THE GREAT CHURCH IN CAPTIVITY

A STUDY OF THE PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE FROM THE EVE OF THE TURKISH CONQUEST TO THE GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

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CHAPTER I

THE NEW PATTERN

On Tuesday, 29 May 1453, an old story was ended. The last heir of Constantine the Great lay dead on the battlefield; and an infidel Sultan had entered in triumph into the city which Constantine had founded to be the capital of the Christian Empire. There was no longer an Emperor reigning in the Sacred Palace to symbolize to the Faithful of the East the majesty and authority of Almighty God. The Church of Constantinople, for more than a thousand years the partner of the Orthodox State, became the Church of a subject people, dependent upon the whims of a Muslim master. Its operation, its outlook and its whole way of life had abruptly to be changed.

It was a fundamental change; and yet it was not quite as complete as it might seem at first sight. For centuries past the historic Patriarchates of the East, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, had been, but for brief interludes, under the political power of Muslim authorities. Ever since the Turks had first occupied parts of Asia Minor in the eleventh century congregations belonging to the Patriarchate of Constantinople had been living under Muslim rule. In recent decades the rapid spread of the Ottoman Empire, in Europe as well as in Asia, had added to their number, till by 1453 the majority of the Patriarch's flock dwelt in the Sultan's dominions. There were also many Greek lands which had been for some time past under Latin masters and which were to remain under them for some time to come. Though the Genoese were to lose the greater part of their Greek colonies immediately after 1453, they retained the island of Chios till 1566.[1] The Venetians held fortesses in the Peloponnese and a number of Aegean islands till well into the sixteenth century; they held Crete till 1669 and

[1] See P. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese*, I, pp. 651 ff., and *Chios Vincta*, pp. cxlviii–cl, cxcii–cxciii.

Tinos till 1715. Cyprus, still an independent kingdom at the time of the fall of Constantinople, was in Venetian hands from 1487 to 1570.[1] The Italian Duchy of the Archipelago lasted till 1566, when the Turks imposed a Jewish vassal Duke.[2] The Knights of St John held Rhodes till 1522.[3] The Ionian islands off the west coast of Greece never passed under Turkish rule. They remained in Venetian hands until the end of the eighteenth century, when they were taken over by the French and then passed to the British, who ceded them to the Kingdom of Greece in 1864.[4] Thus there were still a few provinces where the Patriarch's authority could not always be implemented. Nevertheless, from the narrow viewpoint of ecclesiastical control and discipline the Patriarchate gained from the conquest because the vast bulk of its territory was reunited under one lay power.

But the lay power was infidel. So long as the Christian Empire lasted on at Constantinople, Church and State were still integrated there in one holy realm. The Emperor might in fact be pathetically feeble, but in theory he was still the transcendent head of the Christian Oecumene, the representative of God before the people and the people before God. Now the Church was divorced from the State. It became an association of second-class citizens. Here again, as the only association that these second-class citizens were permitted to organize, its powers of discipline over its congregations were enhanced. But it lacked the ultimate sanction of freedom.

The Conquering Sultan was well aware of the problems that faced the Church; and he was not hostile to its well-being. He had been a truculent enemy until Constantinople was conquered; and the conquest had been accompanied by bloodthirsty and destructive violence. But, having conquered, he was not ungenerous. He had Greek blood in his veins. He was well read and

[1] See W. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, pp. 265–8.
[2] See C. Roth, *The House of Nasi: the Dukes of Naxos, passim.*
[3] See D. M. Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk 1350–1700*, pp. 11–12, 109–10.
[4] See Miller, *op. cit.* pp. 199–230.

deeply interested in Greek learning. He was proud to see himself as the heir of the Caesars and was ready to shoulder the religious responsibilities of his predecessors, so far as his own religion permitted. As a pious Muslim he could not allow the Christians any part in the higher control of his Empire. But he wished them to enjoy peace and prosperity and to be content with his government and an asset to it.[1]

His first duty to the Christians was to establish the new pattern for their administration. His solution followed lines traditional in Muslim dominions. Muslim rulers had long treated religious minorities within their dominions as *milets*, or nations, allowing them to govern their own affairs according to their own laws and customs, and making the religious head of the sect responsible for its administration and its good behaviour towards the paramount power. This was the manner according to which the Christians in the Caliphate had been ruled, amongst them the congregations of the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchates. The system was now extended to include the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople. For practical purposes it had already been followed in the districts of the Patriarchate that were within the Turkish dominions. Where their lay officials had been ejected or had fled the Christians had naturally looked to their hierarchs to negotiate with the conquerors on their behalf; and it was the hierarchs who carried on the day-to-day administration of their flocks as best they could. But hitherto for them, as also for the Orthodox Patriarchs of the East, there had been in Constantinople an Orthodox Emperor to whom they owed ultimate allegiance and whose duty it was to protect them, even if he could no longer administer them. In recent years the protection that he was able to provide, in his impotent and impoverished state, had been merely nominal; but nevertheless it gave them prestige; it raised them above the heretic Churches, such as the Coptic and the Jacobites, who had no lay protector and were entirely the servants of the Muslim monarch.

[1] For Mehmet II and his interest in Greek culture see F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit* pp. 449 ff.

But now, with the Emperor gone, even this nominal protection disappeared. The Orthodox were reduced to the status of the heretic Churches, in theory at least. In practice they were better off; for they formed the largest, the richest and the best-educated Christian community in the Sultan's dominions; and Sultan Mehmet with his sense of history was inclined to pay them special attention.

The Sultan was well aware, also, that the Greeks would be of value to his Empire. The Turks would provide him with his governors and his soldiers; but they were not adept at commerce or industry; few of them were good seamen; and even in the countryside they tended to prefer a pastoral to an agricultural life. For the economy of the Empire the co-operation of the Greeks was essential. The Sultan saw no reason why they should not live within his dominions in amity with the Turks, so long as their own rights were assured and so long as they realized that he was their overlord.

If the Greek *milet* was to be organized, the first task was to provide it with a head. Sultan Mehmet knew well of the difficulties that the attempt to force union with Rome had produced in the Greek Church; and, after the conquest, he soon satisfied himself that the average Greek considered the Patriarchal throne to be vacant. The Patriarch Gregory Mammas was held to have abdicated when he fled to Italy in 1451. A new Patriarch must be found. After making some inquiries Mehmet decided that he should be George Scholarius, now known as the monk Gennadius. Gennadius was not only the most eminent scholar living in Constaninople at the time of the conquest. He was everywhere respected for his unflinching probity; and he had been the leader of the anti-Unionist, anti-Western party within the Church. He could be relied upon not to intrigue with the West. Within a month of the conquest the Sultan sent officials to bring Gennadius to his presence. He could not at first be found. Eventually it was discovered that he had been taken prisoner at the time of the fall of the city and had passed into the possession of a rich Turk of

Adrianople, who was deeply impressed by his learning and was treating him with honours seldom accorded to a slave. He was redeemed from his buyer and was conveyed honourably to Constantinople and led before the Sultan. Mehmet persuaded him to accept the Patriarchal throne; and together they worked out the terms for the constitution to be granted to the Orthodox. The main lines were probably arranged before the Sultan left the conquered city for Adrianople at the end of June, though six months elapsed before Gennadius actually assumed the Patriarchate.[1]

The enthronization took place in January 1454, when the Sultan returned to Constantinople. Mehmet was determined to play in so far as his religion permitted the role played in the past by the Christian Emperors. We know nothing about the necessary meeting of the Holy Synod; but presumably it was formed by such metropolitans as could be gathered together and it was their task to declare the Patriarchate vacant and, on the Sultan's recommendation, to elect Gennadius to fill it. Then, on 6 January, Gennadius was received in audience by the Sultan, who handed him the insignia of his office, the robes, the pastoral staff and the pectoral cross. The original cross was lost. Whether Gregory Mammas had taken it with him when he fled to Rome or whether it disappeared during the sack of the city is unknown. So Mehmet himself presented a new cross, made of silver-gilt. As he invested the Patriarch he uttered the formula: 'Be Patriarch, with good fortune, and be assured of our friendship, keeping all the privileges that the Patriarchs before you enjoyed.' As Saint Sophia had already been converted into a mosque, Gennadius was led to the Church of the Holy Apostles. There the Metropolitan of Heraclea, whose traditional duty it was to consecrate, performed the rite of consecration and enthronization. The Patriarch then emerged and, mounted on a magnificent horse which the Sultan had presented to him, rode in procession round the city before returning to take up his residence in the precincts of the Holy

[1] G. Phrantzes, *Chronicon*, C.S.H.B. edition, pp. 304–7; Critobulus (Kritovoulos), *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. C. T. Riggs, pp. 94–5.

Apostles. He had also received from the Sultan a handsome gift of gold.[1]

It is unlikely that the new constitution was ever written down. The general lines along which a Christian *milet* in Muslim territory was administered were well enough known not to need a general restatement. The Imperial *berat* which gave the Sultan's approval of every appointment to episcopal office usually stated the duties of the incumbent, following the traditional customs. We only hear of two specific documents issued by the Conquering Sultan. According to the historian Phrantzes, who was at that time a captive with the Turks and was in a position to know about it, Mehmet handed to Gennadius a firman which he had signed, giving to the Patriarch personal inviolability, exemption from paying taxes, freedom of movement, security from deposition, and the right to transmit these privileges to his successors. There is no reason for doubting this. It is indeed probable that the Sultan would give to the Patriarch some written guarantee about his position. It should, however, be noted that the freedom from deposition clearly was not held to interfere with the traditional right of the Holy Synod to depose a Patriarch if his election was held to have been uncanonical or if he were demonstrably unfitted for the office. Patriarchal chroniclers writing nearly a century later claimed that the Sultan had signed another document in which he promised that the customs of the Church with regard to marriage and burial should be legally sanctioned, that Easter should be celebrated as a feast and the Christians should have freedom of movement during the three Easter feast-days, and that no more churches should be converted into mosques.[2] Unfortunately, when

[1] Phrantzes, *loc. cit.*; Critobulus, *loc. cit.*: *Historia Politica Constantinopoleos* (C.S.H.B. edition), pp. 27–8: *Historia Patriarchica Constantinopoleos* (C.S.H.B. edition), pp. 80–2. For the actual date of the enthronement see T. H. Papadopoullos, *Studies and Documents relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination*, p. 2 n. 2.

[2] Phrantzes, *loc. cit.*; Critobulus, *loc. cit.*; *Historia Politica, loc cit.*; *Historia Patriarchica, loc. cit.*; Hierax, Χρονικόν, in C. Sathas, Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη, I, p. 267; D. Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire*, trans.

the last point was disregarded by later Sultans, the Church authorities could not produce the document, which they said, no doubt correctly, had been destroyed in a fire at the Patriarchate. But, as we shall see, they were able to produce evidence to substantiate their claim.[1]

Whatever might have been written down, it was generally accepted that the Patriarch, in conjunction with the Holy Synod, had complete control over the whole ecclesiastical organization, the bishops and all churches and monasteries and their possessions. Though the Sultan's government had to confirm episcopal appointments, no bishop could be appointed or dismissed except on the recommendation of the Patriarch and the Holy Synod. The Patriarchal law-courts alone had penal jurisdiction over the clergy; the Turkish authorities could not arrest or judge anyone of episcopal rank without the permission of the Patriarch. He also, in conjunction with the Holy Synod, had control over all matters of dogma. His control was almost as complete over the Orthodox laity. He was the Ethnarch, the ruler of the *milet*. The Patriarchal courts had full jurisdiction over all affairs concerning the Orthodox which had a religious connotation, that is, marriage, divorce, the guardianship of minors, and testaments and successions. They were entitled to try any commercial case if both disputants were Orthodox. Though the Christian laity were heavily taxed, the clergy were free from paying the taxes, though on occasions they might of their own consent agree to pay special taxes; and it was not difficult for the Sultan to exert pressure to secure this consent. The Patriarch could tax the Orthodox on his

N. Tindall, pp. 101 ff.; A. K. Hypsilantis, Τὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωσιν, pp. 3–6. For modern discussions of the rights and privileges of the Patriarchate and the Greek *milet* see N. P. Eleutheriades, Τα Προνόμια τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου *passim*: C. G. Papadopoulos, *Les privilèges du patriarcat œcuménique dans l'Empire Ottoman, passim*; P. Karolidis, Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Ὀθωμανῶν ἁλώσεως τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, pp. 212–21. C. Amantos, 'Οἱ Προνομιακοὶ Ὁρισμοὶ τοῦ Μουσουλμανισμοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν', in Ἑλληνικά, IX (1936), Papadopoullos, *op. cit.* pp. 1–39; V. Laurent, 'Les Chrétiens sous les sultans', in *Echos d'Orient*, XXVIII (1929), pp. 398–406, quoting Turkish sources.

[1] See below, p. 189.

own authority to raise money for the needs of the Church. Complaints against the Patriarch could only be heard by the Holy Synod, and only if it agreed unanimously to listen to them. The Patriarch could call in the Turkish authorities to see that his wishes were carried out by his flock. In return for all this, the Patriarch was responsible for the orderly and loyal behaviour of his flock towards the ruling authorities and for ensuring that the taxes were paid. He did not collect the State taxes himself. That was the duty of the head-man of the local commune, who was responsible for keeping the registers. But, if there was any difficulty over the collection, the Government could ask the Church to punish recalcitrants with a sentence of excommunication.[1]

The Patriarchal courts administered justice according to the canon law of the Byzantines and according to Byzantine civil and customary law. Customary law grew rapidly in volume, owing to changed circumstances for which the codified law did not allow, and which varied from place to place. In civil cases the judgment was in the nature of an arbitration award. If either party were dissatisfied with it he could have recourse to the Turkish courts; and, if either party insisted, the case could be brought before the Turkish courts in the first instance. This was seldom done, as the Turkish courts were slow, expensive and often corrupt, and heard cases according to Koranic law. The Patriarchal courts were considered to be remarkably free from corruption, though rich Greeks on whose financial support the Church depended could undoubtedly exercise some influence. A feature of the courts was that a statement taken on oath counted as valid evidence; and so seriously were oaths regarded that this was seldom abused. Criminal offences, such as treason, murder, theft or riot, were reserved to the Turkish courts, unless the accused was a priest.[2]

[1] A full discussion of the powers of the Patriarchal court is given in Papadopoullos, *op. cit.* pp. 27–39.

[2] Karolidis, *op. cit.* pp. 215–17; N. Moschovakis, Τὸ ἐν Ἑλλάδι δημόσιον δίκαιον ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας, pp. 52–4; D. Petrakakos, Κοινοβουλευτικὴ Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλλάδος, pp. 212–15. For local customary law see *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, ed. J. and P. Zepos, VIII, *passim*.

In theory the structure of the Great Church, as the Greeks called the Patriarchal organization, even though the Great Church itself, Saint Sophia, was no longer a Christian temple, was not altered by the conquest. The Patriarch was still officially elected by the Holy Synod consisting of his metropolitans, and the election was confirmed by the lay suzerain. As in Byzantine times the lay suzerain almost invariably indicated the candidate whom he wished to be elected; and the old custom of submitting three names to him, which had fallen into disuse in late Byzantine times, was formally abandoned. But the increased administrative duties of the Patriarchate inevitably led to changes. The Holy Synod had originally consisted of the metropolitans alone, though the high officials of the Patriarchate seem sometimes to have attended its meetings. Soon after the conquest they were officially added to it; and there was a general enhancement of the constitutional importance of the Synod. It retained its right to depose a Patriarch by a unanimous vote. In addition Patriarchal decrees were not now binding unless they had the support of the Synod. The Patriarch became little more than its president. In theory this was a reaffirmation of the democratic principles of the Church. In practice it meant that, while a strong and popular Patriarch would meet with no difficulties, Patriarchal authority could always be undermined. Turkish officials, without seeming openly to interfere in the internal affairs of the Church, could exercise what influence they desired through intrigues with individual members of the Synod.[1]

The high officials of the Great Church continued to bear the same names as before the conquest and in theory to exercise the same duties; but in practice their duties were enlarged. Constitutional lawyers now arranged them into nine groups of five, known as *pentads*. The first *pentad* was composed of the senior officers: the Grand Economus, who, as before, controlled the finances of the Patriarchate and acted if necessary as the Patriarch's deputy; the Grand Sacellarius, who was in charge of all the

[1] Papadopoullos, *op. cit.* pp. 39–41.

monasteries and convents throughout the Patriarchate; the Grand Skevophylax, in charge of all liturgical possessions, icons and relics; the Grand Chartophylax, the secretary-general of the Patriarchate, in charge of all its registers and archives; and the minister of the Sacellion, who was distinct from the Sacellarius but whose functions were somewhat vague; he had been in charge of the Patriarchal prison in the old days and now was responsible for ecclesiastical discipline. Not long before the conquest a sixth office had been added as an appendage to the first *pentad*, that of the Protecdicos, who originally had the duty of examining and pronouncing upon all appeals for justice or for aid brought before the Patriarchal court and who after the conquest became the chief judge. The Grand Economus and the Grand Sacellarius ranked slightly above their fellows in the *pentad*. As a symbol of their special authority each carried a sacred fan at religious ceremonies.

In the second *pentad* the Protonotary and the Logothete assisted the Chartophylax as his chief clerk and his keeper of the Seal; the castrinsius acted as personal aide-de-camp to the Patriarch; the Referendarius carried the Patriarch's communications to the lay authorities; and the Hypomnematographer acted as secretary to the Holy Synod, recording its meetings for the Patriarchal registers.

The remaining *pentads* were composed of officials whose duties were purely clerical or purely liturgical. There were many other functionaries who were not given places in the official lists of the *pentads* but who were nevertheless important, in particular the judges, who worked in the office of the Protecdicos and who were competent to give decisions of minor importance. All major legal decisions had to be pronounced by the Patriarch sitting in the Holy Synod.[1]

Metropolitans and bishops had their own local officials, based on the pattern of the Patriarchal court. In the provinces civil

[1] Papadopoullis, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–85. The system was slightly reorganized in the eighteenth century when several of the posts formerly held by clerics had fallen into the hands of the laity. See below, p. 376.

lawsuits were heard before the head of the commune, the *demogeron*. But matters with a religious significance, such as marriage and inheritance, came before the bishop's own court. In all cases there was a right of appeal to the Patriarchal court.[1]

The significant difference brought by the new pattern of things to the Patriarchate was that it was now obliged to concern itself with a number of lay affairs. The Patriarch as head of the Orthodox *milet* was to some extent the heir of the Emperor. He had to become a politician, able to plead and to intrigue for his people at the Sublime Porte, as the seat of the Sultan's government came to be called. He had to use his religious authority to see that the Orthodox accepted the Sultan's authority and abstained from disorders. Though he was not himself the tax-collector for the Sultan he had to see that the taxes were forthcoming. Above all, in practice the new system involved the Great Church in legal and financial activities far greater than it had known before. Not only did the Patriarch have to employ skilled financiers to advise him on the raising of taxes from the Faithful and on all matters of expenditure, but he also needed the services of lawyers trained in secular law. It was difficult and, indeed, doubtfully correct for ecclesiastics to go deeply into the study of civil law. Inevitably laymen began to enter the administrative offices of the Church. In Byzantine times the high offices had all been reserved for clerics. Now lay judges had to be appointed and had to be given proper authority, while it proved impossible to obtain the advice of lay financiers unless they too were given official rank. Laymen were soon brought into the lower *pentads* and gradually worked their way upwards. The first lay Grand Chartophylax appears in 1554, 101 years after the conquest, and the first lay Grand Skevophylax ten years later. The Protecdicos was invariably a priest until 1640; but by then almost the whole of his department was staffed by laymen. The laity were already beginning to occupy other offices

[1] See N. Vlachos, 'La Relation des Grecs asservis avec l'Etat Musulman souverain', in *Le Cinq-centième anniversaire de la prise de Constantinople, L'Hellénisme Contemporain*, fascicule hors série (1953), pp. 138–42.

and to increase their importance. The office of Logothete, which from 1575 onwards was held as often by a layman as by a priest, began to take over many of the duties of that of the Grand Economus; and by the seventeenth century the Logothete was called Grand Logothete and ranked above the first *pentad*. The Ecclesiarch, who had been chief sacristan of the Patriarchal church and had ranked only in the eighth *pentad*, was usually a layman after the beginning of the seventeenth century, and soon took over the functions of the Skevophylax and enjoyed the title of Grand Ecclesiarch. A new high office, reserved for the laity, emerged early in the sixteenth century, that of Grand Orator, or official spokesman of the Great Church. These new or amended offices owed their high precedence to the fact that they were considered to be *basilikoi*, that is to say imperial, the assistants of the Patriarch in his role as Ethnarch, heir to functions that had been the Emperor's. It has been suggested that the growing importance of the laity in the Church organization was due to the influence of the great Trapezuntine families, such as the Ypsilanti, whom the Conquering Sultan brought to Constantinople; for the Church of Trebizond had for some time past made use of lay officials. But, as the name *basilikos* indicates, it was the inevitable result of the Patriarch's enlarged powers. In the course of the eighteenth century measures had to be taken to prevent the metropolitans' powers being overridden by the powers of the lay magistrates.[1] Further powers were added when the Ottoman Empire expanded southwards. In the course of the sixteenth century the Sultan acquired dominion over Syria and Egypt, thus absorbing the lands of the Orthodox Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. The Sublime Porte wished to centralize everything at Constantinople; and the Great Church followed its lead. As a result the Eastern Patriarchates were put into a position of inferiority in comparison with that of Constantinople. The Eastern Patriarchs lost in theory none of their ecclesiastical rights or autonomy, and they continued to administer the Orthodox within their sees. But

[1] Papadopoul[illegible], *op. cit.* pp. 48–50.

in practice they found that they could only negotiate with the Sublime Porte through their brother of Constantinople. When a vacancy occurred on any of the Patriarchal thrones it was the Patriarch of Constantinople who applied to the Sultan for permission to fill it; and, as the Sultan himself was seldom much interested in naming a successor, it was easy for the Constantinopolitan Patriarch to secure the appointment of the candidate whom he advocated. The Eastern Patriarchates were moreover relatively poor. The Patriarch of Jerusalem, though his see was the smallest, was the richest, as the prestige of the Holy City led to endowments from all over the Orthodox world, and pilgrimage brought in a steady income. The Patriarch of Antioch, resident since the time of the Crusades at Damascus, was the poorest, being dependent for most of his income on Syrian Orthodox merchants who were not always well disposed towards the Greeks of Constantinople. The Patriarch of Alexandria was a little better off, owing to the number of Greek merchants that began to settle in Egypt after the Ottoman conquest. The Church of Cyprus retained its nominal historic autonomy, but in fact during the Venetian occupation of the island it depended for support on the Patriarch of Constantinople; and after the Turkish conquest the Constantinopolitan influence remained paramount. The autonomous Archbishop of Sinai had jurisdiction only over the monks of his monastery.[1]

The Slav Orthodox Churches posed a greater problem. It usually suited the convenience of the Turkish government that they should be under the control of Constantinople, though they retained their Slavonic liturgy and usages. But occasional Turkish ministers with Balkan affiliations were occasionally persuaded to increase their autonomy. It was not until the eighteenth century that the Patriarchate firmly established its authority; and by then it had to contend with growing forces of nationalism. The Russian Church was in a special position. It regarded Constantinople with greater and more sincere respect than did the Balkan Churches.

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 86–9: N. Jorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, pp. 72–7.

But Russia was far away and independent. It was unthinkable that the Russian ruler would allow his Church to be in practice dependent upon a hierarch who was the servant of the infidel Sultan.[1]

The structure of the hierarchy within the Patriarchate remained as it had been in Byzantine times, with certain archbishops without suffragans depending directly upon the Patriarch but more generally with metropolitan sees dependent on the Patriarch and episcopal sees dependent on the metropolitan. As in Byzantine times bishops were elected by the priests of the diocese and the metropolitan by the bishops, and elections were confirmed by the Patriarchate; and, as in Byzantine times, confirmation by the lay authorities was required. Applications were now made through the Patriarchate to the Sublime Porte; and the Sultan issued a document, known as a *berat*, formally appointing the elected candidate to the see. In the case of bishops these *berats* were usually simple documents which merely announced the elections; but the *berats* that appointed Patriarchs and, in some cases, metropolitans might contain not only a confirmation of the specific rights of the see but also additional privileges or a promise by the lay authorities to take action on behalf of the see. For instance, a *berat* appointing an eighteenth-century Patriarch of Alexandria promises aid in the suppression of Roman Catholic propaganda in the province. Such *berats* provide valuable historical evidence. Unfortunately few have survived. The earliest that is extant and can be dated appoints a metropolitan of Larissa in 1604. It is uncertain whether the *berat* possessed the same overriding and everlasting authority as an Imperial *firman*. It is probable that the rights and privileges that it mentions were intended only to apply *ad personam*, a new *berat* being required for each subsequent appointment. But a hierarch was entitled to the advantages that his predecessor had enjoyed, so long as he could produce a *berat* that listed them.[2]

[1] See below, pp. 231–4.

[2] No early *berats* appointing high ecclesiastical officials have survived. N. Beldiceanu, *Les Actes des premiers sultans*, II, p. 137, reproduces a *berat* (no. 47), apparently dating from the sixteenth century, appointing a certain Mark to an unnamed metropolitan see. The Sultan confirms the dignity because Mark has

On the whole, in theory at least, the Orthodox Church of Constantinople survived the shock of the Ottoman conquest better than might have been expected. The Christians were not allowed to forget that they were a subject people. They could not build new churches without special permission, which was seldom granted unless the proposed site was in a purely Christian locality. Permission had also to be granted for the repair of churches; and no church was to be permitted near a Muslim shrine. The Christians had to wear a distinctive costume. With the exception of the Patriarch none of them might ride on horseback. No Christian could officially serve in the armed forces, though in fact they were sometimes press-ganged into the navy, and in Christian districts local Christian militia bands, known as the Armatoles, were formed. Christian families had to submit to the arbitrary seizure of their young sons, to be converted to Islam and enrolled in the Janissary regiments. A Christian who was converted to Islam, even involuntarily as a child or as a captive, was liable to the death penalty if he reverted to his old faith. Any lawsuit involving a Christian and a Muslim was heard in a Muslim court, according to Koranic law; and few Muslim judges were prepared to give a judgment in favour of an unbeliever. Finally, all the rights and privileges of the Christians depended on the good will of the Sultan. Even *firmans* signed by a Sultan, though they were held to be binding upon his successors, might be ignored. The Court lawyers could state that it had contravened Islamic law and was therefore invalid.[1]

paid a gift (*peshtesh*) to the Imperial Treasury. He is to be exempted from local taxes, such as the tax for the repair of fortresses (*cherakhor*), and from the *kharadj*. The earliest surviving *berat* concerning a Patriarch is that confirming Dionysius III's election in 1662, given in J. Aymon, *Monuments authentiques de la réligion en Grèce et de la fausseté de plusieurs confessions de foi des Chrétiens* (published in 1708), p. 486. Dionysius has paid 900,000 *aspres* (equal to 12,000 écus, according to Aymon), and is accorded the traditional privileges. See also Laurent, *art. cit.*

[1] The books of Smith and Ricaut (see below, pp. 204–5, 272–3), and other seventeenth century travellers illustrate the difficulties undergone by the Christians; but it must be remembered that they were writing at a time when the Turkish

In spite of all that, and in spite of the destruction and misery that accompanied the fall of the city, the Orthodox *milet* did receive a constitution which enabled it not only to exist but also to increase its material prosperity. The Greeks benefited from the rebirth of Constantinople which the conquest brought about. At the time of the conquest the Greek population in the city did not number more than about 50,000. Several thousand perished during the siege and capture, and several thousand more were scattered in captivity. But the Conquering Sultan not only left certain quarters to the Greeks, but also encouraged the immigration of Greeks there. Sometimes the immigration was forced. The wealthier citizens of Trebizond were all moved to Constantinople. Others were brought in from Adrianople, others from Lesbos when it was occupied in 1462; and we are told that two thousand families were transported from Argos. By the middle of the sixteenth century it was estimated that there were no fewer than 30,000 Greek families living in the city. If we allow five or six persons to each household—which is probably too few—the Greek population had risen to over 150,000, and was rising; and money was to be made in this busy new Imperial capital.

Many of the villages in the suburbs, particularly along the European shores of the Bosphorus and the Marmora, were soon repeopled by Greeks. Some of them, such as Therapia or Yediköy, were almost exclusively Christian.[1]

administrative machine was beginning to run down. The position was always worse in the provinces where the central government could not supervise things closely. Crusius, *Turco-Graecia*, writing in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent, notes that the Christians of Constantinople 'do not want any other domination in preference to the Turks' (p. 250). In the sixteenth century it was probably only the wealthier Christians who suffered from the arbitrary actions of the Porte. In some Balkan districts the Christian peasants were probably better off than under their previous landlords (see Vaughan, *op. cit.* pp. 24–6). This applies particularly to Bosnia and may help to explain why so many Bosnians became willing converts to Islam.

[1] Jorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, pp. 45–56, for a general conspectus. The Spanish traveller de Villalon (*Viaje de Turquia*, 1557, in M. Serrano y Sanz, *Autobiografias y Memorias*, p. 146) says that official lists give 40,000 Christian houses in the city, of which the vast majority were Greek, with 10,000 Jewish houses.

The Sultan was wise enough to see that the welfare of the Greeks would add to the welfare of his Empire. He was anxious to provide them with a government that would satisfy their needs without infringing upon the privileges of the ruling race of Turks. The constitution that he gave them was workable so long as they were prepared to abandon political ambitions and to lead orderly lives according to the pattern permitted to them. In the meantime their *milet* was united and their freedom of worship was guaranteed. Indeed, in one respect they were better treated than might have been expected. By Islamic tradition the Christians in a city taken by storm had no right to retain their church buildings. But in captured Constantinople not only did they still possess the second greatest church, that of the Holy Apostles, but also a number of churches in other parts of the city, in particular in the Phanar and Petrion districts by the Golden Horn and in Psamathia on the Marmora. It seems that the hasty submission of these quarters to the Turkish troops that had entered the city was allowed to count as an act of voluntary surrender; and the churches were therefore not forfeited. The Sultan had the sense to see that if his new Christian subjects were to accept his rule peacefully they must be allowed places of worship.[1]

The integrity of the Orthodox *milet* was guaranteed by the new powers accorded to the Patriarch. The Muslim conquest had not resulted in the disestablishment of the Church. On the contrary, it was firmly established with new powers of jurisdiction that it had never enjoyed in Byzantine times. With the conquest of the capital and the subsequent conquest of other districts, practically the whole of the Patriarchal territory was united once more, and, though there was an alien power superimposed, it was its own master. The Byzantine thinkers who had rejected Western help, which at best could only have rescued a small proportion of

and 60,000 Turkish houses. There were 10,000 Greek houses in the suburbs. The numerous Greek villages in the suburbs are listed in Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, ed. N. Asim, 1, p. 452.

[1] For the legal excuse for allowing the Christians to keep some of their churches see S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople*, pp. 199–204.

Orthodox territory and which involved the union of the Church with Rome and a consequent deepening of the divisions within the Church, were justified. The integrity of the Church had been preserved, and with it the integrity of the Greek people.

But the enhanced powers of the Patriarchate involved new and difficult problems. The Byzantine Church had hitherto been essentially a body concerned only with religion. Could its organization and its spiritual life stand the strain of an involvement in political administration? And there were deeper problems. Could the Church sincerely accept Turkish rule in perpetuity? At the back of the mind of every Greek, however faithfully he might collaborate with his new Turkish masters, there lurked the belief that one day the power of Antichrist would crumble and that then the united Greek people would rise again and recreate their holy Empire. How far could a Patriarch, who was a high official in the Ottoman polity and had sworn allegiance to the Sultan, encourage this ambition? It might be politic to render under Caesar the things which were Caesar's; but was not his higher loyalty to God? Could he ever be whole-heartedly loyal to the infidel Sultan? and would the Sultan ever be certain of his loyalty? Moreover, his ambition involved a second problem. The Byzantine Empire had been, in theory at least, oecumenical, the holy Empire of all Christians, regardless of their race. Its decline had reduced it to an empire of the Greeks; and the Orthodox *milet* organized by the new constitution was essentially a Greek *milet*. Its task as the Greeks saw it was to preserve Hellenism. But could Hellenism be combined with oecumenicity? Could the Patriarch be Patriarch of the Orthodox Slavs and the Orthodox Arabs as well as of the Greeks? Would there not inevitably be a narrowing of his vision? The events of the following centuries were to show how difficult these problems were to be.

For the moment, when once the horror of the conquest was over, the prospect for the Orthodox seemed less dark than had been feared. The Sultan was known to like and respect the new Patriarch Gennadius, with whom he had friendly discussions on

religion; and at his request Gennadius wrote for him a brief objective statement of the Orthodox Faith for translation into Turkish.[1] News of his interest reached Italy. The Philhellene Francesco Filelfo, whose mother-in-law, the Italian widow of the Greek philosopher John Chrysoloras, had been captured at Constantinople, when writing fulsomely to the Sultan to beg for her release, suggested that His Majesty would be even more admirable if he were to join the Catholic Faith.[2] Soon afterwards Pope Pius II, fearing lest Mehmet might be attracted to the schismatic doctrines of the Greeks, sent him an admirably expressed letter pointing out the truth and wisdom of the Holy Catholic Church.[3] At Constantinople the Greek philosopher George Amiroutzes went so far as to suggest that Christianity and Islam could be blended into one religion. He presented to the Sultan a study which showed that they had much in common. It might be possible to devise a synthesis; or at least each faith could recognize the other as a sister. The difference between the Bible and the Koran had always been exaggerated by bad translations, he maintained; and the Jews were to be blamed for having deliberately encouraged misunderstandings. Unfortunately, his enlightened arguments carried no weight. The Muslims were uninterested; and the Greeks resented the duplicity that he had shown at the time of the Turkish capture of Trebizond; nor did his subsequent behaviour reassure them.[4] But, though such optimism was doomed to disappointment, the atmosphere at the Sultan's court was not intolerant. There were fanatics amongst his ministers, such as Zaganos Pasha and Mahmud Pasha, both of

[1] *Historia Patriarchica* (C.S.H.B. edition), pp. 83 ff. Gennadius's treatise is given in his *Œuvres Complètes* (ed. L. Petit, X. A. Sidérides and M. Jugie), III, pp. xxx ff.

[2] E. Legrand, *Cent-dix Lettres Grecques de Fr. Philelphe*, pp. 62–8.

[3] Pius II, *Lettera a Maomitto II*, ed. G. Toffanin.

[4] *Historia Politica* (C.S.H.B. edition), pp. 38–9: *Historia Patriarchica* (C.S.H.B. edition), pp. 96–101. A kindlier judgment on Amiroutzes is given in N. B. Tomadakis, "Ἐτούρκευσεν ὁ Γεώργιος Ἀμιρούτζης;", Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, XVIII (1948), pp. 99–143.

them converts to Islam; but their influence was countered by men such as the admiral Hamza Bey, the friend of the Greek historian Critobulus. The Sultan deeply respected his Christian stepmother, the Lady Mara, daughter of George Branković, Despot of Serbia, and his Greek wife, Irene Cantacuzena, and widow of Murad II. She lived now in retirement at Serres in Macedonia; but any wish that she expressed was promptly fulfilled by her stepson. Not all the converts to Islam were fanatical. Many whose conversion had been for political rather than religious motives were ready to help their former co-religionists. Even among the officers of the Janissaries there were numbers who remembered their Christian homes and families and were anxious to do them services. Had the Sultan not been tolerant these converts would not have dared thus to create doubts about their sincerity. But Mehmet seemed to favour collaboration.

Nevertheless there were clouds on the horizon. Gennadius himself was the first to notice them. A few months after his installation he asked permission of the Sultan to move the Patriarchal headquarters out of the church of the Holy Apostles. The district in which it stood was now colonized by Turks who resented the presence of the great Christian cathedral. One morning the corpse of a Turk was found in the courtyard. It had obviously been planted there; but it gave the neighbouring Turks the excuse for demonstrating against the Christians. Had the church building itself been in a better condition Gennadius might have tried to ride out the storm; but it was structurally unsound. Its repair would have been costly; and there might well have been objections from the Turks had he sought permission for the work. He collected all the treasures and relics that the church contained and moved with them into the Phanar quarter, which was inhabited by Greeks. There he installed himself in the convent of the Pammacaristos, transferring the nuns to the neighbouring monastery of St John in Trullo; and the small but exquisite church of the Pammacaristos became the Patriarchal church. It was in its side-chapel that the Sultan came to visit him to discuss religion

and politics, carefully refusing to enter the sanctuary itself lest his successors would make that an excuse for annexing the building for Islam. His precautions were in vain.[1]

Deeply respected though Gennadius was, his task was not easy. He roused opposition from religious purists by his use of Economy uncanonically to confirm or annul marriages which Christians taken prisoner at the time of the capture of Constantinople had contracted during their captivity. In particular he was criticized for allowing marriages of boys under the canonical age of twelve; which he permitted because a married boy was not liable to be taken by the Turks for the Janissary corps, to be brought up as a Muslim, according to the system known as the *devshirme* in Turkish and the *paidomazoma* in Greek. Wearied by such illiberal opposition, Gennadius resigned the Patriarchate in 1457 and retired first to Mount Athos, then to the monastery of St John at Serres, under the patronage of the Lady Mara, Murad II's Serbian widow. He was not left in peace. Twice more he was summoned back to the Patriarchal throne. The date of his death is unknown. We may hope that he was spared the sight of the scandals that were to come.[2]

[1] *Historia Politica* (C.S.H.B. edition), p. 28. When Murad III converted the Pammacaristos into a mosque (see below, p. 190), it was on the excuse that the Conqueror had worshipped there.

[2] For the obscure history of the Patriarchate up till 1466 see below, pp. 192–3. Gennadius's use of Economy is reported by his disciple, Theodore Agallianos. See C. G. Patrineli, ''Ο Θεόδωρος 'Αγαλλιανὸς καὶ οἱ 'Ανέκδοτοι Λόγοι του', pp. 146–8, and preface, pp. 69–70.

CHAPTER 2

THE CHURCH AND THE INFIDEL STATE

The constitution arranged between the Conquering Sultan and the Patriarch Gennadius for the Orthodox *milet* soon proved to be more effective on paper than in fact. The Turks could not forget that they were the ruling race, the conquerors of the Christians; and it irked them that the Greeks should retain privileges that no conquered infidel race ought to enjoy. Mehmet himself and his advisers, who were most of them older men than he, had been brought up at a time when Constantinople was a great cultural centre and Greek learning was renowned throughout the world. They could not fail to feel some respect for Greeks. Mehmet was proud to see himself as the heir of the Caesars, Roman Emperor as well as Sultan; and he wished his Christian subjects to accept him as such. Subsequent generations of Turks did not share the same feelings. Mehmet's son Bayezit II was five years old when his father captured Constantinople. By the time that he was a young man all the Greek scholars that had given lustre to Constantinople were scattered, some in Italy and the West, others in the safe obscurity of a monastic cell. All the Greeks that he met were either merchants or clerks or artisans, or priests chosen for their tactful and often obsequious demeanour. He had no special intellectual tastes, such as his father had possessed; to him Greek culture meant nothing.[1] His son, Selim I, actively disliked the Christians. The triumph of his reign was the completion of the conquest of Syria, Egypt and Arabia; and his main ambition was gratified when he took the title of Caliph, Commander of the Faithful.[2]

[1] W. J. Perry, 'Bāyazīd II' in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new edition), I, pp. 1119–21; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (1st edition), II, pp. 250ff.; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, II, pp. 230ff.

[2] J. H. Kramers, 'Selim I', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1st edition), IV, pp. 214–17; von Hammer-Purgstall, *op. cit.* II, pp. 350ff.; T. W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, pp. 137, 164ff.

With Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent there was once more a Sultan who was interested in the intellectual currents of the world; but by then the Greeks within his dominions were in no position to make any great contribution to them. He himself tried to deal justly with them; but to him and to the average Turk they had become a servile race, useful at times for financial or secretarial or even diplomatic work, but essentially untrustworthy and intriguing, and undeserving of privileges.[1] With the accession of Suleiman's son, Selim II, the Drunkard, decline set in at the top of the Ottoman structure. The Sublime Porte began to be controlled by ministers who, with a few distinguished exceptions, were greedy and unscrupulous; while usually the Sultana Valide, the Sultan's mother, pulled the strings from behind the curtains of the seraglio.[2]

The fate of the Ottoman Sultanate is perhaps an example of the corruption of absolute power. But the corruption of absolute impotence began to show itself amongst the Greeks. As they found themselves less and less able to rely on good treatment from above and less and less certain that their rights would be regarded, they inevitably took refuge in intrigue. In their hopelessness they began to forget the need for mutual loyalties. Each man began to plot for his own benefit; and it was to the interest of the Turks to encourage jealousy and intrigue and the demoralization of the *milet*.

The outward symptom of the worsening condition of the Greeks was the steady annexation of their churches and their conversion into mosques. The Conquering Sultan had been remarkably indulgent on this point. The only church that he had formally annexed had been Saint Sophia. Its annexation was hardly surprising; for the Great Church was more than a church; it was a symbol of the old Christian Empire. Its conversion set a seal on

[1] For Suleiman see A. M. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, esp. pp. 34, 151, 1[illegible], 163.

[2] Von Hammer-Purgstall, *op. cit.* II, pp. 354ff.; N. Jo[illegible]ga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, III, pp. 137ff.

the new dispensation. Yet for many years to come little attempt was made there to alter the old Christian decoration, apart from the covering or destruction of the faces of Christ and the saints in the mosaics.[1] Other churches, such as the New Basilica and Our Lady of the Lighthouse in the old Imperial Palace quarter, had been so badly damaged in the looting of the city that they were abandoned and either demolished or allowed to fall down. Others again, such as the Pantocrator or Saint Saviour in Chora, had been sacked and desecrated; and the Greeks made no attempt to retain them. As they were structurally sound it was not surprising that they were soon transformed into mosques. Some churches were taken over at once and put to secular uses. Saint Irene, close to Saint Sophia, became an armoury; Saint John in Dippion, near to the Hippodrome, housed a menagerie.[2] In these cases the churches were in districts settled by Turks, and the Christians were prudent enough to make no protest. The Holy Apostles, though preserved for the Christians at the time of the fall of the city, was given up, as we have seen, within a few months; and, in view of its dilapidated condition, the Sultan was not unreasonable in destroying it in order to erect a great mosque which should bear his name on the site. But a number of other churches were left in Christian hands.[1]

[1] In 1550 Nicolas de Nicolay remarked on the mosaic figures in Saint Sophia but noted that the Turks had plucked out the eyes (*Les Navigations, Peregrinations et Voyages*, p. 104). A manuscript account of an Italian's visit to Constantinople in 1611 (British Museum, MS. Harl. 3408) reports that the Turks had covered everything inside the church with whitewash. But sixty years later Grelot was able to sketch many of the mosaics and found that only the faces of the figures had been covered or removed. The mosaics that the Turks could not reach were barely spoiled; but he saw men with long poles trying to daub plaster over the figures (G. J. Grelot, *A Late Voyage to Constantinople* (trans. J. Philips), pp. 111 ff., esp. pp. 125–6). Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (*Complete Letters* (ed. R. Halsband), I, pp. 398–9), eager to defend the Turks from any charge of vandalism, declares that if the faces have vanished it is because of the ravages of time. She does not explain why the rest of the figures were in a better condition. Gerlach saw unspoiled frescoes in St John of Studium, though it was already converted into a mosque, as well as in St Theodosia (at that time used as a warehouse) and other former churches (S. Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, pp. 217, 358–9).

[2] For the fate of these churches see S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople*, pp. 199–200. Arnold von Harff, visiting Constantinople in 1499, declares more than once that many churches were being used as menageries (*The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff* (Hakluyt edition), pp. 241–2, 244).

These churches remained inviolate so long as Sultan Mehmet II lived. His son, Bayezit II, had other ideas. In 1490 he demanded the surrender of the Patriarchal church, the Pammacaristos. But the Patriarch Dionysius I was able to prove that Mehmet II had definitely bestowed the church upon the Patriarchate. The Sultan gave way, merely ordering the removal of the cross from the summit of the dome. At the same time he forbade his officials to annex other churches, as they were proposing to do.[2] His ban, however, was soon disregarded, no doubt with his own connivance. The church of the Panachrantos was annexed before 1494 and that of Saint John in Studium about 1500. It was about this time that Turkish officials turned the abandoned churches of the Chora and the Pantocrator into mosques; and they no doubt wished to extend their operations to churches still in use.[3]

In about 1520 Sultan Selim I, who disliked Christianity, suggested to his horrified vizier that all Christians should be forcibly converted to Islam. When he was told that this was impracticable, he demanded that at least all their churches should be surrendered. The vizier warned the Patriarch, Theoleptus I, who engaged the services of a clever lawyer called Xenakis. Theoleptus admitted that he had no *firman* protecting the churches. It had been burnt in a fire at the Patriarchate, he said. But Xenakis was able to produce three aged Janissaries who had been present when the Conquering Sultan entered Constantinople. They swore on the Koran that they had seen a number of notables from the city come to the Sultan as he was waiting to make his entrance and offer him the keys of their respective districts. In return he

[1] See above, p. 181.

[2] A. C. Hypsilantis, Τὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωσιν (ed. A. Germanos), pp. 62, 91, based on Patriarchal records.

[3] A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, pp. 128, 304; R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, I, iii, 'Les Eglises et les monastères', pp. 224, 447, 533, 550. For the Chora, P. Gyllius, *De Constantinopoleos Topographia*, p. 201.

promised them that they could retain their churches. Sultan Selim accepted this evidence and even allowed the Christians to reopen some of their churches which his officials had closed. All the same, several more churches were annexed during his reign.[1] In 1537, under Suleiman the Magnificent, the question was raised again. The Patriarch Jeremias I referred the Sultan to Selim's decision. Suleiman then consulted the Sheikh ul-Islam, as the highest Muslim legal authority; and, after going into the matter, the Sheikh pronounced that 'as far as was known Constantinople was taken by force; but the fact that the churches were untouched must mean that the city surrendered by capitulation'. Suleiman accepted this decision.[2] For the rest of his reign no more churches were taken over. Later Sultans were less indulgent. More conversions were made under Selim II; and in 1586 Murad III, just back from a successful campaign in Azerbaijan, announced that he was going to transform the Patriarchal church of the Pammacaristos into a Mosque of Victory—Fethiye Cami. Had the Patriarch Jeremias II, whom Murad liked, been still on the throne, the annexation might have been averted. But Jeremias had been recently ousted by an intrigue in the Holy Synod; and the incumbent at the moment, Theoleptus II, was a nonentity. Murad was doubtless glad to be able to justify his annexation as a punishment to the intriguers. The Patriarch of Alexandria put the small church of Saint Demetrius Kanavou, which he owned, at the disposal of Jeremias II, when he returned to the Patriarchate a few months later, until new accommodation could be arranged. Finally the Patriarchate was allowed to rebuild the church of Saint George, in the

[1] *Historia Patriarchica* (C.S.H.B. edition), pp. 158ff.; Demetrius Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire* (trans. N. Tindal), pp. 102–3. See following note.

[2] *Historia Patriarchica, loc. cit.*; Cantemir, *loc. cit.* The *Historia Patriarchica* combines the two episodes into one; but the janissaries clearly took part in the earlier episode, as they could not have been alive in 1537, eighty-four years after the fall of the city. Dr R. Walsh, two and a half centuries later, heard a garbled version of the story (*Residence in Constantinople during the Greek and Turkish Revolutions*, II, pp. 360–1).

heart of the Phanar quarter, to serve his needs. The new church was ready early in the next century and buildings were erected nearby to house the Patriarchal residence and offices. Like all the churches that the Greeks were permitted to build to replace those that they had lost, the new church was kept deliberately drab on the exterior, and the erection of a dome visible from outside was forbidden.[1]

By the eighteenth century there were some forty Greek churches in Constantinople; but only three of these had been built before the conquest. These were Saint George of the Cypresses, in Psamathia, which was destroyed by earthquake early in the century; Saint Demetrius Kanavou, which was destroyed by fire a few years later; and Saint Mary of the Mongols. This church owed its preservation to the fact that Mehmet II had employed a Greek architect to build for him the mosque that was erected on the site of the Holy Apostles; and the architect, Christodulos, was rewarded with the gift of the street in which the church, to which his mother was deeply attached, stood. He transferred the title-deeds, which guaranteed the integrity of the church, to the church itself. At the end of the seventeenth century the Muslims attempted to confiscate the building. Demetrius Cantemir, who was then legal adviser to the Patriarchate, was able to show the Sultan's original *firman* to the vizier Ali Köprülü, who kissed it reverently and gave orders that the church was to be unmolested. It still remains a church, though it was badly damaged in the anti-Greek riots of 1955.[2]

A fourth church, the Perivleptos, was in Christian hands, though not in the hands of the Greeks. It had been transferred to the Armenians by Sultan Ibrahim at the request of his Armenian

[1] M. Gedeon, Πατριαρχικοὶ Πίνακες, p. 530.

[2] M. Baudrier, *Histoire générale du serrail et de la cour du Grand Seigneur*, published in 1623, says (p. 9) that the Greeks possessed forty churches in the city. For St George of the Cypresses and St Demetrius Kanavou see Janin, *op. cit.* I, iii, pp. 75, 95. For St Mary of the Mongols, Cantemir, *op. cit.* p. 105. Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname* (ed. N. Asim), I, p. 452, lists a large number of Greek churches in the suburbs.

favourite, a lady of ample charms known as Şekerparce, or 'lump of sugar', who was said to weigh more than 300 pounds.[1]

The same process went on in the provincial towns. In Thessalonica the great church of Saint Demetrius and the churches of Saint Sophia and Saint George were converted in the middle of the sixteenth century.[2] In Athens, the church of Our Lady, which earlier ages had known as the Parthenon, became a mosque about the same time, with a minaret rising jauntily by its side; and, when the Parthenon was wrecked in 1687 by a Venetian shell landing on an armament store kept in its precincts, a little mosque was built within the ruins.[3] In any town in which Turks settled, it was the same story. Only in purely Christian districts were the churches left unmolested. The annexations were not only humiliating, but they caused grave legal and economic problems. Many of the annexed churches possessed considerable property, whose disposal involved endless lawsuits and intrigue. Nor was it easy for the Greeks to obtain permission to erect churches to replace those that they had lost. If they did not meet with active hostility they had to face the blank wall of Turkish officialdom. Bribery was usually the only method for securing a quick answer to any such request. All too soon the Greeks learnt that their masters must be manipulated through gifts of money.

[1] Janin, *op. cit.* p. 328: A. D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty*, xxxvii, n. 4: Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City*, p. 20.

[2] O. Tafrali, *Topographie de Thessalonique*, pp. 150ff., shows that some of the churches were converted immediately after the Turkish occupation. St Demetrius was converted in Bayezit II's reign. The conversion of St Sophia is dated by an inscription as 993 A.H. (A.D. 1545). The Venetian ambassador Lorenzo Bernardo, who passed through the city in 1590, says that it was already a mosque, but the mosaic of the Pantocrator in the dome had not been covered over. *Viaggio a Constantinopoli di ser Lorenzo Bernardo*, in *Miscellanea pubblicata dalla Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria*, p. 33. N. Jorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, p. 46, wrongly supposes that Bernardo refers to Sophia in Constantinople.

[3] It is uncertain when the Parthenon was converted into a mosque. Mehmet II seems himself to have converted the church of Our Lady of Salvation, which had been the Orthodox cathedral in Frankish times. See D. Sicilianos, *Old and New Athens* (trans. R. Liddell), p. 96. See also F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, I, pp. 13–16, II, p. 755.

This might not have been so harmful if the organization of the Church itself had remained uncorrupted. There the Greeks helped to bring on their own troubles. They could not abandon their love for politics; and, with the open exercise of power now denied to them, they revelled in underground intrigue. Gennadius had been a figure that commanded universal respect. In their despair after the conquest the Greeks were glad to follow a leader who was ready and able to act on their behalf. But soon factions arose, and when he retired there was no one of equal calibre to succeed him. Of his successor as Patriarch, Isidore II, we know little beyond his name. He died on 31 March 1462. The next Patriarch, Joasaph I, was reigning in 1463, when an incident occurred which illustrated the dangers of the new régime. The scholar George Amiroutzes, who was living in Constantinople and enjoyed the favour of the Sultan because of his learning, wished to contract a marriage with the widow of the last Duke of Athens, though his own wife was still alive. According to another version of the story the would-be bigamist was a noble from Trebizond called Kavazites, on whose behalf Amiroutzes was agitating. Whoever was the petitioner, Joasaph refused to bless the bigamous union. Amiroutzes then worked on the Holy Synod, threatening its members in the name of his powerful cousin, the Muslim convert Mahmud Pasha, to have Joasaph deposed. Joasaph tried in vain to commit suicide. Gennadius seems to have been summoned to restore order.[1] Of the next Patriarch, Sophronius I, nothing is known; indeed, his reign may have occurred between Isidore II's and Joasaph I's. Certainly Gennadius was back on the throne for a while in 1464. With his successor, Mark Xylocaraves, worse trouble began. Mark was elected early in 1465; but he had enemies, led by Symeon, Metropolitan of Trebizond, who coveted the Patriarchal throne. Early in 1466

[1] *Historia Politica* (C.S.H.B. edition), pp. 38–9; *Historia Patriarchica* (C.S.H.B. edition), pp. 96–101; *Ekthesis Chronica* (ed. S. Lambros), p. 36. More precise information is provided in the memoirs of Theodore Agallianos, in Ch. G. Patrineli, Ὁ Θεόδωρος Ἀγαλλιανὸς καὶ οἱ Ἀνέκδοτοι Λόγοι του, which gives the date of Isidore's death (p. 118). See Patrineli's preface, pp. 61–8.

Symeon raised the sum of 2,000 pieces of gold, 1,000 from his own resources and 1,000 from his friends, and presented the money to the Sultan's ministers, who then obligingly ordered the Holy Synod to depose Mark and elect Symeon. News of the simoniacal transaction reached the ears of Murad's Christian widow, the Lady Mara. She hastened from Serres to the Sultan's court, prudently bringing with her another 2,000 pieces of gold. The Sultan greeted her with the words: 'What is this, my mother?' She begged him to solve the problem by having both Mark and Symeon deposed in favour of her own candidate, the saintly Dionysius, a Peloponnesian who was Metropolitan of Philippopolis. Her request was granted. But Symeon was undefeated. In 1471 he accused Dionysius before the Synod of having been circumcised as a Muslim when as a child he had spent some time in captivity. Though Dionysius was able to provide visible proof that the charge was false, the Synod deposed him; and a further payment of 2,000 gold pieces to the Sublime Porte secured Symeon's re-election. Sultan Mehmet seems to have watched it all with cynical amusement, while the Lady Mara was too badly disillusioned to interfere, though she offered Dionysius protection near her own residence at Serres.[1] But Symeon three years later was outbid by a Serbian candidate, Raphael, who offered to make an annual payment of 2,000 pieces of gold to the Sublime Porte. The Metropolitan of Heraclea refused to consecrate him; and, though the Metropolitan of Ancyra was more obliging, there were doubts of the legality of his enthronement, and many of the Synod refused to communicate with him. He had, moreover, difficulty in raising the money that he had promised. Eventually, probably early in 1477, the Sultan, urged again by his stepmother, intervened to restore order and secured the election of Maximus III Manasses. Maximus, whose real name was Manuel Christonymus, had been Grand Ecclesiarch and had quarrelled with Gennadius over his use of Economy and later had offended the Sultan by

[1] *Historia Politica* (C.S.H.B. edition), pp. 39–42; *Historia Patriarchica* (C.S.H.B. edition), pp. 102–12.

supporting Joasaph I against Amiroutzes. He had now recaptured the Sultan's respect, and died honourably in office a few months after Mehmet himself died. Symeon then bought his way back to the throne and was now generally accepted.[1] The Council which he held in 1484, in order formally to abrogate the Union of Florence and to fix the procedure for the readmission of unionists into the Church, was attended by representatives of all the Orthodox communities.[2]

Henceforward it was rare for a Patriarch not to represent some party or faction. Influence to control the appointment was exercised from various quarters. The Lady Mara died in about 1480; but her role was carried on by her niece, the Princess of Wallachia, who secured the appointment of Symeon's successor, Niphon II. This marked the entry of the Danubian rulers on the Patriarchal scene. The Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia had submitted voluntarily to the Sultan and thus preserved their autonomy; and they were wealthy. Their subjects, the ancestors of the Roumanians of today, were consciously not Slavs, though their Church formed a part of the Serbian Church and employed the Slavonic liturgy. Their upper classes felt themselves far nearer to the Greeks than to the Slavs. As the most exalted lay personages within the Ottoman Empire the Danubian princes sought continually to place their candidates on the Patriarchal throne.[3] The King of Georgia, as the only independent monarch, apart from the distant Russian Grand Prince, to rule within the area of the Patriarchate, tried now and then to intervene. But the Georgian Church was semi-autonomous, with its own liturgy in its own

[1] *Historia Politica* (C.S.H.B. edition), pp. 43–4; *Historia Patriarchica* (C.S.H.B. edition), pp. 113–15; Gedeon, *op. cit.* pp. 490–1. See also V. Steplanidou, Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησιαστικὴν Ἱστορίαν καὶ τὸ Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν Δίκαιον, pp. 104, 113.

[2] See below, p. 228.

[3] *Historia Patriarchica* (C.S.H.B. edition), pp. 128–40. See Jorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, pp. 84–6. It was through Wallachian influence that Niphon returned to the Patriarchal throne in 145[illegible]–8. He was re-elected in 1502 but refused. Pachomius I, who took his place also had Wallachian support. See N. Popescu, *Patriarhii Țarigradului prin țeri[illegible]mânești in veacul al XVI-lea*, pp. 5 ff.

vernacular; and Georgia had its own political troubles. But, if the Georgian monarch chose to exert it, his influence could be formidable.[1] More constant and more effective was the influence exerted by the monks of Mount Athos. The Holy Mountain was still full of rich monasteries and still a centre of intellectual and spiritual activity. Its autonomy was respected by the Turks, though, later, a Turkish official, condemned to temporary celibacy, resided there as the Sultan's representative. Until they declined in the late seventeenth century a candidate for the Patriarchate with the backing of the Athonite monasteries enjoyed great prestige.[2] But the Princes of the Danubian states and the King of Georgia and even the monks of the Mountain lived at a distance from Constantinople. Far more effective pressure was soon to be exercised by the rich Greek merchants of the Sultan's capital.

One of the unforeseen consequences of the Ottoman conquest was the rebirth of Greek mercantile life. For some centuries past the Italians had dominated the trade of the Levant, enjoying privileges denied to local merchants. Now their privileges were gone and their colonies dwindled away. Few Turks had any aptitude or any taste for commerce; and trade within the huge and expanding dominions of the Sultan passed into the hands of his subject races, the Jews, the Armenians, and, above all, the Greeks. The Greek genius for commerce always flourishes in areas where the Greeks are debarred from political power and are thus ready to direct their ambition and enterprise to commercial ends. It was not long after the conquest that Greek merchant dynasties emerged at Constantinople. Some of the dynasties claimed to be descended from well-known Byzantine families; and, though the claims were seldom justified, for few of the old families survived in the male line, it helped the prestige of a rising merchant if he bore a grand Imperial surname such as Lascaris, Argyrus or Ducas.

[1] Joachim I in 1504 had Georgian support. *Historia Patriarchica* (C.S.H.B. edition), pp. 140–1.

[2] Maximus IV (1491–7), had Athonite support, as, later, had Metrophanes III (1565–72, and 1579–80). See Jorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, pp. 70, 84–5.

The noble families forcibly imported by the Conquering Sultan from Trebizond had a better claim to ancient lineage, such as the Ypsilanti, kinsmen to the Imperial Comneni. A little later when the Turks occupied Chios, Chiot families migrated to Constantinople and showed a particular genius for business. Amongst them it was fashionable to claim a high Italian descent, preferably with Roman origins.[1] In the sixteenth century the leading Greek family was that of the Cantacuzeni, perhaps the only family whose claim to be in the direct line from Byzantine Emperors was authentic. By the middle of the century the head of the family, Michael Cantacuzenus, whom the Turks surnamed *Shaitanoglu*, or the Devil's son, was one of the wealthiest men in all the East. He earned 60,000 ducats a year from his control of the fur-trade from Russia, for which the Sultan had given him the monopoly. He was able to pay for the fitting-out of sixty galleys for the Sultan's navy. His wife was the daughter of the Prince of Wallachia and the granddaughter of the Prince of Moldavia. He seldom came to Constantinople, preferring to live at Anchialus, on the Black Sea coast, a city inhabited almost exclusively by Greeks, where the sight of his wealth would not offend Turkish eyes. But even so he aroused envy. In the end, in 1578, the Turks arrested him on a nominal charge and put him to death. His possessions were confiscated and put up for sale. Their splendour amazed everyone. Most of his precious manuscripts were bought by the monasteries of Mount Athos.[2]

Such magnates, called by the Greeks of the time *archontes*, or rulers, inevitably became the dominant influence at the Patriarchate. They were at hand; they had plentiful ready money, for

[1] See below, p. 367.

