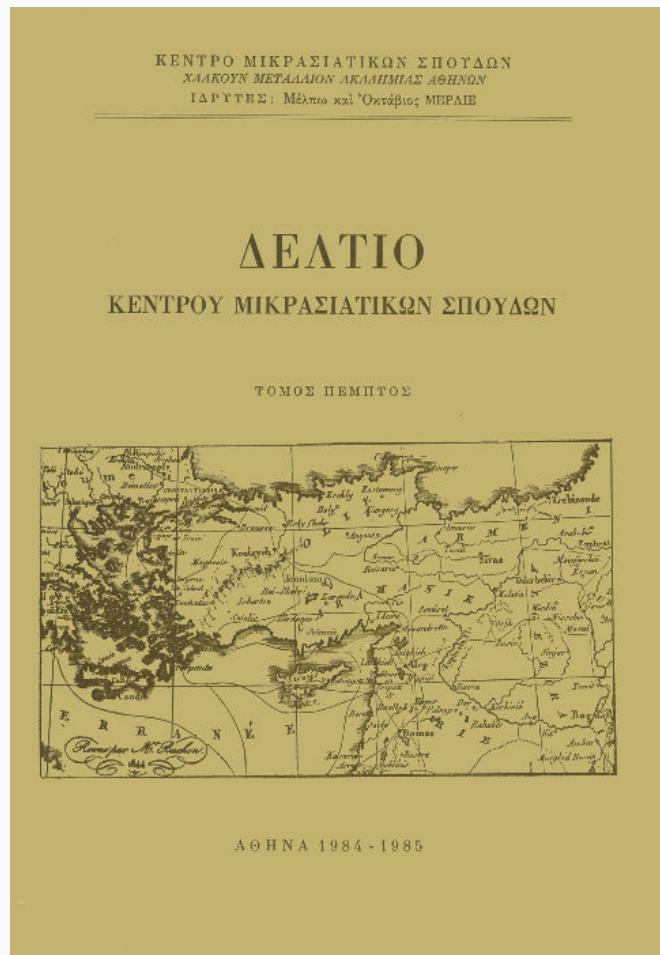


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Σημείωμα για τους όρους rum και anatolia κατά τη σελτζουκική και την πρώιμη οθωμανική εποχή

Alexis G. Savvides

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A NOTE ON THE TERMS *RÚM* AND *ANATOLIA* IN SELJUK AND EARLY OTTOMAN TIMES*

In the last twenty years or so scholarship has considerably advanced the study of Byzantine - Seljuk and Byzantine - early Ottoman relations in the westernmost Asiatic peninsula of Anatolia (Turk. Anadolu) or Asia

* Abbreviations: *AIPHOS*: *Annuaire de l' Institut Philologique et Historique Orientales et Slaves* (Brussels 1932 ff.); *BS/EB*: *Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines* (Pittsburg 1974 ff.); *BSl*: *Byzantinoslavica* (Prague 1929 ff.); Cahen, *POT*: Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey. A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History c. 1071-1330* (London 1968); *CHI*: *Cambridge History of Islam*, 4 vols. (1970); *CMH*: *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 1-2 (1966-67); *Διπτυχα*: *Διπτυχα Έταιρειας Βυζαντινῶν και Μεταβυζαντινῶν Μελετῶν* (Athens 1979 ff.); *EIsl¹*: *Encyclopedia of Islam*¹, 4 vols. (Leiden-London 1913-38); *EIsl²*: *Encyclopedia of Islam*² (Leiden-London 1954 ff.); Georgacas: D. Georgacas, *The Names for the Asia Minor Peninsula and a Register of Surviving Anatolian Pre-Turkish Place Names* (Heidelberg 1971); *IA*: *Islám Ansiklopedisi. Islám álemi Tatih, Coğrafya, Etnoğrafya ve Biyografya Ligati* (İstanbul 1940 ff.); *IEE*: *Τιτορία Έλληνικοῦ Έθνους, Έκδοτικῆς Αθηνῶν*, 16 vols. (1968-80); *IJMES*: *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (London-Cambridge 1970 ff.); *MΓΕΥ*: *Μεγάλη Γενική Έγκυκλοπαίδεια Υδρία* (Athens 1978 ff.); *MEE*: *Μεγάλη Έλληνική Έγκυκλοπαίδεια Πυρσοῦ*, ed. P. Drandakes, 24 vols. (Athens 1927-34); Moravcsik, *BT*: G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 vols. (Berlin 1958²); *SAD*: *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi* (=Journal of Seljuk Studies)(Ankara 1968 ff.); Savvides, *Byzantium - Near East*: Alexis G. C. Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East: Relations with the Seljuk Sultanate of Rúm in Asia Minor, the Armenians of Cilicia and the Mongols, A.D. c. 1192-1237* (Thessalonike 1981); Centre for Byzantine Research: *Byzantine Texts and Studies* no. 17); Vryonis, *DMH*: Spiros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1971; University of California Press); Wittek, *Rise*: Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London 1938, repr. 1958); Wolff, «Romania»: Robert Lee Wolff, «Romania: The Latin Empire of Constantinople», *Speculum*, 23 (Cambridge Mass. 1948) 1-34 (=study II in Wolff's *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople*, London 1976/Variorum Reprints ser.).

