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HORIZONS OF DAILY INTEREST*
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1. Latent turkicisation and the Late Byzantine Pontos

The Pontic Greek rural and urban anthroponymics of the 13th–15th centuries testifies that a notable transformation occurred in the ethnic structure of the Late Byzantine Pontos, which manifested itself in the penetration of Turkish ethnic elements into the local Greek society of the Pontos. A considerable portion of these Turkish newcomers assimilated with the local Greeks, being baptised and adopting Christian first names.

On the other hand, the Pontic written sources of all genres preserve a considerable number of Turkish lexical borrowings, which replaced old Greek words in the military sphere, in the life of the Grand Komnenian imperial palace, in urban and rural everyday life. One may assume, that these Turkish loan-words, before their fixation in a written text, had to appear first in the spoken language. Consequently, in the Pontos, there existed relatively numerous and linguistically influential group of Turko-phones or Turkish-speaking Byzantines (whose presence is reflected by the anthroponymical data). These native bearers and providers of Turkish lexical elements, who entered the

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Christian society, but at the same time retained their mother tongue, — gradually altered the Pontic linguistic situation.

Such interpretation of Medieval data finds a confirmation in recent phonologic analysis of modern Turkish dialects of the Pontos conducted by B. Brendemoen. B. Brendemoen came to the conclusion, that, as early as in the 14th century, in the Byzantine Pontos there existed a linguistically influential group of bilingual (Turkish- and Greek-speaking) people. It was this hypothetical Pontic Turkish dialect of the 14th century, phonetically, lexically and grammatically hellenised, that underlies the majority of modern Turkish dialects of the Pontos.

In general, one may call these changes in the Greek Pontic language and ethnic structure a latent turkicisation, for these transformations represent an almost inappreciable process, cognized neither by the subjects, nor by the objects of turkicisation, and therefore were too vaguely reflected in the available sources.

At the same time, it is unnecessary to do more than state that these changes in the Pontic life, which were initiated by the Turkish ethnoal and linguistical intrusion, ineluctably must have been accompanied by a certain transformation in the traditional structures of Byzantine mentality. Below I propose an approach, which, as I hope, will reveal some immediate aftereffects of this encounter with the Turkish world, which manifested itself in the everyday mentality of Pontic Greeks.

2. Mental horizons

One may look at the problem of the Turkish latent presence in Byzantine Pontos and its influence on the Pontic Greek mentality from the standpoint of mental horizons. The notion of mental (or vital) horizons has been broadly used in modern studies of cultural history and hardly requires a special explanation. Nonetheless, it seems reasonable to specify what may be understood by mental horizons if one dares to apply this term to Byzantine ethnic history. In the most general sense under horizons I mean an actual content of mind, a complex of typical thoughts, intentions, fears and joys; hence, principally, in some sense it designates the limits of knowledge about the world in one’s mind.

On the other hand, the mental horizon constitutes a special context of consciousness, which provides a certain pre-knowledge, which under-laid and determined every new individual experience. Evidently, the mental horizon is a factor conditioned temporarily or historically, constantly changing in time. Its temporal nature may be compared with the physical sky-line changing for the traveller. The horizon, constituted by the accumulation of earlier experiences, is continuously shifting as one moves in time and history, with every step embracing new information, highlighting new fields and is thereby transformed.

From this point of view, one may suggest that Turkish lexical borrowings in Greek and Greek-Turkish bilingualism represent a linguistic horizon of the Greek mentality, which was in the process of assimilating new Turkish elements. The alien language and consequently, its bearers with their customs and particular style of life, gradually became for Greeks an integral element of the image of their own self. The Greeks, cognizing Turkish language and habits, intellectually mastering the Turkish world. In other words, Greek mentality expanded the limits of their horizons by including the elements of the alien and once unknown Turkish substratum.

3. Horoscope for Trebizond for the year 1336/1337

To evolve and support these general approaches to the reconstruction of the conceptions of a Pontic Greek, I shall adduce a single, but quite eloquent example concerning topographical limits of the Pontic mentality.

