity that soon acquired distinct Muslim-Turkish characteristics. Within a time span of five years, from the imperial government's recognition of Sulaymān as an autonomous ruler in about June 1081 until his premature death in the battle of 'Ayn Saylam in June 1086, this Seljuk chieftain succeeded in establishing his rule in Nicaea and in conquering parts of Cilicia and Byzantium's main center in the southern section of the eastern borderland, the city of Antioch.<sup>2</sup>

Modern scholars generally agree on the outcomes and long-lasting effects of Sulaymān's ventures, but there are widely differing views and interpretations with respect to his political concepts and practices and the nature of the principality that he brought to life. Most remarkably, there is a broad gap between Western and Turkish perceptions of Sulaymān's historical significance, which is closely related to the diverging viewpoints and research interests in Europe and the modern Republic of Turkey. Specialists of Byzantium and the crusades deal with Sulaymān b. Qutlumush only insofar as he was involved in the empire's disintegration during the 1070s and 1080s or in the formation of the Muslim-Turkish powers opposing the First Crusade in the 1090s. Modern Turkish

Alexander Daniel Beihammer, Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-

Turkish Anatolia, ca. 1040-1130, London 2017, s. 171-197.

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نیشابوری، ص ۲۳؛ رشیدالدین فضل‌الله همدانی، ص ۲۰-۲۱؛ آقسرائی، ص ۱۶).

در برخی منابع ذکر شده است که سلیمان از سوی آلپارسلان مأمور شد در مرزهای شام، دیاربکر و مشرق آناتولی حاضر شود (ظهورالدین نیشابوری؛ آقسرائی، همانجاها؛ منجم‌باشی، ج ۲، ص ۲)، اما توران (ص ۸۵ و ص ۸۶، پانویس ۳۷) این موضوع را بی‌اساس و عاری از حقیقت دانسته است. کاهن<sup>۲</sup> (ص ۱۲-۱۳) نیز بر این باور است که پسران قلمش پس از مرگ آلپارسلان (در ۴۶۵) از نظارت ملکشاہ (جانشین آلپارسلان) خارج شدند و به آسیای صغیر نزد ترکمانانی که هنوز پدرشان را می‌شناختند، پناه بردند. آنچه مسلم است بعد از درگذشت آلپارسلان و کشمکش جانشینی میان ملکشاہ و قاورد (برادر آلپارسلان و مؤسس سلسله سلجوقیان کرمان) پسران قلمش و در رأس آنان سلیمان از فرصت استفاده کردند و با گردآوری ترکمانهای پراکنده در آناتولی، برخی نواحی آناتولی مرکزی را از دست رومیان شرقی گرفتند و به این‌گونه سلیمان و برادرانش در صحنه تاریخ آسیای صغیر اعلان موجودیت کردند (توران، ص ۷۹؛ سویم<sup>۳</sup>، ۱۹۹۰، ص ۱۱، ۲۴-۲۵؛ همو، ۱۹۹۳، ص ۹۹). آنها نیز مانند پدرشان به سبب انتساب به خاندان سلجوقی، سودای سلطنت داشتند. بنابراین، در اختلاف میان آتیزین اوق<sup>۴</sup> (فرمانروای شام) با سردارش، امیر ترکمان شکلی، با امیر ترکمان متحد شدند. در این درگیری، سلیمان و هم‌پیمانش در کنار دریاچه طبریه از اتسز شکست خوردند و او برادران و پسرعموی سلیمان را نیز به اسیری گرفت. سلیمان خواستار آزادی اسرا شد، اما اتسز آنها را به اصفهان نزد ملکشاہ سلجوقی فرستاد (سبط ابن جوزی، ص ۱۷۳-۱۷۵).

با استناد به نوشته‌های برخی مورخان، به نظر می‌رسد که سپردن حاکمیت بخشهایی از مشرق و مرکز آسیای صغیر به سلیمان باید در دوره ملکشاہ<sup>۵</sup> و پس از گسترش قلمرو سلیمان و بالاگرفتن کار وی در آن ناحیه و نیز تابعیتش از ملکشاہ صورت گرفته باشد (حسینی، ص ۷۲؛ حمدالله مستوفی، ص ۴۳۴-۴۳۵). سلیمان موفق شد شهر ساحلی ازنیق<sup>۶</sup> (نیقیه)<sup>۴</sup> و مناطق وابسته به آن را در ۴۶۷ فتح کند (عظیمی، ص ۴۳۹؛ ابن عدیم، ج ۱، ص ۴۸۰؛ قس سبط ابن جوزی، ص ۲۲۹) و از آن پس، ازنیق پایتخت سلجوقیان روم شد (کومنا<sup>۵</sup>، ص ۱۲۴). همچنین، طرطوس<sup>۶</sup> / آنطرطوس و طرسوس<sup>۷</sup>، دو شهر بندری تجاری مهم ساحل دریای مدیترانه، را نیز در ۴۷۵

