

ANATOLIA IN THE CHRONICLE OF RAMON MUNTANER

Ramon Muntaner'in Kroniğinde Anadolu

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Abstract

Ramon Muntaner, one of the leading figures of the Catalan Grand Company, spent about a year in Anatolia between 1303 and 1304 and recorded valuable information about the places that he saw there in his chronicle written between 1325 and 1328. Muntaner described the geographical features and social-political landscape of Anatolia in an original style and mentioned the names of many settlements in the chronicle. According to Muntaner, the places where the Catalan army passed through in Anatolia were Artaki (Erdek/Kyzikos), Philadelphia (Alaşehir), Nymphaeum (Nif/Kemalpaşa), Magnesia (Manisa), Tyre (Tire), Ephesus (Efes/Selçuk), Anaia (Kadı Kalesi), the Iron Gate (Demir Kapı) and Passaquia (Lampsakos/Lapseki), respectively. At the end of 1304, the Catalans crossed directly from Lapseki into Gallipoli and settled there. Thus, their adventure in Anatolia, which lasted about a year, came to an end. In this study, we will consider what Ramon Muntaner recorded about the places that he saw in Anatolia.

Öz

Büyük Katalan Kumpanyası'nın önde gelen isimlerinden birisi olan Ramon Muntaner, 1303-1304 yılları arasındaki yaklaşık bir yılını Anadolu'da geçirmiş ve 1325-1328 yılları arasında kaleme aldığı kroniğinde, burada gördüğü yerler hakkında değerli bilgiler kayda geçirmiştir. Muntaner, Anadolu'nun coğrafi özelliklerini ve sosyal-siyasi manzarasını özgün bir üslupla tasvir etmiş ve kroniğinde birçok yerleşim yerinin de adını zikretmiştir. Muntaner'e göre Katalan ordusunun Anadolu'da geçtiği yerler sırasıyla şunlardır: Artaki (Erdek), Philadelphia (Alaşehir), Nymphaeum (Nif/Kemalpaşa), Magnesia (Manisa), Tyre (Tire), Ephesus (Efes/Selçuk), Anaia (Kadı Kalesi), Demir Kapı ve

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Passaquia (Lampsakos/Lapseki). 1304 yılı sonunda Katalanlar, Lapseki'den doğrudan Gelibolu'ya geçerek buraya yerleştiler ve böylece, onların yaklaşık bir yıl süren Anadolu maceraları sona ermiş oldu. Biz, bu çalışmamızda Ramon Muntaner'in Anadolu'da iken gördüğü yerler hakkında verdiği bilgileri ele alacağız.

Keywords: Ramon Muntaner, The Catalans, The Catalan Company, Anatolia.

Introduction

Ramon Muntaner is a member and one of the leading figures of the Catalan Company, which came to Constantinople from Sicily and entered the service of the Eastern Roman Emperor, Andronikos II Palaiologos, in 1303. Muntaner, who was born in Perelada (Catalonia) in 1265, lived an adventurous life until his death in 1336.¹ He met Roger de Flor in Sicily and since then became one of his most devoted men.² Thus, he came to the lands of the Eastern Roman Empire in 1303 in the army led by Roger as a result of the Emperor's attempt to hire foreign mercenaries to repel the external attacks that the empire was subjected to.³ The Emperor was planning to use the Catalans, especially in the struggle against the Ottomans.⁴

¹ Robert D. Hughes, *The Catalan Expedition to the East: from the Chronicle of Ramon Muntaner*, Tamesis Books, Woodbridge 2006, p.9-12; Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Rhetoric and Ideology in the Book of Ramon Muntaner", *Mediterranean Historical Review*, XXVI/1 (2011), p.1-6; Judith Mengler, "Logistics and Food Supply in the Crònica of Ramon Muntaner", in *Killing and Being Killed: Bodies in Battle*, ed. Jörg Rogge, Transcript-Verlag Bielefeld 2017, p.233-234; H. Şebnem Atakan, "Ramón Muntaner Kroniğinde Katalanlar ve Bizans", (Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara Üniversitesi, 2009), p.32-33.

² Mengler, "Logistics and Food Supply in the Crònica of Ramon Muntaner", p.233-234; Atakan, "Ramón Muntaner Kroniğinde Katalanlar ve Bizans", p.32.

³ Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica Catalana*, trans. Antonio de Bofarull, Imprenta de Jaime Jepús, Barcelona 1860, p.383-385; Nikephoros Gregoras, *Rhömäische Geschichte: Historia Rhomaike*, Übersetzt von und Erläutert Jan Louis Van Dieten, Erster Teil, Kapitel I-VII, Anton Hiersemann, Stuttgart 1973, p.177; Georges Pachymères, *Relations Historiques*, éd. et tra. Albert Failler, Vol. IV, Livres X-XIII. Institut Français D'études Byzantines, Paris 1999, p.430-432; Francisco de Moncada, *Expedición de los Catalanes y Aragoneses Contra Turcos y Griegos*, dir. Don Juan de Moncada, Libreria de D. Juan Oliveres, Barcelona 1875, p.17-23; Alfonso Lowe, *The Catalan Vengeance*, The Trinity Press, London/Boston 1972, p.17-19; M. Castillo Didier, "Ramón Muntaner: La expedición de los catalanes al Oriente Fragmento de la Crónica", *Byzantion nea hellás*, XXXIV, (2015), p.362; Keneth M. Setton, "The Catalans In Greece", in *A History of the Crusades: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton-Harry W. Hazard, Vol. III, The University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin 1975, p.169.

⁴ Setton, "The Catalans In Greece", p.169.

The conquest of Constantinople in 1204, as is known, plunged the Eastern Roman Empire into deep chaos. Although the empire began to recover after the re-conquest of Constantinople in 1261, it was not easy to regain its strength as there were many issues to be solved.⁵ Especially the Turks on the eastern borders were one of the biggest problems for the Romans. In the late 13th and early 14th centuries, during the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos, who ascended the throne in the Eastern Roman Empire in 1282, almost the whole of Anatolia was under the rule of the Turks, except for some cities or castles in the western regions.⁶ Because of this critical situation of the empire, the Emperor hoped to take advantage of foreign mercenaries against the Turks.⁷ The defeat of the Roman army by Osman Ghazi, the founder of the Ottoman state, in the Battle of Bapheus on July 27, 1302, and the failure of the co-Emperor Michael's Anatolian campaign that year, despite his alliance with the Alans, made the situation even more critical.⁸ At such a time, this aforesaid Roger de Flor, the head of the Catalan mercenaries who had fought for a long time against the Anjou dynasty and were out of employment after the Peace of Caltabellota signed in 1302, offered his services to Andronikos II Palaiologos. When his offer was accepted with great pleasure by the Emperor, The Catalan Grand Company, led by Roger de Flor, left Sicily and came to Constantinople, as mentioned above.⁹ The Catalans who arrived at Constantinople in September 1303 were sent into

⁵ George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. Joan Hussey, Alden & Mowbray, Oxford 1968, p.451; Zerrin Günel Öden, "Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun Türklere Karşı Alan ve Katalanlar ile İttifakı", *İstanbul Üniversitesi Tarih Dergisi*, XXXV, (1994), p.123.

⁶ Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, p.492; Öden, "Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun Türklere Karşı Alan ve Katalanlar ile İttifakı", p.124; Yusuf Ayönü, *Katalanların Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Faaliyetleri (1302-1311)*, Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, İzmir 2009, p.29.

⁷ Muntaner, *Crònica Catalana*, p.379-385; Pachymèrès, *Relations Historiques*, p.432; Israel Muñoz Gallarte y Carlos Arguménez Nieto, "Aproximación a la Compañía Catalana y al Imperio Bizantino", *Revista de Arqueología* XXI/300, (2006), p.28.

⁸ Pachymèrès, *Relations Historiques*, p.358-366; Öden, "Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun Türklere Karşı Alan ve Katalanlar İle İttifakı", p.124-125; Donald M. Nicol, *Bizans'ın Son Yüzyılları (1261-1453)*, Çev. Bilge Umar, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul 1999, p.157-159; Halil İnalçık, "İznik İçin Osman Gazi ve Bizans Mücadelesi", *Tarih Boyunca İznik*, (1998), p.61; Halil İnalçık, "Osman Gazi'nin İznik (Nicaea) Kuşatması ve Bafeus Savaşı", içinde *Süğüt'ten İstanbul'a: Osmanlı devleti'nin kuruluşu üzerine tartışmalar*, Der. Oktay Özel ve Mehmet Öz, 2.Baskı, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara 2005, p.304-334.