There exists a text, which seems to be a perfect source for that task. I mean the well-
known Horoscope for Trebizond for the year 1336. The Horoscope is an astrological interpretation attached to the astronomical almanac, which consists of monthly tables giving the position of Sun, Moon and planets for the period from 12 March 1336 to 12 March 1337 for the city of Trebizond. The Horoscope has been edited twice in the beginning of this century, while the Almanac has been published for the first time only in 1994 by R. Mercier, who accompanied his edition with comprehensive mathematical and historical commentaries to the Almanac and an English translation of the predictions.

The Almanac is a part of the well-known Greek manuscript number 525 of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, which, probably, belonged to Andreas Libadenos and contains autographs of his works. However, as Mercier showed, the Almanac and the predictions were written not in the land of Libadenos, it is unlikely also, that Libadenos was the author of the calculations and their astrological interpretation. According to Mercier, the author of the Almanac was presumably Manuel, a Trabuzantine priest and astrologer, and the teacher of the famous George Chrysokefallos. That he did compile the predictions is rather probable though the authorship of the priest Manuel remains unprovable. Thus, it is possible that the Almanac and the Horoscope had two different authors.

As R. Mercier showed, the astronomical tables were composed according to the calculating methods of the Iranian astronomical school, which, in the late 13th and early 14th centuries became quite popular among the Byzantine intellectuals. It is remarkable, that the astronomer gave the dates in his Almanac according to both the Christian and the Muslim calendar, though, as Mercier noted, he seems to be not entirely familiar with the system of Arabic months. It is worth adding also that the phonetic shapes of some Muslim names of months, as they are transcribed in the tables, indicate that the author had some experience of the Persian colloquial language.

However, there is no doubt, that the author of the Almanac, being an adherent of the Iranian school of astronomy and an expert in the Persian tongue, nonetheless remained a Christian and basically a scholar belonging to the Byzantine cosmological tradition. For instance, in his tables our astronomer noted not only the Christian and Muslim names of months, but also the major dates of the Liturgical calendar. He paid a tribute to the Ptolemaic cosmology, basing his calculations on Ptolemy’s coordinates of Trebizond and ignoring the new and more accurate Arabic-Persian data.

There can be little doubt also that the anonymous author of the predictions was a Christian Greek and a subject of the Grand Komnenos too. The Christian character of the horoscope is stated in the beginning of the text, where the date of the coming year is given according to the Byzantine system. Further in the text the author offered good prospects to σάρκα θανάτου καταληκτός, calling the Grand Komnenos emperor our Sovereign. At the same time, the language of the horoscope is quite simple and artless, though entirely correct and fluent, which unambiguously indicates the Greek roots of our anonymous author. For our subsequent constructions it is important to emphasise that the predictions were written by a Byzantine Greek.

The important peculiarity of the Horoscope, which distinguishes it among many other known texts of this genre, is the fact that the predictions were intended not for an individual, but for a collective addressee, namely for all states of the city of Trebizond, including the emperor, his officials, middle-class merchants and common people (ξώρος ξάνθας). However, one should bear in mind that the horoscope was composed as a written text, hence one may suggest that the horoscope was mainly intended for

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8. R. Mercier, op. cit., 60 and also 61.
9. It is substantiated by the fact that the two Arabic names of months — ṣanā’ and ḫalq — were accepted according to pronunciation rules of the Persian language (in Arabic, in both words the accent must fall on the first syllable). In general, it should be noted, that the anonymous author of the predictions was remarkably careful and accurate in his transliterations of Arabic-Persian terminology.
10. R. Mercier, op. cit., 60.
11. Ibid., 76.
literate strata.)

In its first half the predictions are split into separate paragraphs which contain general yearly prediction for divers classes of society, which are placed in the following order: 1) kings, 2) grandees (μεγαντάκες), μεγαντάκες?, δύναμος, μεγάλοι),3) grammaticoi and scribes (γραμματικοί), 4) pontiffs and clergy (αρχιερεία καὶ κληρικοί), μοναχοί, μοναδόντες), 5) archontes and warriors (αρχοντες, στρατιώτες, στρατιώτες), 6) elders and counsellors (ενθάδες, ἡμιεννεάκοι καὶ συνένεας, σύνενας), 7) entrepreneurs and small merchants (περιμεσσαντα, παραστάτης), and, finally, common people.28