ابن سعد؛ ابن شاکر کتبی، فوات الوفيات، چاپ احسان عباس، بیروت ۱۹۷۲-۱۹۷۳؛ ابن طقطقی، الفسخری فی الآداب السلطانية و الدول الاسلامیة، بیروت: دارصادر [بی‌تا]؛ ابن عدیته، العقد الفرید، چاپ علی شیری، بیروت ۱۴۰۸-۱۴۱۱/۱۹۸۸-۱۹۹۰؛ ابن کثیر، البدایة و النهایة، ج ۵، چاپ احمد ابوملحم و دیگران، بیروت ۱۹۸۷/۱۴۰۷؛ ابوالفرج اصفهانی؛ احمد بن یحیی بلاذری، انساب الاشراف، چاپ محمود فردوس عظم، دمشق ۱۹۹۶-۲۰۰۰؛ همو، کتاب فتوح البلدان، چاپ دخویه، لیدن ۱۸۶۶، چاپ افست فرانکفورت ۱۹۹۲/۱۴۱۳؛ خلیفه بن خیاط، تاریخ خلیفه بن خیاط، چاپ مصطفی نجیب فواز و حکمت کشلی فواز، بیروت ۱۹۹۵/۱۴۱۵؛ صفدی؛ طبری، تاریخ (بیروت)؛ سعودی، مروج (بیروت)؛ یعقوبی، تاریخ.

/ مرضیه محمدزاده /

**سلیمان بن قلمش**، ابوالقوارس ناصرالدوله رکن‌الدین، بنیان‌گذار حکومت سلجوقیان<sup>۸</sup> روم در سده پنجم. از جزئیات زندگی او قبل از جنگ ملازگرد (۴۶۳) آگاهی چندانی در دست نیست؛ حتی در میان امیران و بیگهای سلجوقی که بعد از پیروزی ملازگرد، مأمور ادامه فتوحات در آناتولی شدند، نامی از او برده نشده است (توران<sup>۱</sup>، ص ۷۹).

پدرش، قلمش (پسر ارسلان اسرائیل و نوه سلجوق)، از ابتدا در زمره ملازمان طغرل بیگ (حک: ۴۲۹-۴۵۵؛ نوه سلجوق و سلطان سلجوقی) بود. طغرل پس از تصرف ری، ولایت جرجان و دامغان را در اختیار وی قرار داد. سپس طغرل، قلمش<sup>۲</sup> را به دیاربکر و ربیع فرستاد و در کنار آن، حکمرانی طبرستان را نیز به وی واگذار کرد (ظهورالدین نیشابوری، ص ۱۸، ۲۱). همچنین، اشاره شده است که قلمش به دستور طغرل لشکرکشیهای موفقیت‌آمیزی علیه گرجیها و رومیها انجام داد و چندین قلعه را در قلمرو روم گرفت (منجم‌باشی، ج ۲، ص ۳). قلمش که خود را شایسته‌ترین فرد برای جانشینی طغرل می‌دانست، پس از مرگ وی در ۴۵۵، در طلب تاج و تخت از طبرستان عازم ری شد. آلپارسلان<sup>۳</sup> / آلپارسلان (برادرزاده طغرل) به مقابله با وی شتافت و قلمش را در اسپرایین کشت (ظهورالدین نیشابوری، ص ۲۱-۲۲؛ آقسرائی، ص ۱۵-۱۶).