⁹ Muntaner, *Crònica Catalana*, p.382-383; Gregoras, *Rhomäische Geschichte: Historia Rhomaïke*, p.177; Pachymèrès, *Relations Historiques*, p.430-432; Moncada, *Expedición de los Catalanes y Aragoneses Contra Turcos y Griegos*, p.17-23; Keneth M. Setton, *Catalan Domination Of Athens 1311-1388*, Variorum, London 1975, p.3; Setton, "The Catalans In Greece", p.169; George Finlay, *A History Of Greece: From Its Conquest By The Romans To The Present Time (B.C. 146 to A.D. 1864)*, ed. H. F. Tozer, Vol. III, The Clarendon Press, Oxford 1877, p.389-391.

Anatolia from there soon.¹⁰ Thus, Ramon Muntaner, one of the commanders of the Catalan Company, spent about a year in Anatolia from the end of 1303 to the end of 1304 with his brothers in arms and in his chronicle, which he wrote between 1325 and 1328, he recorded valuable information about the places that he passed through during his time there.

This is a qualitative study and the purpose of this study is to examine the information that Muntaner recorded about Anatolia, where he lived between 1303 and 1304.

Artaki

The Catalans had a big quarrel with the Genoese while they were in Constantinople. Therefore, the Emperor decided to send them to Anatolia to attack the Turks as soon as possible.¹¹ Eventually, at the end of September 1303, the Catalans left Constantinople and crossed into Anatolia.¹² Muntaner says:

¹⁰ Chroniclers such as Muntaner, Pachymèrès, Gregoras, Moncada mentioned the arrival of the Catalans to Constantinople, but they did not indicate in what year this took place. (see, Muntaner, *Crònica Catalana*, p.383; Pachymèrès, *Relations Historiques*, p.430-436; Gregoras, *Rhomäische Geschichte: Historia Rhomaike*, p.177; Moncada, *Expedición de los Catalanes y Aragoneses Contra Turcos y Griegos*, p.23); Therefore, it was initially thought that the Catalans arrived at Constantinople in September 1302. However, when Georg Caro came up with the idea that this took place in 1303, many historians accepted it. (see, Georg Caro, "Zur Chronologie der drei letzten Bücher des Pachymeres," *Byzantinische Jytschrift*, VI, (1897), p.115-116; Laiou, Angeliki E., *Constantinople And The Latins: The Foreign Policy Of Andronicus II, 1282-1328*, Vol. LXXXVHI, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts 1972, p.134-135 note 23). We understand that the arrival date of the Catalans was September 1303, thanks to the document sent by the Venetians to Constantinople and demanded compensation from the Eastern Roman Emperor. In this document dated September 27, 1319, published by Rubió i Lluçh, the Venetians demanded compensation from the Romans for the damage done by Roger de Flor on August 18, 1303 on Ceos Island (present-day Kea / Mürted). Thus, we see that the Catalans plundered Ceos in the Aegean Sea on their way to Constantinople, then continued their journey and arrived at the Eastern Roman capital in September 1303. (see, Rubió i Lluçh, "Diplomatari de l'Orient Català (1301-1409): col·lecció de documents per a la història de l'expedició catalana a Orient i dels ducats d'Atenes i Neopàtria", Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona 1947, p.135-136, doc. no CXI; Laiou, *Constantinople And The Latins*, p.134-135 note 23; Setton, "The Catalans In Greece", p.169).

¹¹ Muntaner, *Crònica Catalana*, p.383-384; Pachymèrès, *Relations Historiques*, p.436-438; Moncada, *Expedición de los Catalanes y Aragoneses Contra Turcos y Griegos*, p.24-27; George Finlay, *A History Of Greece*, p.392; Lowe, *The Catalan Vengeance*, p.22-23; David Agustí, *Los Almogávares: La expansión Mediterránea de la Corona de Aragón*, Silex, Madrid 2004, p.58-59;

¹² Pachymèrès, *Relations Historiques*, p.436-437 note 11.