It is well worth noting, that this list represents a ready-made sociological conception, a kind of the Byzantine taxonomy of society. It is interesting that the common people are not treated separately, but remain part of the seventh rank of the taxonomy.29

It is remarkable also, that in this taxonomy the clergy and military class come after grammaticoi and notariotes. It should be added, that the horoscope was dedicated by its author to Constantine Louktis, who was the head of the Grand Komnenian Chancery, the protonotary (and protovestiar) of the Empire.30 May these two facts explain a certain "nationalism" on the part of the anonymous author, who reckoned himself among the "intellectual class" of scribes, teachers and jurists to which he assigned the highest possible rank in the taxonomy. If so, it can be an allusion to the personality of the author, who, in his professional activity, might well have been connected in some way with the Imperial Chancery, which would support my suggestion that the author of the prediction was Greek by origin, Christian by faith and the subject of the Grand Komnenoi.31

Whole-year general predictions are followed by seasonally (beginning with spring) and monthly prognoses (by decades). The main topics of the predictions are as follows: success and failure in professional activity, enrichment and impoverishment, prognosis for harvest, state of affairs in commercial activity, health and diseases (including a separate topic of women's illnesses and childbirth), also, weather, natural and social cataclysms, domestic crimes and robbery.

It is worth drawing a special attention to the contents of the Horoscope. It is a normal, a standard content of daily interests of all people, and especially of citizens, at all times and everywhere. From this point of view the horoscope might be compared with the mass-media of today. The range of topics and scope of interests are similar. In 1336/1337, the Horoscope provided for a reader that kind of information, which actually could be essential for his daily activity, satisfying his trade interests and curiosity, while performing his vital everyday tasks. Today the Horoscope, being a catalogue of typical intentions and interests, gives a contemporary researcher a detailed picture of the daily interests, fears and hopes of the Medieval inhabitants of Trebizond.32

4. Topographic horizon

Then, it may be questioned how far the topographic horizon of the typical daily intentions and interests of an educated Pontic Greek extended beyond the limits of the Empire of Trebizond? In other words, what knowledge about the outer world became an integral part of the Trebizantine daily horizon? The contents of the toponymical horizon of the predictions is quite surprising.

29 Ibid., 36 12.
30 Horoscope's data on trade have been comprehensively analysed by scholars: E. Zachariadou, Trebizond and the Turks (1352-1402), AP, 35 (1979) 353 ("Eadura, Komoneia kai pi Thuriqo, e 1300-
1350" (no. III). See also: S.P. Karpos, Η Βουκειοντο του Βασιλειον τον Ερετού Κολοκοτρίνο", in: C. Joges, E. Coulaux, E. K. K followed the names of Menas, and the Greek formative ένας. Consequently, the word "παρεμεντίας" is attested only in the vocabulary of Modern Pontikc (A. Papadopoulos, Αναγνωριστική της Πανελλήνιας Μελανής, 2, (Athens, 1961) 131). As the Horoscope testifies, the new word παρεμεντίας was in the process of replacing (at least, partly) of the Greek word for market and merchant.
31 Ibid., 38 14.
32 Ibid., 40 17.
To the North the horoscope mentions only Taurus, namely the Golden Horde possessions, and then Kazanian lands (χώρα τῆς Χαζαρίας), which at that time was synonymous with the Crimea and the Qipchaq steppes.

In Anatolia the horoscope mentioned Taurusia, a common general denomination of Turkish Anatolia at that time. Further to the East Kurdistan (Κουρδονόν), Akit (Αλμυντήν), Syria (το Σούμι οικισμοί το Σούμιν), Mosul (Μουσούλ) are mentioned. Iraq and Western Iran are presented in some detail: Baghdad (Βαγδάδ), Merv (Μερούν), Balkh (Βαλχ). Further to the South the horoscope mentions Palestine and Egypt (Μεσοπόταμος).

There is also a reference to a baffling place-name τοίχια τοῖς Χαζαρία, οικία τοῖς Χαζαρίαν. It is likely, that this, if translated literally, would mean “the lands that surround [the place of] pilgrimage (Χαζαρία)” that is the region of the two Muslim holy cities in Arabia – Mecca and Medina. If my interpretation is correct, the Muslim Sacred Cities were the outermost point of Trabazontian geographical daily interest.

