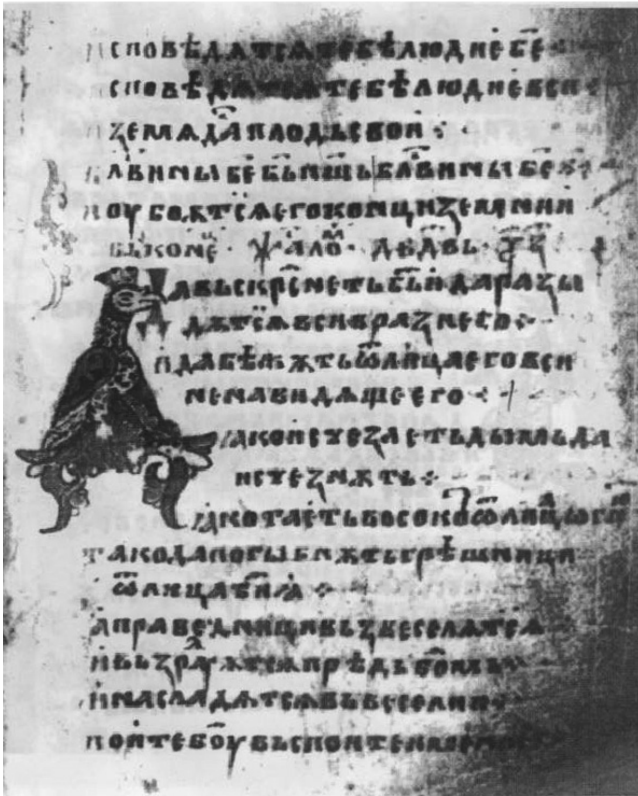


Figure 55 Illustration from the Radomir Psalter

he had himself proclaimed king of Albania there on 21 February 1272.[98] Charles also gained Avlona, although supporters of the Hohenstaufen were only expelled from the town in 1274.[99] Michael VIII Palaiologos was well aware of the danger posed by this Latin coup on his western approaches, and this made him all the more enthusiastic for union of the two churches at the council of Lyons (see also pp. 755–6, 803–4). This effectively tied Charles of Anjou's hands; he would now be attacking a true Christian, whatever the terms of the Viterbo treaty, and Michael VIII could justify his own resistance in Albania. This became the theatre for Graeco-Latin conflict from 1272 to 1284,[100] culminating in the Angevin defeat at Berat in the spring of 1281; local enthusiasm for the Byzantine initiatives probably

[98] Ducellier (1981b), pp. 176–7, 236–9. Despite Failler's observations in his edition of Pachymeres, one cannot date this earthquake to 1273: the town was already in ruins before the Angevins took over: GP, V.8, ed. and French tr. Failler, II, pp. 460–1 and n. 4; Ducellier (1981b), p. 177.

[99] Ducellier (1981b), pp. 234–6. [100] Ducellier (1981b), pp. 240–62.

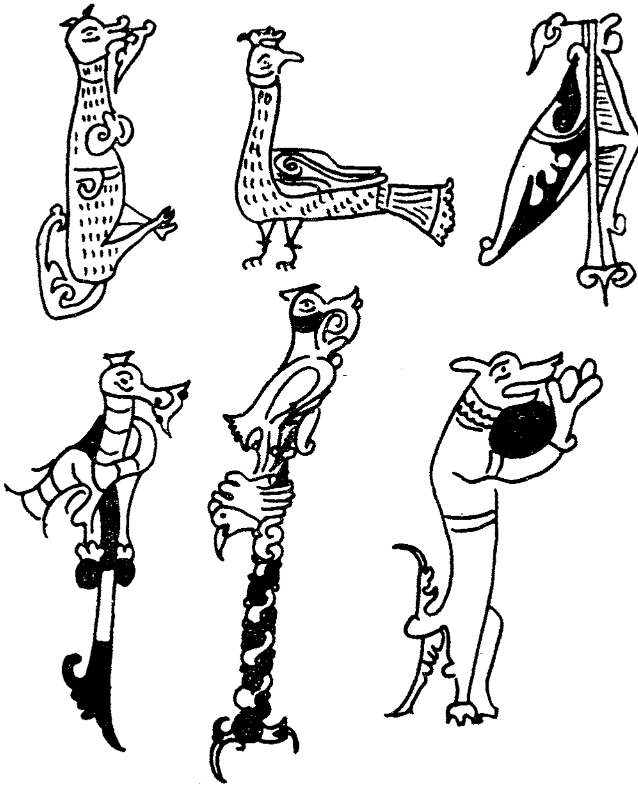


Figure 56 Six examples of thirteenth-century 'teratological' letter design

contributed to this.[101] As a result, by 1284 the Angevins had lost virtually all their conquests, Dyrrachium and Avlona among them. They retained only a fraction of the Albanian coastline far to the south, including Butrint and Sopot, which had been ceded to them in 1279 by the despot Nikephoros I Angelos Doukas of Epiros (1267–96).[102] Michael VIII's recovery of the region is symbolised by the fresco found on the outer vestibule of the church of Santa Maria of Apollonia, probably painted around this time. Michael appears with the future emperors Andronikos II (1282–1328) and Michael IX (1294/5–1320).[103] The Angevins continued their vain attempts to regain control of Albania into the mid-fourteenth century, even proposing to exchange it for Aragonese-controlled Sicily: an offer which was, not surprisingly, declined.

[101] Ducellier (1981b), pp. 253–5; Geanakoplos (1959), pp. 333–4.
[102] Ducellier (1981b), p. 249; Nicol (1972a), pp. 184–5; Nicol (1984), pp. 23–5.
[103] Buschhausen and Buschhausen (1976), pp. 143–4 and tables XXI–XXII. See fig. 57.

Figure 57 Wall-painting of Michael VIII and his family, church of Mother of God, Apollonia (Pojan), central Albania

The Angevins' conquest of Albania does, however, show the ability of the local elites to assert themselves. The *archontes* took on Byzantine or Slav titles, either coming to terms with their new master or staying true to the traditional Greek alliance, sometimes at the price of being deported to Apulia.[104] On the coasts, the Angevins' heavy-handed taxation smothered a lively local trade, in which Dubrovnik had shown signs of starting to rival Venice. Albania's major ports underwent serious decline, turning into small staging-posts where the princes only traded in grain, wood, salt, skins and dried fish.[105] Ethnic Albanians became the majority in the area, although important Greek and Slav minorities remained;[106] Pachymeres even describes the repopulation by Albanians after the Dyrrachium earthquake.[107] The divide between coast and hinterland deepened, and trans-Balkan relations would remain disrupted until the coming of the Ottomans' new order.[108] The area became socially and politically unstable. Clan ties unravelled and there was migration inland towards Macedonia and Thessaly, a precursor of the migrations to Italy at the end of the middle ages.[109] Such outflows would long delay Albania's formation as a coherent polity.

104 Ducellier (1981b), pp. 239, 257–9.
105 Ducellier (1981b), pp. 276–7, 286–9, especially Spinarizza (Zvërnec).
106 Ducellier (1981b), pp. 294–5, 298–9. 107 Ducellier (1981b), pp. 179–80.
108 Ducellier (1981b), pp. 281–8; Ducellier (1981a), pp. 28–31; Ducellier (1987b).
109 Ducellier *et al.* (1992), pp. 75–91.

Map 43 Serb expansionism in the late thirteenth century

hard-pressed Andronikos II had no option but to acknowledge the fait accompli. As part of the peace treaty he agreed to his small daughter Simonis' marriage to Milutin, with the Serbian territorial acquisitions serving as her dowry.[118] A chrysobull of Milutin in 1303 for the Athonite monastery of Hilandar and the newly founded house of Pyrgos boasts of his achievement.[119]

Preoccupied by Serbia's apparently unstoppable expansion, the inhabitants of the Balkans would pay all too little heed to the new threat from the Turks in the fourteenth century. And, as so often in the past, Byzantium was caught between foes on two fronts.

[118] Simonis was only six years old, and the patriarch was unhappy about the union: GP, IX.30–1, X.3–5, ed. and French tr. Failler, III, pp. 298–303, IV, pp. 312–15; NG, VI.9, ed. Schopen and Bekker, I, pp. 203–4; German tr. van Dieten, I, p. 169; Laskaris (1926), pp. 53–5; Kravari (1989), p. 49, n. 135; Malamut (2000).

[119] *Spomenici za srednovekovnata*, ed. Mošin *et al.*, I, pp. 304–16; Kravari (1989), p. 49. For Hilandar and Zographou, see Dujčev (1966), pp. 31–2.

CHAPTER 22

THE PALAIOLOGOI AND THE WORLD AROUND THEM (1261–1400)

ANGELIKI E. LAIOU

INTRODUCTION

In the course of the fourteenth century, Byzantine society underwent a series of major changes, in some ways similar to those in western Europe, in other ways quite different, and complicated by the presence of external threats that progressively led to the dissolution of the state and the conquest of its territory. While economic, social and cultural developments show considerable vitality, the weakness of the state, radically reducing its ability to provide order and security for its subjects, could not but influence the dynamic of other developments. Innovation, in practice more often than in theory, was not lacking; on the contrary, the responses to new conditions often present interesting if contradictory aspects.

For political history, a new era begins not with the start of the century but rather with the recovery of Constantinople from the Latins by a small expeditionary force of Michael VIII Palaiologos (1258–82), emperor of Nicaea since 1258. This event, which occurred on 25 July 1261, had been long desired by the leaders of the major Greek splinter states, the emperors of Nicaea and the despots of Epiros, and it had certainly been prepared by Michael VIII.[1] The restoration of a Byzantine emperor in the old capital of the empire had certain important consequences. For one thing, it displaced the rulers' focus from Asia to Europe, as they had to deal with western claims. The papacy, Charles of Anjou, the house of Valois and the Venetians all became engaged in various efforts to retake Constantinople, so that there was hostility between Byzantium and at least one western power at almost any time between 1261 and 1314; in 1281, as in 1308, powerful coalitions were aligned against Byzantium. These were deflected, in Michael's day, by masterful diplomacy as well as by a major concession on his part. This was the acceptance, by the Byzantine emperor, of ecclesiastical union with the church of Rome.

The Union of Lyons (1274) (see also above, pp. 755–6) was undertaken to defuse the imminent danger of an attack by Charles of Anjou and his Balkan

[1] On the recovery of Constantinople: Geanakoplos (1959), pp. 75–115. See also above, pp. 749, 754.

allies, and indeed the papacy forced Charles to abandon his plans for a time. When, in 1281, Pope Martin IV (1281–5) decided that Michael VIII had not really implemented the union and gave full support to Charles of Anjou, Michael's diplomacy again came into play; he negotiated with the king of Aragon and others, contributing significantly to the attack of Aragon on Sicily, occasioned by the Sicilian Vespers (see above, pp. 757–8). Diplomacy as well as good luck allowed his immediate successors also to survive the western threat. But even as contacts between Byzantines and westerners became closer, through the marriage alliances of the imperial house, through diplomatic negotiations and because of the presence of Italian merchants, the threat of a western offensive kept the emperor occupied in Europe. So also did the effort to create a compact state by recovering the European territories which had been lost at the time of the Fourth Crusade. The results for Asia Minor were disastrous. The most thoughtful historian of the times, George Pachymeres, had this situation in mind when he reported the words of the *prōtasekrētis* Kakos Senachereim who, upon learning of the reconquest of Constantinople, pulled at his beard in dismay and cried, 'Oh, what things I hear! . . . What sins have we committed, that we should live to see such misfortunes? Let no one harbour any hopes, since the Romans hold the City again.'[2]

This, then, is a first contradiction of the Palaiologan state, from the beginning of the dynasty until about 1314. The recovery of Constantinople, considered a divine gift by Michael VIII,[3] forced the empire into political, diplomatic and ideological positions which were often untenable. Anachronistic voices spoke of the universal emperor, and the first three Palaiologoi tried to restore the unity of the geographic space, by restoring at least the European frontiers of the Byzantine empire. But no shadow of universality remained, and geographic integration ran counter to long-term decentralising tendencies, evident in the late twelfth century and exacerbated by the Fourth Crusade. The westerners kept part of their possessions in the principality of Achaia (Morea) and the islands, while the Greek splinter states of the despotate of Epiros and Thessaly retained their independence. The empire of Trebizond was the other Greek splinter state, although its geographic remoteness did not involve it in the power struggles for the recovery of the old Byzantine empire. Non-Greek states, Serbia and Bulgaria, had also become independent, and Serbia in particular was to witness a great expansion in the course of the late thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century, aided by financial resources which became available through exploitation of the silver mines at Novo Brdo and elsewhere.

[2] GP, II.28, ed. and French tr. Failler, I, pp. 204–5; see also GP, I.1–2, ed. and French tr. Failler, I, pp. 25–7.

[3] Michael Palaiologos, *Autobiography*, ed. and French tr. Grégoire, esp. p. 457; see also GP, I.1, ed. and French tr. Failler, I, pp. 22–5.

Michael VIII tried to make reality conform to ideological imperatives. He fought against the principality of Achaia, rather successfully, and against the Venetians in the Aegean, and tried to reduce the independence of the despotate of Epiros. In Bulgaria, he scored successes with the recovery of some of the Greek-speaking cities of the Black Sea coast, important outlets for the grain which was necessary for the provisioning of Constantinople. At the same time, Michael continued the policy of alliance with the Mongols, first begun by the emperors of Nicaea. The alliance with the Ilkhans of Persia, especially Hulagu Khan (1258–65), was a defence against the Turks, and was continued by Andronikos II (1282–1328), who tried to seal it with a marriage alliance. Michael VIII also made a marriage alliance with the Mongols of the Golden Horde, marrying his illegitimate daughter Euphrosyne Palaiologina to Nogai Khan, as a defence against Bulgaria. This, coupled with an alliance between Michael and Baibars, the sultan of Egypt (1260–77), opened lines of communication between Egypt and the Crimea, from which the Egyptian sultans got their Cuman slave troops. A remote effect, intended or not, was to facilitate the Egyptian conquest of the last crusader outposts in the Holy Land.[4]

The successes of Michael VIII have given him a rather good press, as a consummate diplomat who managed to retain Constantinople against multiple threats, and to enlarge the possessions of his state. At the same time, the cost was heavy and long-term. The policy of union was bitterly contested at home, and was soon repudiated by his successor. Worst of all was the disaffection of Asia Minor. Michael had reached the throne through deposing and blinding young John IV Laskaris (1258–61) (see above, p. 755), offspring of a dynasty which had been based in Asia Minor, and grandson of John III Vatatzes (1221–54), a much-loved emperor, whom the people of Asia Minor considered a saint. The Laskarid dynasty had followers in Asia Minor who were difficult to conciliate; so did the patriarch Arsenios, deposed in 1265 for having excommunicated Michael after the blinding of John Laskaris. The policies of the Laskarids, focused on the defence of Asia Minor, were not continued by Michael VIII; indeed forces were withdrawn from there to fight wars on European soil.[5] The emperor did not even visit the province until the end of his reign. Asia Minor was neglected, heavily taxed and suffered from Turkish attacks. By the end of Michael's reign, the sources speak of depopulation and impoverishment, calling the area beyond the Sangarios river a 'Scythian desert'. The situation was to deteriorate rapidly after 1282.[6]

[4] GP, III.3, III.5, VII.32, ed. and French tr. Failler, I, pp. 234–9, 240–3; III, pp. 98–9. See also above, pp. 758, 796, n. 92.

[5] GP, I.6, ed. and French tr. Failler, I, pp. 34–5.

[6] GP, III.22, VI.29, ed. and French tr. Failler, I, pp. 290–3; II, p. 633.

SUCCESSES AND CONFLICTS (1282–1341)

Political affairs

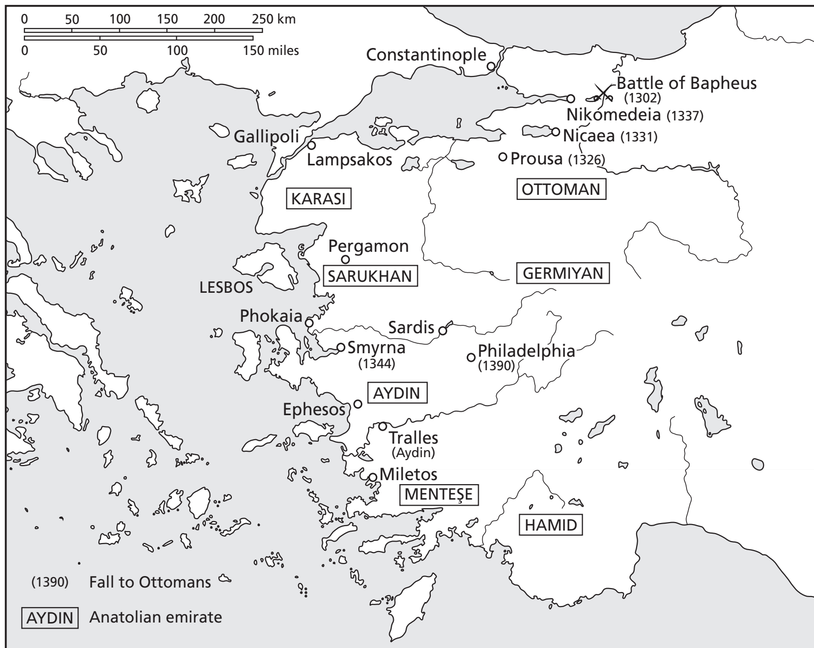
Despite these problems, the immediate heirs of Michael VIII had some successes. This is a time of significant contradictions: between the ideology of government and actual government, between a progressive impoverishment of the state and the wealth in some segments of society, in the ambivalent relations between Byzantium and the west. Many of these contradictions exploded in the great civil war of 1341–54, which left Byzantium a greatly altered state in a changed world.

Andronikos II and his successor, Andronikos III (1328–41), shifted once again the centre of their interest, from western Europe to Asia Minor and the Balkans. Yet they had to retain close diplomatic relations with western Europe, primarily to ward off an attack and secondarily to seek aid against the Turks. On the whole, there is a shrinkage of the areas of interest and involvement in terms of foreign policy. Here the major successes of Byzantine policy were with regard to the splinter states of Greece: Thessaly, which was acquired piecemeal in 1333, and Epiros, where the city of Ioannina accepted Byzantine overlordship in 1318, and the rest of the despotate in 1340. In the Peloponnese, the process of reconquest proceeded throughout this period; after 1349, the Byzantine possessions, organised as the despotate of the Morea, became one of the most vital parts of the state.

Relations with western Europe were successful as far as the first objective is concerned: there was, in fact, no major expedition against the Byzantine empire. The reduced Byantine diplomatic activities centred around efforts to thwart any coalition of forces that might attack the empire; that is, to make alliances with Ghibelline forces. Matrimonial policy served this purpose, as Andronikos II took as his second wife Yolande-Irene of Montferrat, whose father was allied to Castile, and Andronikos III married Anne of Savoy, daughter of Count Amedeo V. For the rest, Andronikos III had even less close relations with the west than did his grandfather Andronikos II, although the penetration of individual westerners, of western customs and of Venetians and Genoese into the empire continued apace. The second aim, an alliance against the Turks, was not successful, for it hinged upon the union of the churches, discussions on which took place under Andronikos II after 1324, Andronikos III and John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–54), but foundered upon the divergent interests of the papacy and the Byzantine emperors.

The situation in Asia Minor became the nemesis of the Byzantines. The area rapidly fell into the hands of the Turks, especially after the Byzantine defeat at the battle of Bapheus, near Nikomedeia (1302). Andronikos II made a number of efforts to remedy the situation, and for a short time, in 1294, the campaigns of the great general Alexios Philanthropenos raised

Map 44 The empire reconstituted and lost: Byzantium (a) in the late thirteenth century, and (b) in the 1330s



Map 45 The fall of western Asia Minor to the Turks in the first half of the fourteenth century

hopes. But he was opposed by powerful landlords in the area, was pushed into an unsuccessful rebellion, and his successes were short-lived. The countryside was rapidly brought under Turkish control, and one by one the cities were starved into submission. The Ottomans took Prousa in 1326, Nicaea in 1331 and Nikomedeia in 1337. Further south, Ephesos, Smyrna, Miletos, Sardis and Tralles (Aydin) fell to the Seljuq emirates in the first decade of the century. Philadelphia and its immediate region remained as the sole Byzantine possession, until 1390.[7] Andronikos III waged several campaigns in Asia Minor, to no avail. More importantly, after 1329, Andronikos III and, later, John Kantakouzenos had close relations of friendship and alliance with the amir of Sarukhan and with Umur, amir of Aydin. Directed originally against the Genoese lords of Phokaia and Lesbos, this became a more general alliance, in the course of which the Byzantines recognised the Seljuq conquests in Asia Minor.

The realities of government

Despite ideologically driven claims of an all-powerful emperor, in reality government became increasingly weak, and its authority and prerogatives

[7] On Philadelphia see Ahrweiler (1983).

fragmented. In the fourteenth century, the business of government was primarily connected with the collection of taxes, the army and justice. State finances were being eroded by the high cost of pervasive warfare and dwindling resources. For one thing, imperial territories were much more restricted than during the twelfth century, and Asia Minor was lost during this period, so revenues from the land tax were commensurately reduced. War, invasions and inclement weather sometimes made it impossible to collect taxes. Secondly, this was a state and a society administered by privilege. The privileges granted to the aristocracy further eroded the tax base, while treaties with Italian city-states involved commercial privileges for their merchants that considerably reduced the benefits accruing to the state from the very active commercial exchanges in this part of the Mediterranean (see below, pp. 841–4). Some Byzantine merchants, namely those of Ioannina and Monemvasia, were successful in obtaining similar privileges, which worked to their benefit, but had a detrimental effect on the state treasury.[8] The government made some effort to overcome these fiscal difficulties; after 1283, a series of new and extraordinary taxes was introduced, although the hard-pressed peasantry was not always able to pay them. Excise taxes on salt and iron were also levied, in the early fourteenth century, and were much resented. Heavy taxation resulted in annual revenues of 1,000,000 gold coins by 1321: a small sum (Michael VIII had seven times that much), and also a deceptive one, since a civil war, which started in 1321, made the collection of taxes problematic indeed. Other measures were also taken; in order to help pay the high fees of Catalan mercenaries, Andronikos II temporarily stopped the payment of palace officials and soldiers, while in 1343, during the first stages of the great civil war, the empress and regent Anne of Savoy mortgaged the crown jewels to Venice for a loan of 30,000 ducats. The jewels then became a pawn in diplomatic games, as the Venetians tried to negotiate their return against political concessions of some magnitude.[9]

The devaluation of the coinage was in part the result of the same fiscal problems, and also a short-term remedy for the emptiness of imperial coffers. The successive deterioration of the gold coin (from 17 carats in 1230–60 to less than 11 carats by the mid-fourteenth century) has been linked to specific fiscal crises, occasioned in turn by military problems.[10] Sometimes, indeed, the emperors could not meet their military expenses in coin and had to use unminted gold.[11] The issue of gold coins stopped for good at some point between 1354 and 1366, partly, perhaps, because of

[8] On the privileges of Ioannina issued in 1319: MM, V, pp. 77–84; for those of Monemvasia: Schreiner (1978); Schreiner (1981–2), pp. 160–6; Laiou (1980–1), pp. 206–7; Kalligas (1990), pp. 101–34.

[9] On Andronikos II: Laiou (1972), pp. 186–7; on the crown jewels: Bertelè (1962).

[10] For the monetary system of the Palaiologan period, see Morrisson (1991), pp. 308–15.

[11] See, for example, Laiou (1972), p. 189.

a general movement of gold toward western Europe, but undoubtedly also because the state could no longer sustain a gold coinage. Venetian ducats as well as silver coins appear frequently in Byzantine documents of the late Palaiologan period; it is likely that people preferred them to Byzantine issues.

The Palaiologan armed forces, especially native troops, were quite small in number. In 1285 the navy was dismantled, since it was expensive and the death of Charles of Anjou seemed to reduce the threat from the sea. This was a disastrous measure, much deplored by perceptive contemporaries and by people writing in the middle of the fourteenth century.[12] While small fleets were built again in the 1330s and 1340s, the fact remains that for all intents and purposes the Byzantines had abandoned the fleet, and with it the possibility of guaranteeing the security of the seas in the Aegean or even around Constantinople itself; as for the Black Sea, for centuries a closed preserve of the Byzantines, it was dominated by the Italians. Their fleets sailed freely in all these waters (see also below, p. 834). By 1348 the city of Constantinople itself was wide open to attack by the Genoese, and it took a special levy to create a fleet for its defence; not a very successful defence either. Piracy also went unchecked. The piratical expeditions of the Seljuq maritime emirates could not be countered by the Byzantines, nor could the detrimental effects on the islands of the Aegean.[13] When, in the 1330s, the Byzantines discussed with western powers a response to these raids in the guise of a crusade, the Byzantines took a good deal of time to arm twenty ships which, however, never participated in the enterprise, for reasons unknown.[14]

As for the army, native forces were small, while recourse to other expedients was very expensive. The native forces were in part composed of *pronoia*-holders. The *pronoia* is an institution which goes back to the eleventh century, and consists of the grant of land and its revenues in return for service, especially military service since the time of the Komnenoi. Michael VIII, in his efforts to gather support for himself, allowed some *pronoia*-lands to become hereditary, and also gave such lands to members of the senate. By the fourteenth century, one can find military *pronoia*-lands in the hands of two quite distinct groups: the aristocracy, who might have some of their holdings in *pronoia*-land, and soldiers of a lower social and economic level, who, at the lowest strata, might even hold these revenues collectively.[15] The civil wars of the 1320s and the 1340s increased the number of *pronoia*-grants, as rival emperors competed for supporters; the emperors also increasingly

[12] GP, VII.26, X.23, XII.26, ed. and French tr. Failler, III, pp. 80–3; IV, pp. 352–5, 578–83; NG, VI.3, VI.11, XVII.7, ed. Schopen and Bekker, I, pp. 174–6, 208–9; II, pp. 866–7; German tr. van Dieten, I, pp. 153, 172; III, p. 219.

[13] Zachariadou (1989b). [14] Laiou (1970). [15] Oikonomides (1981), pp. 367–71.

gave these lands, or part of them, in hereditary possession, which undermined the military effectiveness of the restored empire.

Other troops were paid in cash. These can no longer be considered as constituting a standing army, since they served occasionally, and on particular campaigns. There may have been an unsuccessful effort to create a standing army in 1321, to be composed of 1,000 horse in Bithynia and 2,000 in Macedonia and Thrace; the small numbers are noteworthy.[16] For the rest, the soldiers paid in cash were mostly mercenaries.[17] Occasionally, they were Greek-speakers, such as the Cretan mercenaries in Asia Minor in the late thirteenth century. Much more often they were foreign troops, sometimes already formed into units. The use of foreign mercenaries, known since the eleventh century, became more frequent in the Palaiologan period. Italians, Alans, Catalans and others served in the Byzantine army. The dangers inherent in using such foreign mercenary troops were realised in Byzantium no less than in fourteenth-century western Europe. What did not frequently occur was an effort on the part of leaders of mercenaries to take over the government, as was to happen in Italian cities. Only once did a comparable situation develop. To deal with the disastrous affairs of Asia Minor, Andronikos II called in a group of Catalan mercenaries, under Roger de Flor, to fight against the Turks (see below, p. 835). Soon, the Catalans developed an interest in acquiring territory, and formed ties with the kings of Sicily and Aragon, and later with Charles de Valois, husband of Catherine of Courtenay, the titular Latin empress of Constantinople, and claimant to its throne. They posed a great threat to the Byzantine state, but eventually they moved on, conquered Thebes and Athens (in 1311), and set up a Catalan duchy, which lasted until 1388.

When all else failed, and stakes were high, the emperors had recourse to a much more dangerous expedient: the use not of mercenaries, but of the troops of allied foreign rulers. The first half of the fourteenth century saw two civil wars, which involved a contest for power between two rival emperors: one from 1321 to 1328 and the other from 1341 to 1354. Both sides appealed to foreign troops: Serbs and Bulgarians on the first occasion, Serbs and Turks on the second. The results were catastrophic.

The administration of justice had always been an imperial prerogative in Byzantium. Unlike medieval western Europe, where judicial authority had been fragmented and passed, variously, to the church, seigneurial lords or towns, in Byzantium until the Fourth Crusade, justice was in the hands of the state, and was administered in imperial courts. The emperor functioned not only as the legislator but also as the ultimate judicial authority,

[16] NG, VIII.6, VII.3, ed. Schopen and Bekker, I, pp. 317–18, 223; German tr. van Dieten, II.1, p. 40; I, p. 179.

[17] For the army, see Bartusis (1992); Oikonomides (1981).

guaranteeing good justice and acting as a judge, both on appeal and sometimes in the first instance. True, Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) had given ecclesiastical courts the right to judge all matters involving marriage.[18] True, also, the principles of imperial justice were eroded in the late twelfth century, because of privileges granted to western merchants. Still, the real changes came after the Fourth Crusade, in the despotate of Epiros, and in the Palaiologan period. The emperor retained his legislative role, although occasionally we find synodical or patriarchal decisions being issued as imperial legislation.[19] Justice, however, although ostensibly in imperial hands, became considerably fragmented and decentralised in the course of the fourteenth century. The Italian city-states, primarily Venice and Genoa, sought and received extra-territorial privileges which gave them the right to be judged by their own courts, even in cases involving Byzantine subjects, if the defendants were Italian.[20]

In another development, patriarchal courts judged all manner of cases involving laymen, especially before 1330 and after 1394, when imperial tribunals malfunctioned; by the end of the century, it was quite common for the patriarchal tribunal to judge even cases involving commercial law. No wonder that, along with a manual of civil law compiled by a learned jurist in Thessaloniki in the 1340s (the *Hexabiblos* of Constantine Harmenopoulos), we also have a compendium of civil and canon law together (the *Syntagma* of Mathew Blastares, compiled in Thessaloniki in 1335). The role of clergymen in the judicial system is indicated also by their participation in the highest tribunal of the Palaiologan period, that of the 'general judges of the Romans'. Established by Andronikos III in 1329, it was an imperial court, originally consisting of three laymen and a bishop, and was invested with its authority in a solemn ceremony in the Great Church of St Sophia. Characteristically, although originally the tribunal sat in Constantinople and its authority extended throughout the empire, soon there were 'general judges of the Romans' in the provinces; in Thessaloniki as early as the 1340s, perhaps in Lemnos in 1395, certainly in Serres during the Serbian occupation, in the Morea, as well as in the empire of Trebizond.[21]

Developments in finances, justice and the army show a dynamic between the state, in the traditional Byzantine sense of a central government, and regional forces or particular groups which were agents of decentralisation. The central government retained its formal right to levy taxes, appoint army commanders, reform justice and appoint judges. At the same time, taxes tended to disappear into the hands of regional governors, while army

[18] *JG*, ed. Zepos and Zepos, I, p. 312. [19] *JG*, ed. Zepos and Zepos, I, p. 533–6.

[20] MM, III, pp. 81, 92; *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, no. 80, ed. Thomas, I, pp. 164–8.

[21] On the judicial institutions of the Palaiologan period: Lemerle (1948); Lemerle (1949); Lemerle (1950); Lemerle (1964).

commanders often acted on their own, easily sliding into open rebellion; the *pronoia*-holders, although they held their privileges from the emperor, were not easy to control, and their very privileges resulted from and fostered a particularisation of finances and of military power. As for justice, this too was in some ways decentralised. If one compares the situation to western Europe, it is much closer to the eleventh or twelfth centuries, not to the fourteenth when states were in the process of recovering a control long lost over finances, the army and justice. In important ways, then, the government in the Byzantine empire was undergoing a transformation quite different from that of parts at least of western Europe. It would not necessarily have been negative, had not external circumstances intervened.

Social groups and social relations

Aristocrats and landed estates

Palaiologan society was more structured than at any other time in the history of the Byzantine empire. The aristocracy emerges as a group with considerable power and a high degree of consciousness of its social position; at the same time, and continuing until the end of the formal existence of the state, merchants hold an important economic position and, for a moment, lay claim to political power. These groups prospered economically, certainly until the 1340s.[22]

The development of the Byzantine aristocracy has a long history, in some ways continuous since the tenth century. When the throne was captured by two of the most powerful families (the Komnenoi and the Doukai) in 1081, some important features were consolidated, and continued into the fourteenth century. By then, this was an aristocracy dominated by a few families, linked by intermarriage: their numbers were fewer than in the twelfth century, but most could claim descent from the twelfth-century aristocracy, and those in the highest ranks could name at least one ancestor of imperial stock. Many aristocrats (and the wealthy generally) had fled Constantinople for Nicaea upon its capture in 1204. In Nicaea their power and influence had been somewhat challenged by the policies of John III Vatatzes and Theodore II Laskaris (1254–8). The first had initiated a policy which made some of the army independent of imperial (mostly aristocratic) commanders, and even issued sumptuary laws directed against the aristocracy,[23] while the second had appointed George Mouzalon as regent for his young son. George and his brothers can appropriately be termed the king's men: men from a relatively humble background, who owed their power and

[22] On the aristocracy: Laiou (1973); Laiou (1991b); on Palaiologan society, see also Maksimović (1981b), Matschke (1981c); Matschke (1991).

[23] NG, II.6, ed. Schopen and Bekker, I, pp. 42–4; German tr. van Dieten, I, pp. 84–5. See above, pp. 740–1.

loyalty only to the dynasty.[24] The power of the king's men was brought to a bloody end when a conspiracy of aristocrats, led by Michael Palaiologos, murdered them. In the fourteenth century, men who did not initially belong to the highest aristocracy but became powerful through office, civil or military, tended to acquire social prestige by marrying high, and only the most status-conscious person, such as the empress Yolande-Irene of Montferrat, could find fault with their social origins.[25] The most important exception to this statement is Alexios Apokaukos, who progressed from tax-collector to *megas doux* (commander of the fleet). A king's man in some respects, he followed a policy which pitted him against the most vocal representative of the aristocratic class, John Kantakouzenos, and was never considered by that class to be anything but a *parvenu*.[26]

One significant difference between this high aristocracy and that of western Europe was that the Byzantines did not have a nobility. There were no official prerogatives, no official rights and derogations, no privileges legally guaranteed to a specific class and passed from one generation to the next. Undoubtedly, there were attitudes which could eventually have led to the creation of a nobility. High birth counted for a great deal: in the twelfth century, the emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) had legislated against *mésalliance*;[27] and while in the fourteenth century there was no such state control of marriages, nevertheless matrimonial alliances were very carefully arranged. So much was intermarriage regarded as a feature of the aristocracy that one text dedicated to social reform, the *Dialogue between the rich and the poor* of Alexios Makrembolites, proposed marriages between poor and rich as a remedy for the ills and inequalities of society.[28] This suggestion also indicates a certain opposition to the stratification of society and to the place of the high aristocracy in it.

Aristocratic women played an important role in politics and society. They were the medium through which alliances between aristocratic families were made and since they had property of their own, in the form of both dowry and patrimonial property, they had considerable economic power. Names, lineage, property and family connections were transmitted along the female as well as the male line; and aristocratic women were as acutely conscious and proud of their lineage as their male relatives. As in the twelfth century,

[24] Note, however, that George Mouzalon married a Kantakouzene who, after his death, remarried, and is well known as the *prōtovestiarissa* Theodora Palaiologina Kantakouzene Raoulaina: Nicol (1968), pp. 16–19.

[25] Reference is to Nikephoros Choumnos, whose daughter Irene married John Palaiologos, and to Theodore Metochites, whose daughter married a nephew of the reigning emperor, Andronikos II. It was to the marriage of Irene Choumnaina with her son that the empress Yolande-Irene – western-born and not of the highest ancestry herself – objected: GP, X.7, ed. and French tr. Failler, IV, pp. 318–19.

[26] See below, pp. 822–3; JK, I.23, III.14, III.46, ed. Schopen, I, pp. 117–18; II, pp. 89, 278.

[27] Laiou (1992b), p. 44.

[28] On marriage as a remedy: Ševčenko, 'Alexios Makrembolites', pp. 207–8.

the administration of the family property seems to have been in the hands of women; and although literacy may not have reached very low in the social scale, some women of the high aristocracy were learned indeed, and patrons of literary men, scholars, theologians and artists. A number of women, mostly those close to the imperial family, became actively involved in the political and religious controversies of the period, for example Michael VIII's sister and his niece Theodora Raoulaina; the wife and mother of John Kantakouzenos (respectively Irene and Theodora); and Irene Choumnaina Palaiologina.[29]

The aristocracy, both in its highest echelons and at lower levels, was less of a Constantinopolitan group than it had been in the twelfth century. This was partly the result of the rise of regional aristocratic foci of power. Thus the Komnenos Doukas family in Epiros and Thessaly had formed independent states, as did the Grand Komnenoi in Trebizond. There were other important regional magnates, such as the Maliasenoi, the Gabrielopouloi, the Raoul in Epiros and Thessaly, and a number of families in the Morea; many frequently opposed the authority of the central government. Furthermore, with the reconquest of the European provinces, the great families of the reconstituted Byzantine empire acquired lands in Macedonia and Thrace. Typically, members of these families might also be appointed governors of one of the areas where they held their properties, so that regional economic power and political authority were often concomitant. Thus, for example, in the rich agricultural region of Serres, the Tzamplakon family had held estates since the days of the Nicaean empire; in 1326, Alexios Tzamplakon was governor of the city, and in charge of its fiscal administration.[30] The family of John Kantakouzenos, later emperor by rebellion and usurpation, had large estates near Serres; his relative, Andronikos Kantakouzenos, became governor of the city, and Andronikos' successor, Angelos Metochites, likewise belonged to a family with estates in the area.