Minor, i.e. roughly the area of the modern Turkish state¹. Specialists on medieval Graeco-Turkish relations, like Claude Cahen and Speros Vryonis, have conclusively expounded the view that Byzantines and Seljuks were not only bitter opponents on the battlefields of Manzikert (1071), Myriokephalon (1176) and Antioch-ad-Maeandrum (1211), but also that they partook in mutual cultural exchanges and influences, which derived from their highly advanced Christian and Moslem-Iranian cultures and civilizations. Scholarship concludes that frequent contact between the Byzantine populations of Asia Minor and the Seljuks of the Sultanate of Rûm with their Moslem or pagan subjects (i.e. the Turkophone nomadic tribes, the Turkomans, Turk. Türkmenler) from the mid-eleventh century onwards, gradually established a considerable amount of an «interplay» and mutual influences in almost every aspect of everyday life, in administration, in art and architecture, in letters and the sciences, in philosophical thought, in religion, in social customs and in various other institutions².

The crucial issue whether Greek-Christian culture decisively influenced the Seljuks in the formation of their state (Vryonis), or whether the Moslem element became préponderant during the process of Anatolia's islamization (Cahen and Osman Turan) will doubtlessly be further advanced by future scholars³, although a closer parallel study of Byzantine and

1. See Cahen, *POT*; idem, *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus* (London 1974/Var. Repr. ser.); O Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye. Siyasi Tarih Alp Arslan'dan Osman Gazi'ye 1071-1318* (= Turkey in the Time of the Seljuks. A Political History from Alp Arslan to Osman Gazi) (Istanbul 1971); idem, *Selçuklular ve İslamiyet* (= The Seljuks and the Moslem World) (Istanbul 1971, repr. 1980, collected studies); Vryonis, *DMH*; idem, *Byzantium: its Internal History and Relations with the Muslim World* (London 1971/Var Repr.) esp. pt. II; D. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261-1453* (London 1972); A. Savvides, *Byzantium - Near East*.

2. A. Savvides, «Byzantium's Oriental Front in the first part of the Thirteenth Century: The Empires of Nicaea and Trapezous (Trebizond) in view of the Seljuk and Mongol Menace», *Διπτυχα*, 3 (1982/83) 169-70 & refs.

3. O. Turan, «Anatolia in the Time of the Seljuks and Beyliks», *CHI, IA*, 257 ff. On the conflicting views expounded by Vryonis and Cahen regarding the degree of Hellenization (Byzantinization) of the Turks or the Turkification (Turkicization) of the Anatolian Christians see the reviews of Vryonis' *DMH* by Cahen in *IJMES*, 4 (1973) 112-17, by Abbas Hamdani in *BS/EB*, 1, 91-3, and by Eva Panutchkova in *BSI*, 36 (1975) 53-4.