Finally, predictions give a general denomination Αντιστολή, the Orient, which presumably meant the entire Turkish, Iranian, and Arab lands to the North, East and South.

At the same time, the anonymous author seems to have been perfectly sure that a citizen of Trebizond in his everyday activity may hardly be interested in any concrete information about the Christian world. It is surprising that the horoscope does not mention any specific place-name to the Christian lands at all.

It is possible, that the Christian lands are implied in the predictions only twice under the general denomination Αντιστολή, the Occident (ἀναπτομένως ἐν τῆς Λατίνης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Δαρδανοῦ ἀναπτομένος). However, even in these cases it is impossible to be completely sure that the Occident of the horoscope did not actually mean some Anatolian territories beyond the western borders of the Empire of Trebizond and possessed by Turks (for instance, regions of the Muslim principalities of Chalyb, Niksar, Samsun, Sinop etc.).

Two other peculiarities of the horoscope are even more surprising: I mean the absence of any reference to Constantinople and to the Italian settlements of the Black Sea. However, it is well known that Constantinople and the Italian settlements played a very important role in the politics and commerce of Trebizond.

The ethnography of the Horoscope (which, naturally, is tightly connected with the geography) only supports the general picture presented by the document. Among Christian nations, only Byzantines (probably, both Constantinopolitan and Trabazontian) are mentioned directly (οἱ τῆς χώρας τῆς Ρωμαία). In two cases Christians are mentioned (but it is not clear whether in the broader sense of “the Christian world” or in the narrower sense of the poetic Christians). In any case, both ethno-religious terms seem to be of a general and ambiguous character.

On the contrary, ethnic features of the Muslim world are represented in the

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34 Sp. Lampros, op. cit., 63, 41, 42, 44 (commentaries); on the demonization Buhar see R. Sholokov, “Izvestia na pravoslavnom Pone v XIII-XV vv.: nezhihaj meshtan (turkište)?”, 84 (no 57), 87.
35 Sp. Lampros, op. cit., 44.
36 D.J. Geoghegan, The names for the Asia Minor peninsula and a register of surviving Anatolian Pre-Turkish place-names (Heidelberg, 1971), Index.
38 Ibid., 60.
39 Ibid., 40.
40 Ibid., 40. 8-49 (commentaries). On this and similar variants of the place-name see R. Sholokov, The Campaign of shahsk Djiypul Stakwī against Trebizond (1456 AD/1600 H), BARK, 17 (1999) 135.
41 Sp. Lampros, op. cit., 44.
42 Ibid., 39.
43 Ibid., 41.
44 Ibid., 41.
47 Ibid., 40.
48 Ibid., 41. 5; R. Mercier interprets Χαζαρία as Izaç (İzca), a small and insignificant place in Kurdistan (R. Mercier, op. cit., 155 note 6). This suggestion can hardly be acceptable, because the horoscope focused, as we see, on major urban centres. Mentioning of such a petty settlement would be too inexplicable. In addition, transmitting of the sound “x” in Izaç with Greek “ç” is also unlikely.
predictions much more precisely and concretely, for example the Tutsi, Tatars, Aramaeans. In addition a general confessional denomination of Agarenol (a synonym for Muslims) can be found in the predictions.

Thus, one may conclude that the centre of gravity in the daily interest of the Pontic Greeks was obviously shifting towards the Turkish, Iranian and Arabic East (see Map). The Greeks of the Pontos stood facing the East while turning their backs to the West. As I show above, the compiler of the predictions was a Byzantine Greek and Christian, hence, he hardly can be suspected of deliberate or even accidental perversions of the outlook of his compatriots: the Horoscope was of a pure *utilitarian* character and was compiled to satisfy typical requirements of its readers, not to teach them Muslim geography. Further analysis can contribute to the understanding of such indications.

**5. Users of the information about the Muslim World**

Who, one may ask, were the main users of this extensive information about the Muslim East? As noted above, the Horoscope contains information intended to *all inhabitants of Trebizond*, namely, to the emperor, men of quality, clerics, merchants and common people. However, the context of those passages where the Oriental place and ethnic names are mentioned clearly points at the principal recipients: the emperor, the merchants, or both of them.