[2] For the Cantacuzeni see N. Jorga, *Despre Cantacuzini—Genealogia Cantacuzinilor—Documentele Cantacuzinilor*, *passim*, and, for Michael in particular, *ibid.* pp. xxii–xxxv; Jorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, pp. 114–21. There are numerous references to him in the Patriarchal History and in Gerlach, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 55, 60, 223 ff. Gerlach believed that he was not really a member of the old Imperial family of the Cantacuzeni but the son of an English ambassador. Crusius, *Turco-Graecia*, p. 509, tells of the sale of his books, his informant being Gerlach.

supplementing church funds or for bribing Turkish officials. When the Patriarchate needed laymen to fill its administrative offices, it was from their class that the officials were drawn. The power of an *archon* was shown in 1565, when Michael Cantacuzenus secured the deposition of the Patriarch Joasaph II, one of the most distinguished and learned of Patriarchs, personally popular among all the Orthodox and fully supported by the monks of Mount Athos, after a successful reign of ten years, because he would not further one of Michael's ambitious family-marriage schemes, on the ground that it infringed canon law.[1]

These intrigues were complicated by the presence of Turkish officials in the offing, all eager to make what money they could out of the difficulties of the Patriarchate. It had become the regular custom now that the Patriarch had not only to pay a sum to the Sublime Porte to have his election ratified, but also had to provide a regular annual offering. When the Patriarch Symeon died intestate and without any close relative, the Turkish authorities confiscated his possessions even though he had only a life-interest in them and they should have passed to his successor. Niphon, who succeeded him, tried clumsily to recover them by inventing a hitherto unknown nephew of Symeon's; but the imposture was discovered and punished by further confiscations. Niphon proved altogether to be a foolish and unsatisfactory Patriarch, and, despite his backing by the Prince of Wallachia and the Athonite monasteries, public opinion insisted on his deposition and his replacement by the saintly Dionysius I, who came out of his retirement at Serres. The Athonite monks were annoyed, and after two years obtained his retirement and the election of their candidate, Maximus IV, who reigned from 1491 to 1497. Maximus was an estimable man whose main efforts were concentrated on securing, not unsuccessfully, better treatment for the Orthodox living in Venetian territory. On his death Niphon II returned to power for a year, but was then displaced by an able young priest, Joachim I, who was backed by the King of Georgia. His reign was interrupted by an attempt to replace Niphon and by the temporary elevation of Pachomius I, to whom the Wallachians transferred their favour. Joachim died in Wallachia in 1504, when trying to reconcile himself with the Prince; and Pachomius then occupied the throne for nine years.[1] On his death Sultan Selim himself intervened to order the election of a Cretan whom he liked, Theoleptus I. It was fortunate that Theoleptus was in power when Selim made his abortive attempt to take over the Christian churches, as the Sultan respected him. But his attempt to deal with the difficult case of Arsenius of Monemvasia made him a number of enemies, who in 1522, soon after Selim's death, accused him of gross immorality. He died before the case was heard by the Synod.[2] His successor, Jeremias I, was in Cyprus when he was elected, where he had managed to make a concordat with the Venetian authorities on behalf of the Orthodox. His reign of twenty-one years is the longest in Patriarchal history, though he nearly lost the throne in 1526, when he was on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; a certain Joannicius persuaded the Holy Synod to depose him in his own favour, but the transaction was not ratified, though Jeremias's friends had to pay 500 gold pieces to the Sublime Porte to have the ratification held up. On the whole Jeremias enjoyed the support of the Sultan, Suleiman the Magnificent, an orderly man who was glad to see his Christian subjects enjoying some stability.[3]

On Jeremias's death, it was decided, under the influence of Germanus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, to lay it down clearly that only the full Synod could elect a patriarch. But Dionysius II, whom Jeremias designated as his successor, was elected against the wishes of the Holy Synod, which only gave way when there were popular demonstrations in his favour. He reigned for nine years, and his successor, Joasaph II, for ten, until he was deposed through the machinations of Michael Cantacuzenus. The next two

[1] Crusius, *op. cit.* p. 274; Gerlach, *op. cit.* p. 30.

[1] See above, p. 195, n. 3.

[2] *Historia Patriarchica* (C.S.H.B. edition), pp. 141–52. For Arsenius of Monemvasia see below, p. 229.

[3] *Historia Patriarchica* (C.S.H.B. edition), pp. 153–72; Gerlach, *op. cit.* pp. 502, 509.

Patriarchs, Metrophanes III and Jeremias II, both reigned for seven years. Metrophanes was deposed in 1572 because he was believed to have pro-Roman tendencies, and promised never to try to return to the Patriarchal throne.[1] Jeremias II, who like Dionysius II owed his election to noisy demonstrations by the Greek congregations, was probably the ablest man to sit on the Patriarchal throne during the Captivity. He was a sound theologian, an ardent reformer and a fierce enemy to simony. His virtues irritated the Holy Synod, who deposed him in 1579, bringing back Metrophanes III, in spite of his promise. But Jeremias still enjoyed popular support. After nine months the Synod was forced to re-elect him. Three and a half years later he was again deposed; but once again, after two years, his popularity, backed by the personal good will of the Sultan, secured his return, and he reigned for another nine years, till his death in 1595.[2]

The period that followed was chaotic. Ever since Symeon of Trebizond had introduced the practice, each election to the Patriarchate involved the payment of money to the Sublime Porte; and the price was rising. An annual subvention was also expected. Dionysius II paid a *peshkesh* of 3,000 gold pieces to have his election ratified, but succeeded in having the yearly tribute paid by the Church reduced to a maximum of 2,000 pieces of gold. In return, the Patriarch was permitted to add to the Patriarchal residence and offices. Joasaph II succeeded in reducing the *peshtesh* to 2,000 pieces; but his success was short lived. Disputed elections began to involve an auction sale, the Sublime Porte naturally favouring the candidate who could pay most. A

[1] *Historia Patriarchica* (C.S.H.B. edition), pp. 173–91; Dorotheus of Monemvasia, *Chronicle* (1818 edition), pp. 440–3. Metrophanes had visited Venice and Rome before his elevation and therefore was suspect.

[2] *Historia Patriarchica* (C.S.H.B. edition), pp. 191–204; Dorotheus of Monemvasia, *op. cit.* pp. 439–40. Dorotheus disliked Jeremias II and accused him, unreasonably, of being dull-witted. For a full account of Jeremias's career see C. Sathas, Βιογραφικὸν Σχεδίασμα περὶ τοῦ Πατριάρχου 'Ιερεμίου Β'; also L. Petit 'Jérémie II Tranos', in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, VIII, 1, coll. 886–94 For his relations with the Lutherans and with Russia see below, pp. 247–61

Patriarch like Jeremias II, who was elected by the will of the congregations, was thus at a disadvantage compared with a candidate backed by the rich rulers of the Principalities or by the rich mercantile families of Constantinople. Not unnaturally, the Turkish authorities welcomed frequent changes on the Patriarchal throne. A few Turkish statesmen, such as Suleiman the Magnificent, tried to ensure greater stability among the Greeks. But the quarrels and intrigues in which not only the Holy Synod but the whole Greek community indulged offered too tempting an opportunity for Turkish greed to ignore.[1]

In the century from 1595, when Jeremias II ended his last Patriarchal reign, to 1695, there were sixty-one changes on the Patriarchal throne, though, as many Patriarchs were reinstated after deposition, there were only thirty-one individual Patriarchs. Some enjoyed short spells of office. Matthew II reigned for twenty days in 1595, then for nearly four years, from 1598 to 1602, and finally for seventeen days in 1603. Cyril I Lucaris, the most celebrated of all the seventeenth-century Patriarchs, enjoyed seven different spells on the throne. One of his rivals, Cyril II, reigned once for one week only, and later for twelve months. The average length of reign was slightly less than twenty months. Occupational risks were higher: four Patriarchs, Cyril I, Parthenius II, Parthenius III and Gabriel II, were put to death by the Turks on the suspicion of treason. Occasionally a candidate had such powerful friends among the authorities that he achieved his ambition without a specific money-payment; but such men were rare.[2] By the end of the seventeenth century the usual price paid by a Patriarch on his election was in the neighbourhood of 20,000 piastres—roughly 3,000 gold pounds. At the same time the Patriarchate had been paying to the Porte from early in the century an annual tax of 20,000 piastres, as well as various minor

[1] *Historia Patriarchica* (C.S.H.B. edition), p. 179. See Jorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, pp. 82 ff.

[2] S. Vailhé, 'Constantinople (Eglise de)', *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* III, 2, coll. 1418–26.

taxes, which included the obligation to provide the mutton required daily by the Palace Guard, men of voracious appetite.[1]

The climax was reached early in the eighteenth century, in 1726, when the Patriarch Callinicus III paid no less than 36,400 piastres for his election—roughly 5,600 gold pounds. As he died of joy, from a sudden heart attack, the following day, the transaction proved expensive for the Church.[2] Such scandals produced in the end a greater stability. The Greek community began to realize that the Church, which their members had increasingly to subsidize, simply could not afford such frequent changes; and the Turks realized that things had gone too far. In the century from 1695 to 1795 there were thirty-one Patriarchal reigns, and twenty-three individual Patriarchs. This was bad enough, if we compare it with the century from 1495 to 1595, when there had been only nineteen reigns; but at least it was an improvement on the seventeenth century.[3] Nevertheless the debts of the Patriarchate rose steadily. In 1730 they amounted to 100,769 piastres, that is to say, rather more than 15,000 gold pounds, while the Patriarchal revenues, for which we have no definite figures, seem seldom to have been adequate to cover regular expenses.[4] It was inevitable that the whole Church should become dependent upon the

[1] Vailhé, *art. cit.* coll. 1430–2. According to J. Aymon, *Monuments authentiques de la religion des Grecs et de la fausseté de plusieurs confessions de foi des Chrétiens*, p. 486, Dionysius III paid 12,000 écus in 1662. Sir Paul Ricaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, Anno Christi, 1678* (published in 1680), says that the Patriarch used to pay 10,000 dollars on his election, but the price had risen now to 25,000 (p. 107). Grelot says that, when he was in Constantinople in the 1670s, two successive Patriarchs paid 50,000 and 60,000 crowns (*op. cit.* p. 138). This is confirmed by Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, 1700, p. 118, who says that the Patriarchal dignity is now sold for 60,000 écus.

[2] Vailhé, *art. cit.* col. 1432.

[3] *Ibid.* coll. 1432–3.

[4] *Ibid. loc. cit.* See also T. H. Papadopoullos, *Studies and Documents relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination*, pp. 132, 160. After 1763 Patriarchal candidates had to pay the *peshtesh* out of their own pockets (Hypsilantis, *op. cit.* p. 397), which helped to improve the financial position of the Church, but made candidates all the more dependent on rich friends. However, on the eve of the Greek War of Independence the debts of the Patriarchate amounted to 1,500,000 Turkish piastres. See M. Raybaud, *Mémoires sur la Grèce* (historical introduction by A. Rabbé), p. 80.

richer members of the laity, the semi-independent Orthodox princes and the merchants of Constantinople.

Meanwhile another disruptive factor had appeared. The Ottoman Empire had entered upon regular diplomatic connections with Western Europe; and Western ambassadors to the Sublime Porte began to seek for influence within the Empire. It would be worth while to capture the sympathy and support of the Christian communities. The Embassies therefore fostered new intrigues. France and Austria, though not in unison, employed Catholic missionaries to work among the local Christians, for political rather than for religious ends; while England and Holland, similarly not in unison, countered by encouraging opposition to the Catholics and by trying to build up a connection between the Orthodox and the Protestant Churches. Western agents were added to the elements that pulled strings whenever there was a Patriarchal election; and, while money provided from the Western embassies was welcomed, the Turkish authorities could not be expected to look upon such transactions with favour. The execution of four Patriarchs for treason was the indirect outcome of these ambassadorial intrigues. Here again the situation was improved in the eighteenth century, when the Western powers began to realize that such intrigues produced no valuable results. But their place was taken by a power that the Turks were soon to regard with far greater aversion and fear, the revived and growing Russian Empire.[1]

With such a situation in the Patriarchate it was difficult for the Church to maintain its constitutional rights against its Turkish masters. Individual Sultans or viziers might occasionally be friendly. The mother of Sultan Murad III was a Greek; and he was said to have secretly bought and to worship an icon of the Holy Virgin.[2] Suleiman the Magnificent's vizier, Sökküllü, a Bosnian converted to Islam, used sometimes to attend Orthodox

[1] See below, chapter 6.

[2] Gerlach, *op. cit.* pp. 335, 361. According to Dorotheus of Monemvasia (*op. cit.* pp. 453–5), Murad III later became violently anti-Christian.

services, accompanied by his two nephews; though he offended the Greeks by insisting in 1557 on the reinstitution of the Serbian Patriarchate of Peć, for the benefit of one of his Christian relatives. However the Serbian Patriarch was ordered to be subservient to his brother of Constantinople. The Turks had no desire to encourage local separatism.[1] The great Albanian family of the Köprülü, which provided four Grand Viziers in the seventeenth century, was consistently favourable towards the Christians.[2] But the average Turk, whether he were Sultan, commander, official or even labourer, regarded the Christians as people to be exploited. Sir Paul Ricaut, an Englishman of Spanish descent, who had travelled widely in the East, wrote at the request of King Charles II a book entitled *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, Anno Christi 1678*. In it he states that the election to the Patriarchate was vested 'rather in the hands of the Turks than of the bishops'. He was deeply moved by the position of the Greeks. 'Tragical', he writes, 'the subversion of the Sanctuaries of Religion, the Royal Priesthood expelled from their Churches, and these converted into Mosques; the Mysteries of the altar concealed in secret and dark places; for such I have seen in Cities and Villages where I have travelled, rather like Vaults and Sepulchres than Churches, having their roofs almost levelled with the Superficies of the Earth, lest the most ordinary Exsurgency of Structure should be accused for Triumph of Religion, and stand in competition with the lofty Spires of the Mahometan Mosque.' Ricaut well understood the difficulties that faced the Greek Church. Indeed, knowing what he did, he was amazed that it should survive at all. 'It is no wonder', he wrote, 'to human reason that

[1] Gerlach, *op. cit.* p. 88. For the Patriarchate of Peć, see Vailhé, *art cit.* col. 1444; also L. Hadrovice, *Le Peuple Serbe et son église sous la domination turque*, pp. 49, 149.

[2] According to Demetrius Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire*, p. 368, Mehmet Köprülü deserved to rank with Justinian for the number of churches that he allowed to be built. It was his son Ahmet who appointed Panayoti Nicoussios and after him Alexander Mavrocordato to the post of Grand Dragoman. See below, pp. 364, 368. He was on intimate terms with both of them.

considers the Oppression and the Contempt that good Christians are exposed to, and the Ignorance in their Churches occasioned through Poverty in the Clergy, that many should be found who retreat from the Faith; but it is, rather, a Miracle, and a true Verification of those Words of Christ, *That the Gates of Hell shall not be able to prevail against his Church*, that there is conserved still amongst so much Opposition, and in despite of all Tyranny and Arts contrived against it, an open and public Profession of the Christian Faith.'[1]

Sir Paul was well informed. The priests were indeed poor; for the Patriarchate, with its burden of debt, could not afford any generosity towards its servants. Instead it all too often extorted from them and from their congregations whatever money was available. Nor, as we shall see, was it able to provide them with an adequate education. The conversions to Islam noted by Sir Paul were largely due to the ignorance of this impoverished clergy. They were due, too, to a natural desire to escape from the ignominy of being for ever a second-class citizen. It was a one-way traffic. No Muslim would demean himself by accepting a religion that was politically and socially inferior; and had he done so he would have incurred the death-penalty. As late as the 1780s a Greek boy who had been adopted by Muslims and brought up in their faith was hanged at Janina for reverting to the faith of his fathers. Sir Paul was tactful enough not to dwell too harshly upon the manifest weaknesses of the Patriarchate itself. He was well aware of them, but he was shrewd enough to understand why things had come to such a pass; and his censure was mitigated by real sympathy. But he was almost alone among Western writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in showing such sympathy. Most of them believed with Robert Burton that the Greeks 'be rather semi-Christians than otherwise', or with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu that, as to their priests, 'no body of Men were ever more ignorant'.[2]

[1] Ricaut, *op. cit.* pp. 12–13.

[2] For Burton see below, p. 290. Lady Mary Wortley Montague, *op. cit.* pp. 318–19.

Paradoxically, the weaknesses of the Patriarchate may have afforded the Church some protection. For the Turks grew accustomed to treat the whole ecclesiastical organization with easy-going contempt. They might subject it to petty persecution, extortion and oppression, but at other times they left it alone. They were never sufficiently alarmed by it to take measures that would have threatened its existence. Its secret spirit could survive.

This political background must be realized before we criticize the Greek Church under the Turks for not having made a larger contribution to religious life and religious thought. We must remember how cruelly servitude restricts enterprise. The Church had been very much alive right up to the last days of independent Byzantium. Amongst its prelates had been many of the best brains of the time. Even in the fifteenth century it was still producing works on theology of the highest calibre. Its officials could concentrate on the things which are God's, because there was a Christian Caesar to look after the things which were Caesar's. The conquest altered all that. The Patriarch had to become a lay ruler, but the ruler of a state that had no ultimate sanction of power, a state within a state, depending for its existence on the uncertain good will of an alien and infidel overlord. Many new and costly cares were imposed upon him. His court had to concern itself with fiscal and judicial problems that in the old days had been the business of the secular arm. It had no traditions of its own to help it in this work; it had to borrow what it could remember of the old Imperial traditions. And all the while it was conscious of its exigent suzerain. Even the great Papal monarchy of the West had found the combination of secular with religious power an intolerable strain. It was far harder for the Patriarchate to support the burden so suddenly imposed upon it, with no training in the past and no ultimate freedom of action in the present. It was not surprising that few Greek ecclesiastics now had the time to devote themselves to theological discussion or the spiritual life. It is, rather, remarkable that the Church still managed for two centuries to come to produce a number of lively theolo-

gians who could hold their own with theologians in other parts of Europe. But these luminaries belonged to a small intellectual aristocracy. Among the vast body of the clergy and among their congregations standards of learning rapidly declined. It was no longer possible to provide them with adequate means for education.

from prudence or from spiritually minded detachment, they would be branded as traitors to Hellenism. The Church would lose its hold over the livelier and more progressive elements of its congregation. The rebirth of Greece was to involve a gallows erected at the gate of the Patriarchate and a Patriarch's corpse swinging thereon.

CHAPTER II

THE CHURCH AND THE GREEK PEOPLE

The Phanariots with their political and intellectual ambitions threatened to damage what had hitherto been the greatest asset of the Orthodox Church. If there was no Reformation in Eastern Christendom, nor even any heretical movement as powerful as that of the Cathars in the medieval West, it was because the Church had never lost touch with the people. The rule that chose the village priest from among the villagers, so that he differed from them only in having received the education and training needed to perform the Mysteries, meant that there was never a serious cleavage between him and his congregation. He could never be an absentee. He could not aspire to a higher place in the hierarchy; he had no reason to go off to intrigue for preferment at the bishop's palace. He was humble and content with his lot. If he felt the need for spiritual guidance he could seek it at some nearby monastery. The congregation respected him because he was empowered to conduct the services of the Church. But his material lot was so little better than that of his parishioners that none of them could resent him. The parish was a united whole, deriving its strength from the communal reading of the Gospels and celebration of the eucharist; and, after the Turkish conquest, the sense of unity was enhanced by awareness of the infidel oppressor. These Christian villages, by the very simplicity of their Christianity, could maintain their integrity against the local Turkish landowner or aga or the envoys of the Sultan from distant Istanbul.

There was always a danger in this simplicity that the religious ceremonies of the village would become mere magical practices, mixed up with superstitions inherited from old pagan days. If village religion was to mean more than magic, if it was to keep a real spiritual force, it must be supervised. The village might be fortunate enough to have in the neighbourhood a monastery that

was a centre of active spiritual life. But even the monasteries needed supervision if their standards were to be maintained. The local bishop must be in touch with the parishes and monasteries of the diocese; and he himself must be worthy. The metropolitan must supervise the bishop; and his worthiness depended upon the summit of the Church hierarchy, the Patriarchal court. The local parish or monastery might be so self-sufficient that it could survive even if connection with the higher authorities was interrupted; but unless the higher authorities took a constant interest in its welfare it would stagnate.[1]

This interest lessened as time went by. It had never been part of the village priest's duties to be a scholar; but morally he was expected to give an example to the parish. While foreign travellers in the seventeenth century lament the ignorance of the priests and monks, by the end of the eighteenth century visitors to Greek lands were reporting instance after instance of greed and extortion of which not only priests and monks but even bishops were guilty. William Turner, for instance, tells of the Archbishop of Cos refusing, in his presence, to send a priest to a dying woman because she could not pay the sum that he demanded. To many of the Greeks themselves it began to appear that the whole ecclesiastical organization was rotten to the core.[2]

In the sixteenth century, as in Byzantine times, the Patriarchal Court had been filled by earnest clerics, most of whom came from the provinces and had started their careers in some provincial monastery. As they mounted up the hierarchy they might learn the value of intrigue and of bribery, but they were essentially men of religion, and most of them remembered their provincial origins. But the Turkish conquest had obliged the Patriarchate to take on secular duties. Its high officials had to be administrators. Worldly laymen were more useful for the work than spiritually minded ecclesiastics. From the seventeenth century onwards, under the

[1] For the organization of the parish, which has remained unaltered to the present day, see P. Hammond, *The Waters of Marah*, pp. 28 ff.

[2] W. Turner, *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, III, pp. 509–10.

influence of the Phanariots, this laicization was increased. The rich merchants of Constantinople, on whose benefactions the Patriarch depended for his financial security, coveted posts at his Court for their relatives and began to use the offices for their political ends. These new ministers had nearly all been born and brought up in Constantinople. They regarded the provinces as being uninteresting and barbarous. Their attention was concentrated on Constantinople itself or on the rich lands of the Principalities, where many of them now owned estates. Their education made them unsympathetic with the older traditions of the Church. By the eighteenth century it was a matter of pride for them to be versed in Western philosophy and the rationalism fashionable at the time. The improvement in educational facilities provided by the schools and academies that they patronized meant a corresponding decline in religious education. Few of the hierarchs at the Patriarchal court ventured to brave Phanariot contempt by protesting against the fashions. But amongst the pious in the provinces there was a reaction against this new-fangled learning, which led to a suspicion of all learning, and to a defiant obscurantism. If studying books led to such godless rationalism, then surely it was better not to study books at all.[1]

It was in the monasteries that the decline in learning was most clearly apparent and most harmful; for the religious standards of a district depended mainly on its monasteries, which provided the spiritual advisers and confessors on whom the country-folk, the priests among them, depended. Even in Byzantine times many of the provincial monasteries had been humble and unpretentious and their monks simple men without much book-learning. But a monastery was required to have a library, even though it might contain little more than a few liturgical books and lives of saints. By the end of the sixteenth century libraries in the smaller monasteries began to be neglected, chiefly from lack of funds. By the end of the eighteenth century, with indifference and even hostility added to the poverty, these small libraries had virtually disap-

[1] See above, pp. 220–2.

peared. In such that remained the books were undusted and unread, if they had not been lost or sold. With few exceptions the average monk had forgotten how to read. Eighteenth-century travellers remarked that often when a monk seemed to be reading out the Gospels he was merely repeating what he had learnt by heart. The monks went through their liturgical rites devoutly enough but mechanically. Otherwise they tilled their fields and orchards or felled their timber like co-operative farmers. Their establishments could hardly give a spiritual direction to the neighbourhood.[1]

The greater monasteries preserved their cultural life for longer. The establishments in the Constantinopolitan suburbs were still centres for study.[2] The great Pontic monasteries of Sumela,

[1] J. Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant, fait par ordre du roi*, I, p. 98, says that the Greek clergy cannot really read the service-books and do not understand what they are repeating, and, p. 114, that they are no longer capable of preaching sermons. Even the sympathetic Ricaut had complained that English mechanics were 'more learned and knowing than the Doctors and Clergy of Greece' (*The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, Anno Christi 1678*, preface, p. 28). J. Spon, *Voyages d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant*, II, pp. 200–2, had been impressed by the library of the Archbishop of Athens, Anthimos III, in 1674. But Athens was exceptional in its cultural traditions. English travellers of the early nineteenth century, such as W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, published in 1838 but based on travels made in the early years of the century, H. Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Islands, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, etc., during the years 1812 and 1813*, and Dr Hunt, *Mount Athos: An Account of the Monastic Institutions and Libraries*, published in 1818 in R. Walpole, *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey* (2nd edition), all continually accuse Greek monks of utter ignorance and worthlessness, as do later R. Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant* (1848), and Edward Lear, who refers to the monks of Athos as 'these muttering, miserable, mutton-hating, man-avoiding, Misogynic, morose and merriment-marring, monotoning, many-mule-making, mocking, mournful, minced fish and marmalade-masticating Monx' (letter to C. Fortescue (1856), quoted in A. Davidson, *Life of Edward Lear* (Penguin edition), p. 98). But it must be remembered that most of these travellers equated learning with Classical learning and would have been annoyed had the monks been sufficiently sophisticated to prevent their purloining of Classical manuscripts. On the other hand Dean Waddington in his book on *The Present Condition of the Greek or Oriental Church*, based on his travels to Greece in 1823–4, wrote with some respect of the monasteries (pp. 79–94), though he was shocked by the ignorance of the parish priests (p. 108).

[2] Libraries of monasteries in the outskirts of Constantinople now transferred to the Phanar contain a number of Classical works copied after the conquest,

Vazelon and Piristira maintained and added to their libraries, which were still well tended in the nineteenth century.[1] The Meteora monasteries in Thessaly, which had suffered terribly at the time of the Turkish conquest, were restored in the late sixteenth century by a Wallachian prince, who provided them with collections of books.[2] In the seventeenth century many other monasteries were rebuilt or founded by rich patrons and were attached to a rich institution, such as the Jerusalem Patriarchate or a monastery of princely foundation in the Principalities, which would be responsible for maintaining its standards.[3] But by the eighteenth century the foundation of monasteries was no longer fashionable.

The decline was particularly noticeable on Mount Athos. The disgruntled Catholic traveller, Pierre Belon, who disliked the Greeks, declared that in the sixteenth century it was impossible to find more than three or four literate monks in any of the monasteries there.[4] This is hard to believe when we remember that the Athonite monasteries co-operated in 1578 to buy Michael Cantacuzenus's splendid library. In 1602 Margunios bequeathed nine cases of books to the monastery of Iviron on Athos; and in 1684 the Patriarch Dionysius IV bequeathed his many books to the same monastery. Catalogues show that throughout the seventeenth century the other greater Athonite houses were also adding to their libraries.[5] Even in the eighteenth century Patriarchs such as

especially the Kamariotissa, which had MSS of Demosthenes, Homer, Theocritus and Lucian, copied in the sixteenth century and later. See the draft catalogue in the Phanar library. The catalogue of the monastery of Agia Triada on Halki has a note remarking that many of the best MSS were taken away by Sir Thomas Roe in 1628 and are now at Oxford. See above, p. 279.

[1] See F. and E. Cumont, *Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la Petite Arménie*, pp. 371–2.

[2] See D. M. Nicol, *Meteora, the Rock Monasteries of Thessaly*, pp. 169–70; N. Jorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, pp. 130, 142–3.

[3] Jorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, pp. 142, 158–60.

[4] P. Belon, *Les Observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Indie, Arabie et autres pays estranges* (1583 edition), p. 83.

[5] For Michael Cantacuzenus's books, see above, p. 197; for a full account of Margunius's bequests see D. J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West*, pp. 181–90; for Dionysius IV see Gedeon, Πατριαρχικοὶ Πίνακες, p. 593. His will is dated 1678.

Jeremias III or Serapheim II, men used to educated surroundings, were happy to retire there.[1] But Cyril V's brave attempt to found an Athonite academy showed by its failure that the monks refused to accept the intellectualism of the Phanar.[2] There was a growing lack of sympathy between the monasteries even on Athos and the Greeks of Constantinople. With the monastic atmosphere growing hostile to culture, Athos lost its appeal to men of education. The monasteries received cruder and less worthy recruits. By the end of the eighteenth century the rate of literacy on the Holy Mountain had seriously declined; and by the early nineteenth century the monks had sunk into the state of boorish ignorance so brilliantly and maliciously described by travellers such as Robert Curzon.[3]

These travellers were not guiltless of exaggeration. They remarked on the exploitation by the clergy, but seldom mentioned that there were also kindly and saintly priests. They noticed how narrow were the interests of the monks and how neglected were most of their libraries. But there were still houses on Athos, such as the Grand Lavra, where the treasures of the past were still tended with care, as they were, too, in monasteries such as Sumela or Saint John on Patmos. Moreover, this distressing anti-Western anti-intellectualism was in its way an expression of integrity. The Republic of the Holy Mountain was trying to avoid the infection of worldly pride and ambition which seemed to be pervading Greek society. It was trying to keep alive the true Orthodox tradition of concentration on the eternal verities unharmed by man-made philosophies and scientific theories. The monks had been made to listen to Vulgaris's lectures on German philosophy in the days of the Athonite academy; and they had been shocked. Yet this was what they were now offered when they sought for spiritual guidance from Constantinople. Their resentment was deplorable and uncreative; but it represented a positive striving to preserve the essence of the Faith.

[1] Gedeon, *op. cit.* pp. 631–2, 650. [2] See above, p. 220.
[3] Curzon, *op. cit.* pp. 279–311, 357–449.

Yet even on Athos nationalism reared its head. The Greek monasteries began to show hostility to the Serbian and Bulgarian houses and soon, also, to the Roumanian and the Russian; and the hostility was to grow in the nineteenth century.[1]

Nationalism on Mount Athos was self-contained, an expression of rivalry between Christian peoples. Outside of the Mountain it was directed against the infidel oppressor. The Greek in the provinces could not understand the subtle politics of the Patriarchate. He could not appreciate the delicacy that the Patriarch and his advisers had to show in their dealings with the Sublime Porte. He looked to his village priest or to the local abbot or the bishop to protect him against the Turkish governmental authorities, and he gave his support to anyone who would champion him against the government. In the great days of the Ottoman Empire, when the administration had been efficient and on the whole just, Greek nationalism could be kept underground. But by the eighteenth century the administrative machinery was beginning to run down. Provincial Turkish governors began to revolt against the Sultan and could usually count on the support of the local Greeks. A growing number of outlaws took to the mountains. In Slav districts they were known by the Turkish name of *haidouks*; in Greece they were called the Klephts. They lived by banditry, directed mainly against the Turkish landowners; but they were quite ready to rob Christian merchants or travellers of any nationality. They could count on the support of the local Christian villagers, to whom they were latter-day Robin Hoods; they could almost always find refuge from the Turkish police in some local monastery.[2]

At the same time a spirit of revolt was growing in more educated Greek circles. There was a closer contact between Ottoman Europe and the rest of the continent. The Ionian Islands had

[1] See F. W. Hasluck, *Athos and its Monasteries*, pp. 55–60.
[2] For the Klephts see A. Phrantzis, Ἐπιτομὴ τῆς Ἱστορίας τῆς ἀναγεννηθείσης Ἑλλάδος, I, pp. 40ff. See also Papadopoullos, *Studies and Documents relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination*, *Bibliotheca Graeca Aevi Posterioris*, I, pp. 147–9.

remained under Venetian rule; and, after the close of the last war between Venice and the Turks early in the eighteenth century, it was easy to go to and fro between the islands and the mainland. The French conquest of Venice at the end of the century brought French revolutionary ideas within the reach of the Greeks. The spreading interest in Greek antiquities brought travellers of all nationalities to Greece, and the French Revolutionary wars, which made travel in Italy difficult for the British, resulted in numbers of them making their way to Athens. Meanwhile the Greeks in the Principalities were in constant touch with Austria and Russia. On the whole the Greeks were no more illiterate than any other European people of the time. In the villages only the priest, the schoolmaster and one or two farmers could read; but in the towns, small as well as large, literacy was general. Visitors to modern Greece always remark upon the inordinate passion of the Greeks for reading newspapers. In the late eighteenth century hand-bills and tracts took their place. It was an age all over Europe of secret societies; in particular it saw the spread of Freemasonry. Freemasonry appealed to the Greeks of the time. Though there does not seem to have been any Lodge within the Ottoman Empire, a number of Phanariots and of other Greeks became Masons in the course of journeys to the West; and in 1811 a lodge was founded at Corfu. The ideas of eighteenth-century Freemasonry were hostile to the old-established Churches. There were even a few Greek ecclesiastics among the Masons; but the effect of the movement was to weaken the influence of the Orthodox Church.[1]

The prophet of the new dispensation amongst the Greeks was a remarkable man called Adamantios Korais. He was born at Smyrna in 1748 and went as a young man to Paris, which he made his headquarters for the rest of his life. There he made contact with the French *Encyclopédistes* and their successors. From them he learnt a dislike for clericalism and for tradition. From reading

[1] For Freemasonry in Greece see N. Botzaris, *Visions balkaniques dans la préparation de la révolution grecque*, pp. 71–81; E. G. Protopsaltis, 'Η Φιλική 'Εταιρεία, pp. 19–20.

Gibbon he came to believe that Christianity had ushered in a dark age for European civilization. His friend Karl Schlegel taught him to identify nationality with language. 'Language is the nation,' he wrote; 'for when one says *la langue de France* one means the French nation.' The Greeks of his time were therefore of the same race as the ancient Greeks. But to make the identification closer he sought to reform the language so that it would be nearer to the Classical forms. He was, in fact, primarily responsible for the *katharevousa*, that artificial language which has had even to this day a disastrous effect in inhibiting the development of modern Greek literature. For the Byzantine past of Greece and for the Orthodox Church he had no use at all. His writings were eagerly read by the young intellectuals at the Phanar and by men of education all over Greece.[1] Almost more influential was the poet Rhigas, who was born, probably in 1757, at Velestino in Thessaly and whose real name was probably Antonios Kyriazis. Rhigas's stirring songs continually reminded the Greeks of their glorious past and urged them to rise against the Turks; and he himself developed schemes for liberating the whole of Turkey-in-Europe, working out a constitution which should safeguard the interests of the Balkan Slavs and Vlachs and Albanians, and founding a secret society for the furtherance of his aims. Unfortunately he and some fellow-conspirators were arrested by the Austrian police at Trieste in 1798 and handed over to the Turks, who put him to death.[2]

The Church authorities were well aware of these schemes, which enjoyed the sympathy of many of the younger Phanariots; and they were aware that the liveliest minds among the Greeks were thus turning away from religion, and that many even of the clergy were highly critical of the hierarchy. There appeared in Vienna in 1791 a book in Greek entitled *The New Geography*. It had been written by two Greek monks, Demetrius Philippides and George

[1] The basic work on Korais is D. Thereianos, *Adamantios Koraës* (3 vols.). See P. Sherrard, *The Greek East and the Latin West*, pp. 179–86.

[2] See A. Daskalakis, *L'Œuvres de Rhigas Velestinlis, passim;* S. Lampros, 'Αποκάλυψις περὶ τοῦ [illegible]αρτυρίου τοῦ 'Ρήγα; K. Amantos, 'Ανέκδοτα ἔγγραφα περὶ 'Ρήγα Βελεστ[illegible]

Constantas, who had smuggled the manuscript out of the Ottoman Empire. It contained a violent diatribe against the Church, accusing the upper ranks of venality and servility to the Turks and the lower ranks of obscurantist ignorance.[1] An equally bitter work, published anonymously in Italy in 1806, called *The Hellenic Nomarchy or a Word about Freedom*, repeated the charges against the whole ecclesiastical organization.

Such attacks convinced many members of the Patriarchal court that maybe Turkish rule was more conducive to a true religious life than was this new spirit of revolt. In 1798 there was published at Constantinople a work called *The Paternal Exhortation*, the author's name being given as Anthimus, Patriarch of Jerusalem. Anthimus was a sick man at the time and not expected to survive; but when he surprised his doctors by making a recovery he indignantly repudiated the authorship. The true identity of the author is unknown, but there is reason to believe that he was the Patriarch Gregory V, then entering on his first spell at the Patriarchate. Gregory, or whoever the author was, clearly knew that the book would arouse angry criticism and hoped that the critics would be checked by the saintly reputation of the moribund Anthimus. *The Paternal Exhortation* opens by thanking God for the establishment of the Ottoman Empire, at a time when Byzantium had begun to slip into heresy. The victory of the Turks and the tolerance that they showed to their Christian subjects were the means for preserving Orthodoxy. Good Christians should therefore be content to remain under Turkish rule. Even the Ottoman restriction on the building of churches, which the author realized might be hard to explain as beneficial, is excused by the remark that Christians should not indulge in the vainglorious pastime of erecting fine buildings; for the true Church is not made by hands, and there will be splendour enough in Heaven. After denouncing the illusory attractions of political freedom, 'an

[1] D. Philippides and G. Constantas, Γεωγραφία Νεωτερική, 2 vols., *passim* (for extracts see Papadopoullos, *op. cit.* pp. 136–7). Ἑλληνική Νομαρχία ἤτοι Λόγος περὶ Ἐλευθερίας (ed. Tomadakis), *passim*.

enticement of the Devil and a murderous poison destined to push the people into disorder and destruction', the author ends with a poem bidding the faithful to pay respect to the Sultan, whom God had set in authority over them.[1]

Tactless though it was, the *Paternal Exhortation* was not theologically unsound. It was not the business of the Church to indulge in subversive nationalistic activities. Christ Himself had distinguished between the things which are Caesar's and the things which are God's. Paul had ordered Christians to obey the king, even though the king was the pagan Roman Emperor. The early Church had only defied authority when its freedom of worship was forbidden or its members were required to follow practices that were against a Christian conscience. The Turks had made no such demands. Good churchmen should surely be good citizens, not revolutionary plotters. From the practical point of view also the *Exhortation* was not unjustified. The Turkish Empire might be in decadence; but it had succeeded so far in crushing every revolt against its authority. The Cyprus rebellion of 1764 had fizzled out. The Morean revolt which Catherine II of Russia had encouraged in 1770 had ended in disaster and the rebels sternly punished. The treason of the Wallachian and Moldavian Princes in 1806 was to be ruthlessly crushed. The revolt of the Serbs which broke out under Karageorge in 1805 was to drag on for many years before it achieved success. Another unsuccessful rising could bring interminable misery to the Christians. It was, perhaps, unnecessary for the author of the *Paternal Exhortation* to show so much deference to the Sultan; but his views were not unreasonable for a devout prelate who believed that the Church should be kept free

[1] The full title of the pamphlet is Διδασκαλία Πατρική. Συντεθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ Μακαριωτάτου Πατριάρχου τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως Ἱερουσαλὴμ κὶρ Ἀνθίμου εἰς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Χριστιανῶν νῦν πρῶτον τυπωθεῖσα δι' ἰδίας δαπάνης τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου, printed in Constantinople in 1798. See also D. Zakythinos, Ἡ Τουρκοκρατία, p. 82, for a version of the text. S. Macraïos, Ὑπόμνημα Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱστορίας, in Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, p. 394, accuses Gregory, whom he did not li' ', of having taken advantage of Anthimus's moribund state to issue the pamp let in his name.

from politics and who from the terms of his own appointment had solemnly sworn to guarantee the loyalty of his flock to the Sultan's government, and who for humanity's sake wished it not to run the risk of self-destruction.

Nevertheless it was a document which found little sympathy with its Greek readers. Korais hastened to reply in a tract called the *Fraternal Exhortation*, in which he declared that the *Paternal Exhortation* in no way represented the feeling of the Greek people but was the ridiculous raving of a hierarch 'who is either a fool or has been transformed from a shepherd into a wolf'.[1] It also embarrassed the Phanariots. The older amongst them were aware of the dangers of a premature revolt. Constantine Ypsilanti, who was to be many times Prince of Moldavia and who had known Rhigas since their young days together, pursued an aim like that of Rhigas, a reformed Balkan Empire, but it was to include the Turks and to be inaugurated under the Sultan's suzerainty. Later, so he hoped, the Greeks would take over the government from Turkish hands. His opinion carried weight amongst the older Phanariots, though many of them felt that he was moving a little too fast for safety. Time, they thought, was on their side. The Ottoman Empire would soon collapse from its own weakness. The reforms which Sultan Selim III bravely attempted to introduce to bring it up to date were over-hastily conceived and unwisely executed. Though the power of the Janissaries was destroyed, instead there was chaos in the army; and a number of local pashas, led by Ali Pasha at Janina and Osman Pasvanoglu at Vidin, were in open revolt. Selim himself was deposed in 1807 and murdered the following year. Soon, the older Phanariots hoped, there would be such disorder in the central administration that even the Turks would be content to let the Greeks take over the government. This was a policy which the Patriarchate could

[1] A. Korais, Ἀδελφικὴ Διδασκαλία πρὸς τοὺς εὑρισκομένους κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ὀθωμανικὴν ἐπικράτειαν Γραικούς, εἰς ἀντίῤῥησιν κατὰ τῆς Ψευδωνύμου ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ μακαριωτάτου πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκδοθείσης ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει πατρικῆς Διδασκαλίας.

bless; for it avoided sedition. But it did not satisfy the younger Phanariots. They were impatient. The time would soon be ripe. They pinned their faith on the Russian sovereign, the enlightened Tsar Alexander I.[1]

But, in spite of the enthusiasm of its younger members, the Phanar was not popular amongst the Greeks as a whole. To men like Korais it seemed to be moving still in the corrupt and shameful atmosphere of Byzantium. Its wealth roused jealousy, which its arrogance did not allay. The financial exactions of the Phanariots in the Principalities had been noticed with disapproval by every Western traveller; but their severest critics were the Greeks themselves. There is a book, an *Essai sur les Fanariotes*, written in about 1810 in French by a Greek called Mark Zallonis, but not actually published till 1824, at Marseilles, which is almost hysterical in its denunciation but tells some bitter truths about the effect of Phanariot domination.[2]

Zallonis tended to confuse the Phanariots with the Patriarchate. Pious Greeks were right to condemn the effects of the Phanariot

[1] Botzaris, *op. cit.* pp. 83–100. Dallaway, who knew Constantine Ypsilanti, thought him wise and estimable (*op. cit.* p. 103). The historian, A. C. Hypsilantis, Τὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωσιν (*1457–1789*), writing in 1789, believed that the Greeks had forfeited their chances of liberty owing to their evil ways and only the Russians could save them (*op. cit.* p. 534).

[2] An English translation of the *Essai* is published in C. Swan, *Voyage up the Mediterranean* (1826). There is also a Greek translation by someone who gives his name as 'N. Ηδαιεφαβ' (*sic*, obviously a code of some description) entitled Σύγγραμμα τῶν ἀπὸ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν πριγκίπων τῆς Βγαχομολδαβίας, τῶν λεγομένων Φαναριωτῶν, παρὰ τοῦ Μάρκου Φιλίππου Ζαλλωνη... (Paris, 1831). It is likely that the translator was Korais. Zallonis often makes false accusations, as when he accuses the Phanariots for the Orthodox Church's hostility to Rome (pp. 138ff. of French edition). The English traveller Thornton is almost as scathing about Phanariot rule (T. Thornton, *The Present State of Turkey*, II, pp. 297–380, published in 1809); but Thornton disliked all Greeks. W. Wilkinson, *An Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, passim*, is fairer-minded and gives the Phanariots credit for their efforts to improve education. Dr Adam Neale, passing through Moldavia in 1805, thought well of the government of Alexander Mouroussi, but regarded him as an exception (*Travels through some parts of Germany, Poland, Moldavia and Turkey*, p. 164).

control of the Church. It undoubtedly suited the Phanariots that the Church should be in debt and therefore dependent upon their aid. To some extent, therefore, they encouraged and perpetuated its corruption. But they did not control it absolutely, for they themselves were divided. Their older and more conservative members agreed with the Patriarch in wishing to discountenance open rebellion. A test came early in the nineteenth century when Sultan Selim made a serious effort to suppress brigandage. The Klephts in Greece, thanks to the spirit of revolt and to the hymns of Rhigas, had become popular heroes. It was a patriotic duty for a Greek to give them shelter against the police; and the village priest and the monks of the country monasteries were eager to help them. But they were a menace to orderly rule; and when the Sultan demanded of the Patriarch that he should issue a stern decree threatening with excommunication any priest or monk who would not aid the authorities in their suppression, the Patriarch could not well refuse. The decree was published in the Peloponnese; and, though most of the higher clergy sullenly obeyed it, the villages and the poorer monasteries were outraged; and even at the Phanar there was open disapproval. It became clear that when the moment for revolt arrived the Patriarch would not be at its head.[1]

In spite of the Patriarch the plots continued. At the end of the eighteenth century there were several secret societies in existence, with names such as the *Athena*, which hoped to liberate Greece with French help and which counted Korais among its members, or the *Phoenix*, which pinned its hopes on Russia.[2] In 1814 three Greek merchants at Odessa in Russia, Nicholas Skouphas, Emmanuel Xanthos and Athanasius Tsakalof, the first a member of the *Phoenix* and the latter two freemasons, founded a society which they called the *Hetaireia ton Philikon*, the Society of Friends.

[1] A. Phrantzis, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* Phrantzis, a Peloponnesian writing about events that took place within his lifetime, and himself a member of the Hetaireia, is a reliable source. When Leake visited the Great Meteoron in 1810, the abbot and two of his monks were away in prison at Jannina for having sheltered some Klephts, a little unwillingly, from Ali Pasha's police (Leake, *op. cit.* IV, p. 542).

[2] Botzaris, *op. cit.* pp. 71–81; Protopsaltis, *op. cit.* pp. 15–18.

Thanks chiefly to the energy of Skouphas, who unfortunately died in 1817, it soon superseded all the previous societies and became the rallying point of rebellion. Skouphas was determined to include in the society patriots of every description; and soon it had amongst its members Phanariots such as Prince Constantine Ypsilanti and his hot-headed sons, Alexander and Nicholas, all now living in exile in Russia, and members of the Mavrocordato and Caradja families, or high ecclesiastics such as Ignatius, Metropolitan of Arta and later of Wallachia, and Germanus, Metropolitan of Patras, intellectuals such as Anthimus Ghazis, and brigand leaders such as the *armatolos* George Olympios and Kolokotronis. It was organized partly on masonic lines and partly on what the founders believed to have been the early Christian organization. It had four grades. The lowest was that of Blood-brothers, which was confined to illiterates. Next were the Recommended, who swore an oath to obey their superiors but were not permitted to know more than the general patriotic aims of the society and were kept in ignorance of the names of their superiors and were supposed not even to know of the existence of the Blood-brothers. Above them were the Priests, who could initiate Blood-brothers and Recommendeds and who, after solemn oaths, were allowed to know the detailed aims of the society. Above them again were the Pastors, who supervised the Priests and saw that they only initiated suitable candidates; a suitable Recommended could become a Pastor without passing through the grade of Priest. From the Pastors were chosen the supreme authorities of the society, the *Arche*. The names of the members of the *Arche* were unknown except to each other, and their meetings were held in absolute secrecy. This was thought necessary not only for security against external powers but also for the prestige of the society. Had the names of its directors been known, there might have been opposition to several of them, particularly among such a faction-loving people as the Greeks; whereas the mystery surrounding the *Arche* enabled hints to be dropped that it included such mighty figures as the Tsar himself. All grades had to swear unconditional

obedience to the *Arche*, which itself operated through twelve Apostles, whose business it was to win recruits and to organize branches in different provinces and countries. They were appointed just before the death of Skouphas; and their names are known. It was first decided to fix the headquarters of the society on Mount Pelion, but later, after the initiation of the Maniot chieftain, Peter Mavromichalis, it was moved to the Mani, in the south-east of the Peloponnese, a district into which the Turks had never ventured to penetrate.[1]

There were however two distinguished Greeks who refused to join the Society. One was the ex-Patriarch Gregory V. He had been deposed for the second time in 1808, and was living on Mount Athos, where the Apostle John Pharmakis visited him. Gregory pointed out that it was impossible for him to swear an oath of unconditional obedience to the unknown leaders of a secret society and that anyhow he was bound by oath to respect the authority of the Sultan. The reigning Patriarch, Cyril VI, was not approached. Still more disappointing was the refusal of the Tsar's foreign minister, John Capodistrias, to countenance the Hetaireia.[2]

John Antony, Count Capodistrias, had been born in Corfu in 1776, and as a young man had worked for the Ionian government there, before going to Russia at the time of the second French occupation of the Ionian Islands in 1807. He was given a post in the Russian diplomatic service and was attached to the Russian Embassy at Vienna in 1811, and next year was one of the Russian delegates at the treaty negotiations at Bucharest. His remarkable abilities impressed Tsar Alexander, who in 1815 nominated him Secretary of State and Assistant Foreign Minister. In his youth

[1] Botzaris, *op. cit.* pp. 83–100; E. G. Protopsalti, Ἡ Φιλικὴ Ἑταιρεία, pp. 21 ff. A good contemporary account of the Society is given by Dean Waddington in his *Visit to Greece, 1823–4*, pp. xvi–xxx. Protopsalti, *op. cit.* pp. 245–55, reproduces the constitution and oaths of the Society.

[2] J. Philemon, Δοκίμιον Ἱστορικὸν περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως, I, pp. 157–8: Botzaris, *op. cit.* pp. 95–6: T. Kandiloros, Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἐθνομάρτυρα Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ε', pp. 123–34.

Capodistrias had made contact with many of the Greek revolutionary thinkers, and he was well known to be a Greek patriot. In the past many Greeks had looked to France to deliver them from the Turks; but after Napoleon's collapse the whole Greek world turned to Russia, and Capodistrias's accession to power gave them confidence. The Russian sovereign was the great patron of Orthodoxy. The Greeks forgot how little they had gained from Catherine the Great, the imperialistic German free-thinker, who had incited them to revolt in 1770 and then had abandoned them. But at the Treaty of Kučuk Kainarci in 1774 Russia had acquired the right to intervene in Turkish internal affairs in the interest of the Orthodox. Catherine's son, the madman Paul, was clearly unwilling to help the Greek cause; but when Alexander I succeeded his murdered father in 1801 hopes rose. Alexander was known to have liberal views and mystical Orthodox sympathies. Belief in his aid had encouraged the Princes of Moldavia and Wallachia to plot against the Sultan in 1806; and, when they were deposed by the Sultan, the Tsar cited his rights under the Treaty of Kučuk Kainarci and declared war on Turkey. The only outcome of the war had been the annexation by Russia of the Moldavian province of Bessarabia. But the Greeks were not discouraged. Now, with a Greek as the Tsar's Secretary of State, the time had surely come for the War of Liberation. The plotters refused to realize that Capodistrias was the Tsar's servant and a practical man of the world; and they did not know that the Tsar himself was becoming more reactionary and less willing to countenance rebellion against established authority.[1]

The planners of Greek independence could not count on the open support of the Patriarchate. They should have realized that they also could not count on the support of Russia. And the nationalist ecclesiastical policy of the Church during the last century deprived them of the friendship of the other peoples of the Balkans. The leaders of the Hetaireia were aware of this. They made

[1] There is as yet no good life of Capodistrias. For his early career and his relation to the Society, see Botzaris, *op. cit.* pp. 75, 77, 86–7, 97–100.

earnest attempts to enrol Serbian, Bulgarian and Roumanian members. When Karageorge revolted against the Turks in Serbia Greek armatoles and klephts came to join him. Even the Phanariot princes had offered support; but they were rebuffed. 'The Greek Princes of the Phanar', Karageorge wrote, 'can never make common cause with people who do not wish to be treated like animals.' Karageorge's revolt was put down by the Turks in 1813. Two years later the Serbs revolted again, under Miloš Obrenovité, a far subtler diplomat, who secured Austrian support and eventually induced the Sultan to accept him as a reliable vassal-prince. Miloš had no contact with the Greeks. The Hetaireia therefore pinned its faith on Karageorge, who was persuaded to become a member in 1817. As Karageorge was greatly admired by the Bulgarians it was hoped that numbers of them would now join the movement. Karageorge was then sent back to Serbia. But the Serbs, who were satisfied with Miloš's achievements, offered him no support; and Miloš regarded him as a rival to be eliminated. He was assassinated in June 1817. With his death any hope of interesting the Serbs in the coming Greek rebellion faded out; and there was no one capable of rallying the Bulgars to the cause. Karageorge alone could have given the Hetaireia the air of not being exclusively Greek.[1]

The Hetaireia had higher hopes of the Roumanians. There a peasant leader, Tudor Vladimirescu, who had led a band to help the Serbs, was defying the Turkish police in the Carpathian mountains and had gathered together a considerable company. He was in close touch with two leading hetairists, George Olympius and Phokianos Savvas, and he himself joined the society, promising to co-ordinate his movements with the Greeks'. But he was an unreliable ally; for he was bitterly opposed to the Phanariot princes, who, he considered, had brought ruin to his country.[2]

[1] Botzaris, *op. cit.* pp. 133–42.

[2] See N. Jorga, *Izvoarele contemporane asupra mişcării lui Tudor Vladimirescu*, introduction, *passim:* Botzaris, *op. cit.* pp. 143 ff.

By the end of 1820 everything seemed to be ready. Ali Pasha of Janina was in open revolt against the Sultan; and had promised help to the Greeks; and, though Osman Pasvanoglu was dead, his pashalik of Vidin was in disorder, tying up Turkish troops south of the Danube. The *Arche* of the *Hetaereia* had a few months previously elected a Captain-General, choosing a young Phanariot Alexander Ypsilanti, son of the ex-Prince Constantine of Moldavia. It is interesting to note that the plotters considered that only a Phanariot had sufficient experience and prestige for the post. Alexander Ypsilanti was born in 1792 and spent his youth in Russia. He had won a reputation for gallantry and military skill when serving in the Russian army and had lost an arm at the battle of Kulm, fighting against the French. He was known to be an intimate friend of the Tsar and the Tsaritsa and of Capodistrias. He made it his first task to improve the efficiency of the Society and summoned the one and only plenary meeting of the *Arche*, which was held at Ismail in southern Russia in October 1820. The original plan had been to start the revolt in the Peloponnese, where there would be a secure base in the Mani and where the sympathy of the inhabitants was assured. Alexander now changed his mind. It would be better to start the main campaign in Moldavia. By the Treaty of Bucharest the Turks had undertaken not to send troops into the Principalities without Russian consent. Vladimirescu would distract what Turkish militia was there already; and a successful army sweeping through Wallachia and across the Danube was the only thing that might induce the Bulgarians and the Serbians to join in. Meanwhile a subsidiary rising in the Peloponnese, which Alexander's brother Demetrius was sent to organize, would further embarrass the Turks.[1]

The invasion of Moldavia was timed to begin on 24 November (O.S.) 1820. Alexander had already gathered together a small army of Greeks and Christian Albanians on the Russian side of the frontier. Almost at the last moment Capodistrias counselled delay. The Austrian secret police had discovered the plans and had sent

[1] Protopsaltis, *op. cit.* pp. 70–84, with documents.

to warn the Sultan; and the Tsar was nervous of international reactions. But, in January 1821, Vladimirescu, encouraged by George Olympius, against the advice of Phokianos Savvas, began to attack Turkish police posts and was scornful of Ypsilanti's hesitation. About the same time the Prince of Wallachia, Alexander Soutzo, died, poisoned it was rumoured by the Hetaireia, of which he was known to disapprove. Demetrius Ypsilanti reported from the Peloponnese that everyone there was impatient of further delays. Alexander Ypsilanti decided that the time had come to act. He sought an audience of the Tsar before leaving St Petersburg, but it was refused. The Tsaritsa, however, sent him her blessing; and he was assured that the Tsar would personally protect his wife. On 22 February (O.S.) Alexander and his little band crossed over the river Pruth into Moldavia.

In his desire to prevent a leakage of news Alexander had not warned his fellow-plotters. When news of his advance reached the Peloponnese, his brother Demetrius hesitated, fearing that it might be a false rumour. But the people would not wait. They found a leader in Germanus, Metropolitan of Patras, who, in defiance of the Patriarchate and of Orthodox tradition, raised the standard of revolt at the monastery of Agia Lavra, near Kalavryta, on 25 March. The Mani had already risen. The islands of Spetsai and Psara and a little later Hydra rose in early April. By the end of April all central and southern Greece was up in arms.

But it was now too late for Alexander Ypsilanti. He had marched unopposed on Bucharest. But there was no news of any rising among the Bulgarians or the Serbs; and when he reached Bucharest he found that Tudor Vladimirescu and his troops were there before him; and they refused to let him into the city. 'I am not prepared to shed Roumanian blood for Greeks,' said Vladimirescu. There were skirmishes between the two forces. Then came news that the Tsar had repudiated the whole rebellion at the Congress of Laibach, and with his permission a huge Turkish army was approaching the Danube, ready to invade the Principalities. Ypsilanti retired north-east, towards the Russian frontier.

Vladimirescu, after lingering for a few days in Bucharest trying to make terms with the Turkish commander, moved back on 15 May into the Carpathians. But he had lost control over his own followers. They allowed George Olympius to take him prisoner and to put him to death, on the evening of 26 May, for his treason to the cause. Phokianos Savvas and a garrison of Albanians held Bucharest for a week, then also retired into the mountains. The Turks entered Bucharest before the end of May, then moved in pursuit of Ypsilanti. On 7 June (O.S.) they routed his army at a battle at Dragasani. His best troops perished. He himself fled over the Austrian frontier into Bukovina, where by Metternich's orders he was arrested. He spent the remainder of his life in an Austrian prison. The remnant of his army was rallied by George Cantacuzenus, who led them back towards the Russian frontier. But the frontier was closed to them. The Turks caught up with them at Sculeni on the Pruth and massacred them there, on 17 June, in sight of Russian territory. Savvas surrendered to the Turks in August and was put to death by them. George Olympius held out till September in the monastery of Secu. When all hope was lost he fired his powder stores and blew up the monastery with himself and all his garrison within it.[1]

The Sultan had already taken vengeance at Constantinople. The news that Alexander Ypsilanti had invaded Moldavia reached the city in early March. The Patriarch and his advisers were taken by surprise. Gregory V, who had been restored to the Patriarchal throne in December 1818, hastened to summon the synod. But, with the Turkish police all around them there was nothing that they could do but pray and keep silence. One or two bishops slipped quietly out of the city to join the rebels, together with a

[1] The best contemporary account of the revolt, as seen from Constantinople, is given in R. Walsh, *Residence at Constantinople during the Greek and Turkish Revolutions*, I, pp. 299–333. Events in the Principalities are given by two contemporary Roumanian writers, Ivan Darzeanu, *Cronica Revolutiei din 1821*, and Mihai Cioranu, *Revolutia lui Tudor Vladimirescu*, both published in Jorga, *Byzance après Byzance*. There is a vast literature dealing with the rising in Greece itself.

few of the Phanariot nobility. Had Gregory been able to bring himself to denounce the revolt he might have saved his life. As it was, Turkish police entered the Patriarchate and kept him a prisoner there till 22 April, when he was hanged at the gate of his palace. Two metropolitans and twelve bishops followed him to the gallows. Then it was the turn of the laymen. First the Grand Dragoman, Mouroussi, and his brother, then all the leading Phanariots. By the summer of 1821 the great houses in the Phanar were empty. A new Patriarch had been appointed, a harmless nonentity called Eugenius II. There was a new Grand Dragoman, unrelated to any of the Phanariot clans; and he was executed on the merest suspicion of treason a few months later; and the post was abolished. The powers of the Patriarchate were severely curtailed. The contract made between the Conquering Sultan and Gennadius had been broken by the Patriarchate. The Turks were no longer prepared to trust the Orthodox.[1]

With the holocaust at the Patriarchate the old dispensation was ended. The Orthodox Church had to reorganize itself to face up to a nationalistic world.

[1] The actions of the Holy Synod and the Patriarch and Gregory's death are graphically described by Walsh, *op. cit.* I, pp. 311 ff. He actually witnessed the Patriarch's hanging. See also Kandiloros, *op. cit.* pp. 214 ff.

CHAPTER 12

EPILOGUE

The Patriarchate of Constantinople never recovered from the events of 1821. The Patriarch still remained at the head of the Orthodox *milet*; but his administration was supervised more closely and his powers were steadily curtailed. He could still appear in 1908, at the opening of the Parliament which Sultan Abdul Hamit was forced to summon, together with his fellow-hierarchs, as a high official of the Ottoman Empire. But the triumphant Young Turks had no use for the *milet* system and planned its abolishment. The victory of the Allies in 1918 raised hopes in Patriarchal circles. But they hoped not that the previous power should be restored to the Patriarchate, but rather that Constantinople should be given to the Greeks, in consummation of the Great Idea. It was a vain hope, ruined by the genius of Kemal Ataturk. The Greek defeat in Asia Minor meant that the Turks would recover Constantinople; and Ataturk's conception of government had no place for the *milets*. Henceforward the Patriarch's authority was purely ecclesiastical. He became merely the chief bishop of a dwindling religious community in a secular state, whose rulers mistrusted and disliked him for his faith and for his race. His flock, restricted now within Turkey to Istanbul—the name Constantinople was forbidden—and its suburbs, could look to him for moral guidance and spiritual comfort. But that was all that he could give them. His condition in no way improved in the following decades.

Throughout the nineteenth century, after the close of the Greek War of Independence, the Greeks within the Ottoman Empire had been in an equivocal position. Right up to the end of the Balkan War in 1913 they were far more numerous than their fellow-Greeks living within the boundaries of the Kingdom of Greece, and on an average more wealthy. Some of them still took service under the Sultan. Turkish government finances were still

largely administered by Greeks. There were Greeks in the Turkish diplomatic service, such as Musurus Pasha, for many years Ottoman Ambassador to the Court of St James. Such men served their master loyally; but they were always conscious of the free Greek state, whose interests often ran counter to his. Under the easy-going rule of Sultans Abdul Medjit and Abdul Aziz, in the middle of the century, no great difficulties arose. But the Islamic reaction under Abdul Hamit led to renewed suspicion of the Greeks, which was enhanced by the Cretan question and the war, disastrous for Greece, of 1897. The Young Turks who dethroned Abdul Hamit shared his dislike of the Christians, which the Balkan War seemed to justify. Participation by Greeks in Turkish administrative affairs declined and eventually was ended.