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Seljuk or early Ottoman institutions and their mutual influence seems to justify the former viewpoint. The very fact that the Seljuks themselves referred to their territories as *Sultanate of Rūm*, i.e. of the «Roman» (= Byzantine Greek) lands, and to the area it occupied as *Anadolu* (deriving from the Greek word for «East», Ἀνατολή) provides strong corroborative evidence for the extent of the Seljuks' debt to Byzantium. This note attempts a brief discussion of the terms *Rūm* and *Anatolia* and their various connotations in Seljuk and early Ottoman times (eleventh-fifteenth centuries).

The term *Rūm*, denoting the Seljuk Sultanate of Asia Minor with its capital initially at Nicaea (Iznik) from A.D. 1080/81 to 1097⁴, and then to Ikonion (Konya) from the early twelfth century onwards⁵, while also designating the Greek Christian inhabitants of Asia Minor according to the information provided by various Moslem authors, like Ibn Bibi, Eflaki, Ibn Battutah and Evliya Chelebi⁶, had its origin in an old Arabic term by which the Omayyads of Damascus and the Abbasids of Baghdad referred to «Rhomaic», i.e. Byzantine-Greek Anatolia⁷. There seems to be a con-

4. On the establishment of the Rūm Sultanate in 1080/81 see: K. Zetterstéen, «Sulayman b. Kutulmish», *Eisl* 1; J. Laurent, «Byzance et les Origines de Sultanat de Roum», *Mélanges Ch. Diehl*, I (Paris 1930) 177-82; A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison Wisc. 1952, repr. 1976) 357 ff.; G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, transl. Joan Hussey (Oxford 1968², repr. 1980) 349 note 1; C. Amantos, *Σχέσεις Ἐλλήνων καὶ Τούρκων*, I (A.D. 1071-1571) (Athens 1955) 33 ff.; F. Taeschner, «The Turks and the Byzantine Empire to the end of the Thirteenth Century», *CMH*, IV, 1, 740 ff.; O. Turan, *CHI*, IA, 235 ff.; Cahen, *POT*, 75 ff.; Vryonis, *DMH*, 113 ff.; A. Savvides, *Tὸ Βυζάντιο καὶ οἱ Σελτζοῦκοι Τοῦρκοι τὸν Ιλλαῖον* (Athens 1980), 48 ff.; idem, articles in *ΜΓΕΥ*: «Σελτζοῦκοι τοῦ Ρούμ», «Σουλεύμαν Α' ἡμπαν Κουτλουμούζ». The art historian Tamara Talbot-Rice (*The Seljuks in Asia Minor*, London 1961, 46 ff.) wrongly dates the capture of Nicaea by Süleyman to 1078. Cf. Wolff, «Romania», 33.

5. Taeschner, *CMH*, IV, 1, 741 ff.; A. Savvides, «Κιλίτζ Ἀρσλάν Α', Μασούτ Α'», *ΜΓΕΥ*.

6. Cf. Vryonis, *DMH*, 255 n. 695, 387-88 n. 108. See also Angelike Laiou (-Thomadakes) in *IEE*, IX (1980) 66.

7. On the various connotations of the terms *Rūm*, *Anadolu*, *Romania*, etc., see the detailed analysis by Georgacas (1971). Cf. also the following: N. Moschopoulos, «Μικρὰ Ἀσία», *MEE*, XVI, with map on p. 180-81; D. Paschales, «Ρούμ», *MEE*, XXI; F. Babinger, «Rūm», *Eisl* 1; Cl. Huart, «Seldjuks», *Eisl* 1; P. Wittek, «Les Soultans de Rūm», *AIPHOS*, 7 (1938 = *Mélanges Émile Boisacq*, II), 362 ff.; idem, *Rise*, 2 ff.; Wolff, «Romania», 32-3; C. Brockelmann, *History of the*