Thus, the general prediction for the whole year for kings reads: "Sometimes there will be successions, especially in Babylon, Tabriz and Palestine. Many rumors against them, and most of the business will be uncertain." The general prediction for

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54 Ibid., 41-42.
55 Ibid., 43-44.
56 Ibid., 44-45.
57 Ibid., 44-45.
58 During the discussion of this piece at the 7th Symposium Byzantinum, Professor S. Karpev suggested that the topographies of the Horoscope might have been predetermined by a hypothetical formula or model for such sort of texts, which was taken by the Greek author from a Persian source along with the Oriental calculating methods and would comprise a geographical pattern for predictions as well. Although we know nothing about such formula, this thoughtful remark deserves further consideration and verification, for it is very likely that an astrologer, compiling a horoscope, had at hand some guidance or typical model. Nonetheless, it is quite improbable that our astrologer could follow any typographical pattern of his hypothetical model. It should be emphasized once again, that our Horoscope is a sort of *utilitarian must produce*, which was intended chiefly to answer daily demands of Pontic readers.
“entrepreneurs and merchants” reads: “There will be numerous wars, and massacres here and there, especially in Amida, Mistr, Kurdistan, Gilan and Mughan, mainly during the month of April." In the same passage it is added that wheat and barley prices will increase and “there will be a greater scarcity among the Turks, the Arabs, and in the lands that surround [the place of] pilgrimage."

The character of this information unambiguously confirmed the purely utilitarian purpose of the predictions, which might be applicable, as surely the compiler of the horoscope believed, to the planning of routine activity of both politicians and merchants.

Thus, one may suggest, that all other further prognoses concerning the Muslim East were also intended for the emperor and merchants: in the spring, locusts will appear in the Kharaz lands, in April there will be a plague in Syria, in June trouble will start in the East, in August will be wars in Tournia and Tataria, in September a great misfortune will occur in Mosul, and, finally, in October there will be plague and trouble in the lands of Arabs and Turks.

So, the forecast focuses on future political changes, wars, disturbances and increase in prices in the East that is to say, on those catastrophic events which could drastically change the existing relations between the recipient and his Muslim political and trade partners and rivals.

At the same time, it is not impossible, that not only politicians and merchants were interested in the references to the Muslim world. Presumably, the international politics and economic news might also have found interest among other educated Pontic Byzantines, who were patriots of their homeland or simply curious persons.

Anyway, the Oriental part of the predictions could sometimes have been helpful for the whole population of the city of Trebizond. At least in one case Horoscope’s forecasts appear to have come true. It predicted, in particular, “great wind and rain” and “gladness and courage in the army” for June 30–July 9, and then “success [éxito] of Agarenos” and “much rain” again for the second decade of July. According to Panaretos, in fact, on 5 July 1336, the Empire was attacked by the Turkish amir Shayh Hasan ibn Timurtagh, who managed to devastate the suburbs of Trebizond, but, at last, had to retreat because of the rainfall and, one may suggest, the resistance of Greeks. The astrologer succeeded to predict the three key elements: “success” of Agarenos, valor of army and heavy rains, while failing to foresee the true chronologica order of the fated events: the “gladness” in the army, obviously, had to follow but not precede enemy’s “success”.

6. Conclusion

We cannot suppose that Pontic Byzantines where unfamiliar with towns, nations or countries other than those mentioned in the Horoscope. Other sources reveal other horizons. For instance, Panaretos indicates the topographic extent of diplomatic interest as well as the military history of the Empire of Trebizond. In the centre of the world of Panaretos stand Constantinople and Trebizond. The well-known Encomium of Bessarion or the Itinerary of Libadienos give additional geographical images, which reflected the peculiarities of each genre.

Pontic historiographic, rhetoric, hagioraphic sources reveal various topographical nomenclatures, which reflected different layers of consciousness and different dimensions of cultural tradition. The present examination of the Horoscope was devoted...

61 Sp. Longinus, op. cit. 44–46, R. Mercier, op. cit. 152. R. Mercier translates építchous as "fiscality", which hardly is acceptable in this context.
63 The Grand Komnenos state ideology, as was reflected by Panaretos, continued to be within the limits of the classical Byzantine tradition, regarding Constantinople as the true centre of the Christian world. In Panaretos’s chronicle, Constantinople is honoured by higher status than Trebizond: in most cases Constantinople is traditionally called the City (σιδυς, mégàs Kórsas or mégàs Polis), while the capital of the Empire of Trebizond always remained only Trebizond, or "one of the cities" (Panaretos, Index).
to reconstruct only one of the multiple segments of the mental horizons of its readers.