The aristocracy remained an urban one, preferring residence in the cities to residence on their estates. But, especially in the first half of the century, it was a group whose economic power was based on land. Money was also made from abuse of imperial office and trade in foodstuffs; but land remained both an actual source of wealth and ideologically sanctioned. Despite the fact that the aristocracy was stratified, its members had in common landownership and a degree of privilege, i.e. fiscal privileges granted by the government for all or part of their estates.

The other great landlord in this period was the church. The monasteries, especially those of Mount Athos, acquired very considerable estates, which

[29] On female literacy: Laiou (1981), pp. 255–7; on women as patrons of the arts: Buchthal and Belting (1978); Nelson and Lowden (1991); Talbot (1992).

[30] *Archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, nos. 19, 20, ed. Guillou, pp. 74–8. See also Theocharides (1963), esp. pp. 160–4.

were also tax-exempt. Urban monasteries also had property and revenues, although nothing to approach those of the great monasteries of Mount Athos. The political power of the church in this period, as well as its moral authority, went hand in hand with economic power.

The countryside was complex and variegated. Proprietors of medium-sized holdings with production that could be marketed are known to have existed. These might hold imperial privileges, and thus qualify for the label 'gentleman-farmer', like Theodosios Skaranos in the late thirteenth century. They could also be city inhabitants with rural holdings but no visible privileges, such as Theodore Karabas, inhabitant of Thessaloniki, who in all probability was also a merchant, marketing his own products along with those of others.[31] Independent peasants, who paid taxes to the state, and cultivated a plot of land primarily to provide for their families, also appear in our sources, but for the most part when they sell or donate their properties to monasteries; they are under economic stress, at least in Macedonia. In Epiros, the small landowner seems to have been more frequent. Nevertheless, the large estate, held by laymen or clergymen, is the dominant aspect of the countryside. It was cultivated in indirect exploitation, by tenants, including dependent peasants.[32]

The peasantry and country life

The Byzantine dependent peasant, the *paroikos*, is a category which proliferates in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The dependence is from a landlord, lay or ecclesiastical, including a *pronoia*-holder, and takes the form of payment of taxes and dues to the landlord rather than to the state.[33] There is also cultivation of the demesne lands of the landlord but, with some exceptions, labour services seem to have been rather limited, the usual number being twelve days in a year; but twenty-four days and even, once, fifty-two days are attested.[34] On lands which were not his, but which he rented from the landlord, the peasant either paid a fixed rent (*pakton*) or more commonly shared the crop, so that there was a double, or triple, source of revenues for the landlord: the tax (calculated and expected to be paid in coin),[35] the rent (*mortē* or *dekatia*, literally one tenth of the produce, although the normal arrangement would give the landlord one

[31] Lefort (1986b); *Actes de Chilandar*, no. 27, ed. Živojinović *et al.*, I, pp. 208–19.

[32] Svoronos (1982), pp. 167–73.

[33] Laiou-Thomadakis (1977); for the peasantry: Lefort (1985); Lefort (1991); Lefort (1993).

[34] Laiou-Thomadakis (1977), pp. 181–2.

[35] But see the case of the peasants of Paphlagonia during Michael VIII's reign: they found payment in coin a great burden, since 'they had the necessary products in more than sufficient quantities, for the land was productive, but they had little coin, because each was only producing what was necessary': GP, III.22, ed. and French tr. Failler, I, pp. 292–3. They were nonetheless forced to pay their taxes in cash, a source of great unhappiness.

third or half of the produce)[36] and some labour services. The dependence, then, was both fiscal and economic. At the same time, it must be stressed that the peasant did own property, particularly the type of property that can be cultivated without much equipment, such as vineyards, olive trees and gardens. This he could leave to his heirs (in a system of partible inheritance, traditional in Byzantium, which leads to considerable instability in the size of the holdings and is not in the best interest of the landlord, but nevertheless survived), or sell, probably without having to obtain the permission of the landlord.[37] The peasant was free in his person, and had freedom of movement.

The legal and economic position of the dependent peasant, and the existence, alongside the large estates, of medium and small holdings, is linked to a type of exploitation which is based primarily on family cultivation of small plots of land, and less on the direct exploitation of domanial reserves.[38] The peasant household in the fourteenth century was both a fiscal unit (upon which the tax was estimated) and an economic unit, a unit of production. It is noteworthy that households and families could be headed by women as well as men, although male heads of household are typical, and that there was no difference in the fiscal obligations of households headed by women. Peasant women like other women in this period could and did own property, much of it in the form of dowry.

Typically, the peasant household consisted of a nuclear family, although it is also typical that most households were extended at some stage, usually while the older generation was alive. Laterally extended households, in which siblings with their own families form one fiscal unit, whether or not they reside together and jointly own or exploit property, are also attested, with varying frequency. Their presence is undoubtedly connected to the system of inheritance and marriage, which divided the economic assets of a household with each generation, and restructured them, through marriage, to which the bride brought a dowry, and the bridegroom also brought property. Joint ownership and exploitation of landed resources, beneficial as it was in economic terms, held only for siblings and first cousins, breaking down after that.[39]

This peasant population, especially in Macedonia where the documents permit a close study, was experiencing an economic decline in the first half of the fourteenth century, visible above all in the reduction of the

[36] *MB*, VI, pp. 6, 620–2; see Laiou-Thomadakis (1977), p. 219 and n.121.

[37] An ambiguous text of the late fourteenth century suggests that the landlord may have a right to a tenth of the value of a piece of land that has changed hands; but it is not at all certain that we are dealing with a *paroikos*. For the text, see Fögen (1982), pp. 236–7; but also Laiou-Thomadakis (1977), pp. 44–5.

[38] Svoronos (1956); Svoronos (1982), pp. 153–73.

[39] Laiou (1992b), esp. pp. 167–70; Laiou (1998), pp. 144–60.

property of peasant households, especially the wealthier ones. There are clearly factors at work which act as barriers to the accumulation or even the conservation of peasant holdings, and these cannot include the system of inheritance, since its effects were countered by the reconcentration of property through marriage. The economic decline has been seen by some as a crisis resulting from the overexpansion, into marginal lands, of a population which had been, and was still, expanding.[40] According to this view, there was no demographic crisis in the countryside until the plague of the 1340s. A different interpretation suggests that the population had reached a demographic plateau around 1300, with a subsequent decline. We also find considerable mobility, with the migration both of entire families (among the poorer segment of the rural population) and of individuals (typically, among the wealthier peasants). There is, therefore, in the first half of the century, a crisis in rural society, whether only economic or both economic and demographic. Among its causes one must count the combined effects of wars, civil wars, plunder and pillage by troops both friendly and hostile to the state, all of which brought periodic high points to a crisis that was not yet acute.[41]

Town life and trade

The Byzantine countryside was still a source of considerable wealth, as may be seen in the great fortunes that large proprietors were able to amass. The vitality and wealth of which this society was still capable are more evident in the cities, whose role and population underwent a true transformation. For one thing, although the capital retained its importance, a number of provincial cities emerged as centres of government, primarily in the European provinces, since Asia Minor was, for all intents and purposes, lost within the first three decades. The defence of the cities by their inhabitants at the time of the Catalan attack and later undoubtedly contributed to the growing sense of independence of the urban populations.[42] Some cities acquired imperial privileges which guaranteed a certain degree of self-government in matters both administrative and fiscal.

As for the population of the cities, we lack firm numbers; Constantinople and Thessaloniki may have had 100,000 inhabitants each.[43] It included, as ever, members of the aristocracy, but also groups that are much less visible in the sources: people with landed property, both urban and rural, who might be termed the local gentlefolk, who had some comfortable level of

[40] Lefort (1991), pp. 77–8; Lefort (1993), p. 105; for a different view, see Laiou-Thomadakis (1977).

[41] John Kantakouzenos, writing on the first civil war, explained that in 1322 taxes could not be collected, both because of the war and because 'the peasants, from whom the taxes are primarily collected, have left their homes': JK, I.28, ed. Schopen, I, pp. 136–7.

[42] The same is true of Philadelphia in 1304: Ahrweiler (1983), p. 184.

[43] Matschke (1971), pp. 106–7 n. 3.

Map 46 Towns and trade in the fourteenth century

affluence and a certain political role, sometimes exercised through offices in the government of the city, including offices in the church.[44] A third group includes merchants and artisans, whose existence is attested in a large number of cities, including Thessaloniki, Adrianople, Ainos, Raidestos, Serres, Ioannina, Arta, Mistra, Monemvasia and Sozopolis. The inhabitants of the coastal cities, in contact with Venetian and Genoese merchants, had commercial activities which were more developed than those of cities of the hinterland. However, the less visible commercial activities of towns and cities of the hinterland must not be neglected.

The role of the cities and urban populations in trade must be seen in conjunction with the larger economic realities of the period. Primary among them is the fact that, until the middle of the century, the cities of Venice and Genoa, as yet untouched by the crisis that affected northern Europe, were predominant in a trading system which they had established, and which included the eastern Mediterranean, Italy and western Europe. For the countries of the eastern Mediterranean and above all for Byzantium which had given substantial commercial privileges to these cities, the result was that their exchange economy functioned within this larger system, and with a specific role: Byzantine exports to the west consisted primarily of foodstuffs and raw materials, and its imports consisted primarily of manufactured products, among which textiles and ceramics were particularly important.

Nevertheless, it should be stressed that this set of economic relations created secondary systems of exchange, in which native merchants participated actively: it was they, for the most part, who carried the merchandise along the land routes; they sailed from port to port in the Aegean, had active economic and financial relations with the Italians, and even, in the case of the Monemvasiots, a booming sea trade of their own. Secondary and dependent this role may have been, but it was significant. Thessaloniki, for example, was the hub of a trade network that included the Balkans west of the Strymon river, as well as Serbia, and reached the sea both in Thessaloniki itself and in Dubrovnik; an important part of the city population consisted of sailors and merchants (see below, p. 846). Other cities, like Adrianople, had merchants who were involved in a second subsystem, including Constantinople, Thrace and Bulgaria, and who had transactions with the Genoese in the towns of the Black Sea.[45] What the Byzantine

[44] I use the term 'gentlefolk' to avoid the specifically English and country connotations of the term 'gentry'. This was an urban population but they were also landowners and their wealth came from land and minor office. The *ODB* (see *archontopoulos*, *ODB*, I, p. 161, M. Bartusis) defines the group as 'nobility of second rank', but since there was no nobility this seems inaccurate. The study of this group remains an important *desideratum*. Among examples are the Mourmouras, Masgidas and Pothos families from Thessaloniki and Serres.

[45] Laiou (1980–1); Laiou (1985); Matschke (1970); Matschke (1971); Oikonomides (1979a), p. 46. On the economy generally, see now *EHB*; Laiou and Morrisson (2007).

merchants could not do was to engage in long-distance trade. The markets of Italy were almost closed to them.[46] As for the Black Sea, Byzantine traders probably had an uninterrupted presence here; that of the Monemvasiots should be particularly noted. The Byzantine presence became fairly massive in the 1340s, when the merchants of Constantinople profited from the conflict between Genoa, Venice and the khans of the Crimea, massive enough to provoke a war with Genoa, and a peace treaty (1352) that included a clause severely limiting the access of Byzantine merchants to Tana and the Sea of Azov. Merchants and bankers were an important group in Constantinople in the first half of the century.

Apart from the participation of the Byzantines in the regional trade which was connected with Italian commerce, there was trade between cities and their hinterland, fuelled partly by the fact that the peasants had to pay their taxes in coin, and partly by the commercialised production of landlords. There was also trade in foodstuffs between different parts of Macedonia.[47] Local production of woollen cloth is attested in Serres and Thessaloniki.[48] But this was small-scale production, for we hear mostly of imports of western cloth.

In those cities where commercial activity was most developed, the merchants (along with other urban inhabitants, including bankers and artisans) were, in this period, identified as a distinct social group. They were usually called the *mesoi*, literally, the 'middle group', being between the landowning aristocracy and the people.[49] They appear to have been conscious enough of their economic interests; they vociferously opposed Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos when, in 1347, he asked for contributions to rebuild the army and the fleet. While presumably a fleet would safeguard their commercial interests, especially in the Black Sea, it may be that their affairs were too deeply intertwined with those of the Italian merchants for them to wish to jeopardise them.[50] This is also the first time in Byzantine history where the literature mentions merchants (or those who become rich through trade) in a way which juxtaposes them to the aristocracy, but certainly includes them among the rich, in the traditional division of rich and poor.[51]

The salient characteristics of the Byzantine city of this period, then, especially of the cities most involved with trade, are the following. They

[46] However, notice should be taken of the presence of Byzantine merchants in Alexandria, in the late thirteenth century: *AASS Novembris*, IV, p. 676.

[47] *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, text no. 3, ed. Schreiner, pp. 79–106.

[48] For Thessaloniki, see Matschke (1989). The evidence for production of cloth in significant quantities in this period is limited. For Serres, see *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, text no. 3, entry 53, ed. Schreiner, p. 84.

[49] The most useful discussion is by Oikonomides (1979a), pp. 114–20.

[50] Laiou (1987), p. 103.

[51] Ševčenko, 'Alexios Makrembolites', pp. 206–7. The author himself was of humble social origins: Ševčenko, I. (1974), pp. 74, 86.

are the place of residence of members of the high aristocracy, who also hold political power. A segment of the population, involved in trade, is economically strong but does not participate in the governance of the city. There is in this relatively structured society a growing division between rich and poor, within the close confines of the city. There are, finally, times of insecurity, risk and stress, connected with political troubles. Thus after 1328 Andronikos III had to give relief to creditors impoverished by the civil war, forgiving them the interest on loans. A number of people made a great deal of money, but social tensions were present, and obvious to contemporary observers, from Thomas Magister (Theodoulos Monachos) in the 1320s to Alexios Makrembolites in the early 1340s, who bitterly complained that the rich would have appropriated even the sun if they could, and deprived the poor of its light.[52]

Social tensions, civil wars

Social tensions were to come to the forefront during the civil wars, most clearly during the second civil war, which started in October 1341, and is thus broadly speaking contemporary with other civic rebellions in western Europe. At first, this was a struggle for power at the centre: a dispute for the regency for the nine-year-old heir to the throne, John V Palaiologos (1341–91), between John Kantakouzenos on the one hand, and on the other John V's mother, Anne of Savoy, the patriarch and the *megas doux* Alexios Apokaukos. Before declaring himself emperor, Kantakouzenos had sent letters to the powerful and the military men of the cities, seeking their support; when his letter was read in Adrianople, on 27 October, three men, at least one of whom was almost certainly a merchant, aroused the people of the city, who attacked the aristocrats and burned their houses. Quickly, the civil war spread throughout the cities of Macedonia and Thrace. The most acute aspects of social conflict are visible in Thessaloniki where the opposition to Kantakouzenos was led by a group with radical tendencies, the Zealots (see below, p. 857).

In some cities, like Serres, Kantakouzenos was opposed by members of the aristocracy, and it is certain that social alignments in this civil war were no more perfect than they were in western Europe. But the main lines of division are clear: the aristocracy, of which Kantakouzenos was the richest and most powerful representative, rallied to his side, while in Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Didymoteichon, Adrianople and elsewhere the merchants, perhaps the bankers, certainly the sailors and, to a varying degree, the *mesoi* generally opposed Kantakouzenos, confiscated or destroyed his supporters' property, and imprisoned many among them. In his *History*, Kantakouzenos described the civil war in self-serving

[52] Ševčenko, 'Alexios Makrembolites', p. 204.

statements. More telling than those is his discussion of the accession to power (in 1339) and the polity of Simone Boccanegra in Genoa. The revolution of 1339 is cast in terms of the Byzantine civil war, and he sees it as an opposition of the people to the nobles 'because they were better than they'. The story of Boccanegra is twisted, undoubtedly consciously, so that all the evils that befell Genoa can be ascribed to him, as the evils resulting from the Byzantine civil war are ascribed to Apokaukos.[53] Although causal connections between the Genoese revolution and the revolution in Thessaloniki have been disproved, the similarities in the social aspects of the conflict are striking.

Since the forces of Kantakouzenos and his allies controlled the countryside, the civil war soon took the form of a struggle for the cities. Cities were difficult to take by assault but, with the countryside looted and in hostile hands, including the Turkish allies of Kantakouzenos, they began to surrender in 1344–5. In 1345, with the assassination of Alexios Apokaukos, the situation changed drastically, and in February 1347 Kantakouzenos entered Constantinople as co-emperor. Thessaloniki resisted until 1350, when, under pressure from the Serbs, it reluctantly accepted both John VI Kantakouzenos and John V Palaiologos. In 1354, John V forced Kantakouzenos to abdicate. This may be considered the end of the civil war.

The civil war was, among other things, an abortive effort to create a state quite different from what had existed in Byzantium, one where the interests of the commercial element would be paramount, while the resources of the landed aristocracy and the church would be used for the needs of defence.[54] At exactly the same time, there was a conflict within the church, between those who adopted a mystical attitude, that posited the possibility of experiencing the Divine Light through a special form of prayer (the hesychasts), and those who believed that God may be experienced in his manifestations but not in his essence. The hesychast controversy divided not only the church but other members of society, those who were interested in theological and religious questions. While political and social attitudes and theological positions did not entirely converge,[55] neither were they parallel. Hesychasm was practised on Mount Athos, and its most vocal proponent was Gregory Palamas; hesychasts were also staunch supporters of Kantakouzenos. The controversy ended with the political victory of Kantakouzenos. He presided over a church council in 1351 which pronounced hesychasm orthodox and its opponents heretical. No wonder that Palamas,

[53] JK, IV.26, 32, ed. Schopen, III, pp. 197–8, 234–7.

[54] Most sources of the period refer to the confiscation of the property of the aristocracy. On Apokaukos' plans to create a state that would be primarily maritime and dependent on trade, see JK, III.87, ed. Schopen, II, p. 537.

[55] For example, Nikephoros Gregoras was a supporter of Kantakouzenos in political matters, but a bitter opponent of Palamas and hesychasm.

appointed archbishop of Thessaloniki, was twice prevented by the city government from gaining his see, and was able to enter the city only in 1350, in the wake of Kantakouzenos' triumph.

In the end, Kantakouzenos and the aristocracy won a short-term political victory, but suffered crushing long-term economic defeat. In order to win, Kantakouzenos had appealed to the Serbs in 1342 and the Turks soon afterwards. The regency also made such appeals, unsuccessfully. Kantakouzenos, however, was successful. Stefan Dušan (1331–55) gave him help, but in the process he conquered much of Macedonia, Thessaly, Epiros and part of Greece, sometimes with the agreement of Kantakouzenos, but more often without it. In 1345, he took the large and important city of Serres, and thereafter he called himself emperor of the Serbs and the Romans. The state of Stefan Dušan was large but ephemeral, breaking down after his death in 1355. His successors retained part of it, until the Ottomans conquered it after 1371. As for the Turks, both the amir of Aydin and, more ominously, the Ottomans sent large forces into Europe to help Kantakouzenos; in 1354, they settled in Gallipoli, and from then onwards the Ottoman advance into European territory proceeded rapidly. As a result, the Byzantine state that emerged from the civil war was much smaller and much weaker than before.

Cultural life

The intellectual and artistic production of the fourteenth century is impressive in terms of quantity and in quality. Modern scholars have routinely contrasted these achievements to the weakness of the state; but we have seen that there was both strength and vitality, especially in the first half of the century, not surprisingly the period when intellectual and artistic activity was at its highest. Whether one calls this a renaissance or a revival,[56] the main traits are clear.

There were a considerable number of people whom one may term intellectuals. Many were acquainted with each other, corresponded with each other as the voluminous epistolography of the period shows, were teachers of the next generation (as was the case, for example, for Theodore Metochites and Nikephoros Gregoras). Most, though by no means all, of the intellectuals came from the ranks of the clergy, the aristocracy and officialdom as, more predictably, did their patrons. These were people with a first-rate classical education in Greek; some, like Demetrios Kydones and the monk Maximos Planoudes, also knew and translated Latin. They were polymaths, who wrote on a large number of subjects, including theology, mathematics, astronomy and geography. The latter was of particular importance in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries: Planoudes

[56] For the two opposing views, see Runciman (1970); Ševčenko, I. (1984).

is responsible for commissioning the first extant Ptolemaic *Geography* with the full twenty-seven maps.[57] They were also editors and commentators of texts. Finally, the period has considerable literary production, both in high Greek and in the popular language. The great centres of intellectual life were Constantinople (until the 1330s), Thessaloniki and Mistra. But smaller cities could also boast of intellectuals, and artistic production of high quality may be found in the provinces.

The causes of this revival are multiple. The recovery of Constantinople was in itself a stimulus, although there were highly educated people in the empire of Nicaea.[58] Political vicissitudes also influenced attitudes. The profound interest in antiquity, responsible for classicising styles both in writing and in art, may well be connected to new concepts of self-identification which included identification with the ancient Greeks, the Hellenes; this was already clearly evident in the late twelfth century, when intellectuals posited a cultural identification with ancient Greece, to contrast themselves to the westerners.[59] Patronage played an important role. Emperor Andronikos II was deeply interested in intellectual matters, and his most important officials (Nikephoros Choumnos and Theodore Metochites) were among the major scholars of the day. There was, besides, still sufficient money to permit intellectual and artistic production.

Until the end of Andronikos II's reign the imperial court functioned as an important patron. Michael VIII called himself a new Constantine, and he was the first to invest in the rebuilding not only of the walls but of the city which had greatly suffered during the Fourth Crusade and the Latin occupation. The Deesis mosaic in St Sophia is thought to have been made just after the reconquest (fig. 58).[60] Members of the highest aristocracy, relatives of this emperor and his successor, participated in the rebuilding, primarily through the restoration and expansion of monasteries and churches; women were important patrons. The mosaics and frescoes of the period, both in Constantinople and in Thessaloniki, were of the highest quality. Perhaps the best among them are the mosaics and frescoes in the church of the Chora monastery (Kariye Djami), the result of the patronage of Theodore Metochites (fig. 59). It seems that building churches and palaces was considered an important attribute of the aristocracy. The production of manuscripts also flourished, again with some women as patrons.

Aristocratic patronage was also important in other parts of the fourteenth-century Greek world, Thessaly for example. By contrast, it has

[57] This is Codex Urbinas gr. 82, lavishly illustrated, perhaps for Andronikos II. The two other oldest such manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geography*, Seragliensis gr. 57 and Fabricius gr. 23, are also attributed to Planoudes' activities: Harley and Woodward (1987), I, pp. 191–2, 269–70. See also fig. 67.

[58] For example, George Pachymeres was educated both in Nicaea and in Constantinople, under George Akropolites who was educated in Nicaea. See above, pp. 751–2.

[59] Laiou (1991a), esp. pp. 77–81. See also above, p. 751.

[60] On building activities in the early Palaiologan period, see Talbot (1993); Ousterhout (1991).

Figure 58 The Deesis mosaic in St Sophia, probably made soon after Michael VIII's recovery of Constantinople, which became an imperial capital again; the Mother of God and John the Baptist are shown revering Christ

Figure 59 Grand Logothete Theodore Metochites, mosaic in the church of the Chora monastery, Constantinople

recently been pointed out that in Thessaloniki and Macedonia much of the building was due to ecclesiastical, especially episcopal, patronage.[61] The church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki was built by Patriarch Niphon I (1310–14), while the monasteries of Mount Athos were also important centres of artistic activity. Ecclesiastical patronage reflects the increasing economic and political power of the church.

The period of the civil war and the crises of the mid-fourteenth century brought about changes and a significant reduction of activity, especially in the production of art. Characteristically, when the great eastern arch and part of the dome of St Sophia collapsed (1346), the impoverished John VI sought money for its restoration from the Rus and the inhabitants of the City.[62] In the despotate of the Morea, the patronage of the court of the despot was very active, and the superb frescoes of the Peribleptos date from the second half of the century. Monumental mosaics, a much more expensive medium, were not produced after the 1320s; the mosaics in the great eastern arch, the two eastern pendentives and the dome of St Sophia, completed *c.* 1354–5, constitute an exception.

The cultural and artistic developments of the fourteenth century also serve as reminders of the fact that Byzantium of this period had an influence far exceeding its political boundaries. Byzantine culture radiated both in the orthodox world (the Slavs, the Georgians, the former Byzantine possessions under Italian occupation) and in the west, carried by artists (among them Theophanes the Greek) who worked in other orthodox states and by intellectuals who began the migration to Italy that would intensify in the fifteenth century.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE STATE AND THE REDISTRIBUTION OF AUTHORITY (1354–1402)

In the second half of the fourteenth century, Byzantium was a tiny and disjointed state in a Mediterranean world that was undergoing its own crisis. Reduced economic circumstances exacerbated the antagonism of Venice and Genoa, which became involved in and fostered the virtually endemic Byzantine dynastic wars, while they also fought for possession of territory, such as the island of Tenedos, which eventually led to the war of Tenedos, otherwise known as the war of Chioggia (1378–81), in which the Byzantines became involved (see below, p. 839). After 1354, the Byzantine 'empire' consisted of Constantinople, Thrace, Thessaloniki (which by now could only be reached by sea) and its immediate hinterland, the islands of the northern Aegean and the despotate of the Morea in the Peloponnese. Even those possessions were insecure, since Thrace was being subjugated

[61] Rautman (1991). [62] Mango (1962), pp. 66–7.

Map 47 Under pressure from the Serbs, then Turks: Byzantium in the mid- to late fourteenth century

by the Ottomans. Raids were soon followed by the conquest of cities, Didymoteichon falling in 1361, Philippopolis in 1363 and Adrianople in 1369. With the fall of the latter, the road to Macedonia and Bulgaria was open. In 1371 the Ottoman victory at the battle of the Maritsa destroyed the Serbian state of Serres; the city passed into Byzantine hands, but only until 1383. At the same time, the Byzantine and Serbian rulers became tributary to the Ottoman sultan; John V and later his son, Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425), were forced to follow the sultan on campaign.[63]

[63] In 1390–1 Manuel, who fought with the Ottomans in Asia Minor against the other Turkish emirates and the last Byzantine city, Philadelphia, gave in his letters a moving account of the decline of

After 1371, the Byzantine emperors could rule only with the help or forbearance of the Venetians, the Genoese and the Ottomans. The struggles for the throne among members of the imperial family only exacerbated their dependence, as each sought the help of one or another of these powers. True, there were some efforts to resist these trends. Thus Manuel Palaiologos, later emperor, at a time when he was at odds with his father, went secretly to Thessaloniki, where he established what Demetrios Kydones called a 'new authority'. For a short time he was able to launch expeditions against the Turks; but his successes, though heartening to Byzantines and western Europeans alike,[64] were short-lived, as may be seen by the fall of Serres to the Ottomans in 1383 and of Thessaloniki in 1387. The city, cut off from its hinterland, suffered from lack of food and its population was rent by social tensions and factional disagreements. Even its archbishop abandoned it in 1386–7, along with some of the clergy. Manuel, too, was forced to leave Thessaloniki. He eventually returned to Constantinople, where, in 1391, he succeeded his father on the throne. The first Turkish conquest of Thessaloniki lasted until 1403 (see also below, pp. 857–8).

The other avenue of resistance that some Byzantines could contemplate was cooperation with and help from western Europe. There were sufficient economic and political ties to make such hopes possible, and furthermore by now some of the leaders of western Europe, especially the papacy, were considering the Ottoman advance a threat to Christendom. But Venice and Genoa, weakened by the crises of the mid-century, were pursuing their own interests; France and England were engaged in the Hundred Years War, and the papacy made its help contingent upon a union of the churches, on its own terms. But although there were people in Byzantium who worked actively for the union, the church in general and a large part of the population opposed it. Successive Byzantine emperors (John V, John VII and Manuel II) went to the west in search of aid, but in vain. John V even made a personal conversion to catholicism; an official union was not proclaimed until the Council of Florence (1439) but by then it was much too late. Expeditions such as that of Count Amedeo VI of Savoy were mere palliatives, and the crusade of Nikopolis (1396) was a disaster.

The political crisis was attended by a general economic crisis, as well as a redistribution of dwindling resources and of political power. As in western Europe, there is a general reduction of the population, both in the countryside and in the cities. The picture of the countryside of Thrace and Macedonia is one of devastation and depopulation. The contribution of

the former Byzantine possessions and the population's plight: Manuel II Palaiologos, *Letters*, ed. and tr. Dennis, pp. 42–9, 54–7.

[64] Barker (1969), pp. 47–9; Demetrios Kydones, *Correspondance*, ed. Loenertz, II, p. 175, line 80; German tr. Tinnefeld, III, p. 93.

the Black Death remains an unknown factor. While there is evidence of plague in Constantinople, Macedonia, the Morea, the islands of the Aegean and Mount Athos, there are no particulars that might permit a study of its effects on various segments of the population. In 1384, Patriarch Neilos spoke of the flight of peasants from church lands, attributing it to the invasions.[65]

The aristocracy as a group underwent significant changes in this period. The civil war had impoverished many of them, while the successive conquests of Macedonia by Serbs and Ottomans resulted in a redistribution of property into the hands either of the conquerors, or of those members of the aristocracy who were favourable to them, or of the church. When Byzantine power was temporarily restored in such areas, there were long disputes over the recovery of lands lost by particular families or individuals.[66] Secondly, the aristocracy now became much more involved in trade than it had ever been before, a trend that continued into the fifteenth century.[67] Powerful men who bore aristocratic names invested in commercial and banking activities, closely tied to those of Genoese and Venetian merchants. Emperor John VII seems to have exported grain to Genoa in the 1380s, through his agents. Indeed, despite the great political uncertainty and periodic acute crises in foodstuffs, the grain trade was an active one; some Greeks even brought grain to Caffa in 1386. Moved by hardship, and also by the possibilities trade offered, aristocratic Constantinopolitan ladies invested in commerce with funds from dowry property, despite legal strictures on the use of dowry goods in risky ventures.

A third characteristic of the aristocracy is an increase in the importance of the local aristocracy or gentlefolk, the *archontopouloi* or *archontes* of the Greek sources, the *gentilhomeni picioli* of the Venetian sources.[68] In Serres, they formed part of the ecclesiastical and civil administration of the city under Serbian rule, and some reappear during the first stages of Ottoman rule; so also in Thessaloniki during the first Ottoman occupation. In Ioannina in 1411 they, along with the higher aristocracy, decided on the fate of the city. The emergence of the 'gentlefolk' may be connected with the final stages of decentralisation, which, by cutting the cities off from the capital, placed more decisions in the hands of their inhabitants;[69] it is also

[65] MM, II, pp. 61–2.

[66] See Oikonomides (1980); Laiou (1985). John V issued an edict, probably in 1373, which declared that all lands taken illegally from their owners should be restored; but it did not have much effect.

[67] Oikonomides (1979a), pp. 120–2; Laiou (1982), pp. 105–9.

[68] Mertzios (1947), p. 49. The document distinguishes three categories: *gentilhomeni e gentilhomeni picioli e stratioti*. See also Necipoğlu, 'Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins' (PhD thesis, 1990); Necipoğlu (forthcoming).

[69] Zachariadou (1989a).

a further sign of the redistribution of power among the upper class. While the enhanced role of the gentlefolk is probably a long-term development (these are families with significant continuity, at least during the fourteenth century), the increased independence of the city populations took place in conditions of crisis, and was typically exercised in decisions to surrender the city to various conquerors.

The most enduring transfer of power of all kinds was to the church collectively, and the monasteries of Mount Athos in particular. Long circumscribed by the existence of a strong central imperial power, the church now expanded its authority and activities and in some ways supplanted the state. The resolution of the hesychast controversy gave the conservative and fiercely orthodox part of the church spiritual and moral power (see also below, p. 857). The weakness in imperial government can be seen in the increase of the church's role in judicial matters and also in what may be termed relief functions, such as caring for the poor, the refugees or the inhabitants of cities in distress. As for economic resources, the monasteries of Athos profited from donations by the Serbian and Wallachian rulers and from privileges granted by the Ottomans; in return, Mount Athos accepted Ottoman overlordship early, perhaps before the conquest of Macedonia.[70] The monasteries also profited from transfers of landed property on the part of aristocratic lay landowners, who could no longer exploit their lands successfully.

The state was well aware of the fact that the church was now the only institution which had resources capable of being tapped. Several times in the course of the century, emperors tried to persuade either the patriarch or other churchmen to give or rent to them church lands, so that soldiers could be compensated from the revenues. But this was usually refused, and Manuel Palaiologos' attempts to confiscate church property in the first phases of the siege of Thessaloniki occasioned a violent outburst on the part of the archbishop. In 1371 Manuel, in desperate straits, took away from the monasteries of Athos and the church of Thessaloniki half their properties, to turn them into *pronoiai* and give them to the soldiers, 'so as to avoid the complete loss of everything'.[71] Part of these lands were restored to the monasteries after 1403. The church, then, wealthy, powerful and with a moral and spiritual sphere of influence that transcended the Byzantine state, encompassing as it did the entire orthodox world, was poised to play a primary role after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

As the century drew to a close, the only compact Byzantine possessions were in the Peloponnese, where Manuel, the son of John Kantakouzenos,

[70] Oikonomides (1976c). [71] Manuel II Palaiologos, *Prostagma (1408)*, ed. Mošin.

had formed a small but viable state, the despotate of the Morea. Although it, too, suffered Turkish raids, it was relatively prosperous, with a powerful and independent-minded aristocracy, and its capital, Mistra, had considerable intellectual and artistic achievements.[72] It was to survive the fall of Constantinople by seven years. Constantinople, on the other hand, was blockaded by Sultan Bayazid I (1389–1402) for eight long years. Neither the efforts of John le Maingre, Marshal Boucicaut, who had been sent by Charles VI of France with 1,200 soldiers, nor the journey of Manuel II to western Europe to seek aid, would have been sufficient to save the City from the siege and the attendant hunger and suffering. Many inhabitants fled the City, and some were ready to negotiate its surrender.[73] Only the defeat of the Ottoman forces by Timur at the battle of Ankara (1402) granted the Byzantine capital, the despotate of the Morea and the empire of Trebizond another half-century of life (see below, pp. 839, 852).

CONCLUSION

The economy, social structure and political orientation of the Byzantine state were all transformed through the crises of the fourteenth century. The decision to recover Constantinople in 1261 led, on the one hand, to a chimeric dream of reconstituting the old empire, thus negating the reality that, since the late twelfth century, the strongest forces in that area favoured decentralisation, which would have led to smaller, more homogeneous political entities with, perhaps, strong economic and cultural links with each other. The recapture of Constantinople led to another important choice: the orientation toward western Europe which Michael VIII followed almost single-mindedly. This choice, however, could not be retained at the political level. At the economic level, the Byzantine economy of exchange and manufacturing became inextricably connected with the Italian economy. Close cultural contacts with Italy also existed. Internally, there were, in the course of the century, profound changes in the structure of the dominant classes, of the cities, the merchant class. Many of these developments were advantageous to new social groups and new structures just as they harmed old ones; the great civil war resulted from such conflicts, but failed to resolve them. The most serious problem of the Byzantine empire in this period was that its internal development was thwarted and shaped under intense pressure from foreign and hostile powers, the Serbs for a

[72] On the despotate of the Morea, see Zakythinos (1975).

[73] *Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ed. Schreiner, I, pp. 184–5; Laonikos Chalkokondyles, *Historiarum demonstrationes*, II, ed. Darkó, I, p. 77; Duc., XIII.7, XIV.1–3, ed. Grecu, pp. 78–9, 80–3; tr. Magoulias, pp. 83, 85–6.

short while, and the Ottomans. As a result, no viable units could coalesce from the process of decentralisation, for surely individual cities, even with their hinterland, were not viable units. The despotate of the Morea was an exception, but its fate followed inexorably that of the rest of the empire and indeed of the Balkans, which eventually were reunited under a new imperial power, the Ottoman state.

CHAPTER 23

LATINS IN THE AEGEAN AND THE BALKANS (1300–1400)

MICHEL BALARD

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Byzantine reconquest of 1261 had made its mark on Latin expansion in the Aegean and the Balkans. With the treaty of Nymphaion on 13 March 1261, Michael VIII Palaiologos (1258–82) granted the Genoese access to the Black Sea. Similar access was granted to the Venetians in the years that followed, and their principal conquests since the Fourth Crusade were recognised. A chain of trading posts and ports of call thus stretched along the main sea routes and was dominated by the Italian maritime republics; Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328) had abandoned the maintenance of a Byzantine fleet as too costly (see above, p. 810). At the heart of this nexus of great trade routes, leading from Italy to Constantinople and the Black Sea, Cyprus and Lesser Armenia, Syria and Alexandria, was the Aegean. Control of its coasts and islands became a vital necessity for the Italian maritime republics and the object of frantic competition; from this sprang the three 'colonial' wars between Genoa and Venice in the course of the fourteenth century. Their only result was a de facto carve-up of the Aegean: Venice had the western and southern coastline, with Messenia, Crete and Negroponte, Genoa the eastern coasts with Chios, Lesbos and the islands of the northern Aegean, while the Catalans would disrupt this Italian maritime and commercial hegemony through their seizure of the duchy of Athens and rapid development of piracy.[1]

As a result, the Aegean and the Balkans found themselves part of a mercantile economy geared to satisfying the needs of the west for foodstuffs and raw materials. They entered a colonial-style exchange system, receiving artisanal products from the west – mainly woollen cloths and linen – in exchange for supplying all that was needed for their manufacture. Local and regional trade was subordinated to the fluctuations and rhythms of long-distance trade dominated by the Italians, to whom Greek traders deferred.[2] These trends were established in two successive phases over the century following the restoration of the Byzantine empire in 1261, and we need to

[1] Thiriet (1975); Balard (1978); Pistarino (1990c).
[2] Jacoby (1989b); Balard (1997a); Laiou (1997).

examine these phases before going on to consider the mercantile economy's infrastructure, trade routes and commodities.