nection – on account of the proximity of the Arab lands to Asia Minor – between the Arabic *Bilad al-Rum* (= lands of the Romans, i.e. Byzantines), and the old Greek term 'Ρωμανία or 'Ρωμαίων/ρωμαϊκαὶ χῶρα, first attested in ninth century Byzantine sources⁸. The Arabs themselves used to refer to Anatolia as *Natolu*⁹, the Turks renamed it *Anadolu*¹⁰, and the Latins (Frankish and Italian crusaders) rendered it *Anatolia*¹¹. A Koranic reference calls the 'Ρωμαῖοι *ar-Rum*, i.e. the Greeks, the Byzantines¹², a term which was later simplified as *Rûm* by the Moslem-Iranian Seljuks and the Osmanli Turks¹³. The Turkophone Danishmendid emirs of Kaisareia (Kayseri) and Sebasteia (Sivas) also employed the terms 'Ρωμανία and *Rûm* on their coinage («ἔμπρης ἀνατολικῆς Ῥωμανίας»)¹⁴.

The late Paul Wittek correctly observed that much of the Byzantine-Greek character of Asia Minor survived the Turkish conquest and was – to a great extent – assimilated by the Seljuks and – later – by the

Islamic Peoples (New York 1973, repr. 1980) 258; C. Cahen, «The Turkish Invasion: The Selchukids», in K. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, I (Madison Wisc. 196²) 149-50; idem, *POT*, 144-45; D. Pitcher, *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire from Earliest Times to the end of the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden 1972) 24 ff. and map VI. See also Taeschner's important art. «Anadolu», *EISL*², with excellent map, as well as the remarks by V. Gordlevsky, *Gosudarstvo Sel'džukidov Maloi Asii* (= The Seljuk State of Asia Minor) (Moscow-Leningrad 1941) 125, 157, who also records that the word 'Ικόνιον originates from the Greek word εἰκόν, i.e. picture, image, portrait.

For a general geographical setting of the Anatolian world in Seljuk times cf. Cahen, *POT*, 61-3, and G. Skallieres, *Λαοὶ καὶ Φύλαι τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας* (Athens 1922) 129. See also Vryonis, *DMH*, map facing p. 14 with detailed key, and A. Savvides, *Byzantium - Near East*, maps I-V; idem, *Βυζαντινὰ Στασιαστικά καὶ Αὐτονομοστικά Κινῆματα στὰ Δωδεκάνησα καὶ τὴ Μικρὰ Ἀσία, 1189-c.1240* (Θεσσαλονίκη 1985, doctoral thesis), maps 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8 as well as the maps cited on p. 264.

8. Georgacas, 71 ff., 76-7; A. Savvides, *Byzantium - Near East*, 57.

9. Georgacas, 46-7.

10. Ibid., 47 ff.

11. Ibid., 53 ff.

12. *Koran*, Sura (=chapter) XXXI, Engl. transl. by N. Dawood (Penguin Classics 1978⁴) 192 ff.; cf. Wolff, «Romania», 32.

13. Georgacas, 65-6, 74 ff., esp. 80-3; A. Savvides, «Byzantium's Oriental Front», *Δίπτυχα*, 3, 161.

14. A. Savvides, *Byzantium - Near East*, 57 n. 5; idem, «Ντανισμεντίδες», *MGEY*.

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Osmanlis in their territories. As Wittek brilliantly put it, «it was only the Byzantine tarnish which vanished, to be replaced later on by an Islamic one. The local substratum remained»¹⁵. It certainly did, if we take into account the countless examples of Anatolian place-names, which from Seljuk times appear in variant forms of the Turkish language. Modern research has decisively proved that one of the most important cases of Byzantine influence over the Turks was that of toponymy; most of the medieval Turkish names for cities, towns, villages, mountains, rivers etc. (several among them surviving to our day) were simple transliterations or – in some cases – literal translations of the Greek originals¹⁶.