پس از آن، آلپارسلان تصمیم گرفت نزدیکان قلمش، از جمله سلیمان (پسر خردسال وی) را بکشد، اما نظام‌الملک طوسی<sup>۴</sup> وزیر مانع شد و پیشنهاد کرد آنها را به مرزهای غربی قلمرو سلجوقیان بفرستد. بنابراین، آلپارسلان سلیمان و نزدیکان وی را به ثغر دیاربکر و رها (ادسا) فرستاد (ظهورالدین

1. Turan

2. Cahen

3. Sevim

4. Nicea

5. Comnena

پان تورکیست‌های معروف، مقاله‌هایی تند و زننده در حادثات بر ضد ایران و ایرانی نوشت. عارف قزوینی از این مقاله‌ها، به‌ویژه در آن‌جا که سلیمان نظیف و قیحانه سخنانی درباره جدایی آذربایجان به زبان آورده بود، در خشم شد و چنین سرود: «ز من بگو به سلیمان نظیف تیره‌ضمیر - که ای برون تو چون شیر و اندرون چون قیر.../ خیال آذربادگان اندر سر - فتاده بود تو زین پس به این خیال بمیر...» شکرز کورگان کتابی به نام سلیمان نظیف نوشت (۱۹۵۵م) و عصمت بینازک و نجات سفرچی‌اوغلو کتابشناسی سلیمان نظیف را به چاپ رساندند (۱۹۷۰م). از آثارش: فغان‌های پنهانی (۱۹۰۶م)؛ آتش و آتشبار (۱۹۱۷م)؛ فراق عراق (۱۹۱۸م)؛ شب‌های مالت (۱۹۲۴م)؛ نامق کمال (۱۸۹۷م)؛ نامه‌هایی به الجزایر (مصر، ۱۹۰۶م)؛ تاریخچه دو اتفاق (۱۹۱۲م)؛ در آستانه تاریخ (۱۹۱۷م)؛ خطابه که مصاحبه‌ی وی درباره پیرلوتی است (۱۹۲۰م)؛ بنواز چوپان (۱۹۲۱م)؛ حکایت مار در تاریخ (۱۹۲۲م)؛ جوابی به لطفی فکری بیگ (۱۹۲۲م)؛ ناصرالدین شاه و بابی‌ها (۱۹۲۳م)؛ نامه‌ای سرگشاده به حضرت عیسی (۱۹۲۴م)؛ سرزمین غارت شده (۱۹۲۴م)؛ محمدعاکف (۱۹۲۴م)؛ کلیات ضیاءپاشا (۱۹۲۴م)؛ دو دوست (ضیاءپاشا و نامق‌کمال) (۱۹۲۵م)؛ فضولی (۱۹۲۵م)؛ کلاه و ایران (۱۹۲۵م)؛ بنیادی که پاشیده شد (۱۹۲۷م)؛ نامه‌ای به ویکتور هوگو.

منابع: ادبیات نوین ترکیه، ۵۸، ۹۲، ۹۳، ۲۰۴؛ ایران و عثمانی در آستانه قرن بیستم، ۲۶۸/۳ - ۲۶۹؛ عارف قزوینی، ۲۹۷؛ فهرس المطبوعات التركية العثمانية، ۱۱۸/۲، ۳۱۴؛ محمد عاکف، ۲۶۷؛ نگاهی به زوند نفوذ و گسترش زبان و ادب فارسی در ترکیه، ۴۷۴؛ *Son asır Türk şairleri*, 3/1113-1131; *Türk edebiyatçıları sözlüğü*, 508-509; *Türk edebiyatı ansiklopedisi*, 4/1055; *Türk edebiyatı antolojisi*, 200-207; *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, 2/1044-1046; *Türkiye yazarlar ansiklopedisi*, 857; *Yazarlar sözlüğü*, 393.

رشنورزاده

سلیمان شاه یکم سلجوقی (so.ley.mān.sāh-e.ve.kom-e.sal.ju.qi)  
فرزند قتلش فرزند اسرائیل، بنیادگذار فرمانروایی سلجوقیان در آناتولی (۴۷۰ - ۴۷۹ ق). پدرش در دوره فرمانروایی الپ‌ارسلان