THE PHASES OF WESTERN EXPANSION

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, Genoa and Venice were emerging from over four years of conflict, provoked by the Venetians, but which ended with their defeat near the island of Curzola (Korčula) in September 1298. During the war, Andronikos II had sided wholeheartedly with the Genoese, only to be abandoned by them when the Genoese concluded their own peace with the Venetians with the treaty of Milan (25 September 1299). This treaty established their respective spheres of influence. During the war Venice had finally halted Michael VIII's Byzantine reconquest of the Aegean, adding a few islands to its existing possessions. Henceforth, Venetian authority extended firmly over Crete, the partly reconquered Cyclades, Coron and Modon in southern Messenia, and Negroponte (shared with three Latin lords, the *terciers* or *terzieri* in Italian). Venice retained considerable influence in the principality of Achaia (Morea), which Charles II of Anjou (1285–1309) had recently taken from Isabel of Villehardouin and put under the authority of his own son, Philip of Taranto (see above, p. 768). The Venetians enjoyed complete freedom to trade in the Morea and established themselves in its main ports, Clarence and Patras.

The Genoese had gained the rich alum pits of Phokaia on the coast of Asia Minor in the 1260s (see also above, p. 757). In 1304 their admiral Benedetto Zaccaria seized Chios, to protect his trade, and succeeded in securing recognition of the occupation of the island from the *basileus*. At the same time, the Catalan Company, mercenaries rashly summoned by Andronikos II against the Turks and left without pay from the imperial treasury (see above, pp. 809, 811), extended their influence across the Aegean; they ravaged Thrace and then Macedonia, before going on to conquer in 1311 the duchy of Athens, where they remained until 1388. As for the Angevins, they tried to resist the Greek despots of the Morea and began to favour a degree of Italianisation in the principality of Achaia at the expense of the French element which had predominated under the Villehardouins.[3]

The first half of the fourteenth century, at least until 1348, saw all parties consolidate their positions. Venice refused to participate in Charles de Valois' plans for the reconquest of Constantinople and drew closer to Byzantium; a new agreement concluded in 1324 compensated Charles for the losses he had suffered. Five years earlier, a treaty had been signed between Venice and the Catalans, who had been threatening the Venetians' measures to strengthen their authority over the *terciers* in Negroponte. Venice

[3] Topping (1975a); Topping (1975b); Jacoby (1997a); Bon (1969); Balard (2002); Laiou (1972).

Map 48 Greeks and Latins in the Aegean and Balkans

did not succeed in fully subduing the Cretan revolts of 1332 and 1341, which were provoked by the excessive demands and levies of the local *dominante*. Above all, Venice engaged in the struggle against the Turks, with whom the Catalans had no hesitation in allying: the Venetians played a major part in the Christian union of 1332, the naval league of 1344–5 and the dauphin Humbert II de Viennois' crusade in 1345. In Greece, the Catalans strengthened the duchy of Athens under the control of their vicar-general Alfonso Fadrique (1318–30), seizing Neopatras and Siderokastron, and halting Walter of Brienne's attempt to recover his dukedom. But in 1315–16, the infante Ferrante of Majorca failed in his bid to exploit his rights over the principality of Achaia, which passed from John of Gravina's authority to that of Robert of Taranto. The latter's mother was Catherine de Valois, titular Latin empress of Constantinople, who granted substantial land concessions in the principality to the Florentine banking family of the Acciaiuoli, in compensation for their loans to her.

The fate of the Genoese possessions was more unsettled. Since Martino Zaccaria refused to recognise Byzantine sovereignty over his Aegean possessions, Andronikos III Palaiologos (1328–41) drove him out of Chios in 1329 and Phokaia in 1340, which both returned to the Byzantine empire for a while. But in 1346, exploiting the weak regency of Anne of Savoy and Humbert de Viennois' hesitant leadership of his eastern crusade, the Genoese fleet of Simone Vignoso recaptured Chios and then Phokaia, installing a government of the *mahona* there; this would last for two centuries and was made up of the shipowners who had financed the expedition. In February 1347 an agreement was signed between the Genoese commune and the shipowners, clearly outlining each party's rights on Chios.[4]

This brilliant feat of reconquest, together with Genoese attempts to control traffic to Constantinople and the Black Sea, sparked off the war of the Straits (1351–5) pitching Genoa against a coalition of Venice, the Catalans and the Byzantine empire. The battle of the Bosporus – a hard-fought victory for Genoa in February 1352 – was offset by Venetian success at Alghero (see above, p. 821). The Visconti were instrumental in the peace negotiations concluded at Milan in 1355, whereby the two republics agreed to stop attacking one another; they also agreed that for the next three years neither would send fleets to Tana, the key trading point on the Sea of Azov. The only major effect of this conflict in the Aegean was to enable the Turks to take Gallipoli and reach the gates of Byzantium. In 1355, through the friendship of John V Palaiologos (1341–91), the Genoese Gattilusio family obtained the concession of the island of Lesbos, and then in the early fifteenth century several islands in the northern Aegean. Thereafter, a key

[4] Setton (1975a); Bon (1969); Housley (1992); Argenti (1958), III; Balard (1978); Balard (1997b); Hiestand (1996).

objective for the Venetians was to maintain free passage through the Straits to the Black Sea. Although they gained from the *basileus* the concession of Tenedos at the mouth of the Dardanelles, their occupation of the island in 1376 triggered fresh hostilities with Genoa, the so-called 'war of Chioggia' (see above, p. 827). Essentially an Adriatic conflict, like the previous wars this ended in a stalemate with the treaty of Turin in August 1381.

These rivalries prevented any effective Christian union against the Turks, whose progress in the Aegean was inexorable; they raided the Peloponnesian coast incessantly, and captured Thessaloniki in 1387, taking Neopatras and Salona in 1394. They also blockaded Constantinople, and although pressure on the City was relieved by Boucicaut's expeditionary force, it was only the Turks' crushing defeat at the hands of Timur in 1402 that broke the siege (see above, p. 832 and below, p. 852). To meet these pressing dangers, Venice strove to strengthen Graeco-Latin *Romania* through a policy of annexation. It purchased Nauplion and Argos in 1388 from Marie of Enghien, widow of Pietro Corner and heiress to these lordships, and tightened its control over Negroponte and the Cyclades. The Venetians also enlarged their territory of Coron and Modon in Messenia, took over temporary administration of Patras, and finally offered direct, if ill-fated, aid to the Latin crusaders at Nikopolis in 1396. Crete was their one weak point. The island revolted again from 1363 to 1367, under the leadership of the Venetian fief-holders Gradenigo and Venier, in league with Cretan *archontes* such as John Kalergis. The rebellion was against the weight of taxation imposed by the *Dominante* and its rejection of any debate on the matter with a Cretan deputation. An army of mercenaries sent from Venice suppressed the rebellion with ferocious reprisals. Overall, Venice succeeded in holding her possessions together and protecting them from the Turkish advance, even though it may have aroused the hostility of the Greeks or the petty Latin lords of the Peloponnese.[5]

There were profound changes in mainland Greece in the second half of the fourteenth century. In 1348, when the Greek despotate of the Morea was being established, Stefan Dušan (1331–55) annexed Thessaly and Epiros to his Serb dominions. Great Latin lordships were created: Niccolò Acciaiuoli, grand seneschal of the kingdom of Sicily, was the largest fief-holder of the non-Greek part of the Morea with lands in Messenia, Elis and Corinthia, while his cousin Giovanni was archbishop of Patras from 1360 to 1365. On Niccolò's death, his cousin Nerio inherited part of his Moreot possessions, lost them to the Navarrese Company, but took Megara from the Catalans; most importantly, his acquisition of Athens in 1388 brought eight decades of Catalan occupation to an end. The Tocchi ruled Leucas, Cephalonia and Zante and sought to seize Corinth on the death of Nerio Acciaiuoli in

[5] Thiriet (1975); Gallina (1989); Lock (1995).

1394. Finally, we cannot ignore the remarkable good fortune of the Genoese Zaccaria family, heirs of Martino, the former master of Chios. Centurione I Zaccaria was grand constable and served three times as *bailo* of the Morea. After the death of Peter of San Superan, head of the Catalan Company and self-styled prince of Achaia from 1396 to 1402, Centurione I's grandson Centurione II dispossessed San Superan's heirs and became the last Latin prince of Achaia from 1404 to 1432. Centurione was, in turn, dispossessed by his son-in-law, the Byzantine despot of the Morea, Theodore II Palaiologos (1407–43).[6] Thus through these successive dispossessions the principality passed from Angevin to Navarrese dominion, ending up in the hands of the last scion of an old Genoese family, before reverting to Byzantine control.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Aegean was thus divided between several Latin powers, which were gradually eroded by the advancing Turks and the Byzantine despotate of the Morea. The Venetians organised their possessions into several *regimina*. These included Candia, covering Crete and the island of Cerigo; Negroponte, extending over the island of Euboea, Skyros and the Northern Sporades, and Bodonitsa on the coast of Thessaly; Corfu, comprising the island itself, which had been annexed in 1387, Butrint in Epiros and Naupaktos on the Gulf of Patras; Nauplion and Argos, which encompassed the island of Aegina; and finally Coron and Modon, incorporating the island of Sapienza. Venice also extended her protectorate over the Cyclades, administering Tenos and Mykonos directly, and had several trading posts outside her own territory, such as Thessaloniki in Macedonia, and Ephesos and Miletos on the coast of Asia Minor. Since 1309 Rhodes had been in the hands of the Knights Hospitaller, who for two centuries provided a strong Christian bulwark against the Turks; the island served as a staging-post on the shipping routes to Cyprus and Syria.

The Genoese domain was more limited: Chios, Samos and Old and New Phokaia were held by the *mahona*; there was a Genoese trading post at Ephesos; and Lesbos, Lemnos, Thasos, Imbros, Samothrace and Ainos were held by members of the Gattilusio family, but without strong ties to Genoa. Thessaloniki came under Venetian protection from 1422 to 1430, while the duchy of Athens was in the hands of Antonio Acciaiuoli from 1403 to 1435, and Centurione II Zaccaria held sway over the Morea from 1404 to 1432, although this was gradually reconquered by the Byzantine despotate. Latin commerce developed within this territorial framework, but also in the Byzantine and Turkish domains. The Latins came to dominate the whole of the Aegean and the Balkans, and some of their towers and fortifications mark the landscape to this day.

[6] Topping (1975a); Topping (1975b); Bon (1969), I; Zakythinos (1975), I; Setton (1975b); Setton (1975c); Lock (1995).

LONG-DISTANCE TRADE AND ITS INFRASTRUCTURE

Long-distance trade was encouraged by the concession of privileges, which sometimes legalised earlier capture. Venice had obtained complete freedom to trade in Byzantine territories in 1082. Under the agreement made in 1209 with William of Champlitte, Venice secured full ownership of Coron and Modon, possession being confirmed by the treaties concluded in 1268 and 1277 with Michael VIII Palaiologos. In the principality of Achaia, Venice had also enjoyed privileges since the settlement of the Franks in the early thirteenth century. Finally, in 1394 an agreement with Theodore I Palaiologos (1380/1–1407), despot of the Morea, restored the Venetians' customary freedom to trade in the despotate. They were thus able to develop their trading activities throughout the Aegean hindered only by the daily harassment of the tax collectors and agents of the Byzantine fisc. These officials were ready to challenge imperial concessions, especially concerning the export of wheat, which often prompted lengthy negotiations.

From 1261, the Genoese also enjoyed total exemption from the Byzantine *kommerkion*; however, they had to wait for the treaties of 1304 and 1317, concluded with Andronikos II, before they could freely export wheat produced in the empire. John VI Kantakouzenos' (1347–54) attempts to free himself of Genoese economic domination were short-lived: the so-called 'Latin war' (August 1348 – March 1349) was disastrous for the Byzantines. The Pisans also obtained exemption from all customs dues during the reign of Michael VIII. This was not the case with the other Latin nations: although the Catalans managed to reduce their tax paid from three to two per cent in 1320, they never won total exemption. The Narbonnais paid a tax of four per cent throughout the fourteenth century, and the Anconitans two per cent. The Florentines had to wait until 1422 to benefit from reduction of the *kommerkion* by half and the people of Dubrovnik until 1451 to see their duties reduced to two per cent. Despite these variations, the Latins were generally better placed than the Greeks, who had to pay the *kommerkion* at the full rate. This was one of the reasons for Latin supremacy over their Byzantine counterparts.[7]

The second pillar of western trade was the network of colonies and trading posts with permanently settled Latin populations. This emigration naturally extended the vast *inurbamento* movement whereby the Italian mercantile republics drew from their surrounding countryside (*contado*) the human resources necessary for their economic development. We shall leave aside the Cyclades, where the Venetians were no more than a handful of conquering families: on Naxos, the Sanudo and then the Crispo families;

[7] Zakythinos (1975), II, p. 258; Laiou (1972); Laiou (1980–1); Balard (1978), II; Antoniadis-Bibicou (1963), pp. 124–33; Giunta (1959), pp. 140–5; for the Komnenian period: Magdalino (1993a), pp. 142–50; Lilie (1984b). See also Chrysostomides (1970); Jacoby (1976); Jacoby (2001a).

on Karpathos, the Corner (Cornaro) family; the Ghisi on Tenos, Mykonos and Amorgos; on Cerigo, the Venier family and on Santorini, the Barozzi. Similarly, in ports of call such as Coron and Modon, the permanent Latin population was insignificant compared with passing merchants and job-seeking sailors. The Latin population must be evaluated quite differently in territories of some substance. For fourteenth-century Negroponte it would be difficult to put the Latins at a figure of more than 2–3,000, out of a total estimated population of 40,000. In Crete the earliest extant census dating from 1576–7 mentions only 407 Venetian families settled in the *cavalerie*, but takes no account of the Latin *bourgeois* in the towns. It seems reasonable to put the number of Venetians on the island at several thousand – 10,000 according to Thiriet, 2,500 according to Jacoby. They divided into fief-holders: *sergenterie* for non-nobles, *cavalerie* for noble Venetians, and *bourgeois* in the towns. Among these fief-holders were the greatest names of the Venetian aristocracy: Dandolo, Gradenigo, Morosini, Venier, Corner and Soranzo. They were subject to heavy levies for the defence and exploitation of their domains, but their common aim was to maximise production from their lands and to secure free trade in cereals from the *Dominante*. The Venetian *bourgeois* of Crete practised crafts or professions in the towns and shared above all in the profits of long-distance trade.[8]

Estimates for the Genoese possessions in the Aegean are just as uncertain. The Gattilusio family admittedly only attracted a handful of fellow citizens at Lesbos, in the northern Aegean, which they occupied at the beginning of the fifteenth century. While dominant at Chios, the Zaccaria had only a few companions and a garrison of 800 soldiers. Under the administration of the *mahona*, a report addressed to the doge of Genoa in 1395 by the *podestà* Niccolò Fatinanti makes it possible to estimate the Latin population at nearly 400 families, i.e. about 2,000 individuals. Among them, the *mahonesi* themselves emerge as the most active participants in long-distance trade; they enjoyed a monopoly on the sale of alum and mastic, the chief products of Phokaia and Chios.[9]

Were the Latins settled in the trading posts and colonies of the Aegean the sole actors in economic life? Or were the Greeks and Jews from the Byzantine empire associated with them in trading activities? Looking at the only official texts – the deliberations of the senate and other Venetian assemblies – one might conclude that the Venetians monopolised trade between the city and its colonies in *Romania*, with their subject populations only minimally involved in local and regional trade, and with profits going exclusively to the citizens of Venice and her fleet. But new evidence is coming to light to

[8] Loenertz (1970–8); Koder (1973), pp. 170–3; Thiriet (1975), pp. 270–86; Jacoby (1989a); Jacoby (1997a); Gallina (1989); *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca*, ed. Chrysostomides.

[9] Argenti (1958), I; Balard (1978), I; Pistarino (1990a).

challenge Thiriet's rigid segregation of Venetian colonial society. The study of Cretan notarial acts of the fourteenth century currently underway shows that many associations were formed between Latins, Greeks and Jews for long-distance trading. The fact that Venetian fief-holders and Byzantine *archontes* were the ringleaders of the great Cretan revolt of 1363 suggests some community of interests between the various ethnic elites. On Chios, some Greeks and Jews played an equal role with Latins in long-distance trade: Antonius Argenti, Rabbi Elias and Master Elixeus all invested capital in *societates* with Latins, participating in maritime insurance or the transport of cereals, as well as local trade and the provisioning of small ships between the island and the mainland nearby. In this sense, the increase in maritime and mercantile activities in Latin *Romania* undoubtedly had an impact on the native elite.[10]

However, the Latins controlled the main naval commissioning and navigational organisation. At Venice, the senate strictly regulated the system of *mudae*: the dates of bids and galley sailings, ports of call, merchandise to be loaded and the size of the crews. The system even covered the traffic of unarmed vessels bringing home surplus merchandise. The *mudae* of Cyprus, Syria and Alexandria paid compulsory visits to Modon and Candia, while the *mudae* of *Romania* necessarily put into port in Messenia and Negroponte. The Cyprus *muda* was suppressed in 1373, when the Genoese took Famagusta and wanted to enforce a trading monopoly to benefit the port. On the Genoese side, organisation was laxer: only in 1330 were galleys banned by the *officium Gazarie* from sailing alone for the Levant beyond Sicily. There was no regular convoy, but it was made mandatory for the owners of galleys to sail together (*in conserva*), so as to minimise the risks to precious commodities in transit. There are indications that the Genoese sent two convoys a year to *Romania* before 1350; thereafter it was reduced to one. But Genoa never managed to establish a system of bids comparable to that of the *incanti* at Venice, often leaving it in private hands. The Catalans did not organise regular convoys to the east before the end of the fourteenth century. Besides these regular sailings, unarmed ships would trade along the Aegean coasts; the Venetians put in at Negroponte and Thessaloniki, also at Ephesos and Miletos, while the Genoese shipped great quantities of alum from Phokaia and Chios to Flanders. Private shipments, less well-known than the convoys, should not be underestimated.[11]

As in the west, Latin trade in the Aegean was based on contracts drawn up in the presence of a notary; merchants were bound together for a voyage or longer periods by *colleganze* and *commende, societates* and contracts of exchange, maritime insurances and procurements. The Venetian notarial

[10] Jacoby (1973), pp. 889–903; McKee (2000); Balard (1978), I, p. 336; Cosentino (1987); Ilieva (1991).
[11] Stöckly (1995); Balard (1978), II, pp. 576–85; del Treppo (1971); Ashtor (1983); Zachariadou (1983).

deeds from Crete, Coron and Modon, and those of the Genoese notaries of Chios, were no different from those drawn up at Genoa or Venice. The function of these contracts was to raise the necessary capital, insure the ships and cargos and create interdependencies that protected the rights of absent parties. Of particular note are the contracts defining the terms on which the *mahonesi* could exercise their monopoly on the sale of mastic: they divided the production to be sold in the three great geographical zones shared between the Giustiniani families, who made up the *mahona*.[12]

Taken as a whole, these contracts show how diverse were the social origins and class of those involved in the mercantile economy. Although most merchants in the Venetian colonies came from the coasts of the Lagoon, and those of the Genoese trading posts from Liguria, these documents reveal many other traders at work. Catalans, men of Languedoc and Provence, Pisans, Florentines, Lombards and Anconitans, men from southern Italy and Dubrovnik and former refugees from Syria-Palestine were also involved in long-distance trade, either on their own or in association with representatives of the two great Italian maritime republics. The Aegean was truly a 'free trade community' – one where rivalries could develop, but also where individual potential could be fulfilled, given capital, opportunity and a spirit of enterprise.

ROUTES, PRODUCTS AND CONJUNCTURE

There were three distinct areas of Latin trade in the Aegean and the Balkans: the Peloponnese, the Venetian islands and the Genoese possessions. The Peloponnese had long been considered the preserve of Venice, which had gained total freedom of trade upon the creation of a Frankish principality there. Records from the earliest known Venetian assemblies refer to Venetians trading between Clarence and Apulia. This port was in effect the most convenient on the routes between Italy and the principality of Achaia, particularly once the latter passed into the Angevin domain. A Venetian consul saw to it that things ran smoothly, though with some local disruptions. The Venetians brought in metals and cloth, loading their vessels with salt, cereals, cotton, oil, raw silk and raisins from the Morea; the *mudae* were authorised to make a stop at Clarence, and unarmed ships were allowed to collect merchandise left in transit by the galleys. The Genoese also did business at the port, investing almost 4,620 *livres* in sixteen contracts between 1274 and 1345. On a smaller scale, the people of Dubrovnik were also interested in the principality's ports, buying wheat, hides, silk and linen and selling woven cloth, wine and cheeses.

[12] *Pietro Pizolo*, ed. Carbone, I; *Leonardo Marcello*, ed. Chiaudano and Lombardo; *Zaccaria de Fredo*, ed. Lombardo; *Benvenuto de Brixano*, ed. Morozzo della Rocca; Argenti (1958), III; *Notai genovesi*, ed. Balard; Tangheroni (1996).

The second half of the fourteenth century was less favourable from the Latin point of view: Clarence followed the decline of the principality of Achaia and its port suffered stagnation, which Pero Tafur noted on his travels there around 1435. Patras appears to have taken over as the main trading port in the area; the Venetian senate estimated that in 1400 merchandise worth 80,000 ducats had been imported from Patras, with a further 60–70,000 ducats'-worth in 1401. It is understandable that in these circumstances Venice accepted from Patras' archbishop responsibility for protecting the city in 1408, seeking a replacement for the decline of Clarence. The Venetians also played a significant role in the Byzantine despotate until the early fifteenth century, bringing raw materials and manufactured goods and buying wheat, cotton, honey and raw silk. However, Despot Constantine Palaiologos' conquest of Clarence and Patras in 1428 put paid to this cordial relationship. In the absence of conclusive documents, it is hard to evaluate the economic role of the Catalan duchies in this intra-Mediterranean exchange.[13]

To the south of Messenia, the two ports of Coron and Modon were of major interest to Venice. They were, to use an expression of the senate, the 'principal eyes' of the *Dominante*, and of prime strategic importance. They surveilled the movements of enemy fleets and served as a base for the reconquest of rebellious Crete in 1363–4. As staging-posts and warehouses, they received the convoys of merchant galleys which had to call at Modon every year: bills of lading preserved in the Datini archives in Prato list the various commodities – most often of eastern origin such as cotton, sugar and spices – which the galleys would pick up. With their rich agricultural hinterlands, Coron and Modon exported agricultural goods and, most importantly, the products of local stock-raising. Understandably, when faced with Greek and Turkish incursions, Venice tried to protect its two isolated enclaves, and from 1390 to 1430 sought to reunite them territorially through a series of annexations.[14]

It is in the Venetian-dominated islands of the Aegean that we can see the *Dominante*'s mercantile *dirigisme* most clearly; Venice hoped to satisfy its own needs by developing agricultural production there, and aimed to create transit centres for merchandise bound for or coming from the Levant. Crete enjoyed an exceptional position in this respect. It was the point of departure for regional exchanges with the Turkish territories of Asia Minor, which supplied it with slaves, wheat, horses and alum, and to which Crete sent textiles, wine and soap; likewise for exchanges with the Cyclades – which suffered from a chronic shortage of cereals – and with Negroponte,

[13] *Régestes des délibérations*, ed. Thiriet; *Délibérations des assemblées vénitiennes*, ed. Thiriet; Krekić (1961); Bon (1969), I, pp. 320–5; Zakythinos (1975), II, pp. 256–60; Saradi-Mendelovici (1980); Saradi-Mendelovici (1980–1); Schmitt (1995); Balard (2004).

[14] Hodgetts, 'The colonies of Coron and Modon' (PhD thesis, 1974); Thiriet (1976–8).

Coron and Modon. But above all the Cretan ports, first and foremost Candia, played a vital part in Mediterranean trade. In effect, they saw two convoys of galleys pass every year: those of Cyprus, then those of Syria and Alexandria. Before the Genoese capture of Famagusta in 1373, trade with Cyprus was of prime importance: Crete imported Cypriot salt and sugar and exported cereals there, and this trade was dominated by the Corner family, who had possessions in Crete and around Piskopi. The galleys of Syria and Alexandria brought spices, silk and cotton, with the result that Crete became the repository for Mediterranean trade's most valuable products. Finally, the *Dominante* regarded the island as its wheat granary, since Crete provided more than a third of its supplies; wheat was a state monopoly and the great landowners could not export it elsewhere without the senate's authorisation. Other products fostered trade between Crete and Venice, including wine from Malvasia ('malmsey'), dessert grapes, cotton, wood, cheeses and hides, and this trade came to dominate the entire Cretan economy, provoking frequent revolts, even from the ranks of Venetian fief-holders.[15]

The island of Negroponte, divided between Venice and the *terciers*, was a compulsory stop for the *muda* to *Romania*, which put in there either on the outward journey at the end of August, or on its return from Constantinople in November. It was thus pivotal to Venetian trade in lower *Romania*, importing and distributing western products such as woollen and linen cloth, which piled up in the island's warehouses, as well as taking in products from Greece, such as wood, hides, acorns from kermes oaks (yielding crimson dye), wax, cotton, cereals and raisins, for transport to the west. Moreover, Negroponte's principal port of Chalkis was a stop for the trade in wood, cereals, hides and cloth between Crete and Macedonia. But there was no longer a question of state-organised trade confined to spring and autumn passages along the coast of Thessaly; most were left to private enterprise. Thessaloniki was now the hub of these multi-part voyages. The Venetians had a consul there and their small merchant colony amassed wheat from Macedonia and the Bulgarian plains and sold woollen and linen cloth from the west. Their trade continued, even after the Ottomans occupied the town. Merchants from Dubrovnik had been active in Thessaloniki since 1234, when its lord, Manuel Angelos (1230–7), granted them a privilege. The Genoese, too, tried to establish themselves in Thessaloniki; they had a consul there in 1305 and invested in the town around that time. However, they did not act in liaison with those making for the Aegean's east coast, the heart of the Genoese domain from the end of the thirteenth century on.[16]

[15] Thiriet (1975), pp. 328–37; Zachariadou (1983), pp. 159–73; Gallina (1989).
[16] Thiriet (1975), pp. 337–41; Krekić (1961), pp. 67–70; Balard (1978), I, p. 164; Koder (1973).

Figure 60 The shape of the future: illustration of a square-rigged cog

Chios witnessed the development of trade in mastic and alum under the rule of the Zaccaria (1304–29). Alum became very important after 1346, when the *mahonesi* secured control of it. It was indispensable for fixing dye in cloth, and came from the mines of the Old and New Phokaia on the coast of Asia Minor. However, the Giustiniani also tried to control production of alum from other sources in Ottoman territory : Koloneia, Kütahya, Ulubad and Kyzikos. Chios was thus the great repository for alum, which ships and cogs ferried to Flanders for the textile industry. The transport of such a heavy product undoubtedly lay at the root of the medieval 'nautical

Map 49 Ties material and spiritual: the Roman orthodox and the Romance-speaking worlds

revolution', which saw square-rigged cogs replacing the Latin ships in use in the thirteenth century, putting Genoa ahead of other maritime towns in the race for heavy tonnage (see fig. 60). Until the loss of Phokaia in 1455, Genoese alum occupied a key place in the exchanges between east and west; it stimulated shipbuilding and an increase in the size of ships, and dictated a regular shipping circuit, directly linking Chios with Flanders and England.[17]

[17] Argenti (1958), III, pp. 488–9; Heers (1971), pp. 274–84; Balard (1978), II, pp. 769–82; Pistarino (1990a); Lane (1974).

same time amassing the products of Anatolia in its warehouses. Finally, the island lay on the axis of two shipping routes, one via the Straits north to Constantinople and the Black Sea, the other leading to Syria and Alexandria by way of Rhodes and Famagusta. It was the hub of Genoese international trade in the east.[18]

From 1355, the Genoese had another base in the same region, the island of Lesbos, which had passed into the hands of the Gattilusio family. Apart from the alum from Kallones on the shore of the island's gulf, the port of Mytilene received Genoese trade on its way from Egypt to Constantinople, via Rhodes and Chios. This trade was primarily in Pontic slaves being exported to Egypt to swell the ranks of the Mamluk army. The seizure of the northern Aegean islands and of the port of Ainos at the mouth of the Maritsa by the Gattilusio at the beginning of the fifteenth century gave the Genoese access to the cornfields of Thrace and the Bulgarian plains.[19]

This picture of western trade in the Aegean would not be complete without some reference to the fluctuations and hindrances characterising fourteenth-century commerce in general. Papal embargoes on trade with the Saracens were heeded to varying degrees until 1345–50, and during the first half of the century this gave great significance to the sea routes to Rhodes, Cyprus and Lesser Armenia, where the harbour of Ayas was the outlet for a famous 'Mongol route' leading to India and China. Crete then had a decisive role as port of call and warehouse for all Venetian shipping, while Negroponte was an essential staging-post for the galleys to Constantinople. In the second half of the century, the issuing of papal licences allowing Latins to traffic in Syria and Egypt led to a proliferation in trading links. Cyprus, partially dominated by the Genoese, was to a large extent abandoned by the Venetian merchant galleys, while Chios added the profits derived from its intermediary role in north–south trade and trafficking with Turkish Anatolia to its large-scale dealings with the west.

Despite everything, western commerce in the Aegean suffered the setbacks which engulfed the fourteenth century as a whole. Both the figures from the *incanti* of Venetian galleys gathered by Thiriet and Stöckly, and those collected from the *Karati Peyre* register by the author, show very high levels of trade with *Romania* in the first half of the fourteenth century, followed by a fall-off in trade from 1350 and a recession lasting until at least 1410–20. Lower production in the west after the Black Death in 1348, an increase in Ottoman incursions in the Aegean, depopulation in Genoese and Venetian territories of which their authorities complained and the development of piracy – which finds an echo in all sources, beginning with the business letters of the Datini archive – all combine to explain

[18] Balard (1978), II, pp. 742–9; Heers (1971), pp. 276–7; Pistarino (1995).
[19] Pistarino (1990b); Mazarakis (1996).

this drop. But war never hindered the expansion of business for long; the Venetians and Genoese were able to come to terms with the Turks and the despots of the Morea. As for piracy, it would be a mistake to overestimate its effects; the goods seized by the pirates re-entered the economic system sooner or later, burdened only by an additional tax. After several decades of crisis, western trade resumed its expansion in the Aegean after 1420, more diversified in its agents, its objectives and its results.[20]

[20] Thiriet (1962); Stöckly (1995); Balard (1978), II, pp. 683–4; Edbury (1991); Gertwagen (1998); Jacoby (1997c).

CHAPTER 24

THE ROMAN ORTHODOX WORLD (1393–1492)

ANTHONY BRYER

CHRONOLOGY AND DEFINITION

Byzantines were perhaps more concerned than most medieval people with the insecure business of measuring time and defining authority. There was not much they could do about either, but naming is a taming of the forces of nature and anarchy, and placed the humblest in relation to the stability of God. Byzantines called this order *taxis*. They craved *taxis* all the more in the fifteenth-century *anno domini* (AD), because for orthodox Christians, who counted by the *anno mundi* (AM), it was, quite simply, the end of the secular world. For subjects of either, or both, emperor and patriarch in Constantinople, the world was created on 1 September 5508 BC. Gennadios II Scholarios (1454–6, 1463, 1464–5), Sultan Mehmed II's (1451–81) first patriarch after the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks on 29 May 1453, put matters in cosmic proportion by foretelling doomsday on 1 September 1492, the end of the seventh millennium AM. In 1393, the first year of the last century of the world, Patriarch Antony IV (1389–90, 1391–7) put matters in *taxis*. Grand Prince Vasilii I of Moscow (1389–1425) had remarked that although there was a church, there did not seem to be a credible emperor in Constantinople. The patriarch replied: 'it is not possible to have a church without an emperor. Yea, even if, by the permission of God, the nations [i.e. the Turks] now encircle the government and residence of the emperor . . . he is still emperor and autocrat of the Romans – that is to say of all Christians.'[1]

The truth was that in 1393 the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid I (1389–1402), who had in 1389 won his throne and the vassalage of Serbia on the battlefield of Kosovo, annexed Bulgaria and was preparing to encircle the government and residence of Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425) in Constantinople, a blockade only broken when the sultan was captured by Timur at the battle of Ankara on 28 July 1402.[2] The Mongols, however, soon left Anatolia, but not before reviving the nexus of emirates from which the Ottomans had sprung in what is now Turkey. Thrown into civil war until the emergence of

[1] *MM*, II, pp. 190–1; see also Obolensky (1971), pp. 264–6.
[2] Matschke (1981a), pp. 9–39. See also above, pp. 832, 839.

Mehmed I (1413–21), the Ottomans regrouped in their most recent Balkan conquests, giving Byzantium a half-century's respite. By 1453 the City was far from being a bulwark of the west against the hordes of Asia: indeed, the reverse. In secular terms the Ottoman state already ruled far more orthodox Christians than did the Byzantine emperor. It was as a European ruler, based in the Balkans, that Sultan Mehmed II finally took Constantinople as a preliminary to his conquest and reconquest of Anatolia, which occupied the rest of his reign.

The Ottomans were not a people but a dynasty; nor did their Muslim subjects then call themselves Turks. Patriarch Antony used the term 'nation' (Greek *ethnos*, Latin *natio*) pejoratively to describe such barbarians – but he did not call himself Greek either, let alone Hellene, which meant an ancient pagan. He signed himself, in Greek, as 'Our Moderation, Antonios, elect of God, archbishop of Constantinople the New Rome, and ecumenical patriarch'. Today we call his flock Byzantines. But this is as helpful as calling the French Lutetians, after the classical name of their capital in Paris. So far as Antony was concerned, he and his flock were Christian subjects of the first Constantine's New Rome. Hence use is made of their own self-denominator of 'Roman orthodox' to describe them in this chapter.

In the fifteenth century, the Byzantines still called themselves Romans, synonymous with Christians; in Greek their church was termed catholic, or ecumenical. But Emperor John VIII Palaiologos (1425–1448) had to appeal for support to an older Rome and another catholic church against the encircling Turks. John would have been surprised to find himself described in the Latin version of the subsequent decree of the union of the churches as 'emperor of the Greeks', for he had subscribed to it in purple in Florence on 6 July 1439 as 'in Christ God faithful emperor and autocrat of the Romans' – his sprawling signature is in Greek.[3] But the emperor was emphatically 'Roman' and his people soon confirmed their orthodox identity too – by generally rejecting the Council of Florence.

This discussion of time and title may sound antiquarian today, but is vital to an understanding of the identity of the Roman orthodox in the fifteenth century. It coincided roughly with the ninth century of the Muslim era, when the Ottomans first named Byzantines for what they were: subjects of a church that had survived an empire, called 'Rum', or Roman. The definition holds to this day, most vividly when a villager in north-eastern Turkey explains that 'This was Roman country; they spoke Christian here.'

If this chapter were limited to the political history of the Byzantine empire in the fifteenth century, it would be halved by the fall of Constantinople in 1453 which indeed resounded in the west, where historians have made that date one to remember, without quite explaining why. In truth, the change

[3] Gill (1959), p. 295; Buckton (ed.) (1994), p. 220. See fig. 62.

Figure 61 The *basileus* under western eyes: portrait medal of John VIII Palaiologos (1425–48) by Pisanello, engraved during the opening stages of the council of union, which met at Ferrara before moving to Florence in 1439 to avoid the plague

of municipal government in Constantinople was important, not so much in the west as to those whom it principally involved: the Roman orthodox. The arrangements made between sultan and patriarch in 1454 may have been shadowy, but they introduced a new order, or *taxis*, which ensured the future of those Roman orthodox incorporated in later conquests of the Morea and the Pontos. Their internal politics still depended on who said what at Florence in 1439, but Roman orthodox bonds which survived the conquest were older and simpler: those of patronage and *patris* – homeland.

This chapter therefore concentrates on the Roman orthodox in the last century of their world: 6901–7000 AM (1393–1492 AD). It concentrates on four homelands, based on Thessaloniki, Mistra, Constantinople and Trebizond. It must exclude other orthodox – whether Greek-speaking or not – who lived under 'Italian' rule along the Adriatic coast and in the Aegean, Dodecanese and Cyprus.[4] It excludes Albania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Herzegovina and southern Bosnia, as well as the lands north of the Danube which emerged from the fourteenth century as posthumous Byzantine states and were to adopt the very name 'Romania': Wallachia and Moldavia.[5] It

[4] 'Italian' rule encompasses Venice, Genoa, the Knights Hospitallers and local Latin or Frankish lords; it lasted in the Dodecanese until 1523, and in Cyprus until 1571.

[5] In the century from 1397, the Turks gradually subjugated Albania, as they did Serbia between 1389 and 1459. Bulgaria was occupied by the Turks in 1393, with Herzegovina and southern Bosnia falling some 70 years later, in 1463–5. Wallachia (subjugated between 1462 to 1476) and Moldavia (subjugated between 1455 to 1512) also became tribute-payers to the Ottoman empire.