“And next day he had more pay given to all and ordered all to prepare to proceed to Boca Daner¹³ and attack the Turks, who, at that place, had taken from the Emperor land to the extent of more than thirty days’ journeys, covered with good cities and towns and castles which they had subdued and which paid tribute to them. ... the Turks had, in truth, made such conquests, that an army of them came opposite Constantinople; there was not more than an arm of the sea, less than two miles broad, between them and the city, and they drew their swords and threatened the Emperor, and the Emperor could see it all. Imagine with what grief he beheld it. If they had had wherewith to cross this arm of the sea, they would have taken Constantinople.”¹⁴

The place that Muntaner first mentioned in Anatolia was Artaki, where they first disembarked there. He described Artaki as a fertile peninsula (present-day Kapıdağ Peninsula, where Erdek is situated) and mentioned the walls that protected it, stating that this peninsula had frequently been attacked by the Turks:

“... the Turks wished, at all costs, to have that peninsula which is a very fertile place. And all this peninsula is protected towards the land by a wall, the line of defence of which is not more than half a mile, from one sea to the other. And then, from that neck onward, the peninsula is very large, there are over twenty thousand hamlets and manors and farms. And the Turks had come many times to demolish that wall; for, if they could demolish it, they could pillage the whole peninsula.”¹⁵

After giving this information about Artaki, Muntaner reported that they raided a nearby Turkish camp and defeated them.¹⁶ Those referred to here as "the Turks" were probably the Karesids.¹⁷ The chronicler reported that the place

¹³ According to Goodenough, the mentioned place is the Strait of Gallipoli, according to Buchon, the Strait of Sestos and Abydos (see, Ramon Muntaner, *Chronicle*, trans. Lady Goodenough, In Parenteses Publications Catalan Series, Cambridge 2000, CCII, p.407 note 145; Jean Alexandre Buchon, *Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françaises: du Treizième au Seizième Siècle. Chronique de Ramon Muntaner*, Tome 2, Verdière, Libraire, Paris 1825, p.139 note 1)

¹⁴ Ramon Muntaner, *Chronicle*, CCII, p.407-408.

¹⁵ Muntaner, *Chronicle*, CCIII, p.409

¹⁶ Muntaner, *Crònica Catalana*, p.386-387; Moncada, *Expedición de los Catalanes y Aragoneses Contra Turcos y Griegos*, p.30-32; Gallarte y Nieto, “Aproximación a la Compañía Catalana y al Imperio Bizantino”, p.28-29; ; Lowe, *The Catalan Vengeance*, p.24; Agustí, *Los almogávares*, p.54-55.

¹⁷ José María Moreno Echevarría, *Los Almogávares*, Minicaja ePub Base, Barcelona 1973, p.41; Zerrin Günel Öden, *Karası Beyliği*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, VII/166, Ankara

where the Turks camped was “*two leagues away ... between two rivers.*”¹⁸ Ayönü claims that the place between two rivers is the place between Murat Creek and Ağa Creek, nevertheless, Hopwood claims that it is somewhere between Manyas Lake and Marmara Sea.¹⁹

The Catalans, who returned to their camp after the victory and were about to march inland, decided to winter in Artaki as the weather got colder. Muntaner says the following about this:

“And when this was over, the Grand Duke with all his Company, prepared to march through Anatolia against the Turks and to deliver out of captivity the cities and castles and towns that the Turks had conquered. But when he and his followers were ready to depart from Artaqui, which was on the first day of November, there set in the most severe winter of the world, with rain and wind and cold and bad weather, so that the rivers became so large that no man could cross them. And so he decided to winter in this place, Artaqui, which is a place fertile in all things. In that country is the greatest cold of the world with most snow; when the snow begins there is nothing else until April.”²⁰

Philadelphia

After spending the winter of that year in Artaki, the Catalans marched through Anatolia and achieved several victories against the Turkish troops they faced there. The most important of these was, without a doubt, breaking the siege of Philadelphia, which had been besieged by Yakup I of Germiyan, whom Pachymérès called Alishir Karman, for a while. The Turkish forces led by the Germiyanids, whom Muntaner called ‘the bands of Cesa and of Tiu’, were defeated by the Catalan army near Philadelphia, and then Roger de Flor entered the city with his army.²¹ It is crucial to state that, according to Hopwood, what

1999, p.22; Öden, “Bizans İmparatorluğu’nun Türklere Karşı Alan ve Katalanlar İle İttifakı”, p.127.