دیاریکر ۱۸۶۹ - استانبول ۱۹۲۷م، شاعر و نویسنده کردتبار ترکیه. پدرش تاریخ‌نگار بود. سلیمان نظیف در جوانی فارسی و عربی آموخت و بعدها با زبان فرانسه آشنا شد و پس از مرگ پدرش کاتب مجلس ولایتی دیاریکر و پس از آن مدیر چاپخانه دیاریکر شد و روزنامه‌ای به چاپ رسانید. در ۱۸۹۷م به پاریس گریخت، در آن‌جا به ترکان جوان پیوست و مقالاتی تند بر ضد حکومت در روزنامه مشورت (روزنامه‌ای که در پاریس به ترکی و فرانسوی منتشر می‌شد و سردبیری بخش فرانسه آن بر عهده احمدرضاییگ بود) نوشت. پس از هشت‌ماه که از پاریس بازگشت با سمت مکتوبچی به بورسه تبعید شد و در همین دوره بود که با نام مستعار ابراهیم جهدی مقالاتی از وی در مجله ثروت فنون به چاپ رسید. وی پس از انقلاب مشروطیت والی بصره (۱۹۰۹م)، قسطنونی (۱۹۱۰م)، طرابزون (۱۹۱۱م)، موصل (۱۹۱۳م) و بغداد (۱۹۱۴م) شد. سلیمان نظیف در ۱۹۱۵م به استانبول رفت و از کارهای دولتی کناره گرفت و به نویسندگی روی آورد. وی به یاری شهاب‌الدین روزنامه‌ای به نام حق و سپس روزنامه‌ای دیگر با نام حادثات انتشار داد. چون مقاله‌ای به نام «روزی سیاه» در حادثات (۱۹۱۸م) که درباره اشغال استانبول بود، به چاپ رساند، از دید اشغالگران ناپسند افتاد. وی درگردهمایی بزرگداشت پیرلوتی که در دارالفنون استانبول برگزار شده بود، خطابه‌ای در اعتراض به اشغال استانبول ایراد کرد و به همین سبب به جزیره مالت تبعید شد، اما پس از گذشت بیست ماه به استانبول بازگشت. وی به بیماری ذات‌الریه درگذشت و آرامگاه او در ادرنه‌قاپی است. نثر سلیمان نظیف مسجع و آهنگین است. وی گرچه سروده‌های خود را در ثروت فنون به چاپ می‌رسانید، اما شباهت کم‌تری با ثروت فنونی‌ها داشت. در نظم و نثر و داشتن احساسات ملی‌گرایانه ادامه‌دهنده راه نامق کمال (- ۱۳۰۶ ق) بود و به جریان ادبی تنظیمات بیش‌تر از ثروت فنون دل‌بستگی داشت. یکی از دوست‌دارانش پس از درگذشت وی گفت: «سلیمان نظیف سردار کلمات بود.» عارف قزوینی (- ۱۳۱۲ ش) در ۱۳۳۶ ق/۱۹۱۷م به استانبول پناهنده شد و در همین زمان هیأت نمایندگی ایران در جریان تنظیم عهدنامه پاریس برای روشن کردن مرزها حضور یافت، این امر ترک‌های عثمانی را دل‌آزرده کرد و از این رو، سلیمان نظیف از زبان

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*dā'ī*, Sulaymān claimed the succession for himself. The great majority of the community in India upheld the succession of Dāwūd b. Ḳuṭbshāh, whereas a minority, mainly in Yaman, accepted Sulaymān's claim. Because of this schism the former became known as the Dāwūdīs while the latter as the Sulaymānīs [q.v.].

Contemporary Dāwūdī sources give a detailed account of this schism, which is corroborated by independent Mughal sources in its main outlines. The Sulaymānī sources, on the other hand, are spotty and apologetic. According to these sources, two widows of the late Dāwūd b. 'Adjabshāh, their two sons, and a confidential scribe of the late *dā'ī*, were accused of embezzling money from the treasury. To counteract those charges, the accused schemed to challenge Dāwūd b. Ḳuṭbshāh's authority by forging a document of succession in favour of Sulaymān by using the stolen seal of the late *dā'ī*, a plan in which their kinsman by marriage, Sulaymān, acquiesced. Sulaymān then announced his claim as the twenty-seventh *dā'ī*, but the plot was uncovered and Sulaymān was dismissed from his position. Unable to garner support in Mukhā, Sulaymān went to Ḥarāz, was rebuffed by the chief deputy of the *dā'ī* in Yaman and others, hence went to Naḍjrān, inhabited by the influential Banū Yām [q.v.], a subdivision of the large and ancient tribe Hamdān who had embraced the Ismā'īlī faith, and succeeded in winning their support. Soon he was imprisoned by the Turkish authorities, until after three years he managed to escape and fled to India. He arrived in Aḥmadābād in 1003/1595 and tried to assert his claim by resorting to litigation against Dāwūd b. Ḳuṭbshāh at the court of the Mughal emperor Akbar. But before the case was decided in favour of Dāwūd, Sulaymān died in Lahore on 25 Ramaḍān 1005/12 May 1597; his body was taken to Aḥmadābād and interred there.

He was an eloquent speaker and wrote several works on Ismā'īlī doctrines, asserting his claim and refuting that of his opponents, but most of them are lost.

