

BYZANTIUM IN QUESTION IN 13th-CENTURY SELJUK ANATOLIA*

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All historians who have studied the Christian Greek-speaking communities under the Seljuk domination of central Anatolia agree that those communities benefited, like the rest of the society, from a new prosperity in the first half of the 13th century.¹ This upsurge is interpreted as a sign of the survival if not revival of Byzantium, of its ideological and cultural heritage, in the heart of the Sultanate of Rūm. Indeed, these communities are better known in this period than in the previous century, thanks especially to the churches they built. For Speros Vryonis, as for other scholars, they benefited from the political and military stability, as well as the economic growth, which characterized the sultanate as a whole.² Catherine Jolivet-Lévy likewise attributes the resumption of religious foundations and the renovation of ancient churches in 13th-century Cappadocia to the return of law and order and of economic development.³ I would like to show, for my part, that the early 13th-century evolution in relations between the Sultanate of Rūm and Byzantium, or rather the successor states that inherited the latter's territories, also contributed to this process by fostering the immigration, temporary or permanent, of Byzantine subjects to the sultanate. The documents which attest to the links between the Empire and the Greek-speaking Christians of Seljuk Anatolia, once analysed and put in context, cause us to reconsider the stereotype of autochthonous communities loyal to Byzantium, or at least to a certain idea of Byzantium, in Turkish Asia Minor.

* I am very grateful to Guillaume Saint-Guillain for his invitation and encouragements to pursue my thought on this period and area.

1. See, for example, D. KOROBENIKOV, Orthodox communities in Eastern Anatolia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, 1: The two patriarchates: Constantinople and Antioch, *Al-Masāq. Islam and the medieval Mediterranean* 15, 2003, pp. 197-214, here p. 197: "One important community was situated in Kappadokia and in Konya, where inscriptions in Orthodox churches show that Orthodox Christians were prosperous at least until the end of the thirteenth century."

2. S. VRYONIS, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of islamization from the 11th through the 15th century*, Berkeley 1971, p. 227.

3. C. JOLIVET-LÉVY, *La Cappadoce. Mémoire de Byzance*, Paris 1997, pp. 104-115: "Chrétiens en Cappadoce turque."

G. SAINT-GUILLAIN and D. STATHAKOPOULOS (eds), *Liquid & Multiple: Individuals & Identities in the Thirteenth-Century Aegean* (Centre de recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 36), Paris 2012.



The best-known case of Byzantine subjects crossing into the Sultanate of Rûm in the 13th century is that of John Komnenos Maurozomes and his family. John and his relatives are mentioned in Greek, Persian and Arabic chronicles,⁴ in a Greek epitaph of 1297 from the vicinity of Konya,⁵ on his seal, two impressions of which are preserved,⁶ and finally in an Arabic inscription from Konya, published by Scott Redford as recently as 2010.⁷ This material allows us to view the Maurozomai arriving, settling and taking root in the Sultanate of Rûm, and to analyse their position in Byzantine and Seljuk society.

The marriage concluded in the Empire, during the reign of Alexios III, between Manuel Maurozomes' daughter and the sultan Kaykhusraw I, resulted in the resettlement of the family (or at least of a part of it) in Seljuk territory. This move, instigated by Manuel, was true to the policy of Alexios III. It was closely linked to conflicts between the candidates to the imperial throne before and after 1204: Manuel Maurozomes is denounced by Niketas Choniates as an opponent of Theodore Laskaris; however, contrary to what Choniates suggests, he acted not on his own, but on behalf of his son-in-law the sultan and, *in fine*, of Alexios III.⁸

Manuel Maurozomes is known to have founded his power-base in the valley of the Meander. However, in the previous century his family was established in Greece and not in Asia Minor.⁹ Manuel's move was thus a complete resettlement, contrary, for example, to the case of the Gabrades, already established in the region of Trebizond at the time of the Turkish conquest.¹⁰

The chronicle of Ibn Bibî, the seal of John Komnenos Maurozomes, kept in the museum of Niğde, in the south of former Byzantine Cappadocia,¹¹ and the Greek inscription from

4. NIKETAS CHONIATES, *History*, ed. J.-L. DIETEN, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, Berlin 1975 (Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae 11), pp. 626 and 638. ID., *Oratio* 14, ed. J. L. VAN DIETEN, *Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et epistulae*, Berlin 1972 (Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae 3), pp. 136-137; IBN BIBÎ, *Mukhtaşar*, German transl. H. W. DUDA, *Die Seltchukengeschichte des Ibn Bibî*, Copenhagen 1959, pp. 30-31, 38, 117-118, 120, 131 and 140-142; IBN AL-ATHÎR, *al-Kamil fi al-tarikh*, ed. C. J. TORNBORG, Leuven 1851-1871 (reprint Beirut 1979-1982), vol. XII, pp. 200-201 (601 A.H.).

5. First published by F. Cumont in 1895, it has been re-edited by B. H. McLEAN, *Greek and Latin inscriptions in the Konya Archaeological Museum*, London 2002 (Regional epigraphic catalogues of Asia Minor 4), no. 211.

6. S. MÉTIVIER, Les Maurozômai, Byzance et le sultanat de Rûm. Note sur le sceau de Jean Comnène Maurozômès, *Revue des études byzantines* 67, 2009, pp. 197-207.

7. S. REDFORD, Maurozomes in Konya, in *Change in the Byzantine world in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*, ed. A. ÖDEKAN, E. AKYÜREK and N. NECİPOĞLU, Istanbul 2010, pp. 48-50.

8. MÉTIVIER, Les Maurozômai, pp. 200-202.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 197-198 and 201.

10. C. CAHEN, Une famille byzantine au service des Seldjuquides d'Asie Mineure, in *Polychronion. Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. P. WIRTH, Heildelberg 1966 (Forschungen zur griechischen Diplomatie und Geschichte 1), reprinted in ID., *Turcobyzantina et Oriens christianus*, London 1974 (Variorum collected studies series 34), article VIII; A. BRYER, A Byzantine family: The Gabrades, c. 979-c. 1653, *University of Birmingham historical journal* 12, 1970, pp. 164-187, reprinted in ID., *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos*, London 1980 (Variorum collected studies series 117), article IIIa. ID., S. FASSOULAKIS and D. M. NICOL, A Byzantine family: The Gabrades. An additional note, *Byzantinoslavica* 36, 1975, pp. 38-45, reprinted in BRYER, *The Empire of Trebizond*, article IIIb.

11. J.-Cl. CHEYNET and C. MORRISSON, Lieux de trouvaille et circulation des sceaux, *Studies in Byzantine sigillography* 2, 1990, pp. 105-136, have shown that seals did not move much. If the seal of John Komnenos Maurozomes is preserved in this museum, it was no doubt in use nearby.

the vicinity of Konya jointly attest to the success of this resettlement. Manuel Maurozomes laid down roots in the sultanate (and it matters little whether John, the owner of the seal, was his son or grandson). Our most recent evidence, an inscription in Arabic, confirms this assessment. According to its editor, Scott Redford, this inscription commemorates the building of a tower, during the reign of sultan Kay Qubād (1219/1220-1227), by an emir identified as John Komnenos Maurozomes. This fragmentary text preserves only a part of the name of the sultan and that of the emir, whose patronymic is nevertheless certain. The unusual size and quality of the inscription point to a special connection between the emir and the sultan.¹²

The success of these Byzantine defectors did not cause them to abandon their faith or their language, as the seal and inscription of 1297 both show. They remained Christians: the seal of John Komnenos Maurozomes carries the effigy of Saint John the Baptist; his son, mentioned in the inscription, became a monk. They kept their Greek language, as shown by the legend of the seal and the inscription of 1297.¹³ Finally, they claimed their place in the Byzantine aristocracy and in its 12th-century founding family. John's seal reminds us of his affiliation to the Komnenoi, while the inscription of 1297 describes him as a great-grandson of emperors born in purple. Just like the aristocrats within the Empire, he makes his consanguinity with the Komnenoi a cornerstone of his social status and of his individual and family identity. This connection evidently kept all its value for him and his kin, who did not hesitate, in fact, to drop the name of Maurozomes to retain only that of Komnenos. His study of the Arabic inscription induces Scott Redford to conclude that the Komnenos filiation had at least a symbolic importance for the Seljuk sultans themselves. Possibly, John maintained his links to the aristocracy of the Empire, the Maurozomai being attested in Constantinople under the rule of the Palaiologoi emperors.¹⁴

The case of John Komnenos Maurozomes and his relatives, exceptionally well documented, illustrates the resettlement of Byzantine families in Seljuk Asia Minor during the 13th century as well as the close links they maintained with the Empire and the ambiguity of their position in Seljuk society. If the seal of John Komnenos Maurozomes had not been found in the museum of Niğde and if this individual was not known by other sources relating to the Sultanate of Rüm, nothing would lead us to suspect that he was in fact a subject of the sultan.¹⁵ Far from being purely symbolic, these links were religious, linguistic and social, although not political.¹⁶ They were the result of mutations, or even a crisis of power in Byzantium.

12. REDFORD, Maurozomes in Konya. The inscription is so poorly preserved that we cannot know who ordered its production, thus emphasizing Maurozomes' link to the sultan and his Komnenos ancestry.