¹⁸ Muntaner, *Chronicle*, CCIII, p.409

¹⁹ Ayönü, *Katalanların Anadolu ve Trakya’daki Faaliyetleri (1302-1311)*, p.36; Keith Hopwood, “Türklerin Anadolu’nun Batı Kıyılarını Fethi ve Katalan Kumpanyası”, Çev. Serdar Çavuşdere, *Tarih Okulu*, II, (2009), p.127-136.

²⁰ Muntaner, *Chronicle*, CCIII, p.411

²¹ Muntaner, *Crónica Catalana*, p.391; Pachymérès, *Relations Historiques*, p.468-470; Gregoras, *Rhömäische Geschichte: Historia Rhomaike*, p.177-178; Moncada, *Expedición de los Catalanes y Aragoneses Contra Turcos y Griegos*, p.39-40; Agustí, *Los almogávares*, p.58-59; Finlay, *A History Of Greece*, p.393-394; Echevarría, *Los Almogávares*, p.47; Ostrogorsky,

Muntaner referred to as ‘the bands of Cesa and of Tiu’ were probably the Germiyanids and Ottomans, but according to Hughes, the Sarukhanids and Aydinids.²²

In his narrative of this battle, Muntaner said that Philadelphia was one of the largest cities in the world, and he compared the perimeter of the city with Rome and Constantinople:

“And the Turks were prepared to oppose them, namely the bands of Cesa and of Tiu, which were composed of kinsmen of those the Company had killed at Artaqui. The Company came to a city called Philadelphia, which is a noble city and of the great cities of the world, with a circumference of full eighteen miles, as much as Rome or Constantinople. And near that city, at a distance of one journey, were the said two bands of Turks who were altogether full eight thousand horsemen and full twelve thousand afoot, and they offered battle. ... The battle was very hard and lasted from sunrise until the hour of nones. The Turks were all killed or taken prisoners ... And the Grand Duke and his Company searched the field very joyously and had not lost more than eighty horsemen and a hundred men afoot, and they made infinite gain. And whilst they searched the field, which took them full eight days, they camped in that place which was beautiful and delightful, and then they went to the said city of Philadelphia where they were received with great joy and gladness.”²³

According to Pachymérés, the place where the battle took place was Aulax, which Muntaner described as a beautiful and pleasant place within a day's march away from Philadelphia.²⁴ Pachymérés claimed that the route of the Catalans until they arrived at Philadelphia was as follows: Akhyraous, Germe, Khliara and Aulax.²⁵

History of the Byzantine State, p.493; Lowe, *The Catalan Vengeance*, p.29-33; Laiou, *Constantinople And The Latins*, p.135; Paul Wittek, *Menteşe Beyliği: 13-15 inci Asırda Garbî Küçük Asya Tarihine Ait Tetkik*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1944, p.42.

²² Hughes, *The Catalan Expedition to the East: from the Chronicle of Ramon Muntaner*, p.55 note 71 and 72; Hopwood, “Türklerin Anadolu'nun Batı Kıyılarını Fethi ve Katalan Kumpanyası”, p.131.

²³ Muntaner, *Chronicle*, CCV, p.414-415.

²⁴ Pachymérés, *Relations Historiques*, p.468; Muntaner, *Chronicle*, CCV, p.414; Agustí, *Los almogávares*, p.58; Finlay, *A History Of Greece*, p.394; Wittek, *Menteşe Beyliği*, p.42.