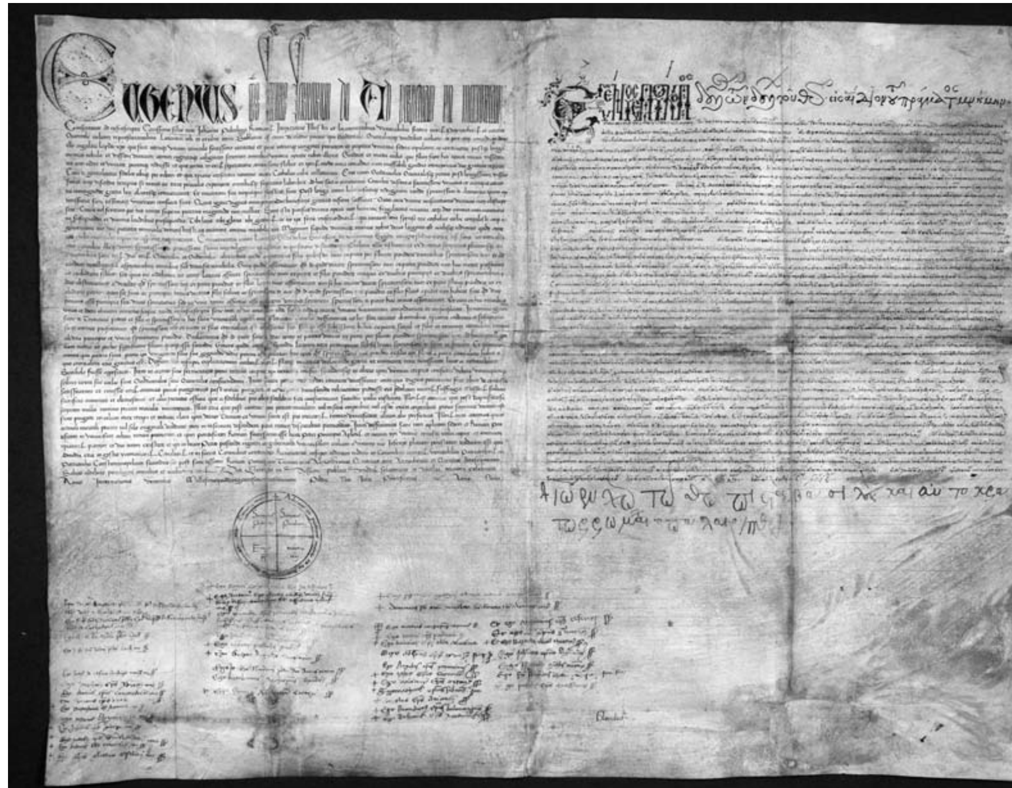


Figure 62 Bull of union, Florence (papal chancery), 6 July 1439; parallel texts are written in Latin and Greek, and John VIII's sprawling signature stands alone beneath the Greek text on the right, in contrast to the array of cardinals, patriarchs and bishops beneath the subscription of Pope Eugenius IV on the left

must even exclude the peoples of the Crimea, whom Mehmed II made tributary in 1475, turning the Black Sea into an Ottoman lake: Khazars, Armenians and Karaite Jews ruled by Crimean Tatar khans, Roman orthodox princes of Gothia and Genoese consuls in Caffa.[6]

By the end of the century only two eastern Christian rulers remained wholly independent of the Ottoman empire. Ethiopia had subscribed to the Union of Florence in 1439, but its Solomonic king, the *negus* Na'od (1478–1508) had an orthodoxy of his own. Moscow had rejected the terms of Florence, so was orthodox enough; Grand Prince Ivan III (1462–1505) had even married the niece of Constantine XI Palaiologos (1449–53), last emperor in Constantinople. But New Rome did not grant Russia its patriarchate until 1589, on the grounds that Old Rome had forfeited the title, and Moscow could enter the bottom of the list as Third Rome.[7]

At the end of the seventh millennium in Constantinople, Patriarch Maximos IV (1491–7) was spared the embarrassment which faces all who foretell a day of judgement which comes and goes without incident, for by 7000 AM most Roman orthodox had adopted the western computation of 1492 AD. Instead, he could say with more conviction than had his predecessor, Antony, a century before, that while since 1453 it was demonstrably possible to have a church without an emperor, it was now possible to have a church with a sultan – indeed for the orthodox a sultan was preferable to a doge or pope. Patriarch Maximos urged the republic of Venice to grant the same rights and freedom of worship to Roman orthodox in the Ionian islands as were available inside the Ottoman empire, while the Roman orthodox church in Cyprus had to wait until 1571 and the Ottoman conquest of the island before regaining its autonomy.[8] Under Sultan Bayazid II in 1492, the identity, survival and even prosperity of the Roman orthodox were more assured than they had seemed to be in 1393, when Bayazid I had threatened an emperor in Constantinople.

THESSALONIKI AND ITS ARCHBISHOPS

The city of Thessaloniki has many names: ancient Thessalonike, Roman Thessalonica, Slav Solun, Venetian Salonicco, Turkish Selanik, Hebrew Slonki and even Salonica to the British. For all these peoples it appeared to be the strategic or commercial key to the Balkans. The city lies near to where the Vardar river crosses the Egnatian Way before debouching into the Aegean Sea. The river, which rises deep in the Balkans, brought Slav traders each 26 October to the fair of St Demetrios, patron of Thessaloniki

[6] Vasiliev (1936a) pp. 160–275; Ducellier (1981b), pp. 323–653; Nicol (1984), pp. 157–216; Imber (1990), pp. 145–254.

[7] Jones and Monroe (1966), p. 57; Runciman (1968), pp. 320–37.

[8] Runciman (1968), p. 212.

and – through the Thessalonican-born evangelists, Sts Cyril and Methodios – of all Slavs. The Egnatian Way runs from the Adriatic coast to Constantinople, so linking Old and New Rome at Thessaloniki.

The Slavs found Thessaloniki was a key which they could not turn. Even the most aggressive of Serbian tsars, Stefan Dušan (1331–55), was unable to take the long-desired city of St Demetrios. By contrast its shallow harbour and October fairs were of limited charm to Italian traders; when offered the key to Thessaloniki in 1423, they accepted without enthusiasm. By then Thessaloniki had developed another reputation. As the second city of the Byzantine and (eventually) Ottoman empire, its relationship with the capital in Constantinople was always uneasy. Even when ruled by a secondary member of the imperial family, Thessaloniki gained a local identity as a sort of city-state of its own, with a recognisable if inchoate local leadership, often headed by the archbishop.

The fourteenth-century urban and peasant uprisings of western Europe were paralleled in Byzantium. In western terms, revolutionary Thessaloniki became a 'commune' from 1342 to 1350. In truth, its urban and artisanal mass was only just critical enough to claim local self-determination behind the great walls of the city, with a still-shadowy political ideology labelled 'Zealot'. But Thessaloniki did not forget those heady days. Its commune was a hardly surprising response to outside pressures: civil war in Byzantium, the Ottoman entry into Europe and the threat of Dušan, all compounded by the Black Death. Yet in Thessaloniki these years are marked by some of the finest surviving late Byzantine decorated churches and by the career of the last great father of the Roman orthodox church: Gregory Palamas. Palamas was archbishop of Thessaloniki from 1347 to 1359. His doctrines were confirmed by the Roman orthodox church in the next century and remain the vital spiritual ideology of the Slav orthodox in particular. The essentially mystical theology of Palamas maintained that the unknowable essence of God could be approached by revelation rather than reason, and hence was in direct opposition to the Aristotelian scholasticism of the western church. On the nearby monastic commune of Mount Athos, Palamism was given expression by hesychasts – best described as 'quietists' – whose spiritual connections with the political Zealots were both obvious and obscure.[9]

The Ottomans first besieged Thessaloniki from 1383 to 1387. Local leadership was divided between its governor, the future emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, and its archbishop, Isidore Glabas (1380–4, 1386–96). Manuel told his subjects to defy the Turkish ultimatum. On St Demetrios' Day 1383 Glabas warned his flock to mend their ways, just as St Paul had twice written to the Thessalonicans on hope, discipline and premature thoughts

[9] Meyendorff (1964), pp. 13–115; above, p. 823.

of the end of the world. Thessaloniki duly fell in 1387. In 1393 the archbishop ventured back to his see. He found that the world there had not ended. Indeed, Ottoman occupation was more tolerable than Manuel had threatened. Sultan Bayazid I had granted the citizens special favours and had left the infrastructure of Byzantine local government and its officers largely in place.[10]

The fact was that the Ottomans could do no other. Vastly outnumbered by the people they conquered, their problem was manpower: there were too few Muslims to go round, and of those too few Turks. The solution was obvious. While the conversion of an orthodox Christian to Islam could be swift and relatively painless, it takes longer to turn a Roman into a Turk, which is a theme of this chapter. Yet there were short-cuts. In a sermon delivered in occupied Thessaloniki in 1395 Archbishop Glabas reported on an expedient which may date from the first substantial Ottoman establishment in Europe, at Gallipoli in 1354. It is called *devshirme* ('recruitment') in Turkish and *paidomazoma* ('harvest of children') in Greek. This 'child levy' took Christians for training in the Ottoman administration and, especially, in the 'new army' (Turkish *yeni cheri*, root of the English word janissary). Girls could aspire to the harem. It was such converts who were the most eager for further conquest. Their advancement, especially after the battle of Ankara in 1402, led to tension with the old Anatolian Turkish leadership, which was to come to a head in 1453.

In the aftermath of Timur's victory at Ankara, Thessaloniki reverted to Byzantium in 1403. Once again its archbishop provided characteristic leadership. Archbishop Symeon of Thessaloniki (1416/17–29), urged his flock to keep firmly Roman and orthodox. An ardent hesychast, he sought to restore the identity of the city in the face of Venetian and Ottoman pressure. It was difficult to know who constituted the greater threat: the Turks, converts from orthodoxy included, who were sent to chastise the Thessalonicans for their sins, or the Venetians who would infect them with the plague of heresy. From St Sophia in Constantinople Symeon reintroduced a public liturgy to his own cathedral of St Sophia in Thessaloniki and, as in Constantinople, regulated a twice-daily street procession of the protecting icon of the Mother of God called the Hodegetria. But in Constantinople Manuel II Palaiologos was, at the age of seventy-three, more cautious: in 1423, unable to defend Thessaloniki against the Ottomans, he invited the republic of Venice to do it for him. Archbishop Symeon tried to rally his Roman orthodox by chastising them in the name of St Demetrios, on whose miraculous defence of the city in the past he wrote a great discourse

[10] Barker (1969), p. 53; Nicol (1993), p. 287; Vryonis (1956). On late Byzantine Thessaloniki see now Barker (2003); Bakirtzis (2003); Necipoğlu (2003) and other contributions to the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium (4–6 May 2001) on 'Late Byzantine Thessalonike' (published in *DOP* 57).

in Venetian-occupied Thessaloniki in 1427–8. Actually, the Venetians were initially welcomed as no great friends of the pope in Rome, but found the place expensive to defend and the locals (like themselves) doing deals with the Turks. The real end came with Archbishop Symeon's death late in 1429. The Ottomans entered a demoralised city on 29 March 1430; the Venetian captains had slipped away, the icon of the Hodegetria was smashed and 7,000 Thessalonicans were taken captive.[11]

What happened next is partly revealed in Ottoman *tahrir defters*, tax and census registers. Short of manpower, the Ottomans targeted cities such as Thessaloniki, first to Islamicise, and then Turkicise. Outside the walls the overwhelmingly peasant population could await assimilation. Sultan Mehmed II had a declared policy of demographic manipulation, today called 'ethnic cleansing', which has good Byzantine precedents. The Ottoman term was *sürgün* (forcible deportation and resettlement), which – along with *devshirme*, noted by Glabas, and natural erosion by conversion – should soon have made Thessaloniki the second Ottoman city of the empire. But this did not happen. The place recovered slowly after 1430, within walls enclosing about 285 hectares, which in medieval Mediterranean terms could encompass a population of 30,000 or more.

In fact Thessaloniki had an adult population of about 10,414 by 1478, which doubled to 20,331 in around 1500 and only tripled to reach 29,220 by 1519. The precision of Ottoman registers is spurious (for it omits tax-evaders and tax-exempt), but the scale is reliable enough. Clearly, resettlement and conversion were belated. In 1478 the city had a Muslim population of 4,320, but its Christian (Roman orthodox) element, with 6,094 souls, was still in an absolute majority with 59 per cent of households. By *c.* 1500 the Christian population had grown to 7,986 but, with 8,575, the Muslim population had doubled to reach, for the first and last time, a simple majority of 42 per cent of the inhabitants of Thessaloniki. But around 1500 a third category was introduced, if incompletely recorded: 3,770 Jews. By 1519, 15,715 Jews were registered: 54 per cent of the population of Thessaloniki, an absolute majority which they maintained until the semi-conversion of many to Islam together with their false Messiah, Sabbatai Zavi (1625–76), after 1666.[12]

The conversion of the major city of the Balkans, from the staunchly Roman orthodox see of Archbishops Palamas, Glabas and Symeon, first into a Muslim stronghold and then into the largest Jewish city in the world, all within four decades, needs explanation. In the past, Byzantine emperors had in turn invited western Christian powers and Ottoman Turks

[11] Dennis (1960); 'Sainte-Sophie de Thessalonique', ed. Darrouzès; Symeon, *Politico-historical works*, ed. Balfour; Vryonis (1986).

[12] Lowry (1986b), pp. 327–32.

to fight their wars for them against orthodox Serbs and Bulgarians, and regretted the expedient. Now the Ottoman state was faced with a greater, demographic, war. If Thessaloniki could not be turned Turk, a third urban element could be introduced. Before 1430 there is evidence for a few Greek-speaking and Karaite Jews in the city, not even registered in 1478. But after their conquest of Granada in 1492, the catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabel, expelled their Spanish (Sephardic) Jews. Bayazid II welcomed them via Constantinople, largely to settle in Thessaloniki. It was the greatest *sürgün* of all. Ottoman demographic strategy, if such it was, meant that Thessaloniki did not have a Roman orthodox majority again until after 1912, when it fell to Greece, once more to become a second city.[13]

THE MOREA, THE COUNCIL OF FLORENCE AND PLETHON

The history of the Morea is a late Byzantine success story, which also illustrates the dilemmas faced by Roman orthodox leaders caught between the west and the Ottomans in the fifteenth century. From 1262 the Peloponnese was steadily recovered from the south by the Byzantines, who shared it with the shrinking Frankish principality of Achaia, based on Andravida in the north-west, until the Latins were finally ejected in 1429 (on this principality, also known as the Frankish principality of Morea, see above p. 767). From 1349 the Morea was an autonomous despotate, an appanage of Constantinople usually ruled, like Thessaloniki, by a younger member of the imperial dynasty. The despots' capital was at Mistra, below a crusader castle which overlooks ancient Sparta and its plain. Unlike Thessaloniki, Mistra was new, without strong-minded bishops. As the Frankish *Chronicle of the Morea* helpfully put it in 1249: '. . . and they named it Myzethras, for that was how they called it.'[14] The steep streets of Mistra, which cannot take wheeled traffic, still tumble past monastic enclosures, domed churches and balconied houses down to the only square and stabling, which is the courtyard of the despots' palace. Here on 6 January 1449 the despot was invested, but not crowned, as last Roman orthodox emperor, Constantine XI Palaiologos. As despot he had been a tributary of the Ottomans since 1447; as emperor he died fighting for Constantinople on 29 May 1453, but it was not until 29 May 1460 that Mehmed II took Mistra.[15]

The Morean economy was pastoral and transhumant in the highlands, with lowland agriculture, which included exports to Venice of Kalamata olives, along with silk and salt. Monemvasia gave its name to exports of malmsey wine and Corinth to currants. The archives of the despotate are

[13] Lowry (1986b), pp. 333–8; Dimitriades (1991).

[14] *Chronicle of the Morea*, ed. Kalonaros, line 2990, p. 125; tr. Lurier, pp. 158–9; Ilieva (1991); Lock (1995).

[15] Runciman (1980).

Figure 63 Engraving of Mistra in the seventeenth century

largely lost, but it seems to have been run efficiently on late Byzantine fiscal and feudal lines, financing its defence principally through agriculture.[16]

The peoples of the Morea were not as exotic as those of the Crimea, but since the seventh century had included Slav settlers (see above, pp. 257–8). Despite evangelisation as Roman orthodox from the tenth century, Slavs were still evident in Tsakonia, the wild east of the peninsula, while the Maniots in the south had a quite undeserved reputation as the last pagans in Byzantium. Frankish rulers had faced the same problems of manpower as would the Ottomans, who did not settle much either. The Franks left half-castes (*gasmouloi*), great castles, impeccable Cistercian monasteries and, in towns, now forlorn Gothic churches. But they did not take root as deeply as other Latins in the Aegean and Ionian islands. In fact the most substantial demographic introduction in the Morea since the Slavs was Albanian.

However called, Albanians had been moving south before the Ottomans used them to police the Balkans. The Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbs had thrived in the shade of the Byzantine empire. The Albanians seized their turn under Ottoman patronage. They were eager, if sometimes casual, converts to Islam. For example, George, last Roman orthodox mayor (*kephalē*) of Kanina, close to Avlona in southern Albania, turned Turk in 1398, with

[16] Zakythinos (1975), II. On the economy, see also above, pp. 844–5.

the result that his family kept that office until 1943, incidentally supplying the Ottomans with thirty-one successive local *sandjakbeys*, thirteen *beylerbeys* (of Rumelia, Anatolia and Syria), four field marshals (two Ottoman, one Egyptian, one Greek) and a grand vizier on the way. Muslim members of the Vlora family patronised local Roman orthodox monasteries and died fighting the Latins at Rhodes (1522), Naupaktos (1571) and Candia (1668).[17] The Vlora dynasty, however, was unusual in keeping its identity; Ottoman policy was at best to pension off local ruling families.

Incomplete Ottoman registers show a growth of taxable population in the Morea from about 20,000 to 50,000 non-Muslim households between 1461 and 1512, figures surely too low even if shepherds could not be tracked down over a land mass of 20,000 square kilometres. Yet the indications are clear: the Latin and Muslim population was slight, and of the orthodox over one third was Albanian.[18]

Fifteenth-century Mistra was, however, unmistakably not just Roman orthodox, but Hellene – in the person of Byzantium's last great original thinker: George Gemistos Plethon. A sort of Neoplatonist, Plethon adopted his last name in allusion to Plato and probably inspired Cosimo de' Medici's foundation of a Platonic Academy in Florence. If there was a Byzantine 'Renaissance man', he was Plethon, a maverick who had already dabbled in turn with Zoroastrianism and Judaism (perhaps at the Ottoman court) and whose last autograph fragments of a *Book of laws* exalt Zeus as supreme God. He was an awkward nonconformist to handle in Roman orthodox Constantinople. It was perhaps for his own safety that Manuel II exiled him to Mistra *c.* 1410. But Plethon was soon addressing treatises to Manuel and his son, Despot Theodore II Palaiologos (1407–43) on Platonic Republican lines, urging the division of the citizenry into three classes (of which the most important was its military) and the revival of ancient Hellenic virtues: not those of identity of faith or ethnicity, but of patriotism. He had little time for monks, whose lands threatened to turn Byzantium into a monastic economy of almost Tibetan proportions. Such rhetoric may have been utopian, but Plethon held judicial office at Mistra and was rewarded with estates in the Morea. Perhaps on the principle that patriotism is more important than faith, Plethon was in his old age invited to represent the Roman orthodox church as a lay member of its delegation to the conference with the western church held at Ferrara and Florence in 1438–9.[19]

Like other conferences held under duress, the Council of Florence was soon overtaken by military and political events. The crusade promised by Pope Eugenius IV (1431–47) to save the Constantinople of John VIII Palaiologos from the Ottomans, which the emperor sought in reward for

[17] Vlora (1968–73) II, pp. 271–7. [18] Beldiceanu and Beldiceanu-Steinherr (1980), pp. 37–46.
[19] Woodhouse (1986). On the resurgence of Byzantine Hellenism, see also pp. 751–2, 825.

union, got as far as the Bulgarian shore of the Black Sea, but came to grief at Varna in 1444. Ostensibly, however, the council considered theological innovations and terms developed in the western church for which the Roman orthodox had no useful equivalent, or sometimes even definition: the addition of *filioque* to the creed; the notion of purgatory; and the question of unleavened bread – matters which hardly bothered most Roman orthodox unless they lived (as in Crete or Cyprus) alongside westerners. But the essential issue was that of authority, and the way that it had developed in Old and New Romes: the primacy of the pope, archbishop of Old Rome and patriarch of the west, over that of the ecumenical patriarch, archbishop of New Rome, to which the orthodox subscribed in 1439; they could at least agree to be 'Roman'. But besides the Ottoman threat, the orthodox delegation was under the additional duress that the agenda and dialectical rules of the great debate were chosen by western scholastics, who ran rings round them. For westerners the union was a matter of discipline: the reincorporation of the wayward orthodox under the authority of a single pope. But for the Roman orthodox it touched their very identity – hence the inclusion of pundits such as Plethon at the Council.[20]

Patriarch Michael III of Anchialos (1170–8) is first credited with identifying the crux of the matter, when he told his emperor: 'Let the Muslim be my material ruler, rather than the Latin my spiritual master. If I am subject to the former, at least he will not force me to share his faith. But if I have to be united in religion with the latter, under his control, I may have to separate myself from God.'[21] His view was to be put more bluntly in words attributed to *megas doux* Luke Notaras on the eve of the fall of Constantinople in 1453: 'Better the turban of the Turk than the tiara of the Latin [pope].'[22] Between 1439 and 1453 lines were drawn which were to dictate Roman orthodox politics thereafter. Spiritual authority in the east had never been focused on a single see, as in the west, but was in effect dispersed among the whole body of the faithful, including the departed. While those alive soon made it clear that they did not accept union, the Byzantine government remained faithful to the expediency of Florence until the bitter end. After 1453 there could be no going back – or forward. What individual delegates did at Florence in 1439 is therefore vital to explaining not just their own fate, but that of the Roman orthodox under the Ottomans.

The Roman orthodox delegation which John VIII and his dying patriarch took to Florence was a final assembly of the Byzantine intelligentsia, a network of patriotic, family and wandering scholarly contacts, in that order, which somehow survived later party politics. We have already met Plethon (who soon got bored), but to take the link of *patris*, a remarkable number of

[20] Gill (1959). [21] Runciman (1955), p. 122; Magdalino (1993a), pp. 292–3.
[22] Duc., XXXVII.10, ed. Grecu, pp. 328–9; tr. Magoulias, p. 210.

the delegates had a connection with Trebizond in the Pontos. For instance the Aristotelian scholar George of Trebizond (1395–*c.* 1472) was already a convinced unionist and attended the council as a lay member of the papal curia. His reaction to the events of 1453 was to invite Mehmed II to convert to Rome; but he reported so fulsomely on the sultan when they met in Constantinople in 1465, that he found himself in a papal prison. The family of John Eugenikos (1394–*c.* 1455) also came from Trebizond, on which he wrote patriotic encomia; however, he left Florence before the end of the council, to castigate the union. Otherwise, most Roman orthodox signed the decree of union along with their emperor. Some recanted. Others, convinced by the argument at Florence, entered the western hierarchy itself.

However, Mark Eugenikos, brother of John and bishop of Ephesos (1437–45), refused to sign in 1439. A Palamite, but nevertheless pupil of Plethon, he was in 1456 canonised as a saint by Patriarch Gennadios II, who, as George Scholarios, had attended the council, along with George Amiroutzes from Trebizond and Plethon, as one of a remarkable trio of laymen. Bessarion of Trebizond, bishop of Nicaea (1437–9), had studied with Plethon and Amiroutzes and stayed on in Italy as a cardinal (1439–72). Gregory Mamme attended the council as abbot of the great Constantinopolitan monastery of the Pantokrator. He served as ecumenical patriarch (Gregory III) between 1443 and 1450, before returning west to be made titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople (1451–9). Isidore, from Monemvasia in the Morea, attended as Roman orthodox bishop of Kiev and All Rus (1436–9). Also made a cardinal, he was sent to Moscow as papal legate to Grand Prince Vasilii II (1425–62), who promptly imprisoned him as a unionist. Isidore persisted. He proclaimed the union in Constantinople for Mamme on 12 December 1452, and escaped its fall to become Latin patriarch from 1459 to 1463 – to be succeeded in that office by none other than Bessarion.[23] In the face of so many lures and pressures it was *patris* that held this network together.

Plethon was the first to die, in his nineties, at home in his *patris* of Mistra on 26 June 1452. The last local decree of Constantine Palaiologos as despot was to confirm Plethon's sons on his Laconic lands. But after 1453 Plethon's last work, the *Book of laws*, was forwarded to Patriarch Gennadios, who could do no other than burn it. The book was not just heretical: it was plain pagan. In Mistra another of Plethon's circle had been Cleopa Malatesta, wife of the despot Theodore II Palaiologos, younger brother of John VIII. In 1465 Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta (1417–68) penetrated Ottoman Mistra with a Venetian force, and retreated with Plethon's body. He installed the remains in a sarcophagus in the south arcade of his extraordinary Malatesta

[23] Gill (1959); Gill (1964).

Temple in Rimini, part-church, part-pantheon, with an epitaph to 'the greatest philosopher of his time'.[24]

MEHMED II AND GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS

There are two common views of the fall of Constantinople. The first is most vividly depicted in a painting presented to Queen Victoria in 1839 by a hero of the War of Independence of modern Greece from the Ottoman Turks, as a history lesson for the young queen (fig. 64). It shows Constantinople on the fateful day: 29 May 1453. Constantine XI had died a martyr; his Latin allies are scuttling away by sea. Christian youths are rounded up in *devshirme*, to become janissaries who wield curved scimitars. The enthroned Sultan Mehmed II supervises the placing of enormous yokes over the Roman orthodox clergy and lay notables of Constantinople. A distinctly pagan-looking lady, personifying Hellas disarmed, weeps under an olive tree. However, escaping to the highlands of the Morea are young braves in white Albanian kilts, ready to fight another day – which dawned in 1821.[25]

A second, revisionist, view of the event is in fact older than the schoolroom one. This maintains that, as heir of the Byzantine emperors, the conquering sultan created for his Roman orthodox subjects a self-governing community, or *millet*, regulated by their patriarch, who now had greater political powers than he had ever enjoyed, especially over the orthodox Slavs, and restored Constantinople as capital of the Roman orthodox world. As late as 1798 Patriarch Anthimos of Jerusalem explained that when the last emperors of Constantinople sold out to papal thraldom in 1439, it was through the particular favour of heaven that the Ottoman empire had been raised to protect the Greeks against heresy, as a safeguard against the politics of the western nations, and as champion of the Roman orthodox church.[26] No wonder the patriarch condemned the heroes of the Morea when they rose against their sultan.

However, what actually happened in 1453 is still obscured by the writing or rewriting of Roman orthodox, Armenian or Jewish tradition two or three generations later. The non-Muslim peoples then claimed that the conqueror had treated them well. This suited the wishful thinking of all parties, Turks included, and allows modern historians to assume that the status quo of a century later had been in place from the start. Would that things were so tidy, and that sleeping myths could lie. Yet, it is worth looking again at what Sultan Mehmed actually did, and ask: who won or lost Constantinople on 29 May 1453? Even that is not a simple question. The Genoese were first off the mark. Three days later they got the sultan to

[24] Runciman (1980), p. 117. [25] *Makriyannis*, ed. and tr. Lidderdale, pl. 1 facing p. 26.
[26] *Movement for Greek independence*, ed. and tr. Clogg, pp. 56–62.

Figure 64 The fall of Constantinople in 1453, by Panayotis Zographos, presented to Queen Victoria, 1839

confirm their privileges in Galata, opposite Constantinople. Dated 1 June 1453, this Turkish charter granted to the Latins is naturally written in Greek – and preserved today in the British Library (fig. 65). But no other community had a ready-made relationship to confirm, or has a document to record a status which had to begin anew through negotiation or accumulated custom.

Among losers, Constantine XI lost his life. He had supported not just union with the Latins, but Mehmed's rival, Orhan – in 1453 there were Turks, too, within Constantinople, if outnumbered by orthodox outside the walls. The sultan's first action after the fall of the City should also give pause for thought. The fate of the emperor would have posed a tricky problem if Mehmed had taken him alive. The sultan knew, however, what to do with his own prime minister, or grand vizier, Halil Djandarlioghlu (1443–53) – put him to death. The Djandarli family was of impeccable Anatolian Turkish descent. It had served the Ottoman dynasty since 1350, supplying its first and four other grand viziers. But Halil, described by both Muslims and Christians as 'friend of the Romans', had cautioned young Mehmed against taking Constantinople. In 1453 the old Anatolian backwoods beys, whom Timur had restored after 1402, and whom Halil represented, were among the losers.[27]

[27] Buckton (ed.) (1994), pp. 220–1; Frazee (1983), pp. 5–10; Ménage (1965). Compare with the doubts of some Byzantines as to the advisability of retaking Constantinople in 1261 (above, pp. 753, 804).

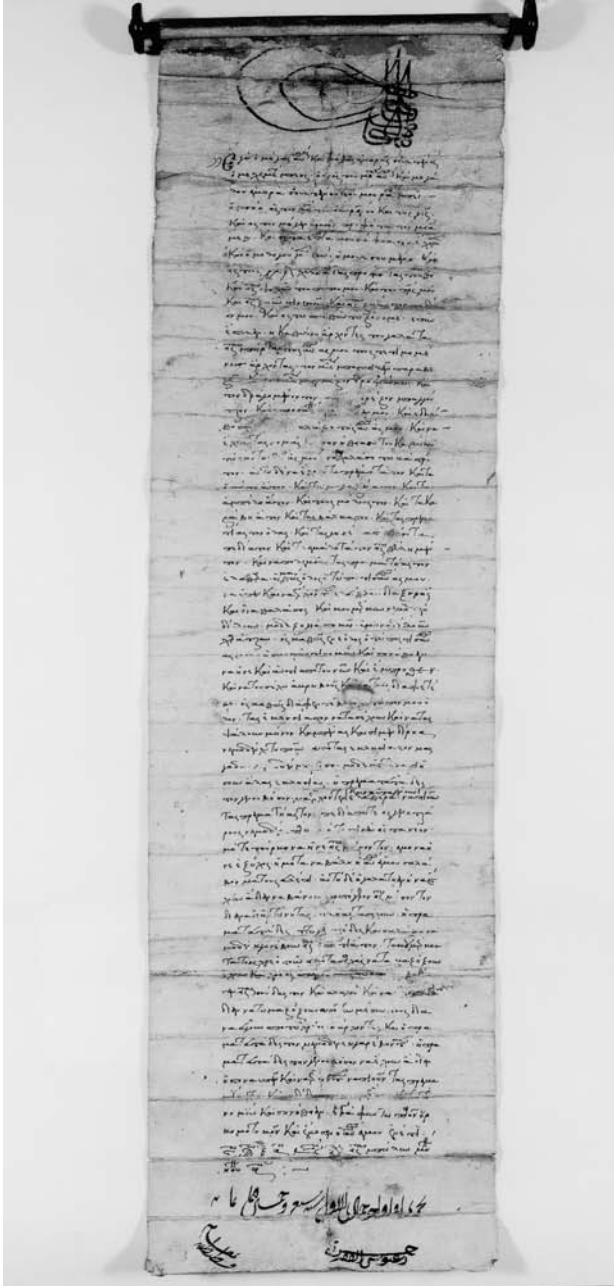


Figure 65 Grant by Mehmed II to the Genoese of Galata (1 June 1453) – only days after capturing the City – with Mehmed's monogram at the top and the Arabic signature of an official at the foot

The ruling orthodox dynasties lost, but a handful of secondary families which switched allegiance – such as the Evrenos of Bithynia or the Vlora of Albania – remained influential under new masters. This period lasted only a generation or two, because their usefulness, to the Ottoman state as well as to their old co-religionists, receded by the end of the century. These decades (1453–92) were, however, vital to the new order, because first-generation converts reached the highest ranks of the Ottoman army and government (which came almost to the same thing) before they forgot their origins. Unlike the Djandarli beys, they were eager for conquest – of their native lands in particular. Like all converts, they tried harder and were typically patrons of new mosques and Islamic foundations in the Christian Balkans and the new capital. Their inherited contacts in the Balkans and the Pontos assisted a relatively orderly transfer of power to Mehmed II.[28]

An example is Mahmud Pasha, a convert who served as the sultan's grand vizier from 1455 to 1474 and who successfully dealt with the surrender of the Serbian state in 1459 and of the empire of Trebizond in 1461, both after spirited campaigns. Yet both events were something of family affairs. Mahmud was born an Angelović, so the last prime ministers of Serbia and Trebizond, with whom he negotiated, were respectively his brother and a cousin. The latter was none other than George Amiroutzes – the shadow of Florence fell over such Ottomans too.[29] After executing his own grand vizier in 1453, Mehmed's next action was to look for a credible agent through whom to rule his Roman orthodox subjects. Their emperor was dead. Their patriarch, Gregory III Mamme (1443–50?), had literally gone over to Rome. But *megas doux* Luke Notaras, the last Byzantine prime minister (1449–53), survived. He was outspokenly anti-unionist, and Mehmed seems to have turned to him. What exactly went wrong is obscured by mutual recriminations in later tradition, to do with sexual habits which may be acceptable in one culture, yet scandalous in another. Perhaps the reality is that Notaras would not convert to Islam. It would have lost his credibility not with Venice (where he had a good bank account) but with the Roman orthodox, and therefore his usefulness to the sultan. Like Djandarlioghlu, he and his sons were executed. It was only then, in January 1454, that Mehmed looked to the religious institutions of his overwhelmingly non-Muslim subjects as a way of running them. With hindsight, this expedient seems obvious, even predestined, but it was not so at the time; despite the long experience of Islam in dealing with non-Muslim communities, such institutions had yet to be embedded in the Ottoman state. In effect the Muslim sultan restored the ecumenical patriarchate, so setting a precedent for other community leaders whom the Ottomans brought under their eye in Constantinople: a chief *haham* for Jews (sometime between 1454 and

[28] Inalcik (1973), pp. 23–34; Imber (1990), p. 159. [29] *PLP*, no. 784.

1492), and a new catholicos for Armenians (sometime between 1461 and 1543), in addition to the privileges granted to western Christians on 1 June 1453, which survived for almost five centuries.[30]

The reconstitution of the see of Constantinople by the sultan is almost as obscure as its traditional foundation by St Andrew. But the evidence of his deed is enough. Mehmed sought out and installed Gennadios II Scholarios as successor of the first-called apostle, and his own first patriarch. It was an inspired choice. Obviously, he could not trust a unionist ally of the papacy, a leading enemy of the Ottomans in the west. The monk Gennadios had rallied the anti-unionists of Constantinople, whose leadership he had inherited from his old teacher, Mark Eugenikos. A veteran of the Council of Florence, Scholarios learned how to deal with the unionists by adapting their own scholastic tools. Now, as patriarch, Gennadios proved adaptable to new facts of life – for example relaxing canon law to allow for the break-up of families and remarriage in the wake of the sack of the City. Even the title he adopted as patriarch was an innovation: 'the servant of the children of God, the humble Gennadios'. In complaining that his bishops were more trouble than the Turks, he recognised that to save the Roman orthodox, the patriarchate must become an Ottoman institution.[31]

Mehmed was quite as remarkable as Gennadios. His stepmother was orthodox. He wrote Greek and hung lamps before his collection of icons. He was a patron of Bellini and curious of all new things. Indeed old Turks complained that 'if you wish to stand in high honour on the sultan's threshold, you must be a Jew or a Persian or a Frank'.[32] Tradition has Mehmed and Scholarios settling the future of the Roman orthodox in *taxis*, a brave new order, and discussing higher theology in a side chapel of the new patriarchal cathedral of the Pammakaristos. But, happily unaware that they were describing what would later be called a *millet*, the fifty-year-old patriarch and twenty-two-year-old sultan appear to have felt their way, apparently making up the rules as they went along. The results are clear. It took a Turk to define a Greek adequately as the son of a Roman orthodox. In so doing, Mehmed ensured the survival of a hitherto endangered people, for the Roman orthodox were thenceforth protected subjects of the sultan's patriarch. The patriarch was responsible to the sultan for regulating the Roman orthodox under canon law – including considerable fiscal franchise over his own flock – in return for privileges and immunities within the Ottoman state.[33]

It was in nobody's interest to question such a rosy tradition later. But it overlooks some harder realities of 1454, one of which was that Mehmed

[30] Braude (1982); Bardakjian (1982); Lewis (1984), pp. 126–36.
[31] GS, ed. Petit *et al.*, IV, p. 206; Turner (1964), pp. 365–72; Turner (1969).
[32] Babinger (1978), p. 508; Raby (1983 [1984]).
[33] Pantazopoulos (1967); Kabrda (1969); Ursinus (1993).