For the Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople the position throughout the century was particularly difficult. He was a Greek but he was not a citizen of Greece. By the oath that he took on his appointment he undertook to be loyal to the Sultan, even though the Sultan might be at war with the Kingdom of Greece. His flock, envious of the freedom of the Greeks of the Kingdom, longed to be united with them; but he could not lawfully encourage their longing. The dilemma that faced Gregory V in the spring of 1821 was shared, though in a less acute form, by all his successors. He no longer had any authority over the Greeks of Greece. Hardly had the Kingdom been established before its Church insisted on complete autonomy under the Archbishop of Athens. It was to Athens, to the King of Greece, that the Greeks in Turkey now looked for the fulfilment of their aspirations. Had the Christian Empire been restored at Constantinople the Patriarch would indeed have lost much of his administrative powers; but he would have lost them gladly; for the Emperor would have been at hand for him to advise and admonish, and he would have enjoyed the protection of a Christian government. But as it was, he was left to administer, in a worsening atmosphere and with decrea ng authority, a community whose sentimental allegiance was gi en increasingly to a monarch who lived far away, with

whom he could not publicly associate himself, and whose kingdom was too small and poor to rescue him in times of peril. In the past the Russian Tsar had been cast by many of the Greeks in the role of saviour. That had had its advantages; for, though the Tsar continually let his Greek clients down, he was at least a powerful figure whom the Turks regarded with awe. Moreover he did not interfere with the Greeks' allegiance to their Patriarch. Whatever Russian ambitions might be, the Greeks had no intention of ending as Russian subjects. As it was, the emergence of an independent Greece lessened Russian sympathy. Greek politicians ingeniously played off Britain and France against Russia, and against each other; and Russia found it more profitable to give her patronage to Bulgaria: which was not to the liking of the Greeks.

We may regret that the Patriarchate was not inspired to alter its role. It was, after all, the Oecumenical Patriarchate. Was it not its duty to emerge as leader of the Orthodox Oecumene? The Greeks were not alone in achieving independence in the nineteenth century. The Serbs, the Roumanians, and, later, the Bulgarians all threw off the Ottoman yoke. All of them were alive with nationalistic ardour. Could not the Patriarchate have become a rallying force for the Orthodox world, and so have checked the centrifugal tendencies of Balkan nationalism?

The opportunity was lost. The Patriarchate remained Greek rather than oecumenical. We cannot blame the Patriarchs. They were Greeks, reared in the Hellenic tradition of which the Orthodox Church was guardian and from which it derived much of its strength. Moreover in the atmosphere of the nineteenth century internationalism was regarded as an instrument of tyranny and reaction. But the Patriarchate erred too far in the other direction. Its fierce and fruitless attempt to keep the Bulgarian Church in subjection to Greek hierarchs, in the 1860s, did it no good and only increased bitterness. On Mount Athos, whose communities owed much to the lavish, if not disinterested, generosity of the Russian Tsars, the feuds between the Greek and Slav monasteries were far from edifying. This record of nationalism was to endanger

the very existence of the Patriarchate in the dark days that followed 1922.

Now, owing to the very fact of these disasters, the Patriarchate can be oecumenical once more. In the country of his residence the Patriarch's congregation is small; for the Greeks have almost all, willingly or unwillingly, left Turkey for Greece, where they are under the ecclesiastical rule of the Archbishop of Athens. The Patriarch of Alexandria is responsible for the Orthodox in Africa, and the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem for those in Asia. But the large and widespread Orthodox congregations in Western Europe, in Australia and in the Americas depend canonically on the Patriarch of Constantinople; and this gives him now the authority to be the real spokesman for Orthodoxy and, if God wills, to play a leading part in bringing closer friendship between the great branches of the Church of Christ.

Nevertheless the importance of the Greek tradition in the survival of Orthodoxy during the Ottoman period must not be forgotten. Throughout all its vicissitudes the Church was determined to keep its flock conscious of the Greek heritage. The monks might be suspicious of pagan learning and of attempts to revive the study of philosophy; but everyone who called himself a Greek, whatever his actual racial origins might be, was proud to think that he was of the same nation as Homer and Plato and Aristotle, as well as of the Fathers of the Eastern Church. This faith in the Greek genius kept hope alive; and without hope few institutions can survive. The Greeks might be languishing by the waters of Babylon; but they still had their songs to sing. It was Orthodoxy that preserved Hellenism through the dark centuries; but without the moral force of Hellenism Orthodoxy itself might have withered.

Hellenism provided hope for this earth. But the true strength of the Orthodox lay in their conviction that so long as they remained loyal to the teaching of Christ they would find beyond this vale of tears real and eternal happiness. More than any other branch of the Christian Church the Orthodox have been mindful

of the injunction to render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's. This has enabled them to submit—too easily, critics have thought—to the secular authority of infidel or godless governments; but it has also enabled them to keep apart the things which are God's and to cling to them with integrity. It might have been more heroic to protest and to face martyrdom; but, if all the members of a Church are martyred, there will be no Church left on earth. As it was, there were martyrs during these centuries, who suffered in defence of their religious integrity. But it was not for men of religion to plunge into worldly politics. The Patriarch was, indeed, forced to assume a political role by becoming ethnarch of the Orthodox *milet*. But it was his duty, both as a religious leader and as an official of the Ottoman Empire, to discourage political activity in his flock; and this gave him a difficult role to play at the time of the movement towards Greek independence. The Patriarchate was blamed for not being in the forefront of the movement. But it was not in the Orthodox tradition that prelates should be warrior politicians. The great Fathers of the Church, such as Basil, would have been horrified by the gallant Peloponnesian bishops who raised the standard of revolt in 1821; nor would they have approved of the politically minded Cypriot ethnarchs of our own day.

The business of the Patriarch was to see that his Church endured. Liberty of worship was more important to him than secular liberty. On the ecclesiastical front he could play politics, to preserve his Church from being absorbed by the great and ambitious Church of Rome, and to seek allies from amongst the vigorous new Protestant Churches, and to ensure the loyalty of the daughter-Church in Russia. Yet even on that front the Orthodox remained on the defensive, seeking not to attack but to maintain what they believed to be their traditions and their rights. They were ready to listen to the overtures of the Protestants, but, except in the eccentric case of Cyril Lucaris and his school, they regarded the Protestants as bringing possible aid against Roman aggression, and also as sources of material assistance. The in-

tegrity of the true faith was not to be touched: though in fact the negotiations led to a desire to give to the articles of faith a precision alien to the old apophatic outlook. It was a temporary desire. In the main the Orthodox saw the truths of their faith as eternal. They were not going to alter them for any earthly advantage.

The history of the Orthodox Patriarchate during the long captivity of the Great Church is lacking in heroic bravado. Its leaders were men who found it wise to avoid publicity and outward splendour and grand gestures. If they often indulged in intrigue and often in corruption, such is the inevitable fate of second-class citizens under a government in which intrigue and corruption flourish. The grand achievement of the Patriarchate was that in spite of humiliation and poverty and disdain the Church endured and endures as a great spiritual force. The Candlestick had been darkened and obscured, as the Englishman Peter Heylyn, who disliked the Greeks, noted in the early seventeenth century, but God had not taken it away. The light still burns, and burns brighter. The Gates of Hell have not prevailed.

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PLATE I

TEMPLAR KNIGHTS FIGHTING THE SARACENS

A HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES

VOLUME II

THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

and the Frankish East

1100–1187

BY

STEVEN RUNCIMAN

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but, in spite of his prowess as a preacher, he had been involved in too many scandals to be respected as an ecclesiastic. It is doubtful if Baldwin much regretted his death. In his place he secured the election of a Picard priest, Gormond of Picquigny, of whose previous history nothing is known. It was a happy choice; for Gormond combined Arnulf's practical qualities with a saintly nature and was universally revered. This appointment, following on the recent death of Pope Paschal, restored good relations between Jerusalem and Rome.[1]

King Baldwin had barely established himself on the throne before he heard the ominous news of an alliance between Egypt and Damascus. The Fatimid vizier, al-Afdal, was anxious to punish Baldwin I's insolent invasion of Egypt; while Toghtekin of Damascus was alarmed by the growing power of the Franks. Baldwin hastily sent him an embassy; but confident of Egyptian help Toghtekin demanded the cession of all Frankish lands beyond Jordan. In the course of the summer a great Egyptian army assembled on the frontier and took up its position outside Ashdod; and Toghtekin was invited to take command of it. Baldwin summoned the militia of Antioch and Tripoli to reinforce the troops of Jerusalem, and marched down to meet them. For three months the armies faced each other, neither side daring to move; for everyone, in Fulcher of Chartres's words, liked better to live than to die. At last the soldiers on either side dispersed to their homes.[2]

Meanwhile, Joscelin's departure for Edessa was delayed. He was more urgently needed in Galilee than in the northern county, where, it seems, Queen Morphia remained, and where Waleran, Lord of Birejik, carried on the government.[3] As Prince of Galilee it was for Joscelin to defend the land against attacks from Damascus. In the autumn Baldwin joined him in a raid on Deraa

[1] Albert of Aix, *loc. cit.*; William of Tyre, XII, 6, p. 519.
[2] Fulcher of Chartres, III, ii, 1–3, pp. 617–19; William of Tyre, XII, 6, pp. 518–19; Ibn al-Athir, pp. 314–15.
[3] *Chron. Anon. Syr.* p. 86.

in the Hauran, the granary of Damascus. Toghtekin's son Buri went out to meet them and owing to his rashness was severely defeated. After this check Toghtekin turned his attention again to the north.[1]

In the spring of 1119 Joscelin heard that a rich Bedouin tribe was pasturing its flocks in Transjordan, by the Yarmuk. He set out with two leading Galilean barons, the brothers Godfrey and William of Bures, and about a hundred and twenty horsemen, to plunder it. The party divided to encircle the tribesmen. But things went wrong. The Bedouin chief was warned and Joscelin lost his way in the hills. Godfrey and William, riding up to attack the camp, were ambushed. Godfrey was killed, and most of his followers taken prisoner. Joscelin returned unhappily to Tiberias and sent to tell King Baldwin; who came up in force and frightened the Bedouin into returning the prisoners and paying an indemnity. They were then allowed to spend the summer in peace.[2]

When Baldwin was pausing at Tiberias on his return from this short campaign, messengers came to him from Antioch, begging him to hasten with his army northward, as fast as he could travel.

Ever since Roger of Antioch's victory at Tel-Danith, the unfortunate city of Aleppo had been powerless to prevent Frankish aggression. It had reluctantly placed itself beneath the protection of Ilghazi the Ortoqid; but Roger's capture of Biza'a in 1119 left it surrounded on three sides. The loss of Biza'a was more than Ilghazi could endure. Hitherto neither he nor his constant ally, Toghtekin of Damascus, had been prepared to risk their whole strength in a combat against the Franks; for they feared and disliked still more the Seldjuk Sultans of the East. But the Sultan Mohammed had died in April 1118; and his death had let loose the ambition of every governor and princeling throughout his empire. His youthful son and successor, Mahmud, tried pathetically to assert his authority, but eventually, in August 1119, he was obliged to hand over the supreme power to his uncle Sanjar, the King of Khorassan, and spent the rest of his short life in the

[1] Ibn al-Athir, pp. 315–16. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 325–6.

pleasures of the chase. Sanjar, the last of his house to rule over the whole eastern Seldjuk dominion, was vigorous enough; but his interests were in the East. He never concerned himself with Syria. Nor were his cousins of the Sultanate of Rum, distracted with quarrels amongst themselves and with the Danishmends and by wars with Byzantium, better able to intervene in Syrian affairs.[1] Ilghazi, the most tenacious of the local princes, at last had his opportunity. His wish was not so much to destroy the Frankish states as to secure Aleppo for himself, but the latter aim now involved the former.

During the spring of 1119 Ilghazi journeyed round his dominions collecting his Turcoman troops and arranging for contingents to come from the Kurds to the north and from the Arab tribes of the Syrian desert. As a matter of form he applied for assistance from the Sultan Mahmud, but received no answer. His ally, Toghtekin, agreed to come up from Damascus; and the Munqidhites of Shaizar promised to make a diversion to the south of Roger's territory.[2] At the end of May, the Ortoqid army, said to be forty thousand strong, was on the march. Roger received the news calmly; but the Patriarch Bernard urged him to appeal for help to King Baldwin and to Pons of Tripoli. From Tiberias Baldwin sent to say that he would come as quickly as possible and would bring the troops of Tripoli with him. In the meantime Roger should wait on the defensive. Baldwin then collected the army of Jerusalem, and fortified it with a portion of the True Cross, in the care of Evremar, Archbishop of Caesarea.[3]

While the Munqidhites made a raid on Apamea, Ilghazi sent Turcoman detachments south-west, to effect a junction with them and with the army coming up from Damascus. He himself with his main army raided the territory of Edessa but made no attempt against its fortress-capital. In mid-June he crossed the Euphrates

[1] Ibn al-Athir, pp. 318–23. See articles 'Sandjur' and 'Seldjuks', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.
[2] Ibn al-Qalanisi, pp. 157–7; Kemal ad-Din, pp. 615–16.
[3] Walter the Chancellor, II, 1, pp. 100–1.

at Balis and moved on to encamp himself at Qinnasrin, some fifteen miles south of Aleppo, to await Toghtekin. Roger was less patient. In spite of King Baldwin's message, in spite of the solemn warning of the Patriarch Bernard and in spite of all the previous experience of the Frankish princes, he decided to meet the enemy at once. On 20 June he led the whole army of Antioch, seven hundred horsemen and four thousand infantrymen, across the Iron Bridge, and encamped himself in front of the little fort of Tel-Aqibrin, at the eastern edge of the plain of Sarmeda, where the broken country afforded a good natural defence. Though his forces were far inferior to the enemy's, he hoped that he could wait here till Baldwin arrived.

Ilghazi, at Qinnasrin, was perfectly informed of Roger's movements. Spies disguised as merchants had inspected the Frankish camp and reported the numerical weakness of the Frankish army. Though Ilghazi wished to wait for Toghtekin's arrival, his Turcoman emirs urged him to take action. On 27 June part of his army moved to attack the Frankish castle of Athareb. Roger had time to rush some of his men there, under Robert of Vieux-Ponts; then, disquieted to find the enemy so close, when darkness fell he sent away all the treasure of the army to the castle of Artah on the road to Antioch.

Throughout the night Roger waited anxiously for news of the Moslems' movements, while his soldiers' rest was broken by a somnambulist who ran through the camp crying that disaster was upon them. At dawn on Saturday, 28 June, scouts brought word to the Prince that the camp was surrounded. A dry enervating *khamsin* was blowing up from the south. In the camp itself there was little food and water. Roger saw that he must break through the enemy ranks or perish. The Archbishop of Apamea was with the army, Peter, formerly of Albara, the first Frankish bishop in the East. He summoned the soldiers together and preached to them and confessed them all. He confessed Roger in his tent and gave him absolution for his many sins of the flesh. Roger then boldly announced that he would go hunting. But first he sent out

miserable Frenchmen, with what remained of Conrad's German infantry dragging on behind, made their painful way to Cilicia. Less than half of them arrived in the late spring at Antioch.[1]

In one of his many letters home to the abbot Suger, letters whose unvaried theme is a request for more money, King Louis ascribed the disasters in Anatolia to 'the treachery of the Emperor and also our own fault'. The charge against Manuel is repeated more constantly and more passionately by the official French chronicler of the Crusade, Odo of Deuil, and it has been echoed by western historians, with few exceptions, to this day.[2] The misfortunes of the Crusades did so much to embitter relations between western and eastern Christendom that the accusation must be examined more closely. Odo complains that the Byzantines provided insufficient food-supplies for which they charged exorbitant prices, inadequate transport and inefficient guides and, worst of all, that they allied themselves with the Turks against their fellow-Christians. The first charges are absurd. No medieval state, even one so well organized as the Byzantine, possessed sufficient stocks of food to be able to supply two exceptionally large armies which had arrived uninvited at short notice; and when food is scarce, its prices inevitably rise. That many local merchants and some government officials tried to cheat the invaders is certain. Such behaviour has never been a rare phenomenon in commerce, particularly in the Middle Ages and in the East. It was unreasonable to expect Landolph to supply a sufficient number of ships for a whole army at the little port of Attalia in mid-winter; nor could the guides, whose advice was seldom taken, be blamed if they did not know of the latest destruction of bridges or wells by the Turks, or if they fled before the threats and hostility of the men that they were conducting. The question of the Turkish alliance is more serious, but it must be regarded from Manuel's viewpoint. Manuel neither invited nor wished for the Crusade. He had good reasons

[1] Odo of Deuil, pp. 76–80.

[2] Louis VII, letter to Suger, *R.H.F.* vol. xv, pp. 495–6; Odo of Deuil is throughout hysterically anti-Greek.

for deploring it. Byzantine diplomacy had learnt well by now how to play off the various Moslem princes against each other and thus to isolate each of them in turn. A well advertised expedition like the Crusade would inevitably again bring together a united front against Christendom. Moreover, for Byzantine strategy against Islam it was essential to control Antioch. Byzantium had at last won this control, when Prince Raymond made his abject submission at Constantinople. The coming of a Crusade with his niece and her husband at its head would inevitably tempt him to throw off his vassalage. The behaviour of the Crusaders when they were guests in his territory was not such as to increase the Emperor's liking for them. They pillaged; they attacked his police; they ignored his requests about the routes that they should take; and many of their prominent men talked openly of attacking Constantinople. Seen in such a light his treatment of them seems generous and forbearing; and some of the Crusaders so recognized it. But the westerners could not comprehend nor forgive his treaty with the Turks. The broad needs of Byzantine policy were beyond their grasp; and they chose to ignore, though they certainly were aware of the fact, that while they demanded help from the Emperor against the infidel his own lands were being subjected to a venomous attack from another Christian power. In the autumn of 1147 King Roger of Sicily captured the island of Corfu and from there sent an army to raid the Greek peninsula. Thebes was sacked, and thousands of its workers kidnapped to help the nascent silk-industry of Palermo; and Corinth itself, the chief fortress of the peninsula, was taken and bared of all its treasures. Laden with spoil the Sicilian Normans fell back to Corfu, which they planned to hold as a permanent threat to the Empire and a stranglehold on the Adriatic Sea. It was the imminence of the Norman attack that had decided Manuel to retire from Konya in 1146 and to accept the Sultan's overtures for peace next year. If Manuel was to rank as a traitor to Christendom, King Roger certainly took precedence over him.

The Byzantine army was large but not ubiquitous. The best

troops were needed for the war against Roger. Then there were rumours of unrest in the Russian Steppes, which was to result in the summer of 1148 in a Polovtsian invasion of the Balkans. With the Crusade at hand, Manuel could not denude his Cilician frontier of men; and the passage of the Crusaders through the Empire meant that a large increase must be made in the military police. With these preoccupations, the Emperor could not provide full frontier forces to cover his long Anatolian borderlands. He preferred a truce that would enable his Anatolian subjects to live their lives free from the menace of Turkish raids. The Crusaders endangered this truce. Conrad's march on Dorylaeum was a direct provocation to the Turks; and Louis, though he kept within Byzantine territory, publicly announced himself as the enemy of all Moslems and refused the Emperor's request to remain within the radius guarded by Byzantine garrisons. It is quite possible that Manuel, faced by this problem, made an arrangement with the Turks by which he condoned their incursions into his territory so long as they only attacked the Crusaders, and that they kept to the bargain, thus giving the clear impression that they were in league with the local inhabitants; to whom indeed it was indifferent whether their flocks and foodstocks were stolen by Crusaders or by Turks, and who under these circumstances would naturally prefer the latter.[1] But it is impossible to believe with Odo of Deuil that they definitely attacked the Crusaders at the Turks' side. He makes this accusation against the inhabitants of Attalia immediately after saying that they were later punished by the Emperor for having shown kindness to the Crusaders.[2]

The main responsibility for the disasters that befell the Crusaders in Anatolia must be placed on their own follies. The Emperor could indeed have done more to help them, but only at a grave

[1] For Manuel's preoccupations at this time, see Chalandon. Michael the Syrian repeats many of the Frankish accusations against the Greeks (III, p. 276). But Moslem sources, e.g. Abu Shama, p. 54, say that Manuel made common cause with the Franks.

[2] Odo of Deuil, p. 79.

risk to his Empire. But the real issue lay deeper. Was it to the better interest of Christendom that there should be occasional gallant expeditions to the East, led by a mixture of unwise idealists and crude adventurers, to succour an intrusive state there whose existence depended on Moslem disunity? Or that Byzantium, who had been for so long the guardian of the eastern frontier, should continue to play her part unembarrassed from the West? The story of the Second Crusade showed even more clearly than that of the First that the two policies were incompatible. When Constantinople itself had fallen and the Turks were thundering at the gates of Vienna, it would be possible to see which policy was right.

facture was largely in their hands.[1] A small Samaritan community lived on at Nablus.[2]

These various communities formed the basis of the Frankish states; and their new masters did little to disturb them. Where natives could prove their title to lands they were allowed to keep them; but in Palestine and Tripoli, with the exception of estates owned by the native churches, the landowners had almost all been Moslems who had emigrated as a result of the Frankish conquest, leaving large territories in which the new rulers could install their compatriot vassals. It seems that there were no free villages left, such as had existed in earlier Byzantine times. Each village community was tied to the land and paid a portion of its produce to the lord. But there was no uniformity about this proportion. Over the greater part of the country where the villagers followed a simple mixed agriculture the lord probably expected enough produce to feed his household and his *poulains* and Turcopoles who lived grouped round the castle; for the native peasant was not fitted to be a soldier himself. In the rich plains agriculture was run on a more commercial basis. Orchards, vineyards and above all sugar-cane plantations were exploited by the lord, and the peasant probably worked for little more than his keep. Except in the lord's household there was no slave labour, though Moslem prisoners might temporarily be used on the King's or the great lords' estates. The villagers' dealings with their lord were conducted through their headman, called sometimes by the Arabic name of *rais*, sometimes by a latinized form *regulus*. On his side the lord employed a compatriot as his factor or *drogmannus* (dragoman), an Arabic-speaking secretary who could keep the records.[3]

[1] Benjamin of Tudela, ed. Adler, Hebrew text, p. 35 (dye-monopoly at Jerusalem). Jews made glass at Antioch and Tyre. *Ibid.* pp. 26–47.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 33–4, 1000 families according to Benjamin, who found others at Caesarea and Ascalon (pp. 32, 44).

[3] See Cahen, 'Notes sur l'histoire des Croisades. II, Le Régime rural Syrien au temps de la domination franque', in *Bulletin de la Faculté des lettres de Strasbourg*, 29me année, no. 7, an invaluable study of this very obscure question.

Though there was little change in the lives of the peasants, the kingdom of Jerusalem was superficially reorganized according to the pattern of fiefs that we call 'feudal'. The royal domain consisted of the three cities of Jerusalem, Acre and Nablus and, later, the frontier town of Daron, and the territory around them. It had occupied a larger proportion of the kingdom, but the first kings and especially Queen Melisende were lavish in the gifts of land that they made to friends and to the Church and the religious Orders. Further portions might be temporarily alienated as dowers for widowed queens. The four chief fiefs of the kingdom were the County of Jaffa, usually reserved for a cadet of the royal house; the principality of Galilee, which owed its grandiose title to Tancred's ambition; the Seigneurie of Sidon; and the Seigneurie of Oultrejourdain. The holders of these fiefs seem to have had their own high officers in imitation of the King's. So also did the Lord of Caesarea, whose fief was almost as important, though it ranked with the twelve secondary fiefs. After Baldwin II's reign tenure was based on hereditary right, females succeeding in default of the direct male line. A tenant could only be evicted by a decision of the High Court after some gross misdemeanour. But he owed the King, or his superior lord, a fixed number of soldiers whenever it was required of him; and it seems that there was no time-limit to their service. The Count of Jaffa, the Lord of Sidon and the Prince of Galilee owed a hundred fully armed knights, and the Lord of Oultrejourdain sixty.[1]

The size of the fiefs was variable. The secular fiefs had been set up by conquest and formed solid blocks of land. But the estates of the Church and the Military Orders, which had grown chiefly through charitable gifts and bequests or, in the case of the Orders, from strategical convenience, were scattered throughout the Frankish territories. The unit in which estates were measured was the village, or *casal*, or, very rarely, a half or a third of a village; but villages also varied in size. Round Safed, in northern Galilee, they seem to have averaged only forty male inhabitants, but we

[1] La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, pp. 138–65; Rey, *op. cit.* pp. 1–56, 109–64.

as well as Edessa. The archbishopric of Turbessel was set up later, with the official title of Hierapolis (Menbij). The number of bishoprics varied according to political circumstances. There were nine Latin abbeys and two priories. The chief monastic establishments were those of Saint Paul and Saint George, where the Benedictines seem to have displaced Greek monks, and Saint Symeon, where the two rites existed side by side. The Antiochene Church was not quite so wealthy as that of Jerusalem; indeed, many Palestinian establishments owned estates in the principality.[1]

Long before the end of the twelfth century the secular Church in the Frankish states was completely overshadowed by the Military Orders. Since their establishment they had grown steadily in numbers and in wealth, and by 1187 they were the chief landowners in Outremer. Gifts and purchase continually increased their estates. Many Palestinian nobles joined their ranks; and recruits came in steadily from the West. They answered an emotional need of the time, when there were many men anxious to take up the religious life but wishful still to be active and to do battle for the Faith. And they answered a political need. There was a perpetual shortage of soldiers in Outremer. The feudal organization depended too much on the accidents of family life in the noble houses to provide a replacement for the men that died in battle or of sickness. Visiting Crusaders would fight well for a season or two, but then they returned home. The Military Orders produced a constant supply of devoted professional soldiers who cost the King nothing and who were rich enough besides to build and maintain castles on a scale that few secular lords could undertake. Without their assistance the Crusader-states would have perished far sooner. Of their actual numbers we have only incidental evidence. The Hospitallers sent five hundred knights with a proportionate number of other ranks on the Egyptian campaign of 1158; and the Templar knights taking part in the campaign of 1187 numbered about three hundred. In each case these probably represented knights from the kingdom of Jerusalem

[1] Cahen, *op. cit.* pp. 501–10.

alone; and a certain number would have been kept back for garrison duties. Of the two Orders the Hospitallers were probably the larger and the richer; but they were still busily concerned with charitable activities. Their hostel in Jerusalem could house a thousand pilgrims; and they maintained a hospital for the needy sick there that survived the Saracen reconquest. They distributed alms daily amongst the poor with a generosity that astounded visitors. Both they and the Templars policed the pilgrim-routes, taking particular care of the sacred bathing-places in the Jordan. The Templars also distributed alms, but less lavishly than the Hospitallers. Their attention was given more exclusively to military affairs. They were famed for their courage in attack and regarded themselves as being dedicated to offensive warfare. They devoted themselves also to banking and soon made themselves the financial agents for visiting Crusaders; and they were later to win unpopularity by the suspicion of strange esoteric rites; but as yet they were universally esteemed for their bravery and chivalry.[1]

The advantages brought by the Military Orders were balanced by grave disadvantages. The King had no control over them, for their only suzerain was the Pope. Lands that were given to them were held in mortmain; no services were due from them. They refused to let their tenants pay the *dime* due to the Church. The knights fought with the King's armies merely as voluntary allies. Occasionally the King or a lord might put a castle under their temporary control, and they were sometimes asked to act as trustees for a minor. In such cases they were liable for the proper services. The Grand Masters or their deputies sat in the High Court of the kingdom; and their representatives on the High Courts of the Prince of Antioch and the Count of Tripoli. But the advice that they gave there was apt to be irresponsible. If they disliked the official policy they might refuse to co-operate, as when the Templars boycotted the expedition to Egypt in 1158. The perpetual rivalry between the two Orders was a constant danger. It was seldom that they could be induced to campaign

[1] For references about the Orders, see above, p. 158 n. 1.

together. Each Order followed its own line in diplomacy, regardless of the official policy of the kingdom. We find both Orders making their treaties with Moslem rulers; and the story of the negotiations with the Assassins in 1172 shows the Templars' readiness to upset an obviously desirable arrangement in the interest of their financial advantages and their frank disdain of the authority of the royal courts. The Hospitallers were throughout more temperate and unselfish; but even with them the Order took precedence over the kingdom.

A similar balance of advantage and disadvantage was shown in the relations between the Frankish states and the Italian and Provençal merchant-cities.[1] The Frankish colonists were soldiers, not sailors. Tripoli and Antioch each later developed a small fleet, and the Orders built flotillas, but the kingdom itself, with its few good harbours and general shortage of timber, never had an adequate naval establishment. For any expedition that involved sea-power such as the conquest of the coastal towns or the campaigns against Egypt, it was necessary to invoke the help of some maritime power. The two great sea-powers of the East were Byzantium and Egypt. But Egypt was always a potential and often a real enemy, and Byzantium was always suspect. The Sicilian fleet could have been useful; but Sicilian policy was untrustworthy. The Italians and southern French were better allies; and their help was further needed to keep open the sea-routes to the West and to transport pilgrims, soldiers and colonists to Outremer. But the merchant-cities had to be paid. They demanded trading facilities and rights, their own quarters in the larger towns, and the complete or partial freedom from customs-dues; and their colonies had to be given extra-territorial privileges. These concessions were not on the whole resented by the Frankish authorities. Any loss in revenue was balanced by the trade that they stimulated; and the royal courts had no wish to have to administer Genoese or Venetian law, especially as cases involving a citizen of the kingdom, or of serious crime, such as murder, were

[1] See below, chapters II and III, *passim*.

reserved to them. Occasionally there were disputes. The Venetians were at perpetual enmity with the Archbishop of Tyre; and the Genoese had a long quarrel with King Amalric I. In both cases the Papacy supported the Italians, who probably had legal right on their side. But the merchant-cities were out not for the welfare of Christendom but for their own commercial gain. Usually the two interests coincided; but if they clashed the immediate commercial interest prevailed. The Italians and Provençals were therefore unsteady friends for the King. Moreover, the jealousy between the two great Orders was pale beside that between the various merchant-cities. Venice would far sooner help the Moslems than help Genoa or Pisa or Marseille; and her rivals held similar views. Thus, while the help given by them all was essential in maintaining the existence of Outremer, intrigues and riots between their colonists and their bland readiness to betray the common cause for momentary profit cancelled out much of its value.[1]

To pilgrims in particular they seemed shamefully greedy and un-Christian. The conquest greatly stimulated the pilgrim-traffic; the huge hostel of the Hospitallers was usually full. Despite the original purpose of the Crusade the route across Anatolia was still unsafe. Only a well-armed company could brave its dangers. The average pilgrim preferred to travel by sea. He had to obtain a berth in an Italian ship; and the fares were very high. A number of pilgrims might band together to charter a whole ship, but even so a captain and crew were costly to hire. It was cheaper for a pilgrim from northern France or England to travel in one of the small convoys that sailed yearly from the Channel ports to the East. But that was a long, perilous journey. Atlantic storms had to be faced; there were Moslem corsairs lying in wait in the Straits of Gibraltar and along the African coast. From Oporto or Lisbon to Sicily there were no ports at which water or provisions could be safely obtained, and it was difficult to carry sufficient supplies for the men and horses on board. It was far simpler to go overland to Provence or Italy and there embark in vessels well

[1] Heyd, *op. cit.* pp. 129–63, a full summary.

used to the voyage. For a single pilgrim a berth was found more easily and cheaply in ports in the King of Sicily's domain; but large parties were dependent on the fleets of the great merchant-cities.[1]

When he landed at Acre or Tyre or St Symeon, the traveller found himself at once in a strange atmosphere. Beneath the feudal superstructure Outremer was an eastern land. The luxury of its life impressed and shocked Occidentals. In western Europe life was still simple and austere. Clothes were made of wool and seldom laundered. Washing facilities were few, except in some old towns where the tradition of Roman baths lingered on. Even in the greatest castle furniture was rough and utilitarian and carpets were almost unknown. Food was coarse and lacked variety, especially during the long winter months. There was little comfort and little privacy anywhere. The Frankish East made a startling contrast. There were not, perhaps, many houses as large and splendid as the palace built early next century by the Ibelins at Beirut, with its mosaic floors, its marble walls and its painted ceilings, and great windows looking, some westward over the sea, and others eastward over gardens and orchards to the mountains. The Royal Palace at Jerusalem, lodged in part of the el-Aqsa Mosque, was certainly humbler, though the palace at Acre was a sumptuous edifice. But every noble and rich bourgeois filled his town-house with similar splendour. There were carpets and damask hangings, elegantly carved and inlaid tables and coffers, spotless bed-linen and table-linen, dinner-services in gold and silver, cutlery, fine faience and even a few dishes of porcelain from the Farther East. In Antioch water was brought by aqueducts and pipes to all the great houses from the springs at Daphne. Many houses along the Lebanese coast had their private supplies. In Palestine, where water was less abundant, the cities had well-organized storage tanks; and in Jerusalem the sewerage system installed by the Romans was still in perfect order. The great

[1] See Cahen, 'Notes sur l'Histoire des Croisades et de l'Orient Latin,' III, 'L'Orient Latin et commerce du Levant', in *Bulletin de la Faculté de Lettres de Strasbourg*, 1951, p. 333.

frontier-fortresses were almost as comfortably appointed as the town-houses, grim and fierce though life might be outside the walls. They had baths, elegant chambers for the ladies of the household and sumptuous reception halls. Castles belonging to the Military Orders were slightly more austere; but in the great family seats, such as Kerak in Moab or Tiberias, the chatelain lived more splendidly than any king in western Europe.[1]

The clothes of the settlers soon became as Oriental and luxurious as their furnishings. When a knight was not in armour he wore a silk burnous and usually a turban. On campaigns he wore a linen surcoat over his armour, to protect the metal from the heat of the sun, and a *kefieh* in the Arab style over his helmet. The ladies adopted the traditional eastern fashion of a long under-robe and a short tunic or coat, heavily embroidered with gold thread and maybe with jewels. In winter they wore furs, as did their husbands. Out of doors they were veiled like the Moslem women, but less from modesty than to protect their complexions, which were generously covered with paint; and they affected a mincing gait. But, for all their airs of delicacy and langour, they were as courageous as their husbands and brothers. Many a noblewoman was called upon to lead the defence of her castle in the absence of her lord. The wives of merchants copied the ladies of the aristocracy and often outshone them in the richness of their apparel. The successful courtesans—a class unknown hitherto in western society—were equally gorgeous. Of Paschia de Riveri, the shopkeeper's wife from Nablus whose charms ensnared the Patriarch Heraclius, the chronicler says that you would have thought her a countess or a baroness from her silks and jewels.[2]

Strange though this luxury seemed to the western pilgrim, it

[1] Rey, *op. cit.* pp. 3–10. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 129–32, giving an account of Antioch and its amenities.

[2] Tancred's coins show him in a turban (see above, p. 33). In 1192 Henry of Champagne, thanking Saladin for the gift of a turban, announces that such things are liked by his compatriots and he will often wear it (see Rey, *op. cit.* pp. 11–12). Ibn Jubayr (ed. Wright, p. 309) describes the clothes at a Christian wedding at Acre in 1184. For Paschia, see below, p. 425.

was natural to a visitor from the Moslem East or from Byzantium. The Frankish colonists had inevitably to try to fit into their new environment, and they could not escape contact with their subjects and their neighbours. There was the climate to consider. Winters in Palestine and Syria can be almost as bleak and cold as in western Europe, but they are short. The long, sweltering summers soon taught the colonists that they must wear different clothes, eat different foods and keep different hours. The vigorous habits of the north were out of place. Instead, they must learn native ways. They must employ native servants. Native nurses looked after their children, and native grooms their horses. There were strange diseases about, for which their own doctors were useless; they soon had to rely on native medicine.[1] Inevitably they learnt to understand the natives and to work in with them. In the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the County of Tripoli the absence of a native aristocracy to challenge their rule, once the Moslems had fled, made this easy. Farther north, the Greek and Armenian aristocracy were jealous of them and politics interfered with their mutual understanding; though the Armenians in the end met them half-way and adopted many Frankish habits.[2]

Between the Franks and their Moslem neighbours there could never be lasting peace, but there was increasing contact. The revenues of the Frankish states came largely from tolls levied on the trade between the Moslem interior and the coast. Moslem merchants must be allowed to come down freely to the seaports and must be treated fairly. Out of their commercial connections friendship grew. The Order of the Temple, with its great banking activities, was ready to extend its operations to oblige infidel

[1] The Tripolitan doctor who was supposed to have poisoned Baldwin III was a native (see below, p. 361). Native doctors proved themselves wiser than the Frankish over Amalric I's death-bed (see below, p. 399). Amalric employed a certain Suleiman ibn Daoud and his elder son as Court doctors, while Suleiman's second son was Court riding master. See Cahen, 'Indigènes et Croisés', *Syria*, 1934. Usama was unimpressed by Frankish medicine (see below, p. 320).

[2] See Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 561–8.

clients and kept officials who could specialize in Moslem affairs. At the same time the wiser statesmen amongst the Franks saw that their kingdom could only last if the Moslem world were kept disunited; and for this purpose diplomatic missions passed to and fro. Frankish and Moslem lords were often received with honour at courts of the rival faith. Captives or hostages often spent years in the enemies' castles or palaces. Though few Moslems troubled to learn French, many Franks, nobles as well as merchants, spoke Arabic. A few, like Reynald of Sidon, even took an interest in the Arabic literature. In times of war each side appreciated gestures of gallantry and chivalry. In times of peace lords from either side of the frontier would join together in hunting expeditions.[1]

Nor was there complete religious intolerance. The two great Faiths shared a common background. The Moslem chroniclers were as interested as the Christian when relics believed to be of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were discovered at Hebron.[2] Even in times of hostility Frankish pilgrims could penetrate to the shrine of our Lady of Sardenay in the hills behind Damascus;[3] and the protection given by the Bedouins to the great monastery of St Catherine in the Sinai desert was usually extended to its visitors.[4] Reynald of Châtillon's brutal treatment of Moslem pilgrims shocked his fellow-believers almost as much as it infuriated Saladin. William of Tyre was ready to pay tribute to Nur ed-Din's piety, though he disagreed with his creed. Moslem writers often showed admiration of Frankish chivalry.[5]

[1] For Reynald of Sidon, see below, p. 469. The Moslems insisted on financial guarantees by Knights Templars when negotiating with Christian rulers, e.g. Abu Shama, p. 32. Raymond III of Tripoli spoke Arabic, William of Tyre almost certainly read Arabic, or employed secretaries who knew Oriental languages. See below, p. 476.

[2] Ibn al-Qalanisi, p. 161, refers to the discovery. See also Kohler, 'Un nouveau récit de l'invention des Patriarches Abraham, Isaac et Jacob à Hébron', in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, vol. IV, pp. 477 ff.

[3] For Our Lady of Sardenay, see Rey, *op. cit.* pp. 291–6.

[4] For Saint Catherine and its pilgrims, see Rey, *op. cit.* pp. 287–91.

[5] E.g. William of Tyre (XX, 31, p. 1000) calls Nur ed-Din 'princeps justus, vafer et providus, et secundum gentis suae traditiones religiosus'.

The atmosphere of the time is best illustrated in the memoirs of the Munqidhite prince Usama of Shaizar. The Munqidhites were a petty dynasty in constant fear of absorption by more powerful co-religionists. They were therefore ready to come to terms with the Franks; and Usama himself spent many years at the courts of Damascus and Cairo when both were in close diplomatic connection with Jerusalem. As an envoy, a tourist and a sportsman Usama often visited Frankish lands, and, though when writing he consigns them all piously to perdition, he had many Frankish friends whose conversation he enjoyed. He was shocked by the crudity of their medicine, though he learnt from them a sure cure for scrofula, and he was astounded by the latitude allowed to their women; and he was embarrassed when a Frankish acquaintance offered to send his son to be educated in western Europe. He thought them a little barbarous, and would laugh about them with his native Christian friends. But they were people with whom he could reach an understanding. The one bar to friendship was provided by newcomers from the West. Once when he was staying with the Templars at Jerusalem and was praying with their permission in the corner of the old Mosque of al-Aqsa, a knight roughly insulted him; whereupon another Templar hurried up to explain that the rude man had only just arrived from Europe and did not as yet know any better.[1]

It was indeed the immigrants, come to fight for the Cross and determined to brook no delay, whose crudity continually ruined the policy of Outremer. They were particularly strong in the Church. Not one of the Latin Patriarchs of Jerusalem in the twelfth century was born in Palestine, and of the great ecclesiastics only William, Archbishop of Tyre, to whom the Patriarchate was refused. The influence of the Church was seldom in favour of an understanding with the infidel; and it was even more disastrous in its relations with the native Christians. The native Christians had great influence at the Moslem courts. Many of the best-known

[1] Usama, ed. Hitti, *passim*, esp. pp. 161–70.

Arabic writers and philosophers and almost all the physicians were Christian. They could have formed a bridge between the eastern and western worlds.

The Orthodox communities in Palestine had accepted the Latin hierarchy because at the time of the conquest its own upper clergy were all in exile. The Patriarch Daimbert had attempted to deprive their clergy of their positions at the Holy Sepulchre, but strange events at the ceremony of the Holy Fire in 1101 and the influence of the King had restored Greek canons to the church and had allowed the celebration of the Orthodox rite there. The Crown throughout was friendly to the Orthodox. Morphia, Baldwin II's queen and Melisende's mother was an Orthodox princess as were the queens of Melisende's two sons. The Abbot of St Sabas, the leading Orthodox hierarch left in Palestine, was treated with honour by Baldwin I; and Melisende gave lands to the abbey, which probably owed service to the Crown. The Emperor Manuel was able to maintain a protective interest in the Orthodox, illustrated by the repairs for which he was responsible in the two great Churches of the Holy Sepulchre and the Nativity. The monastery of St Euthymius in the Judaean wilderness was rebuilt and redecorated about the same time, perhaps with his help. But there was no increase in cordiality between the Latin and Greek clergy. The Russian pilgrim, Daniel, in 1104 was hospitably received in Latin establishments; but the Greek pilgrim, Phocas, in 1184, though he visited Latin establishments, had no liking for Latins, except for a Spanish hermit who had at one time lived in Anatolia; and he relates with glee a miracle that discomfited the Latin ecclesiastic whom he calls the 'intruder' Bishop of Lydda. It is probable that the attempt of the Latin hierarchy to make the Orthodox pay the *dime*, together with resentment that their rite was seldom permitted in the great churches of their Faith, lessened the liking of the Orthodox for Frankish rule, and made them ready, once Manuel's protection had ended, to accept and even to welcome Saladin's reconquest. In Antioch the presence of a powerful Greek community and political developments had

caused an open hostility between Greeks and Latins which seriously weakened the principality.[1]

In the kingdom itself the heretic sects were of little importance outside of Jerusalem, where almost all of them kept establishments at the Holy Sepulchre. Daimbert had tried to eject them too, without success. The Crown protected their rights. Indeed, Queen Melisende gave her personal support to the Jacobite Syrians when they had a lawsuit against a Frankish knight.[2] In the County of Tripoli the chief heretic Church was that of the Maronites, the surviving adherents of Monothelete doctrine. With them the western Church acted with rare tact and forbearance; and about 1180 they agreed to admit the supremacy of the Roman See, provided that they might keep their Syriac liturgy and customs; nor did they renounce their heretical doctrine of Christ's single will. The negotiations, of which too little is known, were ably managed by the Patriarch Aimery of Antioch. The admission of this first Uniate Church showed that the Papacy was ready to permit divergent usages and even doubtful theology, provided that its ultimate authority was recognized.[3]

[1] See the *Pilgrimages of Daniel the Higumene* and *John Phocas*, *passim*. See also Rey, *op. cit.* pp. 75–93, and Cahen, *loc. cit.* The Russian pilgrim Euphrosyne of Polotsk, when dying in Palestine, applied to the Abbot of Saint Sabas as the chief Orthodox ecclesiastic to find her a suitable burying place. See de Khitrovo, 'Pilgrimage en Palestine de l'Abbesse Euphrosyne', in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, vol. III, pp. 32–5. Later Orthodox writers such as the seventeenth-century Dositheus, disliking to admit that the Orthodox had accepted the Latin Patriarchs from 1099 to 1187, have evolved a list of six or seven Patriarchs between Symeon's death in 1099 and 1187 (Dositheus, II, p. 1243; Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, III, pp. 498–503). There is a John, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who subscribed to the condemnation of Soterichus in 1157, and a John of Jerusalem, presumably the same, wrote a treatise against the Latins about this time (Krumbacher, *Gesch. der Byz. Literatur*, p. 91). It is possible that Manuel had the recapture of the Jerusalem Patriarchate in mind and kept a Patriarch in storage against that day. But it is clear that the Orthodox in Palestine submitted to the Latin Patriarch. The presence of Greek canons at the Holy Sepulchre is attested in the *Cartulaire du Saint Sepulchre*, ed. Rozière, p. 177.

[2] See above, p. 232.

[3] See Dib, article 'Maronites', in Vacard et Mangenot, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. X, 1.

In the principality of Antioch the separated Armenian Church was powerful and was encouraged by the Princes, who found it a useful counter against the Orthodox; and in Edessa the Armenians, though they were distrusted by Baldwin I and Baldwin II, enjoyed the friendship of the house of Courtenay. Many Armenian bishops came to recognize papal supremacy, and some attended Synods of the Latin Church, forgiving in the Latin doctrines what they thought unpardonable in the Greek. The Jacobite Syrians were at first frankly hostile to the Crusaders and preferred Moslem rule. But, after the fall of Edessa, they became reconciled to the Prince of Antioch, nominally because of a miracle at the tomb of St Barsauma, but actually from a common fear and hatred of Byzantium. The Jacobite Patriarch Michael, one of the great historians of the time, was a friend of the Patriarch Aimery and paid a cordial visit to Jerusalem. None of the other heretic churches was of importance in the Frankish states.[1]

The Franks' Moslem subjects accepted their masters calmly and admitted the justice of their administration; but they would obviously be unreliable if things went badly for the Christians. The Jews, with good reason, preferred the rule of the Arabs, who always treated them honestly and kindly, if with a certain contempt.[2]

To the contemporary western pilgrim Outremer was shocking because of its luxury and licence. To the modern historian it is rather the intolerance and dishonourable barbarity of the Crusaders that is to be regretted. Yet both aspects can be explained by the atmosphere that reigned there. Life amongst the Frankish colonists was uneasy and precarious. They were in a land where intrigue and murder flourished and enemies lay in wait across the near-by frontiers. No one knew when he might not receive a knife-thrust from a devotee of the Assassins or poison from one of his servants. Mysterious diseases of which they knew little were rife. Even

[1] See below, p. 371, also the preface to Nau's edition of Michael the Syrian.

[2] Ibn Jubayr, ed. Wright, pp. 304–5. Benjamin of Tudela's statistics show the greater prosperity of the Jews under the Moslems.

Dina Ornsholt

EMPERORS, ANGELS, & EUNUCHS

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The Thousand Years of the Byzantine Empire

* *

Helen Diner

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1938

Chatto & Windus

LONDON

PROLOGUE
GOD AMONG GODS

A POET once called the Acropolis " the warbling rock ". Warbling, glittering nest of the Immortals. They flutter in and out, piping in tones of delight.

That departing swift might be Pallas Athene, just after doffing her gold-and-ivory body. Surely she must have something of the radiant flight of the bird that flashed by on its way skyward ?

At a shrine where many stone phalli are covered with votive tablets, Aesculapius, in the form of a green serpent, may have raised his head from a cleft. No doubt when he came forth from that fissure, he had been seeking counsel from one of the old Mothers of the Earth. Hence the equivocal incognito. Now, with the slow gait of wisdom, he creeps back into the marble statue where he has taken up his abiding place.

The upper world and the lower pass into one another at the earth's surface. No moral abyss divides one from the other, for, thanks to splendid caprice, demons are not always bad, nor is an Olympian invariably good. Between their respective spheres the man of classical times lived in free piety, enjoying the ecstasy given by the conviction of the eternal presence of the gods.

He moved not so much as a finger on the uncontrolled promptings of his own personality, his own judgment, or his own energy, knowing himself both in action and in passion to be the sport of the Immortals. Did they not, often and often, step down into the terrestrial arena, and play an earthly

part, as they had done during the Siege of Troy? Olympus was close at hand.

On his heroic days, man was linked to the Shining Ones above; while to the Dark Ones, below in their venerable realm, he was led by cults and customs handed down from primeval antiquity.

He who is attune with horror receives out of the unconscious the thrill of a profound reality which is unattainable by those whose existence is isolated from such influences; he is enlivened by ancient imagery condensed from the experiences of all created things. Simple and trite symbols they often seem; the fir-cone, the serpent, a basket, an egg: yet for the enlightened they assume unexpected significance.

Such were the Eleusinian Mysteries, celebrated in honour of Demeter and Persephone, of which Pindar writes:

Happy is he who has glimpsed that communion under the earth.
He knows about the end of life, and knows also its divine beginning.

Without stress and without crude transition, the earthly existence of the ancients passed from the Plutonic horror of the teeming abyss, through mundane zones, heavenward into the pure and lambent ether of Platonic ideas. Because those who have awakened to life abhor a vacuum, they people the void spaces with figures. Incomparable, ever-memorable are these figures of the Immortals. Their types live on in us as temperaments, no less than outside us as planetary gods. Individually we are Jovian or Mercurial, Martial or Saturnine, Dianas or Venuses. Every kind of human being is thus discovered and elucidated, is plastically represented, and radiates a magical, an inexplicable influence. Mythological emblems, crystalline in their purity, emerge from the meadow, the vineyard, the grotto, and the fountain. Thus there is a rush of imagery, a flowering of circumstance, as uncompromising and infallible as the activities of a child. Hence an uncon-

strained play of creative energy is regarded as the supreme talent, and is accounted the First Cause. Heraclitus spoke of it as that which had made the world:

Eternity is a boy play-acting to himself on his own stage.

Actor and audience are one. The play is not poured blindly, unheedingly, from a chalice. The great game of the cosmos is artfully performed, on a set stage, and in accordance with mathematical laws.

Sometimes this boy-ruler of the world is called Eros, "the wise autodidact"; for while others learn from him, he learns only from himself. Where else could he find anything worth knowing? With his inborn energy he permeates and consecrates existence; animates the ensanguined roots of rut, the doings of the platyrrhine faun equally with the activities of those inspired with divine grace. As the fancy takes him, he fashions beauty or ugliness. Never did it occur to the ancients to regard their Pantheon as a reformatory. It was a place "beyond good and evil".

But they distinguished from "jejune cheerfulness", as the touchstone of man, his power to accommodate himself to destiny. "How one bears it, that is the supreme test, therein lies the difference." There must be no undignified whining, no base clamour for insurance against risk. The great merit of Oswald Spengler is that he displays Oedipus to us without a "complex", and as a pure "tragedy of defiance". He lays the stress, not on incest or parricide (which are no more than dramatic devices whereby horror is heaped upon horror to intensify the doom of the innocent sinner), but on the "sublime acceptance" of the complicated workings of fate, on the voluntary though horrified atonement of one who has unwittingly done wrong. This is the spirit of the orphic utterance: "What thou hast done, that must thou suffer".

Such determinism befalls only the chosen, however ghastly

the choosing. Not every shoulder is strong enough to bear the burden of all heaven and the stars. Only Heracles, or Atlas the titan, can sustain such a weight. Odysseus, too, the "noble sufferer", belongs to the aristocracy of those who can endure open-eyed, heads bloody but unbowed, active not passive, marked and admired and bewailed—in contra-distinction to the puny ones whose loss no one regrets.

Since, moreover, death itself must be accounted an indispensable though incomprehensible part of our frail mortal lot (for otherwise one of the most impressive of the dramatis personae would be lacking on the stage of the boy actor-manager), the ancients, who were no spoil-sports, must affirm death also. Among their many talents, they had one which is rare to-day—they had few cravings for immortality.

Endowed as they were with a genius which enabled them to foreshadow and originate almost all the achievements of the West, we cannot but be astonished that their inexhaustible imagination was so little concerned about life after death. No doubt they considered the possibilities, but never hopefully; sceptically they dismissed the life eternal with a question-mark. The Pythagoreans were sympathetic towards the oriental doctrine of transmigration; the Stoics considered a brief persistence of the soul after the death of the body a likely hypothesis; Aristotle held that the thinking spirit would endure, but without individuality. Even the Platonic mythology of the psyche is not so much concerned with individual existence after death, as with the perdurability of quintessential being beyond the sphere of earthly reality.

Instead of taking robuster forms than these cultured systems of belief, the simple folk-creed (which finds expression already in the Homeric poems) was shadowy in the extreme. People of standing were supposed to have better chances of survival than common folk. Above all, those who could claim an illegitimate descent from Olympus, as could many of the

heroes, were likely to be translated to the stars. But the significance of this remained as vague as life in Hades or the Elysian Fields. What is said of it resembles an under-exposed film which is not worth throwing on the screen.

In the hope of overcoming this impotence of the dead, a corpse was buried in frequented streets, for the vital energy of these was supposed to act as fortifier. The ancients, like primitives, believed in the existence of a universal spiritual substance, which animated people by way of the epigastrium.

But as late as the days of Pliny, many distinguished persons repudiated, almost with loathing, the idea of personal immortality. The Epicurean's last wish was for "eternal rest", for "sleep from which there would be no waking". Men like Marcus Aurelius, centuries before the time of that enthroned Stoic, looked "with cheerful indifference for annihilation or transformation, so that they would leave life gently as a ripe fruit drops from the tree; a fruit which, as it falls, extols nature that created it and is thankful to the tree that bore it".

One who thus passively submits to death's caress, needs no doctrine of redemption as do those who have been sundered and crushed by life. He is not disturbed by the thought of "original sin". Nor is he troubled by the sombre and humourless Puritan mentality. To the ancients a tragedy was incomplete unless it had the tang of satire. Even for the most saintly among them an ultimate sense of superiority needed the crown of parody. Thus parody followed the great national festivals in which Rome commemorated her victory over the Latins. Among the Hellenes, again, the mockery of Aristophanes trod on the heels of the Mysteries; the reason being that (as Plato teaches) the serious is unfinished and incomprehensible if it be not enlivened by an appropriate jest. There must be no over-emphasis, even in veneration; the spice of opposition is requisite to free the circulation from the stasis of excessive nobility.

Such antagonising elements were parts of the well-rounded whole of these almost incredibly finished members of our species, and were preserved by them far on into old age. We notice the process first in their conceptions of the physical world.

" The inhabitants of the Roman Empire began to fancy that the rivers were growing shallower, the mountains lower. When at sea, they did not sight Etna from as great a distance as of yore, while the same thing was reported of Parnassus and Olympus. Diligent naturalists were inclined to believe that the cosmos was decaying." At the same time the gods became more numerous, but were less influential. Handing over to deputies their temples in India, Asia Minor, or Africa, they removed to the great cities, and especially to Rome, there to become proletarians. Wherever population was too thick upon the ground, the place was over-stocked with gods, and this had a disastrous effect upon quality.

There was still a Syria Dea (Cybele, Acdistis, Astarte, Berecynthia, Pessinuntis) with a head of black stone and a body of silver ; she had a son and lover Attis, Thammuz, or Adonis, and drove a chariot to which lions were harnessed instead of horses. There was a Lunar or Stellar Demon, a Dionysiac hermaphrodite with a shrine of his own. Aglibol and Molochtel came to Rome ; so did the Baals, Baal Zebub, Baal Peor, and Baal Berith ; Isis and Hathor, the guardians of the Nile in endless procession, Marnas from Gaza, the Carthaginian deities, herds of beast-gods with bristly or opaline bellies. They grew importunate, spake oracles unasked; wrangled for their daily bread. Temples degenerated into menageries, Great Mothers into procuresses ; an abysmal shudder was replaced by mere goose-flesh. From early dawn, crowds of priestesses and eunuchs wearing Phrygian caps (servitors of these gods) would besiege peoples' doors offering for sale talismans, tickets for the next conjuring-up of the dead,

prophecies and charms, elixirs against evil omens. In earlier times the native deities went out of fashion in these respects, but now exotic wonder-workers were highly prized, and demand grew apace. The animist cult, which had once enjoyed free flow as the outcome of primal religious emotion, had become costive from excess of divine residues. It gave rise to obsessional neuroses, which in their turn needed remedies that varied with the changes of the moon, the days of the week, and the hours of the day. Those who walked the streets jingled like sleigh-horses, so profusely were they behung with amulets.

Everyone sought a cure in rarities, since all seems credible when nothing is true. Lousy eccentrics, fugitives from justice, anchorites, found that it paid them to maintain a costly postal service carried express on dromedaries to and from the Theban desert. Although these superstitions were forbidden by the State, high officials, senators, priests of the recognised gods, and ladies of fashion, participated in the worship of the outlaws. Shrewd speculators bought up the land round every spot where one of the " holy men " settled, that when he died they might be able to charge transit dues, and profit by the miracles that might be wrought when the place of entombment became a shrine.

Although it is often said that Rome perished because of this duty-free import of alien deities, what happened was merely an anticipation of natural death, since the ancients could not endure the thought of a vacuum. Besides, from the outset it was an essential part of the idea of the pax romana that due reverence should be paid to the gods of the peoples that were absorbed. If, in the case of a foreign deity who claimed the freedom of the city, a clue was sought in the Sibylline books or from the Delphic oracle, the answer was always in the affirmative. Mere civility demanded this, so long as the guests of the State religion were affable—as they were. Nowhere

are friendships struck more readily than in a kinship of gods. Polytheism tends to stress the common elements in various creeds, even as monotheism insists upon differences, though these be merely the minor differences of sectarians. Hellas herself in her prime was ready to accept alien cults.

Anyhow, competition notwithstanding, the crowd of gods in the ancient capitals were far more accommodating than were the heads of rival philosophic schools, whose instructors tried (in Hellas) to ram one another's ships as far south as Cape Sunium, hoping by threats of battle, murder, and sudden death to filch one another's audiences. In the end the authorities fixed quotas, and the sages resorted to the same expedient. From the burnished glories of Periclean stage-setting, student life then retired to somewhere half way between the Brocken and Alt-Heidelberg.

Meanwhile, throughout the Empire, perspicacious and refined persons grew continually more serious. Sick of obsolete orgies, one did, as a Roman, what discretion and responsibility to the State prescribed. But no one wanted (even animistically) to have anything to do, after death, with the crazy world, where all was demoniacal. Lay aside the deception of matter for evermore, and as completely as possible. A previously undreamed of spiritualisation was believed to extend between the paths of the planets, far outwards to the confines of the Beyond. The outermost crystal sphere in which the fixed stars were set was partitioned among the human yearners. Everyone wished to have his own private star. In secret societies he learned its name. A widower knew that his wife had been translated "to Berenice's hair", while a widow's late husband dwelt in the Milky Way. "My heavenly soul will not seek the Abode of the Shades", we read on a child's mortuary monument, "for the Universe will take me unto itself, and the Stars."

In the foreground, however, the multifarious gods marched

on. Amid the members of the human population dwelt another race of beings, made up of every conceivable material. But by the cultivated Romans of three continents these polytheistic figures had long since come to be regarded as only parts and facets of one all-pervading power. In God one might still believe, at a pinch; but in gods no longer.

Yet what greatness had a world-ruler achieved, even if he should be styled "Divus Augustus"? In the Pantheist forest of statues, another garlanded Hermes had been placed for worship.

He was God among gods, no more.

THE UNIQUE RULER AND HIS OFFICE

BY its totalitarian claims Christianity was sharply distinguished, not only from the three hundred other religions of the Roman Empire, but from the whole classical world.

The Christian was no longer one of those who trace a furrow on their own prompting, in accordance with their own judgment, and actuated by their own energy. Himself a spark of the divine, co-equal with the divine, he was a pugilist permeated by the divine fire. Example, course, and goal were revealed to him from on high; such was his faith. The conversion of all peoples to this sublime revelation was his supreme duty, for there was no illumination anywhere except in God's light. From this supernatural source there came to earthly creatures only one guidance—that recently completed and revealed. Anyone who strayed outside the luminous cone was irredeemably undone.

Not ethos, good behaviour, or worthy deeds, but a particular belief would decide eternal welfare. "He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned", we read in the Gospels.

Such virulence directed against the State religion necessarily aroused a defensive reaction throughout the realm whose rights in a time-honoured cult were challenged. Intolerance was countered with intolerance. Not for a long while, however, did the worldwide Roman administration become really threatening to the new religion. Then, during the reign of

Decius in the middle of the third century, after warning flickers here and there, the flame of persecution burst out.

Thus the new doctrine was able to spread almost unhindered for wellnigh a hundred and fifty years, and the germs of ecclesiastical structure were implanted with the aid of a far-seeing clergy. A new type of priest, a propagandist in martyrology, made much of every witness who had sealed his testimony with his own blood. Legends concerning his life and death, veneration of his relics, were never allowed to fade. Christianity also digged its foundations deep among the slaves. By the back stairs, so to say, its influence spread through the nursery into every family. Friedländer, in his *Sittengeschichte Roms*, admirably describes how the process of conversion went on, through unceasing suggestion in the privacy of the home.

A great advantage for Christianity was that it became officially confused with Judaism—a tolerated creed. Before the time of Hadrian (d. 138) little attention was paid to the new faith, since experience showed that the Jews, priding themselves as the Chosen People, had no inclination to meddle with the beliefs of others. That was why the extravagances of the Christian offshoot were not taken seriously at first.

Outwardly considered, this confusion of roles seems like a lucky chance, but in truth it is common enough in history to account for the growth of a movement which would otherwise have been nipped in the bud.

Optimists like to ascribe the rapid success of Christianity to the superior morality of the new doctrine—as if people were so constituted as to be willing to throw all else aside when given a chance of embracing a new ethic. It is well, therefore, to point out that no other religion has been so lavish in its promises. A pledge of eternal bliss was given to those who should remain faithful to principles which were few though unfamiliar. They were to believe that a certain Jeshua or

Jesus, sprung from poor folk in Galilee, and, with his parents and brothers and sisters, personally known to many of his contemporaries, had at the same time been the only son of God the Father Almighty, immaculately conceived by an earthly mother. Being himself without taint of original sin, by his sacrifice on the Cross he had been able to redeem mankind from death (the wages of sin) and grant the boon of immortality.

Having arisen from his rock-tomb and ascended into heaven to sit beside the Father, he would, even in this transcendence, remain mediator between God and Man, dispatching the Comforter to earth, and himself perpetually present here below in the Holy Sacrament. Ability to believe in the Redeemer's mission came through God's grace.