**Bibliography:** I. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismā'īlī literature*, Malibu, Cal. 1977, 242-4; Farhad Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs. Their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 304-5 (his statement that Dāwūd b. 'Adjabshāh died in 999/1591, or in 997/1589 according to the Sulaymānīs, is incorrect), 318; Ismā'īldjī Badripresswala (ed.), *Aḥbārūd du'ātūl akramīn* (in Guḍjarātī), Rajkot 1356/1937, 110-68. See also SULAYMĀNīs. (I. POONAWALA)

**SULAYMĀN B. KATHĪR** al-Ḳhuzā'ī, Abū Muḥammad, *dā'ī* of the Hāshimiyya in Ḳhurāsān.

He figures as an authority on Yazīd b. al-Muḥallab's campaign in Ḍjurdjān in 98/716-17, and it was perhaps as a member of Yazīd b. al-Muḥallab's army that he left Kūfā for Ḳhurāsān, where his brother Ḍjābir or Ḥāritha b. Kathīr campaigned against the Turks in 106/724-5, and where his father, Kathīr b. Umayya, fell in battle against the Turks as an old man in 119/737 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1323, 1480, 1601 [wrongly Kathīr Abū Umayya]). Sulaymān himself was *min ahl al-dīwān* in Marw when he was recruited for the Hāshimī cause, allegedly in 100/718-19, by Bukayr b. Māhān, a *mawlā* who had himself participated in Yazīd b. al-Muḥallab's campaign in Ḍjurdjān (*Aḥbār al-dawla al-'abbāsiyya*, ed. 'A.-'A. al-Dūrī and 'A.-Ḍj. al-Muṭṭalibī, Beirut 1971, 191, 199). Sulaymān recruited his son, brothers, brothers-in-law and other Ḳhuzā'īs, as well as some prominent non-Ḳhuzā'īs, for the movement and rose to the position of *naḳīb*

(*ibid.*, 202, 216, 219, 220, 271; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1954, 1358; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iii, 115 [makes him a *mawlā* of Ḳhuzā'ā]). He was arrested in 117/735-6 along with other *dā'īs*, but soon released (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1586 ff.), and was the prime leader of the *dā'wa* until the arrival of Abū Muslim [q.v.], whose take-over he opposed and who liquidated both him and his son after the accession of Abu 'l-'Abbās in 132/750 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1960 ff., iii, 61; *Aḥbār*, 271 ff., cf. 220; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iii, 168).

**Bibliography:** All the standard chronicles on the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods mention Sulaymān, but usually add little to the works cited in the article. The main secondary works are J. Wellhausen, *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Calcutta 1927; F. Omar, *The 'Abbāsīd caliphate 132/750-170/786*, Baghdād 1969; E.L. Daniel, *The political and social history of Khurasan under Abbasid rule, 747-820*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1979; M. Sharon, *Black banners from the East*, Jerusalem and Leiden 1983; idem, *Revolt, the social and military aspects of the 'Abbāsīd Revolution*, Jerusalem 1990.

(PATRICIA CRONE)

✓ **SULAYMĀN B. KUTULMĪSH** b. Arslan Isfā'īl, member of the Saldjūk family and founder of the sultanate of Rūm (d. 479/1086).

His father was killed in 456/1064 during a succession struggle with his kinsman Alp Arslan [q.v.], and at least four of his sons appear to have escaped eventually to the west (see Cl. Cahen, *Qutlumush et ses fils avant l'Asie Mineure*, in *Isl.*, xxxix [1964], 14-27; on the form of the name Ḳutulmīsh, see *ibid.*, 14 n. 1, and M.F. Köprülü, *Türk onomastique'i hakkında, in İstanbul Üniv. Edebiyat Fak. Tarih Dergisi*, i [1950], 227-30). Sulaymān, the most prominent of them, appears in 467/1074 as the chief of a large group of Türkmens in Anatolia (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzī [the most important source on his life], *Mir'āt al-zamān*, ed. Ali Sevim, Ankara 1968, 174-5; cf. Cahen, *La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure*, in *Byzantion*, xviii [1948], 5-67).