Figure 66 Portrait of Sultan Mehmed II, by Gentile Bellini, 1480

II and his predecessors were primarily sultans of a militant Islamic state, however upstart. They took titles and epithets such as khan, shah, *malik*, 'shadow of God on earth' or, more contentiously, *ghazi* (or holy warrior against the infidel). Mehmed II himself was styled 'ever victorious' and *fatih* (or conqueror). As a pious ruler he founded mosques and charities, which often replaced churches and monasteries; the endowment of St Sophia in Constantinople alone, transferred from cathedral to mosque in 1456/7, numbered over 1,000 properties, including baths, butcheries and beer-shops.[34] The Ottoman state inherited from earlier Islamic practice long-established legal ways of dealing with *dhimmi*s – non-Muslims who, although protected, were unquestionably second-class subjects. Christians

[34] Inalcik (1969–70), p. 243.

may have lived under their own canon law, but ultimately it was the sharia, Islamic law, which was supreme.[35]

In turn Patriarch Gennadios may have been adroit in exploiting the position of the underdog, but in truth his encounters with Mehmed in the Pammakaristos can hardly have been meetings of Renaissance minds. Judging by the patriarch's voluminous writings, he was deeply Roman and conventionally orthodox. His exposition of faith, prepared for the sultan, is uncompromising, even polemical. For him, both the prophet and the pope were equivalents of the great beast of the Apocalypse. Gennadios had sharp views on the Armenians, too, and told the Jews that they laboured under an appalling delusion; it was in fact the Roman orthodox who were the chosen people of God.[36]

The fifteenth-century Ottoman empire reunited the Roman orthodox as subjects of their patriarch in Constantinople. Yet it was not the Byzantine empire in disguise. Mehmed was eventually to resettle Constantinople as the centre of the Roman orthodox world and was to be even more effective in making it the governmental capital of an Islamic empire. But these developments were not overnight decisions, let alone plans, and took a decade or more to work through in a sequence whose details remain unclear. In 1453 the City was almost as depopulated as Thessaloniki had been in 1430. The earliest surviving *defter* survey (see above, p. 859), dated 1477, which includes Constantinople and the Frankish trading town of Galata across the Golden Horn, has been variously analysed. A total of 16,326 households were registered, making a population of over 80,000. Of these the absolute majority was already Muslim with 9,517 households. There were 5,162 Christian households, the majority (3,748) Roman orthodox, which had been augmented by resettlement (*sürgün*) from the Morea after 1460, Trebizond after 1461 and the Crimea after 1475 – the last two in quarters of their own. Besides 372 Armenian households and probably under-recorded Latins and gypsies, the final major element was Jewish, already with 1,647 households.[37]

Constantinople, and most of its communities, grew prodigiously in roughly the proportions set in 1477, reaching perhaps 200,000 by 1489 and certainly double that population in 1535. The one exception is the curiously small Roman orthodox element as registered in the *defters*, which by 1489 had hardly grown. While Ottoman statistics can lie, more often they omit. The meetings of patriarch and sultan in the Pammakaristos were off the record, but the *defters* make one wonder if in 1454 Gennadios did not get Mehmed to exempt the refounded patriarchate, its dependants and properties, from the record too. For Gennadios it would only have been a

[35] Cahen (1965). [36] GS, ed. Petit *et al.*, III, p. 468; IV, pp. 211–31.
[37] Inalcik (1974), pp. 238–9; Lowry (1986b), pp. 323–6.

temporary financial precaution. After all, his prediction of the end of the world in 1492 is on record.[38]

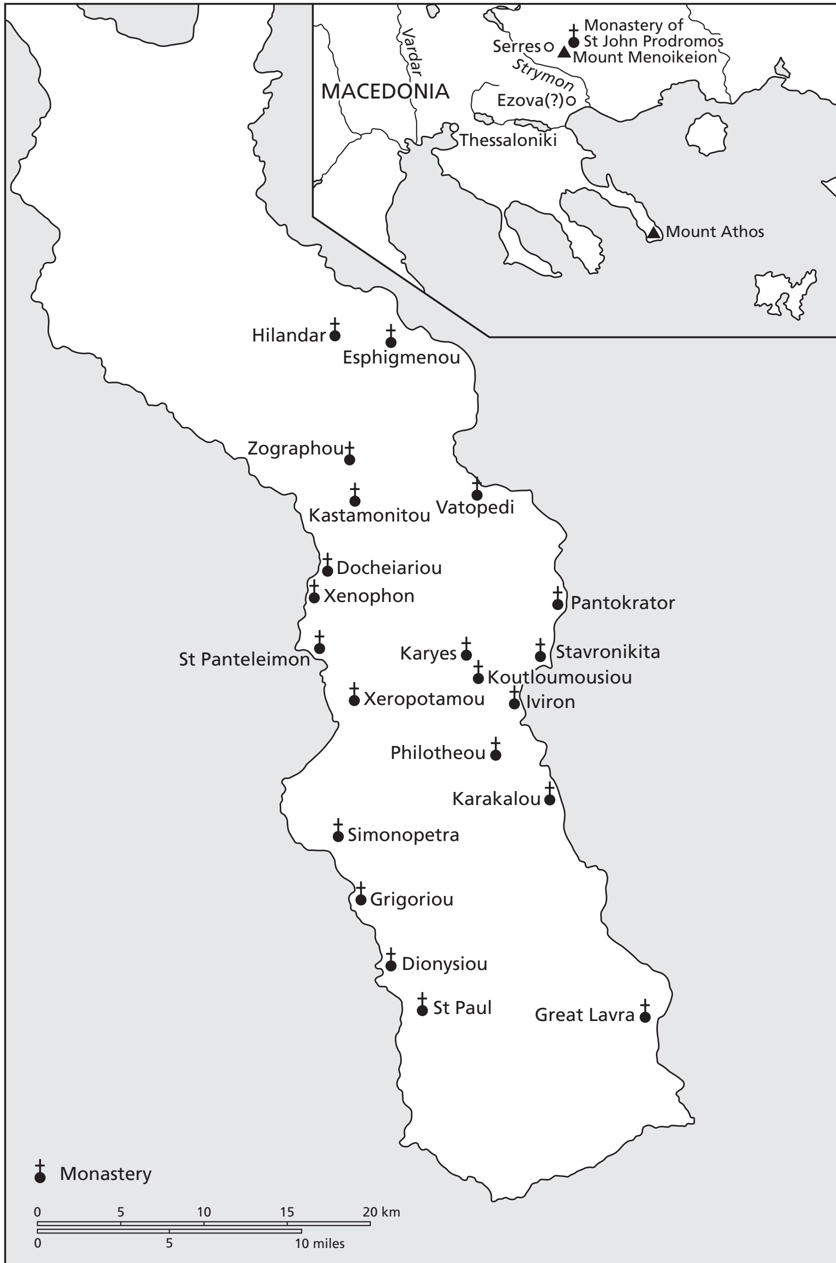
ROMAN ORTHODOX BONDS AFTER 1453: THE PONTOS AND AMIROUTZES; MOUNT ATHOS AND MARA

Trebizond in the Pontos, the last Byzantine empire to be conquered by Mehmed II, is a final illustration of the bonds which still held the Roman orthodox world together in the fifteenth century. The strongest tie was patronage; the most enduring, *patris*. The Pontos, in north-eastern Anatolia, was a distinct *patris* to which its patrons, the Grand Komnenoi, emperors of Trebizond (1204–1461), added political identity. As separatist rulers, their legitimacy was all the more Roman orthodox. Like the grand princes of Moscow, their obedience was to the patriarch, not the emperor, in Constantinople. The Grand Komnenos signed himself as 'faithful emperor and autocrat of all Anatolia, of the Iberians and beyond' – initially encompassing the Crimea. This Black Sea coast was perhaps the most densely settled in the Byzantine world. By 1520–3 the population of central Pontos was registered at over 215,000 of whom 92 per cent were still Christian and 86 per cent Roman orthodox, while the rest of Anatolia, about 5.7 million, was already 93 per cent Muslim.[39]

By contrast with the Pontos, the decline of the orthodox church elsewhere in Anatolia had been relatively swift. It succumbed not so much to Islamic missionary zeal as to the loss of its economic base and the withdrawal of the patronage of its imperial officials – for whom all postings from Constantinople were colonial, whether the natives spoke Greek or not.[40] Only just in time to save the identity of such Roman orthodox, Mehmed had halted the structural disintegration of their church by whatever settlement he made with Scholarios in 1454. The result was that ambitious and well-connected Roman orthodox had an alternative to conversion thereafter. They could keep faith and enter patriarchal service. But without political independence the church could only conserve the flock which paid for it, and was perilously dependent upon patrons. Without economic freedom its theological development was frozen at the point when the sultan recognised it: in authority anti-unionist, in spirituality Palamite.

Although the patriarch was an essential officer of the Ottoman system, it was a fundamentally unequal alliance. Sultans supported the church the better to use it – what had emperors done before them? But in the crucial period of conquest the Roman orthodox found a patron who matched, like Mehmed himself, that time of transition alone. She was

[38] GS, ed. Petit *et al.*, IV, pp. 511–12.
[39] Bryer (1991), pp. 316–19.
[40] Vryonis (1971a). See also pp. 328–9.



Map 50 Mount Athos and Mara

Mara Branković (*c*. 1412–78), daughter of the last despot of Serbia by a sister of the last emperor of Trebizond. In 1435 Mara married Sultan Murad II (1421–51), father of Mehmed II.[41]

The network of marriage alliances in which Mara enmeshed the Ottoman and Roman orthodox dynasties arose from diplomatic expediency – if Serbia could come by dowry rather than conquest, so much the better. But Mara, never a mother, was a formidable widow. Above all she kept her faith, although she resisted a second marriage in 1451 – to her relative, Constantine XI Palaiologos. If she had agreed, the conquest of 1453 would have been even more of a family event than it was. The evidence, not just of tradition but of his acts, reveals how much the sultan revered his Christian stepmother. In 1459 he granted her both the cathedral of St Sophia in Thessaloniki and the fief of Ezova, where she received ambassadors and held a sort of alternative Christian court until her death in 1478.[42] Ezova lies near the Strymon valley in eastern Macedonia between Serres and Mount Athos. Along with the Pontos it was one of the most prosperous areas of the late Byzantine world, where Mehmed allowed some monasteries to keep their holdings and dependent peasants. The Strymon was dominated by the estates of the monasteries of Mount Athos (which Mara and her father endowed) and of the Prodromos on Mount Menoikeion, above Serres (where Patriarch Gennadios II Scholarios retired and is buried). Mehmed II planned to pension off Mara's uncle, the Grand Komnenos David I (1459–61), in the same area after the fall of Trebizond in 1461.[43]

Mount Athos had long been an eremitic and monastic retreat. Since Gregory Palamas, its hesychasts had made it an arbiter of spiritual authority among Roman and other orthodox, countering that of the patriarchate itself. By the fifteenth century its outstations, estates and peasants – who outnumbered the monks by over ten to one – were concentrated from Thessaloniki to Serres, but spread as far as Trebizond; Athos also controlled islands such as Lemnos. It was still to enter its most prosperous days under the Ottomans, when it attracted the patronage of Danubian and Russian orthodox rulers and pilgrims.[44]

In the late fifteenth century, Mara's Ezova in Macedonia was rivalled as a political and economic focus by an even more modest place on the other side of the Roman orthodox world: the village of Doubera, forty kilometres south of Trebizond in the Pontos. The 1515 *defter* registers a solidly Roman orthodox population of only 333 souls (others were probably exempt), but reveals that it was also the *patris* of members of the Amiroutzes family. More significantly, in 1364 the Grand Komnenos Alexios III (1349–90),

[41] Duc., XXX.1–3, ed. Grecu, pp. 257–9; tr. Magoulias, pp. 174–6; Nicol (1994), pp. 110–19; Gavrilović (2006), pp. 83–6.

[42] Babinger (1978), pp. 163–4.

[43] *PLP*, no. 12097; Zachariadou (1969); Lowry (1991).

[44] Bryer and Cunningham (eds.) (1996).

who was also founder of an Athonite monastery, had named Doubera as headquarters of the estates of his own nearby pilgrim monastery of Soumela, one of three in the Pontic interior which retained their privileges and tax exemptions after the fall of Trebizond in 1461, just as the Ottomans had favoured some of the monastic economies around Mara's Ezova.[45]

In 1461 Mahmud Pasha sorted out terms of surrender of Trebizond with George Amiroutzes, after a tiresome campaign which left most of the Pontos itself unconquered. Sultan Mehmed deported the Grand Komnenos David and his prime minister, Amiroutzes, as part of a *sürgün* to Constantinople. Thence Amiroutzes wrote to his old compatriot and fellow delegate at Florence, Bessarion, a vivid letter describing the fall of Trebizond – and asking for money to ransom his son and Bessarion's godson, Basil, who was in danger of forcible conversion to Islam. Amiroutzes was an anti-unionist, but evidently not bothered that Bessarion was now a Latin cardinal. He appealed to closer bonds: shared connections of family and *patris*.[46] Had he already solicited Mahmud, who was surely better placed to help?

By 1463 Bessarion had become Isidore of Kiev's successor as Latin patriarch. In the same year someone (the evidence that it was Amiroutzes is only circumstantial) denounced David to Mehmed II. Refusing to apostasise, the imperial family of Trebizond died in gruesome circumstances. Apparently Mara could not, and Amiroutzes would not, intercede. Certainly Amiroutzes had shifted his allegiance to the sultan, for whom he prepared an exposition of Ptolemy's *Geography* with the assistance of his son – called Mehmed. Perhaps this son was the forementioned Basil, who had converted after all? Most Roman orthodox converted to Islam before culturally they turned Turk. But some of their leaders did it the other way round. Contrary to the poor view in which he is held in Greek tradition, George Amiroutzes himself does not seem to have bothered to convert. Apostasy would have denied him playing politics with the patriarchate, while at the sultan's court he could always use his cousin and ally, the grand vizier Mahmud Pasha.[47]

The year 1463 was even more eventful for the Roman orthodox network. Patriarch Joasaph I, one of Gennadios II Scholarios' successors, denounced George Amiroutzes in turn – for his proposed bigamous marriage to the widow of the last Latin duke of Athens. Amiroutzes went ahead all the same. Tradition that he was an exasperating man was confirmed dramatically on Easter Sunday 1463: the affair drove Joasaph to attempt suicide by leaping into the cistern below the Pammakaristos cathedral. Amiroutzes promptly moved in to manage patriarchal finances, using his son, Mehmed, as intermediary with the sultan.[48] Behind a cloud of later tradition may be detected a characteristic trail of patronage and *patris*.

[45] Lowry (1986a), p. 128. [46] *PG*, 116, cols. 723–8.
[47] Nicol (1994), pp. 120–5. [48] Bryer (1986), pp. 81–6.

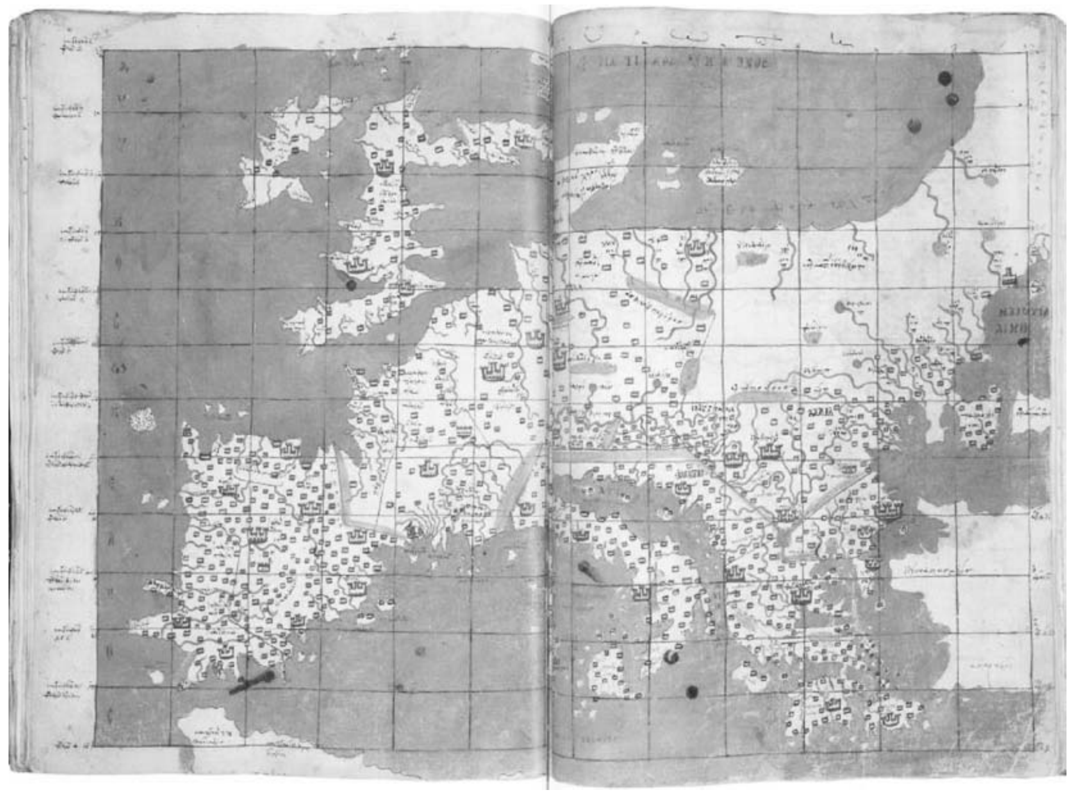
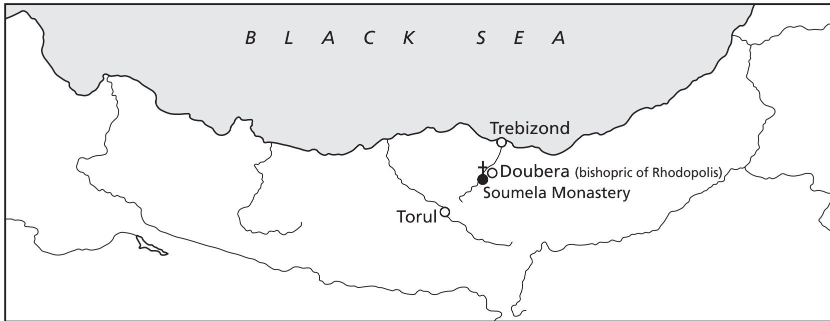


Figure 67 Europe under Ottoman eyes: copy of Ptolemy's map of Europe; Ptolemy's work continued to be closely studied in late Byzantium, as it was in the 'dark age' (see above, pp. 279, 824–5). George Amiroutzes introduced Ptolemy's *Geography* to Mehmed II and translated it into Arabic on the sultan's orders; this copy of the Greek text is believed to be the one donated to St Sophia in 1421, which ended up in Mehmed's library



Map 51 The Pontos in the fifteenth century

By 1465 Mehmed had confirmed Amiroutzes' village of Doubera on the estates of Soumela as a monastic immunity. Soumela (and two other nearby mountain monasteries) constituted thereafter the only major economic counterpart to the Macedonian monastic lands protected by Mara, a rival patron.[49] In late 1466 Symeon 'of Trebizond' was presented as candidate for the patriarchate, offering the sultan, for the first time, a bribe of office (called *peshkesh*): 2,000 gold pieces. Monks do not commonly dispose of such sums, and Mehmed had anyway dispossessed the monasteries of the city of Trebizond itself. By elimination, this points to Soumela as Symeon's monastery and brings us back to his sponsor. Putting it bluntly, did Amiroutzes use the resources and connections of Doubera to buy the patriarchate for his candidate?

One consequence is certain. By offering *peshkesh* in 1466, there was no going back. By their own account, the Roman orthodox initiated an auction of their own leadership, which spread to other offices and was to spiral for over three centuries. This was the self-imposed cost of protection of a church by an Islamic state, largely borne by the faithful, whose principal contact with their patriarchate was to raise *peshkesh* and obey canon law. The only beneficiary was the Ottoman treasury. Sultans were not much concerned as to who was patriarch, so long as he was neither unionist nor sponsored by Ottoman commercial or political rivals; in the seventeenth century, French Jesuits and Dutch Calvinists would compete to buy a whole church.[50]

The short-term result was that in 1467 a Serbian party and Mara outbid Symeon with her own candidate. The Pontic party ran Symeon again. During his second term of office in 1472, Symeon swiftly deposed Bishop Pankratios of Trebizond who was implicated in a Turkoman attempt to restore a Grand Komnenos in Trebizond – presumably under pressure

[49] Nicol (1994), pp. 110–19.

[50] *Patriarchat von Konstantinopel*, ed. and German tr. Kresten; Runciman (1968), pp. 193–200, 259–88.

from Amiroutzes who had known all parties involved since 1458, and now knew where his loyalties lay. Seven times the patriarchate went back and forth until in 1482 Symeon finally raised a record *peshkesh* for a third period of office, ousting an opponent of Amiroutzes' marriage of 1463. In 1484 Symeon at last held a synod which repudiated the Union of Florence of 1439.[51]

Patriarch Symeon nevertheless left unfinished business when he died in office in 1486. His death raised the perennial question of whom political funds belong to, for he had neglected to make a will. Who were his heirs? The leaders of the network which had held the Roman orthodox world together had all died: Mahmud Pasha (after 1474), Mara (1478), Mehmed II himself (1481); and of the veterans of Florence, Isidore (1463), Bessarion (1472), Scholarios (*c.* 1472) and Amiroutzes himself (*c.* 1475).

Patriarch Niphon II (1486–8, 1497–8, 1502) was the first successful candidate of new patrons. These were Danubian princes, now Ottoman tributaries, who were to support the monasteries of Athos and the Pontos, too. However, Niphon was unable to claim Symeon's intestate fortune, which was confiscated by Iskender, treasurer of the new sultan, Bayazid II (1481–1512). But the network which reached back to Doubera still held: Iskender was yet another son of George Amiroutzes.[52]

Patris may be even stronger than patronage, and certainly faith, for Doubera village now had even greater aspirations – to empire. In 1479 the future sultan Bayazid II took the last independent corner of the Roman orthodox world, the rocky principality of Torul, south of Trebizond and Soumela; his local consort was Maria 'of Doubera', who as Gulbahar *hatun*, held court in Trebizond until her death in 1505/6. Bayazid's *ulu hatun* ('first lady') was then Ayshe, the daughter of Bozkurt of the Turkoman Dulkadir dynasty and, from 1470, mother of the future sultan Selim I (1512–20). Differing later Ottoman and Roman orthodox accounts can no longer be verified, but can be reconciled. Selim's formative years were in Trebizond, where he was governor from 1489 to 1512 and he wrote in Greek to Venice, styling himself 'emperor of the Pontos and despot of Trebizond'. He confirmed the privileges of Soumela monastery. In turn his son, the future sultan Suleiman, was brought up in Trebizond, presumably by Maria-Gulbahar, from 1494/5.[53]

Maria is a more shadowy figure than Mara of Ezova, but the surest fact about her is vital: her birthplace, or *patris*, was none other than Doubera. The village itself escaped registration until 1515 and Ottoman *defters* are not designed to record any connections she may have had with the families of Amiroutzes, Patriarch Symeon or even Bessarion. But it is a small place.

[51] Chrysanthos (1933), pp. 531–41; Laurent (1968). [52] *PLP*, nos. 787–8.

[53] Chrysanthos (1933), p. 519.

Like Mara of Ezova, Maria of Doubera was probably only the stepmother of a sultan. But in Trebizond Selim gave Gulbahar a marble tomb and in 1514 a mosque fit for an empress.[54]

The fate of the other inhabitants of Trebizond is a final reflection of that of the Roman orthodox. Compared with its hinterland, the city was never populous – in 1436 some 4,000 souls. After its conquest it grew to 6,711 in 1486, 7,017 in 1523, 6,100 in 1553 and reached 10,575 in 1583 – figures about a third of the size of Thessaloniki which also reflect the relative efficiency of Ottoman registrars and omit exempt groups. But the composition is revealing. After 1461 Mehmed instigated a *sürgün*, deporting the Christian leadership and importing Muslims (including recent Albanian converts), so that by around 1486 Trebizond was 19 per cent Muslim and 81 per cent Christian (mostly Roman orthodox). But the Christian population actually grew thereafter, both in numbers and proportion (86 per cent) during the years of Selim's governorship, Suleiman's youth and Gulbahar's widowhood, when the Ottoman state should have been tightening its hold on the place. Trebizond was in danger of becoming totally Christian again and, in contrast to Thessaloniki, Jews were not brought in to break the demographic problem. There was a second *sürgün*. In 1553 the ratio of Christians to Muslims was 53 to 47 per cent, but by 1583 had switched to 46 to 54 per cent. The critical point seems to have been when the Christian element had shrunk to about 55 per cent, when whole parishes (which paid a fixed levy) converted in landslides, leaving faithful individuals unable to afford the balance. Most revealing is that by 1583, 43 per cent of the Muslims of Trebizond are identifiable as first- or second-generation converts. In other words the population of the city, whatever its faith, was then still almost 70 per cent native Pontic: people who kept to their *patris*.[55]

'Conversion' is used here as a convenient term, and indeed has a technical sense in both orthodoxy and Islam, with the difference that under sharia law, conversion or reconversion out of Islam met the penalty of death in the Ottoman empire until 1839. From the fifteenth century on there were a number of attested orthodox martyrs for their faith. Converts to Islam did not find immediate acceptance either. But, following Ottoman registrars, we can only record Roman orthodox by civil status. The spiritual cost of the compromises to which the church and individual faithful were driven in order to survive cannot be recorded, any more than what happened in the countryside. Here, monasteries such as Mara's in Macedonia and Maria's in the Pontos could offer secular as well as spiritual salvation. In the absence of such patrons elsewhere it may not have been too painful to slip in and out of unofficial Islam and orthodoxy within a common peasant culture and local cults of *patris*.

[54] Bryer and Winfield (1985), I, pp. 197, 200.

[55] Lowry (1981).

By the reign of Sultan Suleiman I (1520–66) most Roman orthodox who were going to convert to Islam had done so. In the west, Suleiman is called 'the Magnificent', but in the Ottoman empire he is rightly named 'the Law-Giver'. He regularised the local and customary laws inherited through the swift conquests of Constantinople, the Morea, Macedonia and the Pontos, under which most Roman orthodox had continued to live for a century after the fall of Constantinople – beyond even Gennadios Scholarios's prediction of the end of the world in 1492. The politics of the Union of Florence in 1439 could not be forgotten even after 1484. There were to be new patrons in Wallachia, Moldavia and Muscovy, but *patris* may have been the most enduring bond of all. Take, once more, the Soumelan village of Doubera, a steep place hidden in the Pontic undergrowth. After much lobbying the patriarchate created a diocese there in 1863, as influential as it was tiny. The parish church of Doubera became the cathedral of Rhodopolis. Today it is the mosque of Yazlik, a wholly Muslim Turkish village. But its titular bishop wields great influence – especially in Australia, where every second Greek claims to have come from Doubera. Surely this was the home of George Amiroutzes.[56]

[56] Bryer and Winfield (1985), I, p. 281; Bryer (1991), pp. 323–5; Balivet (1994).

GLOSSARY (INCLUDING SOME PROPER NAMES)*

A: Arabic G: Greek I: Italian L: Latin P: Persian S: Slavonic
Tc: Turkic Tsh: Turkish

Abbasids Muslim dynasty which replaced the Umayyads in 750, with their capital in Baghdad

Abkhazians people in western Caucasia on the eastern shore of the Black Sea; subjugated by Justinian, but gained virtual autonomy after Arab invasions of Caucasus; unified with the kingdom of K'art'li in the late tenth century to form Georgia

Achaemenids Persian dynasty which ruled the largest empire of the ancient world (stretching from Central Asia to the Aegean and Egypt) from the sixth to fourth centuries BC

Aghlabids ninth-century dynasty of amirs who ruled northern Africa for the Abbasid caliphs

***akritēs* (s.), *akritai* (pl.)** smallholding Byzantine soldiers in frontier zone, usually exempt from taxation on condition of military service

***aktēmon* (s.), *aktēmones* (pl.)** 'without property': fiscal term for a peasant who possessed no draught animals and little or no property, but who might own a small plot and other livestock

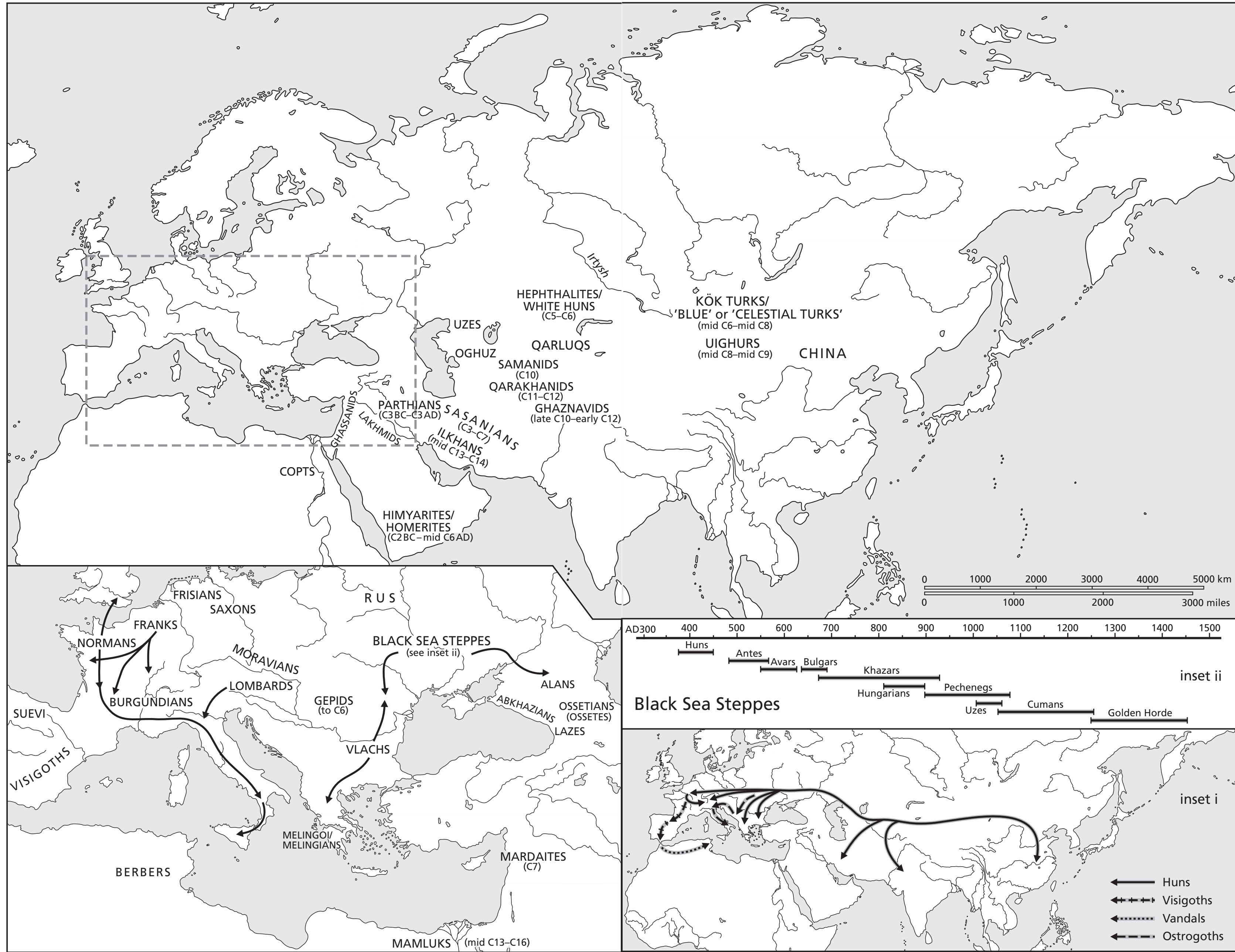
Alans warlike nomadic pastoralists speaking a form of Iranian, based in the mountains of the northern Caucasus and on the steppes; by the eleventh century Alans were serving as Byzantine mercenaries

amir [A; P; Tsh] 'commander': originally military, but later applied to local or regional rulers of rank lower than a sultan; ruler over an emirate

Anatolikoi one of the earliest (and most important) themes, named after army of the East (L: Orientales); based in central Anatolia with headquarters at Amorion

angelology theological doctrine of angels or its study

*This is not intended to be a comprehensive guide to the technical terms and foreign words appearing in this book; where possible, these have been explained in context. Only the more problematic proper names receive an entry here. Where not otherwise indicated, italicised foreign words are Greek.



Map 52 Names of peoples, archaic or less familiar

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aniconism worship connected with simple material symbols of a deity, such as a pillar or block, not shaped into an image of human form

***annona* (s.), *annonae* (pl.)** [L] army and civil service rations raised by taxation in kind; state-run shipment of corn from Egypt to supply the population of Constantinople (see also *synōnē*)

Antes Slavic-speaking people, based to the north of the Black Sea by the mid-sixth century, of whom we know little

anthypatos civilian governor of province (L: proconsul); high-ranking dignity

Antiochene of Antioch, a style of theology laying stress on the humanity of Christ and on the literal and historical sense of the Bible

antiphon verses from the Psalter sung alternately by two choirs in the liturgy and the offices

aphthartodocetism an extreme form of monophysitism propounded by Julian, bishop of Halicarnassus (d. *c.* 527); followers also known as Julianists

aplēkton military staging-post; obligation to provide troop accommodation

***aporos* (s.), *aporoi* (pl.)** fiscal term for those without land or means

***apothēkē* (s.), *apothēkai* (pl.)** a state depot for grain and other goods; in the seventh and earlier eighth centuries the depot, and the district in which it was situated, was supervised by a *kommerkarios*

appanage (1) term taken from western practice to describe an almost independent territory granted by the emperor to a junior ruling family member, giving him his own court, administration and fiscal system; common in Byzantium from the thirteenth century on; (2) any imperial grant of a large demesne

***archōn* (s.), *archontes* (pl.)** ruler (other than the *basileus*); holder of imperial title or office; member(s) of the provincial land-holding elite which dominated the towns

Arians followers of a heresy (named after its main proponent, the third-century theologian Arius) which denied the full divinity of Jesus Christ

Arithmos 'number': (1) one of the elite *tagmata*, also known as the Watch (*Vigla*), partly responsible for the policing of Constantinople; (2) middle Byzantine fiscal term referring to the specific number of *paroikos* families granted by the emperor to an individual or ecclesiastical corporation

Armeniakoi one of the earliest themes; based in northern Anatolia with headquarters at Euchaita

Arsacids [P; Armenian; Arshakuni] junior branch of the Parthian royal house which ruled in Armenia until the early fifth century

atabey [Tsh] 'father of the prince': the bey acting as the guardian of an infant ruler; governor of a nation or province who was subordinate to a Muslim monarch

***augustus* (m.), *augusta* (f.)** senior emperor within a group of co-emperors, or within a single family; honorary title usually bestowed on the wife of the reigning emperor

autocephalous (from *autos* 'self' and *kephalē* 'head'): a completely autonomous ecclesiastical diocese, no longer subordinate to a patriarchate, whose suffragans had the right to elect its 'head'; e.g. Cyprus, Bulgaria, Serbia and Sinai

autokratōr (L: *imperator*) emperor; used from seventh century on to affirm the emperor's self-willed and God-granted rule

automata devices powered by compressed air from bellows or by water, performing in the Magnaura

Avars Turkic-speaking nomadic warriors who appeared in the north Black Sea steppe in the sixth century, installing themselves in Pannonia; destroyed as an independent power by Charlemagne in the 790s

***bailo* (s.), *baili* (pl.)** [I]'bailiff': general term for administrator; head of the Venetian colony in Constantinople and ambassador to the Byzantine court in the Palaiologan period; there was also a Venetian *bailo* in Euboea

ban [Tc] title of Bosnian and Hungarian rulers

***bandon* (s.), *banda* (pl.)** (L: *bandum*) originally a battle standard; later a small troop fighting under such a standard in the themes or *tagmata*; the territorial district where such a troop was settled

basileia (L: *imperium*) empire; realm; majesty

***basileus* (m.), *basilissa* (f.)** main formal designation of the Byzantine emperor from the seventh century on

***basilikos* (s.), *basilikoi* (pl.)** 'imperial': general term for official specially trusted by the emperor, who carried out diverse missions within the empire or abroad

Berbers name given to several ethnic groups indigenous to north-west Africa; known in Arab sources as the Barbar, and to the Byzantines as Mauri (Moors)

beylerbey [Tsh] 'the bey of the beys': commander-in-chief of the Seljuq army, in charge of organising the sultanate's frontier zone defences

bey [Tsh] ruler or military commander (Turkish equivalent of Arabic amir)

billon alloy containing silver and copper in a Byzantine coin

Bogomilism dualist heresy most probably named after the tenth-century Bulgarian priest Bogomil, which spread from the Balkans to Constantinople and Asia Minor

***boidatos* (s.), *boidatoi* (pl.)** fiscal term for a peasant possessing a *boidion*, equivalent to owning an ox (*bous*)

Boukellarioi theme formed in the later eighth century in north-west Asia Minor, taking its name from the old Roman regiment, the Bucellarii

boullotēs assistant to the eparch who controlled the quality of products by affixing a seal (*boulla*)

Bulgars Turkic-speaking people from Eurasian steppes; by the late seventh century, groups of Bulgars were based on the middle Volga, the Sea of Azov (the 'Black Bulgars', semi-autonomous within the Khazar khaganate) and close to the Danube delta; the latter gave rise to modern Bulgaria

bull (L: *bulla*; G: *boulla*, 'locket') seal attached to a document (see also chrysobull)

cadaster record of properties and related details, e.g. owners' names and amount of tax payable, used by tax officials

caesar title given to a junior emperor or – from the eleventh century onwards – to imperial relatives or high court officials

Caesaropapism system whereby the monarch exercised unfettered control over the church in his dominions, even in matters of doctrine

caliph (A: *khalifa*) 'successor' of the Prophet Muhammad and so head of the Muslim community (A: *ummah*) or of the Islamic state

caliphate realm of the caliph

***castello* (s.), *castelli* (pl.)** [I] private strongholds, generally castles, but also fortified villages

***castrum* (s.), *castra* (pl.)** [L] see *kastron*

Catalan Company mercenaries from north-eastern Spain, who were employed by Andronikos II but turned against Byzantium and went on to establish themselves in the duchy of Athens, ruling it for much of the fourteenth century

catechumen a person preparing for baptism

catholic (from *katholikos*, 'whole') the undivided church, denoting Chalcedonian Christians in east and west in the early middle ages; later applied exclusively to the western (i.e. Roman catholic) church

catholicos (s.), catholicoi (pl.) head of the Armenian church

cenobitic (from *koinos*, 'shared') monastic life in which monks live and pray together in a group, normally in a monastery (opposite of eremitic)

Chalcedonianism from the council of Chalcedon (451): the belief that there are two natures (*physeis*) in the person of Christ, the human and the divine, and that they are joined inseparably; this became the official teaching of the orthodox church, as against monophysitism

Chalke the Bronze Gate: main ceremonial entrance into the Great Palace of Constantinople, through which the emperor passed to go to St Sophia