13. According to Ibn al-'Arabī, the dhimmis were prohibited from engraving a seal in Arabic, see VRYONIS, *The decline of medieval Hellenism*, pp. 224-225, however, who questions whether such prohibitions were ever applied in practice.

14. E. TRAPP *et alii*, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, vol. VII, Vienna 1985, no. 17443.

15. The seal of John Komnenos Maurozomes can be compared to the seal of Hasan ibn Gabras, published by Cl. Sode and S. Heidemann in E. MCGEER, J. NESBITT and N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. V, *The East (continued), Constantinople and environs, Unknown locations, Addenda, Uncertain readings*, Washington D.C. 2005, n°114, pp. 149-150. This seal, probably from 1192, presents its owner as a sultan; it carries an image of a Byzantine emperor (apparently deprived of Christian emblems) and an Arabic legend. Hasan ibn Gabras possibly converted to Islam.

16. There is no indication that this branch of the Maurozomai continued to serve the Byzantine emperors after the first decade of the 13th-century.



From this perspective, five inscriptions from Cappadocia, three of which are well known, need to be re-examined. These inscriptions, all painted in churches, testify to the revival of religious buildings in 13th-century Seljuk Cappadocia. Few, if any, church foundations date from the 12th century. By way of contrast, the 13th century constituted, according to Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, “the last instance of Christian monumental activity” in Cappadocia, even though Christian foundations were far less numerous than contemporary Muslim ones.¹⁷ Five unusual 13th-century dedicatory inscriptions mention a Byzantine emperor, following the pattern attested as early as the first quarter of the 11th-century in the church of Saint Barbara in Soğanlı.¹⁸

1. At Karşı Kilise, near Gülşehir, an inscription is dated by its mention of the reign of Theodore I Laskaris, the year of the world (6720), the indiction (15) and the day of the month (25 April) [fig. 1].

ἐπὶ βασιλείοντος Θεοδώρου Λάσκαρη ἔτους ,ςψκ' κὲ ἐν(δικτιῶνος) ιε'μ(η)νῆ
ἀπρηλύο ἡς τ(ὰς) κε'.

under the reign of Theodore Laskaris, in the year 6720, indiction 15, on the 25th of the
month of April.

This inscription from 25 April 1212 is incomplete: the donors' names have disappeared. There remain the portraits of three women, named Eirene, Kale and Mary, a mother and her two daughters, as well as those, almost destroyed, of three men.¹⁹ The women are represented next to a martyr from Nicaea, Saint Theodote, while the saint patron of Nicaea, Saint Tryphon, appears in the decoration.²⁰

2. In the church of the Forty Martyrs of Süveş, now Şahineffendi, to the south of Urgüp, Guillaume de Jerphanion noted a dedication mentioning a Byzantine emperor, whose name was erased but who can be identified by the inscription's date – 1216/7 (year of the world 6725, indiction 5) – as Theodore I Laskaris [fig. 2].

Ἀνεκενίσθουν ὁ πάνσεπτως να[ὸ]ς [οὔτος] τὸν τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ μαρτηρὸν μ', δηὰ
σινδρ[ομῆς] τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θε(ο)ῦ Μακαρεῖ εἰερομο(νά)χου, ἀντ' ἀδι[κημάτων]

17. JOLIVET-LÉVY, *La Cappadoce. Mémoire de Byzance*, p. 115.

18. G. DE JERPHANION, *Nouvelle province de l'art byzantin. Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, Paris 1936, vol. II, pp. 309–311.

19. C. JOLIVET-LÉVY, Images et espace culturel à Byzance: l'exemple d'une église de Cappadoce (Karsı kilise, 1212), in EAD., *Études cappadociennes*, London 2002, pp. 285–321. There is also an invocatory inscription dedicated by a certain Michael Plakidas.

20. C. JOLIVET-LÉVY, Art chrétien en Anatolie turque: le témoignage de peintures inédites à Tatarlı, in *Eastern approaches to Byzantium. Papers from the thirty-third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry, March 1999*, ed. A. EASTMOND, Aldershot 2001 (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies. Publications 9), pp. 133–145, reprinted in EAD., *Études cappadociennes*, pp. 283–284 (cited below from this edition).

αὐτ[οῦ, χι]ρὶ Ἔτιου μο(νά)χ(ου). Ἔτους ,ςψκε΄, ἐν(δικτιῶνος) ε΄, ἐπὶ βασιλέος [Θεοδώρου Λάσκαρι].²¹

This very holy church of the Forty Martyrs of Christ was renovated thanks to the succour of the servant of God, the hieromonk Makaris, for (the remission of) his sins, by the hand of the monk Etios [= Aetios], in the year 6725, indiction 5, under the emperor [Theodore Laskaris].

3. At the end of the 13th century, the donors of Saint George church in Belisırma (southeast of Aksaray), the *kyra* Thamar and the emir Basil Giagoupes, name both the sultan Masud II (1284-1297 and 1303-1307) and the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1328) [fig. 3].

Ἐκαληεργίθ(η) ὠ(ραίως) ὁ πάνσεπτος ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου [ἐκ συνδρο]μῆς πολυποθ(ήτου) καὶ κόπου τ(ῆς) ... γεγραμ(μ)έν(ης) κυρᾶς Θαμαρῆ κ(αὶ) τοῦ ἀμηνάρχης κυ(ροῦ) Βασιλείου Γιαγού[πης] ... [ἐπὶ] μὲν τοῦ πανηψηλοτ[άτου] μεγαλογένους μεγάλου σουλτάνου [Μα]σούτη ἐπὶ δὲ Ῥομέων βασιλέβοντος Κυ(ροῦ) Ἀν[δρονίκου].²²

The most venerated church of the holy and glorious great martyr George was beautifully decorated thanks to the most desirable succour and effort of *kyra* Thamar represented [...] and of the *amerarzes* kyr Basil Giagoupes ... under the most high and noble great sultan Masoutes and under kyr Andronikos, emperor of the Romans.

4. Another inscription was discovered by Tolga Uyar in the main church of the Archangelos monastery in Cemil and edited by Georges Kiourtzian. It mentions the emperor Theodore I Laskaris and carries the date of 1217/8 (A.M. 6726, indiction 6):

Ἐκαλιεργίθιν μετὰ πωλοῦ κόπου κὲ πόθου διὰ σηνδρομῶς τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ Βαρθολωμέου ἡερομονάχου κὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Λέοντος διακόνου, ἦοι δὲ Μιχαὶλ τοῦ Σαμψό·διὰ χιρὸς ἐμοῦ Ἀρχιγέτα ζωγράφου ἐν ἔτους ,ςψκς΄ ἐν(δικτιῶνος) ς΄ ἐπὶ βασιλέος Θεοδώρου Λάσκαρη.²³

(The church) was decorated with much effort and desire thanks to the succour of the servant of God Bartholomeos, hieromonk, and of his brother Leo, deacon, sons of Michael of Sampso, by my hand, (that of) Archigetas, painter, in the year 6726, indiction 6, under the emperor Theodore Laskaris.

21. JERPHANION, *Nouvelle province de l'art byzantin*, vol. II, pp. 158-160.

22. N. THIERRY and M. THIERRY, *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce. Région du Hasan Dağı*, Paris 1963, pp. 202-205 and pl. 94.

23. G. KIOURTZIAN, Une nouvelle inscription de Cappadoce du règne de Théodore I^{er} Lascaris, *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 28, 2008, pp. 131-137; B. T. UYAR, L'église de l'Archangélos à Cemil: le décor de la nef sud et le renouveau de la peinture byzantine en Cappadoce au début du XIII^e siècle, *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 28, 2008, pp. 119-129.

5. The fifth inscription, now lost, was copied by Hans Rott in the octagon of Sivasa (Gökçetoprak, to the west of Nevşehir). This painted dedication, already incomplete when it was recorded in 1908 by H. Rott, mentioned the renovation of the church as well as the emperors Theodore I Laskaris and John III Batatzes:

Ἐν ἔτει ς... [ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀ]νακεφαλαιωμένη παρελ[θό]ντος Λάσκαρι βασιλεύοντος Βατατζῆ.²⁴

In the year 6... [the church] was restored, upon the death of Laskaris, under the reign of Batatzes.

While Hans Rott believed that the restoration began under Theodore I Laskaris and was completed under John III Batatzes, Marcell Restle suggests we date the inscription to the year of the change of reign, A.M. 6730 (September 1221–August 1222), or at least to the early reign of John III Batatzes.

The last inscription, from the church of Saint George in Belisırma, is unique in this corpus insofar as it names the sultan and the Byzantine emperor together. By contrast, the four others, painted between 1212 and 1222, mention only the emperor of Nicaea. As Tolga Uyar has established, two of them at least dedicate decors created by the same workshop, that of the painter Archigetas (who is named in the inscription from Cemil).²⁵

The mention of the emperor's reign serves as a means of dating, just as the year of the world and the indiction, but it also implies recognition of the emperor's sovereignty. This conclusion has embarrassed and continues to embarrass scholars. To explain the dating formula of the first two inscriptions, Guillaume de Jerphanion went as far as to argue that the political sovereignty of Theodore I Laskaris at that time extended over Cappadocia.²⁶ He supported this hypothesis with an isolated statement from the 14th-century historian Nikephoros Gregoras, which extended the power of Laskaris from Caria and the Meander in the south up to the "Galatian Sea" and Cappadocia in the north. This hypothesis, however, could not be supported by any other evidence,²⁷ and has accordingly been rejected by historians, most recently Tolga Uyar.²⁸ Besides, inscriptions proclaiming the sovereignty of the Byzantine emperor outside the limits of his empire are not unique to Cappadocia. In 1291, a church dedication from Hagios Basileios Padiadas in central Crete, an island then under Venetian power, mentions Andronikos II Palaiologos.²⁹

24. H. ROTT, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien und Lykien*, Leipzig 1908, pp. 251-252; M. RESTLE, *Studien zur frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens*, Vienna 1979, t. 1, pp. 81-82.