The names of the Anatolian Seljuk sovereigns, on the other hand, especially those of the successors of Kilij Arslan II after 1192, provide the best illuminating example for the existence of a Moslem-Persian character in Seljuk civilization. Their first names were almost invariably of Arabic origin, e.g. *Ghiyath al-Din*, *Izz al-Din*, *Rukn al-Din* or *Ala al-Din*, while their second names were unmistakably taken from ancient Persian epic, e.g. *Kay-khusraw*, *Kay-kawus*, *Kay-kubad* etc. Taeschner and Cahen maintained that the system for the adoption of two names identifying these two distinct cultures, which merged into the Seljuk world, was introduced by Kilij Arslan II himself, who called his youngest son *Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw*, who in turn called one of his three sons *Ala al-Din Kaykubad* and another *Izz al-Din Kaykawus*¹⁷. The Byzantine authors of this period (chiefly second part of the twelfth-most part of the thirteenth century) were aware of those names, which often appear in the form of a hellenized adaptation in their accounts. The most frequent according to G. Moravcsik (*BT*, vol. II) are:¹⁸

15. Wittek, *Rise*, 20.

16. For a detailed treatment of this phenomenon see P. Wittek, «Von der Byzantinischen zu Türkischen Toponymie», *Byzantion*, 10 (Brussels 1935) 11-64; also in Turkish transl.: «Bizanslılar Türklerle Geçen Yer Adları» (= Place Names taken by the Turks from the Byzantines), *SAD*, 1, 139-246. See also the lists in A. Savvides, *Byzantium - Near East*, 135-38.

17. Cahen, «Kaykhusraw I», *EIsl*²; idem, *POT*, 252, 257; Taeschner, *CMH*, IV, 1, 745. Cf. A. Savvides, *Byzantium - Near East*, 55-6 & notes; idem, «Κιλίτζ Αρσλάν Β'», *MΓΕΥ*.

18. For a complete list (with genealogies) of the Seljuk rulers of Rūm see A. Savvides, «Σελτζοῦκοι τοῦ Ρούμου», *MΓΕΥ* (forthcoming). Byzantine authors also style the Seljuks of Rūm and the early Ottomans (mid-eleventh - early fourteenth

- i. Ἀξατίνης (p. 57), designating Izz al-Din (Turk. Izzüddin) (= Kilij Arslan I, II and III, Kaykawus I and II).
- ii. Ἰαθατίνης or Γιαθατίνης (p. 112-13), also encountered as Ἰαφατίνης, Γιζαντήν Σααπατίνης, Καϊχοσρόης and Καϊχοσρότης, designating Ghiyath al-Din (Turk. Gizzüddin) (= Kaykhusraw or Kayhosrow I, II and III, Masud or Masut II and III).
- iii. Καϊκουπάδης (p. 146), only once encountered as Ἀλαατίνης Σααπατίνης¹⁹, designating Kaykubad or Keykubad (Kaykubad I, II and III).
- iv. Καϊχοσρόης (see above Ἰαθατίνης).
- v. Ρουκνατῖνος (p. 260), designating Rukn al-Din (Turk. Ruknüddin) (= Masud I, Süleyman II and Kilij Arslan IV).

The term *Rûm* and the connotation it conveyed was also revered by the Ottoman conquerors of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, if we take into account the wish of sultan Bayazit I (1389-1402/3) to be officially addressed to as *Sultan of Rûm*²⁰, as well as the orders of Murat II (1421-51) for the history of the glorious dynasties of Rûm to be written down. Murat's court historiographer at Adrianople (Edirne), Yazidjioglu Ali, was to compile and continue the celebrated *Seljuk-nameh* of the thirteenth century Persian court chronicler at Konya, Ibn Bibi²¹.

Rûm as a term also appears in compound forms. According to Ibn Bibi²² the old Byzantine city of Theodosiopolis in the far eastern frontier zone of Anatolia was renamed *Erzurum* (*Erzerum*), which actually meant *Erd-i Rûm* or *Arzan al-Rûm*, that is, lands of the Ῥωμαῖοι (= Byzantines)²³. One still wonders whether the south-eastern harboured stronghold of *Iskenderun*, the ancient Greek Alexandretta, has dropped to the form *Iskenderun* from an original *Iskenderum* (*Iskender al-Rûm*), conveying

century) with various appellations, i.e. Ἀγαρηνοί, Μουσουλμᾶνοι, Σαρακηνοί, Πέρσαι, Ἰσμαηλῖται et al. (A. Savvides, *Byzantium - Near East*, 56 n. 1).