***chartolarate* (s.), *chartolarates* (pl.)** administrative unit in the south-west Balkans
chartophylax head of a church chancery (*chartophylakion*), especially of St Sophia (the patriarchal church)
***chartoularios* (s.), *chartoularioi* (pl.)** general term for lower-ranking official with fiscal and archival duties in various bureaus in both central and provincial administration; ecclesiastical office similar to *chartophylax*
***chelandion* (s.), *chelandia* (pl.)** Constantinople's sleek warships, perhaps derived from the Greek word for 'eel'
***chōrion* (s.), *chōria* (pl.)** a village; technical term for a fiscal unit
Christology theological interpretation of the person and work of Christ
chrysobull 'golden bull', from 'gold' (*chrysos*) and 'seal' (*boulla*): the imperial chancery's most solemn document, usually dated, and bearing the emperor's signature in purple ink and a golden *boulla*
Chrysotriklinos 'golden hall', from 'gold' (*chrysos*) and 'hall' (*triklinos*): large reception hall in the Great Palace, built by Justin II
circus factions associations that staged circus games; fervent supporters' associations of one of the four factions to compete in chariot racing (the Blues, Greens, White and Reds); factional strife disappeared from the seventh century onwards, after chariot-racing and factions were restricted to Constantinople and its surrounds; in the middle empire, factions had a largely ceremonial role, still connected with the Hippodrome
City, the Constantinople; *polis* ('city') came to be used primarily for it
City prefect see eparch
cog large, round, flat-bottomed ship with a single square sail; the workhorse of trading vessels from the fourteenth century on
***comes* (s.), *comites* (pl.)** [L] count; in the medieval west, a term for magnates, notionally holding public office with civil and military powers; in reality usually hereditary, belonging to local leading families; for use in Byzantium, see also *komēs*
consul head of government in the Roman republic, a nominal post maintained up to Justinian's reign; thereafter a senior court title (see also *hypatos*)
Copts Egyptian population who spoke the Coptic language; after Egypt's mid-seventh-century conquest by the Arabs, a term for the monophysite Christian population
count of the excubitors (see also L: *comes*) officer of the excubitors (see excubitors)
Cumans (also Scyths, Qipchaqs, Polovtsy) confederation of Turkic-speaking peoples who dominated the Black Sea steppes from the

mid-eleventh century, but who were subjugated by the Mongols in the mid-thirteenth century

cura palatii [L] 'care of the palace': see *kouropalatēs*

curia central administration governing the Roman papacy

custom (1) in the west, customary service, or rent, paid in kind or in money, due to a landlord, feudal lord or ruler; (2) western code of conduct, commercial law-code

Cyrilline Chalcedonianism pronouncements on Christ's nature of Patriarch Cyril of Alexandria, endorsed by the council of Chalcedon (451)

Danishmend (T: Danişmendoğulları) Turkoman dynasty that ruled over Cappadocia, Sebasteia and Melitene from late eleventh century, until conquered by the Seljuqs in 1178

Davidic of or pertaining to David, king of Israel, or to his family

demesne western form of land tenure, referring to the lands retained by a lord for his own use (as against lands granted out); initially demesne lands were usually worked by villeins or serfs on the lord's behalf, in fulfilment of their obligations, but this tended to be commuted to monetary payments

despot (*despotēs*) 'lord, master': high imperial title in the Palaiologan period, generally reserved for brothers or sons of the emperor; ruler of a semi-independent imperial territory

diadem originally a head-band, then imperial Roman symbol of majesty from the fourth century on; replaced in the early Byzantine period by a more solid crown (*stemma*), but sometimes used of this crown

dinar [A] (from *dēnarion*; L: *denarius*) standard Islamic gold coin

***dioikētēs* (s.), *dioikētai* (pl.)** administrator responsible for collecting land tax, usually in a single province

dirham [A] (from *drachma*) standard Islamic silver coin

dishypatos court title often conferred on judges and administrative officials

domestic (*domestikos*; L: *domesticus*) senior official in the church or civil administration; senior military commander, especially of a *tagma*

domestic of the Schools (*domestikos tōn scholōn*) commander of the Schools (crack unit of *tagmata*); commander-in-chief of the armies of the west and the east

Dominante traditional term for Venice

***doulos* (s.), *douloi* (pl.)** 'slave': emperor's servant, subordinate or subject; external ruler or notable who recognised the emperor's supremacy

doux (see also L: *dux*) head of a *doukaton* (L: *ducatus*), a 'duchy' in one of the western border regions, e.g. Venetia, Naples, Amalfi or Gaeta; from the tenth century on, military commander of a combat unit and/or larger administrative district, e.g. Antioch

***droungarios* (s.), *droungarioi* (pl.)** a middle-ranking military officer; commander of the fleet (*tou ploimou*)

***droungos* (s.), *droungoi* (pl.)** unit under command of a *droungarios*; subdivision of a theme army

dualist belief in two fundamental principles of good and evil governing the universe

ducat two types of coin from the duchy of Venice: (1) the thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century silver *grosso* [I], first struck in 1201 and imitated a century later at Constantinople under the name of *basilikon*; (2) more commonly, from 1284 onwards, the gold ducat (L: *ducatus aureus*)

***dux* (s.), *duces* (pl.)** [L] see also *doux*; in the later Roman and early Byzantine period, commander of a military unit, or of garrison troops

ecumenical councils (from *oikoumenikos*, 'worldwide') conferences of the bishops of the whole church; the first seven 'universal' councils of the orthodox church, given imperial confirmation and the binding force of the law: Nicaea I (325); Constantinople I (381); Ephesus (431); Chalcedon (451); Constantinople II (553); Constantinople III (680–1); Nicaea II (787)

eidikon central treasury

electrum alloy containing silver and gold in a Byzantine coin

emirate(s) see amir

eparch the name of several officials, the most important being the eparch of the City, the civil governor of Constantinople

***eparchia* (s.), *eparchiai* (pl.)** ecclesiastical province

epi tou kanikleiou 'keeper of the inkstand': the emperor's senior private secretary, who authenticated documents

***ethnos* (s.), *ethnē* (pl.)** 'gentile', 'nation': a people external to Byzantium

ethnikos foreign outsider, member of an *ethnos*

eucharist Christian sacrament in which the body and the blood of Christ are conveyed to believers in the form of consecrated bread and wine; doctrine developed different emphases and ritual varied in different parts of the church

exarch military governor of Byzantine Italy (with his base at Ravenna) or Byzantine Africa (with his base at Carthage); senior official of the patriarchate

exarchate territorial and administrative unit commanded by an exarch; in modern usage, often the exarchate of Ravenna

excubitors (*exkoubitoi*; L: *excubitores*) one of the *tagmata*, elite regiments of the imperial guard, based in the capital

Fatimids Shiite dynasty based in Cairo from the later tenth century; their dominions included north Africa, Palestine and southern Syria

feudatory in the west, and western-occupied *Romania*: (of a person) owing sworn allegiance and services to another; (of a kingdom) under the overlordship of an outside sovereign

filioque [L] 'and from the Son': phrase added by the western church to the text of the Nicene Creed after the declaration that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father; major theological point of dispute between the papacy and the Byzantine church

fisc state's treasury and rights to revenue; in the west, royal property paying revenues in kind to support the royal household

fitna [A] literally 'trial': periodic civil wars in the Muslim empire during the first 200 years after Muhammad's death in 632

foideratoi (L: *foederati*) 'federates': originally barbarian tribes settled on Byzantine territory or borderlands on condition that they serve in the army; from the sixth century onwards, elite mounted troops, usually recruited from the barbarians

follis **(s.),** ***folleis*** **(pl.)** principal copper coin worth 288 to the *nomisma*

forum (s.), fora (pl.) [L] meeting place in town

Franks a Germanic grouping from the lower Rhine, frequently recruited into the Roman army; united in the early sixth century under Clovis, who extended Frankish rule to most of Roman Gaul and converted to Christianity; in Byzantine usage a broader term to cover all western Christians north of the Alps, including the Normans

Frisians ethnic grouping in north-west Europe, closely related to the Saxons, who inhabited the present-day Netherlands and north-west Germany

gasmouloi from the mid-thirteenth century on, descendants of mixed Greek–Latin (especially Venetian) parentage; recruited in large numbers as mercenaries

gastald Lombard royal official in Italy in charge of a gastaldate, with civil and military powers comparable to counts, and likewise tending to become hereditary

general logothete (*logothetēs tou genikou*) head of the fiscal department which dealt with assessment and collection of taxes

genikon logothesion the general treasury and main fiscal department of government after the seventh century, maintaining the lists of all the taxpayers in the empire; see also general logothete

Gepids eastern Germanic people settled in middle Danube region; dispersed after their defeat by the Avars in 567

Ghassanids monophysite Arab group and the main Arab *foideratoi* of Byzantium

ghazi [A] volunteer warrior fighting for Islam in raids (*ghazawat*) against pagans or Christians, expecting to gain booty or a martyr's death

Ghaznavids Turkic-speaking Muslim state based in present-day Afghanistan from the late tenth to early twelfth century

Gnostic from Gnosticism, the doctrine of salvation through a quasi-intuitive knowledge (*gnōsis*) of the mysteries of God and the origins and destiny of mankind

Golden Horde group of Mongols forming a khanate; dominated the lower Volga and the Black Sea steppes from the later thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth century

Goths Germanic groupings, primarily the Ostrogoths and Visigoths, who raided and settled in large numbers in south-west France, Spain, Italy and the Balkans throughout the fourth and fifth centuries

grand logothete first minister of the Palaiologan empire, in charge of civil administration and foreign affairs

grand *župan* (S: also *veliki* – 'great, grand' – *župan*) paramount ruler of the Serbs

Greek fire devastating and dreaded Byzantine petroleum-based weapon; it was sticky, was ignited at the moment of projection and could not be extinguished by water alone; first known use during the Arab blockade of Constantinople of 674–8; its composition and the technique for projecting it from siphons were state secrets, and the siphons were apparently no longer in use at the time of the Fourth Crusade

Hamdanid Muslim dynasty in Mosul, established in the earlier tenth century; controlled most of upper Mesopotamia, but their power declined in the eleventh century

hatun [Tsh] woman; wife

Helladikoi fleet of the theme of Hellas

Hellenes Greek-speakers, and by extension participants in Greek culture; used pejoratively by Byzantines of their pre-Christian predecessors to mean benighted pagans, but regained positive connotations from around the twelfth century onwards

Hephthalites (White Huns) nomadic people controlling much of the Central Asian steppes in the fifth and sixth centuries

hesychast (-asm) (from *hesychia*, 'peace and quiet') contemplative practice focused on attaining communion with God through inner peace and prayer; term denoting a fourteenth-century movement in Byzantine monasticism

hexagram silver coin introduced by Heraclius in 615 and in use until the early eighth century

hierosynē (L: *sacerdotium*) sacramental priesthood

hijra [A] flight by Muhammad and his followers from Mecca to Medina *c.* 622; the base year of the Muslim calendar

Himyarites (Homerites) predominantly Jewish realm ruling over much of south-west Arabia from the late second century BC until the mid-sixth century AD

holy war belief that waging war on God's behalf was a religious duty

Huns Eurasian nomads who conquered the Alans and expelled the Goths from the Black Sea steppes in the late fourth century; moved westwards, raiding as far as Gaul in the fifth century

hypatos (L: consul) senior court title from the sixth century onwards

***hyperpyron* (s.), *hyperpyra* (pl.)** (L: *perperum*) 'highly refined': gold coin introduced by Alexios I *c.* 1092; by extension, a unit of account based on this coin; after the gold *hyperpyron* ceased to be struck in the mid-fourteenth century, the term was transferred to the large silver coin that replaced it

hypostasis the individual reality of Christ, as distinguished from His two natures (human and divine)

icon (*eikōn* (s.), *eikones* (pl.)) religious image; picture or portable panel with sacred use and connotations

iconoclast (from *eikōn* 'icon', *klazō* 'smash') 'breaker of images': those after 726 opposed to the veneration of icons, wishing to remove them from public and private view

iconodule (from *eikōn* 'icon', *doulos* 'slave') servant of images (see iconophile)

iconophile (from *eikōn* 'icon', *philos* 'friend') 'image-friendly' i.e. venerator of icons (see iconodule)

Ilkhans leaders of one of the four divisions of the Mongolian empire, centred on Persia, from the mid-thirteenth to fourteenth century; the title of Ilkhan was initially used to signal acknowledgement of primacy of the Great Khan (in Peking)

imam [A] supreme leader of the Muslim community; used by Shiites to denote the Prophet's son-in-law, 'Ali, and his descendants; the officiating priest of a Muslim mosque

imperator [L] 'emperor': used on coins and inscriptions, as part of the imperial nomenclature, throughout the early Byzantine period (G: *autokratōr, basileus*)

imperium [L] kingdom or reign (G: *basileia*)

***incanto* (s.), *incanti* (pl.)** [I] Venetian system of auctioning the state-owned galleys for commercial use (see also *muda*)

indiction fifteen-year cycle used for dating purposes from the early fourth century onwards, especially in relation to tax-collection

inurbamento [I] the process of moving to live in towns

Ishmaelites Byzantine name for the Arabs, because they were supposedly descended from Ishmael, son of Abraham (see also Saracens)

isosyllabic of a metrical structure in which the syllables are of the same length

Jacobite Syrian monophysites, named after Jacob Baradaeus who helped set up a separate church hierarchy in the sixth century; sometimes applied to monophysites in general

janissary (from Tsh: *yeni cheri*, 'new army') Christian taken under a 'child levy' for training in the Ottoman 'new army' and administration

jihad [A] struggle against one's baser instincts; struggle to make unbelievers submit to the will of God (see also holy war)

***judex* (s.), *judices* (pl.)** judge; general Latin term for a local magistrate or ruler

Julianists see aphthartodocetism

kapnikon tax on 'hearths' or households

Karabisianoi (from *karabos*, 'ship') a maritime theme in the Aegean, usually based at Samos

Karaites Jewish sect which rejects the Talmud and bases its teaching exclusively on the Scriptures

Karati Peyre taxes raised by Genoese authorities established in Pera (on the north shore of the Golden Horn) from the thirteenth century on

karshuni [A] Arabic written in Syriac letters

***kastron* (s.), *kastra* (pl.)** (from L: *castrum*) fort, fortress; from the seventh century on could also mean town or city

katepanō from the eighth to twelfth century, a military officer commanding a unit and/or administrative district; from the thirteenth century on, a provincial or regional official

khagan [Tc] title of earlier Turkic supreme rulers (e.g. Avars, Khazars); head of a khaganate

khan [Tc] 'supreme leader': used of pre-Christian Bulgar, and of Turkic and Mongol rulers; head of a khanate

Khazars a Turkic-speaking people who were the major power in the Black Sea steppes, with centres on the lower Volga and Don, from the seventh to later tenth century, when their power was broken by the Rus; major allies of the Byzantines, the majority of Khazars converted to Judaism in the ninth century; their lands were known as Khazaria (in later medieval Italian texts, *Gazaria*)

Khurramites dualist sect in Iran (akin to the Mazdakites) whose movement culminated in Babek's revolt against the Arabs in the mid-ninth century

Kibyrrhaiotai maritime theme in Asia Minor

***klasma* (s.), *klasmata* (pl.)** 'fragment': land, long abandoned by its tax-paying owner, transferred to public ownership, often for redistribution

***kleisoura* (s.), *kleisourai* (pl.)** 'pass': administrative district, usually smaller than a theme, in frontier zones especially the Taurus mountains

Knights Hospitaller more fully, 'Knights of the order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem': originally a hospice for pilgrims, especially the sick poor; in the twelfth century developed a military wing and acquired extensive properties in western Europe; after 1310 also known as Knights of Rhodes and, from 1530, Knights of Malta

Kök Turks ('Blue or Celestial Turks') Turkic-speaking people who established a Turkic khaganate in the Eurasian steppes from the mid-sixth to the mid-eighth century

***komēs* (s.), *komitai* (pl.)** count (see also *comes*); military officer of one of several sorts, commanding e.g. the Opsikion, the *tagmata* of the Walls, the *banda* within themes; the count of the stable (*komēs tou staulou*) headed the department that distributed horses and mules to the *tagmata*; term used by medieval Byzantines for western European magnates

***kommerkiarios* (s.), *kommerkiarioi* (pl.)** tax official, probably the successor of the late Roman *comes commerciorum* [L], the controller of trade on the frontier; from *c.* 650 to *c.* 730 had a key role in raising, storing and issuing to the army revenue mainly in kind; from the mid-eighth century reverted to mainly taxing commerce

***kommerkion* (s.), *kommerkia* (pl.)** (L: *commercium*) late Roman term for frontier cities where exchanges with foreign merchants were authorised; from the eighth century on, sales tax, normally 10 per cent of the value of the merchandise traded

***kontakion* (s.), *kontakia* (pl.)** liturgical hymn in honour of a saint or a feast

koubikoularios (L: *cubicularius*) title for dignitaries belonging to the emperor's household

kouratoreia term for imperial estates; areas whose revenues were directly payable to the emperor

kouropalatēs third-highest honorary title after that of emperor (just below *nobelissimos*), initially granted only to members of the imperial family: see *cura palatii*

labarum [L] military standard adopted by Constantine the Great after his vision of the 'cross of light'; this was Christianised by adding to it the '*chrismon*' (the letters Chi (X) and Rho (P) – the first two letters of Christ's name in Greek); by extension, various types of standard or sceptre

Lakhmids Christian (Nestorian) Arab kingdom, clients of Persia in the sixth century

Lazes people living in Lazica, on the eastern coast of the Black Sea

legate, papal personal representative of the pope, entrusted with a mission

legend the lettering or wording on a coin or seal

liturgy all the prescribed services of the church; specifically, the eucharist

livre [F] (L: *libra*) medieval French currency, established by Charlemagne as a unit of account equal to one pound of silver

***logothesion* (s.), *logothesia* (pl.)** central bureaus, instituted in the seventh century

logothete (*logothetēs*, L: *logotheta*) 'accountant': official in charge of one of the *logothesia*; often very high-ranking, logothetes controlled all the principal fiscal bureaus from the seventh century onwards

logothete of the Drome top official in charge of the *logothesion tou dromou*, the bureau which managed the roads, post, intelligence and diplomacy

Lombards a Germanic people living in the northern Balkans and Pannonia, who migrated to Italy in the later sixth century under threat from the Avars

loros long brocade scarf, studded with precious stones, draped around the shoulders and upper body and worn by the emperor and empress; also an attribute of archangels in attendance on Christ

***magister militum* (s.), *magistri militum* (pl.)** [L] 'master of the soldiers': highest-ranking field commander of the late Roman army

magister officiorum [L] 'master of offices': head of the central civil administration and close associate of the emperor in the late Roman empire

***magistros* (s.), *magistroi* (pl.)** holder of the old office of *magister officiorum* [L]; subsequently, a dignity fifth in hierarchical order after the emperor

Magnaura ceremonial hall situated on the periphery of the Great Palace, where the emperor gave audiences to foreign ambassadors and held the most solemn assemblies (*silentia*)

***mahona* (n.), *mahonesi* (adj.)** [I] the Genoese shareholding company that ran Genoa's overseas possessions, comparable to the East India Company

majuscule script – roughly equivalent to capital letters – used almost exclusively for the writing of books from the second to ninth century, until replaced by minuscule (also known as uncial)

malik [A] 'king': title of a ruler ranking lower than the sultan; unlike amir, *malik* was often used of independent rulers, including non-Muslims

Mamluk [A] 'thing possessed', 'slave', particularly one in military service; sultanate of emancipated, mainly Cuman, military slaves which ruled Egypt, Syria and adjoining areas from the mid-thirteenth to early sixteenth century

***mancosus* (s.), *mancosi* (pl.)** an Arabic loan-word which entered the Latin west along with the Arab coins it designated; from the Arabic *manqush* (past participle of the verb *naqash* 'to strike' or 'engrave'); the term has

been found on dirhams and has been used in connection with dinars; used in texts from Carolingian Italy to mean either a dinar, or its value in Carolingian currency

manglabitēs member of an elite unit of the imperial bodyguard; title denoting this

Manichaeism dualist doctrine founded by Mani (flayed alive in Persia in 276), whose followers were known as Manichees (see also Mazdakites)

Mardaites a military grouping of uncertain origin installed among the indigenous population in the north of present-day Lebanon and Syria in the seventh century; subsequently served as seafaring borderers on the empire's southern coasts and islands, to counter the Arabs

margrave title of nobility throughout western Europe, originally meaning 'count of a march or border area'; ruler of a margravate

Mariology study of doctrine relating to the Virgin Mary

marzban [P] commander of a Persian frontier province

Mazdakites Persian dualist sect whose radical social doctrines prompted their persecution in the fifth century; doctrine known to the Byzantines as Manichaeism

megas great

megas konostaulos 'grand constable': high-ranking military title; commander of the foreign mercenaries of the Nicaean – and later the restored Byzantine – empire

Melingoi (Melingians) Slav grouping in the Peloponnese which retained its identity and remained Slavic-speaking into the Ottoman period

miaphysite alternative term for monophysite

mikros small

miliarēsion **(s.),** ***miliarēsia*** **(pl.)** the basic silver coin, introduced by Leo III and worth 12 to the *nomisma*; characteristic of the eighth to eleventh century

mimēsis imitation, particularly with reference to classical literary models

minuscule script with small, rounded letters joined-up for speed of writing (replaced majuscule)

missi (dominici) [L] 'messengers (of the ruler)': emissaries sent by Charlemagne to his various regions

modios **(s.),** ***modioi*** **(pl.)** measure of weight or of land

Moldavians see Vlachs

monistic (from *monos*) adherent of philosophy that envisages a single reality

monophysite adherent of monophysitism

monophysitism (from *monos* and *physis*) doctrine which emphasised the unity of Christ's person so strongly that it could not easily accept that His two natures (divine and human) were evenly divided in His person;

went against the definition of the faith of the council of Chalcedon (451) (see Chalcedonianism)

monos single

monothelitism (from *monos* and *thelein* 'to will') doctrine recognising the existence of one 'will' in the incarnate Christ beyond the duality of His natures (see monophysitism); a compromise formula put forward during Heraclius' reign and condemned by the sixth ecumenical council held in Constantinople (680–1)

Montanism apocalyptic Christian movement expecting speedy outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the church; the Montanists followed the teachings of Montanus, a second-century Phrygian

Moravians Slavic-speaking inhabitants of the ninth-century polity which arose in central Europe after the dissolution of the Avar khaganate, but was crushed by the Hungarians at the end of the ninth century

muda **(s.),** ***mudae*** **(pl.)** [L] fourteenth-century trading convoys organised by the Venetian commune to *Romania*, Alexandria, Syria and Flanders; the rights to outfit and man each galley within the *muda* were auctioned (see *incanto*), although the Great Council determined how many galleys should sail to each destination, and the timetable; not all Venetian commerce was carried in these government convoys

Neoplatonism philosophical system loosely based on the ideas of Plato, developed by Plotinus among others; highly influential on Byzantine thought especially through the theological school of Alexandria

Nestorianism doctrine of the Syrian churchman Nestorius (died *c.* 451) which emphasised the duality of Christ's nature (human and divine) so strongly that it could not easily accept the unity of His person

nobelissimos (L: nobelissimus) high-ranking court-title, classed just below caesar, and initially (in the eighth century) reserved for members of the imperial family

nomisma **(s.),** ***nomismata*** **(pl.)** (L: solidus) gold coin struck at 72 to the pound of gold, valued at 12 *miliarēsia* or 288 *folleis*; from *c.* 1092 onwards Alexios I's new version was generally known as a *hyperpyron*

Normans people from north-west France, originally of Scandinavian origin; in the eleventh century, the duke of Normandy conquered England, other Norman magnates appropriated southern Italy and Sicily and, under the banner of crusading, Antioch

notarios scribe or secretary in government bureau

novella **(s.),** ***novellae*** **(pl.)** [L] 'new (decree)': issued by an emperor; the Greek equivalent was *neara* (*diataxis* or *nomothesia*)

officium Gazarie [L] the Genoese council of elders responsible for navigation and commerce in the Black Sea (*Gazaria* = Khazaria)

oikonomia the principle of 'economy' or compromise; in ecclesiastical or political contexts, the relaxation of a rule for a greater good

***oikos* (s.) *oikoi* (pl.)** household; stanza of a *kontakion*

oikoumenē the inhabited world

oikoumenikos (L: *universalis*) 'worldwide', ecumenical

Opsikion one of the earliest themes to emerge; based in north-west Asia Minor, closest to Constantinople, with headquarters at Nicaea

Optimatoi theme created in the later eighth century when the Opsikion was split up for political reasons, and when the Optimatoi was demoted from a combat to a rearguard unit

ordo [L] an ordinal, book of rubrics; made to supplement other liturgical books containing texts of prayers, music, lessons, etc.

Origenism attempt to fuse the fundamentals of Greek philosophy with the Christian creed, interpreting the scriptures in a triple sense – literal, moral and allegorical; based on the work of the early third-century philosopher and scholar Origen

orphanotrophos the director of an orphanage, usually a monk; in Constantinople the *orphanotrophoi* became state officials with fiscal responsibilities

***orthodoxos* (s.), *orthodoxoi* (pl.)** (from *orthos* 'correct, true' and *doxa* 'opinion, belief') 'true believers', 'correct thinkers'; later used to distinguish the eastern (orthodox) from the western (Roman Catholic) church

orthodoxy Christianity as defined by correct beliefs, themselves determined at the seven ecumenical councils of the church, and set out in a series of documents and guided by tradition

Ossetians (Ossetes) nomadic pastoralists speaking a form of Iranian, who were related to the Alans; occupied the north-eastern approaches of the Caucasus and also settled in the mountains

Ostrogoths (eastern Goths) groupings of Goths, who adopted Arian Christianity and conquered Italy in the 490s, forming a kingdom based at Ravenna; subjugated in the mid-sixth century by Justinian

Palamism Gregory Palamas' teaching of mystical contemplation, spirituality and ascetic exercises

pallium (s.), pallia (pl.) [L] 'outer garment': vestment; stole-like garment worn by the Roman pope and prelates

panhypersebastos senior court title held by members of the imperial family under the Komnenoi; title bestowed on highly favoured foreigners

parakoimōmenos 'sleeping at the side [of the emperor]': official, usually a eunuch, who was the emperor's chamberlain or personal attendant

***paroikos* (s.), *paroikoi* (pl.)** peasant tenant on private or state land, paying rent as well as tax; from the thirteenth century onwards most peasants seem to have been *paroikoi*

Parthians Persian-based empire led by the Arsacid dynasty, ruling most of Mesopotamia from the later third century BC until its overthrow by the Sasanians in the early third century AD

partitio Romaniae [L] 'dividing-up of the Roman empire': agreement drawn up by Venetians and Crusaders in spring 1204 while besieging Constantinople

patrikios (L: *patricius*) 'patrician': senior court title, often associated with offices such as *stratēgos*

patris fatherland, sense of home and of affinity

patristics study of the church fathers

Paulicians dualist sect forming distinctive communities in the eastern borderlands of Byzantium in the first two-thirds of the ninth century; were then transplanted west to borderlands with Bulgaria

pax mongolica [L] 'Mongol peace': facilitation of communication and commerce resulting from the Mongols' maintenance of order across their vast conquered territories

Pechenegs (also Scyths, Patzinaks) semi-nomadic Turkic-speaking people from the Eurasian steppe; occupied Black Sea steppes from end of the ninth century, and employed by emperors against neighbouring peoples, e.g. Hungarians and Rus; invaded Balkans in 1040s and finally routed in 1091 by the Byzantines and Cumans

philanthrōpia love of mankind, generosity

***philos* (s.), *philoi* (pl.)** friend

***physis* (s.), *physeis* (pl.)** nature

pinkernēs 'cupbearer' of the emperor; office held by members of the imperial family under the Komnenoi

placitum [L] legal assembly, plea

podestà [I] name given to certain high officials in the Italian city states, notably the chief magistrate; senior Venetian official in Constantinople after 1204

Porphyra chamber in the Great Palace with walls of deep red or purple stone (porphyry), where the empress normally gave birth

***porphyrogenitus* (s. m.), *porphyrogenita* (s. f.), *porphyrogeniti* (pl.)** [L] 'purple-born': imperial child born 'in the purple' (usually in the Porphyra chamber), i.e. after its father had become emperor

praesentales commanders of early Byzantine core army units, close to the emperor

praetorian prefect official responsible for the largest administrative unit of the empire (prefecture) from Constantine the Great's time

praitōr [L: *praetor*] civilian administrator whose precise function is uncertain, sometimes taking on the role of *doux* or *katepanō*

prince of princes (*archōn tōn archontōn*) title of the foremost of Armenian princes, as recognised by the Byzantine emperor

proedros senior court title; ecclesiastical title used for bishops
prooimion preface, preamble
pronoētēs supervisor; provincial administrative or fiscal official
***pronoia* (s.), *pronoiai* (pl.)** grant of taxes and other revenues from state-owned land or other specified properties, usually in return for military service; introduced from the late eleventh century, it eventually became inheritable
proskynēsis veneration; gesture of respectful greeting or profound reverence, ranging from full prostration to a simple bow
***prostagma* (s.), *prostagmata* (pl.)** imperial ordinance
prōtasekrētis head of imperial chancellery responsible for drafting and keeping imperial records
prōtonotarios top civil official in the thematic administration, first mentioned in ninth century
prōtoproedros high-ranking title with precedence over *proedros*
prōtos first
prōtosebastos high-ranking dignity introduced by Alexios I Komnenos, usually bestowed on the emperor's close relatives
prōtospatharios (L: *protospatharius*) 'first sword bearer': court title initially reserved for a high military commander, later bestowed on lower military officers and other officials
prōtostratōr head groom in charge of the emperor's private stable; commander of the troops and one of the highest Palaiologan dignitaries
***prōtovestiarios* (m.), *prōtovestiarissa* (f.)** 'first keeper of the wardrobe': originally a high-ranking post for a palace eunuch; later a court title conferred on senior civil and military officials
purple, in (the) see *porphyrogenitus*
Qarluqs early Turkic tribal confederation in Transoxania which formed a khanate in the mid-eighth century
quaestor (G: *kouaistōr*) judicial officer, responsible for drafting laws
razzia [I] armed raid, originally by desert-dwellers on settled agricultural land, to conquer, plunder and seize slaves
red-slip type of pottery table- and cooking-ware produced in North Africa and widely distributed around the Mediterranean and across the north-west provinces of the Roman empire from the second to sixth century
***rex* (s.), *reges* (pl.)** [L] 'king'
Rhos Greek form of Rus
***roga* (s.), *rogai* (pl.)** stipend paid to title-holders, senior officials and soldiers annually
***Romaios* (s.), *Romaioi* (pl.)** 'Roman': term used by the Byzantines to describe themselves
Romania 'land of the Romans' (i.e. Byzantines); by the seventh century, a term for the Christian empire of the east; from the thirteenth century,

used of the former lands of the Byzantine empire which had been partitioned and were being governed by the Venetians, Franks and other westerners

Rupenids first dynasty to rule Armenian Cilicia, from the late eleventh to early thirteenth century

Rus people of Scandinavian origin who formed a political structure in eastern Europe, between the Gulf of Finland and Middle Dnieper; the land-mass over which they predominated; from the late eleventh century, the term began to denote all inhabitants of this area, from which Russia takes its name

sacrum cubiculum [L] 'sacred chamber': part of the imperial palace

Sallarid tenth- to eleventh-century Muslim dynasty which ruled in the eastern Caucasus and north-western Iran before the Seljuqs; also known as Musafirid or Kangarid

Samaritans followers of a primitive form of Judaism

sandjakbey [Tsh] ruler of a Turkish state administrative unit

Saracens (*Sarakenoi*; L: *Saraceni*) vague term used by westerners and Byzantines of Arabs and, later, of other Muslims, supposed by early Christian churchmen to be the sons of Ishmael by the bond-woman Hagar (see also Ishmaelites)

Sasanians Persian ruling dynasty which overthrew the Parthian Arsacid dynasty in the early third century and ruled modern Iran and parts of Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and the Gulf Coast of the Arabian peninsula until overthrown by the Arabs in the mid-seventh century

satrap [P] governor of a province in the Persian empire; district administrator

satrapēs see satrap

Saxons Germanic people, conquered and forcibly converted by Charlemagne in the late eighth and early ninth century

Saxony power base of the Ottonian rulers of Germany in the later tenth century

Schools (*scholai*; L: *scholae*) originally any 'office' or body of officials; then more specifically the *scholae palatinae* [L], palace guard created by Diocletian or Constantine the Great; held a mainly ceremonial role by the fifth century; but by the eighth century, a crack unit of the *tagmata*, with an active military role

Scyths classical name for Iranian-speaking nomads of Black Sea steppes; used by Byzantines of several northern peoples, including Bulgars, Pechenegs, Uzes and Cumans

***sebastokratōr* (s.), *sebastokratores* (pl.)** late Byzantine court title normally bestowed on the emperor's sons and other relatives

***sebastos* (s.), *sebastoi* (pl.)** court title introduced by Alexios I Komnenos and conferred on members of the Komnenian elite or foreign rulers;

the root for the higher titles of the *sebastokratōr*, *panhypersebastos* and *prōtosebastos*

***sekrēton* (s.), *sekrēta* (pl.)** central administrative and financial bureau

seneschal senior official in important noble western households; royal official in charge of justice and administration in southern France

Septuagint ('LXX') the most influential of the Greek versions of the Hebrew Old Testament

shah [P] 'king' (usually of Persia)

silentarios a court attendant whose first duty was to secure order and silence in the palace

***silention* (s.), *silentia* (pl.)** 'silence': solemn assembly convened by the emperor; the emperor's speeches

simony the purchasing of church office

Sklaviniai regions of Slav settlement and predominance, mainly in Macedonia and Greece

***solidus* (s.), *solidi* (pl.)** see *nomisma*

sparapet [Armenian] chief Armenian military officer

***spatharios* (s.), *spatharioi* (pl.)** 'sword-bearer': court title, of decreasing importance from the ninth century

spatharokandidatos court title conferred on lower-rank officials

***stemma* (s.), *stemmata* (pl.)** imperial metal crown, usually ornamented with pearls and precious stones and surmounted by a cross

***stratēgos* (s.), *stratēgoi* (pl.)** 'general': from the seventh or eighth century the commander of a theme, who held both civil and military power; during the eleventh century replaced by the terms *doux* or *katepanō*

stratēgos autokratōr commander-in-chief of the Byzantine forces in the west or the east; often used as an equivalent of the domestic of the Schools

***strateia* (s.), *strateiai* (pl.)** state service of any sort; entitlement to imperial *roga*, carrying with it special military service obligations; from the mid-tenth century, a property whose holder was subject to military service or to supporting a soldier

***stratiōtēs* (s.), *stratiōtai* (pl.)** 'soldier': holder of a *strateia*; from the mid-tenth century, a holder of 'military land' subject to the obligation to support a soldier

stratiōtikon imperial bureau dealing with military-related taxes and pay

***stratōr* (s.), *stratores* (pl.)** 'groom': official in the imperial stables

stylites (from *stylē*, 'pillar') from the fifth century onwards, ascetics who fasted and prayed on top of pillars

sultan [A] one of the highest secular titles denoting ruler of a Muslim state; from the mid-eleventh century, title of Seljuq and subsequent Muslim rulers in the Middle East

sürgün [Tsh] forcible deportation and resettlement by Ottoman Turks

suzerain overlord, to whom vassals paid tribute; a dominant state, controlling the foreign relations of a vassal region or people, while allowing them limited self-rule

synkellos 'living in the same cell': high-ranking official in one of the patriarchates; in Constantinople, usually appointed by the emperor to represent his interests

synodikon collection of acts from a synod; liturgical document containing important rulings

synōnē tax or exaction on cultivated land, paid either in kind or in cash (see also *annona*)

tafsīr [A] Koranic commentary

***tagma* (s.), *tagmata* (pl.)** 'regiment(s)': elite cavalry and infantry unit(s) stationed in the capital, formed in the eighth century; from the tenth to twelfth centuries, full-time foreign mercenary unit(s)

tarì [A] gold coin (quarter-dinar) struck by the Fatimids and their Norman and Hohenstaufen successors in Sicily

taxis 'good form': battle array; good order in court ceremonial; order and harmony in state, church and society

terciers [French] (I: *terzieri*) three Latin lords, Veronese noblemen, to whom Boniface of Montferrat granted the island of Negroponte in 1205; and their successors until 1390

***thema* (s.), *themata* (pl.)** literally 'element', 'topic', 'file'; see theme

theme in the middle Byzantine era, the district where soldiers were quartered, and from which they were recruited; an administrative unit; the army based in such a region

Theotokos 'god-bearing' (from *theos* 'god' and *tokos* 'bringing forth'): description of the Virgin (Mother of God) which emphasised that Mary gave birth to God, and not to a man who became God

Thrakesioi one of the earliest themes, based in western Anatolia with headquarters at Chonai

thughur [A] border region (specifically the Muslim–Byzantine border)

toparch (*toparchēs*) local borderland potentate

***tourma* (s.), *tourmai* (pl.)** military unit; subdivision of theme (see also turmarch)

***tribunus* (s.), *tribuni* (pl.)** [L] term for indigenous local rulers in southern Italy, which fell out of use in the ninth century

triconch type of church plan in the form of a trefoil

troparion short, sung hymn which forms part of the liturgy

True Cross wooden cross on which Christ was crucified, or fragments – relics – supposedly from it

Turkmen (Turkoman, Turcoman) Turkish nomadic tribesmen from Central Asia who streamed into Anatolia in the eleventh century and subsequently; many were associated with the Seljuqs

tümen [Mongolian] largest Mongol fighting unit, between 3,000 and 10,000 strong

turmarch commander of a *tourma*; senior military commander with fiscal and judicial responsibilities

typikon **(s.),** ***typika*** **(pl.)** monastic foundation charter, setting out the rules and liturgical services to be maintained