25. UYAR, L'église de l'Archangélos, pp. 125-128.

26. G. DE JERPHANION, Les inscriptions cappadociennes et l'histoire de l'empire grec de Nicée, *Orientalia christiana periodica* 1, 1935, pp. 239-256.

27. NIKEPHOROS GREGORAS, *Roman history*, German transl. J.-L. VAN DIETEN, *Nikephoros Gregoras. Rhömische Geschichte, Historia rhomaike*, vol. I, Stuttgart 1973 (Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur 4), p. 71 and p. 216, n. 16.

28. M. ANGOLD, *A Byzantine government in exile: Government and society under the Laskarids of Nicaea (1204-1261)*, Oxford 1975, p. 101; C. CAHEN, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, Istanbul 1988, pp. 168-169.

29. S. KALOPISSI-VERTI, *Dedicatory inscriptions and donor portraits in thirteenth-century churches of Greece*, Vienna 1992 (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Tabula Imperii Byzantini 5), p. 93.

The modest corpus of Cappadocia is completed by a dedication from a church in the monastery of Saint Chariton in Sille, about 10 km away from Konya, in the heart of the sultanate.³⁰ This dedication, placed over the church door inside, was recorded in the early 19th century by the metropolitan of Ikonion at the time, the future patriarch Cyril VI, and then, a century later, by Frederick William Hasluck:

... ἀνεκαινίσθη καὶ καλλιεργήθη ὁ πάνσεπτος ναὸς τῆς ὑπεραγίας Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, τῆς ἐπιλεγομένης Σπηλαιωτίσσης, πατριαρχούντος τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Γρηγορίου, καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλείου (?) τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Ῥωμαίων κυροῦ Ἄνδρονίκου, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις βασιλεύοντος μεγαλογενοῦς Μεγάλου Σουλτάν Μαχσοῦτι τοῦ Καικαούση καὶ αὐθέντου ἡμῶν, ἔτους ,ςψςζ´, ἰνδικτ. β´ ὑπόμνημα Ματθαίου ἱερομονάχου καὶ τάχα ἡγουμένου.³¹

The very holy church of Our Lady the very holy Mother of God and always virgin Mary, called Spelaiotissa, was renovated and decorated under the patriarchate of the ecumenical patriarch kyr Gregorios and under the reign of the very pious emperor and autokrator of the Romans kyr Andronikos, in the days when reigns the very noble great sultan Machsout son of Kaikaouse, our master, in the year 6797, indiction 2. Memory of Matthiew, hieromonk and purported hegumen.

This inscription, dated 1288/9, names successively the patriarch Gregory II of Constantinople (1283-1289), the emperor of the Romans Andronikos II Palaiologos and the great sultan Masud Kaykâūs. Thus, as in the contemporary inscription from Saint George of Belisırma, the dating formula mentions both the emperor and the sultan. However, in this respect it differs from the inscriptions from the time of Theodore Laskaris.³²

While Jerphanion's theory has been rightly rejected, the question remains open: why would and how could the political sovereignty of the emperor of Nicaea have been asserted so far from the Empire's borders? In the political framework imagined by Jerphanion, the Cappadocian foundations could be attributed to Byzantine aristocrats from the Empire of Nicaea which would have extended into that region.³³ Sophia Kalopissi-Verti notes

Guillaume Saint-Guillain called my attention to the fact that this was the time of the rebellion of Alexios Kallerges, which implies the momentary secession of a part of the island (although the epicentre of the rebellion was more westerly). S. Kalopissi-Verti, *ibid.*, pp. 25, 85, 94, cites two other cases, on Aegina (1289) and on Rhodes (1289/1290), but at that date Rhodes was not yet under Latin domination. Chryssa A. MALTEZOU, Byzantine "consuetudines" in Venetian Crete, *Dumbarton Oaks papers* 49, 1995, p. 279, claims, with no references, that "the Cretans continued to mention the names of Byzantine emperors in the inscriptions on their churches".

30. The 1297 Greek epitaph of the Maurozomai family was found in the immediate vicinity of this church; see the next note.

31. F. W. HASLUCK, *Christianity and Islam under the sultans*, Oxford 1929, vol. II, pp. 381-382; S. EYICE, Akmanastir (S. Chariton) in der Nähe von Konya und die Höhlenkirchen von Sille, *Byzantinische Forschungen* 2, 1967, pp. 166-167 (with a wrong reading of the year of creation).

32. Comparison of the two inscriptions invalidates the distinction made by Guillaume de Jerphanion between the use of present active participle (βασιλεύοντος) and the circumstantial complement (ἐπι...): see JERPHANION, Les inscriptions cappadociennes, p. 247.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

in her study of dedicatory inscriptions and donors' portraits in 13th-century churches in Greece that emperors are mentioned only in dedications by important church dignitaries and fairly high-ranking secular donors.³⁴ However, the dedications of Karşı Kilise and of the Forty Martyrs of Süveş contain no elements which can be related to this scheme. Only the recently discovered inscription from Cemil identifies the donors: the hieromonk Bartholomeos and the deacon Leo, both sons of Michael of Sampso. It cannot be entirely excluded that we are dealing here with the surname Sampson, attested from the 14th century onward, particularly in Trebizond.³⁵ More likely, however, is that this refers – as Georges Kiourtzian, editor of the inscription, has noted – to the city of Sampson. According to another study of Guillaume de Jerphanion, this city is synonymous with ancient Priene.³⁶ The father of both donors would thus have originated not from Cappadocia but from a city of Byzantine Asia Minor. Like the Maurozomai, the two brothers from the inscription must have left the Empire for the sultanate at an unknown date.

It was also in the city of Sampson, at the mouth of the Meander, that, late in the year 1205, Theodore Laskaris defeated one of his opponents, Sabbas. An imperial *prostaxis* from 1214 describes, however, this Sabbas Asidenos as *sympentheros* and *sebastokrator*.³⁷ Thus we learn that in the years following, Sabbas had allied himself with the emperor of Nicaea and earned a prestigious title through a matrimonial alliance. Should one seek a link between the foundation of a church in Cappadocia by the scions of Michel of Sampso and the conflict that pitted Laskaris and Sabbas against one another fewer than fifteen years earlier?

By identifying its donors, the dedication from the monastery of Archangelos prompts us to treat other dedications with caution and calls into question the idea that the autochthonous inhabitants of Seljuk Cappadocia alone were at the root of this resurgence in decors and foundations, and that it was they who proclaimed, as communities, their allegiance to the Byzantine emperor. It is rather difficult to assert, with Michel Balivet, that “on occasion, one had no trouble invoking two competing suzerains: the Christians in the Sultanate of Rûm, from courtesans to modest scribes, continued after two centuries of Turkish occupation to consider themselves as Byzantine subjects, while staying fully loyal towards the Seljuk sultan.”³⁸ The authors of at least one of those dedications probably

34. KALOPISSI-VERTI, *Dedicatory inscriptions*, p. 25.

35. E. TRAPP *et alii*, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, vol. X, Vienna 1990, nos. 24785-24791.

36. G. DE JERPHANION, Σαμψών et Ἀμισός. Une ville à déplacer de neuf cents kilomètres, *Orientalia christiana periodica* 1, 1935, pp. 257-264; see also P. ORGELS, Sabas Asidénos, dynaste de Sampsôn, *Byzantion* 10, 1935, pp. 67-80.

37. GEORGE AKROPOLITES, *History*, ed. A. HEISENBERG revised by P. WIRTH, *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, Stuttgart 1978, vol. I, § 7, pp. 11-12; English transl. R. MACRIDES, *George Akropolites. The History*, Oxford 2007, pp. 119-120, and pp. 122-123, n. 18. N. WILSON and J. DARROUZÈS, Restes du cartulaire de Hiéra-Xérochoraphion, *Revue des études byzantines* 26, 1968, pp. 14-15. J. HOFFMANN, *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210)*, Munich 1974 (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 17), pp. 64-65. J.-Cl. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963-1210)*, Paris 1990 (Byzantina Sorbonensia 9), no. 213, p. 150.