²⁵ Pachymérés, *Relations Historiques*, p.464-468; Ü. Melda Ermiş, “Darkale in the Byzantine Period: Settlement and Some Architectural Notes”, *International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, XI /1, (2016), p.67; For more detailed

Tyre, Ephesus, Anaia and The Iron Gate

Muntaner says that after staying in Philadelphia for 15 days, the army went to Nymphaeum, from there to Magnesia, then to Tyre. When they were in Tyre, the soldiers from the Principality of Monteshe and some other Turkish tribes, who had been defeated in Philadelphia and had retreated from the battlefield, attacked there, unaware that the Catalans were in this castle. According to the chronicler, the Catalans suddenly attacked the Turks under the command of Corberan de Alet. Subsequently, the Turks retreated to a nearby mountain after fighting for a while, and Corberan, who was following them, was killed by an arrow.²⁶ In this episode, Muntaner mentioned a church two miles from the city (Tyre) in which St. Georgio's²⁷ body was resting, and he said that it was one of the most amazing churches he had ever seen in his life. At the end of his narration the chronicler added:

“And so they buried En Corberan, with about ten other Christians who had been killed with him, in the church of Saint George, with great solemnity. And they had fine tombs made for them; the Grand Duke and the host lingered eight days in order that a rich and beautiful tomb should be erected for En Corberan.”²⁸

The Catalans went from Tyre to Ephesus, where they met with Admiral Ferran de Ahones, who had been sent to Chios Island by Roger de Flor before, and Berenguer de Rocafort, who came from Italy to join them with 1200 soldiers. And from there, they all went to Anaia, where they fought against the Turks and defeated them.²⁹ In this chapter, Muntaner narrates a miracle full of fantasy about the tomb of Saint John the Evangelist,³⁰ one of the apostles of the prophet Jesus,

information about these places mentioned by Pachymeres, see, William M. Ramsay, *Anadolu'nun Tarihi Coğrafyası*, Çev. Mihri Pektaş, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul 1960, p. 125-168; Bilge Umar, *Türkiye'deki Tarihsel Adlar*, İnkilap Kitabevi, İstanbul 1993, p.40, 138,139.

²⁶ Muntaner, *Crònica Catalana*, p.391-392; Moncada, *Expedición de los Catalanes y Aragoneses Contra Turcos y Griegos*, p.43-44; Lowe, *The Catalan Vengeance*, p.37-38; Agustí, *Los almogávares*, p.60.

²⁷ Saint Georgius was a Christian martyr who was sentenced to death during the reign of Emperor Diocletian for tearing up the anti-Christian edict (see, Eusebius Pamphilus, *The Church History of Eusebius*, trans. Arthur Cushman Mcgiffert, A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Lane 1890, p.693).

²⁸ Muntaner, *Chronicle*, CCVI, p.416

²⁹ Muntaner, *Crònica Catalana*, p.393-394; Moncada, *Expedición de los Catalanes y Aragoneses Contra Turcos y Griegos*, p.45-47; Lowe, *The Catalan Vengeance*, p.39-41; Agustí, *Los almogávares*, p.61-62.

³⁰ One of the apostles of Jesus. Gregory of Tours recorded the following about his death: “After Domitian’s death the blessed John, Apostle and Evangelist, returned from exile, when he was

in Ephesus. This fantastic narration, which could be an example of medieval superstitions, is about a kind of manna that is healing for many things.³¹ As a matter of fact, some Christian clergymen like Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, and Irenaeus, bishop of Lyon, claimed that Saint John the Evangelist died in Ephesus, and his tomb was in this city.³² Muntaner supported this claim by saying “*and in the said place, Ephesus, is the tomb which monsenyer Saint John the Evangelist entered when he had taken leave of the people.*”³³

In the episode that Roger de Flor sent Muntaner to Anaia to bring Rocafort over to Ephesus, Muntaner complained that the roads were very dangerous due to the Turkish raids. He says the following about this:

“I took leave of the Grand Duke and the Company at once and sent twenty horses for the use of En Rocafort, for him to ride and come to me in the city of Ephesus, otherwise called Theologos in Greek; and he underwent much danger from many attacks from the Turks. And there came with him full five hundred Almugavars; the others remained in the city of Ani with the admiral En Ferran de Ahones, because of the Turks who made raids every day.”³⁴

It is understood from this passage that the Romans were trying to survive under very harsh conditions in the few castles left in their possession in Western Anatolia. Muntaner claimed that the Catalans, after staying in Anaia for two weeks, went to the mountain pass called Iron Gate on the borders of Cilicia in Southern Anatolia, where they faced and defeated the Turkish army consisting of Aydinids and some other Turkish tribes in August 1304:

“And then he had the banner brought out and wished to complete a visit to all the Kingdom of Anatolia; so that the host went as far as the Iron Gate, which is a mountain on which there is a pass called the Iron Gate, and which is at the parting of Anatolia and the Kingdom of Armenia. When he was at the Iron Gate, the Turks of that band of Atia which had been discomfited at Ani, and all the

very old and had come to the end of his life, which he had spent in perfect communion with God, he climbed into the tomb while still alive. It is said that John will not experience the death until our Lord shall come again at the Judgement Day, for he himself said in his Gospel: I will that he tarry till I come.” (see, Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks*, trans. Lewis Thorpe, Penguin Books, London 1974, p.85).

³¹ Muntaner, *Crònica Catalana*, p.393-394.

³² Henry Chadwick, "St. John the Apostle." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 8, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Saint-John-the-Apostle>.

³³ Muntaner, *Chronicle*, CCVI, p.416.

³⁴ Muntaner, *Chronicle*, CCVII, p.417-418.

other Turks who were left of the other bands, were all assembled on a mountain ... and then they had such a victory that they vanquished the Turks.”³⁵

However, the claim that the Catalans went to the borders of Cilicia does not sound reasonable to many historians, for the Aydinids mentioned here by Muntaner were not living in Southern Anatolia but in Western Anatolia, so it seems unlikely that they came to the Iron Gate. For instance, Rubió i Lluch says, “*the historian does not give us a single geographical name, as if the company flew there or passed through a deserted desert.*”³⁶

According to Muntaner, after staying at the Iron Gate for three days the Catalans decided to return to Anaia, but whilst they were on the march, the Emperor asked Roger de Flor for help due to a problem in Bulgaria.³⁷ Thereupon, the Catalans came to Passaquia (Lapseki) to cross into Gallipoli. Thus, they left Anatolia in late 1304 at the behest of the Emperor and settled in Gallipoli. In the spring of 1305, their commander, Roger de Flor, was murdered in Adrianople.³⁸ The adventures of the Catalans, who became hostile towards the Eastern Roman Empire once after this murder, would continue for a while in Gallipoli and Thrace.

Conclusion

Ramon Muntaner, who spent about a year in Anatolia from the autumn of 1303 to the autumn of 1304, with the army mainly composed of Catalan and Aragonese soldiers led by Roger de Flor, recorded considerable information in his chronicle about the places he saw there, as mentioned above. Muntaner first gave information about Erdek and then about Alaşehir. According to Muntaner, the most severe winter in the world was experiencing in Erdek. While describing Alaşehir, he exaggeratedly compared it with Rome and Constantinople. After

³⁵ Ibid., p.418-419

³⁶ Rubió i Lluch, *Paquimeres i Muntaner*, Vol. I, Institut d’Estudis Catalans, Barcelona 1927, p.24

³⁷ Muntaner, *Crònica Catalana*, p.396; Pachymérès, *Relations Historiques*, p.556-558; Moncada, *Expedición de los Catalanes y Aragoneses Contra Turcos y Griegos*, p.54; Setton, “The Catalans In Greece”, p.169; George Finlay, *A History Of Greece*, p.396 ; Lowe, *The Catalan Vengeance*, p.50-51; Agustí, *Los almogávares*, p.69-70.

³⁸ Muntaner, *Crònica Catalana*, p.397-404; Gregoras, *Rhömäische Geschichte: Historia Rhomaike*, p.179; Pachymérès, *Relations Historiques*, p.558-576; Moncada, *Expedición de los Catalanes y Aragoneses Contra Turcos y Griegos*, p.57-83; George Finlay, *A History Of Greece*, p.396-400; Lowe, *The Catalan Vengeance*, p.50-64; Agustí, *Los almogávares*, p.70-73.

mentioning the church of St. Georgio in Tire and the tomb of John the Evangelist in Efes, Muntaner gave a piece of brief information about the events in Kadı Kalesi and claimed that they went as far as Demir Kapı on the Cilician border. And Muntaner finally informed that they came to Lapseki and crossed into Gallipoli from there. All this information given by Muntaner is of great importance in terms of Byzantine and Turkish history.

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