19. A. Savvides, *Byzantium - Near East*, 155 n. 2.

20. D. Nicol, *Last Centuries*, 302; idem, *The End of the Byzantine Empire* (London 1979) 66.

21. For details on the original author and the compiler of the *Seljuk-nameh* cf. A. Savvides, *Βυζαντινά Κινήματα*, Essay on Sources.

22. Cf. German transl. and commentary by H. Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi* (Copenhagen 1959) 35, 51.

23. Georgacas, 79-80 n. 390.

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the meaning of «lands of Alexander» (since the Persian name for Alexander the Great is Iskender)²⁴.

The origins of the term *Anatolia*, which was first used as such by the Latins, could well be associated with the old Byzantine *Theme* (military district) called Ἀνατολικὸν (= Eastern) or τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν (= of the Easterners), founded in the seventh century and containing important centres such as Ikonion (Konya), Akroenon (Afyun Karahisar), Philomelion (Ak Shehir), Seleukeia (Selefke) and others, centering around its capital city of Amorion (Arab. Amuriyya). All those areas were later to become the core of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm²⁵. Another possibility, on the other hand, is that *Anatolia* was related to the Greek word Ἀνατολὴ (= East) and its derivatives ἀνατολικός (= eastern), ἀνατολικῶς (= eastbound), ἀνατέλλω (= rise [verb]) and ἀνατέλλων (= the rising [participle]), all conveying the meaning of east and sunrise²⁶. The archaic Greek word for Ἀνατολὴ was Ἔως or τὰ ἔων μέρη/Ἐῶα (= the eastern lands), a term by which ancient Greek authors as well as several early Byzantine chroniclers referred to the lands of the Orient, i.e. Asia and – more precisely – Asia Minor or Anatolia²⁷. According to Georgacas by the term *Western Anatolia* we should consider the area of the Smyrna hinterland, by *Northern Anatolia* the north-eastern coastal strip, the Marmaras region and the northern forest regions, by *Southern Anatolia* the southern coastal strip and forest regions and by *Inner Anatolia* the eastern plateau as far as the Armenian border and Azerbaidjan²⁸.

In closing this note, it is evident from undeniable facts that the Moslem conquerors of Christian Asia Minor learned a lot from the conquered in

24. See details and refs. in T. H. Mordtmann, «*Iskandarūn*», *Eisl* 2.

25. See the remarks by Georgacas, 45-7 & refs.; cf. A. Savvides, *Byzantium - Near East*, 137 n. 2. According to the tenth-century Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913-59), the Anatolikon theme began in the vicinity of Dorylaion (Eski Shehir), reached the Taurus Mountains in the south, and extended as far up as Ikonion: ed. A. Pertusi, Costantino Porfirogenito, *De thematibus* (Rome/Vatican City 1952) 59 ff.

26. Georgacas, 35 ff.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., 53. Georgacas also believes (p. 59) that the connotation of the word *Levant*, a popular way of referring to the Orient collectively, has its origins to the Italian *levante*, i.e. «the rising one», the east, where the sun rises. It is interesting to compare this with the modern Greek nautical term for the eastern wind: ὁ ἀεβάντες (!).

several aspects of administration, culture and everyday life matters. They adopted extensively the nomenclature and several institutions of Byzantium thus enhancing the conditions in their own states. «*Anatolian Hellenism, or the medieval Greek cultural element of Anatolia*», observes Vryonis, «*was quantitatively and qualitatively significant during the Byzantine period. Thus, the Turkish conquest and Islamization of Asia Minor represent something more than a negative historical event, for the invaders had to subdue and absorb a vital society*»²⁹.

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29. Vryonis, *DMH*, 498 ff. for a meaningful recapitulation on Anatolia's islamization.