It was good news to the poor that such grace was not granted easily to the rich, and that the wisdom of the simple was greater than the wisdom of the sage. The very privileges of the well-to-do, who were so much envied, were a shame and a hissing. "The first shall be last, and the last first"—not for a time merely, but for eternity. As everyone knows, Nietzsche emphasised this text as a reason for combating Christianity.

There were many prizes for the poor and lowly. Not reserved for a distant future, but granted here and now. This new god was lavish with his gifts. To the others a poor fellow had to bring offerings of chicken or gingerbread, without guarantee that his prayers would be heard.

In luxurious temples, the images of these gods pranked it in marble. The armpits of the statues were perfumed. Do-nothings they were, but the little finger of the left hand must be anointed day after day with costly nard. Nor were they forgotten in the wills of millionaires. Chickens for such as these ! Had it ever occurred to the pampered wretches that they should climb down from their comfortable seats and

immolate themselves for man's sake ? The smug and arrogant gods of the Capitol and the Palatine, whose worship was enjoined by the State—they had perpetrated countless injustices. The good fathers were right. Tear the idols down, smash them to pieces, cast them into a kiln, so that the demons could be burned out of them. As lime they might be of some use, built into latrines. The gold and the ivory would be divided among the poor. Then take your axes, and hew in sunder the wooden images in the groves, chopping up those lascivious monsters the dryads that haunt the trees.

The Roman mob of diversified origins, the slaves brought from every corner of the vast empire, the huge armies of freedmen, could not recognise themselves in these sculptured images, which for them were not simply alien, but hateful as emblems of the well-to-do.

On the other hand those sections of the common people among whom the new faith had not yet spread were convinced from the third century onward that with the coming of Christianity the gods had withdrawn, leaving the world to its fate. Christianity, therefore, was accounted a public enemy, and was blamed for every misfortune.

The Christians were quick to chide the Pagans for superstition. Bad weather, fleas, war, were parts of the world-process, and had always existed.

But the sense of abandonment, of desolation, the feeling that something had fled, sank deep into the folk-unconscious.

In truth the sublime husks of the temples were now husks and nothing more. They ceased to liberate creative impulses in classical minds. The weary gods sought rest, a long, long rest, in some other dimension. Since the divine afflatus had vanished from these antique shrines, the attitude towards them became revolutionary.

The many who had grown serious, who faced life and its problems with a sense of responsibility, but whose yearnings

had long been arrested in the outermost crystalline sphere, now transcended that sphere to reach a new religious realm. This was not exclusively philosophical, was no purely abstract system of thought. Persons carried away by an uprush of feeling sought to strengthen their conviction that anything which merited the name of " God " must have taken refuge in the unsearchable, escaping not merely from the incarnate world but from the whole natural universe.

The torment of dualism had begun. Whatever was worth attaining would be for ever unattainable. What miracle could build a bridge from the Creator to the creature ? The mediator would be inconceivable to both, simultaneously being and not-being. Here it was left for Christianity to span the gulf, in its synthesis of the cosmico-mystical systems of the world.

For believers among the circles of the ruled, a transposition of classes upon a religious basis was doubtless a desideratum ; but for the others, the rulers, though they were captured by the new creed, such a social revolution seemed eminently undesirable. Only upon the mystical platform of the Gospel according to St. John did mediation between God and man become possible through the instrumentality of the Logos. For if (beginning with primal metaphor) all beings are expressions of " the Word become Flesh ", then for all Flesh, attune with the rhythm of the Redeemer, a retransformation into the Word is possible. In the fiery tongues of the miracle of Pentecost we already see something of this supraterrestrial change.

Thus in Christianity the transcendent forms of being are astir, awakened by the Gnostic aura, and reborn in the ether of Neo-Platonism. Its eternal content is shaped in timeless images.

A transcendent monotheism cannot do without the Mediator. The light of the First Cause is too remote from our lowly human lot. During the spiritual crisis which marked

the beginning of the Christian era, there were several Saviours to choose from, but two only were in the end victorious : Christ ; and the Persian Mithra, whose influence in Europe was so powerful that Christmas dates from him. " Of late ", writes Chrysostom, " the unknown date of Christ's birth has been fixed as identical with that of Mithra, the Sol Invictus, that the Christians might be able to celebrate their rites undisturbed while the heathen are busied in the circus."—In general, Christian ritual is far more Mithraic than Christians willingly acknowledge.

In inscriptions " The Man with the Phrygian Cap " is rightly styled " indeprensibilis "—undiscoverable. Despite Franz Cumont's researches, much about him remains enigmatic. He frequently changes masks with his congeners in the Persian Olympus. To begin with he was the God of Light, existing before sun, moon, and stars. In the later Zend-Avesta (= Living Word) he is only accounted the eighth among spiritual beings. Still later he becomes the chief of twenty-eight lower grades, guardian of purity, and as such sleepless, with a hundred ears and a thousand eyes, judge of the dead on the Cinvat Bridge, interpreter between darkness and light. His Old Iranian name is from the root " connective ", for he was looked upon as the warp of the world's web.

He is worshipped in caves near the entrance to which springs gush forth. Through their northern gate drop the weighted souls to accept the burden of life on earth, but when freed from one of these lives they reascend through the southern gate. For this ascent the Mediator in the Cave of the World thereupon offers up one of the lower beasts, a bull. To its testicles hangs a scorpion as unending torment, and the heavy body is perpetually tracked by the Death-Bitch. Then the god makes an end of it, thrusts a dagger into the sanguine animal's neck, with his hard knee pressing its back. Now from the tail of the victim sprout clustered ears of wheat,

while bunches of grapes grow from the blood—ingredients of the Supper. Breaking bread and drinking from the chalice, the Redeemer then bids farewell to his disciples. In another phase of the mystery he mixes for the souls a goblet of immortality—wine mingled with blood from the aurochs—before climbing the sevenfold ladder, through the planetary spheres and the three-storeyed paradise, to the ineffable realm of bodiless light.

This Hero-Redeemer was soon to become the chaste Lord of the religion of the Roman army. Wherever, after the time of Pompey, the legions set foot (in half the world, that is to say), there can be found a cave of Mithra, with the bull sculptured in relief. In one respect he differed markedly from Christ, for he never claimed that his yoke was easy. One who wished to adopt his leadership must have walked imperturbably through the lower element, even as it was said of the Indian hero, " No sword wounds him, nor does fire consume him, nor water drown, nor wind bite." Though some of the legends are doubtless overdrawn, we can hardly regard as fanciful the tale that in the initiatory rites a Roman soldier was baptised with blood instead of water.

There were many grades in Mithra's service ; those of the raven, the warrior, the runner, and the lion. It is reported of Emperor Aurelian's mother that she was a priestess beside the Danube and was a " lioness ". Persons of such high estate had to wash their hands in honey when the sun entered the sign of Leo. As concerns the Last Supper and the sacrament of baptism, again, the Mithra-cult resembled Christianity so closely that the horrified Early Fathers believed the Devil must in this matter have been making mock of Our Lord. Thus during the centuries when the Christians had turned the tables and were persecuting the Pagans, the destruction of Mithraism was deemed an invaluable service. Of course the Persian Saviour was in the field long, long before Him of

Galilee. But the latter's worship gradually ousted that of the former in the army—partly because of the incomparable energy of the Christian myth—for it was able, incomprehensibly, transcendentally, to crucify the flesh which, after no more than one earthly life, would attain to an inscrutable immortality.

This terrific miracle made a strong appeal to the soldier, who was wont, in season and out of season, to stake his life upon a cast. Mithra, a god well cared for and always exclusive, helped souls back to him, but would not symbolically accept human burdens, share men's sufferings, or participate in their death. Thus the metaphysical advantages of the doctrine lacked the humanising touch.

Still, what do reasons matter ? A world transformation can never be adequately explained as the outcome of logical causation. This particular transformation was already prognosticated in the completely unclassical requirement that there should be a supramundane system of reference, in the need for a particular place where the revelation would occur. No doubt the miseries of the time may have favoured a turning-away from the hopelessly disordered world, and the multiplicity of Pagan gods had become so grotesque that a strictly monotheistic regime was needed as a cure. Jakob Burckhardt realised this when he wrote : " The energy that animates such trends is apt to rise out of unsearchable depths, and cannot be posited by mere deductions from antecedent circumstances."

More and more frequently, in the regions surrounding the Mediterranean—in southern Europe, northern Africa, and Asia Minor—and far eastward into China, there was tending to emerge a previously unknown human type, the " Christo-centric ", with its unified symbol of leadership. The tendency worked athwart race, age, climate, nationality, sex. Moved by the mysterious energy embodied in the " Christ-impulse ", the vital course of peoples, and then of whole continents, was

henceforward to be thereby guided. It disclosed itself in the destiny of individuals, had a surplus strength which passed from one to another, was an unearthly atmosphere which sustained all wings, and what happened through its influence was as significant as the profoundest dream.

" Nothing without Eros," observers had been wont to say. Now the apt formula was : " Nothing without Christ."

When Constantine had his first intimation of the overwhelming political significance of this trinity of totalitarian claims, transcendental monotheism, and the central figure of Christianity, scarcely ten per cent of the population of the Empire shared his views. What tempted him to his great experiment was, not the might of numbers, but the peculiarities of the minority which had adopted the new faith. In these peculiarities lay remarkable possibilities. Persons of all ranks among them knew how to die. Only a few years before, at the opening of the fourth century, Diocletian's attempt to exterminate them had shown this clearly enough, and also how numerous they were. Too many for Constantine, the mighty old Pagan ruler ! There was already talk of the schemes of Christian revolutionaries among the members of his entourage. Sooner or later he would have to come to terms with them. Better soon than late. He would begin the movement while the conditions were still favourable for securing the nimbus of deliverer, not as a mere accessory but perhaps from their own domain of mythology. Thus he would rule them.

Might not he be the first of the Roman Emperors to enlist the imagination of these believers ? Would not he unite with his imperial office the glory of becoming for them the symbol of leadership, and thus fulfil the word : " Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Then he would establish upon a threefold base a power never before known. Unassailably installed as representative of the Great First Cause,

sacrosanct as deputy of the Cosmic Central Figure, sustained as in a litter by his totalitarian claims, he would move on to victory after victory. Whatever this religion of other-worldly conquest might overcome or render pliable, would pass unresistingly into the hands of one who was both Caesar and High Priest. Yes, he would do his utmost to make the virulent doctrine world-embracing.

Hitherto Rome's authority had been exclusively based upon her civilising force, and the authority of the Roman Imperator had had no solid foundation whatever.

He rose from the status of private citizen and lacked dynastic tenure, so the Senate, which had power to nominate him and dethrone him, looked on him as no more than primus inter pares. To the western mind a crude oriental despotism seemed arbitrary, and could therefore be ended at any time by the arbitrariness which created it. That was why, whenever it pleased, the megalomaniac Pretorian Guard would raise a man to the imperial throne, and, whenever it pleased, get rid of him by murder. No matter how the Emperor ruled, provided he did not rule too long, since every change of ruler brought a new " donative ", a rich monetary gift to the army.

At length Diocletian, the man of might, had been raised to the purple. Son of a Dalmatian slave, he became a powerful ruler. His native genius enabled him to restore order to the distracted State and repel the barbarian invasions. Then he excogitated and installed the most amazing governmental system in the world. Its imposing unnaturalness accounted for its success ; for when nature has lapsed into chaos, nothing but obdurate perversion can be kept in being. From now on the world-realm, one and indivisible, was to be upborne like a stretched cloth held at the four corners, by the two Augusti and the two Caesars who were to be their assistants and successors. This, it was thought, would render conspiracy difficult. Surely it would be hard to assassinate four Emperors

at once, when they were simultaneously enthroned as far away from one another as England, Syria, Serbia, and Italy? Should trouble brew, those who loved order would at once turn to the nearest representative of legitimate authority, and confusion (which gives disturbers of the peace their best chance) would be avoided. To prevent the two Caesars from wearying for the succession, the two Augusti would abdicate after twenty years' reign. The Caesars, having become Augusti, were to appoint two new Caesars by adoption—their own sons being excluded from the succession.

A blood-bath for possible successors had answered badly in imperial Rome. It was as if every fairly good Emperor had thought it expedient to use up the heirs in a gigantic firework display, lest his sons should not rest content with delusions of grandeur. Four admirable Emperors in the second century, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, were the adopted sons of their predecessors, but unfortunately the chain broke with Marcus Aurelius, who was succeeded by his son Commodus. Then, a hundred years later, Diocletian introduced his new system.

No one knew better than Constantine the Great that this system could not long outlast its founder Diocletian, who, with his colleague the Augustus Maximian, had abdicated according to programme in 305. Thereupon the Caesar, Constantius Chlorus, became Augustus of the West, but died next year at York when engaged in an expedition against the Picts. In defiance of Diocletian's arrangement, the troops promptly acclaimed young Constantine his father's successor, though even then he was technically a usurper, being Constantius Chlorus' illegitimate son by the Serbian prisoner-of-war and concubine Helena (in due course to be canonised as St. Helena).

Eighteen years of world war, high politics, and intrigues against his coadjutors, advanced Constantine from his first coup d'état to his goal, which was to make himself sole ruler

of the Roman Empire. On the long road to power, he simultaneously brought Christianity to the front. This he did cautiously, keeping a sharp watch on the development of ecclesiastical structure as the only genuine order while everything else was in course of unexampled cultural decay. The Church, he hoped, would fix the aureole securely upon his rounded Slav head. In 313 came the Edict of Milan, whereby Christianity was tolerated. Substantially this, by putting the new creed on an equal footing with Paganism, meant that the latter was no longer the official religion of the Roman State, and that the way was opened for Christianity to replace it.

Pagans of high standing wished the persecution of the Christians to end. People were weary of cruelty and violence, and favoured fair play—without realising what the upshot would be. Constantine began to show favour to the bishops. They were given large endowments; much of the best land was assigned to them; they sat as judges, even in civil cases. No appeal against their decisions was allowed, whereas the ancient and once sacred oracle of Delphi was unceremoniously gagged. Closed were the crevices and "Plutonia" where lesser mouths uttered prophecies; stopped were the sources of other knowledge than religious; sealed were the lips of those who might wish to laugh, however gently, at the spirit from on high which was now to find sole credence. For this was what Constantine had determined. Since salvation could come from one quarter alone, from heaven, the Church must be one and indivisible, with one focus and one master.

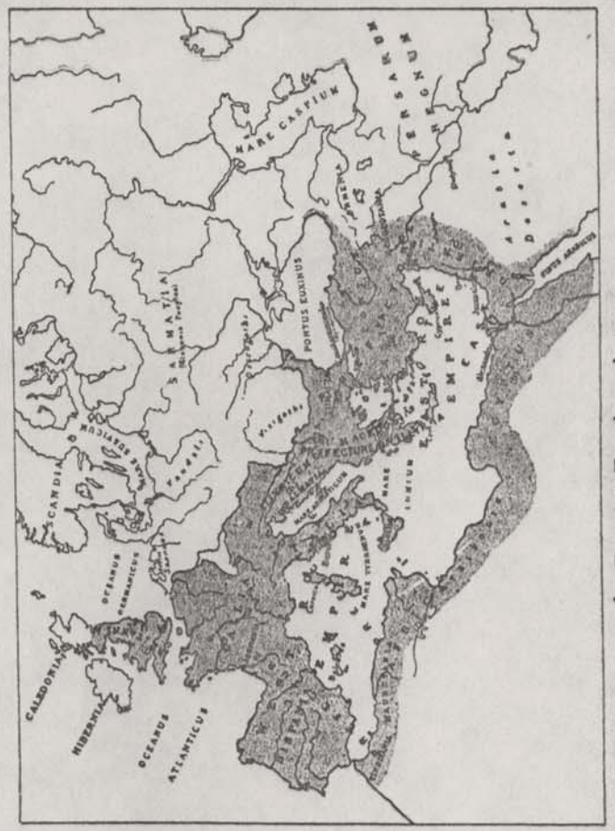
But this beginner still had a lot to learn about his Christians.

Returning for his triumph in 324 after the second and final defeat of Licinius, Emperor of the East, he suffered an unpleasant surprise. What he had hitherto regarded as a rather useful and thoroughly unified religion, had unexpectedly split into dozens of sects, which (unlike the merry and tolerant old Pagan cults) had declared war to the knife against one another.

For more than a hundred years there had been secret disputes about the second Person of the Trinity, whether Christ was of the same substance as God the Father or only of like substance ; but now, when outward coercion had been removed, these volcanic forces could find vent in eruptions of dogma. There was a yawning gap in the Christian fold, threatening destruction. Soon after the Diocletian persecution ceased, Christians had once more to take refuge in the catacombs, this time from their Christian brethren. Happily these asylums were still in good repair.

But only arrogant fools can regard heretical struggles of such violence as no more than " the childish disputes of catechumens ". Behind these discussions concerning the nature of the Saviour lurk the mighty problem of the relation of thought to things, that of the objectification of will, that of the possibility of inverting the rhythm of emanation—the one which Paul Adam had in mind at the close of the nineteenth century when he wrote about a reversal of roles in which the creature would become the creator. In the homoiousian controversy was implicit a question which cut even deeper than the Darwinian riddle of the universe, though in this form it was comprehensible only to a generation still in touch with the seriousness of the eternal. Bold was the attempt, with the aid of the overwhelming dynamism of the dogma of redemption and by a sort of Christian-collective yoga, to free the imperishable from the perishable—in the belief that " for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive ". One who should by " heretical interference " dare to disturb the undulations whereby this magical transformation could be effected in mortal man, would, for those who thought and felt Christo-centrically, imperil the work of salvation, and would thus commit a deadly sin.

These reflections were too deep for the understanding of a Constantine. " Philosophers, also, dispute about trifles,"



The Roman Empire, circa A.D. 395

thought the Emperor. "They split hairs, but in the end they come to an agreement upon practical matters." So he wrote naïvely to his bishops, saying, "Things cannot be so bad as you make out, since you all believe in Providence and Jesus Christ." —"Give me back," he says in one of his letters, "give me back my quiet days and tranquil nights, that henceforward I may enjoy undimmed light and a peaceful existence."

These boons were not to be vouchsafed. Politically, however, he had a brilliant idea. From three continents he summoned the heads of the Church, three hundred and eighteen in number, to the Council held at Nicaea in the year 325. Still unbaptised, but clad in purple and decked with jewels, he presided over the "Apostolic Dance". The Holy Ghost might inspire the councillors, but the Emperor intended to have the last word.

After long hesitation, judgment was passed against Arius and his doctrine that the Redeemer was a created being and only of "like" substance with the Father but not of "the same". Constantine drew a breath of relief. Summarising, he expressed his gratification: "By God's command, the Glory of Truth has scattered these dissensions, schisms, tumults, what I may call the deadly poison of disharmony."

Alas the Glory of Truth had done nothing of the sort, and the banishment of the Arians served only to intensify difficulties. Constantine, whose interest in these matters was mainly political, soon came to realise that he had blundered, had gravely underestimated the strength of Arianism in the eastern provinces; and, despite the condemnation at Nicaea, he now protected the heretics against orthodox fury. Arius was, eleven years after the Synod of Nicaea, recalled from exile, invited to the new capital, courteously received in the palace by the Emperor—to die suddenly under suspicious circumstances, a few minutes after the audience was over. Some say that he was poisoned, but others that God had

worked a miracle in answer to the prayers of a bishop who belonged to the opposing faction. His doctrine lived on and flourished, but never became more than the strongest of numerous "deviations".

Constantine, now as wily as any Christian, was undaunted. To the day of his death he stood above the disputants, master of all, following the dictates of his own will.

In sacred matters, as in profane, he played them off against one another, so that unconsciously they were swayed by the imperial wire-puller, for, while Christianising the State, he indubitably brought Christianity under State control. Here are the instructions of the Caesar High-Priest to his clergy: "You others are bishops within the Church, whereas I am the divinely appointed bishop-general outside the Church."

With wonderful speed and certainty, Constantine was modifying his life-schemes to tally with his conception of the dignity of his office. The change was already manifest at the time of the Council of Nicaea. Eusebius, Constantine's biographer, writes of one of the receptions (which always had the solemn and ceremonial aspect of consecration): "People were inclined to imagine that they were beholding an image of Christ's heavenly realm—not something real, but a glorious dream." Under such auspices there loomed, ever greater and nearer, a phenomenon hitherto unknown to mankind. This portent was like the rising of a huge star, pregnant with destiny.

It rose in the right place, and at the right time: Byzantium.

According to a strange prophecy whose exact wording has not come down to us, the Romans were to fulfil their prescribed fate by returning to their place of origin. They must found Rome once more, this time at the cradle of their race. Such was the will of Fortuna, whom the Greeks called Tyche, the goddess who, for weal or for woe, controlled their lot.

Almost all leading Romans believed this. Nor did any of

them doubt that they sprang from Asia Minor. To a man, the upper classes were sure about the matter, whatever ethnologists, past, present, or future, might decide. Both Julius Caesar and Emperor Augustus planned a return to Troy.

Rome, the "urbs", had been substantially forsaken long before the days of Constantine. Her mob of a million and a half idlers had become insufferable. For centuries they had lived almost exclusively by politics. The Roman Emperors (the better sort of them being the ablest men of their time) therefore preferred to live in Milan, Nicomedia, Treves, or York. Yet these, as they all knew, were but provisional resorts.

Since something like decay was threatening in the West, it had become essential to move the political focus eastward, where the economic and cultural (or at least the vital) centre had already become established. But feeling was still divided as to the precise spot. Some favoured Naissus in Upper Moesia (the Nish of modern Serbia), as Constantine's birthplace, though this choice was on sentimental rather than serious grounds. Others talked of Sofia (Serdica in ancient days, subsequently called Tserditza, and now the capital of Bulgaria); yet others of Salonica, an important trading port. A popular notion was Ilium. Constantine toyed with the idea of a revival of Troy, and actually built new gates, which for centuries were shown to travellers. But the Saviour appeared to warn the Emperor in a vision, and the scheme was dropped. Had the graves of the heroes of the Trojan War, venerated already for more than a thousand years, cast too gloomy a shadow upon the youthful Cross?

Thereafter the thrilling expectation of becoming Constantinopolis—the City of Constantine—moved from place to place like an earthquake, to reach Chalcedon, the modern Scutari, on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus. Sites were cleared and excavated, materials were brought. Architects, handicrafts-

men, and slaves arrived. Building began and went on briskly—until the rising walls ceased to grow, and were left to their fate.

It was not a Homeric shade this time, but Nature herself, clear of vision, who dictated the abandonment of the work. Legend runs that obstinate eagles repeatedly flew away with the measuring-chains, to drop them on the European side of the strait—but the plain fact was that anyone with eyes to see (and an eagle's keen vision is proverbial) would have chosen this site.

Both Byzantium and Chalcedon were Greek foundations of the seventh century B.C. The second was the earlier town, having been, as an ancient jester tells, a colony of the blind. You can read the story in Herodotus. No sighted persons, quoth the wit, could possibly have neglected the opposite shore, where there was an incomparable triangle, with one side on the Bosphorus, its second on the Sea of Marmora, and the third flanked by a flower-garden. It was the predestined bridgehead or jumping-off place between East and West.

The quip about the colony of the blind is also ascribed to the Oracle of Delphi. When a second colony of Megarians asked advice as to a place of settlement, the Pythoness replied: "Over against the City of the Blind." That was why their leader, Byzas by name, established his followers at the place which became Byzantium.

As his predecessor was guided by the Oracle, so was Constantine guided by the broad hints of the eagles. Also, no doubt, by the advice of his astrologers. We are told that he laid the first stone on November 4, 326, when the aspect was favourable, "the Sun being in the Sign of Sagittarius, and Cancer in the ascendant". According to the same testimony, the settlement was completed on May 11, 330, when the stars were likewise propitious. Forty days of junketing followed, with circuses, consecrations, etc. In his delight as a builder,

Constantine personally supervised every detail. Thus the first senators he was able to entice to his new capital were charmed to find that replicas of their Roman villas had been erected alongside the Bosphorus.

Constantinople had her Seven Hills, like Rome. Tyche was the tutelary goddess of the city, just as Victory presided over the Capitol. Even the significant and affectionate nickname of Rome, " the blossoming ", was transported. Rome, with appropriate rites, had been styled Flora by Romulus. Constantinople was similarly styled Anthusa by Constantine. This was, of course, a primitive incantation, to conjure power and greatness from the old seat of empire to the new. But there were to be no resemblances beyond the magic of the " seven " hills, the favouring names of the respective fostering deities, and the Latin or Greek flowery appellations. Constantinople was to become the appropriate centre of a new world-order. Out of a creative kernel, Greek in this instance, there was to grow in the successive centuries a new cultural edifice which was to be in every way differentiated from the old ; and, since language strikes deep roots, it will always be known by a name derived from that of Byzas the first founder, will never be called anything but Byzantine culture. Not " Neo-Roman " nor yet " Constantinopolitan ". But Constantine himself, the second founder, was to be known to history, as was seemly, by the name of Constantine the Great.

Sooner or later, as Christendom rightly insists, Christianity would have conquered by its own merits. Sooner or later, too, the Roman State would have moved its centre to the East, perhaps to the very same advantageous triangle beside the Bosphorus. Because, however, the two things happened simultaneously and not separately, when they did and not at some later date—because it was on Hellenic soil that a Christianity still shapeless became fused with the Roman State—only

there and then was it possible for the Holy Roman Empire of the Greek Nation to come into existence, that Empire whose God-willed pyramid can, according to the observer's mind, be regarded either as Caesaro-Papism or as the Kingdom of the Holy Grail.

Constantine, the first Caesar High-Priest, spiritual father of many Sovereigns of the Grail, received from two angels (say legends of a later date) the symbols of his twofold power. As secular guardian of the Kingdom of God he was initiated by a cherub into the mysteries of Greek fire—the technique of flame-throwers and poison gas. Since he was also spiritual warden of the faith, a second cherub bestowed on him the magical crown-jewels of the Byzantine Empire. These regalia were not, like those of other monarchs, a warrior helmet, a stirrup, etc. The Byzantine diadem was a bejewelled priestly fillet, the " taenia " of adepts. Though thrice changed in the course of eleven centuries, it never lacked the free-flowing festoon, a sort of umbilical cord of the brain, which signified the link between the perishable and the eternal. Has not " religere "—to bind—always constituted the essence of religion ?

What was the nature of the man from whom such multifarious and far-reaching impulses proceeded ?

Was he a believer ? The question may seem absurd, when we ask it in reference to Constantine, and remember his place in universal history. Yet it has been asked again and again, and usually answered in the negative. The writings from all camps and nations bulk so largely, that it is obvious some of them must be by persons who refuse to doubt his sincerity. But the sceptics predominate, from Gibbon to Vasilieff.

The objectors never go so far as to talk of open opposition, relapse, or active doubt. It is not suggested that he had no belief whatever. Perhaps this is because he was a master-statesman, who always brought his schemes to fruition. He

never took a desperate hazard, or did anything which might have deprived him of a title to renown.

So skilfully did he play his cards that, when he died, he was both Bishop-General and Pontifex Maximus, being posthumously regarded by Christians as a saint, and by Pagans as a god in the Roman Pantheon. Always he insured himself against risk. On the reverse of his coins there is plainly graven an image of Mithra, with the legend " To my Companion " —soli invicto comiti. Money circulated everywhere, among soldiers who continued to worship Mithra, and among provincial Pagans who were stubborn supporters of the ancient creeds. But in Rome he recommended the building of St. Peter's and the Lateran.

From the colossal statue of Apollo in Constantinople he had the head removed, to replace it by an image of his own, the nimbus representing the nails of the Crucifixion, while a splinter of the True Cross was kept in the pedestal, beside the Palladium which " secretly " (as everyone knows) was filched from Rome to bring luck to the new capital.

Need we wonder that before this statue in the Forum incense and sacred fire were always burning, while adoration was perpetual? Foreigners naturally supposed, and by degrees the populace of Byzantium came to believe, that the worship was for the Emperor.

Ambiguous, too, was the Labarum, the famous imperial standard introduced by Constantine. It was skilfully converted from an old Roman legionary ensign, masquerading as Christ's monogram. All by now must be familiar with the tale of the luminous cross that appeared in the sky, having beneath it the inscription " In hoc signo vinces " (By this sign thou shalt conquer). The vision is said to have appeared on the night before the last and decisive victory over Maxentius at Saxa Rubra near Rome. Here we have no more than a story put about by interested parties. The hard fact seems to

be that on the Labarum were depicted neither the Cross nor the Crucifixion nor the Christ figure. There was only an outsize portrait of the Emperor with his two sons, instead of the Son of God. The flagstaff, as long as a lance, ended as usual with the Roman laurel garland. In the middle, discreetly complicated, is the monogram ☧ composed of the two first letters of the Greek *ΧΡΕΣΤΟΣ*

The Roman army consisted mainly of Teutons, Celts, and Slavs, hardly a man of whom could read Greek. When literates interpreted the monogram for the benefit of Christian legionaries, these may well have been pleased. Others were not likely to take it amiss. What everyone noticed, however, was that under this standard their highly gifted commander led them to an unbroken succession of victories. This was enough for the army. Only by degrees did the Roman cavalry standard come to be accounted Christian.

Cleverness need cause no offence even to the most pious. Yet why should the starry nocturnal visions in which the Redeemer appeared to one so greatly favoured be thus shrewdly adapted to the mood of eleven-in-the-morning audiences? Why should they be couched in the direct phraseology of a speech from the throne in a constitutional monarchy?

A more brazen-faced unio mystica could hardly be conceived.

This puts us out of tune. On the other hand, to expect from a convert an invariable attitude of stammering but jubilant admiration, is to fall victim to a banal cliché.

As regards Constantine, above all, the moment inevitably arrives when what has long seemed perfectly clear becomes questionable once more. The iridescent colours have appeared so vivid, but the psychological soap-bubble suddenly bursts, and nothing remains but a drop of turbid water.

Almost unquestionably at Nicaea we can detect in the

Emperor the lack of spiritual motives. There are letters and other documents to show how little he cared for the profundities of a doctrine with which he had long been operating as a political tool. But what effect did his experiences at the Council have upon his mind? Who can tell how far he came to be influenced by the metaphysical views of Athanasius, Arius' great opponent, until he sincerely adopted the ingenious Nicene formulation?

Later, when the provinces showed unexpected hostility to the decrees of the Synod, and when he found himself environed by the open and the tacit Semi-Arians of his own court, he may well have inclined once more towards the shallower doctrine, now commended to him by his temperamental inclination to compromise between utility and conviction.

For the widespread lack of confidence in this most intriguing figure his biographer is responsible even more than himself—the really disastrous biographer, Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, court-preacher and sycophant.

So much edification as Eusebius ascribes, stimulates to contradiction; and what he has manifestly concealed makes us regret that it was shuffled out of sight in order to produce a world-picture in which no one believes.

A statue would have been more credible. Whatever we may think of the sculptors of late-classical days, we know, at least, that they did not flatter.

Rodin or Mestrovic would have delighted in Constantine's face, which was not that of a man of station, nor of any distinct racial type, but was all personality, massive (because of life's experiences, and not from obesity), with mighty orbits and a beautifully-moulded mouth. And what a chin! Seen full-face it projects like a well-rounded apple. With these details, unfortunately, the physiognomical audience comes to an end. Powerful, lonely, and mysterious, the self-contained face tranquilly discloses only this—that it probably has much to hide.

In the three sons, the paternal greatness is lacking. The ingredients which in the father were harmoniously blended to upbuild a formidable personality, separate out unpleasantly in the children—the racial, the perverse, the bestial, and the degenerate.

Ten years before his death, Constantine the Great, with a sudden reversal of his lifelong policy of concentration and unification, partitioned the Empire among his sons. This remarkable change of front is, to some extent at least, explicable by the characteristics of the heirs. The father seems to have thought that a third of the vast realm would be too much for any of these weaklings, and was obviously sure that no one of them could rule the whole. Each was to have no more than a fifth.

The most important domain, with Byzantium which was the heart of the new territorial administration, went to Dalmatius, a nephew. Dalmatius was to be supported in the rear by his brother Hannibalianus, who was to rule the other provinces that bordered the Black Sea. Of the three sons, Constantius was to have Asia, Syria, and Egypt; Constans, Italy and Africa; and Constantine, Britain, Gaul, and Spain.

Constantine the Great must have known that no such arrangement could endure. It seems as if, bored to extinction, he must have wanted to leave to "Tyche"—the goddess of fortune—the decision which of the five inheritors would prove the strongest. This turned out to be Constantius (the second emperor of that name). Himself childless, so thoroughly did Constantius II, after his accession as one of the three Augusti, weed out possible rivals, that when he died in 360, after reigning twenty-four years, his cousin Julian was the only male member of the imperial family left alive. Julian ("the Apostate") reigned as sole emperor from 361 to 363, and perished, at the age of thirty-two, in a campaign against the Persians.

Such was the end of the Dardanian House of Constantine the Great (called after the Emperor's birthplace in Dardania, south-western Moesia). The dynasty was shorter and even bloodier than that of the Atrides—and its fate was yet more enigmatic. Why, in 326, did Constantine the Great have Crispus put to death on a charge of high treason—Crispus who was handsome, talented, the Emperor's son by his first wife Minervina? Was the young man too much loved by the troops, or too intimate with his young and pretty stepmother Fausta? Perhaps both. But legend runs that when, shortly afterwards, Fausta was drowned in her bath by the tyrant's orders, it was because he had discovered Crispus' innocence.

Fausta was the mother of Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. In history this little woman, Maximian's daughter, is a puzzling figure. Her father, co-ruler with Diocletian, had been compelled by the latter to abdicate when he himself laid aside the purple. She was married off to the rising star in the firmament of power, and brought him as dowry the title of Augustus.

Conflicting are the reports concerning the double murder of Fausta and her stepson Crispus. There was no obvious change in Constantine after the tragedy, but his laws betrayed the imprint. They became anti-erotic, and more and more ferocious until the end. Moral lapses, such as seduction, hitherto private misdemeanours, were treated as criminal offences. Not only were the "guilty" parties to suffer a painful death, but even the nurse of a young woman who had voluntarily submitted to the embraces of a paramour was to be executed by having molten lead poured into her mouth. Towards the end of Constantine's reign, Roman law, already barbarous and despotic, grew even more so. His sons found it expedient to repeal or mitigate many of their father's more brutal enactments.

A little over ten years after the tragical fate of Crispus and

Fausta, in the spring of 337, while setting out on a Persian campaign, Constantine was seized with mortal sickness. He was in Asia Minor when an event occurred to which the Christians had long looked forward, the Imperator being publicly received into the bosom of their Church. He was baptised by Eusebius.

"After his baptism, the Emperor had himself dressed in long, white, royal garments, and lay in a bed draped with snow-white sheets"—this being in accordance with the Pythagorean mysteries.

A few weeks afterwards the embalmed corpse of the secular lord of the world was lying in another bed, in the finest room of the Sacred Palace at Byzantium. The dead Emperor had had a "wash and brush up" that morning, his wig was crowned by a diadem blazing with jewels, and his body was wrapped in a purple mantle bordered with pearls. The audience was to begin early, in the customary way.

Those who had the entrée were supported on either side by eunuchs who held a hand each in the visitor's armpits. They prostrated themselves thrice as they advanced towards His Majesty and then, at a sign from the silentiaries (ushers), walked backwards to their proper places. All those present were as mute as the dead man, until couriers brought in the mail, which was solemnly read aloud to the deceased. Next, the various ministers of State made their reports. The Senate assembled for the same purpose. The general staff announced its plans. No decision was to be made behind the dead Constantine's back. When there came a momentary lull in the business of State, the gap was filled by the litanies of monks who chanted as they kneeled before hundreds of tall candles that burned in honour of the deceased—though bright sunshine was streaming into the hall.

Thus throughout summer, autumn, and winter, until Constantius' arrival, the corpse continued to hold fictive sway.

Then the clergy, the army, and the people ceremoniously conducted the mortal remains of the first Sovereign of the Grail to the Church of the Apostles and the mausoleum Constantine had built. Thirteen porphyry sarcophagi, looking like monoliths of venous blood turned to stone, stood in the gold-encompassed space—twelve for the apostles, and amid them (like Jesus surrounded by the disciples) a thirteenth for Constantine.

Then for the first time was intoned the formula which throughout eleven hundred years would be repeated whenever a Caesar High-Priest was laid to rest: "Arise, Lord of the World. The King of Kings awaits thee for the Last Judgment."

A MILLENNIAL REALM

WHAT happened to Constantine's creation? What were its aims? What did it think about itself? What did others think of it? Let China speak first, in answer to the third question, since the reference here is to architecture, the touchstone of every advanced civilisation.

"Great and luminous palaces of harmony, their inward aspect recalling the plumage of a golden pheasant in flight", writes a Chinese chronicler about Byzantine churches built in Central Asia by exiled and homesick Nestorian monks, who wished to have places of worship that would remind them of the land of their birth.

As if "in flight" from some other dimension, hard upon six hundred of these marvellously beautiful golden hemispheres nestled down in Byzantium, amid the flower-gardens and the bazaars of this City of the Stinks; in streets frequented by coppersmiths and donkey-drivers with lilac-coloured hairy wallets strapped to their waists; down below along the sea-front washed by the dark-blue waters of Marmora, or above on the border of the park where red deer browsed.

Above the roofs on all hands throughout the "God-protected town" projected lofty gilded domes, gently inviting the chaos without to enter their radial nuclei for purification, illumination, and perfectionment. "Here," they seemed to say, "chaos will become cosmos."

It was the architecture of predestination. As it dropped from above, the perfect round rested in the embrace of a sub-

structure. This, in its turn, was a glittering promise of marble and porphyry. Fountains played in the onyx basins of the forecourts; and on mosaics above the silver doors were depicted, bowing opposite one another, immortal peacocks drinking out of the Holy Grail.

All that were attracted within the doors glided to the central space beneath the dome, becoming involved in the charmed circle and permeated by its magical influences. Imperceptibly the outer world gave place to another. Royal beasts and angels were limned in ascending tiers on the golden walls; incorporeal creatures never seen on earth, becoming fantastic where an enchanted Persian green passed into white light. On the arches of the galleries were figured choirs of cherubim singing in eastern modes to the Immutable, the Unconditioned, the Primal. . . .

An overplus from their harmony was diffused far and wide throughout nature. Every being thrilled in tune with the litany of the seraphim, the great three-times-three rhythm of "Holy! Holy! Holy!", the Trisagion, as word, song, and hymn. In the processions from cathedral to cathedral it traced its earthly course, "greeted, affirmed, and fortified" at every street-corner by the graded "acclamations" of the people. Lest mortals should lose touch with the divine, in the monasteries "sleepless brethren" were appointed to maintain communication with the supramundane, saying offices perpetually by day and by night.

The Imperator's Christian legions, too, stationed on the "limes" of Roman territory—whether in the Caucasus or in Mesopotamia, on the Danube or beside the Nile—would, the evening before an engagement, kindle votive tapers stuck on lance-points. Kneeling amid this illuminated forest, at the sacred hour of vespers they sang melodious psalms.

Thus did the purple heart which was Byzantium, lying betwixt the lungs that were two continents, continue to propel,

through the changeful hours, days, years, and centuries, its pulsating rhythms across half the world.

For Byzantium alone could send forth its messages on the divine wave-length that adequately expressed the heavenly harmony.

Such was the "idea" incorporated in Byzantium. That was how it regarded itself, and how it wished to be regarded by others. For eleven hundred years this stupendous impulse gushed from the town, favoured by the fortunate position of the new centre of empire, concerning which Napoleon once said: "Who owns Constantinople, owns the world."

That impulse was able to repel countless onslaughts by the barbarians; was able, which is more, to withstand the Sassanid kings of Persia; was able, even, to check for many centuries the fanatical progress of Islam. Byzantium was the only State structure that lasted all through the Middle Ages. The anointed wearers of the purple were equipped with bewildering energy to repulse these Huns, Scythians, Avars, Celts, Saracens, Serbs, Russians, Bulgarians, Alani, Cumans, Turks, Pechenegs, who, they felt convinced, "were only revolted and envious slaves, to whom God had granted no rights". Outside the Holy Empire whose hierarchy the Emperor, as Christ's Vicegerent, ruled from Byzantium, man "could know neither human dignity nor good fortune nor liberty". Defeat by Byzantium, therefore, was considered an advantage to the defeated. Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus was careful to inform his strategoi that they must treat the vanquished humanely, and not bleed them white by excessive taxation, for: "In Our territorial acquisitions We do not seek profit, but only the honour and the glory, the happiness and the liberty, of those who submit themselves to Our arms."

This sublime claim was made by Byzantium in virtue of her standing as first Christian empire. Thus from the outset, and before all, it believed Providence to have granted it the

privilege of conferring salvation, and to have instructed it how the world's eternal welfare could best be secured. Here the wonderfully fashioned apparatus of the Roman State was reinforced by the mystical dynamic of Christianity, and this was a combination which enabled the Eastern Empire to withstand the towering waves of barbarism. Thus the supranational realm and the supranational religion waxed in unison under a slogan to the effect that Byzantium was Cosmos, the rest of the world Chaos.

What the Jews had been for the Old Testament, the Byzantines aimed at being for the New—a Chosen People.

Human beings seldom find it difficult to have a good conceit of themselves. Byzantium had various expedients and instruments for forcing others to take a no less exalted view of its importance : armies, navies, Greek fire, money, missionaries, diplomacy. The greatest of these was diplomacy. Venice, afterwards so renowned in statecraft, learned the trade in Constantinople. Russia and Turkey were pupils in the same school.

Not that the Basileus was wont to let the weapons of his soldiers rust unused. This would have been impossible when the teeming millions of Asia were incessantly flowing into Europe. A ferment was at work far to the east, launching Mongols by the hundred thousand against the frontiers of the Empire. As soon as legions, ships, and Greek fire had served their turn, missionaries and diplomatists got to work. No other civilised State has ever been surrounded by enemies so numerous and so aggressive, nor has any other trained so many primitive hordes to become nations. In the intermediate stages they often got along famously while some khan or other chieftain played the " Basileus " in second-hand brocade and a cast-off crown, watched by the admiring eyes of an unwashed ministerial council of men clad in dirty hides.

In Constantinople for centuries there were " Barbarian

Academies " in which the officials had to attend lectures on folk psychology ; but these colleges functioned also as a sort of travel-agency. Members of the diplomatic corps in particular were subjected to strict examination, not only as regards scientific matters, but also as regards the " tact " which would enable them to deal satisfactorily with ticklish situations.

An elementary principle of diplomatic behaviour was that others' possessions must never be spoken of derogatorily, but always in the appropriate honorific terms—without, of course, in any way demeaning Byzantium. The utmost courtesy must be shown even towards mere primitives. It would be bad taste, when conversing with them, to make much of the wealth of the capital, or of the beauty of its women, though references to its military strength and mighty fortifications were always suitable. Even the most remote embassies were kept under careful supervision. To disclose a military or industrial secret was a capital offence. Above all, correct estimates must be formed as to who was bribable, when, and at what price. In Byzantium, long before the days of Loyola, it was common form to believe that the end justified the means.

The " jesuitry " of Odysseus made that wily hero a much admired model ; and one who embodied the perfect type of the Byzantine gentleman must be a Roman with the corners rubbed off plus a Greek who had blossomed into a theologian.

Not even religion must blunt a man's worldly sense for quality. Throughout her long history the Most Christian Realm, blandly ignoring other Christian States, would recognise as equals none but her two hereditary enemies, Zend-Avestaic Persia, and subsequently the Mohammedan Caliphate. The Sassanid rulers, overweening in their arrogance, used to style themselves " Brothers of the Sun, the Moon, and the Basileus ". After the fall of that dynasty, the later Caliphs were accounted in Constantinople the only civilised princes in

the world : " Persons who will have nothing to do with the things which the lower beasts, the Turks, and the barbarians of the West covet."

Standing high above the scum of the nations, the Lords of Byzantium and Bagdad exchanged books and scholars ; while, in the intervals between war to the knife, they propounded mathematical problems to one another, or set out on joint scientific expeditions. But this was not till the tenth century. Emperor Theophilus, regarding Caliph Alamun as uncultured, refused to send that monarch Leon the mathematician as professor on supply.

Although Islam was a perpetual danger to the Empire, there were two mosques for Mohammedan prisoners in Constantinople. When, after the definitive reconquest of Crete in the year 961, Nicephorus Phocas had the defender of the island, Abd-el-Aziz-el-Kotorbi (known as Kurupas) brought in triumph to Byzantium, for a moment the shaven skull of the dethroned Emir lay beneath the purple shoes of the Basileus. Soon afterwards, however, estates and palaces were assigned to the heroic adversary, and there was general regret that he could not be granted patrician rank—this being impossible because (no one hindering) he remained a Mohammedan. Thus the man who had been a mortal enemy lived in the heart of the Empire, with all his people, chivalrously fêted, and in the mildest and most nominal imprisonment. A description of him has come down to us as an infirm elderly man, emaciated, anæmic, livid, but still vigorous ; a fine orator and full of charm, one of the leading figures at the Byzantine court. His Christian offspring rose to high places in the public service.

We hear little of compulsory baptism. With its incomparable prestige, this civilisation governed in the spirit of the pax romana, for however much Byzantium diverged from Rome in the direction of originality, politically it always considered itself the Roman Empire one and indivisible. If the

opposite is still taught in our schools, we must blame for this the hopelessly obsolete Gibbon, with his unfortunately chosen title *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

" No empire fell in 476," writes A. Vasilieff, perhaps one of the greatest modern authorities, in his *History of the Byzantine Empire*. " That year only marks a stage, and not even the most important one, in the process of disintegration which was going on during the whole century. The abdication of Romulus Augustulus did not even shake the Roman Empire, far less did it cause an empire to fall.... Thus the Roman Empire existed from the first century B.C. to the fifteenth century A.D."

That is to say, it lasted till 1453, when Constantinople was taken by Mahmud II.

J. Bury, the able English Byzantologist, also recognises the continuity of the Roman Empire. This serves him as a step to the linking-up of the classical world with the modern. " The line of Roman Imperators persists unbroken from Octavius Augustus to Constantine Paleologus, the last Byzantine Emperor."

Again and again, several emperors ruled simultaneously, but there was never more than one Empire. In the system established by Diocletian there were four legitimate rulers of an indivisible realm. " Though the Imperators might at times hold independent sway, this did not affect the juristic unity of the State they ruled." That is why Bury, in his *History of the later Roman Empire*, describes Odoacer and Theodoric as patricians. For him they were Teutonic administrators of large parts of the Prefecture of Italy. Their fellow-tribesmen, indeed, regarded them as kings, but the Italians accepted them because they had been given legitimate status in a charter from Byzantium. This accorded with the wish of both, and they asked to be invested with the title of patrician, since this alone could mitigate the hostility of orthodox Romans for the Arian foreigners who ruled them. Towards the end of his long

reign, Theodoric's great wisdom enabled him to conciliate his subjects.

It was similar as concerns the first Kingdom of the Franks, of which Vasilieff writes :

"The Roman inhabitants of Gaul regarded the Emperors of the East as supreme authority, as the only person entitled to delegate power. In the eyes of the Gallo-Romans, the rule of Clovis was legitimised solely by the patent through which Anastasius invested him with the consulship. This made him viceroy of a province which was still technically part of the Roman Empire. These relations between the Byzantine Emperor and the first Teutonic kingdoms show clearly that in the beginning of the sixth century the idea of an indivisible empire still prevailed."

Sections of the Italian peninsula, Apulia and Calabria for instance, despite all the changes that were going on in Europe, remained parts of the Empire until the middle of the eleventh century. Were it only to avoid a forfeiture of prestige, no Imperator of Byzantium ever renounced his title to a particle of land that had once belonged to the Roman Empire. But in actual fact the latter changed its shape as the years passed, shrinking elastically in one direction while expanding in another, growing to the east but dwindling in the west.

"Not until 800", according to modern historians, "are we entitled to distinguish an Eastern Roman Empire from a Western. In that year, when Charlemagne was crowned, a rival was established to the Empire centred at Byzantium."

The contention is sound. If in the title of this chapter I speak neither of a fifteen-hundred-year United Roman Empire nor yet of a six-hundred-and-fifty-year Eastern Roman Empire, but of the Millennial Realm of Byzantium, that is because I wish to draw a line of temporal demarcation around Byzantium with its cultural peculiarities, as they radiated from a new focus, and, throughout this period, sustained by a new spiritual impetus, pursued a richly variegated life.

For centuries after the Crusades it was the fashion elsewhere in Europe to regard the Empire whose seat was beside the Bosphorus as a grotesque ruin, a crumbling relic, an outworn survival, which cumbered the ground only because the servants had been too lazy to sweep it away. It was a scarecrow in tattered finery. These attempts to underrate it were an over-compensation for uneasy consciences. The leaders of the Fourth Crusade, instead of sticking to their job, which was the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre from the Moslems, turned their forces against Byzantium, sacked and burned Constantinople, laid its libraries waste, smashed the irreplaceable Greek statues, and minted small change out of the bronzes of Polycletus, so that decent men among them, like Villehardouin the chronicler, were outraged. When the tough Byzantines, having gathered their troops in Nicaea half a century later, were able, in 1261, unaided, to overthrow the Latin dynasty which Baldwin IX Count of Flanders had established as Baldwin I Emperor of Constantinople, and when Michael VIII Paleologus, the Liberator, deposed Baldwin II nephew of Baldwin I—for two centuries thereafter the sea-powers, Genoa and Venice, by economic extortion, persistently strangled the re-established Empire, and were thus mainly responsible for its final destruction by Mahmud II.

Europe shrugged its shoulders. All the better that this detested, envious, "perfidious" Byzantium should perish. But the mood did not last. Now that the bulwark of Constantinople had fallen, the Osmanlis advanced into Central Europe, their progress being only arrested (in 1529 and again in 1683) at Vienna. But it was really Europeans and not Turks who destroyed the invaluable buffer State of Byzantium.

Hardly had the painful results of this criminal folly begun to pass into oblivion when, during the century of the Enlightenment, there were new reasons for defaming a realm which regarded itself as the Kingdom of God on Earth. Then came the

democratic upheavals led by those whose preposterous dogma it was that there would be no happiness in the world until the last king had been strangled with the bowels of the last priest.

What sort of view would such incendiaries take of an absolute monarchy? In the pages of Gibbon or Hegel, a Byzantine Basileus is likely to be caricatured, much as a Shakespearean monarch is caricatured upon the Soviet Russian stage. The brief but overwhelming terrorism of a frenzied rationalism tetanises, so to say, the powers of intuition, and makes even a Gregorovius so short-sighted that he will patter stereotyped phrases about "an imperial puppet sentenced to lifelong automatism", though he is describing symbolical activities which delight the untrammelled spirit of one who can penetrate the inexhaustible living imagery that surrounds the heart of a mystery. The disdainful shade given to the word "courtier" will betray to an expert the writer's date and trend.

But now, when Byzantium can no longer harm anyone, what rational purpose can be served by continuing to deny that she was a political and social phenomenon of the very first importance, standing upon the rainbow-bridge between two eras, invigorated by the germs of the most varied cultures, and yet as sharply defined as a monolith. Recent decades have begun to compensate for the neglect of recent centuries. The incomparable position of Byzantium has been rediscovered as "one of the chief keys to general history". Byzantium is "the best observatory in which to study the world at large". The foundation of Constantinople signified "not severance and enfeeblement, but concentration and fortification. . . . In all the history-books we read that the Empire was falling to pieces, but really it was pulling itself together." Of late there has been formed a new estimate of the value of Byzantine art; anthologies of Byzantine poems have been made; the very remarkable modes of Byzantine music have been carefully studied.

But as regards Byzantium, in especial, these things are merely the elements which combine to form a stupendous life pregnant with symbolism. Because the theme of that life was the world-embracing mystery of God and Man, it stands supreme above its ingredients. The ingredients resemble the things for which a woman with child longs. Like the juice of the oyster, the aroma of the wild strawberry, the most subtle and diversified elements are here intermingled to form a higher organism.

Though many objects and institutions termed "Byzantine" may seem to be of Parthian or Sacian origin (Persian much of the ceremonial, Scythian the steppe-motif of the robes), they were transferred to a far higher cultural environment and constitute harmonious parts of a homogeneous whole; they were stylised with a sure touch and with a noble simplicity of demarcation to form something sui generis, and only explicable as self-determined. The finished product is great and tender, with the charm of sublimity and the beauty of asceticism, with a seriousness that is never ponderous and a refinement that is never laboured—and all touched for our vision with the beauty of "blue distance".

The Realm of God drew, not merely its profane supplies, but the most sacred persons who ruled it, from very various sources. Between 802 and 867 there reigned as Basileus two Arabs, one Armenian, three Phrygians, and one Greek. No matter how a man might have been raised to the imperial throne—"on the shield", by the army, by decree of the Senate, popular acclamation, adoption, revolt, the massacre of rivals—he possessed no valid title until he had been crowned. But when crowned with due ceremonial he was thereby uplifted to superhuman eminence, and his brow was stamped with a seal held by an infallible hand. No longer could he be considered a tyrant, or in danger of megalomania, for his absolute power over his subjects was balanced by his own absolute subjection to God.

Thenceforward the anointed ruler was bound in a metaphysical universe by the chains of symbolism. Everything about him was symbolic. With emblematic movements, liturgical gestures, and phrases of mystical significance, the celestial monarch played his part in this terrestrial sphere, and was looked upon as a magician as well as a man—if by "magic" we understand the use of particular sounds, gesticulations, and signs to convey ideas. By almost unceasing incorporation of the Beyond into daily life, this latter was kept in touch with eternity.

The Caesar High-Priest alone was competent to act as "Transparent" for the decrees which regulated such matters, being thus distinguished in kind and not merely in status from himself before his coronation. His relationship to the masses was one of remoteness, of profound difference. He was not imitated, and was not the mould of fashion. If others wore black for mourning, he wore robes of snowy white; for death itself had become "transparent" so far as he was concerned, and with the two dozen peoples of his realm he was united, not by trivial popularity, but by "the fourth dimension of the heart"—a mystical tie.

Of course when he played polo he laid aside a hieratical demeanour; for he must, in accordance with the versatile Greek ideal, be a thorough sportsman in his rare hours of leisure. Nor could he be described as petrified even in the domain of his pontifical life, for the rhythm of his movements had to be harmonised to a ritual which was wisely modified throughout the ecclesiastical year. Though the daily observance was invariable—a succession of drops designed to wear away the stone of material life—there were occasional outbursts of high festival.

These culminated in bodily images "of ineffable, supernatural miracle"; as at Easter, when the Emperor assumed the supreme role of the Redeemer. Clad in white cerements,

attended by the "Twelve Apostles", he, having vanquished death and been resurrected, moved solemnly, amid roses and accompanied by the song of nightingales, through the garden of a honey-golden nature which, like himself, had once again awakened to life.

New times brought new duties, but there could be no exhaustion of wholly symbolical parts to play. Since he was the Healer, he had to found and administer hospitals. Since he was Judge, being himself law incarnate, he presided over legislation. But being, over and above these specialities, the earthly representative and vicegerent of the Central Figure of the Cosmos, he had a great deal more to do. Think merely of the commercial treaties. A vegetative political economy, in the sense of "the lilies of the field, which toil not neither do they spin", would never suffice to meet the expenses of the Roman State, whose successful budgeting in great measure depended upon the all-embracing capacity of the Basileus' unique personality.

Strangely enough the method was long successful. Among a hundred and seven emperors, not one succumbed to megalomania. Very few perished in consequence of the orgies in the Sacred Palace, while the slothful and the mediocre were lucky enough to receive the sceptre from the hands of predecessors who had ruled so well that the Empire could get on under a diadoche for a time. Still more remarkable is the fact that, though there were sixty-five revolutions, not one of them was directed against the system as such, which remained throughout fully accordant with the original "idea" of Byzantium—though memories of the world's most famous republics, those of Rome and Hellas, were kept green among the Byzantines.

Ardent and supple, versatile and heroic, were the lives of many of the hundred and seven: some of them were great generals, more noted in arms than even in diplomacy, while almost without exception they were pious in their own pecu-

liar way, whether before rising to the throne they had been African chief, Cappadocian warrior, paramour of a Basilissa, or porphyrogenite. One and all, after the coronation, they became attuned to the new role, for they spent many hours daily in the strict discipline of their mysterious function as rulers; one and all they resembled Basil I, founder of the Macedonian dynasty, who, when in a critical situation the light of reason seemed inadequate, would fall into a trance and enjoy the favour of divine communion. "What reason for surprise," he would say, "that those who fulfil their office with the reverence of one saying a liturgy, and regard their monarchical position as sacred, should be safely guided by Divine Providence and have the future revealed to them from on high?"

Every enterprise was pushed as far as could be under the guidance of reason, but in the last resort the Emperor would have recourse to metalogical arguments and would put his trust in God's grace. Alexius Comnenus, before starting on a campaign, would always spread out beneath the altar-cloth various alternative plans, thus submitting them to God. Having spent the night in prayer on the steps of the altar, he would then thrust his hand blindly beneath the cloth and withdraw one of the papers, in the belief that this scheme was approved by the Archangel Michael. When the Normans landed in Dalmatia and every hour was precious, he lingered for days with his legions on the coast of Asia Minor because the icon of Blachernae failed to perform her usual Friday miracle, the raising of her veil. Not until the miracle took place next week according to schedule, did the Emperor, with restored confidence, set sail—to victory.

The blue-eyed Armenian prince John Zimisces, conqueror of Syria, rose to the throne of Byzantium after slaying Nicephorus Phocas in the course of an adulterous intrigue with Empress Theophano. But he was a pious man (as well as

being an athlete who could delight his soldiers by jumping over five horses placed side by side). Before his victorious Russian campaign he knelt day and night at the altar praying for the companionship and guidance of angels.

If every Christian is a priori relegated from the time-conditioned to the timeless, still more, for one who by the grace of God is appointed to be a crowned monarch, supra-terrestrial contacts, when properly prayed for, can never be lacking. There is no higher legitimacy than that which, proceeding direct from the First Cause, descends through the Logos upon his anointed head.

From this legitimacy resulted the peculiar attitude of the Church towards the Byzantine monarchs. "Know, O Pope, that I am Emperor and Pope rolled into one", wrote Leo the Isaurian, who started the Iconoclast movement in 730, to Pope Gregory II. "Hail and Long Life to the Basileus High-Priest", begins the greeting to Theodosius II from the Synod of Constantinople in 448. In the report of the Council of Chalcedon (451), after a transcript of Emperor Marcianus' inaugural address, we read, "Thus spake our most divine, most pious ruler"; and once the episcopal admiration for the "most divine" breaks forth in the words, "Thou art the teacher of the Faith."

Since the Emperor was accounted "bishop-general outside the Church", it was fitting that the letters and dispatches issued from his chancelleries should be "Sacred"; that his money should be kept in the "Sacred Treasury"; that his horses should be housed in the "Sacred Stable"; and that he himself should dwell in the "Sacred Palace".

"So notably was religion the dominant in this monarchy", writes A. Rambaud, "that we can hardly make a distinction between 'sacred' and 'profane'; in this it was contrasted with western monarchies and approximated to the Caliphate." State was not separated from Church, for they were har-

moniously intermingled. It was not shameful that the Patriarch should be appointed by the Emperor, or that the Church should be subordinated to the State, since the State was nowise profane. "When the Ruler holds out over the Church a reforming hand, it is not the hand of a layman; for the Church is reforming itself through the instrumentality of one of its own limbs."

Emperor and Patriarch entered merely by different doors into Divine Wisdom, Hagia Sophia: the Patriarch from his episcopal palace, the Emperor through one of the five gates in the forecourt, the Narthex. From this, doorways, thrice three in number, led into the interior. The middle door was covered by a wonderful mosaic, which depicted Christ holding out the Book of Life opened at the text: "I am the Light of the World." Through this middle door, the Mediator's Door, the only person who might enter was the crowned Imperator. He passed through the mosaic, entrenching himself in it, so to say. Then, the only "unconsecrated" person who had this privilege, pursuing the whole religious path, he was behind the Wall of Icons, the wall of images and phantoms, and entered the space surrounding the altar, where the mystery was fulfilled. He had a throne here, beside those of the princes of the Church.

The East, therefore, called the Patriarch and the Emperor "the two halves of God". No one who indued the office of either of these halves had a quiet life. Only thirty-four of the hundred and seven Emperors died in their beds. Ninety-five Patriarchs held their posts for less than a year; forty-one resigned; one hundred and forty were cashiered, three poisoned, two murdered in other ways, one executed by decapitation, one blinded, one hanged, one strangled.

The Emperor was crowned by the Patriarch; the Patriarch, appointed by the Emperor. The act of investiture took place in the gilded triclinium, the Senate being present, while two

choirs sang the Gloria. Seated upon his golden throne, the Emperor raised the bejewelled cross. "The Holy Trinity, which has committed this realm to my charge, hereby ordains you Patriarch of New Rome." After the choirs had thrice chanted the Gloria, the Patriarch was conducted home by the Senate.

A white steed, bridled, saddled, and caparisoned with a silken gold-brocade, awaited him in front of the "Sacred Palace". This horse was a gift from the Emperor. Through an avenue of lighted candles—many thousands of them—he made his first ride to the episcopal residence, his well-broken mount symbolising his tamed impulses.

Though perhaps a trifle less "sacred" than the Patriarch, the imperial letter-carrier had his share of sanctity. So had the janitor, and the secretary, and every one of the minor stones built into the hierarchy. There were no "profane" offices here; each was sacramental; every title had its grade in the cosmic firmament. Promotion in the service was marked by strict fasts, and the insignia of the higher dignities were delivered to the recipients directly from the altar. Nor was a higher rank easy to attain, for advancement never came by simple seniority. This safeguarded the State against bureaucracy, for degradation was as unpredictable as promotion. Both were decreed by superiors, against whose fiat there was no appeal.

The Caesar High-Priest being the image of God, his realm must be an image of the Kingdom of Heaven. "Just as, in virtue of our imperial power," writes Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in the *Book of Ceremonies*, "we display such harmony and order, so in small matters do we embody the same order and the same rhythm which the Demiurge has introduced into the universe."