The "orientalisation of the daily interests", was, I believe, connected with the broader tendencies of latent turkisation and orientalisation of the Greek Pontic mentality. Since 1214 the Empire of Trebizond was isolated from the Christian world by the Turkish states of Anatolia. By the time the Horoscope was compiled (1366/1337), the Empire suffered the increasing pressure of nomadic Turks; some ten years later, the Grand Komnenoi were forced to make a total revision of their policy in the East and to start constructing a system of local alliances with the surrounding Turks. This system of alliances was based on marriages between princesses of Greek blood and local Muslim rulers. About ten princesses were given to Muslim rulers in the 14th-15th centuries. Such marriages, strictly speaking, were illegal from the Byzantine point of view, being in violation of both Christian and imperial regulations and habits. Anyway, these matrimonial links between the Grand Komnenoi and the Turks indicate a relatively high level of ethnic and confessional tolerance natural, as it seems, to the inhabitants of Late Byzantine Trebizond.

Remote areas of the Pontos from the central areas of the Byzantine world, the political pressure of the Muslim East, and existing economic realities prompted the Pontic merchants and politicians — as far as they were dependent on political and commercial links with the Muslim world, — to concentrate their intentions, fears and hopes on the East.

L'« ABANDON » DE L'ASIE PAR BYZANCE:
DU SENS DES MOTS À LA RÉALITÉ DES CHOSES.

ALAIN DUCELLIER / TOULOUSE LE MIRAIL

Quand Byzance abandonne-t-elle l'Asie? Disons tout de suite qu'une telle question pose un problème de terminologie car, dans l'Empire romain perpétué en Orient, le mot d'Asie a plusieurs sens. Il peut s'agir du continent asiatique, mais on notera que cette conception est relativement rare, comme il en est du reste du mot Europe. Mais l'Asie peut être aussi, jusqu'à la mise en place du système thématique, et même au-delà, la province romaine de ce nom1, le terme disparaissant ensuite du vocabulaire administratif, si l'on prend bien garde que Asie et Anatolie ne doivent jamais être pris, dès lors, pour synonymes: nous verrons que, vers le VIIIe siècle, les provinces levantines (et drusianae popont.), pièce majeure de l'Empire, s'appelaient plutôt à la fois à l'Asie mythique de la Barbarie ancienne et à une Europe, elle aussi barbare si on en excepte les provinces les plus proches de la capitale, qui sont intimement liées à l'Anatolie2.

Ces précautions prises, l'abandon de l'Asie par Byzance évoque aussitôt le Xie siècle, qui ramasse en lui-même l'indiscutable apogée de l'Empire grec, puis l'amorce et la brusque accélération d'un mouvement descendant qui ne cessera désormais de se perpétuer et dont le premier symptôme est évidemment la perte, après 1071, d'une partie de l'Asie Mineure: le moment est favorable pour faire le point sur la conception que Byzance peut avoir d'elle-même, puisqu'elle conserve encore toutes les prétentions universalistes d'un empire européen tandis que, à l'arrière-plan, pointe de plus en plus nettement un doute sur son propre destin. Il est en outre parce que c'est en ce temps que le basculement du centre de gravité impérial de l'Est vers l'Ouest devient manifeste. Manzikert et ses suites n'étant que la confirmation d'une perte d'importance géopolitique qui affectait les provinces orientales depuis près d'un siècle, et dont le fondement étant sans doute à avant tout l'atonie démographique.

Encore doit-on affirmer que c'est là le terme d'une longue évolution, et même la répétition de faits déjà survenus plusieurs siècles auparavant, ce que masque sans doute le caractère équivoque du

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1 On lira, à ce sujet et dans ce même recueil, les réflexions de Paschalis Yakopolos sur le sens de mot Asie chez les premiers dénominateurs byzantins.

2 On sait que l'on rencontre le même couple administratif (Roussie-Anatolie) dans l'Empire ottoman où il ne souligne pas plus une quelconque autonomie culturelle.