After an abortive attempt to intervene in Syrian affairs (see Sevim, *Suriye ve Filistin Selçuklular tarihi*, Ankara 1983, 68-70), Sulaymān withdrew into Anatolia, and taking advantage of the confusion there and the collapse of the Byzantine defence system after Malāzgird [q.v.], he moved westwards with his Türkmens followers, and took possession of Nicaea and its environs, perhaps as early as 467/1075 (al-'Azīmī, *Ta'riḫh*, ed. Ali Sevim, Ankara 1988, 16). Greek sources state that the Emperor Michael VII hired Sulaymān to help crush the rebellion of Nicephorus Botaniates, the general in command of Anatolia, but that Sulaymān in fact joined the latter, so that with Türkmens assistance, Botaniates achieved the throne in Constantinople in 1078. Sulaymān, meanwhile, from his base at Nicaea was able to overrun most of western and central Anatolia (see the Greek sources in S. Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, Berkeley, etc. 1971, 105-6). An expedition sent against him by the Great Saldjūk Sultan Malik Shāh under Bursuḳ [q.v.] failed to bring Sulaymān to heel, although it killed his brother Maṣṣūr, and, since Alexius Comnenus had to withdraw troops from Anatolia for the Balkans, the Emperor concluded a treaty with Sulaymān acknowledging his suzerainty in the territories under his control (Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, tr. E.R.A. Sewter, Harmondsworth 1969, 198). Around this time, Greek sources refer to Sulaymān as "sulfan"; unfortunately, no coins of his have come to light.

Sulaymān now turned his ambitions eastwards, possibly with the intention of challenging Malik Shāh

1997 LEIDEN

— Silke

Süleyman Şah I  
Selçuklular

T.T.K Belleteri, 57/218, 1993 Ankara, s. 71-80

Topkapı Sarayı  
Kütüphane

## SÜLEYMAN ŞAH VE ANADOLU SELÇUKLU DEVLETİ'NİN KURULUŞU

Prof. Dr. MEHMET ALTAY KÖYMEN

Çin imparatoru Hsüan Tsung, Kapgan Kagan'ı tamamen ortadan kaldırmak, ya da eline geçirmek istiyordu. Bu maksatla Gök-Türk ülkesinde üç ayrı bölgede bulunan ve yukarıda bahsettiğimiz gibi Çin ile daha önce müttefik olan, üstelik çeşitli Çin unvanları da alan Türk boylarının reislerine yeniden unvan ve hediyeler sunuldu. Bu suretle yeniden taltif edilerek, Kapgan'a saldırmak için tahrik ediliyorlardı<sup>89</sup>. Böylece Kapgan'a karşı ihanet cephesi tekrar harekete geçmişti. Çin müttefiki Bayırkular isyan edince, Kapgan üzerlerine yürüdü. Tola ırmağı kenarında yapılan savaşta Bayırkular çok ağır bir bozguna uğradılar. Ancak, Kapgan zafer kazanmanın verdiği mağruriyet içerisinde çok az sayıda askerle geri dönerken Söğüt ormanında savaş artığı Bayırkuların reisi Chie-chih-lüe'nin<sup>90</sup> ani hücumuna uğrayarak öldürüldü. Her iki yıllıktaki ifadeden anlaşıldığına göre casus olan Çinli Ho Ling-ch'üan, o sırada Bayırkular'ın yanında bulunuyordu. Bu şahıs Kapgan'ın kesik başını alıp, Çin başkentine götürdü(716 6. ay).

24 yıl süren parlak zaferlerle dolu bir kaganlık dönemini çok hazin bir sonla kapayan Kapgan'ın yerine kendisinin daha evvel "Küçük Kagan" olarak tayin ettiği oğlu İnel geçti ise de Kutlug'un küçük oğlu Kül Tegin bir ihtilal yaparak, onu ve bütün ailesini ortadan kaldırdı; sonra ağabeyi Bilge Şad'ı kagan olarak tahta geçirdi.