38. M. BALIVET, Entre Byzance et Konya: l'intercirculation des idées et des hommes au temps des Seldjoukides, in *Les Seldjoukides d'Anatolie*, ed. G. LEISER, Paris 2005 (= *Mésogéios* 25-26, 2005), pp. 171-207, here pp. 66-67: “Autrement dit, on ne fait aucune difficulté à l'occasion à se réclamer des souverainetés concurrentes: dans le sultanat de Rum, des notables de cour aux plus modestes scribes, les chrétiens, même après deux siècles d'occupation turque, continueront à se considérer comme des sujets byzantins, sans pour autant se départir de leur fidélité au sultan seldjoukide.” Likewise, UYAR, L'Église de l'Archangélos, p. 129, speaks of “the double political identity of the Greek communities of the Rûm sultanate”.

did not originate from Seljuk Cappadocia. What is more, the references to the emperor of Nicaea are far from systematic. Most 13th-century monuments are simply not dated and, when they are, the dating formula often includes no indication of any reign. For example, the dedication from church B in Tatlarin, about 20 km to the south of Gülşehir, names the donor, the *protopapadias* Rodathys, indicates the year of the world 6723 (1214/1215) and a 3rd indiction, but makes no allusion to any Byzantine emperor: διὰ [συνδ]ρομῶς τῆς δούλης τοῦ θεοῦ Ῥοδαθῦς πρωτοπαπαδίας ἔτους , ςψκγ´ ἐν(δικτιῶνος) γ´.³⁹

If the donors' identity may partly explain the rare dating by an emperor's reign in Seljuk territory, we still need to consider the hypothesis proposed by Tolga Uyar, who concludes his study with these words: "the discovery of our inscription reinforces the idea of an 'artistic resurgence' in the region of Cappadocia, resurgence which we suggest to connect with the peace signed between Laskarides and Seljuks after the battle on the Meander (1211)."⁴⁰

It is true that Filip Van Tricht has recently suggested we date the battle of Antioch on the Meander to April/May 1212.⁴¹ He supports this with his own re-dating of a letter of Henry of Hainault,⁴² written in Pergamon some months after the battle, which it mentions; with the date given by Ibn Bībī, the year 608 of Hegira (15 June 1211-3 June 1212);⁴³ as well as with a chronographic notice in a Greek manuscript.⁴⁴ On the other hand, he rejects the date he claims to be given by Ibn al-Athīr (7 June 1211),⁴⁵ and that of the anonymous *Seljuknāmeḥ* (28 May 1211).⁴⁶

As for what remains of the letter of Henry of Hainault, only two of its three preserved copies carry a date: 13 January 1211 (Easter style, thus 1212 n.s.) for one, 13 January 1212 (also Easter style, thus 1213 n.s.) for the other. Filip Van Tricht prefers the second dating, arguing that its formulary adheres more closely to the chancery usages of the Latin emperors: it carries the expression *anno Domini*, as opposed to *anno dominice incarnationis* in the other copy.⁴⁷

39. JOLIVET-LÉVY, *Art chrétien en Anatolie turque*, p. 270 (the inscription is unpublished); cf. the invocations and epitaphs published in JERPHANION, *Nouvelle province de l'art byzantin*, vol. II, p. 237 (invocation from the year 6765 A.M., indiction 15 = 1256/1257 A.D.), pp. 242-244 (epitaphs from the year 6802 A.M. = 1292/1293 A.D.).

40. UYAR, *L'église de l'Archangélos*, p. 129.

41. F. VAN TRICHT, *La politique étrangère de l'empire de Constantinople, de 1210 à 1216. Sa position en Méditerranée orientale: problèmes de chronologie et d'interprétation*, *Le Moyen Âge* 107, 2001, pp. 219-238 and 409-438, here pp. 221-227.

42. G. PRINZING, *Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel vom 13. Januar 1212. Überlieferungsgeschichte, Neuedition und Kommentar*, *Byzantion* 43, 1973, pp. 395-431, here p. 414.

43. IBN BĪBĪ, *Mukhtaṣar*, German transl. H. W. DUDA, *Die Selschukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī*, Copenhagen 1959, p. 50.

44. P. SCHREINER, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. I, Vienna 1975 (*Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae* 12/1), *Chronicle* 4, no. 5, p. 53.

45. The author refers to IBN AL-ATHĪR, *al-Kamil fī al-tarikh*, ed. C. J. TORNBURG, Louvain 1851-1871, Beirut 1979-1982, vol. XII, p. 154.

46. C. CAHEN, *Seljukides de Rûm, Byzantins et Francs d'après le Seljuknāmeḥ anonyme*, *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 11, 1951 (*Mélanges Henri Grégoire*), pp. 97-106, see pp. 101-102. Commentary *ibid.*, p. 105: "La date de la bataille, plus précise que dans nos autres sources, est en accord avec leurs données (mai 1211)."

47. This argument does not seem compelling. Few dated documents of Henry are preserved, all but this one from the short period 1205-1208: basis for comparison is lacking for the later part of his reign. Moreover, when comparing the dating formulae of these ten documents, one is less struck by similarities than by differences: in three cases, the year A.D. is missing altogether; regnal year is mentioned in

Ibn al-Athīr is dismissed on the basis that he was a Syrian, in favour of Ibn Bibī, who served in the chancery of the Sultanate of Rūm in the second half of the 13th century. This in itself would be unfair, since Ibn al-Athīr undoubtedly used good sources,⁴⁸ but in this particular instance the point is moot since this author did not mention the battle at all.⁴⁹ As for the Greek chronographic notice (preserved in a late 13th- or early 14th-century manuscript), it asserts that the battle took place on a *kyrion pascha*, a day when Easter was celebrated on 25 March.⁵⁰ In his commentary on the source, Peter Schreiner had pointed out that there was no *kyrion pascha* in 1211, although there was one in 1212.⁵¹ But why then does Filip Van Tricht infer from the notice only the year and not also the day? It seems plausible that the notice, which enunciates a prophecy, kept the date of March 25th and assimilated it with a *kyrion pascha* to amplify the eschatological significance of the event. This evidence alone is therefore not enough to validate one dating over the other.

To these testimonies, none of which carries a certain date, one should add the inscription of Karşı Kilise of 25 April 1212, evidence which while not completely decisive, is the least likely to be corrupted. In this primary document, indictional dating agrees with the year of the world. It is unlikely that such an inscription, which mentions the emperor Theodore Laskaris in the heartland of the sultanate, would have been painted in the weeks that preceded (or immediately followed) the battle. It is more likely, as suggested by Tolga Uyar regarding the inscription from the church of the Archangelos in Cemil, that this dedication would have been formulated in this way because of the treaty concluded between Theodore Laskaris and the new sultan Kaykāūs. On this assumption,

three cases but missing in the others, and the same goes for the indiction; the day of the month appears in only four of these documents, but three times according to Roman calendar and once by the ordinal number of the day (the Pergamon letter uses a third system, the liturgical calendar); one time the month is missing altogether.

48. For instance, Ibn al-Athīr knows better than Ibn Bibī about relations between the sultan Kaykhusraw, the emperor Alexios III and Manuel Maurozomes: see MÉTIVIER, *Les Maurozōmai*, p. 200; likewise, on the date of the death of sultan Rukn ad-Dīn, see CAHEN, *Seljukides de Rūm, Byzantins et Francs*, p. 103.

49. See *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the crusading period from al-Kāmil fi'l-tārīkh*, vol. III, *The years 589-629/1193-1231. The Ayyubids after Saladin and the Mongol menace*, transl. D. S. RICHARDS, Aldershot 2008 (Crusade texts in translation 17).

50. SCHREINER, *Kleinchroniken*, vol. I, p. 53: “When comes the year 67[19], the Lord God sends the Angel to annihilate the impious sons of Ishmael. Indeed, his infection and his stench went up [Joel 2,20] to the ears of the Lord Sabaoth as (those) of the Sodomites, and their children and their wives will perish by the sword. One will chase a thousand, and two will put ten thousand to flight [Deut. 32,30], under the direction of the orthodox emperor whose name is Theodore, with the people who speaks the language of the blonds, that is to say by dint of the empire of the Romans, the day of the *kyrion pascha*, and the archistratège Michael fights with the Roman as Moises and Jesus [Joshua] son of Nave, and he will annihilate the races of the Ishmaelians and it will be renewed the horn of the orthodox Christians, and to it the glory and the power for ever and ever, amen.” The horn is a symbol of strength in the Bible. About the interpretations of the *kyrion pascha* and of the 25 March, see GEORGE THE MONK, *Chronicon*, ed. C. DE BOOR, Leipzig 1904 (Teubner), vol. I, p. 128, l. 23-p. 129 l. 13; GEORGE KEDRENOS, *Historiarum compendium*, ed. I. BEKKER, *Georgius Cedrenus, Joannis Scylitzae ope*, vol. I, Bonn 1838, p. 307, l. 6-10.