Uighurs Turkic confederation which established its own khaganate over the remnants of the Kök Turk empire from *c.* 745 to *c.* 840

Umayyad first Muslim ruling dynasty (661–750)

uncial see majuscule

Uzes a branch of the Oghuz confederation of Turkic-speaking peoples; ousted the Pechenegs from the Black Sea steppes in the mid-eleventh century; invaded Balkans in 1064, but eventually mastered by the Byzantines

Wallachians see Vlachs

veliki župan [S] see grand *župan*

vestarchēs court title conferred on lower-ranking officials

vestēs court title granted to prominent military commanders

vestiarion (L: *vestarium*) 'imperial wardrobe': state treasury for things other than coins

vicegerent deputy (e.g. for God)

Visigoths (western Goths) groupings of Goths who raided into Roman territory in the fourth and fifth centuries, adopting Arian Christianity and establishing kingdoms in present-day south-west France and Spain

vizier [A] high-ranking administrator and adviser appointed by the caliph or sultan; first minister

Vlachs Romance-language-speaking pastoral inhabitants of eastern and south-eastern Europe, descended from Romanised Thracians, other local Balkan populations and Roman colonists; one grouping, the Wallachians, are now found in present-day Romania while another, the Moldavians, are also found in present-day Moldova

Zealots strongly iconophile monks in the late eighth to tenth century; mid-fourteenth century group which briefly established self-government in Thessaloniki, confiscating aristocratic property and redistributing wealth

***zeugaratos* (s.), *zeugaratoi* (pl.)** fiscal term for a peasant who owned a pair of oxen

Zoroastrianism [P] early Persian system of religious doctrine established by Zarathustra (Zoroaster), venerating fire as a life-force present throughout all creation

župan [S] high-ranking title of the south Slavs and (later) the Wallachians (see also *grand župan*)

GENEALOGICAL TABLES AND LISTS OF RULERS

Table 1 *Byzantine emperors in Constantinople (c. 500–1204 and 1261–1453)*

Reign	Emperor	Family ties constituting a 'dynasty'*
491–518	Anastasius	
518–527	Justin I	Justinianic
527–565	Justinian I	
565–578	Justin II	
578–582	Tiberius I	
582–602	Maurice	
602–610	Phocas I	
610–641	Heraclius	Heraclian
641–668	Constans II	
668–685	Constantine IV	
685–695	Justinian II (first reign)	
695–698	Leontius (overthrew Justinian II, exiling him to Cherson)	
698–705	Tiberius II Apsimar (overthrew Leontius)	
705–711	Justinian II (second reign)	
711–713	Philippikos	
713–715	Anastasios II	
715–717	Theodosios III	
717–741	Leo III 'the Isaurian'	Isaurian
741–775	Constantine V	
775–780	Leo IV	
780–797	Constantine VI	
797–802	Irene	
802–811	Nikephoros I	Nikephorian
811	Staurakios	
811–813	Michael I	

* 'Dynasty' is here used as a loose yet convenient label for sequences of rulers linked by ties of blood, marriage, adoption or co-emperorship

Table 1 *Byzantine emperors* (*cont.*)

Reign	Emperor	Family ties constituting a 'dynasty'
813–820	Leo V 'the Armenian'	
820–829	Michael II	Amorian
829–842	Theophilos	Amorian
842–867	Michael III	Amorian
867–886	Basil I	Macedonian
886–912	Leo VI 'the Wise'	Macedonian
912–913	Alexander	Macedonian
913–920	Constantine VII (regency)	Macedonian
920–944	Romanos I Lekapenos	Macedonian
945–959	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus	Macedonian
959–963	Romanos II	Macedonian
963–969	Nikephoros II Phokas	Macedonian
969–976	John I Tzimiskes	Macedonian
976–1025	Basil II	Macedonian
1025–1028	Constantine VIII	Macedonian
1028–1034	Romanos III Argyros	Macedonian
1034–1041	Michael IV 'the Paphlagonian'	Macedonian
1041–1042	Michael V	Macedonian
1042	Zoe and Theodora	Macedonian
1042–1055	Constantine IX Monomachos	Macedonian
1055–1056	Theodora	Macedonian
1056–1057	Michael VI Stratiotikos	
1057–1059	Isaac I Komnenos	
1059–1067	Constantine X Doukas	Doukai
1068–1071	Romanos IV Diogenes	Doukai
1071–1078	Michael VII Doukas	Doukai
1078–1081	Nikephoros III Botaneiates	
1081–1118	Alexios I Komnenos	Komnenoi
1118–1143	John II Komnenos	Komnenoi
1143–1180	Manuel I Komnenos	Komnenoi
1180–1183	Alexios II Komnenos	Komnenoi
1183–1185	Andronikos I Komnenos	Komnenoi
1185–1195	Isaac II Angelos	Angeloi
1195–1203	Alexios III Angelos	Angeloi
1203–1204	Isaac II and Alexios IV Angelos	Angeloi
1204	Alexios I Doukas	Angeloi
[1204–1261]	[Latin Empire – Constantinople recaptured 1261 – see Tables 2 and 6.v]	
1258–1282	Michael VIII Palaiologos (assumed imperial title 1259; emperor at Constantinople 1261)	Palaiologoi
1282–1328	Andronikos II Palaiologos	Palaiologoi
1294/5–1320	Michael IX Palaiologos	Palaiologoi
1328–1341	Andronikos III Palaiologos	Palaiologoi
1341–1391	John V Palaiologos	Palaiologoi
1347–1354	John VI Kantakouzenos	Palaiologoi
1376–1379	Andronikos IV Palaiologos	Palaiologoi
1390	John VII Palaiologos	Palaiologoi
1391–1425	Manuel II Palaiologos	Palaiologoi
1425–1448	John VIII Palaiologos	Palaiologoi
1449–1453	Constantine XI Palaiologos	Palaiologoi

Table 2 *Rulers of the Greek 'rump states' (1204–1461)*

Reign	Emperor	Family ties constituting a 'dynasty'
i *Nicaea*		
1205–1221	Theodore I Laskaris	Laskarid
1221–1254	John III Vatatzes	
1254–1258	Theodore II Laskaris	
1258–1261	John IV Laskaris	
1258–1282	Michael VIII Palaiologos (assumed imperial title 1259)	Palaiologoi [see Table 1]
ii *Greek rulers in the western provinces (Epiros and Thessaloniki)*		
1204–1215	Michael I Angelos Doukas of Epiros	Komnenos Doukas (styling themselves Angelos Doukas)
1215–1230	Theodore Angelos emperor at Thessaloniki 1224–1230	
1230–1237	Manuel Angelos emperor and despot at Thessaloniki	
1237–1244	John emperor and despot	
1244–1246	Demetrios Angelos Doukas despot	
1230–1267	Michael II Angelos Doukas despot in Epiros	
1267–1296	Nikephoros I Angelos Doukas despot	
1296–1318	Thomas despot	
iii *Emperors of Trebizond and Grand Komnenoi*		
1204–1222	Alexios I	Grand Komnenoi
[1204–1212	David]~	~ Co-founder of the empire of Trebizond, but nominally subordinate to his brother, Alexios I; sometimes known as David I
1222–1235	Andronikos I Gidos	
1235–1238	John I Axouch	
1238–1263	Manuel I	
1263–1266	Andronikos II	
1266–1280	George	
1280–1297	John II	
1285	Theodora	
1297–1330	Alexios II	
1330–1332	Andronikos III	
1332	Manuel II	
1332–1340	Basil	
1340–1341	Irene Palaiologina	
1341	Anna Anachoutlou (first reign)	
1341	Michael (first reign)	
1341–1342	Anna Anachoutlou (second reign)	
1342–1344	John III	
1344–1349	Michael (second reign)	
1349–1390	Alexios III	
1390–1416/17	Manuel III	
1416/17–1429	Alexios IV	
1429–1458/60	John IV	
1459–1461	David I	

Table 3 *Patriarchs of Constantinople (381–1502)*

Reign	Patriarch
Fourth century	
381–397	Nectarius
398–404	John I Chrysostom
Fifth century	
404–405	Arsacius
406–425	Atticus
426–427	Sisinnius I
428–431	Nestorius
431–434	Maximian
434?–446	Proclus
446–449	Flavian
449–458	Anatolius
458–471	Gennadius I
472–489	Acacius
489–490	Fravitas
490–496	Euphemius
Sixth century	
495–511	Macedonius II
511–518	Timothy I
518–520	John II the Cappadocian
520–535	Epiphanius
535–536	Anthimus I
536–552	Menas
552–565	Eutychius (first patriarchate)
565–577	John III Scholasticus
577–582	Eutychius (second patriarchate)
582–595	John IV Nesteutes 'the faster'
595/6–606	Cyriacus
Seventh century	
607–610	Thomas I
610–638	Sergius I
638–641	Pyrrhus (first patriarchate)
641–653	Paul II
654	Pyrrhus (second patriarchate)
654–666	Peter
667–669	Thomas II
669–675	John V
675–677	Constantine I
677–679	Theodore I (first patriarchate)
679–686	George I
686–687	Theodore I (second patriarchate)
688–694	Paul III
694–706	Callinicus I
Eighth century	
706–712	Kyros
712–715	John VI
715–730	Germanos I
730–754	Anastasios
754–766	Constantine II
766–780	Niketas I
780–784	Paul IV
784–806	Tarasios

(*cont.*)

Table 3 *Patriarchs* (*cont.*)

	Reign	Patriarch
Ninth century		
	806–815	Nikephoros I
	815–821	Theodotos Kassiteras
	821–837?	Antony I Kassymatas
	837?–843	John VII the Grammarian
	843–847	Methodios
	847–858	Ignatios (first patriarchate)
	858–867	Photios (first patriarchate)
	867–877	Ignatios (second patriarchate)
	877–886	Photios (second patriarchate)
	886–893	Stephen I
	893–901	Antony II Kauleas
Tenth century		
	901–907	Nicholas I Mystikos (first patriarchate)
	907–912	Euthymios I
	912–925	Nicholas I Mystikos (second patriarchate)
	925–927	Stephen II
	927–931	Tryphon
	933–956	Theophylact
	956–970	Polyeuct
	970–974	Basil I Skamandrenos
	974–979	Antony III the Stoudite
	979–991	Nicholas II Chrysoberges
	[991–996]	[vacancy]
	996–998	Sisinnios II
Eleventh century		
	1001–1019	Sergios II
	1019–1025	Eustathios
	1025–1043	Alexios the Stoudite
	1043–1058	Michael I Keroularios
	1059–1063	Constantine III Leichoudes
	1064–1075	John VIII Xiphilinos
	1075–1081	Kosmas I
	1081–1084	Eustratios Garidas
	1084–1111	Nicholas III the Grammarian
Twelfth century		
	1111–1134	John IX Agapetos
	1134–1143	Leo Styppeiotes
	1143–1146	Michael II Kourkouas
	1146–1147	Kosmas II Attikos
	1147–1151	Nicholas IV Mouzalon
	1151/2–1153/4	Theodotos II
	1153/4 (1 month)	Neophytos I
	1154–1157	Constantine IV Chliarenos
	1157–1169/70	Luke Chrysoberges
	1170–1178	Michael III
	1178–1179	Chariton Eugeneiotes
	1179–1183	Theodosios Boradiotes
	1183–1186	Basil II Kamateros
	1186–1189	Niketas II Mountanes

Table 3 *Patriarchs* (*cont.*)

Reign	Patriarch
1189 (1 month)	Dositheos of Jerusalem (first patriarchate)
1189	Leontios Theotokites
1189–1191	Dositheos of Jerusalem (second patriarchate)
1191–1198	George II Xiphilinos
1198–1206	John X Kamateros
Thirteenth century	
1208–1214	Michael IV Autoreianos
1214–1216	Theodore II Eirenikos
1216	Maximos II
1216/17–1222	Manuel I Sarantenos
1223–1240	Germanos II
1240/1?	Methodios II
1243/4?–1254	Manuel II
1254–1259	Arsenios Autoreianos (first patriarchate)
1260–1261	Nikephoros II
1261–1265	Arsenios Autoreianos (second patriarchate)
1265–1266	Germanos III
1266–1275	Joseph I (first patriarchate)
1275–1282	John XI Bekkos
1282–1283	Joseph I (second patriarchate)
1283–1289	Gregory II (George) of Cyprus
1289–1293	Athanasios I (first patriarchate)
1294–1303	John XII Kosmas
Fourteenth century	
1303–1309	Athanasios I (second patriarchate)
1310–1314	Niphon I
1315–1319	John XIII Glykys
1320–1321	Gerasimos I
1323–1332	Isaias
1334–1347	John XIV Kalekas
1347–1350	Isidore I Boucheiras
1350–1353	Kallistos I (first patriarchate)
1353–1354	Philotheos Kokkinos (first patriarchate)
1355–1363	Kallistos I (second patriarchate)
1364–1376	Philotheos Kokkinos (second patriarchate)
1376/7–1379	Makarios (first patriarchate)
1380–1388	Neilos Kerameus
1389–1390	Antony IV (first patriarchate)
1390–1391	Makarios (second patriarchate)
1391–1397	Antony IV (second patriarchate)
1397	Kallistos II Xanthopoulos
1397–1402, 1403–1410	Matthew I
Fifteenth century	
1410–1416	Euthymios II
1416–1439	Joseph II
1440–1443	Metrophanes II
1443–1450?	Gregory III Mamme
1450	Athanasios II
1454–1456	Gennadios II (George) Scholarios (first patriarchate)

(*cont.*)

Table 3 *Patriarchs* (*cont.*)

Reign	Patriarch
1456–1462	Isidore II
1463	Gennadios II (George) Scholarios (second patriarchate)
1463–1464	Sophronios I
1464–1465	Gennadios II (George) Scholarios (third patriarchate)
1465–1466	Joasaph I Kokkas
1466	Mark Xylokaraves
1466–1467	Symeon 'of Trebizond' (first patriarchate)
1466–1471	Dionysios I (first patriarchate)
1471/2–1474	Symeon 'of Trebizond' (second patriarchate)
1475–1476	Raphael
1476–1481/2	Maximos III Manasses
1482–1486	Symeon 'of Trebizond' (third patriarchate)
1486–1488	Niphon II (first patriarchate)
1488–1490	Dionysios I (second patriarchate)
1491–1497	Maximos IV
1497–1498	Niphon II (second patriarchate)
1498–1502	Joachim I
1502	Niphon II (third patriarchate)

Table 4 *Popes of Rome (c. 450–c. 1500)*

Reign	Pope
Fifth century	
440–461	Leo I
461–468	Hilarus
468–483	Simplicius
483–492	Felix III
492–496	Gelasius I
496–498	Anastasius II
Sixth century	
498–514	Symmachus
514–523	Hormisdas
523–526	John I
526–530	Felix IV
530–532	Boniface II
533–535	John II
535–536	Agapetus I
536–537	Silverius
537–555	Vigilius
556–561	Pelagius I
561–574	John III
575–579	Benedict I
579–590	Pelagius II
590–604	Gregory I (the Great)
Seventh century	
604–606	Sabinianus
607	Boniface III

Table 4 *Popes* (*cont.*)

Reign	Pope
608–615	Boniface IV
615–618	Adeodatus I (Deusdedit)
619–625	Boniface V
625–638	Honorius I
640	Severinus
640–642	John IV
642–649	Theodore I
649–655	Martin I
654–657	Eugenius I
657–672	Vitalian
672–676	Adeodatus II
676–678	Donus
678–681	Agatho
682–683	Leo II
684–685	Benedict II
685–686	John V
686–687	Cono
687–701	Sergius I
Eighth century	
701–705	John VI
705–707	John VII
708	Sisinnius
708–715	Constantine
715–731	Gregory II
731–741	Gregory III
741–752	Zacharias
752–757	Stephen II (Stephen III)
757–767	Paul I
768–772	Stephen III (Stephen IV)
772–795	Hadrian I
Ninth century	
795–816	Leo III
816–817	Stephen IV (Stephen V)
817–824	Paschal I
824–827	Eugenius II
827	Valentine
827–844	Gregory IV
844–847	Sergius II
847–855	Leo IV
855–858	Benedict III
858–867	Nicholas I
867–872	Hadrian II
872–882	John VIII
882–884	Marinus I
884–885	Hadrian III
885–891	Stephen V (Stephen VI)
891–896	Formosus, bishop of Porto
896	Boniface VI
896–897	Stephen VI (Stephen VII)
897	Romanus
897	Theodore II
898–900	John IX

(*cont.*)

Table 4 *Popes* (*cont.*)

Reign	Pope
Tenth century	
900–903	Benedict IV
903	Leo V
904–911	Sergius III
911–913	Anastasius III
913–914	Lando
914–928	John X
928	Leo VI
928–931	Stephen VII (Stephen VIII)
931–935	John XI
936–939	Leo VII
939–942	Stephen VIII (Stephen IX)
942–946	Marinus II
946–955	Agapetus II
955–964	John XII
963–965	Leo VIII
964–966	Benedict V
965–972	John XIII
973–974	Benedict VI
974–983	Benedict VII
983–984	John XIV
985–996	John XV
996–999	Gregory V
Eleventh century	
999–1003	Sylvester II
1003	John XVII
1004–1009	John XVIII
1009–1012	Sergius IV
1012–1024	Benedict VIII
1024–1032	John XIX
1032–1044	Benedict IX (first pontificate)
1045	Sylvester III
1045	Benedict IX (second pontificate)
1045–1046	Gregory VI
1046–1047	Clement II
1047–1048	Benedict IX (third pontificate)
1048	Damasus II
1049–1054	Leo IX
1055–1057	Victor
1057–1058	Stephen IX (Stephen X)
1059–1061	Nicholas II
1061–1073	Alexander II
1073–1085	Gregory VII
1086–1087	Victor III
1088–1099	Urban II
Twelfth century	
1099–1118	Paschal II
1118–1119	Gelasius II
1119–1124	Callixtus II
1124–1130	Honorius II
1130–1143	Innocent II
1143–1144	Celestine II

Table 4 *Popes* (*cont.*)

Reign	Pope
1144–1145	Lucius II
1145–1153	Eugenius III
1153–1154	Anastasius IV
1154–1159	Hadrian IV
1159–1181	Alexander III
1181–1185	Lucius III
1185–1187	Urban III
1187	Gregory VIII
1187–1191	Clement III
1191–1198	Celestine III
Thirteenth century	
1198–1216	Innocent III
1216–1227	Honorius III
1227–1241	Gregory IX
1241	Celestine IV
1243–1254	Innocent IV
1254–1261	Alexander IV
1261–1264	Urban IV
1265–1268	Clement IV
1271–1276	Gregory X
1276	Innocent V
1276	Hadrian V
1276–1277	John XXI
1277–1280	Nicholas III
1281–1285	Martin IV
1285–1287	Honorius IV
1288–1292	Nicholas IV
1294	Celestine V
1294–1303	Boniface VIII
Fourteenth century	
1303–1304	Benedict XI
1305–1314	Clement V
1316–1334	John XXII
1334–1342	Benedict XII
1342–1352	Clement VI
1352–1362	Innocent VI
1362–1370	Urban V
1370–1378	Gregory XI
1378–1389	Urban VI
1389–1404	Boniface IX
Fifteenth century	
1404–1406	Innocent VII
1406–1415	Gregory XII
1417–1431	Martin V
1431–1447	Eugenius IV
1447–1455	Nicholas V
1455–1458	Callixtus III
1458–1464	Pius II
1464–1471	Paul II
1471–1484	Sixtus IV
1484–1492	Innocent VIII
1492–1503	Alexander VI

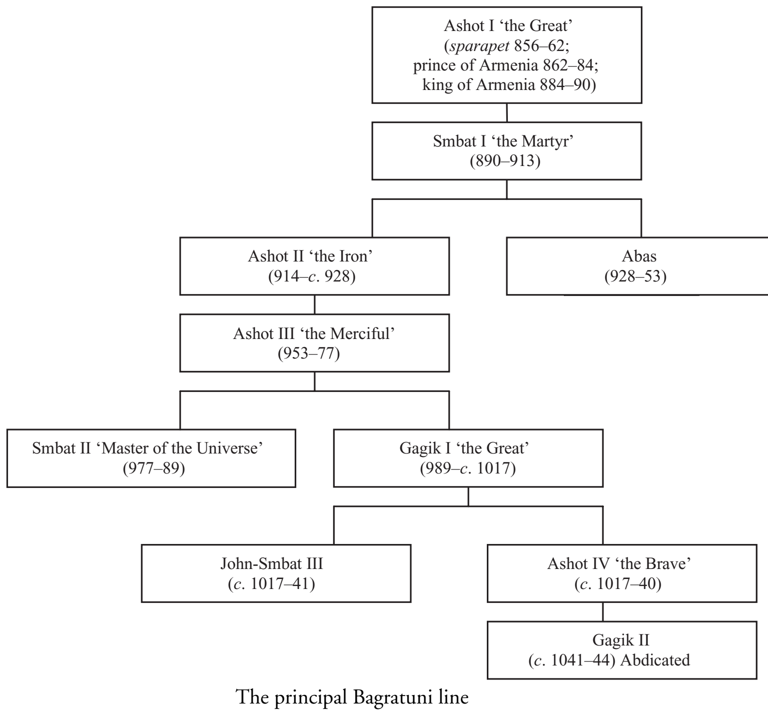
Table 5.i *Eastern rulers (Sasanian Persia)*

Reign	Shah
224–240	Ardashir I
240–270	Shapur I
270–271	Hormizd I
271–274	Bahram I
274–293	Bahram II
293	Bahram III
293–302	Narseh
302–309	Hormizd II
309–379	Shapur II
379–383	Ardashir II
383–388	Shapur III
388–399	Bahram IV
399–420	Yazdgard I
420–438	Bahram V
438–457	Yazdgard II
457–459	Hormizd III
459–484	Peroz
484–488	Valash
488–496	Kavad I (first reign)
496–498	Zamaspes (Jamasp)
498–531	Kavad I (second reign)
531–579	Khusro I
579–590	Hormizd IV
590	Khusro II (first reign)
590–591	Bahram Chobin
591–628	Khusro II (second reign)
628	Kavad II
628–629	Ardashir III
629	Shahrvaraz
630–631	Boran
633–651	Yazdgard III

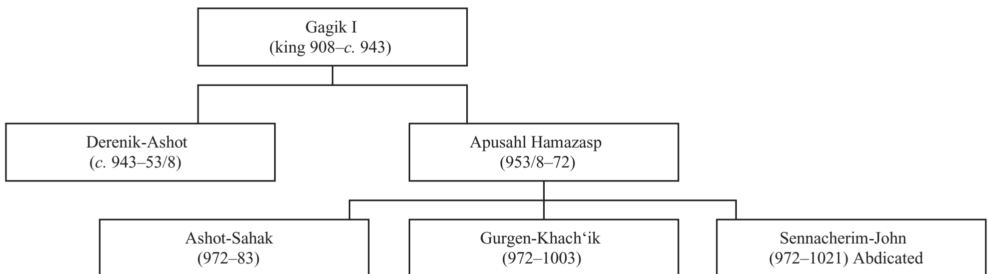
Table 5.ii *Eastern rulers (Umayyad caliphate; Abbasid caliphate)*

Reign	Caliph	Dynasty
632–634	Abu Bakr	Known as the *Rāshidūn* ('rightly-guided') caliphs
634–644	'Umar I	
644–656	'Uthman	
656–661	'Ali	
661–680	Mu'awiya I	Umayyad (Sufyanid)
680–683	Yazid I	
683–684	Mu'awiya II	
684–685	Marwan I	Umayyad (Marwanid)
685–705	'Abd al-Malik	
705–715	al-Walid I	
715–717	Suleiman	
717–720	'Umar II	
720–724	Yazid II	
724–743	Hisham	
743–744	al-Walid II	
744	Yazid III	
744	Ibrahim	
744–750	Marwan II	
749–754	al-Saffah	Abbasids
754–775	al-Mansur	
775–785	al-Mahdi	
785–786	al-Hadi	
786–809	Harun al-Rashid	
809–813	al-'Amin	
813–833	al-Ma'mun	
833–842	al-Mu'tasim	
842–847	al-Wathiq	
847–861	al-Mutawakkil	
861–862	al-Muntasir	
862–866	al-Musta'in	
866–869	al-Mu'tazz	
869–870	al-Muhtadi	
870–892	al-Mu'tamid	
892–902	al-Mu'tadid	
902–908	al-Muktafi	
908–932	al-Muqtadir	
932–934	al-Qahir	
934–940	al-Radi	
940–944	al-Mutaqqi	
944–946	al-Mustakfi	
946–974	al-Muti	
974–991	al-Ta'i	
991–1031	al-Qadir	
1031–1075	al-Qa'im	
[1075–1258]	[Abbasid caliphate remained as a nominal commonwealth]	

Table 5.iii *Eastern rulers (Armenian princes: the principal Bagratuni and Artsruni lines)*



The principal Bagratuni line



The principal Artsruni line (Vaspurakan)

Table 5.iv *Eastern rulers (Turks: the Seljuq dynasty)*

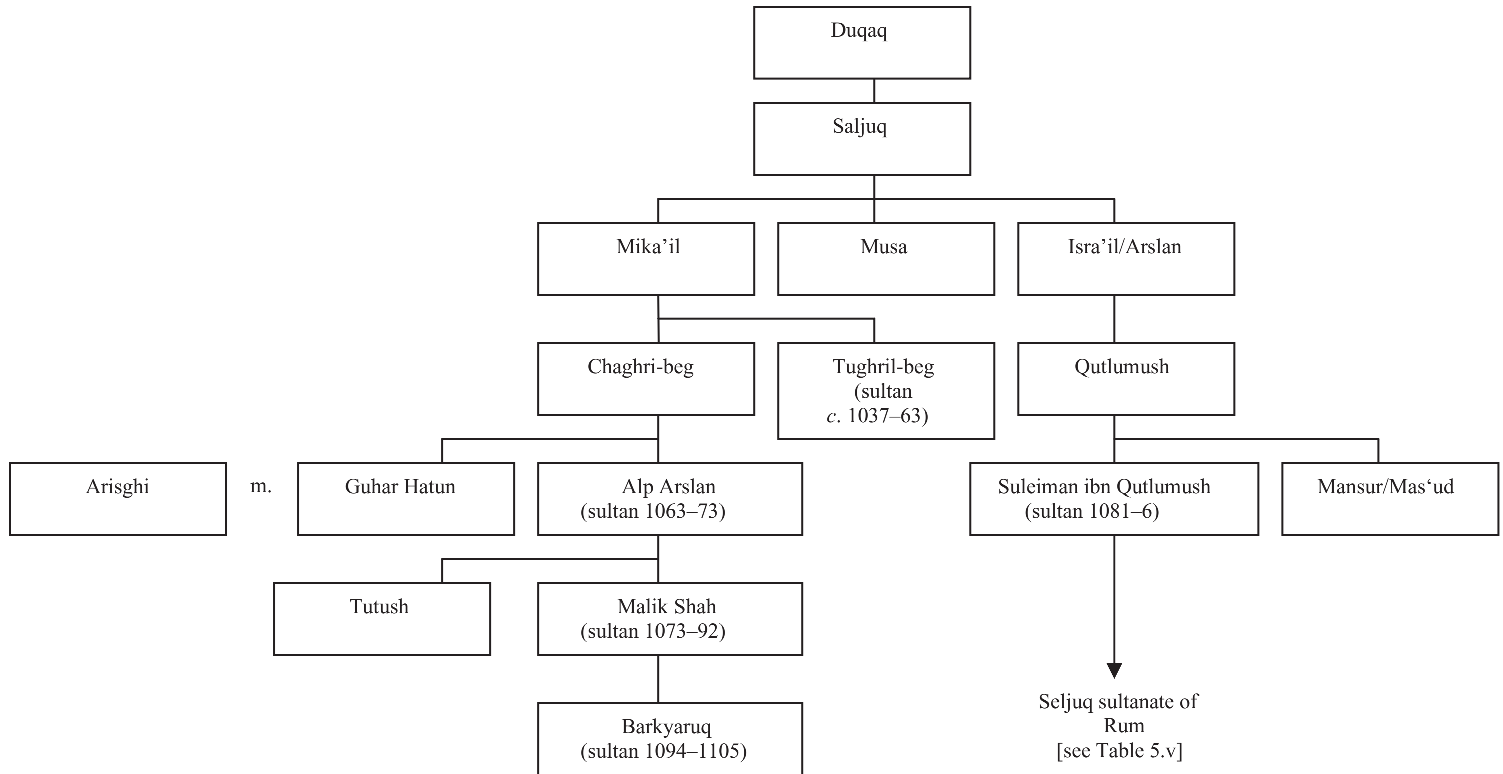


Table 5.v *Eastern rulers (Turks: the Seljuq sultanate of Rum)*

Reign	Sultan
1081–1086	Suleiman ibn Qutlumush
1092–1107	Kilij Arslan I
1107–1116	Malik Shah
1116–1155	Mas'ud
1156–1192	Kilij Arslan II
1192–1196	Kay-Khusraw I (first reign)
1196–1204	Rukn al-Din
1204–1205	Kilij Arslan III
1205–1211	Kay-Khusraw I (second reign)
1211–1219	Kay-Kawus I
1219–1237	Kay-Qubad I
1237–1246	Kay-Khusraw II
1246–1256	Kay-Kawus II (first reign)
1248–1265	Kilij Arslan IV
1257–1261	Kay-Kawus II (second reign)
[1261]	[sultanate of Rum subjugated by the Mongols]

Table 5.vi *Eastern rulers (Turks: the Ottoman beylik and sultanate (c. 1282–1566))*

Reign	Sultan	Dynasty
c. 1282–1326	Osman I	Osmanli
1326–1362	Orhan	
1362–1389	Murad I	
1389–1402	Bayazid I	
[1402–1413]	[struggle between Mehmed I and his three brothers for the throne]	
1413–1421	Mehmed I	
1421–1451	Murad II	
1451–1481	Mehmed II	
1481–1512	Bayazid II	
1512–1520	Selim I	
1520–1566	Suleiman I 'the Magnificent'	

Table 5.vii *Eastern rulers (Mongols: Genghis Khan and his descendants)*

Reign	Ruler	Dynasty (Branch)
1206–1227	Genghis Khan	Mongol khanate in Central Asia (Great Khans)
1227–1229	[Regency]	
1229–1241	Ögedei Khan	
1241–1246	[Regency]	
1246–1248	Güyüg Khan	
1248–1251	[Regency]	
1251–1259	Möngke	
1260–1294	Kublai Khan	
1239–1255	Batu	Golden Horde
c. 1255–*c.* 1256	Sartaq	
1256/7	Ulaghchi	
1257–1266	Berke	
1267–1281	Möngke-Timur	
1281–1287	Töde-Möngke	
1287–1290	Töle-Buqa	
1290–1312	Toqto'a	
c. 1296–*c.* 1299	Nogai	Effective ruler after Möngke-Timur; Nogai took the title Khan *c.* 1296, but was killed during the ensuing civil war
1258–1265	Hulagu	Ilkhans of Persia (Ilkhanate)
1265–1282	Abaqa	
1282–1284	Tegüder	
1284–1291	Arghun	
1291–1295	Gaikhatu	
1295	Baidu	
1295–1304	Ghazan	

Table 6.i *Western rulers (Frankish emperors/senior co-emperors)*

Reign	Ruler	Dynasty
751–768	Pippin III the Short king of the Franks	Carolingians
800–814	Charlemagne king of the Franks from 768 emperor from 800	
814–840	Louis the Pious	
840–855	Lothar I	
855–875	Louis II	
875–877	Charles II the Bald	
877–881	[interregnum]	
881–887	Charles III the Fat	

Table 6.ii *Western rulers (Western emperors of Saxon origin, and their successors)*

Reign	Ruler	Dynasty
919–936	Henry king of the East Franks	Ottonian
962–973	Otto I king of the East Franks from 936 crowned emperor by pope in Rome 962	Ottonian
973–983	Otto II crowned co-emperor by pope in Rome 967	Ottonian
983–1002	Otto III only crowned emperor by pope in Rome 996	Ottonian
1002–1024	Henry II crowned emperor by pope in Rome 1014	Ottonian
1024–1039	Conrad II crowned emperor 1027	Salian
1039–1056	Henry III crowned emperor 1046	Salian
1053–1106	Henry IV crowned emperor by Antipope Clement III 1084	Salian
1099–1125	Henry V crowned emperor 1111	Salian
1125–1137	Lothar III crowned emperor 1133	
1138–1152	Conrad III failed to receive imperial coronation in Rome	Hohenstaufen
1152–1190	Frederick I Barbarossa crowned emperor in Rome in 1155	Hohenstaufen
1190–1197	Henry VI crowned emperor 1191	Hohenstaufen
1198–1208	Philip of Swabia claimant, but not crowned emperor in Rome	Hohenstaufen
1198–1218	Otto IV of Brunswick crowned emperor in Rome 1209	Hohenstaufen
1215–1250	Frederick II crowned emperor in Rome 1220	Hohenstaufen

Table 6.iii *Western rulers (Lombard princes of Capua-Benevento and Salerno)*

Reign	Lombard princes of Capua-Benevento
759–787	Arichis II
787–806	Grimoald III
806–817	Grimoald IV
817–833	Sico
833–839	Sicard
839–851	Radelchis I
851–853	Radelgar
853–878	Adelchis
878–881	Gaideris (also Guaifer, Waifer, or Waifar)
881–884	Radelchis II (first rule)
884–891	Aiulf II (also Aio, Ajo, or Aione)
891–892	Ursus (also Orso)
[892–895	Under Byzantine rule]
895–897	Guy IV (Duke of Spoleto)
897–900	Radelchis II (second rule)
900–910	Atenulf I
910–943	Landulf I (styled prince from 901) Atenulf II (styled prince 910–940) Atenulf III (styled prince 933–943)
943–961	Landulf II (styled prince from 939)
961–968/9	Landulf III (styled prince from 959; senior co-ruler from 961)
961–981	Pandulf I Ironhead (styled prince from 943; senior co-ruler 961–968/9; also Duke of Spoleto from 967 and Prince of Salerno from 978)
981–982	Landulf IV (styled prince from 968/9, at Capua 982)
982–1014	Pandulf II (also Prince of Capua from 1008)

The Lombard princes of Benevento ruled independently from 774 until 1050, and were also princes of Capua between 900 and 981.

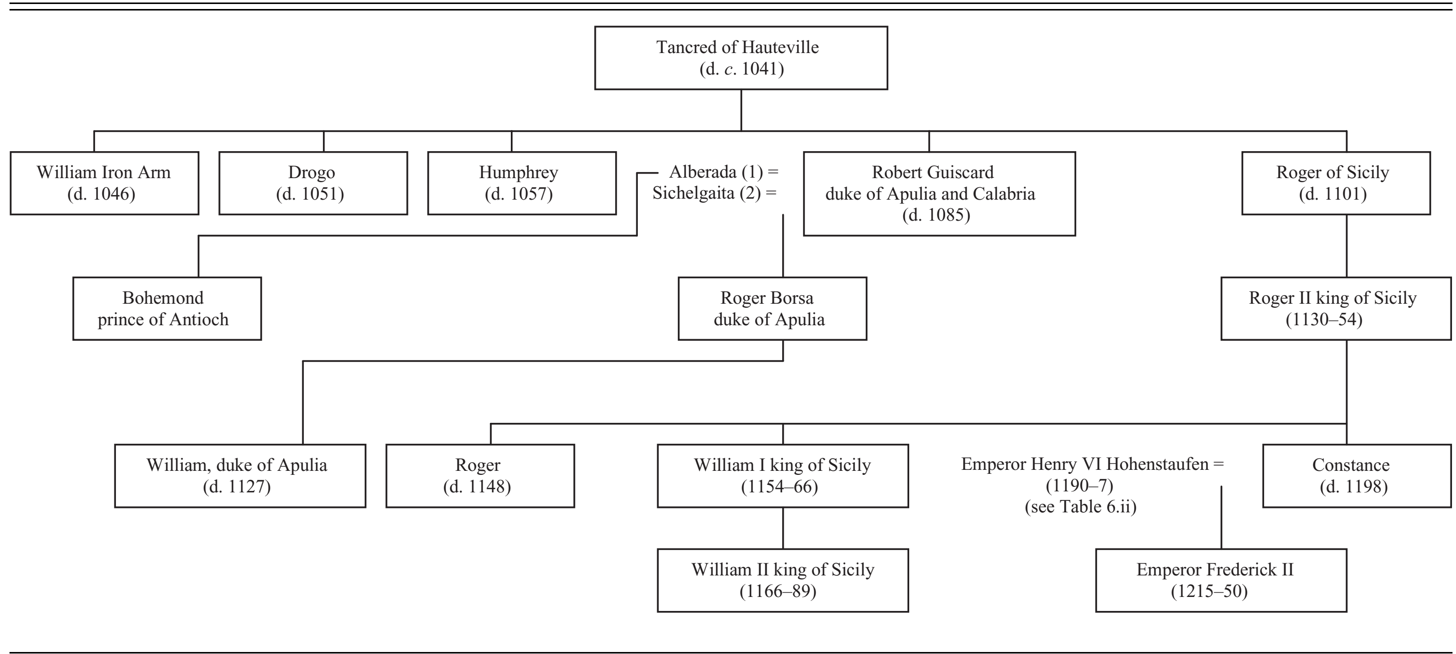
(*cont.*)

Table 6.iii *Lombard princes* (*cont.*)

Reign	Lombard prince of Salerno	Dynasty
880–900	Guaimar I (also Waimar, Gaimar, Guaimaro or Guaimario; deposed)	First dynasty
900–946	Guaimar II (styled prince from 893)	First dynasty
946–977	Gisulf I (styled prince from 933)	
[978–983	Rule by the princes of Capua and dukes of Amalfi]	
983–999	John II Wido (styled prince 983–988)	Second dynasty
999–1027	Guaimar III (styled prince from 989) John III (styled prince 1015–1018)	Second dynasty
1027–1052	Guaimar IV (styled prince from 1018)	

Regnal years given for the princes of Benevento and of Salerno are those during which they were senior ruler or co-ruler; however, they were often styled prince in association with a father or brother for a longer period of time.