Nâsıru'd-Devle Ebu'l-Fevâris<sup>1</sup> Süleyman Şah (?-1086), Anadolu Selçukluları Devleti'nin kurucularından olup, Bizans kaynaklarından Skylitzes'e göre Kutalmış'ın beş oğlundan biridir<sup>2</sup>. Bunlardan dördünün adı, muhtelif vesilelerle Bizans ve Doğu kaynaklarında geçer<sup>3</sup>. Süleyman'ın kardeşlerinin adları Mansur, Alp İlek veya Alp Yülük,<sup>4</sup> ve Devlet veya Dolat idi<sup>5</sup>. Bildiğimize göre, bu şehzadelerden biri, ilk defa babalarının, büyük Selçuklu Sultanı Alp Arslan ile yaptığı mücadele sırasında (Kasım 1064) esir düşmesi münasebetiyle, "kardeşlerden en büyüğü olan Kutalmış oğlu" şeklinde geçer<sup>6</sup>. Bunun Mansur olduğu muhakkaktır. Öteki kardeşlerinin, bu arada Süleyman'ın babaları Kutalmış ile birlikte olduklarını, savaşın mağlûbiyetle sonuçlanmasından sonra, onların da şu veya bu şekilde Alp Arslan'ın eline geçtiğini kabul etmemek için hiçbir sebep yoktur. Zira, bu Selçuklu hükümdarının, zaferden sonra Kutalmış'ın bütün oğullarını ve akrabalarını öldürmek istediği, vezir Nizamü'l-Mülk'ün, bu hareketin devlete hayır getirmeyeceği mülâhazası ile mâni olduğu<sup>7</sup>, bütün

<sup>1</sup> Bu lâkaplar için bk. Şeddâd, *Alâ'l-Hatîre*, Topkapı, -Revan Köşkü, Nr. 1564, vr. 210 b. M. H. Yınanç'a göre, Süleyman Şah, ayrıca Rüknu'd-din lâkabını da taşıyordu. (Bk. *Türkiye Tarihi Selçuklu Devri, I, Anadolu'nun Fethi*, İst., 1944, s. 107). Fakat, müellif bu lâkabı hangi kaynaktan aldığını belirtmiyor. Ayrıca, "Şah" lâkabı ve "Gazzi" unvanı için de bk. aynı yazar, a.g.e., s. 106.

<sup>2</sup> J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs Seljucides*, Paris-Nancy, 1913, s. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Meselâ, Mansur ve Süleyman için bk. N. Bryennios, *Les Quatre Livres des Histoires*, Fr. terc. H. Grégoire, Byzantion, XXV-XXVII, (1955-57) s. 902.

<sup>4</sup> *Mathieu d'Edesse*, Fr. trc. Dulaurier, Paris, 1858, s. 211; Türkçe terc. H. D. Andreasyan, Ank., 1962, s. 186.

<sup>5</sup> Cl. Cahen, *La Chronique Abrégée d'Alâzimi*, JA, CCXXX, (1938), s. 390; İbn al-Adim, *Zubda*, II, nşr. S. Dehan, s. 205. Bu şehzadelerin adları için ayrıca bk. M. H. Yınanç, a.g.e., s. 86.

<sup>6</sup> Sıbt İbn al-Cevzî, *Mirâ'tü'l-Zamân*, Türk-İslâm Eserler Müzesi, Nr. 2134, c. XI, vr. 232 b.

<sup>7</sup> Aksarâyî, *Müsameretü'l-Ahbar*, nşr. O. Turan, Ank., 1944, s. 16, 26; Reşidü'd-din Fazlullâh, *Câmi'ü'l-Tevârih*, II/5, nşr. A. Ateş, Ank., 1960, s. 28; Sadrü'd-din el-Hüseynî, *Ahbârü'd-Devleti's-Selçukiyye*, nşr. M. İkbâl, Lahor, 1933, s. 31-d; Türkçe trc. N. Lugal, Ank., 1943, s. 22.

<sup>89</sup> Çin İmparatorunun Gök-Türklere karşı diğer Türk boylarına tekrar unvan ve hediyeler sunması yalnız HTS 215A, s. 6049'da zikredilmiştir.

<sup>90</sup> Bu reisin ismi sadece CTS 194A, s. 5173'de bulunmaktadır.

12 KASIM 1996

SULTAN İ.SÜLEYMAN-ŞAH VE ANADOLU'NUN TÜRKLEŞİP  
İSLAMLAŞMASINDA ROL OYNAYAN UNSURLAR

Adem SÜSLÜ

Danışman : Yrd.Doç.Dr.Zeki ATÇEKEN  
1993, Sayfa: 115

Anadolu'nun Türkler tarafından fethi o dönemde Bizans'ın devlet yapısıyla Anadolu'nun sosyal, dini, iktisadi ve kültürel durumlarıyla yakından ilgilidir. Bizans'ın ekonomisinin bozulması, halka ağır vergilerin yüklenmesi, adaletsiz yönetim, uygulanan dini politika ve Rumlaştırma siyaseti nedeniyle imparatorluk bir çöküntünün eşğine gelmiştir.