In the Theodosian Code we read:

"Nothing can be more destructive to the welfare of the realm than that anyone should assume a rank which does not properly

belong to him, or should claim privileges he has not merited and which are reserved for his superiors. None, therefore, who filches a dignity to which he has no title need fancy that he can excuse himself by declaring that he only did so in error. Let the offender know that he will be punished for high treason, having sinned against the divine ordinance."

A miscreant in paradise, therefore, is he who thrusts himself into an unwarranted position, and matters can only be put right by keeping everyone in his proper place. Original sin is lacking in this picture of the world, which is conceived in the spirit of St. Augustine : " And I travailed to learn what sin might be, and found therein no essentiality, but only the perverseness of a will which, turning away from the Supreme Being—from Thee, O God—towards baseness, has ejected his entrails and now trumpets forth from them."

Byzantinism is especially concerned that nothing which properly belongs within shall pestilently " trumpet forth ". Everyone must keep his appointed station. Dilettantes, windbags, swindlers, and self-assertive persons who do not live by God's grace, are outside God's scheme. " But what are we to do with such folk ? " asks the sceptic. According to St. Augustine's thesis, it is only " the perverseness of their will " which has made them turn away from grace, and they trumpet forth their egotism because they are far from God. Thus they have failed to discover their right place in the world, to find their true selves.

Here let me remind the reader that modern biologists do not consider any living creature remote from its " right place in the world " if it has succeeded in taking contemplative possession of its environment. For each animal, its inner world, its perceptive world, its environing world, and the world upon which it reacts, constitute a purposive and inseparable whole. Without an appropriate environment, the creature becomes a monster. C. Jung, again, from the psychological standpoint,

aptly remarks that a human being constrained for any reason to live at too high a level, becomes something akin to a dangerous lunatic.

Finally, with the establishment of the centre of power in its right place, away from Rome and on the Bosphorus, the City of God really began to exist. Consistently, therefore, it tried to find the right place for each of its dependent millions, that everyone should be filled with God's grace, neither able nor desiring to resist perfectionment, but contemplatively accepting the divine order. Things must be arranged as upon the mosaics that adorn the inner surface of the gilded domes. Should a fragment intended for the tail of a sheep be placed higher up, in God's eye, the whole " Cosmos " would look askew.

This conception of the world is in profound contrast with that underlying a military formation, wherein there must be as little difference as possible between the individual members of a rank or a file. They wear uniform—and the word " uniform " says everything. The orbis byzantinus, on the contrary, bears the legend " polyform ". Above, " in his proper place ", stands the Basileus. The symbols proceeding from Christian experience descend from him in an infallibly consistent divine hierarchy or gigantic pyramid, that a synthesis may be established as beautifully and exactly, as precisely and purely as possible, between the general order and the individual life, and that neither may clash anywhere with the other.

Without repudiation of the all-embracing " charitas ", or mutual love, of Christianity (its collective element), there here becomes effective as collaboration a second (and distinctively aristocratic) element, the principle of personality, of the overwhelming importance of the individual soul to God. Gradation in rank is mystical participation.

When, in the much-decried Byzantine court ceremonial, a

fruit was handed to the ruler who was King of Light and Incorporation of the Logos ; when a mantle embroidered with images of beasts and constellations, the " living vestment of God ", was wrapped round him ; when, " to enhance the dignity of his office ", the courtiers approached and withdrew keeping their faces towards the monarch—all this merely symbolised and foreshadowed in splendid gestures and parables the second and higher life that was to come.

With the general coarsening of the forms of social intercourse during the twentieth century, good manners have been transferred from the domain of mankind to that of machines. Only in the highly differentiated movements of structures of shining steel must there now be perfect collaboration to secure good functioning. Although our epoch is beginning once more to have an inkling of the significance of a symbol and of the magic of a gesture, it still lacks the remotest idea of how essential are fine shades to an organically spiritual culture.

Divinely inspired Byzantium, on the other hand, was never weary of intensifying its sense of quality to an almost fantastic extreme. More and more subtle varieties of clothing, demeanour, rhythm, tone, and movement were being perpetually intercalated between those previously extant. This was not done to humiliate the persons whose offices were thus differentiated. On the contrary, it was done that everyone might know exactly where he stood. All the resources of nature were pressed into the service. Dozens of shades verging on purple were used as means of distinction, ranging from the true Tyrian purple, the hyacinthine tint reserved for imperial use ; while in the realm of articulate speech the grades of due respect found effective expression in the flowing cadences, in the birdlike modulations, of that most flexible of all vocal instruments, the Greek tongue.

Many of these titles have been crudely translated, simply in order to make fun of them. Such phrases as " Your Ser-

enity ", " Your Sovereignty ", " Your Admirability ", " Your Splendid Highness ", " Your Outstandingness ", " Your Sublime and Wonderful Splendour ", " Your Culminatingness " sound absurd to western ears. It is as if one were to attempt translating into European languages many of the terms used in Sanscrit to describe spiritual nuances. Since we lack these, we naturally have no sounds to denote them.

It was fortunate for the Eastern Church that from the outset its adepts had to think and to express themselves in Greek, though for business purposes and for army commands Latin remained the tongue of the profane for several centuries.

Here, moreover, on the bridgehead leading to the East, the new World Religion had continually to adjust itself to the mightiest, the most venerable, the boldest cosmogonies. It gained thereby in abundance and depth, for defensive purposes no less—whereas the Western Church, entrenched in its Aristotelianism, remained comparatively immune to the heresies which were unceasingly emerging from Hindustan and the other " religious forcing-houses " of the Orient.

Nor was it a matter of no moment that the central fane of the Church should in Rome be called " St. Peter's ", but in Byzantium " Hagia Sophia ". To the Western Church had been assigned her peculiar share of the joint task. She must cling to Peter the Rock. " In hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam." Exposed to extreme peril, often unprotected by the secular arm, she had to defend herself against the waves of folk-migration, and therefore must begin to teach forthwith ; whereas the Eastern Church could long remain a learner under the political and military guardianship of her " bishop-general outside the Church "—who was simultaneously Master of the Legions.

Thus saved from the need for material defence, the Eastern Church directed its energies inward. Unceasingly, it plumbed the revealing depths of inner trinitarian life, where from the

eternally inscrutable and inexplicable substance the first hypostasis of God emerged—Sophia, Wisdom, which, as an ideal determinant, " proceeding from Him created the manifold world ".

Athanasius of Alexandria, the great adversary of the Arians, makes this Heavenly Wisdom say of itself: " The Lord created me in His works because my image is in them, and to this extent I have manifested myself in the creation." We are also told: " Wisdom is the first-created essence of the creature, because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost." Again, of Wisdom, in the *Proverbs*: " Whoso findeth me findeth life; but . . . all they that hate me, love death."

Every monad exists only in so far as it opens itself to admit the divine love. In relation to the creature, therefore, Sophia is " the great bosom ", " the guardian angel ", wherever the creature is in contact with the formed content of the divine reason, wherever God thinks (as God does think) in things—whereas man can think only in images. " Existence signifies being thought, being known, by God. Whomsoever God knows, has reality; but otherwise he has no place in the spiritual world, where alone is reality found." Outside Sophia, he has only a " fictive existence ". (Pavel Florenskii, *Oestliches Christentum.*)

That is why, after the reconquest of North Africa, Justinian congratulated his new subjects, saying they would now learn from how harsh a bondage they had been freed, and what a glorious liberty his blessed empire would bestow on them. Rambaud's comment is that the words mean the opposite of what they profess, since natural freedom is called slavery, whereas Byzantine despotism is called liberty. But what Justinian contended was that his " blessed empire would now bring the pitiful half-creature into God's field of vision, and thus grant him self-determination ". Accepted as a " reality "

into the formed content of the divine reason, he would for the first time be able to live freely in his right place, instead of remaining wrongly placed as a fictive creature in the realm of anarchy.

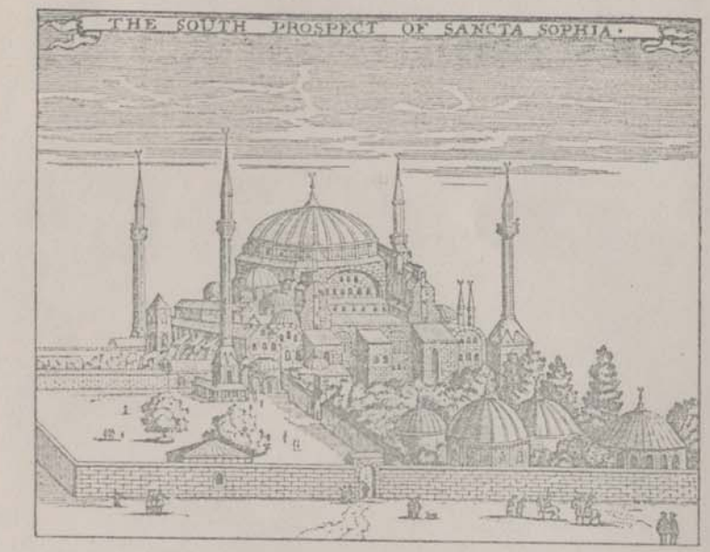
As defined by Byzantine mystics, " myth is the concrete narration of an event which has taken place in the spiritual world, in the depth of being ". By its symbolic content, it remains true for all facets of consciousness that express " the depth of being ". Wisdom, being fundamentally mystical, has diverse aspects. It is a thrill in the region where myth borders on mystery.

With its outermost girdle of fortresses along the Roman lines or frontier, and an inner ring of defences known as the Long Wall of Anastasius (which closely corresponded with the Chatalja lines of the modern Turks), while still further protected by the triple circle of the immediate fortifications of the city, there stood at the heart of Byzantium the central dome of Hagia Sophia, the Palace of Sacred Wisdom. Had it not grown down from above as an emanation of pure light? It was assuredly the general symbol of God's Realm, revealing all that man could or should know.

Architecturally, Hagia Sophia has often been called a supernatural creation. It is a miracle in space. For here alone do we find a building whose longitudinal structures pass in so effortless a way into the central dome which, in turn, without either lantern or tambour, drawing the whole edifice towards itself radially, soars confidently heavenward like a crown.

" It is because Hagia Sophia represents this brilliant combination of longitudinalism and centralisation, because something of the very spirit of the basilica has passed into the gigantic dome, given it life, and endowed it with an aspect of mobility and proportion, that it has qualities which rise above anything that could be achieved by a merely consistent and rigid application of its principles."

Holtzinger.



The noblest materials, used here with the utmost simplicity, are the more impressive because not unduly ornate—because the three-dimensional is not overstressed, in a way that might have masked the pure architectural idea of the building. The pillars have been left unfluted. Restfully they stand there as shining polished monoliths, whether of green serpentine (verd-antique), Theban porphyry, or granular blood-violet marble. First used here in their full beauty were slabs of the lovely Proconnesian marble, the pink kind from Phrygia and the rare variety that gives iridescent reflexions. " White-spotted marble, and marble with silver veins, marble from Laconia and Jassus, gold-streaked from Libya, black-and-white from the Celtic mountains . . . onyx and emerald."

One who, after traversing the porticos with their fountains and arcades, was reborn here in the peaceful interior of Hagia Sophia, enjoyed the " paradisiacal freshness " of an atmosphere

which not even myrrh and incense could spoil ; a " dewy sparkle " came from the shining walls, where eternally living flowers grew out of the undimmed gold of the Garden of Eden. This interior was not designed to produce the numbness of intoxication, and it knew nothing of violence or constraint. On the vaultings of the aisles the whole creation was once more depicted, made of better materials, free from the taint of corruption, filled with a light " like that of the sun on a spring day at noontide ", when everything seems to answer with a joyful affirmative and there is no negation left in the world.

From the mosaic pavements of the floor rose walls glittering with crystal ; then came pictured life, vine leaves and pomegranates ; the fabulous animals of a visionary mythology ; above these, birds, men, saints ; and, as the gaze reached the pendentives, one saw starry angels with great, shining eyes ; then came the glittering interior of the hemispherical dome, the region of sound, whence the clear voices of the choir-boys chanting below were re-echoed to sound like a cherubic hymn. The whole was suffused with the inexhaustible essence of divinity.

Thus here, as in the classical temples of earlier days, existence was marvellously symbolised. Not now, however, was deity figured by vast circular expansion, but in perpendicular eminence, rising plane above plane in a realm of millennial mystery, to represent the kingdom of heaven upon earth.

ANGELS & EUNUCHS

THERE must be angels in the Kingdom of Heaven. They form an essential part of medieval imagery. In the heavenly realm there is no need for "mechanisms". Instead, God—for the creation and maintenance of the universe—works by means of "intelligences", "consecrated authorities", "angels".

An early Byzantine, an enigmatic person who, probably in the fifth century, wrote under the pen-name of Dionysius the Areopagite (the Pseudo-Dionysius), tells us what, "with immaterial, untwitching eyes", he was able to see of these celestial beings, intelligences, and ideas. Thus, without express purpose, he was the main originator of court ritual and ceremony at Byzantium.

For him, as for the Gnostics, the world was the effulgence of God. "This origin is inaccessible to our senses. It is a divine breath, an abyss of light to which there is no access; it is burning night, monad, and unity." The whole world becomes the transparent envelope of the qualities of God, which radiate so intensely that we cannot bear to look at them. In nine stages, thrice three, the primal lights, the illuminations descend to us. As "the organs of revelation" they are called announcers or messengers—the angels.

The first triad consists of seraphim, cherubim, thrones; the second, of powers, lordships, and forces; the third, of principalities, archangels, and angels. On high are the seraphim, "fiery and glowing essences, which flicker like lightning, in

unceasing movement". Their very name, seraph, "the flaming one", denotes their "fire mystery", their trenchancy. Equipped with three pairs of wings, they use only the middle pair for flight, shading their eyes with the uppermost pair from the Light-Giver, and with the lowermost pair concealing their feet that they may not catch sight of anything lowly.

To the cherubim an outpouring of the Divine Wisdom has granted an abundance of knowledge. The gift of intuition and of the power to transmit light has been vouchsafed them, so that they can directly perceive the divine beauty, and ungrudgingly communicate it to beings of a lower grade.

The thrones, in their turn, are wholely liberated from earthly baseness, so that they can enter into free communion with God reverently and without taint of earthly feelings. This uppermost triad is perpetually illuminated, and is the most faithful expression of the image of God.

The Areopagite is careful to insist that he is not smuggling in a renewed pantheism, for the intelligences in these nine tiers are not the independent deities which Pagans worshipped, but only gradations of the One God.

The second triad receives radiations from the Godhead through the intermediation of the first, to refract and reflect them in its own way, but is endowed with an almost uncontrollable aspiring impulse towards spirituality, and eschews any kind of subserviency.

The third triad, which is on the confines of the material, is concerned with a gradational ascent towards God and with the harmonious transmission of God's messages. The central choir of each triad always links the two other members of the triad together. Every spiritual being has three kinds of movement: circular, around God; spiral, which is intrinsic; and rectilinear, as helper.

These myriads of angels form "the setting of the divine glory". God is "uplifted above them all in an inexplicable

way". Not until the rays that proceed from Him as the primal source of light have pierced the numerous envelopes of the nature that is manifest to our senses, is He revealed to us; yet nothing could exist for us except in virtue of these divine emanations. "Only God, the prince of artists, makes the sap rise, the red blood flow, the soft flesh grow out of the cold earth."

The gradations of this influence necessarily lead to hierarchy. The essentially beautiful comes only "according to desert". Stubborn matter will often exhibit merely a trace, if any, of God's transformative grace. The object of hierarchy is "assimilation" to God, its gradations contemplating the divine beauty in varying measure, becoming images which accept their respective shares of the incorporeal divine radiation and pass it on undiminished to the lower grades. "Herein strict law prevails. The holders of consecrated powers, and also the consecrated recipients, must never be at variance with God's dispositions" (this meaning that they must never be in the wrong niches) "if they are to enjoy His refulgence and comply with His will. Perfectionment signifies participation in divine reality. The hierarchy transforms its members into most serene and immaculate mirrors"—actively and passively purified, illuminated, and fulfilled.

An upward movement from the most sacred images to the simple and unfigurable soarings and assimilations must be effected, lest we should imagine "that actual wheels of fire run athwart the skies, or that the heavenly throne has a material back against which the All-Father can lean". (Quoted from the *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, Kempten, 1912.)

In the mystery-plays of Byzantine court ceremonial, eunuchs represented the angels, since "some must be eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake". These white chalices of immortality, strictly graded, surround the "divine glory", in so far as this was symbolically called down upon the mortal form of the Basileus.

They drew near him, veiling their eyes with their white and shining wing-like sleeves, as do the seraphim.

With the clear voices of castrati they uplifted their song into the golden dome in a "hymn of the cherubim" which is one of the most remarkable liturgical texts of the East. It begins:

"Let us who mysteriously symbolise the cherubim sing the life-giving tri-unity of the thrice-holy psalm, and lay aside earthly cares to receive the King of the Universe."

They performed the three basic gestures of all angels, guiding, supporting, and changing robes. Upheld by eunuchs' hands in their armpits, those seeking audience were conducted before the throne. The eunuchs were the only persons entitled to hand to the Emperor the sacred insignia of his coronation. In the Chapel of Our Lady, after a campaign, they removed his military garments, and put on him priestly vesture, thus transforming the army commander once more into the Sovereign of the Grail; and, a living cloak of angels, they conducted him into the sacred bath of Blachernae, the fountain of the Mother of God, for his weekly rebirth.

All these proceedings were emblematic, were a magical "let's pretend", the aim being, in this earthly life, to imitate the rhythms of the eternal—in the half-belief that by appearing to be what one is not, one can really become what one appears. Thus regarded as imitative magic, the notorious "Byzantinism" no longer offends. The threefold genuflexion during the "proskynesis", the seraphic gesture of veiling the eyes with the sleeves, are not performed to honour a creature of flesh and blood; and he who embraces the knees of the throned idol is symbolically clasping the intangible.

Here reigned the Lord's Anointed as representative of the Son of God. As such he needed a special name to distinguish him from a pagan or secular Imperator or Caesar. In view of his mission as Sovereign of the Grail—and also with reminiscences of the priestly monarchy which existed in Rome before

the days of the Republic—he therefore styled himself Basileus. But the title had been diffused by Alexander throughout the Near East ; it was borne by the Sassanid monarchs ; and since no Byzantine ruler would demean himself by using an appellation that was given to another, it was not permanently assumed at Byzantium until after Heraclian had, in the first third of the seventh century, reduced Persia to the status of a border province.

Whenever Byzantium introduced a foreign custom or continued an ancient one, this was done with a confident aim which made of it something new. The Persian Basileus kept eunuchs at his court ; there were many in Egypt under the Ptolemies ; Diocletian was surrounded by eunuchs during the later years of his reign, before he abdicated at Nicomedia ; and under the Imperators many of them held much power, but this was through imperial caprice and not by legal specification. " How does it happen ", asks Epictetus of one such instance, " that a man should suddenly become gifted with understanding because the Emperor has appointed him inspector of a privy ? " In the mansions of Roman nobles, elderly slaves who had been castrated were often employed as tutors for the girls, to teach languages, science, and music ; and some also acted as masseurs for the ladies. When youthful and pretty, they were valued by their masters for other purposes, and were then known as " delicati ". Like all luxuries, they were subject to a high import duty. Greece was a notable source of supply, though not herself a large consumer of such wares, except under Alexander who was a connoisseur. The most coveted white-skinned specimens came from Gaul, while beauties with nightshade eyes and sensitive nipples were of oriental origin. Many eunuchs who became freedmen during the reign of Emperor Claudius, were wealthy men, and powerful, the fortunes of Callistus, Pallas, and Narcissus being estimated at £3,000,000 or £4,000,000. " The private palace of

Pasides the Eunuch ", writes Juvenal, " outshines the Capitol." Such men were accounted avaricious, but they built public baths, and devoted vast sums to other works of general utility.

Contemporary accounts of eunuchs almost invariably seem to sound a false note, as if, hidden beneath an entire man's scorn for the mutilated, there might be an undercurrent of mysterious envy, involuntarily producing malice. Among many witticisms at the expense of these unfortunates, I can recall only one which was masterly. When Nero solemnly " wedded " the handsome Sporus, and many distinguished Romans voiced their indignation, Martial rejoined : " Surely we can congratulate ourselves, and have but one regret—that his father did not likewise marry a eunuch ? " In the East, many eunuchs wedded women. Potiphar, Pharaoh's captain of the guard, made famous to us in the legend of Joseph, was a married eunuch.

There were different grades of mutilation. In many cases an operation was performed which destroyed procreative power without impairing appetite or capacity for intercourse. Phrygian priests in this condition were renowned as sexual athletes. Many young Roman patricians had themselves thus treated, that their lady friends might cohabit with them without fear of consequences. (Juvenal, VI.) The surgeon Heliodorus acquired vast wealth by performing this operation on youthful noblemen.—As far back as the fifth century B.C., Herodotus, during his travels, gathered information concerning the sexual potency of eunuchs, and learned that as many as five hundred were sent every year from Babylon to the Persian court.

Their name (derivatively signifying " chamberlains ", or " guardians of the bed ") is said, in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Enzyklopädie*, to be " an ambiguous term of wide meaning ". In Roman Law " eunuchs were distinguished from ' castrati '

and from ' thlibiae ' ". Bishop Liutprand of Cremona, who in the tenth century visited Byzantium on a diplomatic mission, wrote in his first dispatch :

" So I gave nine splendid coats of mail, some gilded goblets, and four cazimasian slaves, whom the Emperor prized more than all the other gifts. These cazimasians, as the Greeks call them, are young eunuchs who have been completely robbed of their virility, the membrum having been removed as well as the testicles. The merchants of Verdun are wont to have children thus mutilated, obtaining immense profit by exporting them to Spain."

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that eunuchs were originally produced as " guardians of the bed ", as harem attendants. This was a late development in Islam, being unknown among the free Arabs of nomadic days. The Ommiad Caliphs had no use for castrates, when a knowledge of their existence spread south from Byzantium. The introduction of eunuchs as guardians of the bedchamber has also been ascribed to Semiramis ; but since, in her widowhood, she was one of the most free-loving woman despots on record, why should she have created castrates to keep women in seclusion ?—There seems to be no doubt that Cleopatra liked to have eunuchs about her, for she prized Mardian and Pothinus.

In Byzantium they were far more important to the Basileus than to the Basilissa. Without their collaboration he could not have carried on his affairs for an hour. On rung after rung of the courtly ladder to heaven they stood in an angelic illumination. It was not merely that every position in the State service was open to a eunuch. Many of the highest were reserved for them by law, and Bury has compiled a long list of such posts—the original being in Porphyrogenitus' *Book of Ceremonies*.

Members of the great patrician families, therefore, were often eager to be castrated, even scions of the royal house, the

aim being to keep outsiders from these important offices. Castrates were in good company at Byzantium. At Rome it was different, for there a eunuch, however rich and influential, ranked below a free-born beggar. In Byzantium, eunuchs held many of the highest ecclesiastical positions, and thus occupied a more exalted social position than their congeners at an oriental court—though in some of the religions of Asia Minor many of the holiest rites were performed by priestly castrates.

At the Byzantine court there was nothing servile—to the sentiment of that court—in the personal duties performed for their semi-divine ruler. The Basileus stood apart, and therefore those allowed to approach him in his loneliness were greatly privileged. The right of robing and disrobing him was reserved for senators. A viceroy of an important province, an ambassador to a mighty monarch, stood far below him who was permitted to remove a speck of dust from the mantle that covered the imperial shoulders. The handing of food and drink as a consecrated act was continued or revived in the ceremonial of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation :

Upborne is the food by the Palsgrave of Rhine,
By the King of Bohemia the goblet of wine ;
And see all the Electors, the Seven,
Like the stars that, while shining, encircle the sun,
Their office fulfilling, their duty well done
To the Lord of all things beneath Heaven.

But it must not be supposed that eunuchs were not sometimes appointed as viceroys or ambassadors. Guardian angels stood on all the brightly lit planes of the pyramid of State. They were found wherever tact sustained by exceptional wisdom seemed indispensable, being often chancellors or premiers. Consider the famous Basil, son of Emperor Romanus I Lecapenus. When Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus deposed

his colleague and father-in-law Romanus in 944, he selected Basil for promotion, having first had the youth castrated. This was considered an act of wise clemency, and the principal offices of State were now open to Basil. He became patrician, head of the Senate, paracoemomenus or manager of the Sacred Palace, exarch or provincial military governor, leader of the Varangian Guard, and finally commander-in-chief. In the latter capacity, he defeated the Saracens (958). When Constantine died next year (poisoned by his son and successor Romanus II), Basil himself laid the Emperor's body in the coffin, and survived to do good service to four subsequent imperial masters.

Most remarkable is the huge percentage of castrates among noteworthy Byzantine generals and admirals; and indeed throughout Byzantine history from the days of Justinian onwards. It was in Justinian's reign that Narses the eunuch, at the age of 75, completely defeated the Goths in Italy, which the joint commander Belisarius, though an able general and an entire man, had not been able to do. Belisarius, in turn, having (at an earlier date) overthrown the Vandal kingdom in Africa, appointed the eunuch Solomon military governor of the reconquered province. Later Theodore, another eunuch, suppressed a rebellion in Sicily. John defeated the Arabs. Towards the end of the eighth century the celebrated Stauracius subjugated the Slavs in Hellas and was granted a triumph in the Hippodrome, vying with those of Pompey and Julius Caesar. Fifty years later, the generalissimo Theoctistus stood on an equal pinnacle of military renown. Joseph Bringas, all-powerful chancellor under Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, was also Lord-High-Admiral, and acted as Strategus in the Dodecanese.

Emperor Nicephorus II Phocas, the tenth-century Napoleon, entrusted the generalship of his most important campaigns to three eunuchs, one of them being Peter Phocas, his nephew,

and therefore of his own mighty feudal stock. After the victory of Antioch, Peter was appointed military governor, "for", say the chroniclers, "he was of amazing energy, although a eunuch". Again and again, in the reports of normal males concerning the heroic achievements of eunuchs, the epithets "valiant", "bold", "energetic", are used in conjunction with this ominous "although", so that we almost wonder whether the writer did not feel inclined to pen the word "because". When we contemplate the marvellous doings of Byzantine eunuchs, in every field of activity, we are driven to ask ourselves whether these men really were eunuchs in the proper sense of the term, and may not rather have been subjected to something like the modern Steinach operation—a vaso-ligature which, since the patient has not been completely emasculated by removal of the testicles, energises him while depriving him of the capacity of reproduction. We know that Greco-Roman medicine inclined to the humoral theory, to the doctrine that the bodily juices are all-important; and we have learned of late that the most famous Arabian physicians drew much of their knowledge from the wells of Constantinople. Though the hypothesis I have mooted remains unproved, there is a good deal to be said for it. Otherwise the abundance of brilliant eunuchs in Byzantine history—of men who, far from being degenerate or prematurely senile, preserved their ripe powers into old age—remains inexplicable.

Under many of the Emperors and Empresses, however, we find that eunuchs were chiefly valued for their juvenile good looks. "Angels" are, by nature, static, not dynamic. They reflect rather than emit. That is why mortals do not pray to them, but sing about them; and what a mirror can reflect depends upon the person who looks into it. This determines whether, being close to the reflecting surface, he will discern nothing but his own image; or, standing farther off, he will leave room for the reflexion of other images as well. We get

an inkling of this already in the *Book of Genesis*, when the tale of Sodom and Gomorrah is told. Whereas Lot guesses the two strangers who enter Sodom at eventide to be God's messengers, and humbly begs them to lodge under his roof, the inhabitants of the city compass the house round, clamouring : " Where are the men which came in to thee this night ? Bring them out unto us, that we may know them." The meaning of the last phrase is scarcely open to doubt ; and our suspicions are confirmed by Lot's offer to hand over, instead, to the mob his " two daughters which have not known man ". Thereupon the lustful children of Sodom set to and try to force an entrance—till they are smitten with blindness, and " weary themselves to find the door ".

Even as the effect of the white angelic chalices depended upon the observer, so did the aspect of the angel-like eunuchs depend upon what happened to be the mood of the imperial master —and the " angels " might either be welcomed as Lot welcomed them, or as the other dwellers in Sodom wished to welcome them.

However extensive a eunuch's power became, there was one rank to which he could never rise. He could not become Basileus. On several occasions the widows of Emperors, being Regents, tried to have a favourite eunuch crowned, but, even when this eunuch was a great military commander, the army invariably rebelled. The soldiers were animated by the sound instinct that, as among bees and termites, so likewise in the human commonwealth, only one who was in full possession of his organic possibilities was, for good or for ill, entitled to seat himself on the throne.

The monarch must be " an entire man ", this being the medieval ideal. The entire man is dynamic, endowed with a freedom of the will which uplifts him above such holy automata as the static angels.

Of course none can foresee whither this free will may lead.

ACROPOLIS OF THE WORLD

" THE Acropolis of the World " is one of the half-dozen admiring names that have been given to Byzantium, the mighty fortress round whose massive walls the turbulent folk-streams of two continents raged for so long in a vain effort to sweep them away. It sheltered the heart of the Empire ; and, while the citadel stood firm, disasters at the periphery were of little moment since recovery and renewal were always possible.

On the highest ground of the triangle, washed by the waters of the sea, stood the oldest tower of defence, which legend ascribed to the Argonauts, but which probably dated from the seventh century B.C. Byzas, after whom the town was named, built the first wall, of hewn stone strengthened with iron plates, Poseidon and Apollo helping. The tutelary goddess was Tyche—whom the Latins called Fortuna.

Needing more space for his " Constantinople ", its second founder, Constantine the Great, on its birthday, May 11, 330, completed the second girdle of fortifications, for the city was cramped by the old one. Then, in the fifth century, came the strategic masterpiece, the Wall of Theodosius, which was finished in time to withstand the onslaught of the Huns. Its huge blocks of freestone still defy the ravages of time, running up hill and down dale, in a threefold line, cyclopean yet elegant. But outside the wall, villa quarters continued to spread trustfully up the green hill.

At intervals of sixty paces, towers—quadrangular, pen-

to fragments. Priceless Greek manuscripts and glorious icons were burned, while the Turks heated their cooking-pots over the flames. All the same, Uspensky believes that the behaviour of Mahmud's troops in 1453 was less ferocious than that of the crusaders in 1204.

" O City of the Central Position " begin the Lamentations of Ducas. " Heart of the Four Quarters of the World, Second Paradise, planted in the West with trees which bow beneath the burden of their spiritual fruit. Where is thy beauty now, O Paradise, where thy blessed strength, where thy happy charm ? "

He is right. If in Hellas the dream of existence was most gloriously dreamed, in Byzantium the mystery of Christianity was most beautifully lived.

AFTERMATH
MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM

TWO centuries before the fall of Byzantium, " the sparks of her gnosis " descended upon the Aegean Islands like a rain of shooting stars, shedding a phantasmagorial light over the Gothic feudal States of those regions and over the puckish ballets they were dancing tragically and spectrally upon an incomparable natural stage.

There were veritable Dukes of Athens who, as if in an elfin Midsummer Night's Dream, were sumptuously wedded to Amazonian Queens. Fairy Princes like Guy of Lusignan, René of Montferrat, and Isambert of Plaisance set forth to win the love of the heiresses of fantastic realms. There were princesses with names that might have come from the pages of Shakespeare : Cleopea Malatesta, Despotess of Morea ; Plaisance of Cyprus ; Melisand of Tripoli ; Bartholomea Acciaiuoli, daughter of Nerio II, Duke of Achaea ; Catherine Gattilusio, Princess of Lesbos ; Theodora Tocca of Cephalonia and Zante. Four successive queens in their own right reigned over Jerusalem.

Contact with the realm of the sun induced in these knights errant and ladies errant an explosive enlargement of their outlook on the world. In the Gothic States set up by the crusaders upon the Greek mainland and among the islands of the Archipelago, people from the distant North, beneath more southerly constellations and brighter skies, were able for the first time to realise intoxicating dreams. Even though they detested the Byzantines, the phenomenon " Byzantium "

made a strong appeal to their awakening fancy. Benozzo Gozzoli depicted the Three Kings from the East, bearing gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh, as Byzantines in the appropriate costumes. The Patriarch of Constantinople mounted upon a she-ass and John VIII Paleologus served him as models for his frescos in the Palazzo Riccardi at Florence, painted in 1457. Impressive athwart the landscape stands out the head of the Basileus, who is clad in green and gold, and rides a white Arab. He, too, is crowned with a cowl. Pisanello and Filarete, likewise, introduced this monastic touch into their representations of imperial trappings.

Even among the Turks, allegiance alternated with hatred. Consider, for instance, the strange story of the son of Sultan Bajazet, hostage at the court of Emperor Manuel II, and educated with Manuel's own boy. The year 1418 had come, and the Turks' one thought was the conquest of Byzantium. But the young Turkish prince had succumbed to the lure of his environment, and wished to avow himself a Christian. The Basileus refused permission, fearing political complications. Not until the lad fell sick of the plague did Manuel consent to the baptism, denial of which would have been tantamount to a sentence of damnation. He stood godfather, and the convert died happy.

After the conquest and partition of the Byzantine Empire by the leaders of the Fourth Crusade, while the stubborn Greek nobility held out for sixty years at Nicaea, foreign dynasties sprouted like mushrooms in Greece, on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor, and in the Isles. The Zaccarias ruled in Morea. From Florence came the Acciaiuolis to establish themselves as Dukes of Athens, and the Gattilusios as Princes of Lesbos. A Genoese trading concern, forerunner of the East India Companies, seized Chios. In Nauplia was the fortress of the Palamedes. From Antioch the Franks extended protection over the perpetually threatened Jerusalem and its

queens Melisand and Sibylla, descendants of Baldwin of Flanders. In theory, at any rate, the majority of the islands in the Aegean now belonged to Venice, though most of them were really still Byzantine. However, the Republic declared that any nobleman might conquer as many as he pleased, and could hold them under Venetian overlordship. There were soon twenty new dynasties on this basis. Marino Dandolo took Andros. The Ghizis were masters of Skyros, Skiatos, Skopelos, and Mykonos, but their loveliest possession was Tenos with its many springs. In its schists, granite was imbedded, and out of its glorious blue-veined marble the Italians built their crenellated fortress surmounting terraces beautified by vines, reeds, and oleanders.

Marco Sanudo conquered Nascos, Melos, Thera, Paros, Ios, Anaphe, Pholigandros, and many lesser islets, assuming the title "Duke of the Aegean Sea". On Naxos, where the marble was as fine in grain as Parian, he built a twelve-turreted castle. Marco Sanudo was followed by six Dukes of the same family, the last of whom, Niccolo delle Carcere, was murdered in 1401 by Francesco Crispo, Lord of Melos. Of the Carcere kinship were the Rabans, Noble Lords of Negropont. Later the Dukes of Naxos are mentioned as vassals of the rulers of Morea. They played a vigorous part in the feuds among the Frankish knights; and even so great a monarch as Solyman the Magnificent paid annual tribute to John Crispi, the twentieth Duke of Naxos. Not until 1566 did the Crispis lose their island, when the inhabitants (to whom the rule of the Turks seemed preferable to that of the Latins) successfully revolted. Selim II then appointed John Michez, a Jew, feudatory Duke of Naxos. Every second house on Naxos still bears the arms of the Crispi, two swords upright amid three lozenges.

Less feudalised was the regime in Siphnos. There, Corugna made himself chief. He had been a member of the Catalan

Grand Company, the Pretorian Guard of Byzantium, which early in the fourteenth century ran riot over and nearly destroyed Greece.

In Rhodes, on the other hand, the Hospitallers, also called the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem and in later days the Knights of Malta, held sway. Christians though they were, the Knights of Rhodes practised on the island a ritual which in part seems to have been derived from the Eleusynian Mysteries. Their castle was upbuilded upon the site of the ancient acropolis of Lindos. Everywhere you can still see the armorial bearings of the Frankish knights who erected country seats in Rhodes. The harbour is flanked by the crusading towers of the Order, which flourished here in its prime, transferring to Malta in the days of its decline. In 1291, the Saracens drove the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Teutonic Knights out of Jerusalem. The Templars returned to Europe, making their headquarters in France, where their wealth marked them out for destruction by the machinations of Philip the Fair. The Hospitallers, under the leadership of their Grand Master Foulques de Villaret, stormed Rhodes, becoming, as Knights of Rhodes, lords also of Nisgros, Telos, Syne, Chalce, and Leros, all of which flourished under their rule. One who to-day wanders through the maritime town of Rhodes might fancy himself in a Tuscan city, so ubiquitous are coats-of-arms bearing the lily. Here, too, stood the Colossus, Chares' statue of Helios, more than one hundred feet high which ranked as one of the Seven Wonders of the world, and was felled by an earthquake. When the Saracens conquered the island, the bronze fragments still lay huddled on the ground. The metal was sold as scrap to a Jew from Edessa who, having shipped it to the mainland, had it carried home on the backs of nine hundred camels. Rhodes, with its antique fauna, flora, and customs, was the fabled seat of the fight with the dragon—recorded not only

in Schiller's ballad, but in numerous sagas. Legend tells that in the days of Grand Master Elion of Villeneuve the fire-breathing monster slew the knight Deodat of Gozon. The date is given as 1347. Thévenot, the seventeenth-century traveller, reports having seen the dragon's head, which had been made fast to the gate. The populace of Rhodes to-day still engages in torchlight processions and dances, in which there is so strange an intermingling of cults that it is impossible to decide whether the celebrations are in honour of Zeus Atabyrus or Our Dear Lady of All the Graces at Philermus. In the Middle Ages cotton and wine were the main sources of wealth in Rhodes, and in later days tobacco.

In Delos, " where no one might die or be born ", little happened to do honour to the pure Spirit of the Sun. The island has been laid waste. Its statuary has been carried off to be burned in the lime-kilns of other parts of the Archipelago. Hundreds of granite columns may however still be seen, lying prostrate. In summer the waters of the oval lake to the north near the Temple of Apollo become encrusted with crystals of nitre. In the fifteenth century visitors described the statue of the Sun God as still intact. In the middle of the island towers the famous mountain, Cynthus. The great buildings that crown it contain granite columns of the most perfect Ionic type.

Paros is all marble. The marble mountain of Marpessa was so named after an Amazon. The booths are built of marble; the streets are paved with it; marble are the temples of Aesculapius and Hygeia that enclose medicinal springs; and Parian marble has been used to commemorate for eternity the achievements and myths of mankind.

On Melos, in an ancient Greek tomb, was found the skeleton of the strange Woman with the Golden Helmet. This last weighed many pounds, and was adorned with huge rubies.

The Isle of Patmos, where the disciple that Jesus loved was

vouchsafed his Revelation, was bestowed by Alexius Comnenus on the Monastery of St. John the Divine by a Golden Bull of the year 6596 (A.D. 1082). In the Byzantine epoch the Empire used its own Old Testament chronology, which had also been revealed, and must therefore be accepted without quibbling.

Cyprus, the Isle of Aphrodite, was a centre of love-courts throughout the persistence of the Gothic dreams of mastery. It was here that the Cyprian Venus had risen out of the sea; and, as on the Syrian coast, during the great festivals women bore the rosy-armed Adonis through the waves that broke in foam upon the shore. In this region the worship of the "Mistress of all Moisture" can be traced back for more than two thousand years. Countless statuettes of her priestesses with strangely formed breastplates and venterplates have been brought to light by excavation, and the twibill is a sacred symbol. In the days of the Tel-el-Amarna correspondence (about 1500 B.C.), copper, Aphrodite's metal, was an important article of export, in conjunction with wine, honey, beeswax, wheat, fruit, and fine timber. During the second millennium, the island was a great power, ranking with Assyria and Egypt. In the Armana correspondence a ruler of Cyprus writes to one of the Pharaohs a letter that is to accompany a pitcher filled with precious salve: "To the King of Egypt, my brother, the King of Alashia, thy brother." Later the realm of Cyprus broke up into several smaller ones, ruled by independent queens. All the anomalous streams of saga and history gush forth from this source to return thither again. We read in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* of a king's daughter in Cyprus who complained bitterly of incest-barriers which she was bold enough to defy. The Isle of Aphrodite was famed for forbidden love-fruit, for cats, and for diamonds. The centuries when the Lusignans ruled, and down to the days of Catherine Cornaro after whose death the island passed into the keeping of Venice, were a

succession of unparalleled festivals. The longing "to live like the Queens of Cyprus" was proverbial throughout the European world.

This feeling that a queen of Cyprus had a peculiarly gorgeous time was the outcome of the existence there of the cognative system of inheritance in accordance with which, as contrasted with most of Europe, a nearer female relative took precedence of a more distant male. This was not because of a feminist trend, but merely to avoid perennial disputes. Since the men were continually assassinating one another, family permanence depended upon the women. Much in request as heiresses, usually widowed by the time they were fourteen, they had many, many suitors, themselves made proposals of marriage, and greatly enjoyed the situation. Not invariably, however. The story runs that Stephanie, the young heiress to the throne of Armenia, was affronted because three highborn fortune-hunters diced for her hand. The angry Queen had them put to death by her guards. In due course, like a good many other women, she became the spoil of Guy of Lusignan. For the Frankish realms of those days the Montferrats and the Lusignans were much what the Mdivani princes of Georgia are for the American heiresses of to-day. When Sibylla, Queen of Jerusalem, was widowed a second time at the age of fifteen, she was strongly urged not to choose another husband until Guy of Lusignan, the handsomest of the Frankish nobles, had arrived from Europe for inspection. He came, she was charmed, and the pretty lad secured by marriage what had been fought for in several crusades—the sovereignty of Jerusalem. Not because of his gifts as ruler. "Now", writes one of his cousins with scant reverence, "our Guy has become King of Jerusalem; perhaps before long he will be God Almighty". "Handsome Guy" let the kingdom of the Holy Sepulchre go to the dogs, and then transferred his claim to Richard the Lion Heart in exchange for the Island of Cyprus,

where he installed himself as monarch and behaved in a manner thoroughly accordant with local tradition. Of course it was at a much later date, but reproducing the aroma of ancient times, that the apocryphal Bilitis wrote in her " Epigrams in the Island of Cyprus " :

> I shall perfume my skin to attract lovers.
>
> On my lovely legs, in a silver basin, I shall pour nard of Tarsus and unguent from Egypt.
>
> In my armpits, wavy thyme ; on my eyelids and lashes, marjoram from Cos. Slave, unbind my hair and smoke it with incense.
>
> Here is an infusion of vine-flowers from the mountains of Cyprus which I shall pour between my breasts, while rose-water from Phaselis shall scent my cheeks and the nape of my neck.
>
> Now anoint my loins with the baccar whose lure no man can resist.
>
> It is better for a courtesan to know the perfumes of Lydia than the morals of Sparta.

The cognatic succession made it seem desirable even to the nobles of Byzantium to seek conjugal alliances with the heiresses of the new princedoms, and Iolanthe of Montferrat became wife of an Emperor of the House of Paleologus. Thus did the Basileis regain by marriage parts of their former dominions. Even when Theodore Paleologus conquered the Despotat of Morea by the strong hand, he thought it expedient to wed Cleopea Malatesta and set up his court with her at Mistra. This was (and is) the fortress-city near Sparta, where profound and mysterious things happened. Goethe used it as the setting for the Gloomy Gallery scene in the Second Part of Faust, as the place whence the hero sets out for " the Mothers " on the precipitous slopes of Taygetus.

In those days minstrels wandered through the Isles of Greece

made glorious by verd-antique and serpentine, where maids of noble birth rode through the pine-woods, leading cheetahs by silver chains. Troubadours sang the praises of Beyrout in Syria, a princedom which mingled Frankish splendour with Eastern aristocracy. Thus did dying Byzantium, after her loss of poise, adopt the ephemeral cultures of alien races in all their scintillating unreality. Her sacred ornamental fabrics, in garments now cut down to become the coats of greyhounds or debased into the horse-cloths of steeds, embroidered in either case with Frankish armorial bearings, decked the hunt as it wantoned through the Midsummer Night's Dream.

CHRONOLOGY

B.C.

1300(?) Mythical founding of Byzantium in the days of the Argonauts.

700 Founding by Greek settlers from Megara. The name of the town derives from Byzas, the hero-leader of the expedition. From the first, Tyche was acclaimed tutelary goddess.

A.D.

196 Septimius Severus destroys Byzantium as punishment for secession.

203 Septimius Severus builds the Hippodrome in token of forgiveness.

326 New foundation by Constantine the Great. The name Constantinople first used.

330 On May 11th formal inauguration as new capital of the Empire.

337 Death of Constantine. Partition of the Empire among his three sons and two nephews.

350–361 Constantius sole ruler.

361–363 Reign of Julian the Apostate, nephew of Constantine the Great. The Dardanian (Constantinian) House ends with Julian.

379 Theodosius the Great. Spanish Dynasty.

393 Last Olympic Games. Phidias' Olympic Zeus brought to Constantinople.

395 After Theodosius' death, his two young sons come to the throne: Arcadius in the East; Honorius in the West.

408–450 Reign of Theodosius II, son of Arcadius and of the daughter of a Frankish officer. Himself married to Athenaïs, daughter of an Athenian professor. In this reign the Wall of Theodosius was built and the Huns were repulsed.

450–457 Reign of Marcianus, husband of Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II. With Pulcheria's death in 453 the Spanish Dynasty ends.

457–491 First Isaurian Dynasty: Leo I, Leo II, and Zeno. Under the latter, Theodoric and Odoacer become feudatory monarchs in Italy.

491 Zeno's widow, Ariadne, makes Anastasius I Emperor. Anastasius appoints Clovis, King of the Franks, Roman Consul, thus accrediting Clovis' position as ruler over the Roman population in Gaul.

518–565 Justinian and Theodora. War with the Goths and with the Vandals. The Empire again stretches under one ruler from the Atlantic to Persia. Justinian Code; Theodora's conciliatory attitude towards the Monophysites. Introduction of sericulture. Indian trade with Byzantium diverted from the overland caravan route to the Red Sea and Abyssinian territory. Rebuilding of Hagia Sophia and the Church of the Apostles.

602–610 Murder of Emperor Maurice by General Phocas, who usurps the throne and reigns for eight years.

610–717 The Armenian Dynasty of the Heraclides. Heraclius defeats the Avars. His Monotheletism is the last unsuccessful attempt to compromise with the Monophysites.

627 Heraclius, in the Battle of Nineveh, annihilates the Sassanid realm of the Persians. He abandons the title of Imperator for that of Basileus.

633 First inroad of the Mohammedans.

717–843 The Iconoclast Movement.

718 Siege of Constantinople by the Arabs. Leo III, the Isaurian, destroys their fleet and routs their army.

787 Irene, an Athenian, widow of Leo IV the Chazar, restores the reverence for icons. End of the first Iconoclast period.

797 Irene deposes her son Constantine VI, has his eyes put out, and reigns in her own right as "Basileus and Autocrator of All the Romans".

802 Negotiations for a marriage between Irene and Charlemagne. Fall of Irene.

820 Phrygian Dynasty and second Iconoclast period begin with the reign of Michael II Balbus.

843 After the death of Emperor Theophilus, his widow Theodora re-establishes icons. The Festival of Orthodoxy which marked this restoration is still celebrated by the Greek Church.

860 First Russian attack on Constantinople. The Russian navy is destroyed by Greek fire.

867 Basil I the Great, founder of the Macedonian Dynasty, ascends the throne.

911–947 Reign of Basil's grandson, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, who issued the famous *Book of Ceremonies*. Conversion of the Russians to Orthodoxy.

963–969 Reign of Nicephorus Phocas, conqueror of the Arabs. Reconquest of Crete in the name of Basil II, a minor.

969–976 Reign of John Zimisces, in the name of Basil II, still a minor.

976–1025 Effective reign of Basil II Bulgarocrator. This period marks the climax of Byzantine power and prosperity.

1054 Severance of the Eastern and Western Churches.

1056 End of the Macedonian Dynasty with the death of Theodora. Since the death of the Bulgarocrator she and her sister Zoe had ruled jointly.

1056–1081 Time of unrest under Isaac Comnenus, Constantine X Ducas, Romanus Diogenes, Michael VII Ducas, and Botaniates.

1071 Victory of the Seljuk Turks at Manzikert. Loss of the greater part of Asia Minor.

CHRONOLOGY

1081	Alexius I Comnenus is crowned Emperor. Opening of the Century of the Comneni under four Emperors of this famous House.
1097	First Crusade.
1118	John II the Handsome succeeds his father Alexius I.
1143	Death of Handsome John and accession of his son, Manuel I.
1147	Second Crusade.
1185	Andronicus I, last of the Comneni, put to death by Isaac II Angelus, who succeeds, and starts the Dynasty of the Angeli.
1190	Third Crusade under Frederick Barbarossa.
1204	Fourth Crusade. The Crusaders attack and seize Constantinople, the spoils being divided between Baldwin and Dandolo the Venetian.
1204–1261	Empire of Nicaea, founded by Theodore Lascaris. Nicaea was the stronghold where the patriots planned the reconquest of Constantinople.
1261	The Byzantines under Michael VIII Paleologus retake Constantinople.
1347	John Cantacuzenus becomes Emperor.
1354	The Dynasty of the Paleologi is restored.
1453	The last Byzantine Basileus, Constantine Paleologus, is slain when Byzantium is stormed by Sultan Mahmud II. End of the Empire.

THE EARLIER ICONOCLAST EMPERORS

Leo III, the Isaurian
Constantine V, Copronymus
Leo IV = Irene
Mary = Constantine VI = Theodota

THE DESCENDANTS OF BASIL I AND MICHAEL III

Michael III = Eudocia Ingerina = Basil I
Alexander
Zoe = Leo VI
Constantine VII
Romanus II = Theophano = Nicephorus II, Phocas
Basil II Constantine VIII Theophano = Otto II
Zoe Theodora

THE MOST NOTED COMNENI

Anna Dalassena
(Mother of the Comneni)
Isaac Alexius I = Irene Ducas
Anna Comnena John III (Handsome John) Isaac
Manuel I Andronicus I
Alexius II
(deposed and strangled by Andronicus)

A. A. Vasiliev

HISTORY OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

324–1453

MADISON – 1952

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THE REIGN OF JUSTINIAN AND THEODORA

Justin's successor, his nephew Justinian (527–65), is the central figure of this entire period. His name is closely connected with the name of his royal wife, Theodora, one of the very interesting and gifted women of the Byzantine period. *The Secret History,* which is from the pen of Procopius, the historian of Justinian's epoch, paints in exaggerated colors the perverted life of Theodora in the days of her youth, when, as the daughter of the keeper of the bears in the amphitheater, she lived in the morally corrupt atmosphere of the stage of that period and became a woman who gave freely of her love to many men. Nature had endowed her with beauty, grace, intelligence, and wit. According to one historian (Diehl), "she amused, charmed, and scandalized Constantinople."[12] Procopius said that people who met Theodora in the street would shrink from getting close to her, fearing that a mere touch might sully their robes.[13] But all these dark details about the early years of the future empress must be viewed with some skepticism, for they all come from Procopius, whose chief aim in *The Secret History* was to defame Justinian and Theodora. After the very stormy period of her early life, Theodora disappeared from the capital and remained in Africa for a few years. When she returned to Constantinople she was no more the former flighty actress. She had left the stage and was leading a solitary life, devoting much of her time to spinning wool and developing a great interest in religious questions, when Justinian saw her for the first time. Her beauty impressed him greatly and he took her to court, bestowed upon her the rank of patrician, and soon married her. With his accession to the throne she became empress of the Byzantine Empire. Theodora proved herself to be adequate to her new and lofty position. She remained a faithful wife and showed much interest in government affairs, exhibiting very keen insight and exerting much influence upon Justinian in all his undertakings. In the revolt of 532, which will be discussed later, Theodora played one of the most significant parts. By her coolheaded actions and unusual energy she perhaps saved the Empire from further commotions. In her religious preferences she openly favored the Monophysites and was thus the direct opposite of her wavering husband. He adhered to orthodoxy throughout his long reign, though he made some concessions to Monophysitism. She showed a better understanding than he of the significance of the eastern Monophysitic provinces, which were in reality the vital parts of the Empire and she definitely aimed to bring about peaceful relations with them. Theodora died of cancer in the year 548, long before Justinian's death.[14]

[12] Charles Diehl, *Figures byzantines,* I, 56; English trans. H. Bell, *Byzantine Portraits,* 54.

[13] *Historia arcana,* 9, 25; ed. J. Haury, 60–61.

[14] Victoris Tonnennensis *Chronica, s. a. 549:* Theodora Augusta Chalcedonsis synodi inimica canceris plaga corpore toto perfusa vitam prodigiose finivit; in *Chronica Minora,* ed. T. Mommsen, II, 202.

In the famous mosaic in the Church of St. Vitale at Ravenna, dating back to the sixth century, Theodora is represented in imperial robes, surrounded by her court. Church historians contemporary with Theodora, as well as those of a later period, are very harsh with regard to her character. In spite of this, in the orthodox calendar under November 14 appears "The Assumption of the Orthodox King Justinian and the memory of the Queen Theodora."[15] She was buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles.

The external policy of Justinian and his ideology

The numerous wars of Justinian were partly offensive and partly defensive. The former were carried on against the barbarian Germanic states of western Europe; the latter were directed against Persia in the East and the Slavs in the north.

The main forces were directed to the west, where the military activities of the Byzantine army were crowned with triumphant success. The Vandals, the Ostrogoths, and to some extent the Visigoths were forced into subjection to the Byzantine emperor. The Mediterranean Sea was almost converted into a Byzantine lake. In his decrees Justinian called himself Caesar Flavius Justinian the Alamannicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Vandalicus, Africanus. But this outer splendor had its reverse side. The success was attained at a price too dear for the Empire, for it involved the complete economic exhaustion of the Byzantine state. In view of the fact that the army was transferred to the west, the east and the north remained open to the attacks of the Persians, Slavs, and Huns.

The principal enemies of the Empire, in Justinian's opinion, were the Germans. Thus the German question reappeared in the Byzantine Empire during the sixth century, with this difference only: in the fifth century the Germans were attacking the Empire; in the sixth century it was the Empire that pressed upon the Germans.

Justinian mounted the throne with the ideals of an emperor both Roman and Christian. Considering himself a successor of the Roman Caesars, he deemed it his sacred duty to restore a single Empire extending to the same boundaries it had had in the first and second centuries. As a Christian ruler he could not allow the German Arians to oppress the orthodox population. The rulers of Constantinople, as lawful successors of the Caesars, had historical rights to western Europe, occupied at this time by barbarians. The Germanic kings were but vassals of the Byzantine Emperor, who had delegated them to rule in the West. The Frankish king, Clovis, had received his rank of consul from Anastasius; it was Anastasius also who had given official recognition to the Ostrogothic king, Theodoric. When he decided to wage war against the

[15] Arch. Sergius, *The Complete Liturgical Calendar* (*Menelogion*) *of the Orient* (2nd ed., 1901), II, 1, 354.

Byzantine factions acquire a new and very important significance as a social element.[78]

An interesting recurrence of pattern is to be found in the fact that early in the sixth century in Rome under Theodoric the Great two rival parties, the Greens and the Blues, continued to fight, the Blues representing the upper classes and the Greens the lower.[79]

An important new approach to this question has recently been emphasized and discussed. A Russian scholar, the late A. Dyakonov, pointed out "the error in method" of Rambaud, Manojlović, and others who fail to differentiate between the demes and the factions, which of course are not identical at all and must be dealt with separately. The object of Dyakonov's study was not to solve the problem, but to raise it again, so that this new approach may be considered in future more highly specialized works.[80]

The causes of the formidable rebellion of 532 in the capital were numerous and diverse. The opposition directed against Justinian was threefold: dynastic, public, and religious. The surviving nephews of Anastasius felt that they had been circumvented by Justin's, and later Justinian's, accession to the throne, and, supported by the Monophysitical-minded party of the Greens, they aimed to depose Justinian. The public opposition arose from general bitterness against the higher officials, especially against the famous jurist, Tribonian, and the praetorian prefect, John of Cappadocia, who aroused great

[78] See the extremely important monograph by M. Manojlović, originally published in Serbo-Croatian in 1904 and almost never referred to. H. Grégoire has translated it into French under the title "Le peuple de Constantinople," *Byzantion,* XI (1936), 617–716. Manojlović's thesis has not been universally accepted. F. Dolger accepts it (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* XXXVII [1937], 542); Ostrogorsky declines it (*Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates,* 41, n. 1). E. Stein declined it in 1920 (he had not himself read the original Serbo-Croatian text), but accepted it in 1930 (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* XXX [1930], 378). I myself believe that Manojlović has convincingly proved his thesis.

[79] See E. Condurachi, "Factions et jeux de cirque à Rome au début du VI^e siècle," *Revue historique du sud-est européen,* XVIII (1941), 95–102, especially 96–98. The source for this important conclusion is the contemporary work of Cassiodorus, the *Variae*. Cf. Manojlović's casual remark, unsupported by any reference: "This 'crystallization' [of the classes] originated in the circus of the elder Rome." *Byzantion,* XI (1936), 642, 711–12.

[80] "The Byzantine Demes and Factions [τὰ μέρη] in the Fifth to the Seventh Centuries," *Vizantiysky Sbornik,* 1945, ed. M. V. Levchenko, 144–227; introduction, 144–49. An excellent study which must serve as an indispensable foundation for further studies on this question. On the history of the demes and factions in later times, especially in the seventh century when the political importance of the factions was gradually waning, see G. Brătianu, "La Fin du regime des parties à Byzance et la crise antisemite du VII^e siècle, *Revue historique du sud-est européen,* XVIII (1941), 49–57. Dyakonov, "Byzantine Demes," *Vizantiysky Sbornik,* 1945, 226–27. Grégoire may be somewhat inexact in his statement: "It is a fact that after 641 one finds no further trace of the political role of the colors of the Circus [*des couleurs du Cirque*]," "Notules epigraphique," *Byzantion,* XIII (1938), 175. F. Dvornik, "The Circus Parties in Byzantium," *Byzantina Metabyzantina,* I (1946), 119–133.

dissatisfaction among the people by their violation of laws and their shameful extortions and cruelty. Finally, the religious opposition was that of the Monophysites, who had suffered great restrictions during the early years of Justinian's reign. All these causes together brought about a revolt of the people in the capital, and it is interesting to note that the Blues and the Greens, abandoning for a time their religious discrepancies, made common cause against the hated government. The Emperor negotiated with the people through the herald in the Hippodrome, but no settlement was reached.[81] The revolt spread rapidly through the city, and the finest buildings and monuments of art were subjected to destruction and fire. Fire was also set to the basilica of St. Sophia, the site of which was later chosen for the famous cathedral of St. Sophia. The rallying cry of the rioters, *Nika,* meaning "victory" or "vanquish," has given this uprising the name of the Nika revolt. Justinian's promise to dismiss Tribonian and John of Cappadocia from their posts and his personal appeal to the mob at the Hippodrome were of no effect. A nephew of Anastasius was proclaimed emperor. Sheltered in the palace, Justinian and his councilors were already contemplating flight when Theodora rose to the occasion. Her exact words appear in *The Secret History* of Procopius: "It is impossible for a man, when he has come into the world, not to die; but for one who has reigned, it is intolerable to be an exile. . . . If you wish, O Emperor, to save yourself, there is no difficulty: we have ample funds; yonder is the sea, and there are the ships. Yet reflect whether, when you have once escaped to a place of security, you will not prefer death to safety. I agree with an old saying that the purple is a fair winding sheet."[82] The Emperor rallied and entrusted to Belisarius the task of crushing the revolt, which had already lasted for six days. The general drove the rioters into the Hippodrome, enclosed them there, and killed from thirty to forty thousand. The revolt was quelled, the nephews of Anastasius were executed, and Justinian once more sat firmly on the throne.[83]

Taxation and financial problems.—One of the distinguishing features of Justinian's internal policy was his obstinate, still not fully explained, struggle with the large landowners. This strife is discussed in the Novels and the papyri, as well as in *The Secret History* of Procopius, who, in spite of defending the views of the nobility and in spite of crowding into this libel a number of

[81] See a curious conversation between the Emperor and the Greens through a herald or *mandator* in Theophanes, *Chronographia,* ed. de Boor, 181–84; also *Chronicon Paschale,* 620–21. Cf. P. Maas, "Metrische Akklamationen der Byzantiner," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* XXI (1912), 31–33, 46–51. Bury thinks that this may refer to some other period of Justinian's reign; see *Later Roman Empire,* II, 40 and n. 3, 72. Bury gives an English translation of the conversation, 72–74.

[82] *De bello persico,* I, 24, 35–37; ed. Haury, I, 130; ed. Dewing, I, 230–33.

[83] On the *Nika* revolt see Dyakonov's remarks in "The Byzantine Demes," *Vizantiysky Sbornik,* 1945, 209–12.

and Abyssinians (Axumites). Coins with the names of the Byzantine emperors of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries—Arcadius, Theodosius, Marcian, Leo I, Zeno, Anastasius I, Justin I—have been found in southern and northern India.[101] In the international economic life of the sixth century the Byzantine Empire played a role so important that, according to Cosmas, "all the nations carry on their trade in Roman money (the Byzantine gold coin, *nomisma* or *solidus*), from one extremity of the earth to the other. This money is regarded with admiration by all men to whatever kingdom they belong, since there is no other country in which the like of it exists."[102]

Cosmas told a very interesting story which shows the profound respect commanded in India by the Byzantine gold coin (*nomisma*):

The King of Ceylon, having admitted a Byzantine merchant, Sopatrus, and some Persians to an audience and having received their salutations, requested them to be seated. He then asked them: "In what state are your countries, and how go things with them?" To this they replied: "They go well." Afterward, as the conversation proceeded, the King inquired: "Which of your kings is the greater and the more powerful?" The elderly Persian, snatching the word, answered: "Our king is both the more powerful and the greater and richer, and indeed is King of Kings, and whatsoever he desires, that he is able to do." Sopatrus, on the other hand, sat mute. So the King asked: "Have you, Roman, nothing to say?" "What have I to say," he rejoined, "when he there has said such things? But if you wish to learn the truth you have the two kings here present. Examine each and you will see which of them is the grander and the more powerful." The King, upon hearing this, was amazed at his words and asked: "How say you that I have both kings here?" "You have," replied Sopatrus, "the money of both—the *nomisma* of one, and the drachma, that is, the miliarision of the other. Examine the image of each and you will see the truth. . . ." After having examined them, the King said that the Romans were certainly a splendid, powerful, and sagacious people. So he ordered great honor to be paid to Sopatrus, causing him to be mounted on an elephant and conducted round the city with drums beating and high state. These circumstances were told us by Sopatrus himself and his companions, who had accompanied him to that island from Adule; and as they told the story, the Persian was deeply chagrined at what had occurred.[103]

[101] See R. Sewell, "Roman Coins in India," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXXVI (1904), 620–21. M. Khvostov, *History of Oriental Commerce in Greco-Roman Egypt*, 230. E. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, 140.