51. P. SCHREINER, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. II, Vienna 1977 (Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae 12/2), p. 190. The date is incomplete: “67..” (Ϸψ...). The editor has reconstructed it according to the dating of the battle in the modern historiography, yet emphasizes the hypothetical character of this reconstruction, especially since the chronicle describes the day of the battle as a *kyrion pascha*. On the date of Easter, which was March 25 in 1212, see V. GRUMEL, *La chronologie*, Paris 1958 (Bibliothèque byzantine. Traités d'études byzantines 1), p. 310.

the inscription of Karşı Kilise of 25 April 1212 would provide a *terminus ante quem* for the battle of Antioch on the Meander, thus supporting the dating of this event to the spring of 1211, as established by Jean Longnon and then by Günter Prinzing (who, quoting Ibn Bibī's testimony, opts more specifically for the second half of June 1211).⁵²

The conditions on which the peace was restored between the empire of Nicaea and the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm are unknown.⁵³ George Akropolites mentions the conclusion of an inviolable peace, and Ibn Bibī reports the restitution of the sultan's body, but no other author provides further details.⁵⁴ Modern historians believe that relations between the two states remained peaceful at least until the end of the reign of Theodore Laskaris. For Claude Cahen, "[the agreement] seems to have stipulated the mutual respect of existent borders. Whether the partners intended it or not from the start, this treaty marked in fact the beginning of a quasi definitive peace between both states." However, the same historian also cites a contemporary Syrian chronicler, Ibn Nazīf al-Hamawī, who mentions conflicts between the emperor of Nicaea and the sultan in 1225, 1227 and 1229.⁵⁵ John Langdon invokes this evidence in support of his theory of a "crusade" launched by John III Batatzes against the Turks between 1225 and 1231.⁵⁶ The four Cappadocian inscriptions, which only mention the emperor of Nicaea, were painted between 1212 and 1222 and thus belong to the period of unbroken peace. The dedications they record might have been made by subjects of the emperor of Nicaea.⁵⁷ In the same period, in 609 of Hegira (3 June 1212 – 22 May 1213), the sultan consulted Ibn al-'Arabī by letter on the conditions to be granted to the Christians.⁵⁸

52. J. LONGNON, La campagne de Henri de Hainaut en Asie Mineure en 1211, *Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Académie royale de Belgique*, 5th series 34, 1948, pp. 442-452. PRINZING, Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel, pp. 427-428.

53. On the battle, see A. G. C. SAVVIDES, *Byzantium in the Near East: Its relations with the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor, the Armenians of Cilicia and the Mongols, A.D. c. 1192-1237*, Thessalonique 1981 (Βυζαντινά κείμενα και μελέται 17), pp. 96-111.

54. GEORGE AKROPOLITES, *History*, § 10, ed. HEISENBERG and WIRTH, pp. 16-17; IBN BIBĪ, *Mukhtaṣar*, pp. 57-58.

55. CAHEN, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, pp. 70 and 94. ID., Questions d'histoire de la province de Kastamonu au XIII^e siècle, *Selçuklu Arastirmalari Dergisi* 3, 1971, pp. 146-151, reprinted in ID., *Turcobyzantina et Oriens christianus*, article X. Ibn Nazīf identifies the Byzantine emperor as "Laskaris". CAHEN, *ibid.*, p. 147, n. 12, points out that "les auteurs musulmans conservent son nom de famille à toute la suite de la dynastie".

56. J. S. LANGDON, *Byzantium's last imperial offensive in Asia Minor*, New Rochelle 1992, see chap. 3. The author claims that the conflict concerned not only the Pontic region (so Cahen), but also the West of Asia Minor.

57. The meager evidence on the last years of the sultanate (see CAHEN, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, pp. 276-291) offers no secure explanation for the two inscriptions with the names of two sovereigns. KOROBENIKOV, *Orthodox communities*, 1, pp. 199-200, believes that they show the emperor in his role – supposedly recognized by the sultan of Cairo in the middle of the 14th century – of supporter of all orthodox Christians. The difficulty is that we have no evidence of such support, with the only exception of the case of the metropolitan of Ikonion discussed below, p. 249. It should be noted that the Muslims in Constantinople under Andronikos II Palaiologos could freely exercise their cult: *The correspondence of Athanasius I, patriarch of Constantinople: Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, members of the imperial family, and officials*, ed. A.-M. M. TALBOT, Washington D.C. 1975 (Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae 7), pp. 84-85, here p. 350.

58. According to VRYONIS, *The decline of medieval Hellenism*, pp. 224-225. An excerpt of the letter of Ibn al-'Arabī to the sultan is translated into French in IBN 'ARABĪ, *Les soufis d'Andalousie*, transl. R. W. J. AUSTIN, French version by G. LÉCONTE, Paris 1971, p. 35. The sultan did not follow the advice of the scholar. For memory, see also O. TURAN, Les souverains Seldjoukides et leurs sujets non-musulmans, *Studia islamica* 1, 1953, pp. 92-94.



A third example links the foundation or decoration of a church in the Seljuk sultanate to a family from the Byzantine Empire in the 13th century. It is known by two documents, preserved in a 17th-century manuscript of the Holy Sepulchre (*Cod. Hieros. Patr.* 276),⁵⁹ which describe the case. Michael Xeros, who had committed a major sin, was buried by his family in the narthex of Saint George church near Ikonion, while the metropolitan bishop and part of his clergy were absent. In the first document, the patriarch of Nicaea Germanos II (1223-1240) informs the metropolitan of Ikonion of the synodal decision, according to which the church should remain consecrated, the body should not be removed, but no memorial services should be held for the deceased. In the second document, the patriarch writes to the widow of Michael Xeros, who had consulted him, and informs her too of the decision. In the letter to the metropolitan, Germanos II specifies that the deceased was the one who built the church of Saint George. This is thus another case of a church founded in the Sultanate of Rûm. Michael Xeros is otherwise unknown, but his patronymic links him to an aristocratic family known in the Empire from the 11th century to the second half of the 13th century. A metropolitan of Naupaktos, John Xeros, is attested in the 1270s.⁶⁰ With these two patriarchal documents as his only evidence, Speros Vryonis counted the Xeroi among the 11th-century Anatolian families which chose to remain in the region occupied by the Turks.⁶¹ The study recently conducted by Jean-Claude Cheynet provides more precise data.⁶² The family most probably originated from the Peloponnese. During the first half of the 11th-century, the Xeroi attained very high positions in the civil service, and occupied important offices in the 12th-century as well. Under the Komnenoi, some Xeroi were clerics or monks. Michael Xeros, a *sebastos*, held the position of *anagrapheus* of the theme of Mylasa and Melanoudion in the second quarter of the 12th century.⁶³ In the second half of the 13th century, Manuel Xeros exchanged his private income for a monastery with the blessing of the bishop of Mytilene.⁶⁴ The arrival of the family in central Anatolia is not attested, however. The reason for the presence of Michael Xeros in the Sultanate of Rûm thus remains unknown, but the attention that the patriarch of Nicaea granted to his affair, notably by personally corresponding with his widow,

59. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Ανάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, vol. I, Saint Petersburg 1891, pp. 464-465 and 465-466; French transl. : J. OUDOT, ed., *Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani acta selecta*, vol. I, Vatican City 1941, pp. 74-77; V. LAURENT, *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople. I. Les actes des patriarches*, vol. IV, Paris 1971, nos. 1297-1298.

60. E. TRAPP *et alii*, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, vol. VIII, Vienna 1986, no. 20921.

61. VRYONIS, *The decline of medieval Hellenism*, p. 230, n. 512.

62. J.-Cl. CHEYNET, Les Xeroi, administrateurs de l'Empire, to appear in *Studies in Byzantine sigillography* 11.

63. F. MIKLOSICH and J. MÜLLER, ed., *Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, vol. IV, Vienna 1871, pp. 324 and 327. H. AHRWEILER, L'histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081-1317) particulièrement au XIII^e siècle, *Travaux et mémoires* 1, 1965, pp. 128-129, reprinted in EAD., *Byzance: les pays et les territoires*, London 1976 (Variorum collected studies series 42), article IV.

64. F. MIKLOSICH and J. MÜLLER, ed., *Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, vol. I, Vienna 1871, pp. 125-126; LAURENT, *Les registres des actes du patriarcat*, vol. IV, no. 1358.

testifies to the close links which the deceased, or at least his family, kept with the elites of the empire of Nicaea.

The evidence for imperial subjects among the donors or the founders of churches in the sultanate during the 13th century does not contradict the conclusions of the art historians concerning the revival of decors in Cappadocia: Tolga Uyar stresses “the presence, in Anatolia under the Seljuk domination, of local workshops mastering the elements of Christian art, which were common to the ‘Eastern Mediterranean’ in the early 13th century”.⁶⁵ Catherine Jolivet-Lévy suggests both religious and dogmatic contacts with the empire of Nicaea.⁶⁶ All these elements reflect the permeability of the border between the empire and the Sultanate of Rûm.⁶⁷

Both Claude Cahen and Speros Vryonis have studied in detail the cases of Greeks from Seljuk or Byzantine Anatolia who entered the service of the sultans. Descendants of families established in the region at the time of the Turkish conquest, offspring of mixed marriages at all levels of society, Byzantine prisoners of war or defectors from the Empire, these individuals varied widely.⁶⁸ They included, according to Claude Cahen, “members of Byzantine aristocracy [...] [who came] deliberately to take service of the Seljuk sultans, temporarily or definitely”.⁶⁹ This diversity makes it necessary, if not to question, then at least to consider with caution, the idea that Christian communities in Anatolia were somehow impervious to Islam; or to put it differently, the notion of a preserved Byzantine religious and cultural heritage, in these same communities, from the 11th to the 13th century. These reservations are valid even though one tends to admit today that this liveness of Byzantine heritage did not preclude syncretism, or even assimilation.



Continued ties with Byzantium (specifically, with the empire of Nicaea) can be shown in the cases of individuals who moved temporarily or permanently into Seljuk territory. The existence of institutional links between Christian Greek communities in the Sultanate of Rûm and the empire, however, is less obvious. To what extent did the patriarch based in Nicaea control these communities? Which was the status of the church hierarchy effectively dependent on the ecumenical patriarchate in Seljuk territory?