Anadolu, coğrafi konumu ve önemi nedeniyle çok sayıda istilalara maruz kalmıştır. Buraya ilk Müslüman Arap akını Hz.Ömer'in hilafeti döneminde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Emeviler ve Abbasiler döneminde de Arap akınları devam etmiş olup bu akınların en büyük yararı uç bölgelerinde çok sayıda gönüllü asker ve Derviş'in yığılması ve ileride yapılacak olan Türk akınlarına zemin hazırlamasıdır.

Anadolu'ya ilk gelen Türkler Hun ve Sabai Türkleri'dir. İlk Selçuklu akını ise 1018 yılında Çağrı Bey tarafından yapılmıştır. Malazgirt Muharebesi'ne kadar ki Selçuklu seferleri keşif niteliğinde olup, bundan sonra Anadolu'ya gelen çok sayıda Türkmen ülkeye yerleşmiştir. Anadolu'nun fethinde bu Türkmenleri sistemli bir şekilde yerleştiren Süleyman Şah'ın önemli bir yeri vardır.

Kutalmış Sultan Alp Arslan'a karşı girişmiş olduğu saltanat mücadelesinde hayatını kaybedince, oğulları Alp Arslan tarafından hapsedildiler. O'nun 1072'de ölümü üzerine ortaya çıkan karışıklıklardan istifade eden Süleyman Şah ve kardeşleri Anadolu'ya geldiler. Süleyman Şah Konya'yı aldıktan sonra İznik'e kadar ilerleyerek burayı kendisine merkez yaptı. Bizans'ın içinde bulunduğu durumdan istifade ederek sınırlarını hızla genişletti. 1081'de imzaladığı Dragos Antlaşması ile siyasi zafer kazandı. Daha sonra Kilikya bölgesiyle Antakya'yı fethetti. Çıkmış olduğu Kuzey Suriye seferinde Tutuş'a yenildi ve hayatını kaybetti.

Süleyman Şah Türk Devleti'ni sağlam esaslar üzerine kurmakla Anadolu'nun Türkleşmesinde önemli bir yere sahiptir. Anadolu'nun Türkleşip İslamlaşmasında etnik, kültürel, dini, askeri ve siyasi sebeplerin de etkisi büyük olmuştur. Süleyman Şah bu materyalleri birleştirerek kuvvetli bir Türk Devleti kurmuştur.

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SULTAN SULEYMAN-SHAN I AND THE ELEMENTS PARTICIPATING IN  
ANATOLIA TURNED TO BECOME TURKISH AND MUSLIM

*The conquest of Anatolia by Turks has much to do with the texture of State of Byzantium in that time, and with the social, religious, economic and cultural state of Anatolia. Because of deterioration in Byzantium Economy, burdening people with heavy taxes, unjust administration, current religious policy and the policy of making people Byzantine, the empire has come to the threshold of a downfall.*

*Anatolia has been exposed, due to its situation and significance, to a great number of invasions. The first Muslim Arabic raid made here was realized in the Caliphate Period of Omer. Arab raids has continued during the time of Abbasid and Omayyed States and the greatest use of these raids is that a great number of voluntary soldiers and dervishes have concentrated in the far-away regions and this has set good occasions and places for the future Turk raids.*

*The Turks coming first to Anatolia are Hun and Sabai Turks. The first raid by Seljuks was made by Çağrı Bey in 1018. All of the Seljuk expeditions up to Malazgirt Battle had been in the nature reconnaissance and later then many Turkomen coming to Anatolia have established in this country. Süleyman-Shah, who has placed those Turkomen systematically, has an important role in the conquest of Anatolia.*

*When Sultan Kutalmış has lost his life in his struggle for reign with Alp Arslan, his sons has been put into prison by Alp Arslan. Süleyman-Shah and his brothers who have achieved to make use of the turbulence appeared upon the death of Alp Arslan in 1072, came to Anatolia. Having conquered Konya Süleyman-Shah has advanced as far İznik and adapted here as capital for himself. He has enlarged his boundaries rapidly making use of the situation in which Byzantium was. He gained a political victory through the treaty of Dragos he concluded and signed in 1081. Then he conquered both the region of Kilia and Antioch. He was defeated by Tutuş and lost his life at the North Syria Campaign he went on.*

*For he set up Turkish State on firm basis, Süleyman-Shah occupies a very significant place in Turkifying the Anatolia. The effects of ethnical, cultural, religious, military and political factors has also been great in making Anatolia a home for Turks and Muslima. Süleyman-Shah has set up a powerful Turkish State by combining those materials.*