[102] *Topographia christiana*, II; ed. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXXXVIII, 116; ed. Winstedt, 81; ed. MacCrindle, 73.

[103] *Ibid.*, XXI; ed. Migne, 448–49; ed. MacCrindle, 368–70. This story appears to be traditional, as Pliny related a somewhat similar anecdote of the ambassadors from Ceylon in the reign of Claudius. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, VI, 85. See J. E. Tennent, *Ceylon* (5th ed., 1860), I, 566.

In addition to the historical-geographical value, the work of Cosmas is also of great artistic value because of the numerous pictures (miniatures) which adorn his text. It is likely that some of these pictures were the work of the author himself. The original manuscript of the sixth century has not survived, but the later manuscripts of *The Christian Topography* contain copies of the original miniatures and thus serve as a valuable source for the history of early Byzantine, especially Alexandrine, art. "The miniatures in the work of Cosmas," said N. P. Kondakov, "are more characteristic of Byzantine art of the period of Justinian, or rather of the brilliant part of his reign, than any other monument of that period, except some of the mosaics at Ravenna."[104]

The work of Cosmas was later translated into Slavonic and became widely spread among the Slavs. There exist numerous Russian versions of *The Christian Topography* supplemented with the portrait of Cosmas Indicopleustes and numerous pictures and miniatures which are of much interest in the history of old Russian art.[105]

Protection of Byzantine commerce.—Justinian made it his aim to free Byzantine commerce of its dependence on Persia. This involved establishing direct communication with India by way of the Red Sea. The northeastern corner of the Red Sea (in the Gulf of Akaba) was occupied by the Byzantine port, Ayla, whence Indian wares could be transported by a land route through Palestine and Syria to the Mediterranean Sea. Another port, Clysma (near present-day Suez), was situated on the northwestern shore of the Red Sea, and from it was directly connected with the Mediterranean Sea. On one of the islands at the entrance to the Gulf of Akaba, Iotabe (now Tiran), near the southern extremity of the Sinai peninsula, a customhouse for bygoing vessels was established during Justinian's reign.[106] But the number of Byzantine ships in the Red Sea was not sufficient for carrying on a regulated commerce. This fact forced Justinian to establish close relations with the Christian Abyssinians in the Kingdom of Axum, urging them to buy silk in India and then resell it to the Byzantine Empire. He apparently wanted them to play the part of trade mediators between the Byzantine Empire and India, as the Persians had done up to that time. But these attempts on the part of the Emperor were not successful, for the Abyssinian merchants could not compete with Persian influence in India and the monopoly of silk buying still remained in the hands of Persian merchants. In the end Justinian did not succeed in opening up new routes for direct trade with the East. In intervals of peace the

[104] *Histoire de l'art byzantin considéré principalement dans les miniatures*, I, 138; Russian ed. (1876), 88.

[105] See E. Redin, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes, from Greek and Russian Versions*, ed. D. V. Aïnalov.

[106] See W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*, I, 10. Diehl, *Justinien*, 390. R. P. F.-M. Abel, "L'Isle de Jotabe," *Revue biblique*, XLVII (1938), 520–24.

city.[26] The "various books" refer to Greek translations and commentaries of Justinian's lawbooks which were used in actual practice, frequently replacing the Latin originals. Very few people could understand these Greek translations and commentaries. The profusion of books and the variations and contradictions found in them produced considerable confusion in the civil law of the Byzantine Empire. Leo III saw clearly the existing state of affairs and made it his aim to relieve these conditions. The principles of the Ecloga, laid down in its introduction, are imbued with ideas of justice and righteousness. They maintain that judges must "refrain from all human passions and make decisions of true justice, developed by clear reasoning; they must not scorn the needy, or leave unpunished the strong man guilty of offense. . . . They must justly refrain from accepting gifts." All the officials in judicial service must receive definite salaries from the imperial "pious treasury," so that "they take nothing from any person who might come under their jurisdiction, in order that the prediction of the Prophet, 'They sold the righteous for silver' (Amos, 2:6), should not come true and that we should not be visited by the wrath of God for becoming transgressors of his commandments."[27]

The contents of the Ecloga, subdivided into eighteen titles, deal mainly with civil law, and only to a slight extent with criminal law. They treat of marriage, betrothal, dowry, testaments, and intestacies, of wardship, enfranchisement of slaves, witnesses, various liabilities connected with sale, purchase, rent, etc. Only one title contains a chapter of criminal law on punishments.

The Ecloga differed in many respects from the Justinian Code, and even contradicted it at times by accepting the decisions of customary law and judicial practices which existed parallel with the official legislative works of Justinian. When compared with the latter, the Ecloga represents a considerable step forward in many respects. For instance, its marriage laws included the introduction of higher Christian conceptions. True, the chapter on penalties abounds in punishments which prescribe the maiming of the body, such as cutting off a hand, tongue, or nose, or blinding the convict. But this fact does not permit one to consider the Ecloga a barbarian law, because in most cases these punishments were intended to take the place of the penalty of death. In this sense the Isaurian emperors were right in claiming that their legal accomplishments were "greater in their humanity" than the work of the preceding emperors. Also the Ecloga prescribed equal punishment to the distinguished and the common, to the rich and the poor, while the Justinian

[26] *Ecloga*, par. 11. Zepos, *Jus graecoromanum*, II, 13.

[27] *Ecloga*, par. 11, 13; the Russian trans. Vasilievsky, "Legislation of the Iconoclasts," *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, CXCIX (1878), 283–85 and *Works*, IV, 168–69. Spulber, *L'Eclogue*, 5–9. Freshfield, *Roman Law*, 68–70. Both give an English trans. Zepos, *Jus graecoromanum*, II, 14, 16–17.

law frequently prescribed different penalties without any real basis for the discrimination. The Ecloga is distinguished by an abundance of references to the Scriptures for confirmation of different juridical principles. "The spirit of Roman Law became transformed in the religious atmosphere of Christianity."[28] Throughout the eighth and ninth centuries, until the time of the accession of the Macedonian dynasty (867), the Ecloga served as a manual for the teaching of law, taking the place of Justinian's Institutes, and it was more than once subjected to revision; for instance, there was the Private Ecloga (*Ecloga privata*) and the Private Enlarged Ecloga (*Ecloga privata aucta*).[29] When, after the accession of Basil the Macedonian, a change took place in favor of Justinian law, the legislative deeds of the Isaurian emperors were officially declared to be nonsense (literally "silly talk"), which contradicted divine dogma and destroyed salutary laws.[30] Still, even the emperors of the Macedonian dynasty borrowed many chapters from the condemned lawbook for their own legislative works, and even in their times the Ecloga was again revised.

It is interesting to note that the Ecloga of Leo and Constantine later formed part of the juridical collections of the orthodox church, especially in Russia. It is found in the printed Russian *Kormchaia Kniga*, i.e., *The Book of Rules* or *Administrative Code*, under the title, "The chapters of the wisest Tsar Leo and Constantine, the two faithful emperors."[31] There are other traces of the influence of the Ecloga upon documents of ancient Slavonic legislation.

The Ecloga can hardly be considered "an extremely daring innovation," as was claimed by the Greek Byzantinist, Paparrigopoulo, an ardent admirer of the Isaurian emperors. "At present, when the principles advanced by the compilers of the Ecloga are accepted by the civil legislation of the most progressive nations," he declared, "the hour has finally come to accord esteem to the genius of the men who, a thousand years ago, fought for the inauguration of doctrines which have triumphed only in our own days."[32] These are the comments of an enthusiastic Hellenic patriot, but nevertheless the modern world should recognize the high significance of the Ecloga in initiating a new

[28] Bury, *Constitution of the Later Roman Empire*, II, 414.

[29] The date of these is debatable, but they probably should be assigned to some time prior to the accession of Basil I the Macedonian in 867. See Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Jus graeco-romanum*, IV, 4. E. H. Freshfield, *A Revised Manual of Roman Law. Ecloga privata aucta*, 2. Spulber, *L'Eclogue*, 94–95. But cf. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts* (3rd ed., 1892), 36 (on the *Ecloga privata aucta* in South Italy under Norman domination).

[30] Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Collectio librorum*, 62. Zepos, *Jus graecoromanum*, II, 237.

[31] In this book, known in Russia soon after the adoption of Christianity in the tenth century A.D., were laid down the apostolic church rules and the rules of the ecumenical councils as well as the civil laws of the orthodox Byzantine emperors.

[32] *Histoire de la civilisation hellénique*, 205, 209.

period in the history of the Graeco-Roman or Byzantine law, a period which lasted until the accession of the Macedonian dynasty, when the Justinian law was restored to its former place but with many essential modifications. The Ecloga of Leo III was intended above all to meet the demands of the living realities of the period.

In connection with the Isaurian dynasty, and especially with the name of Leo III, scholars discuss three other legislative documents: the Rural Code or Farmer's Law (*νόμος γεωργικός*), the Military Code (*νόμος στρατιωτικός*), and the Rhodian Sea Law (*νόμος ῥοδίων ναυτικός*). Varying versions of these three documents usually appear in numerous surviving manuscripts after the Ecloga or after other juridical works, without indication of the names of the authors or of the time of first publication. Hence to attribute them to one time or another depends upon internal evidence, an evaluation of their contents and language, and comparison with other similar documents.

The Rural Code (*νόμος γεωργικός*) has attracted the greatest attention among the three works. The greatest authority on Byzantine law, the German scholar Zachariä von Lingenthal, changed his mind about this. He began by thinking it the work of a private hand and he assigned it to the eighth or ninth century. It was compiled, he thought, partly from the legislation of Justinian and partly from local custom.[33] Later he was inclined to believe that the Rural Code was a product of the legislative activity of the Emperors Leo and Constantine, and that it was published either simultaneously with the Ecloga or soon after its appearance.[34] He agreed with the Russian scholars V. G. Vasilievsky and Th. I. Uspensky who characterized this document as a collection of rural police regulations dealing with common offenses among people engaged in agriculture. It is concerned primarily with various kinds of thefts of lumber, field and orchard fruit, trespasses and oversights of herdsmen, harm done to animals, and harm done by cattle. The Russian scholar B. A. Pančenko, who made a special study of this document, called the Rural Code "a supplementary record to the customary law practiced among the peasants; it is dedicated to that law, so necessary for the peasants, which did not find its expression in legislation."[35]

The work is not dated. Some scholars refer it to the epoch of Leo III. But it must be admitted that the problem is far from being definitely solved. According to Pančenko, "the need for such a law might have been felt even in the seventh century; the nature of the lawbook, barbarian and naively empirical, is closer in spirit to the time of the greatest decline of civilization than

[33] *Historiae Juris Graeco-Romani Delineatio*, 32.

[34] Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Geschichte des Griechisch-römischen Rechts* (3rd ed., 1892), 250. This opinion has been shared by Vasilievsky, "Legislation of the Iconoclasts," *Journal*, CXCIX (1878), 97; *Works*, IV, 199.

[35] *Peasant Property in the Byzantine Empire. The Rural Code and Monastic Documents*, 86.

to the period of the compilation of the Ecloga."[36] It has not yet been proved that the Rural Code was issued in the eighth century, and it is possible that its publication will be found to have taken place at an earlier period. Vernadsky and Ostrogorsky stated that the Rural Code was "elaborated" under Justinian II, at the end of the seventh century.[37] The last word on the subject was said by the Russian historian E. Lipshitz in 1945. After reconsidering all previous opinions, she was inclined to accept the second half of the eighth century as the most probable date of the Rural Code; in other words she confirmed the old opinion of Zachariä von Lingenthal and Vasilievsky.[38]

The Rural Code has also attracted the attention of scholars because it contains no reference to the colonate or serfdom which predominated in the later Roman Empire. It does contain, however, indications of various new phenomena: personal peasant property, communal landownership, abolition of compulsory service, and the introduction of freedom of settlement. These are usually connected by scholars with the extensive [illegible] settlements in the Empire, which presumably imported conditions peculiar to their own life, chiefly the commune. The proposition argued in Pančenko's book that the Rural Code does not refer to the commune is rightly denied in modern literature. Th. I. Uspensky, however, overestimated the importance of this law when he assigned to it the significance of a general measure for the whole Empire and claimed even that it "must serve as a point of departure in the history of the economic development of the East" with regard to the free peasant class and the class of small landowners.[39] This opinion might create the impression that serfdom was generally abolished in the seventh or eighth centuries, which was not really the case.[40] Diehl, who in his *History of the Byzantine Empire* considered the Rural Code the achievement of Leo III and his son, also went rather too far in stating that it "aimed to restrain the disquieting development of the great domains, to arrest the disappearance of the small free estates, and to insure to the peasants better living conditions."[41]

[36] *Ibid.*, 30.

[37] G. Vernadsky, "Sur les origines de la Loi agraire byzantine," *Byzantion*, II (1926), 173. G. Ostrogorsky, "Die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Entwicklungs-grundlagen des byzantinischen Reiches," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaft Geschichte*, XXII (1929), 133. E. Stein is also inclined to accept this dating, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXIX (1930), 355. F. Dölger rejects this theory, *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXLI (1929), 112–13.

[38] E. Lipschitz, "The Byzantine Peasantry and Slavonic Colonization (Particularly upon the Data of the Rural Code)," *Vizantiysky Sbornik*, 1945, 104–5.

[39] *Byzantine Empire*, I, 28. See also A. Vogt, *Basile Ier empereur de Byzance (867–86) et la civilisation byzantine à la fin du IXe siècle*, 378.

[40] Runciman also asserted that the Isaurian emperors met these innovations with the very definite policy of abolishing serfdom. See Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign*, 225.

[41] *Histoire de l'Empire Byzantin*, 69; trans. G. B. Ives, 56. See Diehl's brief remark on the importance of the Rural Code for the eighth century in Charles Diehl and G. Marçais, *Le Monde Oriental de 395 à 1018*, 256 and n. 23.

The English scholar W. Ashburner edited, translated, and thoroughly investigated the Rural Code, although he knew no Russian and was therefore unacquainted with the results of the Russian investigations. Ashburner was inclined to agree with Zachariä von Lingenthal that the Farmer's Law, as it stands, forms part of the legislation of the iconoclasts and that it is to a great extent a compilation of existing customs. But at the same time Ashburner differed from Zachariä von Lingenthal in three important particulars: (1) the origin of the law; (2) the legal position of the agricultural class under the law; and (3) the economic character of the two forms of tenancy to which it refers. The relationship of the Rural Code to the Ecloga, he maintained, is not as close as Zachariä von Lingenthal would make it, and he believed that in the state of society described by the Rural Code the farmer could migrate freely from place to place. He agreed with the German scholar, however, that the "style of command" of this law suggests that it was not a product of private hands but a work of legislative authority.[42]

The theory of the exceptional influence of the Slavs upon the internal customs of the Byzantine Empire, given weight by the authority of Zachariä von Lingenthal and supported by outstanding Russian scholars in the field of Byzantine history, has come to occupy a firm place in historical literature. In addition to the general accounts of Slavonic settlements in the Empire, these scholars used as the main basis for their theory the fact that the conception of small free peasantry and the commune were foreign to Roman law; hence they must have been introduced into Byzantine life by some new element, in this case the Slavonic. V. N. Zlatarsky recently supported the theory of Slavonic influence on the Rural Code, which he referred to Leo III, and explained it by Leo's Bulgarian policy. Leo saw that the Slavs under his power were very much tempted to pass over to the Bulgarians and conclude with them a Bulgaro-Slavonic alliance. Therefore he introduced into his law Slavonic manners and customs, hoping thereby to render conditions more attractive to the Slavs.[43] But a closer study of the codes of Theodosius and Justinian, of the Novels of the latter, and, in recent times, of the data of papyrology and the lives of saints, distinctly proves that there existed in the Roman Empire villages populated by free landholders, and that communal landownership was in existence in very early times. No general conclusion, therefore, can be made on the basis of the Rural Code; it may serve only as another evidence of the fact that in the Byzantine Empire the small free

[42] "The Farmer's Law," *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* XXX (1910), 84; XXXII (1912), 68–83. Text ed. C. Ferrini, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* VII (1898), 558–71; reprinted in *Opera di Contardo Ferrini,* I, 375–95.

[43] V. N. Zlatarsky, *A History of the State of Bulgaria in the Middle Ages,* I, 197–200.

peasantry and the free rural commune existed parallel with serfdom. The theory of Slavonic influence must be discarded and attention should be turned to the study of the problem of small free peasantry and the village commune in the period of the early and later Roman Empire on the basis of both new and old materials which have not been sufficiently utilized.[44]

In recent times there have been several interesting attempts to compare the Rural Code with the texts of the Byzantine papyri,[45] but on the basis of the mere resemblance in phraseology, very striking at times, no definite conclusions should be made with regard to any borrowing. Such a resemblance, declared Mr. Ashburner, only proves what needs no proof: that lawyers of the same epoch use the same phrases.[46]

The Rural Code is of great interest from the point of view of Slavonic studies. An Old Russian translation of this code forms part of a compilation of the greatest value in contents and historical significance, bearing the title of *The Lawbook by Means of Which All Orthodox Princes Have to Regulate All Affairs.* The famous Russian canonist, A. S. Pavlov, produced a critical edition of this Russian version of the Rural Code. The latter is found also in the old Serbian juridical books.

In manuscripts of legal works the Sea Law and the Military Law are frequently appended to the Ecloga or other legal documents. Both laws are undated; but on the basis of certain deductions, which do not, however, finally solve the problem, they are referred by some scholars to the period of the Isaurian dynasty.

The Maritime Law (*νόμος ναυτικός, leges navales*), or, as it is sometimes called in manuscripts, the Rhodian Sea Law, is a statute regulating commercial navigation. Some scholars suppose that this law was extracted from the second chapter of the fourteenth book of the Digest, which contains an almost exact borrowing from Greek law of the so-called "Rhodian Law of Jettison," *lex Rhodia de jactu,* dealing with the division of losses between the owner of the ship and the owners of the cargo in cases where part of the cargo had to be thrown overboard in order to save the vessel. At present the dependence

[44] See the very interesting chapters on this subject in two Russian books which are practically unknown to European and American scholars: C. N. Uspensky, "The So-Called 'Rural Code,'" *Outlines in the History of Byzantium,* 162–82; and A. P. Rudakov, *Outlines in the Byzantine Culture Based on Data of Greek Hagiography,* 176–98. See also G. Vernadsky, "Notes on the Peasant Community in Byzantium," *Ucheniya Zapiski osnovanniya Russkoy Uchebnoy Kollegiey v Prage,* I, 2 (1924), 81–97. Vernadsky was not acquainted with the two preceding works. See also N. A. Constantinescu, "Réforme sociale ou réforme fiscale?" *Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie roumaine,* XI (1924), 95–96.

[45] Vernadsky, "Sur les origines de la Loi agraire byzantine," *Byzantion,* II (1926), 178–79.

[46] "The Farmer's Law," *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* XXXII (1912), 71.

In the first place, all the iconoclastic emperors were of eastern origin: Leo III and his dynasty were Isaurians, or perhaps Syrians; the restorers of iconoclasm in the ninth century were Leo V, an Armenian, and Michael II and his son Theophilus, born in the Phrygian province of central Asia Minor. The restorers of image-worship were both women, Irene and Theodora, Irene of Greek descent and Theodora from Paphlagonia in Asia Minor, a province on the coast of the Black Sea bordering Bithynia and at no great distance from the capital. Neither of them, that is, came from the central parts of the peninsula. The place of origin of the iconoclastic rulers cannot be viewed as accidental. The fact of their eastern birth may aid in reaching a clearer understanding of both their part in the movement and the meaning of the movement itself.

The opposition to image-worship in the eighth and ninth centuries was not an entirely new and unexpected movement. It had already gone through a long period of evolution. Christian art in representing the human figure in mosaics, fresco, sculpture, or carving had for a long time unsettled the minds of many deeply religious people by its resemblance to the practices of forsaken paganism. At the very beginning of the fourth century the Council of Elvira (in Spain) had ruled "that there must be no pictures (*picturas*) in the church, that the walls should have no images of that which is revered and worshipped" (*ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur*).[70]

In the fourth century, when Christianity received legal sanction and later became the state religion, the churches were beginning to be embellished with images. In the fourth and fifth centuries image-worship rose and developed in the Christian church. Confusion with regard to this practice persisted. The church historian of the fourth century, Eusebius of Caesarea, referred to the worship of images of Jesus Christ and the apostles Peter and Paul as "a habit of the Gentiles."[71] Also in the fourth century Epiphanius of Cyprus related in a letter that he had torn in pieces a church curtain (*velum*) with the image of Jesus Christ or one of the saints, because it "defiled the church."[72] In the

[70] J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, II, 11 (*Consilium Liberitanum*, par. XXXVI). On a different interpretation of this text see Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, VII, 215. But the text is clear. On the authenticity of the act of the Council of Elvira, see, e.g., A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebis*, II. *Die Chronologie*, II, 450: "ihre Echtheit . . . bedarf keiner Beweisfuhrung." The date of the Council, A. Piganiol, *L'Empereur Constantin le Grand*, 81–82.

[71] *Historia ecclesiastica*, VII, 18, 4.

[72] The Greek text in G. Ostrogorsky, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilderstreites*, 74; cf. the Latin version, *ibid.*, 74, 86. P. Maas, "Die ikonoclastiche Episode in dem Briefe des Epiphanios an Johannes," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXX (1929–30), 282; also in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XLIII, 390. Against the authenticity, D. Serruys, in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, I (1904), 361–63; and Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilderstreites*, 83–88. But H. Grégoire, *Byzantian* IV (1909), 769–70; F. Dölger, in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1929), 357–58 (very interesting review of Ostrogorsky's book). Maas, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXX (1929–30), 279, 286; and Stein, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXIX (1928), 356.

fifth century a Syrian bishop, before he was ordained to his high post, denounced icons. In the sixth century a serious upheaval in Antioch was directed against the worship of pictures, and in Edessa the rioting soldiers flung stones at the miraculous image of Christ. There were instances of attacks upon images and of the destruction of some icons in the seventh century. In western Europe the bishop of Massilia (Marseilles) at the end of the sixth century ordered that all icons be removed from the churches and destroyed. Pope Gregory I the Great wrote to him praising him for his zeal in advocating that nothing created by human hands should serve as an object of adoration (*nequid manufactum adorari posset*), but at the same time reprimanding him for the destruction of the images since thereby he had taken away all chance for historical education from people who are ignorant of letters but "could at least read by looking at the walls what they cannot read in books."[73] In another letter to the same bishop the pope wrote: "In that thou forbadest them to be adored, we altogether praise thee; but we blame thee for having broken them. . . . To adore a picture is one thing (*picturam adorare*), but to learn through the story of the picture what is to be adored, is another."[74] In the opinion of Gregory the Great and many others, then, images served as a means of popular education.

The iconoclastic tendencies of the eastern provinces were somewhat influenced by the Jews, whose faith forbade image-worship, and who at times attacked any form of such worship with great violence. A similar influence began to be exerted from the second half of the seventh century by the Muslims, who, guided by the words of the Koran, "Images are an abomination of the work of Satan" (V. 92), viewed icon-worship as a form of idolatry. It is frequently stated by historians that the Arabian caliph Yazid II issued a decree in his state three years before Leo's edict by which he prescribed the destruction of images in the churches of his Christian subjects; the authenticity of this story, without much basis for the doubt, is sometimes questioned.[75] In any event, Muhammedan influence upon the eastern provinces should be taken into consideration in any study of the anti-image movement. One chronicler refers to Emperor Leo as "the Saracen-minded" (σαρακηνόφρων),[76]

[73] *Epistolae*, IX, 105; ed. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXVII, 105; ed. L. M. Hartmann, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Epistolarum*, II, 195; English trans. *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. P. Schaff and others, 2nd ser., XIII, 23.

[74] *Epistolae*, XI, 13; ed. Migne, LXXVII, 1128; ed. Hartmann, VI, 10; *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, XIII, 54.

[75] See, e.g., C. Becker, *Vom Werden und Wesen der Islamischen Welt: Islamstudien*, I, 446 (he asserted that the edict of Yazid was issued).

[76] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 405. Iorga called this epithet "un sobriquet et une calomnie," *Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie roumaine*, XI (1924), 143, n. 3.

although in reality there is very little basis for claiming that he was directly influenced by Islam. Finally, one of the widely known Eastern medieval sects, the Paulicians, who lived in the east-central part of Asia Minor, was also strongly opposed to image-worship. Briefly, in the eastern Byzantine provinces of Asia Minor there had grown up by the time of Leo III a strong iconoclastic movement. One of the Russian church historians, A. P. Lebedev, wrote: "It may be positively asserted that the number of iconoclasts before the iconoclastic period [in the eighth century] was large, and that they were a force of which the church itself had ample reason to be afraid."[77] One of the main centers of the iconoclastic movement was Phrygia, one of the central provinces in Asia Minor.

Meanwhile image-worship had spread very widely and grown very strong. Images of Jesus Christ, the Holy Virgin, and various saints, as well as pictures of scenes from the Old and New Testaments, were used in profusion for decorating Christian temples. The images placed in various churches of this period were either mosaics, frescoes, or carvings in ivory, wood, or bronze—in other words, they were both painted images and statue images, while many small pictures were reproduced in illuminated manuscripts (miniatures). Particularly great was the reverence for the so-called "icons not made by human hands," which, in the belief of the faithful, were supposed to possess miraculous powers. Images found their way into family life, for icons were sometimes chosen as godfathers for children, and embroidered images of saints decorated the parade dress of the Byzantine aristocracy. The toga of one of the senators bore embroidered pictures representing the history of the entire life of Jesus Christ.

The image-worshipers sometimes took the adoration of pictures too literally, adoring not the person or the idea represented by the image, but the image itself or the material of which it was made. This fact was a great temptation for many of the faithful, to whom this adoration of inanimate objects appealed because of its kinship with pagan practices. "In the capital," according to N. P. Kondakov, "there was at the same time a characteristic increase in the number of monasteries, monastic communes, and convents of all kinds which multiplied very rapidly and reached incredible proportions by the end of the eighth century (perhaps, more correctly, toward the eighth century)."[78] In the opinion of I. D. Andreev, the number of Byzantine monks in the iconoclastic period may be estimated without any exaggeration at 100,000. "Remembering," said this scholar, "that in Russia of today [this is written in 1907], with its 120,000,000 population spread over a vast territory, there are only about 40,000 monks and nuns, it is easy to imagine how dense must have

[77] *Ecumenical Councils of the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Centuries* (3rd ed., 1904), 142.

[78] *Iconography of the Holy Virgin*, II, 3.

been the net of monasteries covering the comparatively small territory of the Byzantine Empire."[79]

And while, on the one hand, the worship of ordinary and miraculous icons and relics confused many people who had grown up under the prevailing influences of the period, the excessive development of monachism and the rapid growth of monasteries, on the other hand, clashed with the secular interests of the Byzantine state. In view of the fact that large numbers of healthy young men embraced the spiritual life, the Empire was losing necessary forces from its army, agriculture, and industry. Monachism and the monasteries frequently served as a refuge for those who wished to escape governmental duties; hence many of the monks were not men who had been prompted to retire from worldly affairs by a sincere desire to follow higher ideals. Two aspects in the ecclesiastical life of the eighth century should be distinguished—the religious and the secular.

The iconoclastic emperors, born in the East, were well acquainted with the religious views prevalent in the eastern provinces; they grew up with these views and were closely identified with them. Upon ascending the Byzantine throne they brought their views to the capital and made them the basis of their church policy. These emperors were neither infidels nor rationalists, as used to be maintained. On the contrary, they were men of a sincere and convinced faith, and desired to purge religion of those errors which permeated it and diverted it from its true original course.[80] From their point of view, image-worship and the adoration of relics were both survivals of paganism which had to be abolished at all costs in order to restore the Christian faith to its original pure form. "I am emperor and priest," wrote Leo III to Pope Gregory II.[81] With this claim as a point of departure, Leo III considered it his legal right to make his own religious views compulsory for all his subjects. This attitude cannot be viewed as an innovation. It was the accepted caesaro-

[79] *Germanus and Tarasius, Patriarchs of Constantinople*, 79.

[80] On the interesting correspondence on doctrinal questions between the Calif Umar II and Leo III, which has been preserved by the Armenian historian Ghevond and may be spurious, see an accurate study by A. Jeffery, "Ghevond's Text of the Correspondence between Umar II and Leo III," *Harvard Theological Review*, XXXVII (1944), 269–332.

[81] Gregorii II, *Epistola*, XIII: *ad Leonem Isaurum imperatorem;* Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXXIX, 521 (*imperator sum et sacerdos*). The problem of whether the letters of Gregory II to Leo III are spurious (see L. Guérard, "Les Lettres de Grégoire II à Léon L'Isaurien," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, X [1890], 44–60) or genuine (see, e.g., H. Mann, *The Lives of the Popes* [2nd ed., 1925], I, 498–502), is not very important for our purpose. In any case the letter was written or fabricated on very good evidence. See J. B. Bury, Appendix 14 to the fifth volume of his edition of Gibbon; Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoires des conciles*, III (2), 659–64. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, VII (1), 248. A new edition of the letters of Gregory II by E. Caspar, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LII (1933), 29–89, esp. 76. More recent studies are rather in favor of the authenticity of the letters.

papistic view of the Byzantine emperors particularly prevalent in the time of Justinian the Great, who had also considered himself the sole authority in spiritual as well as in temporal matters. Leo III, too, was a convinced representative of the idea of Caesaropapism.

The first nine years of Leo's reign, devoted to repelling external enemies and to establishing the security of the throne, were not marked by any measures with regard to images. The ecclesiastical activity of the Emperor during this period was expressed only in his demand that the Jews and the eastern sect of Montanists be baptized.

Only in the tenth year of his rule, i.e., in the year 726, did the Emperor, according to the chronicler Theophanes, "begin to speak of the destruction of the holy and all-honoured icons."[82] The majority of contemporary scholars believe that the first edict against images was promulgated in 726 or perhaps 725. Unfortunately the text of this decree is unknown.[83] Soon after the proclamation of the edict Leo ordered the destruction of the venerated statue of Christ situated above one of the doors of the Chalke, as the magnificent entrance to the imperial palace was called. The destruction of this icon caused a riot, in which the main participants were women. The imperial officer delegated to destroy the image was killed, but his murder was avenged by the Emperor's severe punishment of the defenders of the statue. These victims were the first martyrs of icon worship.

Leo's hostility toward image worship aroused very strong opposition. The patriarch of Constantinople, Germanus, and Gregory II, the pope of Rome, were strongly opposed to the policy of the Emperor. In Greece and on the islands of the Aegean Sea a revolt broke out in defense of images. Although this was quickly suppressed by Leo's army, this strong reaction on the part of the population made it impossible for him to undertake further decisive measures.

Finally, in the year 730, the Emperor convoked a sort of council where another edict against sacred images was promulgated. It is highly probable that this council did not produce a new edict, but merely restored the decree of the year 725 or 726.[84] Germanus, who refused to sign this decree, was deposed and forced to retire to his estate, where he spent the last years of his life peacefully. The patriarchal chair was filled by Anastasius, who willingly signed the edict. Thus, the decree against images was now issued not only on behalf of the Emperor, but also in the name of the church, since it was

[82] *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 404.

[83] Of the recent publications see, e.g., Charles Diehl, "Leo III and the Isaurian Dynasty (717–802)," *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 9. Leclercq, in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, VII (1), 240–41; Th. I. Uspensky, *Byzantine History*, II, 25 ff.

[84] See Leclercq, "Constantin," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, III, 248 (he refers the second edict to the year 729).

sanctioned by the signature of the patriarch. This authority was of great value to Leo.

Concerning the period which followed the proclamation of this edict, namely, the last eleven years of Leo's reign, sources are silent with regard to the persecution of images. Apparently there were no instances of ill treatment. In any event, systematic persecution of images in the reign of Leo III is out of the question. At most, there were only a few isolated instances of open image destruction. According to one scholar, "In the time of Leo III there was rather a *preparation* to persecute images and their worshipers than actual persecution."[85]

The assertion that the image-breaking movement of the eighth century began, not by the destruction of images, but by hanging them higher up, so as to remove them from the adoration of the faithful, must be disregarded, for the majority of images in Byzantine churches were painted frescoes or mosaics which could not be removed or transferred from the church walls.

Leo's hostile policy against images has found some reflection in the three famous treatises "Against Those Who Depreciate the Icons," by John Damascene, who lived in the time of the first iconoclastic emperor within the boundaries of the Arabian caliphate. Two of these treatises were written, in all likelihood, in the time of Leo. The date of the third one cannot be determined with any degree of accuracy.

Pope Gregory II, who opposed Leo's policy of image-breaking, was succeeded by Pope Gregory III, who convoked a council in Rome and excluded the iconoclasts from the church. Following this step, middle Italy detached itself from the Byzantine Empire and became completely controlled by papal and western European interests. Southern Italy still remained under Byzantine sway.

Quite different was the picture in the reign of Constantine V Copronymus (741–75), the successor of Leo III. Educated by his father, Constantine followed a very determined iconoclastic policy and in the last years of his reign, initiated the persecution of monasteries and monks. No other iconoclastic ruler has been subjected to so much slander in the writings of the iconodules as this "many-headed dragon," "cruel persecutor of the monastic order," this "Ahab and Herod." It is very difficult, therefore, to form an unprejudiced opinion of Constantine. It is with some exaggeration that E. Stein called him the boldest and freest thinker of all eastern Roman history.[86]

The Council of 754 and its aftermath.—At the time of Constantine's accession the European provinces were still devoted to icon worship, while those

[85] Andreev, *Germanus and Tarasius*, 71.

[86] *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches*, 140.

of Asia Minor had among their population a large number of iconoclasts. Constantine spent the first two years of his reign in constant struggle with his brother-in-law Artavasdus, who was leading a rebellion in defense of images. Artavasdus succeeded in forcing Constantine to leave the capital, and was proclaimed emperor. During his year of rule over the Empire he restored image worship. Constantine succeeded, however, in deposing Artavasdus and he reclaimed the throne and severely punished the instigators of the revolt. Yet the attempt of Artavasdus demonstrated to Constantine that icon worship might be restored without great difficulties, and it forced him to take more decisive steps to strengthen the validity of iconoclastic views in the conscience of the masses.

With this aim in view Constantine decided to convoke a council which would work out the foundations of an iconoclastic policy, sanction its validity, and thus create among the people the conviction that the Emperor's measures were just. This council, attended by more than three hundred bishops, convened in the palace of Hieria on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus facing Constantinople. It gathered in the year 754.[87] The members of the council did not include any patriarchs, for the see of Constantinople was vacant at that time, while Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria refused to participate, and the papal legates also failed to appear at the sessions. In later times these facts were used as a sufficient basis by opponents of this council for claiming that its decisions were invalid. Several months after the opening of the sessions the council was transferred to Constantinople, where the election of a new patriarch had meanwhile taken place.

The decree of the council of 754, which has been preserved in the acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (perhaps in parts and in a somewhat modified form), definitely condemned image worship by proclaiming the following:

> Supported by the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers, we declare unanimously in the name of the Holy Trinity, that there shall be rejected and removed and cursed out of the Christian Church every likeness which is made out of any material whatever by the evil art of painters. Whoever in the future dares to make such a thing or to venerate it, or set it up in a church or in a private house, or possesses it in secret, shall, if bishop, priest or deacon, be deposed, if monk or layman, anathematised and become liable to be tried by the secular laws as an adversary of God and an enemy of the doctrines handed down by the Fathers.

Besides the general significance of this proclamation for image-worship, this decree is notable also for prescribing that persons guilty of icon worship should

[87] On the date, Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilderstreites*, 14, n. 1. *Histoire de l'Église*, ed. Fliche and Martin, V, 468. The year 753 has usually been accepted up to this time.

be tried by imperial laws, thus placing the iconodules under the jurisdiction of temporal power. This fact was later used by the members of the Seventh Ecumenical Council as an explanation of the extraordinary harshness manifested by some emperors with regard to the church and to the monks. Anathema was proclaimed for any person who "ventures to represent the divine image of the Logos after the incarnation with material colours . . . and the forms of the saints in lifeless pictures with material colours which are of no value, for this notion is erroneous and introduced by the devil." The decree ends with the following: "To New Constantine and the most pious, many years! . . . To the most pious and orthodox [empress] many years! . . . You have established the dogmas of the Holy Six Ecumenical Councils. You have destroyed all idolatry." . . . Anathema was proclaimed against the Patriarch Germanus, the "worshiper of wood," and Mansur, i.e., John Damascene, "inclined to Muhammedanism, the enemy of the Empire, the teacher of impiety, the perverter of the Scriptures."[88]

The unanimous decree of the council made a very strong impression upon the people. "Many who had been troubled by a vague impression of the error of the iconoclasts," said Professor Andreev, "could now grow calm; many who had formerly wavered between the two movements could now, on the basis of the convincing argument of the council decisions, form decisive iconoclastic views."[89] The mass of the people were required to give oath that they would forsake the worship of images.

The destruction of images, after the council, became ruthlessly severe. Images were broken, burned, painted over, and exposed to many insults. Particularly violent was the persecution of the cultus of the Blessed Virgin.[90] Many image-worshipers were executed, tortured, or imprisoned, and lost their property. Many were banished from the country and exiled to distant provinces. Pictures of trees, birds, animals, or scenes of hunting and racing replaced the sacred images in the churches. According to the *Life* of Stephen the Younger, the church of the Holy Virgin at Blachernae in Constantinople, deprived of its former magnificence and covered with new paintings, was transformed into a "fruit store and aviary."[91] In this destruction of painted icons (mosaics and frescoes) and statues many valuable monuments of art have perished. The number of illuminated manuscripts destroyed was also very large.

[88] Mansi, *Amplissima collectio conciliorum*, XIII, 323, 327, 346, 354, 355; Hefele, *History of the Councils of the Church*, V, 313–15. See an interesting discussion of the influence on the Acts of the Council of 754 of Constantine's works against icon-worship in Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilderstreites*, 7–29.

[89] *Germanus and Tarasius*, 96.

[90] See Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilderstreites*, 29–40.

[91] Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, C, 1120. V. G. Vasilievsky, "The Life of Stephen the Younger," *Works*, II, 324.

The destruction of images was accompanied also by the destruction of relics. Time has preserved a satire of the iconoclastic period on the excessive adoration of relics in which the author speaks of ten hands of the martyr Procopius, of fifteen jaws of Theodore, of four heads of George, etc.[92]

Constantine V displayed extreme intolerance toward the monasteries and initiated a crusade against the monks, those "idolaters and lovers of darkness."[93] His struggle with monachism was so intense that some scholars find the question of a more accurate definition of the reforms of this period somewhat debatable, claiming that it is difficult to determine whether it was a struggle against images or a fight directed against the monks; C. N. Uspensky stated definitely that "historians and theologians have purposely distorted the reality of facts by advancing the 'iconomachia,' rather than the 'monachomachia,' of the period."[94] The persecutions of monks expressed itself in many severe measures. They were forced to put on secular dress, and some were compelled to marry by force or threats. In one instance they were forced to march in file through the hippodrome, each holding a woman by the hand, amid the sneers and insults of the crowd of spectators. The chronicler Theophanes relates that a governor in Asia Minor assembled the monks and nuns of his province at Ephesus and said to them, "Let each who wishes to obey the Emperor and us put on the white dress and take a wife immediately; those who do not do so shall be blinded and exiled to Cyprus," and he was congratulated by Constantine V, who wrote: "I have found in you a man after my own heart who carries out all my wishes."[95] Cyprus apparently was one of the emperor's places of exile for recalcitrant monks. It is recorded that five monks managed to escape from there, reached the territory of the caliphate, and were brought to Bagdad.[96] Monasteries were taken away from the monks and transformed into barracks and arsenals. Monasterial estates were confiscated. Laymen were forbidden to take refuge in the cowl. All these regulations led to a wide migration of monks to districts unaffected by the Emperor's iconoclastic persecutions. According to some scholars, in the time of Leo and Constantine Italy alone received about 50,000 of these refugees.[97] This

[92] Paparrigopoulo, *History of the Greek People*, ed. P. Karolides, III, 703–7. This satire belongs to the poet of the first half of the eleventh century, Christopher of Mytilene. See *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, ed. E. Kurtz, 76–80 (no. 114); Russian trans. D. Shestakov, "The Three Poets of the Byzantine Renaissance," *Transactions of the University of Kazan*, LXXIII, 11–14.

[93] Vasilievsky, "Life of Stephen," *Works*, II, 322.

[94] *History of Byzantium*, I, 228.

[95] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 445, 446. Similar information is reported in the *Life of S. Romanus the Néomartyr*. P. Peeters, "S. Romain le Néomartyr († 1 mai 780) d'après un document géorgien," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXX (1911), 413. S. Romanus, born in Galatia *circa* 730, left his country for the East, was captured by the Arabs, and suffered martyrdom [illegible] the shores of the Euphrates in 780.

[96] *The Life of S. Romanus the Néomartyr*, 419.

[97] Andreev, *Germanus and Tarasius*, 78.

event was of enormous significance for the fate of medieval southern Italy, for it upheld there the predominance of the Greek nationality and the Orthodox church. But even southern Italy was apparently not altogether free from iconoclastic troubles. At least there is a very interesting indication that in the ninth century A.D. St. Gregory the Decapolite fell into the hands of an iconoclastic bishop of the south-Italian city of Hydrus (now Otranto).[98] Many monks migrated also to the northern shores of the Euxine (the Black Sea), and to the coast of Syria and Palestine. Among the martyrs who suffered under Constantine V, Stephen the Younger is particularly famous.

During the reign of Leo IV the Khazar (775–80) the internal life of the Empire was calmer than under his father Constantine V. Although Leo, too, was an adherent of iconoclasm, he felt no acute enmity towards the monks, who once more regained a certain amount of influence. In his brief reign he did not manifest himself as a fanatical iconoclast. It is very likely that he was influenced to some extent by his young wife, Irene, an Athenian who was famous for her devotion to image-worship and to whom all image-worshipers of the empire turned hopeful faces. "His moderate attitude in the icon controversy," Ostrogorsky explained, "was an appropriate transition from the tactics of Constantine V to the restoration of the holy images under the Empress Irene."[99] With Leo's death in 780 ended the first period of iconoclasm. Because his son, Constantine VI, was a minor, the rule of the Empire was entrusted to Irene, who was determined to restore image worship.

In spite of her definite leanings toward image-worship, Irene did not undertake any decisive measures in the direction of its official restoration during the first three years of her reign. This postponement was due to the fact that all the forces of the Empire had to be directed to the internal struggle with the pretender to the throne and to the external fight with the Slavs who lived in Greece. Furthermore, the restoration of icon-worship had to be approached with great caution, because the major part of the army was favorably inclined to iconoclasm, and the canons of the iconoclastic council of 754 declared by Constantine as imperial laws continued to exert a certain amount of influence upon many people in the Byzantine Empire. It is quite likely, however, that many members of the higher clergy accepted the decrees of the iconoclastic council by compulsion rather than by conviction; hence they constituted, according to Professor Andreev, "an element which yielded readily to the reformatory operations of the iconoclastic emperors, but which would not form any real opposition to the measures of an opposite tendency."[100]

In the fourth year of Irene's reign the see of Constantinople was given to Tarasius, who declared that it was necessary to convoke an ecumenical council

[98] See F. Dvornik, *La vie de saint Grégoire de Décapolite et les Slaves Macédoniens au IX^e siècle*, 41, 58.

[99] *Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilderstreites*, 38.

[100] *Germanus and Tarasius*, 98.

ment of the contemporary Anna Comnena that Alexius was sending messages to the West, supports the fact that he must have sent a message to Robert of Flanders, and the probability that this message is the basis of the embellished Latin text which exists today. It is very probable that the original message was sent by Alexius in the critical year 1091.[39] It is also very probable that in 1188–89 an imperial message was sent to the Croatian King Zvonimir to urge him to take part in the struggle of Alexius Comnenus "against the Pagans and Infidels."[40]

The success of Alexius with external enemies was followed by similar success with internal enemies. Conspirators and pretenders, who wished to profit by the difficult situation of the Byzantine Empire, were discovered and punished.

Besides the peoples mentioned, the Serbs and Magyars (Hungarians) had begun to assume importance under Alexius Comnenus before the First Crusade. In the second half of the eleventh century Serbia became independent, and her independence was sealed by the adoption by the Serbian prince of the title of king (*kral*). His was the first kingdom of Serbia with the capital at Scodra (Skadar, Scutari). The Serbs had taken part in the army of Alexius during his war with the Normans and abandoned the Emperor at the critical moment. But after Dyrrachium had been reconquered by Byzantium from the Normans, hostilities between Alexius and Serbia began, and under the difficult circumstances of the Empire, their issue could not be very fortunate for the Emperor. Shortly before the crusade, however, a peace was made between the Serbs and the Empire.

Relations with Hungary (Ugria), which had previously taken an active part in the Bulgaro-Byzantine war of the tenth century under Simeon, became strained in the reign of Alexius Comnenus. At the end of the eleventh century continental Hungary, under the kings of the dynasty of Arpad, began to expand south toward the sea, toward the coast of Dalmatia. This was the cause of dissatisfaction both to Venice and to Byzantium. Thus the international policy of the Empire toward the time of the First Crusade had grown considerably more extended and complicated, and raised new problems.

But almost at the end of the eleventh century Alexius Comnenus, who had overcome the numerous dangers which threatened him and seemed to have created peaceful conditions for the Empire, could gradually prepare for the struggle with the eastern Seljuqs. With that struggle in view, the Emperor undertook a number of offensive measures. Then he heard of the approach of the first crusading troops to the borders of his empire. The First Crusade had

[39] Dölger, *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden*, II, 39 (no. 1152) mentioned the letter under the year 1088.

[40] See F. Šišic, *Geschichte der Kroaten*, I, 315–16.

begun; it changed Alexius' plans and led him and the Empire into new ways which were later to prove fatal to Byzantium.

The First Crusade and Byzantium

The epoch of the crusades is one of the most important in the history of the world, especially from the point of view of economic history and general culture. For a long time the religious problem pushed into the background the other sides of this complicated and manifold movement. The first country to realize the full importance of the crusades was France, where in 1806 the French Academy and then the National Institute offered a prize for the best work which had for its purpose: "To examine the influence of the Crusades upon the civil liberty of the peoples of Europe, their civilization, and the progress of knowledge, commerce, and industry." Of course, at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was premature to discuss thoroughly such a problem; it has not even yet been solved. But it is worth pointing out that the epoch of the crusades ceased to be discussed exclusively from the narrower standpoint of the religious movements of the Middle Ages. Two volumes were crowned in 1808 by the French Academy: one book by a German, A. Heeren, which was published at the same time in German and French under the title *An Essay on the Influence of the Crusades Upon Europe;* the other book, the work of the Frenchman M. Choiseul Daillecourt, *Upon the Influence of the Crusades on the State of the European Peoples*. Though both these studies are now out of date, they do not lack interest, especially the first.

Of course, the crusades are the most important epoch in the history of the struggle of the two world religions, Christianity and Islam—the struggle which has been carried on from the seventh century. But in this process not only religious idealistic motives were involved. Even in the First Crusade, which reflected most plainly the ideals of the crusade movement to deliver the Holy Land from the hands of the infidel, secular objects and earthly interests were already evident. "There were two parties among the crusaders, that of the religious-minded, and that of the politicians."[41] Citing these words of the German scholar Kugler, the French historian, Chalandon, added: "This statement of Kugler's is absolutely true."[42] But the more closely scholars examine internal conditions of the life of western Europe in the eleventh century, especially the economic development of the Italian cities at that time, the more they are convinced that economic phenomena also played a very significant part in the preparation and carrying out of the First Crusade. With every new crusade the secular side was felt more and more

[41] B. Kugler, "Kaiser Alexius und Albert von Aachen," *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, XXIII (1883), 486.

[42] *d'Alexis Ier Comnène*, 161. Chalandon, "Earlier Comneni," *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 334.

strongly; finally, during the Fourth Crusade, this secular standpoint gained a definite victory over the primitive idea of the movement, as the taking of Constantinople and the foundation of the Latin Empire by the crusaders in 1204 demonstrated.

Byzantium played such an important role in that epoch that the study of the Eastern Empire is necessary to a full and complete understanding of the origin and development of the crusades. Moreover, the majority of those who have studied the crusades have treated the problem from a too "occidental" point of view, with the tendency to make of the Greek Empire "the scapegoat charged with all the faults of the crusaders."[43]

Since their first appearance in the stage of world history in the fourth decade of the seventh century, the Arabs, with extraordinary rapidity, had conquered on the territory of the Eastern Empire, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, the eastern regions of Asia Minor, Egypt, the northern seashore of Africa, and then Spain, the major part of which had belonged to the Visigoths. In the second half of the seventh and at the beginning of the eighth century, the Arabs had twice besieged Constantinople, which had been rescued, not without difficulty, by the energy and talent of the Emperors Constantine IV and Leo III Isaurian. In 732 the Arabs who had invaded Gaul from beyond the Pyrenees were stopped by Charles Martel near Poitiers. In the ninth century they conquered Crete, and toward the beginning of the tenth century Sicily and the major part of the southern Italian possessions of the Eastern Empire passed over into their hands.

These Arabian conquests were of the greatest importance for the political and economic situation of Europe. The astounding offensive of the Arabs, as H. Pirenne said, "changed the face of the world. Its sudden thrust had destroyed ancient Europe. It had put an end to the Mediterranean commonwealth in which it had gathered its strength. . . . The Mediterranean had been a Roman lake; now it became, for the most part, a Moslem lake."[44] This statement of the Belgian historian must be accepted with some reservations. Commercial relations between western Europe and the eastern countries were restricted by the Muslims but were not suspended. Merchants and pilgrims continued to travel back and forth, and exotic oriental products were available in Europe, for example, in Gaul.[45]

[43] F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la première croisade*, preface, 1. The German dissertation of A. Gruhn, *Die Byzantinische Politik zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge*, is of no importance; there is no reference to sources.

[44] "Mahomet et Charlemagne," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, I (1922), 85. "Without Islam the Frankish Empire would probably never have existed and Charlemagne, without Mahomet, would be unconceivable" (p. 86). Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*, 24, 26; in French, 25, 28. See R. S. Lopez, "Mohammed and Charlemagne: A Revision," *Speculum*, XVIII (1943), 14–38.

[45] See L. Halphen, "La Conquête de la Méditerranée par les Europeens au XI^e et au XII^e siècles," *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à H. Pirenne*, I, 175. J. Ebersolt, *Orient et Occident*, I, 56–57. N. Iorga, in *Revue historique du sud-est européen*, VI (1929), 77.

Primitive Islam had distinguished itself by tolerance. Some separate cases of assaults on the churches and Christians occurred in the tenth century, but they had no religious motive so that such unfortunate incidents were only sporadic. In the conquered regions the Arabs had, for the most part, preserved churches and Christian service. They had not prohibited the practice of Christian charity. In the epoch of Charlemagne, at the beginning of the ninth century, there were inns and hospitals in Palestine for the pilgrims; new churches and monasteries were being restored and built and for that purpose Charlemagne sent copious "alms" to Palestine. Libraries were being organized in the monasteries. Pilgrims visited the Holy Land unmolested. These relations between the Frankish empire of Charlemagne and Palestine, in connection with the exchange of some embassies between the western monarch and the caliph Harun ar-Rashid, led to the conclusion supported by some scholars that a kind of Frankish protectorate had been established in Palestine under Charlemagne as far as the Christian interests in the Holy Land were concerned, the political power of the caliph in that country remaining untouched.[46] On the other hand, another group of historians, denying the importance of those relations, say that the "protectorate" was never established and that "it is a myth quite analogous to the legend of Charlemagne's crusade to the Holy Land."[47] The title of one of the recent articles on this subject is "The Legend of Charlemagne's Protectorate in the Holy Land."[48] The term "Frankish protectorate," like many other terms, is conventional and rather vague; but a discussion of it is important in order to show that already at the opening of the ninth century the Frankish Empire had very important interests in Palestine, a fact which is of considerable significance for the further development of the international relations preceding the crusades.

In the second half of the tenth century the brilliant victories of the Byzantine troops under Nicephorus Phocas and John Tzimisces over the eastern Arabs made Aleppo and Antioch in Syria vassal states of the Empire, and after that the Byzantine army probably entered Palestine.[49] These military

[46] See A. A. Vasiliev, "Charlemagne and Harun ar-Rashid," *Vizantiysky Vremennik*, XX (1913), 63–116. Bréhier, *Les Croisades* (5th ed., 1928), 22–34. Bréhier, "Charlemagne et la Palestine," *Revue historique*, CLVII (1928), 277–91; Bréhier gave the full bibliography of the problem.

[47] E. Joranson, "The Alleged Frankish Protectorate in Palestine," *American Historical Review*, XXXII (1927), 260. See also V. Barthold, "Charlemagne and Harun ar-Rashid," *Christiansky Vostok*, I (1912), 69–94.

[48] A. Kleinclausz, "La Légende du protectorat de Charlemagne sur la Terre Sainte," *Syria*, VII (1926), 211–33. S. Runciman, "Charlemagne and Palestine," *English Historical Review*, L (1935), 606–19; the theory of Charlemagne's protective rights in Palestine must be treated as a myth (p. 619).

[49] See pp. 308–10.

successes of Byzantium had a repercussion in Jerusalem, so that the French historian Bréhier judged it possible to speak of the Byzantine protectorate over the Holy Land which put an end to the Frankish protectorate there.[50]

When, in the second half of the tenth century (in 969), Palestine had passed over to the Egyptian dynasty of the Fatimids, the new position of the country seems not to have brought about, at least at the beginning, any substantial change in the life of the eastern Christians, and pilgrims continued to come to Palestine in safety. But in the eleventh century circumstances changed. The insane Fatimid caliph Hakim, the "Egyptian Nero,"[51] began a violent persecution of Christians and Jews all over his possessions. In 1009 he caused the Temple of the Resurrection and Golgotha in Jerusalem to be destroyed. In his rage for destroying churches he stopped only because he was afraid that a similar fate would befall mosques in Christian regions.[52]

When L. Bréhier wrote of the Byzantine protectorate over the Holy Land, he had in view a statement of an Arabian historian of the eleventh century, Yahya of Antioch. The latter says that in 1012 a Bedouin chief who had revolted against the caliph Hakim took possession of Syria, forced the Christians to restore the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem, and made a bishop the patriarch of Jerusalem; then the Bedouin "helped him to build up the Church of the Resurrection and restore many places in it as much as he could."[53] Interpreting this text the Russian scholar V. Rosen remarked that the Bedouin acted "probably in order to win the good will of the Greek Emperor."[54] Bréhier ascribed Rosen's hypothesis to Yahya's text. Since this important statement of the Bedouin's motive does not belong to Yahya, one may not affirm Bréhier's theory of the Byzantine protectorate over Palestine as positively as he does in his book.[55]

But in any event, that was only the beginning of the restoration of the Holy Land. After Hakim's death in 1021, a time of tolerance for the Christians ensued. A peace was made between Byzantium and the Fatimids, and the Byzantine emperors were able to take up the real restoration of the Temple of the Resurrection. The restoration of the Temple was completed in the middle of the eleventh century under Emperor Constantine Monomachus. The Christian quarter was surrounded by a strong wall. Pilgrims again could go to the Holy Land, and among the other pilgrims mentioned in the sources is

[50] Bréhier, "Charlemagne et la Palestine," *Revue historique*, CLVII (1928), 38–39.

[51] G. Schlumberger, *L'Épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, II, 442.

[52] M. Canard, "Les Expéditions des arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende," *Journal Asiatique*, CCVIII (1926), 94.

[53] V. Rosen, *The Emperor Basil Bulgaroctonus*, 47; in Russian, 49. Yahia Ibn Saïd Antiochensis, *Annales*, ed. L. Cheikho, 201.

[54] *Basil Bulgaroctonus*, 356.

[55] Bréhier gave Yahya's statement from Schlumberger, *L'Épopée byzantine*, II, 448. Schlumberger using Yahya from Rosen gave the correct account as far as Rosen's hypothesis is concerned.

a most celebrated man, Robert the Devil, Duke of Normandy, who died at Nicaea in 1035, on his way back from Jerusalem.[56] Perhaps at the same time, in the fourth decade of the eleventh century, the famous Varangian of that epoch, Harald Haardraade, supported by a body of Scandinavians who arrived with him from the north, came to Jerusalem and fought against the Muslims in Syria and Asia Minor.[57] Vexations against the Christians soon recommenced. In 1056 the Holy Sepulchre was closed, and more than three hundred Christians were exiled from Jerusalem.[58]

The destroyed Temple of the Resurrection was evidently restored with magnificence. A Russian pilgrim, the abbot (*igumen*) Daniel, who visited Palestine in the first years of the twelfth century, soon after the foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1099, enumerated the columns of the Temple, described its marble decorated floor and the six doors, and gave interesting information on the mosaics. He also described many churches, relics, and places of Palestine mentioned in the New Testament.[59] Daniel and an Anglo-Saxon pilgrim, Saewulf, his contemporary, told how "the pagan Saracens" (i.e. Arabs), hiding themselves in the mountains and caves, sometimes attacked the traveling pilgrims and robbed them. "The Saracens, always laying snares for the Christians, lie hidden in the hollow places of the mountains and the caves of the rocks, watching day and night, and always on the lookout for those whom they can attack."[60]

The Arabs' tolerance toward the Christians also manifested itself in the West. When, for instance, at the end of the eleventh century the Spaniards conquered the city of Toledo from the Arabs, they were surprised to find Christian churches in the city untouched and to learn that services had continued there undisturbed. Similarly, when at the end of the eleventh century the Normans took possession of Sicily, they found there, in spite of more than two hundred years of Arabian rule in the island, a very large number of Christians who were freely professing their faith. Thus the first incident of the eleventh century which struck the Christian west painfully was the destruction of the Temple of the Resurrection and Golgotha in 1009. Another

[56] See E. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England*, I, 473; II, 187. Ebersolt, *Orient et Occident*, 79. Bréhier, "Charlemagne and Palestine," *Revue historique*, CLVII (1928), 45.

[57] See V. G. Vasilievsky, "The Varangian-Russian and Varangian-English Company (druzina) in Constantinople in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Works*, I, 265–66. K. Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People*, I, 278.

[58] *Miracula S. Wulframni*, ed. D. T. Mabillon, 381–82. See Ebersolt, *Orient et Occident*, 74.

[59] "Life and Pilgrimage of Daniel, igumen of the Russian Land," *Pravoslavny Palestinsky Sbornik*, no. 3 (1887), 15–16; ed. B. de Khitrowo, I, 12 ff. See H. Vincent and N. Abel, *Jérusalem. Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, II, 258.

[60] "Life and Pilgrimage of Daniel," ed. de Khitrowo, I, 12 ff. *Pilgrimage of Saewulf to Jerusalem and the Holy Land*, 8.

event connected with the Holy Land took place in the second half of the eleventh century.

The Seljuq Turks, after they had crushed the Byzantine troops at Manzikert, in 1071, founded the Sultanate of Rum or Iconium in Asia Minor and proceeded to advance successfully in all directions. Their military successes had repercussion at Jerusalem: in 1070, a Turkish general, Atzig, marched upon Palestine and captured Jerusalem. Shortly after the city revolted, so that Atzig had to lay siege to it again. Jerusalem was retaken and terribly sacked. Then the Turks conquered Antioch in Syria, established themselves at Nicaea, Cyzicus, and Smyrna in Asia Minor, and occupied the islands Chios, Lesbos, Samos, and Rhodes. The condition of European pilgrims in Jerusalem and other places grew worse. Even if the persecution and insults of the Christians that many scholars ascribe to the Turks are exaggerated, it is very difficult to agree with the judgment of W. Ramsay on the mildness of the Turks toward the Christians: "The Seljuk sultans governed their Christian subjects in a most lenient and tolerant fashion, and even the prejudiced Byzantine historians drop a few hints at the Christians in many cases preferring the rule of the sultans to that of the emperors. . . . Christians under the Seljuk rule were happier than the heart of the Byzantine Empire, and most miserable of all were the Byzantine frontier lands exposed to continual raids. As to religious persecution there is not a trace of it in the Seljuk period."[61]

The destruction of the Temple of the Resurrection in 1009 and the conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks in the eighth decade of the eleventh century were facts that profoundly affected the religious-minded masses of western Europe and evoked a powerful emotion of religious enthusiasm. Moreover, many Europeans realized that if Byzantium fell under the pressure of the Turks the whole of the Christian West would be exposed to terrible danger. "After so many centuries of terror and devastations," said a French historian, "will the Mediterranean world succumb again to the assault of the barbarians? Such is the anguished question that is raised toward 1075. Western Europe, slowly reconstructed in the course of the eleventh century, will take charge of replying to it: to the mass attacks of the Turks it prepares to reply by a crusade."[62]

But the most threatening danger from the ever-growing power of the Turks

[61] *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I, 16, 27. He is followed by J. W. Thompson, *An Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages*, 391, where a wrong reference was given to W. Ramsay's article, "The War of Moslem and Christian for the Possession of Asia Minor," *Contemporary Review*, XC (1906), 1–15. On the Turks in Palestine at the close of the eleventh century, cf., e.g., P. E. Riant, "Inventaire critique des lettres historiques de croisades," *Archives de l'orient latin*, I (1881), 65.