Table 6.iv *Western rulers (Norman rulers of southern Italy)**



*Simplified, from M. Chibnall, *The Normans*, Oxford (2000)

Table 6.v *Western rulers (Latin emperors in Constantinople)*

Reign	Emperor
1204–1205	Baldwin I of Flanders
1206–1216	Henry of Hainault
1216–1217	Peter of Courtenay (defeated and disappears before reaching Constantinople)
1217–1219	Yolanda of Flanders (ruling for her husband Peter of Courtenay)
1218–1228	Robert of Courtenay (only crowned in 1221 on his return from France)
1229–1237	John of Brienne (regent co-emperor for Baldwin II)
1237–1261	Baldwin II (emperor from 1228)

Table 6.vi *Western rulers (Rulers of the Frankish principality of Achaia)*

Reign	Ruler	Dynasty
1205–1208	William of Champlitte	
c. 1209–1225/31	Geoffrey I of Villehardouin	Villehardouins
c. 1226/31–1246	Geoffrey II of Villehardouin	Villehardouins
1246–1278	William II of Villehardouin	Villehardouins
1278–1285	bailiffs for Charles I of Anjou	Anjevins
1285–1289	bailiffs for Charles II of Anjou	Anjevins
1289–1307	Isabel of Villehardouin (married to Florent of Hainault (1289–1297) and to Philip of Savoy (1301–1307))	Period of Anjevin and Aragonese claimants
1307–1313	Philip of Taranto	Period of Anjevin and Aragonese claimants
1313–1317	Matilda (Mahaut) of Hainault (daughter of Isabel of Villehardouin and Florent of Hainault; married to Louis of Burgundy (1313–1316))	Period of Anjevin and Aragonese claimants
[1315–1316	failed bid by Ferrante of Majorca]	Period of Anjevin and Aragonese claimants
1322–1333	John of Gravina	Period of Anjevin and Aragonese claimants
1333–1364	Robert of Taranto	Period of Anjevin and Aragonese claimants
1364–1373	Philip II of Taranto	Period of Anjevin and Aragonese claimants
1373–1381	Joan of Naples and heirs (leased by Joan and her heirs to the Knights Hospitallers from *c.* 1376 on)	
1381–1395	Heirs of Joan of Naples and various other pretenders contested the throne, including the Navarrese Company	
1396–1402	Peter of San Superan (of the Navarrese Company)	
1402–1404	Maria Zaccaria	
1404–1432	Centurione II Zaccaria	

Table 7.i *Balkan rulers (Bulgarian rulers)*

Reign	Khan or tsar	Dynasty
First Bulgarian empire		
c. 680–701	Asparuch	House of Dulo
701–718	Tervel	House of Dulo
[718–725	Unknown]	House of Dulo
725–739	Sevar	House of Dulo
739–756	Kormisos	Rulers during 'Time of Troubles'
756–*c.* 761	Vinech	Rulers during 'Time of Troubles'
c. 760–*c.* 763	Teletz	Rulers during 'Time of Troubles'
c. 763–*c.* 767	Sabin	Rulers during 'Time of Troubles'
c. 767	Umor	Rulers during 'Time of Troubles'
c. 767–*c.* 769	Toktu	Rulers during 'Time of Troubles'
c. 770	Pagan	Rulers during 'Time of Troubles'
c. 770– *c.* 777	Telerig	Rulers during 'Time of Troubles'
c. 777–*c.* 802	Kardam	Rulers during 'Time of Troubles'
c. 803–814	Krum	House of Krum
c. 815–831	Omurtag	House of Krum
831–836	Malamir	House of Krum
836–*c.* 852	Presian	House of Krum
c. 852–889	Boris	House of Krum
889–893	Vladimir	House of Krum
893–927	Symeon	House of Krum
927–969	Peter	House of Krum
969–971	Boris II (in Byzantine captivity 971–977)	House of Krum
from 976	Samuel, Aaron, Moses and David (four brothers)	Kometopouloi
987/8–1014	Samuel	Kometopouloi
1014–1015	Gabriel-Radomir	Kometopouloi
1015–1018	John Vladislav	Kometopouloi
[1018–1185	Under Byzantine dominion]	
	Rebels against Byzantine rule:	
1040–1042	Peter Deljan	
c. 1041	Alusjan	
early 1070s	Bodin (acclaimed as 'Tsar Peter')	
Second Bulgarian empire		
1185/6–1196	Asen	
1196–1197	Peter	
1197–1207	Kalojan	
1207–1218	Boril	
1218–1241	Ivan II Asen	
1241–1246	Koloman	
1246–1256	Michael I Asen	
1257–1277	Constantine Tich	
1278–1279	Ivailo	
1279	Ivan III Asen	
1279–1292	George I Terter	
1292–1298	Smilec	
1298–1299	[Regency]	

(*cont.*)

Table 7.i *Bulgarian rulers* (*cont.*)

Reign	Khan or tsar
1299–1300	Chaka
1300–1322	Theodore Svetoslav
1322	George II Terter
1323–1330	Michael Shishman
1330–1331	Ivan Stefan
1331–1371	Ivan Alexander
1371–1393	Ivan Shishman
[1393–1878	Under Ottoman dominion]

Table 7.ii *Balkan rulers (Serbian rulers: over the core area of Raška)*

Reign	Ruler	Dynasty (Branch)
1083/4–*c.* 1122	Vukan (became independent ruler of Raška with the title *veliki župan* from the early 1090s)	*veliki župan* of Raška
c. 1125–early 1140s	Uroš I	
c. 1145–early 1160s	Uroš II (Desa briefly replaced Uroš II 1153)	
c. 1162	Primislav	
c. 1162	Beloš	
c. 1162–*c.* 1165	Desa	
c. 1165–1168	Tihomir, Stefan Nemanja, Sracimir, Miroslav (joint rule of brothers as *župan*s with Tihomir as *veliki župan*)	
(*c.* 1165/8–1196)	Stefan Nemanja	
1196–1227	*veliki župan* Stefan (*prvovenčani* 'the first-crowned') (crowned king 1217)	Nemanjids (kings of Serbia
1227–1233	Stefan Radoslav	
1233–1243	Stefan Vladislav	
1243–1276	Stefan Uroš I	
1276–1282	Stefan Dragutin	
1282–1321	Stefan Uroš II Milutin	
1321–1331	Stefan Uroš III Dečanski	
1331–1355	Stefan Dušan (king to 1346; crowned tsar 1346)	
1355–1371	Stefan Uroš V (tsar)	
1371–1389	Lazar (pre-eminent prince)	
1389–1427	Stefan Lazarević (prince/lord to 1402; granted by Byzantines title of despot 1402)	
1427–1456	George Branković (prince/lord; despot from 1429)	
1456–1458	Lazar Branković (despot)	
1459	Stefan Tomašević of Bosnia (despot)	

Table 7.iii *Balkan rulers (Hungarian rulers)*

Reign	King	Dynasty
1000–1038	Stephen I	Árpád
1038–1041	Peter Urseolo (first reign)	Non-dynastic
1041–1044	Samuel Aba	
1044–1046	Peter Urseolo (second reign)	
1046–1060	Andrew I	Árpád
1060–1063	Béla I	
1063–1074	Salomon	
1074–1077	Géza I	
1077–1095	Ladislas I	
1095–1116	Coloman I	
1116–1131	Stephen II	
1131–1141	Béla II	
1141–1162	Géza II	
1162 (January–February)	Stephen III (first reign)	
1162–1163 (July 1162–June 1163)	Ladislas II	
1163 (January–June)	Stephen IV	
1163–1172	Stephen III (second reign)	
1172–1196	Béla III (= Béla-Alexios)	
1196–1204	Emeric	
1204–1205	Ladislas III	
1205–1235	Andrew II	
1235–1270	Béla IV	

ALTERNATIVE PLACE NAMES

This list is not intended to be comprehensive, but offers the reader alternative terms for some place names used in *The Cambridge history of the Byzantine empire*. Where equivalents are reasonably close (Cumae or Cuma, Cephalonia or Kefallinía, for example) these have not been given. Similarly, different name forms created through transliteration (Naupaktos or Navpaktos, Lesbos or Lesvos, Boeotia or Viotia) or equivalent name forms in Greek and Latin (Iconion and Iconium, for example) have not normally been included. Two forms are used in the case of certain key towns, where a Turkish or other name had by then effectively superseded the Greek or classical form used in earlier sections (e.g. Ankara in Section III replacing Ankyra in Sections I and II). Where not otherwise specified, places in the table below are to be found in present-day Greece or Turkey and the last-named place is generally the current usage. Further information on alternative place names may be found in entries in the *Oxford dictionary of Byzantium* (*ODB*), or in the comprehensive, if not yet completed, *Tabulae imperii byzantini* (*TIB*) published in Vienna.

Name	Alternatives
Abyssinia	Ethiopia [Africa]
Achaia	Morea
Adramyttion	Adramittium, Edremit
Adrianople	Hadrianoupolis, Edirne
Akhlat	Ahlat, Khilat, Khliat
Akroinon	Afyonkarahisar, Kara Hisar
Albania [Balkans]	see Arbanon
Albania [Caucasus]	Aghuank‘
Aleppo	Beroea, Berrhoia, Haleb [Syria]
Alessio	Lezhë [Albania]
Amida	Diyarbakir, Diyar Bakr
Amu-Darya (river) [Central Asia]	Oxus
Anazarbos	Ayn Zarba
Anchialos	Acheloos, Pomorie [Bulgaria]
Andravida	Andreville
Ankara	see Ankyra

Name	Alternatives
Ankyra	Ancyra, Ankara
Antalya	see Attaleia
Antioch (on the Orontes)	Antakya
Antioch-on-the-Maeander	Antioch-in-Pisidia, near Yalvaç
Antivari	Tivar, Bar [Montenegro]
Apollonia	Pojan [Albania]
Apollonia	Sozopolis [Pisidia]
Arabissos	near Afşin
Aratsani (river)	eastern or lower branch of Euphrates, Murat
Arbanon	Raban, Albania [Balkans]
Archesh	Arjish, Artzesion, Erçiş
Ardanuji	Adranoutzion, Ardanuch, Ardanuç
Artsn	Artze
Attaleia	Antalya
Avlona	Valona, Vlorë [Albania]
Ayas	L'Aïas, Lajazzo
Aydin	Tralles
Azat (river)	Garni [Armenia]
Belgrade	Singidunum, Beograd [Serbia]
Beroia (Thrace)	Stara Zagora [Bulgaria]
Berrhoia (NE Greece)	Berea, Verria, Veroia
Bitola	Pelagonia, Monastir [Balkans]
Bursa	see Prousa
Butrint [Albania]	Butrinto, Butrot, Buthroton
Caesarea	Kayseri
Caffa	Theodosia, Kefe, Feodosia [Ukraine]
Caput Vada	Ras Kapoudra [Tunisia]
Cayster (river)	Lesser Maeander, Küçük Menderes
Cerigo	Cythere, Kythera
Ceuta [North Africa]	Septem
Chalcedon	Kadiköy
Chalkis (Syria)	Qinnasrin
Chalkis (Greece)	Negroponte, Halkida
Cherson	Sebastopol [Ukraine]
Chorasan	see Khorasan
Clarence	Chiarenza, Glarentza (near Kyllini)
Constantia (Cyprus)	Salamis
Constantinople	Byzantion, Istanbul
Corfu	Kerkyra
Danube (river)	Ister [Balkans]
Dasht-i Kavir [Iran]	Great Kavir
Denizli	Laodicea [Turkey]
Devol [Albania]	Deabolis, Diabolis
Diokleia	see Duklja [Balkans]
Diyar Bakr	see Amida
Dorylaion	Eskişehir
Doubera	Livera, Yazlik
Dristra	Dorostolon, Silistra [Bulgaria]
Dubrovnik [Croatia]	Ragusa
Duklja [Balkans]	Diokleia, Zeta
Dülük	Doliche
Durazzo	see Dyrrachium

(*cont.*)

Name	Alternatives
Durrës	see Dyrrachium
Dvin [Armenia]	Tibion, Doubios, Dabil
Dyrrachium	Durazzo, Dyrrachion, Durrës [Albania]
Ecbatana	Hamadan [Iran]
Edirne	see Adrianople
Edessa [Greece]	Vodena
Edessa [Mesopotamia]	Urfa
Egnatian Way	Via Egnatia [Balkans]
Emesa	see Homs
Erzurum	see Theodosioupolis
Euboea (island)	Euboia, Evvoia, Negroponte
Euchaita	Avkat, Beyözü
Fergana [Uzbekistan]	Farghana
Galata	Pera
Gangra	Changra, Germanikopolis, Kandari, Çankiri
Gerace [Italy]	Hagia Kyriake
Gerasa	Jerash [Jordan]
Germanikeia	Mar'ash, Maraş, Kahramanmaraş
Ghazna	Ghazni [Afghanistan]
Gjacova	Djakovica [Balkans]
Gurgan	Jurjan, Gorgan [Iran]
Great Kavir	Dasht-i Kavir [Iran]
Hamadan [Iran]	Ecbatana
Hedeby [Denmark]	Haithabu
Heraclea Pontica	Bender Ereğli, Karadeniz Ereğli
Heraclea-Cybistra	Ereğli
Hermos (river)	Gediz
Hierapolis (Phrygia)	Pamukkale
Hierapolis (Syria)	see Membij
Himara	Chimaer, Dhërmi [Albania]
Himyar	Yemen [Arabia]
Homs [Syria]	Emesa, Hims
Iberia	Byzantine name with various meanings, including: (i) general term for Caucasian Georgia, corresponding with K'art'li, the eastern part of the medieval Georgian kingdom; (ii) area of Armenian–Georgian borderland to north-east of Theodosioupolis; (iii) possessions in (ii) of David of Tao inherited by Basil II and turned into 'Iberian theme'
Ikonion	Konya
Istanbul	Constantinople
Izmir	Smyrna
Izmit	Nikomedeia
Iznik	Nicaea
Jaxartes (river)	Syr-Darya [Central Asia]
(al-)Jazira	upper Mesopotamia
Jerash	see Gerasa
Kavalla (Greece)	Christoupolis, Christople
Khliat	see Akhlat
Khorasan	Chorasan, Khurasan [Iran]
Khwarizm	Chwarizm, Khorezm, Khwarazm [Central Asia]
Koloneia	Şebinkarahisar
Konya	Ikonion
Kosovo	Dardania [Balkans]
Kotor	Cattaro [Montenegro]

Name	Alternatives
Kotyaeion	Cotyaeum, Kotaion, Kutaiah, Kütahya
Kütahya	Cotyaeum, Kotaion, Kotyaeion, Kutaiah
Kyzikos	Cyzicus, near Erdek
Laodicea [Syria]	see Latakia
Laodicea [Turkey]	Denizli
Latakia [Syria]	Laodicea
Lepanto	Naupaktos
Lesbos	Mytilene (also island's capital)
Maeander (river)	Greater Maeander, Büyük Menderes
Malatya	Melitene
Malvasia	Monemvasia
Mar'ash	see Germanikeia
Mare nostrum	Mediterranean
Maritsa (river) [Balkans]	Hebros
Marmara (sea of)	Propontis
Martyropolis	see Mayyafariqin
al-Massisa	see Mopsuestia
Mayyafariqin	Martyropolis, Silvan
Medina	Yathrib [Arabia]
Melitene	Malatya
Membij [Syria]	Hierapolis, Mabbug
Merv	Margiana, Marw [Central Asia]
Mesembria	Nesebar [Bulgaria]
Methone	see Modon
Miletos	Palatia, Balat
Modon	Methone, Methoni
Monemvasia	Malvasia
Mopsuestia	al-Massisa, Mamistra, Misis
Morea	Achaia
Naissos	Niš [Serbia]
Nakoleia	Seyitgazi
Naupaktos	Lepanto
Negroponte [town]	see Chalkis
Negroponte [island]	see Euboea
Neocaesarea	Niksar
Nicaea	Nikaia, Iznik
Nikomedeia	Izmit
Niksar	Neocaesarea
Niš [Serbia]	Naissos
Nubia	southern Egypt–northern Sudan [Africa]
Ohrid [Balkans]	Okhrida, Achrida
Outremer	from French for 'overseas' denoting crusading states in Levant, i.e. Syria–Palestine [Middle East]
Oxus (river)	Amu-Darya [Central Asia]
Paradounabon	Paristrion (from Greek 'along Danube')
Pelagonia	region of Macedonia; also town of Bitola
Pera	Galata
Perkri	Berkri
Philadelphia	Alaşehir
Philae	submerged island near Aswan [Egypt]
Philippopolis	Plovdiv [Bulgaria]
Philomelion	Akşehir
Phokaia (Old)	Phocaea, Foça
Phokaia (New)	Foglia, Yenicefoça

(*cont.*)

Name	Alternatives
Piskopi	Episkopi, Telos, Tilos
Polybotos	Bolvadin
Pontos (the)	Black Sea and its shores; more specifically, the south-east shore centred on Trebizond
Propontis	Marmara (sea of)
Prousa	Broussa, Prusa, Brusa, Bursa
Ragusa	Dubrovnik [Croatia]
Raška [Balkans]	core region of emerging Serbian polity centred on Ras (modern Novi Pazar)
Raidestos	Bisanthe, Rhoedestus, Rodosto, Tekirdağ
Rižana [Slovenia]	Risano
Samosata	Shimshat, Shamushat, Samsat (now submerged)
Sangarios (river)	Sakarya
Santorini	Thira
Sebasteia	Sivas
Seleukeia	Silifke
Septem	Ceuta [North Africa]
Serdica	see Sofia [Bulgaria]
Serres	Serrai
Shash	Chash, Tashkent [Central Asia]
Shkodër (lake) [Balkans]	Scutari, Skadarsko
Shkodër (town) [Balkans]	Skadar, Scodra, Scutari
Side	near Manavgat
Singidunum	see Belgrade
Sirmium	Sremska Mitrovica [Balkans]
Sivas	Sebasteia
Smyrna	Izmir
Sofia [Bulgaria]	Serdica, Serdika
Sophon (mount)	Sapanca
Sougdaia	Soldaia, Surozh, Sudak [Ukraine]
Sozopolis [Pisidia]	Apollonia
Sozopolis [Thrace]	Sozopol [Bulgaria]
Spinarizza	Zvërnec [Albania]
Split [Croatia]	Spalato
Strymon (river)	Struma [Balkans]
Surozh	see Sougdaia
Syr-Darya (river)	see Jaxartes
Tana	Tanais, Azak, Azov [Russia]
Tanais (river)	Don [Russia]
Tao	Tayk‘
Tayk‘	Tao
Tephrike	Divriği
Thamugadi [Tunisia]	Timgad
Theodosioupolis	Karin, Erzurum
Thessalonica	see Thessaloniki
Thessaloniki	Thessalonica, Solun, Salonicco, Selanik, Slonki, Salonica
Thira	Santorini
Tralles	Aydin
Transoxiana	Maverannahr [region south-east of Aral Sea]
Trebizond	Trapezus, Trabzond
T’rnovo	Tărnovo, (Veliko) Turnovo [Bulgaria]
Tyana	Kemerhisar
Tzamandos	Tzamandaw

Name	Alternatives
Ulubad (lake)	Lupajo, Ulubat
Vagharshapat	Echmiadzin, Ejmiatsin, Yejmiadzin [Armenia]
Vardar (river) [Balkans]	Axios
Vaspurakan	Asprakania, region in south-east Armenia forming core of Artsruni realm; annexed by Basil II and turned into theme of Vaspurakan
Velika Morava (river)	Great Morava, Morava [Balkans]
Veroia	see Berrhoia
Yathrib	Medina [Arabia]
Zakynthos	Zante
Zante	Zakynthos
Zara	Zadar [Croatia]
Zeta	see Duklja

BIBLIOGRAPHY

NOTES ON USE

The bibliography is broken down into the following sections:

- Abbreviations
- Primary sources
- Manuscripts
- Secondary works
  - General and frequently cited works
  - Part I (*c.* 500–*c.* 700)
  - Part II (*c.* 700–1204)
  - Part III (1204–1492)
- Unpublished theses

Chronological sectioning for the secondary bibliography is – like the periodisation of history into mutually exclusive compartments – rather arbitrary. **The bibliography of secondary works should therefore be treated as a whole and the reader failing to find a work in one section should try the others**.

Abbreviations

- Often-used primary sources feature in the footnotes in highly abbreviated form. Further details are given in the list of abbreviations, and these provide the key to their place in the Primary sources bibliography.
- Abbreviations of primary sources are marked in the list with an asterisk, to distinguish them from journal titles and series.

Primary sources

- Where forenames of primary text authors are known, they are cited first: 'Michael Psellos', not 'Psellos, Michael'.
- A short-title system has been used for primary sources.

- Wherever possible, details of translations of primary sources into English – and other major western European languages – have been given in the Primary sources bibliography, with corresponding citations when the source features in the footnotes.
- A primary source may have been published in a secondary work. If this secondary work contains substantive material composed by its modern author, it is listed separately as a secondary work, with reference being made to it in the Primary sources listing. For example, *The Chronicle of Monemvasia* is listed as such under Primary sources, but the entry refers the reader to Lemerle (1963), pp. 8–11 (in Secondary works, Part II), where the text forms part of a more general article.

Secondary works

- A list of general and frequently cited works highlights some of the publications underpinning this volume, or offering introductions, syntheses or alternative approaches.
- Many secondary works span more than one chronological part, but in general the reader should find the secondary works cited in a chapter in the corresponding chronological section of the bibliography. Works cited in Part I (chapters 1–4) are normally to be found in the bibliography under Secondary works, Part I, for example. However, if the centre of gravity of the secondary work falls more within another section of the bibliography, it is usually included there; for example, Banaji, J. (2001), *Agrarian change in late antiquity: gold, labour and aristocratic dominance*, Oxford, is cited in the footnotes of chapter 12 (i.e. Part II of *CHBE*), but appears in Secondary works, Part I.
- The secondary bibliography is biased in favour of English-language works, but also gives an idea of some of the more important works available in other European languages.
- A version of the Harvard name and date system has been used for secondary works, except in the case of unpublished theses, which retain a short-title system.
- The use of (ed.) has been retained in the footnotes for edited works. For example, Brubaker, L. (ed.) (1998), *Byzantium in the ninth century: dead or alive?*, Aldershot, is consistently referred to as Brubaker (ed.) (1998), and not Brubaker (1998).
- Where a work has three or more authors or editors, only the first name is given in both the footnotes and in the bibliography (e.g. *Things revealed: studies in early Jewish and Christian literature in honor of Michael E. Stone*, edited by E. G. Chazon, D. Satran and R. A. Clements (Leiden, 2004) appears in both the bibliography and footnotes under Chazon *et al.* (eds.) (2004)).

- A multi-authored volume placed (under its editor's name) in one section of the secondary bibliography may contain pieces listed under an individual author's name in another section. Thus Cheynet (2004) is in Secondary works, Part II, yet Coulon *et al.* (eds.) (2004) – which contains Cheynet (2004) – is in Secondary works, Part III.
- Where an author has published more than one work in a given year, each work has been assigned a separate letter of the alphabet (for example, Mango (2002a), Mango (2002b), etc.). However, these may appear in different sections of the bibliography of secondary works; for example, Mango (2002b) is to be found in Secondary works, Part I, while Mango (2002a) is in Secondary works, Part II.
- Full and regular updates on recent publications can be found in the flagship journal *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, which now provides an online service to subscribers.

ABBREVIATIONS

*AA**	*Archives de l'Athos*
AAntHung	*Acta antiqua academiae scientiarum hungaricae*
*AASS**	*Acta sanctorum*
ABSA	*Annual of the British school at Athens*
ACIEB 6	*Actes du VIe Congrès international d'études byzantines, Paris 27 juillet–2 août 1948*, 2 vols, Paris (1950–1)
ACIEB 12	*Actes du XIIe Congrès international des études byzantines, Ochride, 10–16 septembre 1961*, 3 vols., Belgrade (1963–4)
ACIEB 13	*Proceedings of the XIIIth International congress of Byzantine studies, Oxford, 5–10 September 1966*, ed. J. Hussey *et al.*, London (1967)
ACIEB 14	*Actes du XIVe Congrès international des études byzantines, Bucarest, 6–12 septembre 1971*, ed. M. Berza and E. Stanescu, 3 vols., Bucharest (1974–6)
ACIEB 15	*Actes du XVe Congrès international d'études byzantines, Athènes, septembre 1976*, 3 vols. in 4 pts., Athens (1979–81)
ACIEB 17	*The 17th International Byzantine congress: major papers (Washington, DC, August 3–8, 1986)*, New York (1986)
ACIEB 18	*XVIII Mezhdunarodnyi kongress vizantinistov (XVIIIth International congress of Byzantine studies), Moscow, August 1991*, 5 vols. (1: *Programme*; 2: *List of participants*; 3 and 4: *Summaries of communications*; 5: *Major papers*), Moscow (1991)

* Further bibliographic details in list of Primary Sources.

ACIEB 21	*Proceedings of the 21st International congress of Byzantine studies, London, 2006*, 3 vols, ed. E. Jeffreys, Aldershot (2006)
ACO	*Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*
AESC	*Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations*
AFH	*Archivum franciscanum historicum*
Agnel.*	Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber pontificalis*
AHP	*Archivum historiae pontificiae*
AHR	*American historical review*
AIPHO	*Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales*
AJA	*American journal of archaeology*
*Al.**	Anna Komnena, *Alexiad*
AnBoll	*Analecta bollandiana*
ANL PASC	*Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura, quaderni*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. H. Temporini and H. Haase, 87 vols. to date, Berlin and New York (1972–)
AO	*Acta orientalia*
AOH	*Acta orientalia academiae scientiarum hungaricae*
*ARF**	*Annales regni Francorum*
Arist.*	Aristakes of Lastivert, *History*
ASPN	*Archivio storico per le province napoletane*
Attal.*	Michael Attaleiates, *Historia*
Atti 17	*Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale: atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di studio sull'alto medioevo: Ravenna, 6–12 giugno 2004*, 2 vols., Spoleto (2005)
BAR IS	*British archaeological reports international series*
BB	*Byzantinobulgarica*
BBA	*Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten*
BBTT	*Belfast Byzantine texts and translations*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BEINE	*The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East*, Princeton, NJ: I: *Problems in the literary source material*, ed. Averil Cameron and L. I. Conrad (1992); II: *Land use and settlement patterns*, ed. G. R. D. King and Averil Cameron (1994); III: *States, resources and armies*, ed. Averil Cameron (1995); IV: *Patterns of communal identity*, ed. Averil Cameron (forthcoming); V: *Trade and exchange*, ed. L. I. Conrad and G. R. D. King (in preparation); VI: *Elites old and new*, ed. J. Haldon and L. I. Conrad (2004)

_BF_	_Byzantinische Forschungen_
BGA	_Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum_, ed. M. J. de Goeje, 8 vols., Leiden (1870–94)
BHG	_Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca_, ed. F. Halkin, 3rd edn., 3 vols., Brussels (1957)
BMGS	_Byzantine and modern Greek studies_
BNJ	_Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher_
BollGrott	_Bollettino della badia greca di Grottaferrata_
_BS_	_Byzantine studies/Études byzantines_
BSl	_Byzantinoslavica_
BSo	_Byzantina sorbonensia_
BSOAS	_Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African studies_
_BV_	_Byzantina vindobonensia_
Byz	_Byzantion_
ByzAust	_Byzantina australiensia_
_BZ_	_Byzantinische Zeitschrift_
CAH	_The Cambridge ancient history_, 2nd edn., Cambridge: XII: _The crisis of empire, AD 193–337_, ed. A. K. Bowman _et al._ (2005); XIII: _The late empire, AD 337–425_, ed. Averil Cameron and P. Garnsey (1998); XIV: _Late antiquity: empire and successors, AD 425–600_, ed. Averil Cameron _et al._ (2000)
_CC_*	_Codex carolinus_
CCCM	_Corpus christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis_
CCSG	_Corpus christianorum, series graeca_
CCSL	_Corpus christianorum, series latina_
_CDC_*	_Codex diplomaticus cavensis_
CEFR	_Collection de l'École française de Rome_
CFHB	_Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae_
_CMC_*	_Chronica monasterii Casinensis_
CNRS	_Centre national des recherches scientifiques_
CPG	_Clavis patrum graecorum_
CRAI	_Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres_
_CS_*	_Chronicon Salernitanum_
CSCO	_Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium_
CSHB	_Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae_
_DA_	_Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters_
_DAI_*	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, _De administrando imperio_, I
_DAI: Comm_*	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, _De administrando imperio_, II

DBI	*Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 67 vols. to date, Rome (1960–)
*DC**	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*
DChAE	*Deltion tes Christianikes archaiologikes etaireias*
*DGA**	*Discipline générale antique*
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, ed. A. Baudrillart *et al.*, 28 vols. to date, Paris (1912–)
*DOC**	*Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks collection*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks papers*
*DOS**	*Catalogue of Byzantine seals at Dumbarton Oaks*
DOSt	*Dumbarton Oaks studies*
*DT**	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus*
Duc.*	Ducas, *Istoria Turco-Bizantina*
EB	*Études balkaniques*
EEBS	*Epeteris etaireias Byzantinon spoudon*
EHB	*The economic history of Byzantium: from the seventh through the fifteenth century*, ed. A. E. Laiou *et al.*, *DOSt* 39, 3 vols., Washington, DC (2002)
EHR	*English historical review*
EI	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 12 vols., 2nd edn., Leiden (1960–2004)
EO	*Échos d'orient*
*Eparch**	Leo VI, *Book of the eparch*
*FGHB**	*Fontes graeci historiae bulgaricae*
FM	*Fontes minores*
FSI	*Fonti per la storia d'Italia*
GA*	George Akropolites, *Opera*
Gen.*	Genesios, *Regum libri quattuor*
GMC*	George the Monk (Continued)
GP*	George Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine studies*
GS*	Gennadios II Scholarios, *Oeuvres complètes*
*HA**	*History of the Albanians*
HAm	*Handes amsorya*
HC	*Histoire du christianisme: des origines à nos jours*, ed. J.-M. Mayeur *et al.*, 14 vols., Paris (1990–2000)
Hell	*Hellenika*
HTR	*Harvard theological review*
HUS	*Harvard Ukrainian studies*
IA	*Iranica antiqua*

IQ — *Islamic quarterly*

IRAIK — *Izvestiia Russkogo arkheologicheskogo instituta v Konstantinopole*

JAOS — *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

JbAC — *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*

JE* — John of Ephesus, *History*

JEH — *Journal of economic history*

JESHO — *Journal of the economic and social history of the orient*

*JG** — *Jus graecoromanum*

JHS — *Journal of Hellenic studies*

JK* — John Kantakouzenos, *Eximperatoris historiarum libri quattor*

JMH — *Journal of medieval history*

JNES — *Journal of Near Eastern studies*

JÖB — *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*

JRAS — *Journal of the Royal Asiatic society*

JS — *Journal des savants*

JSAI — *Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam*

Kek.* — Kekaumenos, *Strategikon*

Kinn.* — John Kinnamos, *History*

LBG — *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität: besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts*, ed. E. Trapp *et al.*, 2 vols. to date, Vienna (1994–)

*Leg.** — Liudprand of Cremona, *Legatio*

Lew.* — Lewond, *History*

LexMA — *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. R. Auty *et al.*, 9 vols., Munich and Stuttgart (1977–99) (also available online)

LM — *Le Muséon*

*LP** — *Liber pontificalis*

*LPB** — *Les Listes de préséance byzantines*

*LPD** — *Letopis popa Dukljanina*

LThK — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, ed. W. Kasper *et al.*, 3rd edn., 11 vols., Freiburg im Breisgau (1993–2001)

Mansi* — Mansi (ed.), *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*

*MB** — Sathas, *Mesaionike bibliotheke*

MBM — *Miscellanea byzantina monacensia*

ME* — Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*

MEFRM — *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen âge*

Men.* — Menander the Guardsman, *History*

MGH — *Monumenta Germaniae historica*

MGH AA — *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Auctorum antiquissimorum*, 15 vols., Berlin (1877–1919)

MGH Cap.	*Monumenta Germaniae historica. Capitularia regum Francorum*, 2 vols., Hanover (1883–97)
MGH Ep.	*Monumenta Germaniae historica. Epistolae*, 8 vols., Berlin (1887–1939)
MGH Dip.	*Monumenta Germaniae historica. Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae (Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser)*, 19 vols. to date, Hanover (1879–)
MGH SRG	*Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, 77 vols. to date, Hanover (1871–)
MGH SRG n.s.	*Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* n. s., 22 vols. to date, Berlin–Weimar (1922–)
MGH SRL	*Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et italicarum saeculorum VI–IX*, Hanover (1878)
MGH SRM	*Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, 7 vols., Hanover (1885–1920)
MGH SS	*Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores*, 38 vols. to date, Hanover (1826–)
MHR	*Mediterranean historical review*
MM*	Miklosich and Müller (eds.), *Acta et diplomata*
MS*	Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*
MSABK	*Mitteilungen zur spätantiken Archäologie und byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*
NC*	Niketas Choniates, *History*
NCMH	*The new Cambridge medieval history*, Cambridge: I: *c. 500–c. 700*, ed. P. Fouracre (2005); II: *c. 700–c. 900*, ed. R. McKitterick (1995); III: *c. 900–c. 1024*, ed. T. Reuter (1999); IV: *c. 1024–c. 1198*, ed. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith, 2 vols. (2004); V: *c. 1198–c. 1300*, ed. D. Abulafia (1999); VI: *c. 1300–c. 1415*, ed. M. Jones (2000); VII: *c. 1415–c. 1500*, ed. C. Allmand (1998)
*NE**	*Notitiae episcopatuum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*
NG*	Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*
*Nicene**	*A select library of Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*
Nikeph.*	Nikephoros I, *Breviarium historicum*
NM*	Nicholas I Mystikos, *Letters*
NP*	Niketas the Paphlagonian, *Summorum apostolorum orationes laudatoriae*
OC	*Orientalia christiana*
OCA	*Orientalia christiana analecta*

OCP	*Orientalia christiana periodica*
ODB	*Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, A. P. Kazhdan *et al.* (eds.), 3 vols., Oxford and New York (1991)
OrChr	*Oriens christianus*
PaP	*Past and present*
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
PBSR	*Papers of the British school at Rome*
PBW	*Prosopography of the Byzantine world* (http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/)
*PG**	Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus: series graeca*
Phot.*	Photios, *Epistulae et amphilochia*
*PL**	Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina*
PLP	*Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, ed. E. Trapp *et al.*, 15 vols., Vienna (1976–96)
PLRE	*The prosopography of the later Roman empire*, ed. A. H. M. Jones *et al.*, 3 vols. in 4 pts., Cambridge (1971–92)
PMBZ	*Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, ed. R.-J. Lilie *et al.*, I: *(641–867), Prolegomena*, 5 vols. and list of abbreviations (1998–2002); II: *(867–1025)* (forthcoming), Berlin and New York
PO	*Patrologia orientalis*, 49 vols. to date, Paris and Turnhout (1904–)
PR *B**	Procopius, *Buildings*
PR *W**	Procopius, *History of the wars*
Psell.*	Michael Psellos, *Chronographia*
*PVL**	*Povest' vremennykh let* (see also *RPC*)
QFIAB	*Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. T. Klauser *et al.*, Stuttgart (1950–)
RbK	*Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, ed. K. Wessel and M. Restle, Stuttgart (1963–)
RE	*Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
REA	*Revue des études arméniennes*
REB	*Revue des études byzantines*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
RESEE	*Revue des études sud-est européennes*
RH	*Revue historique*
RHC Occ.	*Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols. Paris (1841–95)
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*

RHM	*Römische historische Mitteilungen*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
*RIB**	*Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka*
*RKK**	*Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern*
RN	*Revue numismatique*
*RPC**	*Russian primary chronicle* (see also *PVL*)
RSBN	*Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*
SAO	*Studia et acta orientalia*
SBS	*Studies in Byzantine sigillography*, ed. N. Oikonomides *et al.*, 9 vols. to date, Washington, DC and Munich (1987–)
SC	*Sources chrétiennes*
SCH	*Studies in church history*
SD*	Stephen the Deacon, *Life of Stephen the Younger*
Seb.*	Sebeos, *Armenian history*
SF	*Südost-Forschungen*
SI	*Studia islamica*
Skyl.*	John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*
Skyl. Con.*	Skylitzes Continuatus, *Chronicle*
SM	*Studi medievali*
Sp	*Speculum*
SSCIS	*Settimane di studio della Fondazione Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo*, Spoleto
ST*	Stephen of Taron, *Universal history*
StT	*Studi e testi*
TA*	Thomas Artsruni, *History*
TAPA	*Transactions of the American philological association*
TC*	Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*
Theoph.*	Theophanes, *Chronicle*
Theo. Stud.*	Theodore the Studite, *Letters*
TIB	*Tabula imperii byzantini*, ed. H. Hunger, 10 vols. to date, Vienna (1976–)
TM	*Travaux et mémoires*
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
TS*	Theophylact Simocatta, *History*
TT*	*Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, ed. Tafel and Thomas
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen*
Vasil.*	Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II.2
Villehard.*	Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*
VV	*Vizantiiskii vremennik*
WBS	*Wiener byzantinistische Studien*

Yov.*	Yovhannes V, *History*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZRVI	*Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*

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