65. UYAR, *L'église de l'Archangélos*, p. 128: “... la présence, dans l'Anatolie sous domination seldjoukide, d'ateliers locaux maîtrisant les éléments communs à l'art chrétien de la ‘Méditerranée orientale’ du début du XIII^e siècle.”

66. JOLIVET-LÉVY, *Art chrétien en Anatolie turque*, pp. 270 and 281-284.

67. On the contacts between the Byzantine empire and the Seljuk Turks, see M. BALIVET, *Les contacts byzantino-turcs entre rapprochement politique et échanges culturels: milieu XIII^e-milieu XV^e s.*, in *Europa e Islam tra i secoli XIV e XVI*, ed. M. BERNARDINI *et alii*, vol. II, Naples 2002, pp. 525-547.

68. VRYONIS, *The decline of medieval Hellenism*, pp. 229-230; cf. M. BALIVET, *Romanie byzantine et pays de Rûm turc: histoire d'un espace d'imbrication gréco-turque*, Istanbul 1994, pp. 47-49 and 85-93; *Id.*, *Entre Byzance et Konya*.

69. CAHEN, *Une famille byzantine*, p. 145: “membres de l'aristocratie byzantine [...] [qui venaient] délibérément prendre du service auprès des Sultans seljuquides, momentanément ou définitivement.”

Two cases examined by the permanent synod under Patriarch Germanos II (1223-1240) demonstrate the patriarchate's continued aspiration to govern all Churches falling within the traditional jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople,⁷⁰ including those situated in Seljuk Anatolia. One of these cases concerns the conflict which in 1224-1226 pitted the metropolitan Manuel of Melitene against his own flock and clergy,⁷¹ and the other, the burial of Michael Xeros in a church near Ikonion. As shown above, in the second case the decision of the permanent synod was clearly expected to be applied in Seljuk territory. In the first case, the roots of the conflict are unknown, but the local community was involved in the litigation, as demonstrated by the presence at the synod of emissaries from Melitene, mentioned in the synodal decision of 6 February 1226. The synod decided to elect a new metropolitan for Melitene and to install Manuel in another vacant see as soon as one could be found. This "economy" was justified on the basis that the region, vast and populous, was at the outermost reaches of the synod's jurisdiction, and under barbarian domination.⁷²

Manuel of Melitene participated in both the synods which discussed his case, perhaps in reason of his conflict with his flock, but did he ever actually reside in the province? Numerous metropolitans did not in fact occupy their seats in the 13th-century.⁷³ Speros Vryonis has studied in detail the evidence from the late 11th and 12th centuries, notably the case of Balsamon, showing that the church hierarchy had largely abandoned the Churches of Anatolia, devastated by the Turkish conquest, and that the majority of the metropolitans appointed to sees in the Sultanate of Rûm probably did not reside in territories under Seljuk domination.⁷⁴ This was still the case in the 13th century despite the political stability and economic growth which prevailed during its first four decades.⁷⁵ Patriarchal acts⁷⁶ and a few rare seals⁷⁷ reveal a small number of metropolitans appointed

70. M. ANGOLD, Byzantine "nationalism" and the Nicaean Empire, *Byzantine and Modern Greek studies* 1, 1975, pp. 49-70, here p. 59.

71. LAURENT, *Regestes des actes du patriarcat*, vol. IV, no. 1235 and 1240-1242.

72. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Ανάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, vol. IV, Saint Petersburg 1897, pp. 114-117; OUDOT, ed., *Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani acta selecta*, vol. I, pp. 62-67.

73. J. PREISER-KAPPELLER, *Der Episkopat im späten Byzanz. Ein Verzeichnis der Metropoliten und der Bischöfe des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel in der Zeit von 1204 bis 1453*, Saarbrücken 2008, pp. XLIX-LXIV, particularly pp. LIII-LIV.

74. VRYONIS, *The decline of medieval Hellenism*, pp. 143-216, see pp. 194-216. Under Manuel I Komnenos, numerous bishops probably did take up their sees. See *ibid.*, p. 203: Euthymios Tornikios, in a speech addressed to Manuel I, praises the emperor for ensuring the return of bishops to their Churches. This testimony is confirmed by Balsamon: some 12th-century bishops were admitted by sultans to their Churches.

75. Amongst the other factors preventing bishops from occupying their seats, there was the poverty of the local Christian communities: see VRYONIS, *The decline of medieval Hellenism*, pp. 206-207. Vryonis, *ibid.*, pp. 288-289, briefly alludes to the situation of the Churches in the sultanate in the 13th century, but his investigation only becomes systematic again with the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century, since he is concerned primarily with the consequences of the Turkish invasions.

76. Some bishops are implicated by synodal decisions, other are mentioned as participating in a synod.

77. See E. MCGEER, J. NESBITT and N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue of Byzantine seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. IV, *The East*, Washington D.C. 2001, no. 2.3, pp. 15-16 (Theophilos of Ankyra); V. LAURENT, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin*, vol. VI/1, Paris 1963, no. 495 (Constantine Melissopetriotes of Neokaisareia). Seals do not indicate whether their owners were resident or not.

to sees in the Sultanate of Rûm, in Ancyra, Caesarea, Ikonion, "Pisidia" and Melitene.⁷⁸ Christopher of Ancyra, one of the few Galatian metropolitans known in the 13th century, was named in 1232 by the Patriarch Germanos II his exarch in the West. He was sent to Epiros to settle a schism of the local Church; the different documents which describe his mission never mention his faithful, his clergy or his own Church.⁷⁹ Before as after the 13th century, no bishop of Ancyra is known to have resided in his city. In October 1232, the metropolitan bishop of Caesarea, Basil Karantenos, was condemned by the permanent synod. He appealed to the emperor without referring to the patriarch and was condemned a second time.⁸⁰ Nothing suggests that Basil actually occupied his seat.

The case of the metropolitan bishop of Ikonion is more complex. In his letter cited above, Germanos II pointed out that the burial of Michael Xeros had taken place in the absence of the metropolitan and of part of his clergy, without indicating the reasons and the modalities of this absence.⁸¹ When in 1256/1257 Michael Palaiologos, who had taken refuge with the sultan, wished to regain the empire of Nicaea, he solicited the metropolitan bishop of Ikonion to intervene in his favour with Theodore II Laskaris, a mission which the prelate accomplished by letter, as reported by George Pachymeres.⁸² In the years 1283-1289, the metropolitan of Ikonion requested to be sent to his Church, and so the patriarch Gregory II of Constantinople solicited the *megas logothetes* to let the metropolitan accompany Gabras in his mission to the sultan.⁸³ The painted inscriptions "with two sovereigns" from Saint Chariton of Sille and Saint George of Belisırma belong to exactly the same years. It cannot be excluded, therefore, that the metropolitan bishop of Ikonion resided at certain points in his city.

Another metropolitan who was probably resident in his Church, that of Pisidia, in 1261 accompanied the sultan 'Izz al-Dīn II and his children to the emperor; one could warrant, according to the patriarch Arsenios, for the baptism of the sultan and his sons.⁸⁴ By way of contrast, in the early 14th-century, the metropolitan of Antioch in Pisidia is denounced by the patriarch Athanasios I (1303-1309) for having abandoned his flock.⁸⁵

78. Also attested are the metropolitan bishops of Gangra (LAURENT, *Regestes des actes du patriarcat*, vol. IV, no. 1236) and of Neokaisareia (see previous note and *ibid.*, no. 1565). For those bishoprics, see also the notices of PREISER-KAPPELLER, *Der Episkopat im späten Byzanz*.

79. LAURENT, *Regestes des actes du patriarcat*, vol. IV, nos. 1261, 1263-1265.

80. MIKLOSICH and MÜLLER, ed., *Acta et diplomata Graeca*, vol. I, pp. 322-323; LAURENT, *Regestes des actes du patriarcat*, vol. IV, no. 1262; ID., Un prostagma impérial faussement attribué à l'empereur Jean VI Cantacuzène, *Revue des études byzantines* 22, 1964, pp. 250-252.

81. See p. 236.

82. GEORGES PACHYMÉRÈS, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. FAILLER, French transl. V. LAURENT, vol. I, Paris 1984 (Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae 24/1), i,9, p. 45.

83. LAURENT, *Regestes des actes du patriarcat*, vol. IV, no. 1533; SOPHRONIOS, metropolitan of Leontopolis, Τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου κύρου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου ἐπιστολαί, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς φάρος* 4, 1909, pp. 106-107.

84. GEORGES PACHYMÉRÈS, *Relations historiques*, ed. FAILLER, transl. LAURENT, vol. 1, II,24, p. 185. *Ibid.*, vol. II, Paris 1984 (Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae 24/2), IV,3, p. 339. Antioch is the metropolitan see of Pisidia. On the sultan, born of a Christian mother, and on the prominence of his maternal uncles at the court, see VRYONIS, *The decline of medieval Hellenism*, pp. 227 and 466; CAHEN, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, pp. 234 et sqq.; R. SHUKUROV, The Oriental margins of the Byzantine world: A Prosopographical perspective, in *Identities and allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. J. HERRIN and G. SAINT-GUILLAIN, Farnham – Burlington, Vermont 2011, pp. 182-190.

85. *The correspondence of Athanasius I*, ed. and transl. TALBOT, p. 144. LAURENT, *Regestes des actes du patriarcat*, vol. IV, no. 1704. The metropolitan of Ancyra is also named in this context.