[62] L. Halphen, *Les Barbares: des grandes invasions aux conquêtes turques du XI^e siècle*, 387. See also Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedanken*, esp. 363–77.

was felt by the Byzantine emperors, who, after the defeat of Manzikert, seemed to be unable to resist the Turks successfully with their own forces. Their eyes were turned to the West, mainly to the Pope, who as the spiritual head of the western European world could, through his influence, induce the western European peoples to furnish Byzantium with adequate assistance. Sometimes, as the message of Alexius Comnenus to Robert of Flanders shows, the emperors also appealed to individual rulers of the West. But Alexius had in mind merely some auxiliary troops, not powerful and well-organized armies.

The popes replied very favorably to the appeals of the eastern emperors. Besides the purely idealistic side of the question—aid for Byzantium and thereby for all the Christian world, as well as the liberation of the Holy Land —the popes had also in view, of course, the interests of the Catholic church; in case of the success of the enterprise the popes could hope to increase their influence still more and restore the eastern church to the bosom of the Catholic church. They could not forget the rupture of 1054. The original idea of the Byzantine Emperor to get some mercenary auxiliaries from the West gradually developed, especially under the influence of papal appeals, into the idea of a crusade, that is to say, into the idea of a mass movement of the western European peoples, sometimes under the direction of their sovereigns and the most eminent military leaders.

As late as the second half of the nineteenth century scholars believed that the first idea of the crusades and the first call was expressed at the close of the tenth century by the famous Gerbert, later Pope Sylvester II. Among his letters is one "From the ruined Church of Jerusalem to the Church Universal"; in this letter the Church of Jerusalem appealed to the Church Universal, asking the latter to come to her aid. Today the best authorities on Gerbert's problem consider this letter an authentic work of Gerbert written before he became pope; but they see in it no project of a crusade, merely an ordinary message to the faithful asking them to send charity to support Christian institutions at Jerusalem.[63] At the close of the tenth century the position of the Christians in Palestine was not yet such as to call for any crusading movement.

Yet before the Comneni, under the pressure of the Seljuq and Patzinak danger, the Emperor Michael VII Ducas had sent a message to Pope Gregory VII begging him for help and promising the reunion of the churches. Also the pope had written many letters, in which he exhorted his correspondents to support the perishing Empire. In his letter to the Duke of Burgundy he wrote: "We hope . . . that, after the conquest of the Normans, we shall cross

[63] T. Havet, *Lettres de Gerbert (983–97)*, 22 and n. 3. N. Bubnov, *The Collection of Gerbert's Letters as a Historical Source*, II, 230 and n. 137. See also H. Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges* (2nd ed., 1881), 458–59.

over to Constantinople to help the Christians, who, deeply depressed by frequent attacks of the Saracens, anxiously beg that we lend them a helping hand."[64] In another letter Gregory VII spoke "of the pitiful destiny of the great Empire."[65] In a letter to the German king, Henry IV, the pope wrote that "most of transmarine Christianity is being destroyed by the pagans in crushing defeat and, like cattle, they are every day being murdered, and the Christian race is being exterminated"; they humbly beseech help in order "that the Christian religion may not entirely perish in our day, which Heaven forbid"; following the papal exhortations the Italians and the other Europeans (*ultramontani*) are equipping an army, of more than 50,000, and planning, if possible, to establish the pope at the head of the expedition; they are willing to rise against the enemies of God and to reach the Holy Sepulchre. "I am induced to do so," the pope continued, "because the Constantinopolitan Church, which disagrees with us concerning the Holy Ghost, desires to come to an agreement with the Apostolic throne."[66]

In these letters the question was not only of a crusade for the liberation of the Holy Land. Gregory VII was planning an expedition to Constantinople in order to save Byzantium, the chief defender of Christianity in the East. The aid procured by the pope was to be followed by the reunion of the churches and by the return of the "schismatic" eastern church to the bosom of the "true" Catholic church. One is given the impression that in these letters it is a question rather of the protection of Constantinople than of the conquest of the Holy Land. Moreover, all these letters were written before the eighth decade of the eleventh century, when Jerusalem passed into the hands of the Turks and when the position of the Palestinian Christians grew worse. Thus, in Gregory's plans the Holy War against Islam seems to have taken second place; it seems that, in arming the western Christians for the struggle with the Muslim east, the pope had in view the "schismatic" east. The latter seemed to Gregory more horrid than Islam. In one of his briefs concerning the regions occupied by the Spanish Moors, the pope openly declared that he would prefer to leave these regions in the hands of the infidel, that is to say, of the Muhammedans, rather than see them fall into the hands of the disobedient sons of the church.[67] If the messages of Gregory VII embody the first plan of the crusades, they show the connection between this plan and the separation of the churches in 1054.

Like Michael VII, Alexius Comnenus, especially under the pressure of the horrors of 1091, made appeals to the West, asking that mercenary auxiliaries

[64] J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CXLVIII, 326.
[65] *Ibid.*, 329.
[66] *Ibid.*, 386.
[67] *Ibid.*, 290. See C. Kohler, in *Revue historique*, LXXXIII (1903), 156–57. Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, 149.

be sent. But the interference of the Cumans and the violent death of the Turkish pirate Tzachas ended the danger, so that from the point of view of Alexius, western auxiliaries seemed useless to the Empire in the following year, 1092. Meanwhile, the movement, created by Gregory VII in the West, spread widely, thanks especially to the confident and active Pope Urban II. The modest auxiliaries asked for by Alexius Comnenus were forgotten. Now it was a question of a mass movement.

The first critical investigation of a German historian, H. Sybel, published for the first time in 1841, advanced these principal causes for the crusades, from the western point of view:[68] (1) The first is the general religious spirit of the Middle Ages which increased in the eleventh century owing to the Cluniac movement. In a society depressed by the consciousness of its sins there is a tendency to asceticism, to seclusion, to spiritual deeds, and to pilgrimage; the theology and philosophy of the time were also deeply affected by the same influence. This spirit was the first general cause which roused the masses of the population to the deed of freeing the Holy Sepulchre. (2) The second is the growth of the papacy in the eleventh century, especially under Gregory VII. Crusades seemed very desirable to the popes, because they opened wide horizons for the further development of the papal power and authority; if the popes succeeded in the enterprise whose initiators and spiritual guides they were to become, they would spread their authority over many new countries and restore "schismatic" Byzantium to the bosom of the Catholic church. Thus, their idealistic desire to aid the eastern Christians and to deliver the Holy Land intermingled with their wish to increase their power and authority. (3) Worldly and secular motives also played a considerable part with the different social classes. Sharing in the general religious emotion, the feudal nobility, barons, and knights, were filled with the spirit of adventure and with the love of war. An expedition against the East was an unequaled opportunity to satisfy their ambition and bellicosity, and to increase their means. As far as the lower classes were concerned, the peasants, ground down by the burden of feudal despotism and swept away by rudimentary religious feeling, saw in the crusade at least a temporary relief from feudal oppression, a postponement of payment of their debts, a certain security for their families and their modest chattels, and release from sins. Later, other phenomena were emphasized by scholars in connection with the origin of the First Crusade.

In the eleventh century western pilgrimages to the Holy Land were particularly numerous. Sometimes pilgrimages were made by very large groups; along with the individual pilgrimages there were real expeditions to the Holy Land. In 1026–27 seven hundred pilgrims, at whose head was a French abbot and among whom were many Norman knights, visited Palestine. In

[68] Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges* (2nd ed., 1881).

the same year William, count of Angoulême, followed by several abbots of the west of France and by a great number of nobles, made a voyage to Jerusalem. In 1033 there was such a congestion of pilgrims at the Holy Sepulchre as had never been seen before. But the most famous pilgrimage took place in 1064–65, when more than seven thousand persons (usually said to be more than twelve thousand) under the leadership of Günther, the bishop of Bamberg, in Germany, undertook a pilgrimage. They passed through Constantinople and Asia Minor, and, after many adventures and losses, reached Jerusalem. The sources on this great pilgrimage state that "out of seven thousand, not two thousand returned," and these came back "measurably attenuated in material resources." Günther himself, the leader of the pilgrimage, died prematurely, "one of the many lives lost in this adventure."[69]

In connection with these precrusading peaceful pilgrimages the question has been raised whether the eleventh century might be regarded, as it has rather often been, as a period of transition from peaceful pilgrimages to the military expeditions of the crusading epoch. Many scholars have tried to prove that, because of new conditions established in Palestine after the Turkish conquest, troops of pilgrims began to travel armed to be able to defend themselves against possible attacks. Now, owing to E. Joranson, the fact has been established that the greatest pilgrimage of the eleventh century was made up exclusively of unarmed men; and in this connection inevitably rises the question "whether any pilgrimage in the pre-crusading period really was an expedition under arms."[70] Of course, some of the pilgriming knights were armed, but "though some of them wore coats of mail they were still peaceful pilgrims," and they were not crusaders.[71] They played a considerable part in the history of the origin of the crusades, however, by informing western Europeans of the situation in the Holy Land and awakening and maintaining interest in it.[72] All these pilgrimaging expeditions took place before the Turks conquered Palestine. One of the results of the more recent investigation of the pilgrimages of the eleventh century before the Turkish conquest is the discovery that pilgrims in Palestine were sometimes maltreated by the Arabs many years before the Seljuq occupation of that land,[73] so that the statement

[69] See E. Joranson, "The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064–65," *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro*, 39.

[70] *Ibid.*, 40.

[71] O. Dobiache-Rojdestvensky, *The Epoch of the Crusades; the West in the Crusading Movement*, 16.

[72] See on the pilgrimages of the 11th century Bréhier, *Les Croisades*, 42–50. Cf. Joranson, "The Great German Pilgrimage," *Crusades and Other Essays*, 4, n. to p. 3; 40, n. 141. In *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Crump and E. Jacob, 63, there is the following misleading statement: "the age of pilgrimage deepened the interest and the Crusades followed."

[73] Joranson, "The Great German Pilgrimage," *Crusades and Other Essays*, 42.

that "as long as the Arabs held Jerusalem, the Christian pilgrims from Europe could pass unmolested"[74] must now be considered too positive.

There is no information on pilgrimages from Byzantium to the Holy Land in the eleventh century. A Byzantine monk, Epiphane, the author of the first Greek itinerary to the Holy Land, described Palestine in the precrusading period, but the period of his life cannot be fixed definitely, and scholars variously place it between the end of the eighth century and the eleventh.[75]

Before the First Crusade Europe had actually experienced three veritable crusades: the wars in Spain against the Moors, the Norman conquest of Apulia and Sicily, and the Norman conquest of England in 1066. Moreover, a political and economic movement occurred in Italy in the eleventh century, centered in Venice. The pacification of the Adriatic coast laid a solid foundation for the maritime power of Venice, and the famous charter of 1082 granted to Venice by Alexius Comnenus opened to the Republic of St. Mark the Byzantine markets. "On that day began the world commerce of Venice."[76] At that time Venice, like some other south Italian cities which still remained under the power of Byzantium, did not hesitate to traffic with Muhammedan ports. At the same time Genoa and Pisa, which in the tenth century and at the beginning of the eleventh had been raided several times by the African Muhammedan pirates, undertook in 1015–16 an expedition against Sardinia, which belonged to the Muhammedans. They succeeded in conquering Sardinia and Corsica. The ships of these two cities thronged the ports of the opposite African coast, and in 1087, encouraged by the pope, they successfully attacked Mehdia on the north African coast. All these expeditions against the infidels were due not only to religious enthusiasm or to the spirit of adventure, but also to economic reasons.

Another factor in the history of western Europe which is associated with the origin of the crusades is the increase in population in some countries, which began at about 1100. It is definitely known that the population increased in Flanders and France. One aspect of the mass movement at the end of the eleventh century was the medieval colonial expansion from some western European countries, especially France. The eleventh century in France was a time of frequent famines and drought and of violent epidemics and severe winters. These hard conditions of living made the population think of far distant lands full of abundance and prosperity. Taking all these factors into consideration one may conclude that, towards the end of the eleventh century,

[74] H. Loewe, "The Seljūqs," *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 316.

[75] See, e.g., K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinisch... Litteratur*, 420. Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, II, xxxvii.

[76] Charles Diehl, *Une république patricienne: Venise*, 33.

Europe was mentally and economically ready for a crusading enterprise on a large scale.

The general situation before the First Crusade was entirely different from the situation before the Second. These fifty-one years, 1096–1147, were one of the most important epochs in history. In the course of these years the economic, religious, and whole cultural aspect of Europe changed radically; a new world was opened to western Europe. The subsequent crusades did not add very much to the achievements of this period; they only continued the processes developed in these fifty-one years. And it is strange to recall that an Italian historian names the first crusades "sterile insanities" (*sterili insanie*).[77]

The First Crusade presents the first organized offensive of the Christian world against the infidels, and this offensive was not limited to central Europe, Italy, and Byzantium. It began in the southwestern corner of Europe, in Spain, and ended in the boundless steppes of Russia.

As to Spain, Pope Urban II, in his letter of 1089 to the Spanish counts, bishops, *vice comites* and other nobles and powerful men, authorized them to stay in their own land instead of going to Jerusalem and to tax their energy for the restoration of Christian churches destroyed by the Moors.[78] This was the right flank of the crusading movement against the infidels.

In the northeast, Russia desperately defended itself against the barbarian hordes of the Polovtzi (Cumans), who appeared in the southern steppes about the middle of the eleventh century, laid waste the country, and destroyed trade by occupying all the routes leading east and south from Russia. The Russian historian, Kluchevsky, wrote: "This struggle between the Russians and Polovtzi—a struggle lasting for well-nigh two centuries—was not without its place in European history at large; for while the West was engaged in crusades against the forces of Asia and the Orient, and a similar movement was in progress in the Iberian peninsula against the Moors, Rus [Russia] was holding the left flank of Europe. Yet this historical service cost her dear, since not only did it dislodge her from her old settlements on the Dnieper, but it caused the whole trend of her life to become altered."[79] In this way Russia participated in the general western European crusading movement; defending herself, she at the same time defended Europe against the barbarous infidels. "Had the Russians thought of taking the cross," said Leib, "they should have been told that their first duty was to serve Christianity by defending their own land, as the Popes wrote to the Spaniards."[80]

[77] F. Cerone, "La politica orientale di Alfonso d'Aragona," *Archivio storico per le provincie Napolitane*, XXVII (1902), 425.

[78] Bulla Urbani II, July 1, 1089, Romae, in J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XX, 701. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLI, 302–3. P. Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, I, 663 (no. 5401). See Riant, "Inventaire critique," *Archives de l'orient latin*, I (1881), 68–69; Riant was somewhat doubtful, but without any plausible reason, about the authenticity of this bull. See Erdmann, *Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, 295 and n. 38.

[79] V. O. Kluchevsky, *A History of Russia*, trans. C. J. Hogarth, I, 192; (2nd ed. in Russian, 1906), I, 344–45. See Leib, *Rome, Kiev, et Byzance*, 276 n. 1, 277. Though Russian chroniclers say nothing about the Crusade, the crusading movement ought to have been known in Russia in the eleventh century. N. Iorga, *Choses d'Orient et de Roumanie*, 39–40, rejected any relation of Russia to the crusades. D. A. Rasovsky, "Polovtzi, Military History of Polovtzi," *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, XI (1940), 98.

The Scandinavian kingdoms also participated in the First Crusade, but they joined the main army in smaller bands. In 1097 a Danish noble, Svein, led a band of crusaders to Palestine. In the north nothing was heard of any great religious enthusiasm, and, as far as is known, most of the Scandinavian crusaders were actuated less by Christian zeal than by love of war and adventure, and the prospect of gain and renown.[81]

There were two Christian countries in the Caucasus, Armenia and Georgia; but after the defeat of the Byzantine army at Manzikert in 1071 Armenia had come under the power of the Turks, so that there could be no question of the participation of the Caucasian Armenians in the First Crusade. As to Georgia, the Seljuqs had taken possession of that land in the eleventh century, and only after the taking of Jerusalem by the crusaders in 1099 did the king of Georgia, David the Restorer, drive out the Turks. This occurred in about 1100, or, as a Georgian chronicle asserted, when "a Frankish army had set forth on a march and, with divine assistance, taken Jerusalem and Antioch, Georgia restored itself, and David became powerful."[82]

When in 1095, in connection with west European complications and projected reforms, the victorious Pope Urban II summoned a council to meet at Piacenza, an embassy from Alexius Comnenus was present to make an appeal for aid. This fact has been denied by some scholars; but the more recent investigators of this problem have come to the conclusion that an appeal for aid was really made by Alexius at Piacenza.[83] Of course, this was

[80] *Rome, Kiev, et Byzance*, 276, n. 1.

[81] Gjerset, *Norwegian People*, I, 313–14. See P. E. Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte*, 127–71.

[82] M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 352–53. See also A. Dirr, "Géorgie," *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, II, 139–40. W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, 95–97.

[83] See D. C. Munro, "Did the Emperor Alexius I Ask for Aid at the Council of Piacenza, 1095?" *American Historical Review*, XXVII (1922), 731–33. J. Gay, *Les Papes du XI^e siècle et la chrétienté*, 366. Leib, *Rome, Kiev, et Byzance*, 180. Bréhier, "Charlemagne and Palestine," *Revue historique*, CLVII (1928), 61–62. Dölger, *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden*, II, 43 (no. 1176); good bibliography. Chalandon, *La première croisade*, I, 156, thought that Alexius' ambassadors came to Piacenza to resume the negotiations concerning the reunion of the churches; see also pp. 17–18. R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du royaume franc de Jerusalem*, I, 5. In the middle of the nineteenth century F. Palgrave imagined the fantastic theory that the Greek legates at Piacenza were really disguised agents of Bohemond of Tarent: *The History of Normandy and of England*, IV, 509–10. See Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 34, n. 1.

not "the final impulse," which caused the First Crusade, as Sybel asserted.[84] As before, if Alexius appealed for aid at Piacenza, he did not dream of crusading armies; he wanted no crusade, but mercenaries against the Turks, who during the last three years had become a great menace in their successful advance in Asia Minor. About the year 1095, Qilij Arslan had been elected sultan in Nicaea. "He sent for the wives and children of the men then staying in Nicaea, and bade them live there, and made this city the dwelling-place, as one might say, of the Sultans."[85] In other words Qilij Arslan made Nicaea his capital. In connection with those Turkish successes Alexius might have appealed for aid at Piacenza; but his intention was not a crusade to the Holy Land, but assistance against the Turks. His request was favorably received at Piacenza. But unfortunately there is little information about this episode. A recent historian remarked, "From the council of Piacenza to the arrival of the crusaders in the Byzantine empire, the relations between the East and the West are veiled in tantalizing obscurity."[86]

In November 1095, at Clermont (in Auvergne, middle France) the famous council was held. At this meeting so many people had assembled that not enough room was found in town for the visitors, and the multitude was quartered in the open air. After the close of the council, at which some most important current matters, strictly ecclesiastical, were discussed, Urban II delivered a very effective oration, the original text of which has been lost. Some witnesses of the council who wrote down the oration later from memory, give texts which differ very much from one another.[87] Fervently relating the persecutions of the Christians in the Holy Land, the pope urged the multitude to take arms for the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre and of the eastern Christians. With cries of *"Deus lo volt"* ("God wills it" or "It is the will of God") the throngs rushed to the pope. At his proposal, a red cross worn on the right shoulder was adopted as the emblem of the future crusaders (hence the name "crusaders"). They were promised remission of sins, relief from debts, and protection for their property during their absence. There was no compulsion; but there must be no turning back, and the renegade was to be excommunicated and regarded as an outlaw. From France enthusiasm spread all over Italy, Germany, and England. A vast movement to the east was forming, and the real scale and importance of it could not be anticipated or realized at the Council of Clermont.

Therefore, the movement aroused at the Council of Clermont, which in the ensuing year shaped itself into the form of a crusade, was the personal

[84] *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges,* 182.

[85] Anna Comnena, *Alexias,* VI, 12; ed. Reifferscheid, I, 220; ed. Dawes, 163.

[86] F. Duncalf, "The Pope's Plan for the First Crusade," *Crusades and Other Essays,* 48–49.

[87] See D. C. Munro, "Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095," *American Historical Review,* XI (1906), 231–42.

work of Urban II; and for carrying this enterprise into effect he found favorable conditions in the life of the second half of the eleventh century, not only from a religious, but also from a political and economic point of view.

While the danger that loomed in Asia Minor became steadily more imminent, the First Crusade had practically been decided upon at Clermont. The news of this decision came to Alexius as a sudden and disconcerting surprise; disconcerting because he neither expected nor desired assistance in the form of a crusade. When Alexius called mercenaries from the west, he called them for the protection of Constantinople, that is to say, his own state; and the idea of the liberation of the Holy Land, which had not belonged to the Empire for more than four centuries, had for him a secondary significance.

For Byzantium, the problem of a crusade did not exist in the eleventh century. Neither on the part of the masses nor of the Emperor himself did there exist religious enthusiasm, nor were there any preachers of a crusade. For Byzantium the political problem of saving the Empire from its eastern and northern enemies had nothing to do with the far-off expedition to the Holy Land. The Eastern Empire had witnessed "crusades" of her own. There had been the brilliant and victorious expeditions of Heraclius against Persia in the seventh century, when the Holy Land and the Holy Cross were restored to the Empire. Then there had been the victorious campaigns under Nicephorus Phocas, John Tzimisces, and Basil II against the Arabs in Syria when the Emperors definitely planned to regain possession of Jerusalem. This plan had not been realized, and Byzantium, under the menacing pressure of the overwhelming Turkish successes in Asia Minor in the eleventh century, had given up all hope of recovering the Holy Land. For Byzantium the Palestine problem at that time was too abstract; it was not connected with the vital interests of the Empire. In 1090–91 the Empire was on the verge of ruin, and when Alexius asked for western auxiliary troops, and was answered by the coming of crusaders, his motive was to save the Empire. In Alexius' *Muses,* written in iambic meter and supposed to be a sort of political will to his son and heir, John, there are these interesting lines about the First Crusade:

> Do you not remember what has happened to me? Do you fail to think of and take into account the movement of the West to this country, the result of which is to be that all-powerful time will disgrace and dishonor the high sublimity of New Rome, and the dignity of the throne! Therefore, my son, it is necessary to take thought for accumulating enough to fill the open mouths of the barbarians, who breathe out hatred upon us, in case there rises up the force of a numerous army hurling lightnings angrily against us, at the same time many of our enemies encircling our city rebell.[88]

[88] P. Maas, "Die Musen des Kaisers Alexios I," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* XXII (1913), 357–58, lines 328–29. If I am not mistaken, this passage has not yet been used in connection with the history of the First Crusade.

With this fragment from Alexius' *Muses* one may compare the following passage from Anna Comnena's *Alexiad,* also on the First Crusade:

> And such an upheaval of both men and women took place then as had never occurred within human memory; the simpler-minded were urged on by the real desire of worshipping at our Lord's Sepulchre, and visiting the sacred places, but the more astute, especially men like Bohemond and those of like mind, had another secret reason, namely, the hope that while on their travels they might by some means be able to seize the capital itself, finding a pretext for this.[89]

These two statements on the part of the Emperor himself and his learned daughter give an excellent picture of the real attitude of Byzantium towards the crusaders and the crusade itself. In Alexius' mind, the crusaders were on an equal footing with the barbarians menacing the Empire, the Turks and Patzinaks. Anna Comnena made only a passing mention of the "simpler-minded" among the crusaders who really desired to visit the Holy Land. The idea of a crusade was absolutely alien to the spirit of Byzantium at the end of the eleventh century. Only one desire was overwhelmingly prevalent in the leading Byzantine circles—to gain relief from the pressing Turkish danger from the east and north. Therefore the First Crusade was an exclusively occidental enterprise, politically slightly connected with Byzantium. True, the Eastern Empire gave the crusaders some troops, but these Byzantine troops did not go beyond Asia Minor. In the conquest of Syria and Palestine Byzantium took no part.[90]

In the spring of 1096, owing to the preaching of Peter of Amiens, who is often called Peter the Hermit and to whom a historical legend, now rejected, ascribed the arousing of the crusading movement, there gathered in France a multitude mostly of poor people, small knights, and homeless vagrants, almost without arms, who went through Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria towards Constantinople. These undisciplined bands under Peter of Amiens and another preacher, Walter the Penniless, hardly realized through what countries they were passing, and unaccustomed to obedience and order, went on their way pillaging and destroying the country. Alexius Comnenus learned with dissatisfaction of the approach of the crusaders, and this dissatisfaction became alarm when he was informed of the pillage and destruction effected by the crusaders on their march. Nearing Constantinople the crusaders, as usual, indulged in pillaging in the neighborhood of the capital. Alexius Comnenus hastened to transport them across the Bosphorus into

[89] Anna Comnena, *Alexias,* X, 5; ed. Reifferscheid, II, 76; ed. Dawes, 250. Dawes translated the last words of this passage: "looking upon this as a kind of corollary."

[90] See an interesting study by M. Canard, "La Guerre sainte dans le monde islamique et dans le mond crétien," *Revue africaine,* LXXIX (1936), 605–23. Canard also emphasized that the idea of a crusade as a holy war did not exist in Byzantium in the eleventh century.

Asia Minor, where, near Nicaea, they were almost all easily killed by the Turks. Peter the Hermit had returned to Constantinople before the catastrophe.

The episode of Peter the Hermit and his bands was a sort of introduction to the First Crusade. The unfavorable impression left by these bands in Byzantium reacted against the later crusaders. As for the Turks, having so easily done away with Peter's bands, they were sure they would be victorious also over other crusading troops.

In the summer of 1096 in western Europe, began the crusading movement of counts, dukes, and princes; in other words, a real army assembled. No one of the west European sovereigns took part in the Crusade. Henry IV of Germany was entirely occupied by his struggle with the popes for investiture. Philip I of France was under excommunication for his divorce from his legitimate wife and for his marriage with another woman. The English king, William II Rufus, was engaged in a continuous struggle with his vassals, the church, and the people, and held his power insecurely.

Among the leaders of the crusading army the following should be mentioned. The first is Godfrey of Bouillon, the duke of Lower Lorraine, to whom a later legend imparted such a pious character that it is difficult to discern his real features; in reality, he was a brave and capable soldier and a religious-minded man, who wished in this expedition to repair losses sustained in his European possessions. His two brothers took part in the expedition, and one of them, Baldwin, was to become later the king of Jerusalem. Under Godfrey the Army of Lorraine set forth on the march. Robert, the duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror and brother of the king of England, William Rufus, took part in the crusade, but not for religious motives or chivalrous inducements; he was discontented with his small power in his duchy, which, just before his starting, he had pledged to his brother for a certain sum of money. Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother of the king of France, full of ambition, aspired to glory and new possessions and was greatly esteemed by the crusaders. The rude and irascible Robert II, count of Flanders, son of Robert of Flanders, also took part in the expedition and for his crusading exploits was called the Jerusalemite.[91] At the head of the three armies stood the following men: Hugh of Vermandois, at the head of the middle French army; Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders, at the head of the two north French armies. At the head of the south French army stood Raymond, count of Toulouse, a very well-known fighter against the Arabs in Spain, a talented leader and a deeply religious man. Finally, Bohemond of Tarentum, son of Robert Guiscard, and his nephew Tancred,

[91] On Robert II of Flanders see an article of M. M. Knappen, "Robert II of Flanders in the First Crusade," *Crusades and Other Essays,* 79–100.

who commanded the southern Italian Norman army, had no interest in religion; not improbably they hoped at the first opportunity to even their accounts with Byzantium, whose stubborn enemies they were, and apparently Bohemond had already fixed his ambitions upon the possession of Antioch.[92] Thus, the Normans carried into the crusade a purely worldly and political element which was in contradiction with the original idea of the crusading movement. Bohemond's army was perhaps the best prepared of all the crusading bands for such an expedition, "for there were many men in it who had come into contact both with the Saracens in Sicily and the Greeks in southern Italy."[93] All the crusading armies pursued their own aims; there was neither general plan nor commander in chief. The chief role in the First Crusade, then, belonged to the French.

One part of the crusading armies went to Constantinople by land, another part by sea. Like Peter the Hermit's bands, the crusaders ravaged the places they traversed and performed all kinds of violence. A witness of this passage of the crusaders, Theophylact, the archbishop of Bulgaria, explained in one of his letters the cause of his long silence and thereby accuses the crusaders; he wrote: "My lips are compressed; first of all, the passage of the Franks, or their invasion, or I do not know how one may call it, has so affected and seized all of us, that we do not even feel ourselves. We have drunk enough the bitter cup of invasion. . . . As we have been accustomed to Frankish insults, we bear misfortunes more easily than before, because time is a good teacher of all."[94]

It is obvious that Alexius Comnenus had good reason to distrust such defenders of the crusading idea. The Emperor waited with irritation and alarm for the crusading armies which were approaching his capital on all sides and which in their number were quite unlike the modest bodies of auxiliaries for which he had appealed to the West. Some historians have accused Alexius and the Greeks of perfidy and disloyalty to the crusaders. Such charges must be rejected, particularly after attention is turned to the pillaging, plundering, and incendiarism of the crusaders on their march. Also one must now reject the severe and antihistoric characterization of Gibbon, who wrote: "In a style less grave than that of history I should compare the Emperor Alexius to the jackal, who is said to follow the steps, and to devour the leavings, of the

[92] See Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 44; during his march through the Balkan peninsula towards Constantinople Bohemond endeavored to comply as much as possible with the wishes of Alexius and his representatives (p. 40). But Yewdale remarked: "What Bohemond's exact plans were and precisely what end he had in view when he took the cross, beyond the very general end of personal aggrandizement, we shall probably never know" (p. 44).

[93] *Ibid.*, 38.

[94] *Epistola*, XI; ed. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CXXVI, 324–25.

lion."[95] Of course, Alexius was not a man humbly to pick up what the crusaders left to him. Alexius Comnenus showed himself a statesman, who understood what a threat to the existence of his Empire the crusaders presented; therefore, his first idea was, as soon as possible, to transport the restless and dangerous comers to Asia Minor, where they were to carry on the task for which they had come to the East, that is to say, fighting the infidels. An atmosphere of mutual distrust and malevolence was created between the Latins and the Greeks; in their persons stood face to face not only schismatics, but also political antagonists, who later on were to settle their controversy by the power of the sword. An educated Greek patriot and learned literary man of the nineteenth century (Bikélas) wrote:

> To the Western eye the Crusades present themselves in all the noble proportions of a great movement based upon motives purely religious, when Europe . . . appears the self-sacrificing champion of Christianity and of civilization, in the vigour of her strong youth and the glory of her intellectual morning. It is natural that a certain honourable pride should still inspire any family of the Latin aristocracy which can trace its pedigree to those who fought under the banner of the Cross. But when the Easterners beheld swarms of illiterate barbarians looting and plundering the provinces of the Christian and Roman Empire, and the very men who called themselves the champions of the Faith murdering the Priests of Christ on the ground that they were schismatics, it was equally natural that they should forget that such a movement had originally been inspired by a religious aim and possessed a distinctively Christian character. . . . The appearance (of the crusaders) upon the stage of history is the first act in the final tragedy of the Empire.[96]

The special historian of Alexius Comnenus, Chalandon, was inclined to apply, at least in part, to all the crusaders the characteristics attributed by Gibbon to the followers of Peter the Hermit: "The robbers, who followed Peter the Hermit, were wild beasts, without reason and humanity."[97]

Thus in 1096 began the epoch of the Crusades, so abounding and rich in its various consequences, and of such great importance both for Byzantium and the East and for western Europe.

The first account of the impression made on the peoples in the East by the beginning of the crusading movement came from an Arabian historian of the twelfth century, Ibn al-Qalanisi: "In this year (A.H. 490 = 19 December 1096 to 8 December 1097) there began to arrive a succession of reports that the armies of the Franks had appeared from the direction of the sea of Constantinople with forces not to be reckoned for multitude. As these reports

[95] *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. Bury, chap. 59.

[96] D. Bikélas, *La Grèce byzantine et moderne*, 29. Bikélas, *Seven Essays on Christian Greece*, trans. John, Marquess of Bute, 35–36.

[97] *La première croisade*, 159–60.

followed one upon the other, and spread from mouth to mouth far and wide, the people grew anxious and disturbed in mind."[98]

After the crusaders had gradually assembled at Constantinople, Alexius Comnenus, considering their troops as mercenary auxiliaries, expressed a wish to be acknowledged the head of the expedition and insisted that an oath of vassalage be sworn to him by the crusaders. A formal treaty was concluded between Alexius and the crusading chiefs, who promised to restore to Alexius, as their suzerain, any towns they should take which had formerly made part of the Byzantine Empire. Unfortunately the terms of the oath of vassalage which the crusading leaders took have not been preserved in their original form. In all likelihood, Alexius' demands varied concerning different regions. He sought for direct acquisitions in the regions of Asia Minor, which, shortly before, had been lost by the Empire after the defeat of Manzikert (1071), and which were the necessary conditions of the power and secure existence of the Byzantine Empire and Greek nationality. To Syria and Palestine, which had been lost by Byzantium long ago, the Emperor did not lay claim, but confined himself to claiming to be their suzerain.[99]

After crossing to Asia Minor, the crusaders opened hostilities. After a siege, in June 1097, Nicaea surrendered to them, and by virtue of the treaty made with Alexius was delivered to him. The next victory of the crusaders at Dorylaeum (Eski-Shehr), forced the Turks to evacuate the western part of Asia Minor and to draw back into the interior of the country; after that Byzantium had an excellent opportunity to restore its power on the coast of Asia Minor. Despite natural difficulties, climatic conditions, and the resistance of the Muslims, the crusaders advanced far to the east and southeast. In upper Mesopotamia, Baldwin took the city of Edessa and he soon established there his princedom which became the first Latin dominion in the East and a bulwark of the Christians against the Turkish attacks from Asia. But the example of Baldwin had its dangerous reverse side: the other barons might follow his example and found princedoms of their own, which, of course, would inflict great harm on the very aim of the crusade. Later on, this danger was fulfilled.

After a long and exhausting siege, the chief city of Syria, Antioch, a very strong fortress, surrendered to the crusaders; the way to Jerusalem was open. But because of Antioch a violent strife had broken out between the chiefs ending when Bohemond of Tarentum, following Baldwin's example, became the ruling prince of Antioch.[100] Neither at Edessa nor at Antioch did the crusaders

[98] *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusaders*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb, 41.

[99] Cf. Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 44. G. de Jerphanion, "Les Inscriptions cappadociennes et l'histoire de l'Empire Grec de Nicée," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, I (1935), 244–45.

[100] On the details see Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 52–84. Chalandon, *La première croisade*, 177–249.

take the vassal oath to Alexius Comnenus. As the greater part of the troops remained with the chiefs who had founded their princedoms, only a very few, 20,000 to 25,000 in number, reached Jerusalem, and they arrived exhausted and thoroughly weakened.

At that time, Jerusalem had passed from the Seljuqs into the hands of a powerful caliph of Egypt, of the Fatimid dynasty. After a violent siege, on the 15th of July 1099, the crusaders took the Holy City by storm and effected therein terrible slaughter. They thoroughly pillaged it, and carried away many treasures. The famous Mosque of Omar was robbed. The conquered country, occupying a narrow seashore strip in the region of Syria and Palestine, received the name of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Godfrey of Bouillon, who consented to accept the title of the "Defender of the Holy Sepulchre," was elected king of Jerusalem. The new state was organized on the western feudal pattern.

The First Crusade, which had ended in the formation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and of several independent Latin possessions in the east, created a complicated political situation. Byzantium, satisfied with the weakening of the Turks in Asia Minor and with the restoring of a considerable part of that country to the power of the Empire, was alarmed, however, by the appearance of the crusading princedoms at Antioch, Edessa, and Tripoli, which became new political foes of Byzantium. The Empire's distrust gradually increased to such an extent that, in the twelfth century, Byzantium, opening hostilities against its former allies, the crusaders, did not hesitate to make alliance with its former enemies, the Turks. In their turn, the crusaders settled in their new dominions and fearing the strengthening of the Empire in Asia Minor, also concluded alliances with the Turks against Byzantium. Here, in the twelfth century, it was already obvious that the very idea of crusading enterprise had completely degenerated.

One cannot speak of a complete rupture between Alexius Comnenus and the crusaders. Of course, the Emperor was deeply discontented with the formation of the Latin possessions in the East, which had taken no vassal oath to him; nevertheless he did not refuse adequate help to the crusaders, for example, in transporting them from the east to the west, on their way home. A rupture took place between the Emperor and Bohemond of Tarentum, who, from the point of view of Byzantine interests, had become excessively powerful at Antioch, at the expense of his neighbors, the weak Turkish emirs, and of Byzantine territory. Therefore Antioch became the chief center of Alexius' aims. Raymond of Toulouse, the head of the Provençal troops, dissatisfied with his position in the East and also regarding Bohemond as his chief rival, drew closer to Alexius. At that time, for Alexius the fate of Jerusalem had secondary interest.

A struggle between the Emperor and Bohemond was unavoidable. An

opportunity apparently presented itself to Alexius when Bohemond was suddenly captured by the Turks, that is by the Emir Malik Ghazi of the Danishmand dynasty, who at the very end of the eleventh century had conquered Cappadocia and established there an independent possession, which, however, was to be destroyed by the Seljuqs in the second half of the twelfth century. Alexius negotiated with the emir for the delivery of Bohemond in return for a certain amount of money, but the negotiations came to nothing. Bohemond was redeemed by others and returned to Antioch. On the basis of the treaty made with the crusaders, Alexius demanded that Bohemond deliver Antioch to him; but Bohemond decisively refused to do so.

At that time, in 1104, the Muslims won a great victory over Bohemond and the other Latin princes at Harran, south of Edessa. This defeat of the crusaders nearly destroyed the Christian dominions in Syria and reinvigorated the hopes both of Alexius and of the Muslims; both gladly anticipated Bohemond's unavoidable weakening. The battle of Harran destroyed his plans to establish in the East a powerful Norman state; he realized that he did not have strength enough to go to war again against the Muslims and the Emperor, his sworn enemy. His further stay in the East seemed to him aimless. Bohemond therefore determined to strike a blow to the Empire in Constantinople itself, with new troops collected in Europe. Having entrusted his nephew Tancred with the regency of Antioch, he embarked and sailed to Apulia. Anna Comnena gave an interesting though fictitious account, written not without humor, of how, in order to be safer from the Greek ships, Bohemond simulated death, was put into a coffin, and thus accomplished his crossing to Italy.[101]

Bohemond's return to Italy was greeted with the greatest enthusiasm. People flocked to gaze at him, said a medieval author, "as if they were going to see Christ himself."[102] Having gathered troops, Bohemond opened hostilities against Byzantium. The pope favored Bohemond's plans. His expedition against Alexius, explained an American scholar, "ceased to be a mere political movement; it had now received the approval of the Church and assumed the dignity of a Crusade."[103]

Bohemond's troops were probably drawn, for the most part, from France

[101] Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, XI, 12; ed. Reifferscheid, II, 140–41. See Chalandon, *La première croisade*, I, 236, n. 6. Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 102, n. 99. This legend became widespread in the west, where in the Middle Ages, accounts of the pretended death and pretended burials of some prominent persons are given in several sources. See Vasilievsky, *Works*, I, 234–35.

[102] "Historia belli sacri (Tudebodus imitatus et continuatus)," ed. D. Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, III, 228. See Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 106.

[103] Yewdale, *ibid.*, 108, 115. This view is supported by A. C. Krey, "A Neglected Passage in the *Gesta* and Its Bearing on the Literature of the First Crusade," *Crusades and Other Essays*, 76–77.

and Italy, but there were also, in all likelihood, English, Germans, and Spaniards in his army. His plan was to carry out his father Robert Guiscard's campaign of 1081, to take possession of Dyrrachium (Durazzo) and then through Thessalonica to march upon Constantinople. But the campaign turned out to be unsuccessful for Bohemond. He suffered defeat at Dyrrachium and was forced to make peace with Alexius on humiliating terms. The chief terms of the agreement between Bohemond and Alexius Comnenus were: Bohemond promised to consider himself the vassal of Alexius and his son, John; to take up arms against the Emperor's enemies; and to hand over to Alexius all conquered lands formerly belonging to the Empire. Those lands which had never been a part of the Empire and which Bohemond gained in any manner, were to be held by him as if they had been granted to him by the Emperor. He promised to make war on his nephew Tancred if Tancred did not consent to submit to the Emperor. The patriarch of Antioch was to be appointed by the Emperor from persons belonging to the Greek Eastern church, so that there would be no Latin patriarch of Antioch. The cities and districts granted to Bohemond are enumerated in the agreement. The document closes with Bohemond's solemn oath on the cross, the crown of thorns, the nails, and the lance of Christ, that he will fulfill the provisions of the agreement.[104]

With the collapse of Bohemond's vast and aggressive plans, his stormy career perhaps fatal to the crusading movement, came to its end. For the three last years of his life he was of no particular importance. He died in Apulia in 1111.

Bohemond's death made Alexius' position more difficult, because Tancred of Antioch refused to carry into effect his uncle's agreement, and would not hand Antioch over to the Emperor. Alexius had to begin all over again. The plan of an expedition against Antioch was discussed but was never brought into effect. It was evident that at that time the Empire was unable to undertake the difficult project. Tancred's death, which occurred soon after Bohemond's death, made the plan of marching on Antioch no easier. The last years of Alexius' reign were particularly occupied by nearly annual wars with the Turks in Asia Minor, which often were successful for the Empire.

In the external life of the Empire, Alexius succeeded in a very hard task. Very often Alexius' activity has been considered and estimated from the point of view of his relations to the crusaders, but not from the point of view of the total of his external policy. Such a point of view is undoubtedly wrong.

[104] Bohemond's document composed of an original draft is found in Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, XIII, 12; ed. Reifferscheid, II, 209–21; ed. Dawes, 348–57. See Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 127–29; Dölger, *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden*, II, 51–52 (no. 1243); good bibliography.

In one of his letters, Alexius' contemporary, the archbishop of Bulgaria, Theophylact, using the words of a Psalm (79:13) compares the Bulgarian province with a grape-vine, whose fruit "is plucked by all who pass by."[105] This comparison, as says the French historian Chalandon, may be applied to the Eastern Empire of the time of Alexius.[106] All his neighbors tried to take advantage of the weakness of the Empire and to seize some of its regions. The Normans, Patzinaks, Seljuqs, and the crusaders threatened Byzantium. Alexius, who had received the Empire in a state of weakness, succeeded in making adequate resistance to them all and thereby delayed for a considerable time the process of the dissolution of Byzantium. Under Alexius, the frontiers of the state, both in Europe and in Asia, were extended. The Empire's enemies were forced to recede everywhere, so that, on the territorial side, his rule signifies an incontestable progress. The charges particularly often brought against Alexius concerning his relations to the crusaders must be given up, if we consider Alexius as a sovereign defending the interests of his state, to which the westerners, full of desire to pillage and spoil, were a serious danger. Thus, in his external policy Alexius successfully overcame all difficulties, improved the international position of the Empire, extended its limits, and for a time stopped the progress of the numerous enemies who on all sides pressed against the Empire.

External relations under John II

Increasing contacts with the western states.—The son and successor of Alexius, John II, was of the emperor-soldier type and spent the major part of his reign among the troops in military enterprises. His external policy chiefly continued that of his father, who had already pointed out all the important problems, European as well as Asiatic, in which the Empire of that time was particularly interested. John set as his goal progress along the political paths entered upon by his father. The father had hindered his enemies from invading Byzantium; the son determined "to take away from his neighbors the lost Greek provinces and dreamt of restoring the Byzantine Empire to its former brilliancy."[107]

Though he clearly understood the European situation, John was little interested in European affairs. He had from time to time to wage war in Europe, but there his wars were of a strictly defensive character. Only towards the end of his reign, owing to the threatening rise of the Normans, which expressed itself in the union of south Italy with Sicily and the formation of the Kingdom of Sicily, did European affairs become very important to Byzantium. John's

[105] *Epistola,* XVI; ed. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca,* CXXVI, 529.

[106] *La première croisade,* I, 321–22.

[107] F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène. Études sur l'Empire byzantin au XI^e^ au XII^e^ siècles,* II, 10.

main interest in his external policy was concentrated in Asia Minor. With regard to John's relations to the West, there were a steadily increasing number of western European states with which Byzantium had to come into contact.

The Norman danger had caused Alexius to draw closer to Venice, who had pledged herself to support Byzantium with her fleet; thereupon Alexius had granted the Republic of St. Mark quite exceptional trade privileges. The Venetians, who had gone in throngs to the Empire, especially to Constantinople, grew rich and soon formed in the capital a Venetian colony so numerous and wealthy that it began to be of predominant importance. Gradually, forgetting that they were neither in their native country nor in a conquered land, the Venetians began to behave so arrogantly and impertinently towards not only the lower classes of the Byzantine population, but also the high officials and nobility, that they aroused strong discontent in the Empire. The small commercial privileges granted Pisa by Alexius were not important enough to alarm Venice.

In Alexius' lifetime, relations between the Byzantines and Venetians were not yet particularly strained. But with his death, circumstances changed. Learning that Norman Apulia was having internal troubles and therefore considering the Norman danger to Byzantium already over, John decided to abrogate the commercial treaty that his father had made with Venice. At once, the irritated Venetians sent their fleet to raid the Byzantine islands of the Adriatic and Aegean. Judging an adequate resistance to the Venetian vessels impossible, John was forced, still in the first years of his reign, to enter into negotiations with Venice which led to the complete restoration of the commercial treaty of 1082. Under John, the other Italian maritime cities, like Pisa and Genoa, also enjoyed certain commercial privileges but these, of course, could not be compared with those of Venice.

In these same first years of John's reign, the Patzinak problem was definitely solved. The Patzinaks, who had been crushed under Alexius Comnenus by the Cumans (Polovtzi), thereafter did not harass the Empire for thirty years. But at the beginning of the reign of John, the Patzinaks, who had somewhat recovered from their defeat, crossed the Danube and invaded the Byzantine territory. The imperial troops inflicted a heavy and decisive defeat upon them. In memory of this victory, John even instituted a special "Patzinak festivity," which, as the Byzantine historian Nicetas Choniates said, "was still celebrated at the end of the twelfth century."[108] After this defeat the Patzinaks had no importance at all in the external history of Byzantium. However, Patzinaks who were captured and who settled within the Empire constituted a separate group in the Byzantine troops and afterwards fought on the side of Byzantium.

[108] Nicetas Choniates, *Historia,* Bonn ed., 23.

tion was an act friendly to the Franks and entirely corresponded with the policy of Alexius II Comnenus.[322] True, the government of Alexius II, who was a child, and of his mother, had sought for the support of the hated Latin elements, but after Andronicus had entered Constantinople and been proclaimed regent, circumstances changed; the government fell into his hands, and towards the end of 1182 his policy was already openly hostile to the Latins.

Defense and commerce.—Because of almost permanent hostilities in the epoch of the Comneni, the army cost the state enormous sums of money, and the Comneni took care of the restoration and strengthening of their army. The army consisted of a great number of mercenaries of the most various nationalities besides the local elements supplied by the themes. Under the Comneni there was a new national element in the army—the Anglo-Saxon.

The cause of the appearance of the Anglo-Saxons in Byzantium was the conquest of England by the Normans under William the Conqueror in 1066, when the catastrophe which had burst upon England after the battle of Senlac, a few miles north of Hastings, delivered the country into the hands of the severe conqueror. Attempts at insurrection on the part of the Anglo-Saxons against the new ruler were severely quelled by executions and extinguished in streams of blood. Many Anglo-Saxons, in despair, abandoned their fatherland. In the eighties of the eleventh century, at the beginning of the rule of Alexius Comnenus, as the English historian Freeman emphasized in his very well-known work on the conquest of England by the Normans, some convincing indications of the Anglo-Saxon emigration into the Greek Empire were already evident.[323] A western chronicler of the first half of the twelfth century wrote: "After having lost their liberty the Anglians were deeply afflicted. . . . Some of them shining with the blossom of beautiful youth went to distant countries and boldly offered themselves for the military service of the Constantinopolitan Emperor Alexius."[324] This was the beginning of the "Varangian-English bodyguard" which, in the history of Byzantium of the twelfth century, played an important part, such as the "Varangian-Russian Druzhina" (Company) had played in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Apparently, there never was such a great number of mercenary foreign troops in Byzantium as during the latinophile rule of Manuel.

As far as the navy was concerned, the maritime forces which had been well organized by Alexius seem gradually to have been losing their fighting power, so that under Manuel they were in a state of decline. Nicetas Choniates, in his

[322] See Dölger, *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden*, II, 89 (no. 1553). Cf. Bréhier, "Andronic (Comnène)," *Dictionnaire d'histoire*, II, 1780.

[323] *Norman Conquest*, IV, 628. A. A. Vasiliev, "The Opening Stages of the Anglo-Saxon Immigration to Byzantium in the Eleventh Century," *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, IX (1937), 39–70.

[324] Orderici Vitalis *Historia ecclesiastica*; ed. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXXVIII, 309.

history, sharply condemned Manuel for the destruction of the maritime power of the Empire.[325] Under the Comneni, the Venetian vessels which had made an alliance with the Empire helped Byzantium a great deal, but, of course, at the expense of Byzantine economic independence.

Manuel restored and fortified some places which were in a state of decay. He fortified a very important city and stronghold, Attalia (Satalia), on the southern shore of Asia Minor.[326] He also erected fortifications and constructed a bridge at Abydos, at the entrance into the Hellespont,[327] where one of the most important Byzantine customhouses was located and where, from the time of the Comneni, the Venetians and their rivals, Genoese and Pisans, had their residences.

Provincial administration under the Comneni has not yet been satisfactorily investigated. It is known that in the eleventh century the number of themes reached thirty-eight.[328] The reduction of the territory of the Empire in the eleventh and twelfth centuries made it impossible for the boundaries of the provinces and their number to remain the same. Information on this problem can be drawn from the Novel of Alexius III Angelus, of Nov. 1198.[329] where the trade privileges granted Venice by the Emperor are discussed and where are enumerated "by names all the provinces that were under the power of Romania and where (the Venetians) could conduct their trade business."[330] The list given in this Novel, a source which has not yet been adequately studied, gives an approximate idea of the changes which took place in the provincial division of the Empire in the course of the twelfth century.

Most of the former themes had been governed by military governors or *strategi*. Later, especially after the battle of Manzikert in 1071, and then in the course of the twelfth century in connection with the growing Turkish danger in Asia Minor and with the secession of Bulgaria in 1186, the territory of the Empire was considerably reduced. Owing to the reduction of territory, the very important title of *strategus* given to the governor general of the themes towards the end of the eleventh century fell into disuse. Under the Comneni the title of *strategus* entirely disappeared, because it became inappropriate to

[325] Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, Bonn ed., 75.

[326] Benedicti Abbatis *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi*, ed. Stubbs, II, 195. The same information in Rogeri de Houedene, *Chronica magistri*, ed. Stubbs, II, 157.

[327] See two short poems of Theodore Prodromus in *Recueil des historiens*, II, 541–42.

[328] See Skabalanovich, *Byzantine State and Church in the Eleventh Century*, 186, 193–230.

[329] Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Jus graeco-romanum*, III, 560–61 (under the year 1199). Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden zur ältern Handels- und Staatsgeschichte*, I, 258–72 (also under the year 1199). The correct date is November, 1198; this document is exactly dated. See Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Jus graeco-romanum*, III, 565. Tafel and Thomas, *ibid.*, 258.

[330] Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Jus graeco-romanum*, III, 560. Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden zur ältern Handels- und Staatsgeschichte*, I, 258.

Asia Minor, the Mongols had pushed back to the West, from the Persian province of Khorasan (Khurasan), a Turkish horde of the tribe of Ghuzz, who had come into the territory of the sultanate of Iconium, and been allowed by the sultan to stay and pasture their herds. After the defeat inflicted by the Mongols the Kingdom of the Seljuqs divided into several independent possessions (emirates) with separate dynasties, which harassed the Empire severely. Along with this disintegration of the Empire of the Seljuqs, the Turkish horde of Ghuzz also became independent. At the very end of the thirteenth century their leader was Osman (Othman), who began the dynasty of the Ottomans and gave his name to the Turks who were under his control; from that time on they were called the Ottoman Turks. The dynasty founded by Osman ruled in Turkey until 1923.[76]

From the end of the thirteenth century on, the Ottoman Turks began to harass seriously the small possessions in Asia Minor which still remained in the power of Byzantium. The imperial troops held with difficulty the three most important points in Asia Minor: Brusa, Nicaea, and Nicomedia. The co-emperor Michael IX was sent against the Turks and defeated. Constantinople itself seemed in danger, and the Emperor "seemed to sleep or be dead."[77]

The Spanish (Catalan) companies in the East.—Andronicus could not master the situation without foreign aid, and he got such aid from the Spanish mercenary bands, the so-called "Catalan companies," or "almughavars."[78] Mercenary bands of various nationalities, under the name of "companies," which lived only for war and would fight for pay for anyone against anyone, were very well known in the latter half of the Middle Ages. "The Catalan companies," which consisted not only of Catalans, but also of the inhabitants of Aragon, Navarre, the island of Majorca, and other places, fought as mercenaries on the side of Peter of Aragon during the war which burst out after the Sicilian Vespers. When at the very beginning of the fourteenth century a peace was concluded between Sicily and Naples, the Catalans were out of work. Such allies, accustomed to war, pillage, and violence, became in time of peace dangerous to those who had invited them, and who now tried to get rid of them. Moreover, the companies themselves, finding no satisfaction in peaceful living conditions, sought new opportunities for activity. The Catalans

[76] See H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*. F. Giese, "Das Problem der Entstehung des osmanischen Reiches," *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, II (1923), 246–71. For valuable information of general critical and bibliographical character see E. L. Langer and R. P. Blake, "The Rise of the Ottoman Turks and Its Historical Background," *American Historical Review*, XXXVII (1932), 468–505. M. F. Köprülü, *Les Origines de l'Empire Ottoman*, 5–32. P. Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, 33–51.

[77] George Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, V, 21; Bonn ed., II, 412.

[78] "Almughavars" is the Arabic word borrowed from the Spanish Arabs, literally meaning "making an expedition," hence "light cavalry," scouts.

chose for leader Roger de Flor, a German by origin, whose father's surname, Blum (i.e. a flower), was translated into Spanish as "Flor."

With the consent of his companions Roger, who spoke Greek fluently, offered his services to Andronicus II for his struggle with the Seljuq and Ottoman Turks and extorted from the hard pressed Emperor unheard-of conditions: the insolent adventurer demanded the consent of Andronicus to his marriage with the Emperor's niece, the granting of the title of *megadukas* (admiral), and a large sum of money for his company. Andronicus was compelled to yield, and the Spanish companies took ship and sailed for Constantinople.

The participation of the Spaniards in the destinies of Byzantium is narrated in detail both in the Spanish (Catalan) sources and in the Greek. But while a participant of the expedition, the Catalan chronicler Muntaner[79] described Roger and his companions as courageous and noble fighters for a right cause, a credit to their country, Greek historians consider the Catalans pillagers and insolent ruffians, and one of them exclaimed: "Would that Constantinople had never seen the Latin Roger!"[80] Historians of the nineteenth century devoted much attention to the Catalan expedition. A Spanish investigator of the problem compared their deeds with those of the famous Spanish conquerors of Mexico and Peru in the sixteenth century, Cortez and Pizarro; he does not know "what other people may plume themselves on such a historical event as our glorious expedition to the East," and he considered the expedition an eternal testimony to the glory of the Spanish race.[81] The German historian Hopf declared that "the Catalan expedition is the most attractive episode in the history of the Empire of the Palaeologi," especially on account of its dramatic interest.[82] Finlay wrote that the Catalans "guided by a sovereign like Leo III or like Basil II, might have conquered the Seljuq Turks, strangled the Ottoman power in its cradle, and carried the double-headed eagle of Byzantium victorious to the foot of Mount Taurus and to the banks of the Danube."[83] Elsewhere the same historian remarked: "The expedition of the Catalans in the East is a wonderful instance of the success which sometimes attends a career of rapacity and crime, in opposition to all the ordinary maxims of hu-

[79] *Chronica o descripcio fets e hazanyes del inclyt rey Don Jaume;* in Buchon, *Chroniques étrangères;* ed. K. Lanz. On Muntaner see N. Iorga, "Ramön Muntaner et l'empire byzantin," *Revue historique du sud-est européen*, IV (1927), 325–55.

[80] George Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, V, 12; Bonn ed., II, 393.

[81] A. Rubió y Lluch, *La expedición y dominación de los Catalanes en Oriente*, 6, 7, 10. Rubió y Lluch, *Los Catalanes en Grecia. Ultimos años de su dominación. Caudros históricos*, 6. C. Banús y Comas, *Expedición de Catalanes y Aragoneses en Oriente en principio del siglo XIV*, 43, 46: Roger de Flor went to the Orient looking for glory and booty.

[82] C. Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginne des Mittelalters bis auf die neuere Zeit*, I, 380.

[83] *A History of Greece*, ed. H. F. Tozer, III, 388.

man prudence."[84] The Spanish archives still afford much new information on this expedition.

At the very beginning of the fourteenth century Roger de Flor with his company arrived in Constantinople.[85] There were almost ten thousand members of the expedition; but this number included wives, mistresses, and children. The marriage of Roger to the Emperor's niece was celebrated at Constantinople with great pomp. After some serious conflicts in the capital between the Catalans and Genoese, who, jealous for their exceptional privileges in the Empire, felt the newcomers their rivals, the company was finally transported into Asia Minor, where the Turks were besieging the large city of Philadelphia, east of Smyrna. Supported by a band of imperial troops the small Hispano-Byzantine army, under Roger de Flor, freed Philadelphia from the Turkish siege. The victory of the western mercenaries was enthusiastically received in the capital; some men thought that the Turkish danger to the Empire was over forever. The first success was followed by others against the Turks in Asia Minor. But the unbearable extortions and arbitrary cruelties of the Catalans towards the local population, on one hand, and the clearly expressed intention of Roger to establish in Asia Minor a principality of his own, though under the Emperor's suzerainty, on the other, strained the relations between the mercenaries, the people of Asia Minor, and the government of Constantinople. The Emperor recalled Roger to Europe, and the latter with his company crossed the Hellespont and occupied first an important fortress on the straits of Gallipoli, and then the whole peninsula of Gallipoli. The new negotiations between Roger and the Emperor ended in Roger's obtaining the title next to the Emperor's, that of Caesar, never till then borne by a foreigner. Before marching again to Asia Minor the new Caesar went with a small band to Hadrianople, where the eldest son of Andronicus, the co-emperor Michael IX, resided. On Michael's instigation, Roger and his companions were slain during a festival. When these tidings spread among the population of the Empire, the Spaniards in the capital and other cities were also murdered.

The Catalans, who were concentrated at Gallipoli, inflamed and thirsty for revenge, broke their obligations as allies of the Empire and set out to the West, ravaging with fire and sword the regions through which they passed. Thrace and Macedonia were terribly devastated. Not even monasteries on Mount Athos were spared. An eyewitness, a pupil of Daniel, igumen (abbot) of the

[84] *Ibid.*, IV, 147. A general sketch of the study of the Catalan problem in Greece can be found in Rubió y Lluch, *Los Catalanes en Grecia*, 19–50.

[85] In the palace of the Senate in Madrid a picture by a nineteenth century Spanish painter, José Moreno Carbonero (1888–) presents the entrance of Roger de Flor into Constantinople. The picture is described in Banús y Comas, *Expedición de Catalanes y Aragoneses en Oriente*, 48; a reproduction is given.

Serbian monastery of Chilandarion, on Mount Athos, wrote: "It was horror to see then the desolation of the Holy Mountain by the hands of enemies."[86] The Catalans also burned the Russian monastery of St. Panteleemon, on Mount Athos, but their assault on Thessalonica failed. In retaliation for the Catalan devastations Andronicus commanded the merchandise of some Catalan vessels in the Byzantine waters seized and the merchants themselves arrested.[87]

After having stayed some time in Thessaly, the Catalans marched to the south, through the famous pass of Thermopylae, into middle Greece to the territory of the Duchy of Athens and Thebes, which had been founded after the Fourth Crusade and was under French control. In the spring of 1311 there took place a battle in Boeotia, at the river of the Cephisus, near the Lake of Copais (near the modern village of Skripù). The Catalans won a decisive victory over the French troops. Putting an end to the flourishing French duchy of Athens and Thebes, they established there Spanish control which lasted for eighty years. The church of the Holy Virgin, the ancient Parthenon on the Acropolis, passed into the hands of the Catalan clergy, who were impressed by its sublimity and riches. In the second half of the fourteenth century a Spanish duke of Athens called the Acropolis "the most precious jewel that exists in the world, and such as all the kings of Christendom together would imitate in vain."[88]

The Athenian Duchy of the Catalans established by mere accident in the fourteenth century and organized upon Spanish or Sicilian models, has generally been considered a harsh, oppressive, and destructive government, which at Athens and in Greece in general has left very few material traces of its domination. On the Acropolis, for instance, the Catalans carried out some changes, especially in the disposition of the fortifications, but no traces of them remain. But in Greek popular tradition and in the Greek tongue there still linger reminiscences of the cruelty and injustice of the Spanish invaders. Even today, in some regions of Greece, for example, in the island of Euboea, a man in condemnation of illegal or unjust action may say: "Not even the Catalans would have done that." In Acarnania to the present day the word "Catalan" is the synonym for "savage, robber, criminal." At Athens the word "Catalan" is considered an insult. In some cities of the Peloponnesus, when one wishes

[86] P. Uspensky, *The Christian Orient, Athos*, III (2), 118.

[87] See *Acta Aragonensia. Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II. (1291–1327)*, ed. H. Finke, II, 741 (no. 458). In this edition the text is dated May 2, 1293. But in the document itself the year is obliterated. I think that it should be assigned to the beginning of the fourteenth century, for in 1293 the Catalan companies had not yet taken any part in the history of Byzantium.