Thus, an ecclesiastical hierarchy existed only briefly in the Sultanate of Rūm in the 13th century, as it had done in the 12th,⁸⁶ and this short presence only concerned the metropolitan sees in the heart of the sultanate. Under these conditions, the resurgence of churches and their decors in 13th-century Cappadocia could hardly result from the involvement of the patriarchate of Constantinople. Despite its pretensions to retain effective jurisdiction over all Churches, the real links were weak. Over the next century, the fragmentation of the Sultanate of Rūm encouraged the collapse of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, as shown by Speros Vryonis.⁸⁷ Under these conditions, the control exercised by the patriarchate of Constantinople on the life of orthodox communities in Seljuk Anatolia should not be overestimated.⁸⁸

In the most recent studies of 12th- and 13th-century relations between the Turks and the autochthonous populations of Eastern and Central Anatolia, the notion of Byzantine identity is very prominent,⁸⁹ in sharp contrast to Speros Vryonis who, in his seminal work, studiously avoided it, referring to the Anatolian populations simply as “Greeks” or else as “Armenians”.⁹⁰ In simple terms, the idea currently in vogue is that communities conquered and dominated by the Turks retained their Byzantine identity at least until the 13th century, and that this identity survived outside of the Byzantine State and independently of any allegiance to the emperors. As recently stated by Rustam Shukurov: “[...] the territorial boundaries of Byzantine identity did not coincide with the factual political borders of the Byzantine State. One of many examples of this is the case of Anatolia, where the Greek Orthodox population continued to be considered as Byzantines at least potentially. The Orthodox Greeks in Muslim Anatolia themselves regarded their identity as virtually Byzantine.”⁹¹ Though prudently formulated, this hypothesis is less straightforward than it may appear. Indeed, the same author has examined how the Turkish sovereigns of Anatolia chose to borrow from the Byzantine emperors elements of their titulature and iconography,

86. For the 13th century, this conclusion is perhaps partly biased, since the only sources available are the acts of the patriarchs. One can admit at least that the synod did not involve itself in the internal affairs of Churches which had *de facto* severed their links with the patriarchate. See however the methodological remarks of VRYONIS, *The decline of medieval Hellenism*, p. 289.

87. On the absenteeism of the hierarchy in the 14th century, see *ibid.*, pp. 324-327. KOROBEINIKOV, *Orthodox communities*, 1, pp. 200-201, emphasizes the ruralisation of orthodox communities in the Pontos region.

88. ANGOLD, *Byzantine “nationalism”*, pp. 59-62.

89. On a more general level, numerous recent studies are dedicated to the notion of identity or construction of identity in the Byzantine world: e.g. A. EASTMOND, *Art and regional identity in the Orthodox world after the Fourth Crusade*, *Speculum* 78, 2003, pp. 707-749; *Id.*, *Art and identity in thirteenth-century Byzantium. Hagia Sophia and the Empire of Trebizond*, Aldershot 2004; G. PAGE, *Being Byzantine. Greek identity before the Ottomans*, Cambridge 2008, see pp. 27-71.

90. CAHEN, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, p. 169, also takes a cautious line on the Cappadocian inscription mentioning both the sultan and the emperor: “[...] on doit conclure non seulement aux bons rapports, par ailleurs attestés, de ces souverains, mais à un certain sentiment des Chrétiens grecs que leur sujétion politique admise à l’égard du régime seldjukide n’excluait pas une sorte d’appartenance supérieure à l’entité ‘romaine’.” In considering them together, both Claude Cahen and Speros Vryonis tend to regard as one and the same the autochthonous Greek-speaking Christian population and the sultan’s subjects of Byzantine origin: see above p. 247.

91. SHUKUROV, *The Oriental margins of the Byzantine world*, p. 180. PAGE, *Being Byzantine*, pp. 46-52, mentions a similar process of separation between political and ethnic Roman identity.

thus claiming the latter's political heritage while constructing their own Islamic cultural and political frame.⁹² Since the Seljuk sovereigns appropriated "the identity tokens" viewed by historians as distinctly Byzantine, such as the use of the Greek language or some Christian imagery, how can the latter still be considered as exclusive elements of a Byzantine identity in the Sultanate of Rûm?⁹³

While the linguistic, religious, political, social and cultural foundations of the sentiment of belonging to the Byzantine community have been duly studied, the testimonies which highlight this sentiment in Seljuk Anatolia have not been sufficiently contextualised so as to allow their proper evaluation. Who, in the Sultanate of Rûm, was likely to claim or simply to display his attachment to Byzantium, be it its emperors, its subjects, its Church, its institutions or culture, past or present? The most explicit evidence for links between the Greek-speaking Christians of the Sultanate of Rûm and Byzantium, and for the continued affinity of these Christians for Byzantium (a Byzantine seal, dating by reign of the Byzantine sovereign, letters exchanged with the patriarch of Nicaea) is not what it may seem. I have tried to show here that this evidence was probably not produced by autochthonous communities and that, in any case, these links involved individuals and not communities. The very few known cases all attest to the links of one or two individuals only, and not of a community, with the Empire.

These individual and family itineraries cannot be extrapolated to the Greek-speaking orthodox communities of the Sultanate of Rûm. They show the impact, in Seljuk Anatolia, of the Latin conquest of Constantinople, of the political breakdown and fragmentation of the Empire, and of the outflow of part of its aristocracy to Asia Minor. They shed light on the relations between the Sultanate of Rûm and the different states which claimed the inheritance of the Empire. They should be seen as such, rather than as false testament to the fidelity of Greek-speaking Christians in the Sultanate of Rûm to the institutions of the Empire, its emperor and patriarch, or to some abstract idea of Byzantium which one is at pains to define. It is only the modern historian, desperately chasing the ghost (heritage, influence and radiance) of Byzantium, who cannot bear to accept its passing for this period and region.

92. R. SHUKUROV, Turcoman and Byzantine self-identity. Some reflections on the logic of the title-making in twelfth and thirteenth-century Anatolia, in *Eastern approaches to Byzantium*, ed. EASTMOND, pp. 259-276. ID., Christian elements in the identity of the Anatolian Turkmens (12th-13th century), in *Cristianità d'Occidente e cristianità d'Oriente (secoli VI-XI)*, Spoleto 2004 (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 51), vol. I, pp. 707-759.

93. As we have seen, REDFORD, Maurozomes in Konya, pp. 49-50, suggests that the Sultan Kaykubād wished to assert his link with the Komnenos dynasty through John Komnenos Maurozomes. See also the syncretism of the populations of Central Anatolia studied by M. BALIVET, The long-lived relations between Christians and Moslems in Central Anatolia: Dervishes, papadhes, and country folk, *Byzantinische Forschungen* 16, 1991, pp. 313-322.

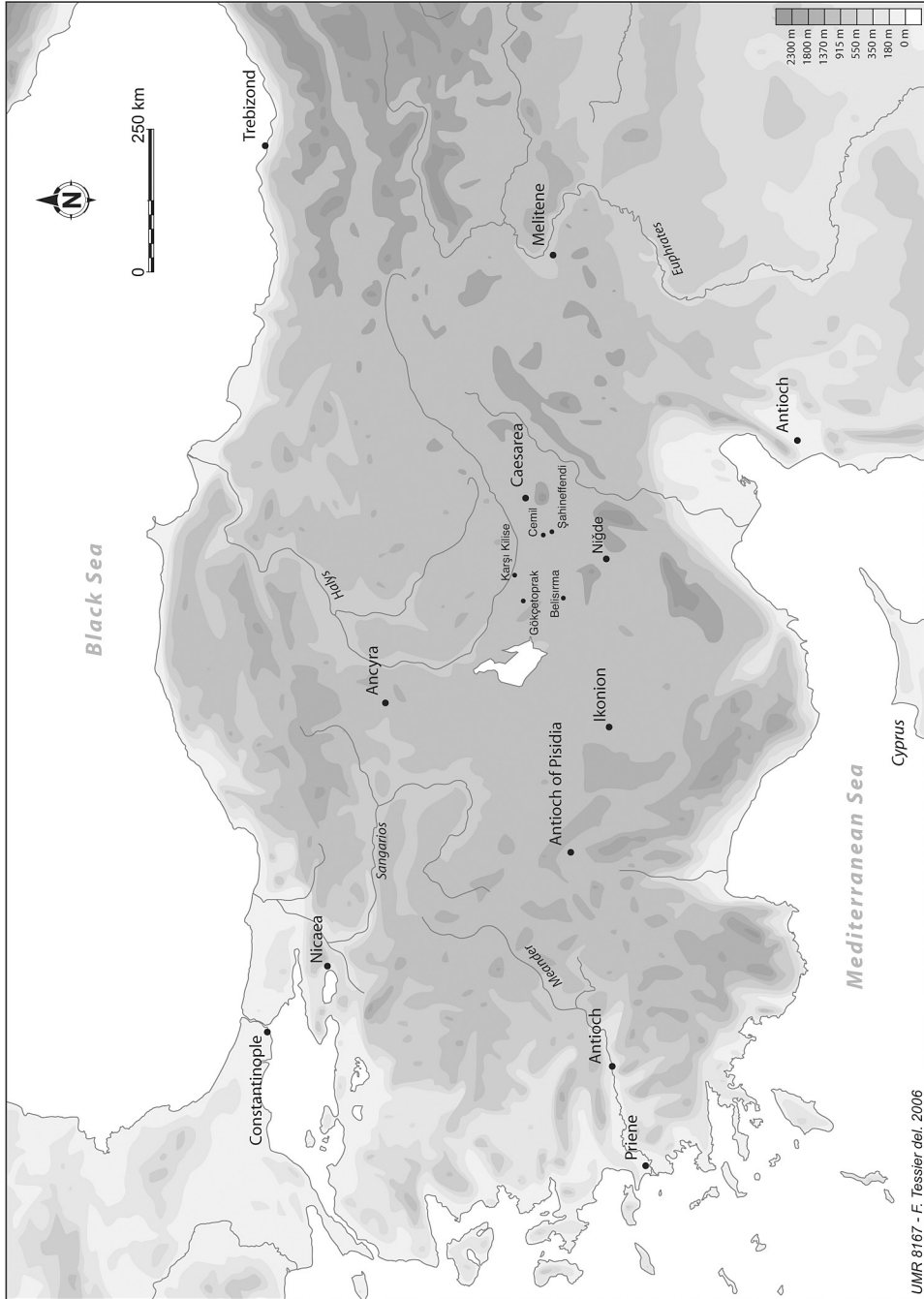




Fig. 1: Karşı Kilise. © C. Jolivet-Lévy.

Inscr. 158

· ΑΝΕΚΕΡΗΙΘΩΝΟΠΑΝΣΕΛΤΩΣΜΑ
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Fig. 2: Church of the Forty Martyrs of Suves, now Şahineffendi. G. de JERPHANION, *Nouvelle province de l'art byzantin. Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, Paris 1936, vol. II, p. 158.



Fig. 3: Saint George church in Belisirma. © C. Jolivet-Lévy.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

In a recent article,⁹⁴ with which I acquainted myself after finishing my own, Sara Nur Yıldız presents as new the idea of the “Byzantinisation” of the Seljuk court in the 13th century. She draws evidence from the 13th-century history of the Maurozomai family, recently reinvigorated by the discovery of two documents, an inscription from Konya edited by Scott Redford (see above n. 7) and the seal of John Komnenos Maurozomes published by myself (see above n. 6). She aims to show, against Keith Hopwood (Nicaea and her eastern neighbours, in *The Ottoman Empire: Myths, realities and “black holes”. Contributions in honour of Colin Imber*, ed. E. KERMELE and O. ÖZEL, Istanbul 2006, pp. 39-45), that contact between Turks and Byzantines took place not only across the border, but also at the Seljuk court, the “Byzantinization” of that court being explained by the sultans’ wish to recover the legitimacy of the Komnenoi emperors (an idea suggested by Scott Redford in his commentary on the inscription). Several aspects of this analysis warrant further comment.

(1) While Sara Nur Yıldız cites my article “Les Maurozômai, Byzance et le sultanat de Rûm” (quoted below as MÉTIVIER), several arguments I advance have not been properly understood. I restate them below.

* Sara Nur Yıldız (p. 57, with n. 10 and 11) considers that the father of Manuel Maurozomes was Theodore Maurozomes and not John, as I have argued. Serious arguments, which she does not refute, invite us, however, to prefer the latter. John, and not Theodore, carries the title of *sebastos*, which indicates a link with the imperial family. It is the first reason to believe that it was with John that the Komnenoi allied themselves through marriage. The other is the customary distribution of Christian names between the generations: if John Komnenos Maurozomes was the son of Manuel Maurozomes (as Sara Nur Yıldız admits), he most probably inherited the name of his grandfather (John Maurozomes), in the same way as his father inherited the name of his own grandfather, Manuel I Komnenos (MÉTIVIER, p. 205). On Byzantine anthroponomy, see for example J.-Cl. CHEYNET, *Aristocratic anthroponymy in Byzantium*, in ID., *The Byzantine aristocracy and its military function*, Aldershot 2006 (Variorum collected studies series 859), article III, pp. 17-20.

* According to Sara Nur Yıldız, the legend on the seal of John Komnenos Maurozomes should show that John is “of the Komnenoi from his mother’s side, and of the Mavrozomes from his father’s side” (YILDIZ, Manuel Komnenos Mavrozomes, p. 70). The legend points out in fact that he owes his Komnenos-Maurozomes lineage to his father, while his maternal lineage is unknown. I shall not repeat the argument which I have already made elsewhere but which ends with these words: “The inscription on the seal defines his paternal genealogy, but says nothing of its maternal lineage, perhaps of Turkish origin” (MÉTIVIER, p. 206).

94. S. N. YILDIZ, Manuel Komnenos Mavrozomes and his descendants at the Seljuk court: The formation of a Christian-Seljuk Komnenian elite, in *Crossroads between Latin Europe and the Near East: Corollaries of the Frankish presence in the Eastern Mediterranean (12th-14th centuries)*, ed. S. LEDER, Würzburg 2011 (Istanbuler Texte und Studien 24), pp. 55-77.

(2) The other conclusions of my study have not been taken into account.

* The author writes that “these men (independent rulers) either had family interests in the areas where they seized power, or had held local office, often of a military nature” (YILDIZ, Manuel Komnenos Mavrozomes, p. 56). Our data on the Maurozomai family indicate quite the opposite in the case of Manuel Maurozomes (MÉTIVIER, p. 201: “The establishment of Manuel Maurozomes in the valley of the Meander continues the expansion begun by the Turks in the region from the 1170s, more than it reflects a family or local strategy per se.”)

* The author asserts that “Byzantinists have regarded Manuel Komnenos Mavrozomes primarily in such terms – as yet another Byzantine aristocrat asserting his independence in western Asia Minor following the deterioration of Byzantine authority” (YILDIZ, p. 56) and that “Byzantinists assume that Choniates’ account, the Byzantine source most contemporary to the events, provides the most reliable information for tracing Manuel Mavrozomes’ relations with the Seljuks” (*ibid.*, p. 58). I have shown, on the contrary, that if Niketas Choniates decries Manuel’s action in virulent terms, this is because it is the consequence of Manuel’s loyalty to the Emperor Alexios III. See MÉTIVIER, p. 202: “The image of a defector drawn by Niketas Choniates should be moderated: the adherence of Manuel Maurozomes and his children to the Sultanate of Rûm at the time of the empire’s decomposition should be viewed in the context of the privileged relations between Alexios III and Kaykhusraw I, before and after 1203 (the year when Alexios III left Constantinople), in Constantinople as in Konya.”

* It is unfortunate that the author is unaware of the chronicle of Ibn al-Athîr (YILDIZ, p. 64: “Ibn Bibî’s work thus remains the sole source for Mavrozomes’ and Kaykhusraw’s relationship”): without contradicting the anecdote told by Ibn Bibî on the conditions of the encounter between Manuel Maurozomes and the sultan, Ibn al-Athîr adds that Kaykhusraw I left Constantinople and took refuge with Maurozomes following the Latin conquest of the city. He also indicates that the marriage of Maurozomes’ daughter to the sultan took place beforehand (MÉTIVIER, p. 200).

(3) Independently of what is stated in my article, several declarations made by Sara Nur Yıldız must be corrected.⁹⁵

* Manuel I Komnenos had only two wives, Bertha of Sulzbach (renamed Eirene in Byzantium) and Mary of Antioch, but not Theodora Batatzina, as the author asserts without references (YILDIZ, p. 57: “[Theodore Mavrozomes], as a favorite of the emperor, was granted the status of son-in-law, or gambros with his marriage to an unnamed daughter Manuel had with his wife, Theodora Vatatzina”). Konstantinos Barzos, whose genealogical table is reproduced (at least to this point) by Paul Magdalino (P. MAGDALINO,

95. One can also mention two other errors. The reigning emperor cannot be “Alexios II Angelus (1195-1203)” (YILDIZ, p. 58). It is Alexis III (who carried the name of Komnenos even though he was descended on his father’s side from the Angeloi), whom the author confuses with Alexios II Komnenos, son of Manuel I and emperor from 1180 till 1183. The foundation by Helen, mother of Constantine I, in Sille, cannot have taken place “in the early 3rd century” (*ibid.*, p. 71, n. 72).

The empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180, Cambridge 1993, p. xxvi), points out that this Theodora (who carries the number 150 in Barzos' genealogy), whom he considers to be a Batatzina, was a mere lover of Manuel I Komnenos, and he does not consider the daughter born from this union the wife of Maurozomes: K. BARZOS, *Ἡ γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν*, Thessalonike 1984 (Βυζαντινὰ κείμενα καὶ μελέται 20), vol. I, pp. 417-434; *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 446-447, and p. 504.

* In commenting on the inscription from Sille, the author defines the term "porphyrogetet" (*porphyrogennetos*) in two ways: "a descendant of aristocrats" and "those 'born in the purple'" (YILDIZ, p. 70). If the second definition is a correct paraphrase, the first one is wrong. The term *porphyrogennetos* has a very specific meaning, indicating an emperor's child born during its father's reign (see G. DAGRON, *Nés dans la pourpre*, *Travaux et mémoires* 12, 1994, pp. 105-142).

Finally, Manuel, who is the subject of Sara Nur Yıldız's article, is named in the sources "Maurozomes" and never "Komnenos Maurozomes".