[88] Miller, *The Catalans at Athens*, 14. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, 129. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens 1311–1388*, 17, 187, 257.

to say that a woman possesses a bad character, one says, "She must be a Catalan woman."[89]

But recently much new material, especially in the Archives of Barcelona (the archives *de la Corona d'Aragó*), has come to light which shows that the conception of former historians on this subject was biased. The years of the Catalan domination in middle Greece in the fourteenth century were not only troubled and destructive; they were productive. The Acropolis, which was called in Catalan *Castell de Cetines,* was fortified; for the first time since the closing of the Athenian school by Justinian the Great, a university was established at Athens.[90] Catalan fortifications were also erected in middle and northern Greece.[91] A modern Catalan historian, the best recent authority on the Catalan problem in Middle Greece, A. Rubió y Lluch, declared, "The discovery of a Catalan Greece is, in our opinion, one of the most unexpected surprises the modern investigators have had in the history of medieval political life."[92] Of course, the full story of the Catalan dominion in Greece remains to be learned; but we must realize that the older works and former opinions on this problem of many very eminent scholars must be rectified, and that a new history of the Catalan dominion in Greece must be told on the basis of new material.[93] The Navarrese invasion in 1379 dealt a death blow to the Catalan dominion in Greece.

Successes of the Turks in Asia Minor.—At the very beginning of the fourteenth century the Catalan company fought successfully against the Ottoman Turks. But these military successes did not last long. The bloody advance of the Catalan companies through the Balkan peninsula, after Roger de Flor's murder, and the internal strife between the two Andronicoi, grandfather and grandson diverted the forces and attention of the Empire from the eastern border. The Ottomans seized their advantage, and in the last years of Andronicus the Elder and in the reign of Andronicus the Younger won some important successes in Asia Minor. The sultan Othman (Osman) and after him his son Orkhan conquered there the chief Byzantine cities, Brusa, Nicaea, and

[89] Rubió y Lluch, *La expedición y dominación de los Catalanes,* 14–15. G. Schlumberger, *Expédition des "Almugavares" ou routiers catalans en Orient,* 391–92.

[90] See A. Rubió y Lluch, "Atenes en temps dels Catalans," *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans,* II (1907), 245–46.

[91] Rubió y Lluch, "Els Castells Catalans de la Grecia continental," *ibid.,* III (1908), 362–425.

[92] Rubió y Lluch, "La Grecia Catalana des de la mort de Roger de Lluria fins a la de Frederic III de Sicilia (1370–1377)," *ibid.,* V (1913–14), 393. See also Rubió y Lluch, "Une Figure Athénienne de l'époque de la domination catalane. Dimitri Rendi," *Byzantion,* II (1925), 194.

[93] Rubió y Lluch, "La Grecia Catalana de la mort de Frederic III fins a la invasió navarresa (1377–1379)," *ibid.,* VI (1915–20), 199. See his *Diplomatari de l'Orient català* (Barcelona, 1948), a posthumous work. See also his *Los Catalanes en Grecia,* 13. For a list of many publications of Rubió y Lluch see *Cambridge Medieval History,* IV, 862 and particularly Setton, 286–91.

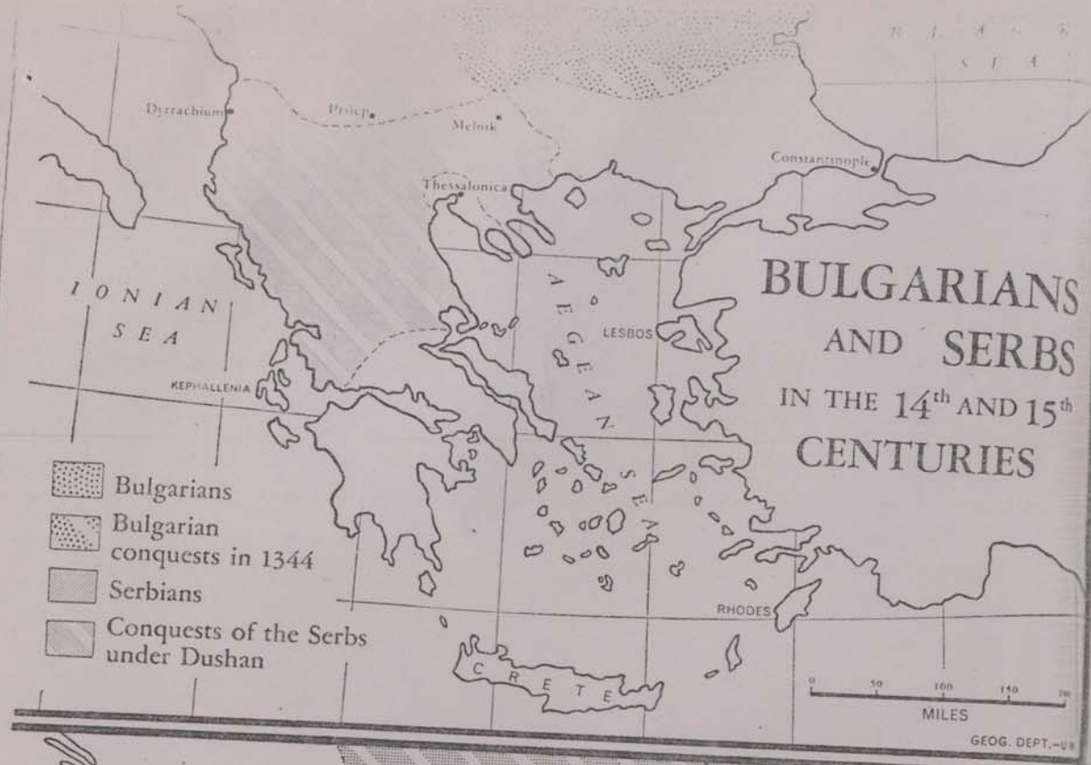
Nicomedia, and then reached the coast of the Sea of Marmora. Several cities of the western coast of Asia Minor began to pay tribute to the Turks. In 1341, when Andronicus III died, the Ottoman Turks had already become the real masters of Asia Minor, with the obvious intention of transferring hostilities into the European territory of the Empire and even threatening Constantinople itself; Thrace was exposed to continuous incursions from them. Meanwhile, the Seljuq emirates, fearing danger from the Ottomans, entered into friendly relations with the Empire in order to struggle against both the Latins and the Ottomans.

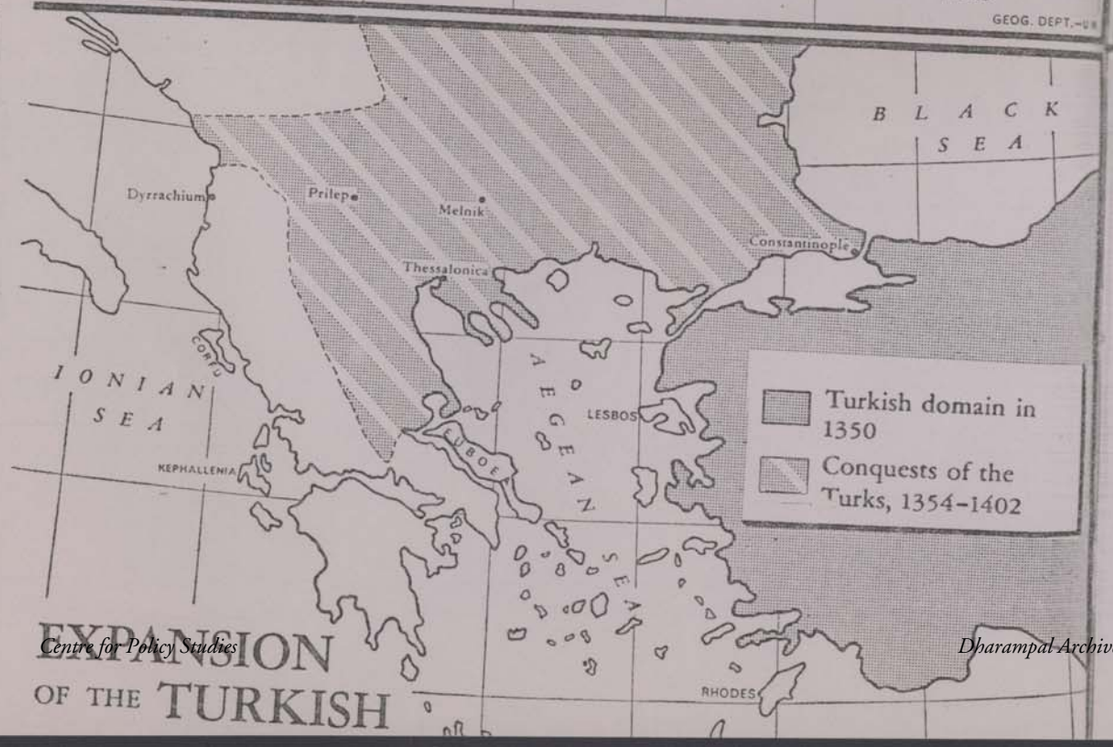
Byzantium and the rise of Serbia; Stephen Dushan (Dušan).—The possessions of Byzantium in the Balkan peninsula, at the end of the thirteenth century, embraced the whole of Thrace and southern Macedonia with Thessalonica; but the lands lying farther to the west and south—Thessaly, Epirus, and Albania—only partially recognized the power of the Empire, and not in equal degree. In the Peloponnesus the Empire under Michael Palaeologus had reconquered from the Franks Laconia in the southeast of the peninsula, and then the central province, Arcadia. In the rest of the Peloponnesus and middle Greece the Latins continued to rule. As to the Archipelago, Byzantium possessed only a few islands in the northern and northeastern portion of the sea.

Parallel with the Ottoman danger in the East, another threatening danger to Byzantium was growing up in the Balkan peninsula, in the first half of the fourteenth century, from Serbia.

The Serbs and the closely related, perhaps even identical, Croats made their appearance in the Balkan peninsula in the seventh century at the time of Emperor Heraclius and occupied the western part of the peninsula. While the Croats dwelling in Dalmatia and in the region between the rivers Sava and Drava began to enter into closer relations with the West, adopted Catholicism, and in the eleventh century lost their independence and came under the power of the Hungarian (Magyar) Kingdom, the Serbs remained faithful to Byzantium and the eastern church. For a long time, that is, up to the second half of the twelfth century, in contrast to the Bulgars the Serbs failed to form one unified state. They lived in independent districts or *župy,* at the head of which were *župans.* A tendency towards unification did not appear among the Serbs until the twelfth century, and coincided chronologically with the Bulgarian movement towards the foundation of the second Bulgarian Kingdom. Just as the Asen family led the movement in Bulgaria, so the family of the Nemanjas played a similar role in Serbia.

The founder of the Serbian monarchy in the second half of the twelfth century was Stephen Nemanja, proclaimed "Great *Župan,*" the first to unify the Serbians by the power of his family. Thanks to successful wars with Byzan-





The Decline of the Byzantine Empire in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

The map at top left shows the territory occupied by the Serbs and Bulgarians in the fourteenth century, and the invasions they made into the Byzantine Empire during that century. The expansion of the Turks westward from 1354 to 1402 is illustrated in the map at lower left. The map above shows the areas controlled in the fifteenth century by the Venetians, Genoese, Franks, and Catalans and shows the boundaries of the Duchy of Naxos. Studied together with the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire in 1340, 1350, and 1402 (see endpaper map), these maps show the gradual limitation of territory which preceded the fall of the Empire in 1453. The general areas in these maps are modified from the maps in Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*.

tium and the Bulgars, he considerably increased the Serbian territory; then, having carried out his political task, he abdicated and ended his days as a monk in a monastery on Mount Athos. During the Third Crusade Stephen Nemanja entered into negotiations with the German king, Frederick Barbarossa, who at that time was on his way across the Balkan peninsula, and offered him an alliance against the Byzantine emperor, if Frederick would allow Serbia to annex Dalmatia and keep the regions taken from Byzantium. These negotiations came to nothing.

After a civil war between the sons of Stephen Nemanja, his son Stephen became ruler of the state and was crowned in 1217 by a papal legate. After the coronation he became King of Serbia and is known as the "first-crowned" King (Kral), "of all Serbia." During his reign, the Serbian church received from the hands of the papal representative an independent head in the person of a Serbian archbishop. But the dependence of Serbia on the Roman church was short, and the new Kingdom remained faithful to the Eastern Orthodox church.

The Latin Empire, in endeavoring to increase its influence in the Balkan peninsula, met with a great obstacle in the two Slavonic states, Bulgaria and Serbia. But after the fall of the Latin Empire in 1261 circumstances changed; the Latin Empire was replaced by the weak restored Byzantine Empire, and at about the same time Bulgaria, also weakened by internal troubles and reduced in territory, had little of its former strength. After 1261 Serbia became the most important state in the Balkan peninsula. But the Serbian kings committed a strategic error in failing to annex the western Serbian (Croatian) land; without having achieved national unification, they turned their attention to Constantinople.

During the civil war between the two Andronicoi, the Serbian "Kral" (King) supported the grandfather. The victory of the Serbs in 1330 over the Bulgars, who were allies of Andronicus III, near Velbužd (now Köstendil), in Upper Macedonia, had great significance for the future of Serbia. The young prince, Stephen Dushan (Dušan), destined to be the famous king of Serbia, is believed, despite some discrepancy of sources,[94] to have had a decisive share in the victory. In his flight the Bulgarian king was unhorsed and slain. The results of the battle at Velbužd were of great importance to the young Serbian Kingdom. The Greco-Bulgarian alliance was dissolved, and any possibility that Bulgaria might restrain the further rise of Serbia was destroyed forever. Thereafter the Kingdom of Serbia played the leading role in the Balkan peninsula.

But Serbia reached the climax of her power under Stephen Dushan, 1331–55.

[94] See Florinsky, *The Southern Slavs and Byzantium*, II, 55. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, I, 362.

Ten years before he mounted the throne, Stephen and his father had been crowned together with the benediction of the archbishop. Sources call him, therefore, "Stephen, the young *Kral* (King)," *"rex juvenis,"* in opposition to "the old *Kral*," *"rex veteranus."* T. Florinsky commented, "this simultaneous coronation of father and son was a new and remarkable phenomenon in the history of Serbia. It showed clearly the influence of Byzantium, where it was an old custom of the emperors to appoint their co-rulers and have them crowned with the imperial title."[95]

During the first ten years of his rule, while Andronicus III reigned in Byzantium, Stephen Dushan took advantage of the fact that the Emperor and John Cantacuzene were occupied in the east by the Ottoman danger, to open his aggressive policy, on one hand, by the annexation of northern Macedonia, and on the other, by the occupation of the major part of Albania, where Andronicus' troops had recently fought with success. Before the death of the Emperor in 1341, Stephen Dushan, though he had not fully developed his plans against Byzantium, nevertheless had already shown how strong an enemy he was to prove to the Empire.

Advance of the Albanians to the south.—In the first half of the fourteenth century, the Albanians for the first time began to play a considerable part in the history of the Balkan peninsula. Both Andronicus III and Stephen Dushan fought with them.

Albania had never, from the time of classical antiquity, been able to form a single unified nation, and the history of the Albanians had always been a part of the history of some foreign people. Internally they were divided into small principalities and autonomous mountain tribes, and their interests were exclusively local. "Albania abounds in ancient remains which as yet have been unexplored. The history of Albania cannot, therefore, be written in its proper and final form without reference to the precious relics the Albanian soil has jealously guarded for centuries. It is only when these archeological treasures come to light that a really scientific history of Albania can be written."[96]

The ancestors of the Albanians were the ancient Illyrians, who dwelled along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, from Epirus as far north as Pannonia. The Greek geographer of the second century A.D., Ptolemy, mentioned an Albanian tribe with a city of Albanopolis. The name of these Albanians was in the eleventh century extended to the rest of the ancient Illyrians. This people was called in Greek, *Albanoi, Arbanoi,* or *Albanitai, Arbanitai;* in Latin, *Arbanenses* or *Albanenses;* from the Latin or Roman form comes the Slavonic *Arbanasi,* in modern Greek *Arvanitis,* in Turkish *Arnaut.* The Albanians also

[95] *The Southern Slavs and Byzantium*, II, 45–46. See Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, I, 355–56.

[96] C. A. Chekrezi, *Albania—Past and Present*, 8.

call themselves *Arber* or *Arben*. Later on there appeared a new name for the Albanians, *Shkipetars*, the etymological origin of which has not been definitely fixed.[97] The Albanian language is now full of Roman elements, beginning with the ancient Latin language and ending with the Venetian dialect, so that some specialists call the Albanian tongue "a half-Romance mixed-language" (*halbromanishe Mischsprache*).[98] Of old the Albanians were a Christian people. In the earlier Byzantine time, Emperor Anastasius I, who came from the chief Illyrian coast city of Dyrrachium (Durazzo), may have been Albanian. An Albanian origin for the family of Justinian the Great is also possible.

Great ethnographic changes occurred in the Albanian population in the epoch of the so-called barbarian invasions of the fourth and fifth centuries, and of the gradual occupation of the peninsula by the Slavs. Later, the Albanians (not yet called in the sources by this name) were subject first to Byzantium, then to the Great Bulgaria of Simeon. For the first time, Albanian, as a general name for the whole people, appeared in the Byzantine sources of the eleventh century, after the Normano-Byzantine conflicts in the Balkan peninsula.[99] In the epoch of the Latin Empire and of the first Palaeologi the Albanians were successively controlled by the Despotat of Epirus, the second Bulgarian Empire, the Emperor of Nicaea John Ducas Vatatzes, and finally, by Charles of Anjou, who styled himself "by the grace of God the King of Sicily and Albania." In the fourth decade of the fourteenth century, not long before Andronicus' death, the Serbian king Stephen Dushan conquered the major part of Albania.

At this time a strong movement of the Albanians towards the south began, at first into Thessaly, but extending later, in the second half of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth century, all over middle Greece, the Peloponnesus, and many islands of the Aegean Sea. This powerful stream of Albanian colonization is felt even today. A German scholar of the first half of the nineteenth century, Fallmerayer, came out with the astounding theory that the Greeks had been completely exterminated by the Slavs and Albanians; "not a single drop of pure Hellenic blood flows in the veins of the Christian population of modern Greece." He wrote in the second volume of his *History of the Peninsula of Morea in the Middle Ages*, that, beginning with the second quarter of

[97] C. Jireček, "Albanen in der Vergangenheit," in *Oesterreichische Monatschrift für den Orient*, no. 1–2 (1914), 2; reprinted in Thallóczy, *Illyrisch-albanische Forschungen*, I, [illegible]. On the word *Shkipetars*, see A. C. Chatziz, Πόθεν τὸ ἐθνικὸν Σκιπετάρ in the Πρακτικά of the Academy of Athens, IV (1929), 102–4. H. Gregoire, *Byzantion*, IV (1929), 746–48: in modern Greek σκιππέττο = Italian *shiopetto* = French *escopette*, meaning "gun," "the armed people." The problem has not yet been definitely solved.

[98] Jireček, *ibid.*, 2. Thallóczy, *ibid.*, I, 67. G. Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie* (2nd ed., 1904–6), 1039.

[99] Michael Attaliates, *Historia*, 9, 18.

the fourteenth century, the Greek-Slavs who inhabited Greece were displaced and crushed by Albanian settlers, so that, in his opinion, the Greek revolution of the nineteenth century which freed Greece from the Turkish yoke, was in reality the work of Albanian hands. Fallmerayer journeyed through Greece and found in Attica, Boeotia, and the major part of the Peloponnesus a very great number of Albanian settlers, who sometimes did not even understand Greek. If one calls this country a new Albania, wrote the same author, one gives it its real name. Those provinces of the Greek Kingdom are no more closely related to Hellenism than the Scottish Highlands are to the Afghan regions of Kandahar and Kabul."[100]

Although Fallmerayer's theory as a whole is rejected, it is true that even today many islands of the Archipelago and almost all Attica as far as Athens are Albanian. According to the approximate statistics made by scholars, the Albanians in the Peloponnesus number now more than twelve per cent of the whole population (about 92,500 souls).[101] In 1854 J. G. Hahn, the author of a German work *Albanian Studies*, estimated that "of a total of one million inhabitants of Greece, about 173,000 were Albanians," and a modern writer remarked: "No changes have occurred in the meantime to alter their position."[102]

Thus, the time of Andronicus III was marked by the beginning of Albanian colonization to the south in Greece as far as the Peloponnesus, and of an important ethnographical alteration among the population of the Greek peninsula.

Venice and Genoa.—Michael VIII's government gave undoubted preference to Genoa in the rivalry between the two western commercial republics, Venice and Genoa. In connection with political conditions, he then restored friendly relations with Venice, making skillful use of the antagonism between the two republics. Andronicus II continued his father's policy of privileges for Genoa, so that causes for conflict between Genoa and Venice continued to exist.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century all Christian possessions in Syria were lost. In 1291 the Muhammedans took away from the Christians their last important coast city, Acre (Acca, ancient Ptolemaïs); all the rest of the coast cities surrendered to the Muhammedans almost without struggle.

[100] J. P. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters*, II, xxiv–xxvii.

[101] See, e.g., Phillipson, "Zur Ethnographie des Peloponnes," *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, XXXVI (1890), 35. Phillipson, *Das Byzantinische Reich als Geographische Ercheinung*, 131. D. A. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat Grec de Morée*, 102–5.

[102] J. Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, I, 32 (this figure is approximate); cf. II, 1 (almost half of the population of Greece); see also preface, vi. See Chekrezi, *Albania—Past and Present*, 25, n. 1; 205. Finlay (*History of Greece*, IV, 32) counted about 200,000 Albanians in Greece.

All Syria and Palestine passed into the possession of the Muhammedans.

This event was a terrible blow to Venice, for by it she lost the whole southeast Mediterranean, where her trade for a long time had been predominant. On the other hand, the Genoese, with a solid footing on the Bosphorus, extended their influence in the Black Sea, where apparently they hoped for a trade monopoly. This was of particular importance in the Crimea, where both Venetians and Genoese colonies had already been established. Realizing the threatening danger to her commercial power Venice declared war on Genoa. Many of the hostilities took place on the territory or in the waters of the Byzantine Empire. The Venetian fleet breaking through the Hellespont and the Marmora sea pillaged and burnt the shores of the Bosphorus and the suburb of Galata, where the Genoese dwelt. The Genoese colony found safety behind the walls of Constantinople, whose Emperor actively supported the Genoese. The Venetians who lived in the capital were murdered. The Genoese obtained from Andronicus II an authorization to surround Galata with a wall and moat. Soon after, their quarters were embellished with many public and private buildings. At the head of the colony stood a podestá appointed from Genoa, who governed on the basis of certain regulations and had charge of the interests of all the Genoese who lived on the territory of the Empire. Thus, said T. Florinsky, "along with the orthodox Tsargrad there arose a small, but well fortified, Latin city with a Genoese podestá, republican organization, and Latin churches and monasteries. Genoa, besides its commercial significance, acquired great political importance in the Empire."[103] Towards the time of the ascension of Andronicus III Galata became a sort of state within the state, and by the end of his reign this situation was very strongly felt. No real peace between Genoa and Venice was possible.

Besides these two most powerful commercial republics there was considerable trade activity at Constantinople, at the end of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth century on the part of some other western cities which had their colonies there—for example, of Italy, Pisa, Florence, and Ancona—of the Adriatic Sea the Slavonic Ragusa (Dubrovnik),[104] and several south-French cities, like Marseilles.

The reigns of the two Andronicoi, grandfather and grandson, came to sad conclusions. In the east the Ottoman Turks had become the masters of the situation in Asia Minor; in the Balkan peninsula Stephen Dushan had already obtained some real successes, which indicated his still broader plans for

[103] *The Southern Slavs and Byzantium*, I, 32–33.

[104] See N. Iorga, "Une ville 'romane' devenue slave: Raguse," *Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie roumaine*, XVIII (1931), 32–100. P. Skok, "Les Origines de Raguse," *Slavia*, X (1931), 449–500. A brief popular sketch by M. Andreeva, "Dubrovnik," *Revue internationale des études balkaniques*, II (1935), 125–28.

the future. The Catalan companies had terribly devastated many regions of the Empire in their march to the west. Finally, Genoese Galata, economically strong and politically almost independent, had established and fortified itself side by side with Constantinople.

John V (1341–1391), John VI Cantacuzene (1341–1354) and the apogee of Serbian power under Stephen Dushan

Under Andronicus III, John V's predecessor, Stephen Dushan had already taken possession of northern Macedonia and the major part of Albania. With the ascension to the throne of the boy John V, when a devastating civil war began to tear the Empire, Dushan's aggressive plans widened and took definite form against Constantinople itself. A Byzantine historian of the fourteenth century, Nicephorus Gregoras, put into the mouth of John Cantacuzene these words: "The great Serb (Stephen Dushan)[105] like an overflowing river which has passed far beyond its banks, has already submerged one part of the Empire of Romania with its waves, and is threatening to submerge another."[106] Stephen Dushan came to an agreement, now with Cantacuzene, now with John V, as it seemed advantageous to him. Taking advantage of the desperate situation of the Empire, whose forces were occupied by internal troubles, Stephen conquered all of Macedonia except Thessalonica without difficulty and after a siege took Seres, an important fortified place in eastern Macedonia, lying on the way from Thessalonica to Constantinople. The surrender of Seres was of great importance; Dushan gained a fortified and purely Greek city, only slightly inferior to Thessalonica, which might serve as a key to Constantinople. From this time on, broader plans against the Empire developed in the mind of the Serbian leader.

Contemporary Byzantine sources connect with the capture of Seres Dushan's assumption of the title of tsar and the open display of his claims to the Eastern Empire. John Cantacuzene, for example, wrote, "The Kral [King] approached Seres and took possession of it. . . . After that, becoming excessively conceited and seeing himself master of the major part of the Empire, he proclaimed himself Tsar of the Romans and Serbs,[107] and upon his son he conferred the title of Kral."[108] In his letter to the Doge of Venice from Seres, Dushan, among other titles, glorifies himself as "the master of almost all the Empire of Romania" [*et fere totius imperii Romaniae dominus*].[109] His Greek

[105] Nicephorus Gregoras called him "the Great Triball." By this name, really that of an ancient Thracian tribe, Gregoras meant the Serbs.

[106] *Historia*, XIV, 4; Bonn ed., II, 817.

[107] Like Nicephorus Gregoras, Cantacuzene in his memoirs called the Serbs by the name of the old Thracian tribe of the Triballs.

[108] *Historiae*, III, 89; Bonn ed., II, 551–52.

[109] Florinsky, *The Southern Slavs and Byzantium*, II, 108, 111. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, I, 386.

decrees Dushan signed in red ink "Stephen in Christ God the faithful Kral and autocrat of Serbia and Romania."[110]

Dushan's broad plans concerning Constantinople differed from the plans of the Bulgarian kings of the ninth and thirteenth centuries, Simeon and the Asens. The chief aim of Simeon had been the liberation of the Slavonic lands from the power of Byzantium and the formation of one great Slavonic Empire; "his very attempt," wrote T. Florinsky, "to take possession of Constantinople was due to the same tendency to destroy the power of the Greeks and replace it by that of the Slavs. . . ."[111] "He wished to possess Tsargrad and to exert power over the Greeks, not as emperor of the Romans, but as tsar of Bulgaria."[112] Similar aims were pursued by the Asens, who aspired to the liberation and complete independence of the Bulgarian people and wished to found a Bulgarian Empire which should include Constantinople.

In assuming the title of emperor (basileus) and autocrat Stephen Dushan was guided by different aims. The question was not only the liberation of the Serbian people from the influence of the eastern emperor. There is no doubt that Dushan set himself the goal of creating a new empire instead of Byzantium, not Serbian, but Serbian-Greek, and that "the Serbian people, the Serbian kingdom, and all the Slavonic lands annexed to it were to become only a part of the Empire of the Romans, whose head he proclaimed himself."[113] Proposing himself as an aspirant to the throne of Constantine the Great, Justinian, and other Byzantine emperors, Dushan wished, first of all, to become emperor of the Romans, and then of the Serbs, that is, to establish in his person a Serbian dynasty on the Byzantine throne.

It was important for Dushan to draw to his side the Greek clergy of the conquered regions; he realized that, in the eyes of the people, his proclamation as tsar of the Serbs and Greeks would be legal only if sanctioned by the higher authority of the Church. The archbishop of Serbia, dependent upon the patriarch of Constantinople, was not sufficient; even though the complete independence of the Serbian church had been proclaimed, the archbishop or patriarch of Serbia could crown the kral (king) only as tsar of Serbia. In order to sanctify the title of the "Tsar of the Serbs and Romans," which might help him to the Byzantine throne, something more was needed. The patriarch of Constantinople, naturally, would not consent to such a coronation. Dushan began to plan to sanctify his new title by the approbation of the highest Greek clergy of the conquered regions as well as by the monks of the Greek monasteries of the famous Mount Athos.

[110] See C. Sathas, *Bibliotheca graeca medii aevi*, I, 239. Florinsky, *The Athonian Acts and Photographs of Them in the Collections of Sevastyanov*, 96.

[111] *The Southern Slavs and Byzantium*, II, 109.

[112] *Ibid.*, 110.

[113] *Ibid.*

For this purpose he confirmed and widened the privileges and increased the endowments of the Greek monasteries in conquered Macedonia, where many estates (μετόχια) which belonged to Athos also came under his power. The peninsula of Chalcidice itself with the Athonian monasteries came into Dushan's hands, and the monks could not fail to understand that the protection of the monasteries had passed from the Byzantine emperor to a new master, upon whom their further welfare would depend. The charters (*chrysobulls*) written in Greek granted by Dushan to the Greek monasteries of Athos testify not only to his confirmation of their former privileges, exemptions, and possessions, but to the granting of new ones. Besides the charters given to separate monasteries there is a general charter granted to all the Athonian monasteries; in this charter he said: "Our Majesty, having received (into our power) all the monasteries situated on the Holy Mountain of Athos, which from all their hearts have had recourse to us and have become subject to us, has granted and accorded to them by this general edict (*chrysobull*) a great benefaction in order that the monks dwelling therein may fulfil peacefully and without disturbance their pious work."[114]

Easter 1346 brought a momentous day in the history of Serbia. At Scopia (Skoplje, Uskub, in northern Macedonia), Dushan's capital, there assembled the noble princes of the whole kingdom of Serbia, all the higher Serbian clergy with the archbishop of Serbia at their head, the Bulgarian and Greek clergy of the conquered regions, and, finally, the *protos*, the head of the council of igumens (abbots), which administered Athos, and the igumens and hermits of the Holy Mountain of Athos. This large and solemn council was "to ratify and sanctify the political revolution achieved by Dushan: the foundation of a new Empire."[115]

First of all, the Council established a Serbian patriarchate entirely independent from the Constantinopolitan patriarchate. Dushan needed an independent Serbian patriarch for his coronation as emperor. As the choice of that patriarch took place without the participation of the ecumenical patriarchs of the East, the Greek bishops and the hermits of Mount Athos had to substitute for the patriarch of Constantinople. The Serbian patriarch was elected, and the patriarch of Constantinople, who refused to recognize the acts of this council as regular, excommunicated the Church of Serbia.

After the election of the patriarch the solemn coronation of Dushan with the imperial crown was performed. This event had probably been preceded by the ceremony of the proclamation of Dushan as tsar at Seres, soon after this city was taken. In connection with those events Dushan introduced at his court pompous court dignities and adopted Byzantine customs and man-

[114] Florinsky, *The Athonian Acts*, 95. Uspensky, *The Christian Orient*, III (2), 156.

[115] Florinsky, *The Southern Slavs and Byzantium*, II, 126.

ners. The new basileus turned to the representatives of the Greek nobility; the Greek language seems to have become officially equal to the Serbian tongue, for many of Dushan's charters were written in Greek. "The privileged classes in Serbia, large landowners and clergy, who had exerted enormous influence and power and limited the freedom of action of the Serbian kings, were now forced to yield to the higher authority of the Tsar, as an absolute monarch."[116] In accordance with Byzantine custom, Dushan's wife was also crowned, and their ten year old son was proclaimed "Kral of all Serbian lands." After the coronation, by means of many charters (*chrysobulls*) Dushan expressed his gratitude and favor to the Greek monasteries and churches, and with his wife visited Athos, where he stayed about four months, praying in all the monasteries, generously endowing them, and receiving everywhere "the benediction of the saintly and holy fathers, who led angelic lives."[117]

After the coronation Stephen's sole dream was to reach Constantinople; after his victories and coronation he could see no impediment to the attainment of this goal. Although in the last period of his reign his campaigns against Byzantium were not so frequent as before, and his attention was distracted now by hostilities in the west and north, now by internal affairs, nevertheless, as Florinsky said, "to all this Dushan's attention only turns aside, no more: his eyes and thoughts are as before concentrated upon the same alluring extreme southeast corner of the peninsula. The desire of taking possession of this southeast corner, or, properly speaking, of the world city situated there, now holds still more firmly all the Tsar's thoughts, becomes the leading motive of his activity, and characterizes the whole time of his reign."[118]

Powerfully affected as he was by the dream of an easy conquest of Constantinople, Dushan did not immediately grasp the fact that some serious obstacles to the realization of his plan already existed. First, there was the growing power of the Turks, who were also aiming at the Byzantine capital and whom the badly organized Serbian troops could not overcome; besides, in order to take Constantinople it was necessary to have a fleet, which Dushan had not. To increase his maritime force he planned to enter into alliance with Venice, but this step was from the beginning doomed to failure. The Republic of St. Mark, unreconciled to the return of Constantinople to the Palaeologi, would never have consented to support Dushan in his conquest of the city for himself; if Venice conquered Constantinople, it would be for her own sake. The attempt of Dushan to form an alliance with the Turks also miscarried, due to the policy of John Cantacuzene; in any event the interests of

[116] Florinsky, *The Monuments of Dushan's Legislative Activity*, 13.

[117] Florinsky, *The Southern Slavs and Byzantium*, II, 134.

[118] *Ibid.*, 141.

Dushan and the Turks must undoubtedly have collided. Nor could interference in the internal strife of the Empire materially help Dushan's plans. In the last years of his reign a body of Serbian troops fighting on the side of John V Palaeologus was slain by the Turks. Dushan was doomed to disappointment; it became obvious that the way to Constantinople was closed to him.

The statement in the later chronicles of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) that Dushan undertook a vast expedition against Constantinople in the very year of his death, which alone prevented its being carried into effect, is not confirmed by any contemporary information, and the best scholars do not consider it true.[119] In 1355 the Great Master of Serbia died without realizing his ambition. Thus, Dushan failed to create a Greco-Serbian Empire to replace the Byzantine Empire; he managed to form only the Empire of Serbia, which included many Greek lands,[120] but which after his death fell, as John Cantacuzene said, "into a thousand pieces."[121]

The existence of Dushan's monarchy was of such short duration, that, as Florinsky says, "in it, properly speaking, only two moments may be observed: the moment of formation during the whole time of Dushan's reign, and that of disintegration, starting immediately after the death of its founder."[122] "Ten years after," another Russian scholar wrote, "the grandeur of the Serbian Empire seemed to belong to a remote past."[123] Thus, the most grandiose attempt of the Slavs, their third and last, to create in the Balkan peninsula a great Empire, with Constantinople at its head, ended in failure. The Balkan peninsula was open and almost defenseless to the aggressive plans of the warlike Ottoman Turks.

The policies of Byzantium in the second half of the fourteenth century

The Turks.—Toward the end of the reign of Andronicus the Younger the Turks were almost in complete control of Asia Minor. The eastern portion of the Mediterranean and the Archipelago were continuously threatened by the vessels of Turkish pirates, both Ottomans and Seljuqs. The situation of the Christian population of the peninsula, coastlands, and islands became unbearable; trade died away. Turkish attacks on the Athonian monasteries forced one of the monks, Athanasius, to leave Athos and emigrate to Greece, to Thessaly, where he founded the famous monasteries "in air," "the weirdly fantastic Metéora, which crown the needle-like crags of the grim valley of Kalabaka."[124] The king of Cyprus and the Master of the military order of

[119] *Ibid.*, 200–201, 206–7.

[120] *Ibid.*, 208.

[121] John Cantacuzene, *Historiae*, IV, 43; Bonn ed., III, 315.

[122] *The Southern Slavs and Byzantium*, II, 1.

[123] A. Pogodin, *A History of Serbia*, 79.

[124] See N. A. Bees, "Geschichtliche Forschungsresultate und Mönchs- und Volkssagen über die Gründer der Meteorenklöster," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, III (1922), 364–69 Miller, *Latins in the Levant*,

the Hospitalers, or of St. John, who had held Rhodes since the beginning of the fourteenth century, besought the pope to rouse the western European states to take arms against the Turks. But the small relief expeditions which answered the papal appeals, though not altogether unsuccessful, could not accomplish much. The Turks were resolved to establish themselves firmly on the European coast; and this was facilitated by the civil war in the Empire, in which John Cantacuzene involved the Turks.

The first establishment of the Ottoman Turks in Europe is usually connected with the name of John Cantacuzene, who often called upon their support in his struggle with John Palaeologus. Cantacuzene even married his daughter to Sultan Orkhan. On the invitation of Cantacuzene the Turks as his allies devastated Thrace several times. Nicephorus Gregoras remarked that Cantacuzene hated the Romans as he loved the barbarians.[125] It is quite possible that the first settlements of the Turks in the peninsula of Gallipoli took place with the knowledge and consent of Cantacuzene. The same Byzantine historian wrote that while a Christian service was being celebrated in the imperial church, the Ottomans who had been admitted into the capital were dancing and singing near the palace, "crying out in incomprehensible sounds the songs and hymns of Muhammed, and thereby attracting the crowd to listen to them rather than to the divine Gospels."[126] To satisfy the financial claims of the Turks Cantacuzene even handed over to them the money sent from Russia by the Great Prince of Moscow, Simeon the Proud, for the restoration of the Church of St. Sophia, at that time in a state of decay.

Although some private settlements of the Turks in Europe, namely in Thrace and the Thracian (Gallipoli) peninsula, had existed, in all likelihood, from the first years of the reign of Cantacuzene, they did not seem dangerous, for they were, of course, under Byzantine authority. But at the beginning of the fifties, a small stronghold near Callipolis (Gallipoli), Zympa, fell into the hands of the Turks. Cantacuzene's attempt to bribe the Turks to evacuate Zympa failed.

In 1354 almost the whole southern coast of Thrace was struck by a terrible earthquake, which destroyed many cities and fortresses. The Turks fortified Zympa, and seized several cities in the peninsula which were abandoned by the population after the earthquake, among them Callipolis. There they constructed walls, erected strong fortifications and an arsenal, and set a large garrison, so that Callipolis became an extremely important strategic center and a base of support for their further advance in the Balkan peninsula. The people of Constantinople immediately realized their danger, and the news of

294–95. I. Boghiatzides, "Τὸ χρονικὸν τῶν Μετεώρων," Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, II (1925), 149–82.

[125] Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia*, XXVIII, 2; Bonn ed., III, 177.

[126] *Ibid.*, 40; Bonn ed., 202–3.

the capture of Callipolis by the Turks threw them into despair. A prominent writer of the epoch, Demetrius Cydones, testified that clamors and lamentations resounded all over the whole city.

"What speeches," he wrote, "were more heard then in the city? Have we not perished? Are not all of us within the walls [of the city] caught as if in the net of the barbarians? Is he not happy who, before these dangers, has left the city?" "In order to escape slavery" all were hastening to Italy, Spain, and even farther "towards the sea beyond the Pillars,"[127] that is to say, beyond the Pillars of Hercules (present day Straits of Gibraltar), perhaps to England. Of these events a Russian chronicler remarked, "In the year 6854 [ab. 1346] the Ismailites [i.e., the Turks] crossed on this side, into the Greek land. In the year 6865 [ab. 1357] they took Callipolis from the Greeks."[128]

At that time the Venetian representative at Constantinople notified his government of the danger from the Turks, their possible capture of the remnants of the Empire, the general discontent in Byzantium with the Emperor and government, and finally, the desire of the majority of the population to be under the power of the Latins, particularly of Venice. In another report the same official wrote that the Greeks of Constantinople, wishing to be protected against the Turks, desired first of all, the domination of Venice, or, if that was impossible, that of "the King of Hungary or Serbia."[129] To what extent the point of view of the Venetian representative reflected the real spirit in Constantinople is difficult to say.

Historians usually call John Cantacuzene the sole cause of the first establishment of the Turks in the Balkan peninsula; he called on them for aid during his personal struggle for power with John Palaeologus. The impression was that the whole responsibility for the subsequent barbaric behavior of the Turks in Europe was Cantacuzene's. But, of course, it is not he alone who is responsible for this event, fatal to both Byzantium and Europe. The chief cause lies in the general conditions in Byzantium and the Balkan peninsula, where no serious obstacles could be opposed to the unrestrainable onslaught of the Turks to the west. If Cantacuzene had not called them to Europe, they would have come there in any case. As T. Florinsky said, "By their continuous incursions the Turks had paved the way for the conquest of Thrace; the miserable internal conditions of the Greco-Slavonic world had greatly contributed to the success and impunity of their invasions; finally, the political leaders of various states and peoples . . . had not the least idea of the threatening danger from the advancing Muhammedan power; on the con-

[127] Demetrius Cydones, Συμβουλευτικὸς ἕτερος; Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CLIV, 1013.

[128] Voskresenskaya lietopis (The Annals of Voskresensk), *The Complete Collection of Russian Annals*, VII, 251.

[129] See N. Iorga, "Latins et Grecs d'Orient et l'établissement des Turcs en Europe (1242–1362)," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XV (1906), 217. Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands*, I, 448.

trary, all of them sought to compromise with it for their own narrow, egoistic goals; Cantacuzene was no peculiar exception." Like Cantacuzene, the Venetians and Genoese, "these privileged defenders of Christianity against Islam," were at that time occupied with the idea of an alliance with the Turks. The great "Tsar of the Serbs and Greeks," Dushan, was also seeking for the same alliance. "No one, of course, will absolutely justify Cantacuzene; he cannot be entirely cleared of blame for the unfortunate events which led to the establishment of the Turks in Europe; but we must not forget that he was not the only one. Stephen Dushan would perhaps have brought the Turks into the peninsula, as Cantacuzene had done, if the latter had not anticipated him and prevented him from coming to an agreement with Orkhan."[130]

Having established themselves at Callipolis the Turks, taking advantage of the unceasing internal troubles in Byzantium and the Slavonic states, Bulgaria and Serbia, began to extend their conquests in the Balkan peninsula. Orkhan's successor, Sultan Murad I, captured many fortified places very near Constantinople, took possession of such important centers as Hadrianople and Philippopolis, and advancing to the west, began to menace Thessalonica. The capital of the Turkish state was transferred to Hadrianople. Constantinople was being gradually surrounded by Turkish possessions. The Emperor continued to pay tribute to the sultan.

These conquests brought Murad face to face with Serbia and Bulgaria, which had already lost their former strength due to their internal troubles. Murad marched upon Serbia. The Serbian prince Lazar set out to meet him. In the summer of 1389 the decisive battle took place in the central part of Serbia on the field of Kossovo. At the outset the victory seemed to be on the side of the Serbs. The story goes that a noble Serb, Milosh (Miloš) Obilić or Kobilić, contrived to force a passage into the Turkish camp, presented himself as a deserter to the Turks, and entering Murad's tent killed him with a stab from a poisoned dagger. The confusion among the Turks was rapidly quelled by Bayazid, the son of the slain Murad. He surrounded the Serbian army and inflicted a crushing defeat upon it. Lazar was taken prisoner and slain. The year of the battle of Kossovo may be considered the year of the fall of Serbia. The miserable remnants of the Serbian Empire which continued to exist for seventy years more, do not deserve the name of a state. In 1389 Serbia became subject to Turkey.[131] Four years later, in 1393 (i.e., after the death of John V), the capital of Bulgaria, Trnovo, was also captured by the Turks, and a short time later the whole territory of Bulgaria came under the power of the Turkish Empire.

[130] Florinsky, *The Southern Slavs and Byzantium*, II, 192–93.

[131] For the Greek sources on the battle of Kossovo, see N. Radojčić, "Die griechischen Quellen zur Schlacht am Kossovo Polje," *Byzantion*, VI (1931), 241–46. H. Gregoire, "L'Opinion byzantine et la bataille de Kossovo, *Byzantion*, VI (1931), 247–51.

The old and ill John V had to suffer a new humiliation which accelerated his death. To protect the capital against danger from the Turks John set about restoring the city walls and erecting fortifications. On learning of this the sultan commanded him to destroy what had been built and, in case of refusal, threatened to blind the Emperor's son and heir, Manuel, who was at that time at Bayazid's court. John was compelled to yield, and fulfill the sultan's demand. Constantinople entered upon the most critical epoch of its existence.

Genoa, the Black Death of 1348, and the Venetian-Genoese War.— Toward the end of the reign of Andronicus III, the Genoese colony of Galata had obtained a powerful economic and political position and was a sort of state within the state. Taking advantage of the absence of the Byzantine fleet, the Genoese sent their vessels to all the ports of the Archipelago and seized the whole import trade in the Black Sea and in the Straits. A contemporary source, Nicephorus Gregoras, stated that the income from custom duties of Galata amounted annually to 200,000 gold coins, while Byzantium received barely 30,000.[132] Realizing the danger to Byzantium from Galata, Cantacuzene, notwithstanding the internal strife that was wasting the country, started, as far as the disordered finances of the Empire permitted, to build vessels for military and commercial use. The alarmed population of Galata determined to resist Cantacuzene's plans by force; they occupied the heights commanding Galata and there erected walls, a tower, and various earthen fortifications, and took the initiative against Cantacuzene. The first attack of the Genoese upon Constantinople itself was a failure. The vessels built by Cantacuzene entered the Golden Horn to fight the Genoese, who at sight of the strength of the new Byzantine fleet were on the point of making peace. But the inexperience of the Greek commanders and the outbreak of a storm led to the crushing of the Greek fleet. The Genoese at Galata decorated their vessels and sailed triumphantly by the imperial palace, mocking the imperial flag which had been taken from the defeated Greek ships. According to the conditions of peace, the debatable heights over Galata remained in the hands of the Genoese, and Galata became increasingly dangerous to Constantinople.

This increase in Genoese influence, already great, could not fail to affect the position of Venice, Genoa's chief commercial foe in the East. The interests of both republics clashed acutely in the Black Sea and in the Maeotis (the Sea of Azov), where the Genoese had established themselves at Kaffa (Caffa, present-day Theodosia in the Crimea) and Tana, at the mouth of the River Don (near present-day Azov). The Bosphorus, the entrance into the Black Sea, was also in the hands of the Genoese, who, also possessing Galata, had organized on the shore of the Straits a sort of customs house which took commercial tolls from all vessels not Genoese, especially Venetian and Byzantine,

[132] Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia*, XVII, i, 2; Bonn ed., II, 842.

sailing into the Black Sea. Genoa's goal was the establishment of a trade monopoly in the Bosphorus. The interests of Venice and Genoa also came into collision in the islands and on the coast of the Aegean Sea.

An immediate clash between the two republics was temporarily averted by the plague of 1348 and the following years, which paralyzed their forces. This terrible plague, the so-called Black Death, which had been carried from the interior of Asia to the coast of the Maeotis (the Sea of Azov) and to the Crimea, spread from the pestiferous Genoese trade-galleys sailing from Tana and Kaffa all over Constantinople, where it carried off, according to the probably exaggerated statements of the western chronicles, two-thirds or eight-ninths of the population.[133] Thence the plague passed to the islands of the Aegean Sea and the coast of the Mediterranean. Byzantine historians have left a detailed description of the disease showing the complete impotence of the physicians in their struggle against it.[134] In his description of this epidemic John Cantacuzene imitated the famous description of the Athenian plague in the second book of Thucydides. From Byzantium, as western chroniclers narrated, the Genoese galleys spread the disease through the coast cities of Italy, France, and Spain. "There is something incredible," remarked M. Kovalevsky, "in this uninterrupted wandering of the pestiferous galleys through the Mediterranean ports."[135] From these the plague spread to the north and west, and affected Italy, Spain, France, England, Germany, and Norway.[136] At this time, in Italy, Boccaccio was writing his famous *Decameron* which begins "with a description of the Black Death classical in its picturesqueness and measured solemnity,"[137] when many brave men, fair ladies, and gallant youths "in the soundest of health, broke fast with their kinsfolk, comrades, and friends in the morning, and when evening came, supped with their forefathers in the other world."[138] Scholars compare the description of Boccaccio with that of Thucydides, and some of them hold the humanist in higher estimation even than the classic writer.[139]

From Germany through the Baltic Sea and Poland the plague penetrated into Pskov, Novgorod, and Moscow, in Russia, where the great prince, Simeon the Proud, fell its victim in 1353, and then it spread all over Russia. In some

[133] Chronicon Estense; see Muratori, *Scriptores rerum italicarum*, XV, 448. Bartholomaeus della Pugliola, *Historia miscella Bononiensis, ibid.*, XVIII, 409.

[134] Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia*, XV, i, 5; Bonn ed., II, 797–98. John Cantacuzene, *Historiae*, IV, 8; Bonn ed., III, 49–53.

[135] *The Economic Growth of Europe*, III, 191; trans. M. Kupperberg, V, 236. A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea*, 175–77; bibliography is given.

[136] On Norway, see e.g., K. Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People*, I, 202.

[137] A. N. Veselovsky, "Boccaccio, his Environment and Contemporaries," *Works of A. N. Veselovsky*, V, 448, 451; *idem*, in *Sbornik Otdeleniya Russkago Yazyka i Slovesnosti*, LII, 444, 447.

[138] *The Decameron*, first day, introduction.

[139] See, e.g., M. Korelin, *The Earlier Italian Humanism and Its Historiography*, 495.

cities, according to the statement of a Russian chronicle, no single man was left alive.[140]

Venice was actively preparing for war. After the horrors of the plague were somewhat forgotten, the Republic of St. Mark made an alliance with the King of Aragon. The latter was discontented with Genoa and consented, by his attacks upon the shores and islands of Italy, to distract the Genoese and thereby to facilitate the advance of Venice in the east. After some hesitation John Cantacuzene joined the Aragon-Venetian alliance against Genoa; he accused the "ungrateful nation of the Genoese" of forgetting "the fear of the Lord," devastating the seas "as if they were seized with a mania for pillaging," and of endeavoring permanently "to disturb the seas and navigators by their piratical attacks."[141]

The chief battle, in which about 150 Greek, Venetian, Aragonese, and Genoese vessels took part, was fought in the beginning of the sixth decade, in the Bosphorus. It had no decisive result; each side claimed victory. The friendly relations between the Genoese and Ottoman-Turks forced John Cantacuzene to give up his alliance with Venice and become reconciled with the Genoese, to whom he gave his promise not to support Venice henceforth. He also consented to give more territory to the Genoese colony of Galata. But after some clashes Venice and Genoa, exhausted by the war, made peace. Since it failed to solve the chief problem in the conflict, the peace lasted only a short time; again a war broke out, the war of Tenedos. Tenedos, one of the few islands of the Archipelago still in the hands of the Byzantine emperors, possessed, owing to its position at the entrance into the Dardanelles, the greatest significance for the states which had commercial relations with Constantinople and the countries around the Black Sea. Since both shores of the straits were in the hands of the Ottoman Turks, Tenedos was an excellent observation point of their actions. Venice, which had already for a long time dreamed of occupying this island, after long negotiations with the Emperor at last got his consent. But the Genoese could not acquiesce in the cession of Tenedos to Venice; in order to prevent its accomplishment, they succeeded in raising a revolution at Constantinople which deposed John V and set his eldest son, Andronicus, upon the throne for three years. The war which had broken out between the two republics exhausted both of them and ruined all the states which had commercial concerns in the East. At last, in 1381, the war ended with the peace made at Turin, the capital of the Duchy of Savoy.

A detailed and voluminous text of the conference of Turin exists.[142] With

[140] Nikonovskaya letopis, *The Complete Collection of Russian Annals*, X, 224.

[141] See N. Iorga, "Latins et Grecs d'Orient," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XV (1906), 208.

[142] *Liber jurium reipublicae Genuensis*, II, 858–906; in *Monumenta Historiae Patriae*, IX. *Monumenta spectantia historiam slavorum meridionalium*, IV, 199–263.

the personal participation of the count of Savoy, the conference discussed various general problems of international life, which was already very complicated at that time, and worked out the conditions of peace; of the latter, only those are interesting here which put an end to the dispute between Venice and Genoa and which referred to Byzantium. Venice was to evacuate the island of Tenedos, the fortifications of which were leveled to the ground; the island itself was on a set date to pass into the hands of the Count of Savoy (*in manibus prefati domini Sabaudie comitis*), who was related to the Palaeologi (on the side of Anne of Savoy, wife of Andronicus III). Thus neither Venice nor Genoa gained this important strategic point, to whose possession they had so eagerly aspired.

A Spanish traveler, Pero Tafur, who visited Constantinople in 1437 gave a very interesting description of Tenedos:

> We came to the island of Tenedos, where we anchored and disembarked. While the ship was being refitted we set out to see the island, which is some eight or ten miles about. There are many conies, and it is covered with vineyards, but they are all spoilt. The harbour of Tenedos looks so new that it might have been built today by a masterhand. The mole is made of great stones and columns, and here the ships have their moorings and excellent anchorage. There are other places where ships can anchor, but this is the best, since it is opposite the entrance to the Straits of Romania [Dardanelles]. Above the harbour is a great hill surmounted by a very strong castle. This castle was the cause of much fighting between the Venetians and Genoese until the Pope sentenced it to be destroyed, that it might belong to neither. But, without doubt, this was very ill-advised, since the harbour is one of the best in the world. No ship can enter the straits without first anchoring there to find the entrance, which is very narrow, and the Turks, knowing how many ships touch there, arm themselves and lie in wait and kill many Christians.[143]

As for the acute question of the trade-monopoly of the Genoese in the Black Sea and Maeotis, especially in the colony of Tana, Genoa, according to the conditions of the peace of Turin, was obliged to give up her intention of closing the Venetian markets of the Black Sea and of shutting off access to Tana. The commercial nations resumed their intercourse with Tana, which, situated at the mouth of the river Don, was one of the very important centers of trade with eastern peoples. Peaceful relations between Genoa and the elderly John V, who had regained the throne, were restored. Byzantium had again to steer a way between the two republics, whose commercial interests in the East, despite the terms of peace, continued to collide. However, the peace of Turin,

[143] *Andanças é viajes de Pero Tafur por diversas partes del mundo avidos (1435–1439)*, 135–36; ed. Malcolm Letts, 113–14. See A. A. Vasiliev, "Pero Tafur, a Spanish Traveler of the Fifteenth Century and his Visit to Constantinople, Trebizond, and Italy," *Byzantion*, VII (1932), 75–122. Charles Diehl, "Un Voyageur espagnol à Constantinople," *Mélanges Glotz*, I (1932), 319–27.

which ended a great war caused by the economic rivalry of Venice and Genoa, was of great importance because it allowed the nations which maintained intercourse with Romania to resume their trade, which had been interrupted for many years. But their further destiny depended upon the Ottoman Turks, to whom, as was already obvious at the end of the fourteenth century, belonged the future of the Christian East.

Manuel II (1391–1425) and the Turks

In one of his essays, Manuel II wrote: "When I had passed my childhood and not yet reached the age of man, I was encompassed by a life full of tribulation and trouble; but according to many indications, it might have been foreseen that our future would cause us to look at the past as a time of clear tranquility."[144] Manuel's presentiments did not deceive him.

Byzantium, or rather, Constantinople, was in a desperate and humiliating position in the last years of the reign of John V. At the moment of John's death, Manuel was at the court of Sultan Bayazid. When tidings of his father's death reached him, he succeeded in fleeing from the sultan and arrived in Constantinople, where he was crowned emperor. According to Ducas, Bayazid, feared the popularity of Manuel and regretted not having murdered him during his stay at his court. Bayazid's envoy sent to Constantinople to Manuel, as Ducas related, gave the new Emperor these words from the sultan: "If you wish to execute my orders, close the gates of the city and reign within it; but all that lies outside belongs to me."[145] Thereafter Constantinople was practically in a state of siege. The only relief for the capital lay in the unsatisfactory condition of the Turkish fleet; for that reason the Turks, though possessing both sides of the Dardanelles, were unable for the time being to cut off Byzantium from intercourse with the outside world through this strait. Especially terrible to the Christian East was the moment when Bayazid, by craftiness, gathered together in one place the representatives of the families of the Palaeologi with Manuel at their head, and the Slavonic princes; he seems to have intended to do away with them at once, "in order that," to quote the Sultan's words given in a writing of Manuel, "after the land had been cleared of thorns, by which he meant us [that is to say, the Christians], his sons might dance in the Christian land without fearing to scratch their feet."[146] The representatives of the ruling families were spared, but the severe wrath of the sultan struck many nobles of their retinue.

In 1392 Bayazid organized a maritime expedition in the Black Sea ostensibly

[144] Berger de Xivrey, "Mémoire sur le vie et les ouvrages de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue," *Mémoires de l'Institut de France*, XIX (2), 25–26.

[145] Michael Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, XIII; Bonn ed., 49.

[146] Manuel Palaeologus, *Oratio funebris in proprium ejus fratrem despotam Theodorum Palaeologum*; ed. Migne, *Patrologia*, CLVI, 225.

against Sinope. But the sultan put the Emperor Manuel at the head of the Turkish fleet. Therefore Venice thought that this expedition was directed not against Sinope, but against the Venetian colonies, south of the Dardanelles, in the Archipelago—not a Turkish expedition, but a disguised Greek expedition, supported by Turkish troops. As a recent historian said, the Oriental problem of the end of the fourteenth century might have been solved by the formation of a Turko-Greek Empire.[147] This interesting episode, evidence of which is in the archives of Venice, had no important results. Shortly after, the friendly relations between Byzantium and Bayazid came to an open break, and Manuel again turned to the West which for some time had been neglected.

Hard pressed, Manuel opened friendly negotiations with Venice. Bayazid tried to cut off Constantinople from its food supply. Such acute need was felt in the capital that, as a Byzantine chronicler said, the people pulled down their houses in order to get wood for baking bread.[148] At the request of Byzantine envoys, Venice sent some corn to Constantinople.[149]

The crusade of Sigismund of Hungary and the Battle of Nicopolis.— Meanwhile, the successes of the Turks in the Balkan peninsula again raised the question of immediate danger to western Europe. The subjugation of Bulgaria and the nearly complete conquest of Serbia had led the Turks to the borders of the Kingdom of Hungary. The king of Hungary, Sigismund, feeling complete impotence against the threatening Turkish danger with only his own forces, appealed to the European rulers for help. France answered the appeal with the greatest enthusiasm. In obedience to the voice of his people, the king of France sent a small body of troops, the duke of Burgundy at their head. Poland, England, Germany, and some smaller states also sent troops. Venice joined the campaign. Just before Sigismund's crusade started, Manuel seems to have formed a league with the Genoese of the Aegean islands, namely Lesbos and Chios, and with the Knights of Rhodes, in other words, with the Christian outposts in the Aegean Sea.[150] As for Manuel's relation to Sigismund's crusade, perhaps he pledged himself to share in the expenses of the campaign.

The crusading enterprise ended in complete failure. In 1396, the crusaders were crushed by the Turks in the battle of Nicopolis (on the right shore of the lower Danube) and compelled to return to their homes. Sigismund, who had

[147] Silberschmidt, *Das orientalische Problem*, 78–79. The author used a misleading term, "Griechisches Reich türkischer Nation" (p. 79). See R. Salomon's review, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXVIII (1928), 144. See also Peter Charanis, "The Strife Among the Palaeologi and the Ottoman Turks, 1370–1402," *Byzantion*, XVI, 1 (1944), 286–314. Among other sources, the author used the correspondence of Demetrius Cydones.

[148] Michael Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, XII; Bonn ed., 50.

[149] Silberschmidt, *Das orientalische Problem*, 87.

[150] *Ibid.*, 119.

barely escaped capture, sailed in a small vessel by way of the mouth of the Danube and the Black Sea to Constantinople, whence, by a roundabout way through the Archipelago and the Adriatic Sea, he returned to Hungary.[151] A participator in the battle of Nicopolis, the Bavarian soldier Schiltberger, who had been taken prisoner by the Turks, and spent some time at Gallipoli, described as an eyewitness Sigismund's passage through the Dardanelles which the Turks could not prevent. According to his statement, the Turks put all their Christian captives in line along the shore of the straits and mockingly shouted to Sigismund to leave his vessel and free his people.[152]

After the defeat of the western crusaders at Nicopolis, the victorious Bayazid, planning to strike a final blow to Constantinople, decided to ruin the few regions that still belonged, though almost nominally, to the Empire, from which the besieged capital could get some help. He devastated Thessaly, which submitted to him, and, according to Turkish sources, even seized Athens for a short time;[153] his best generals inflicted terrible destruction on Morea, where Manuel's brother was ruling under the title of Despot.

Meanwhile, popular dissatisfaction was growing in the capital; the tired and exhausted populace were murmuring, accusing Manuel of their misery, and beginning to turn their eyes to his nephew John, who had in 1390 deposed for some months Manuel's old father, John V.

The expedition of Marshal Boucicaut.—Realizing that with his own forces he would not be able to overcome the Turks, Manuel decided to appeal for help to the most powerful rulers of western Europe and to the Russian great prince Vasili I Dmitrievich. The pope, Venice, France, England, and possibly Aragon replied favorably to Manuel's appeal. His request seemed especially flattering to the king of France, because, declared a contemporary western chronicler, "it was the first time that the ancient emperors of the whole world had appealed for help to such a remote country."[154] Manuel's appeal to western Europe gained him a certain, but an insufficient, amount of money, and the hope of getting from France aid in men.

Manuel's request for help from the Great Prince of Moscow, supported by a request to the same purpose from the patriarch of Constantinople, was favorably received in Moscow. There seems to have been no question at the court of Moscow of sending troops to Constantinople; it was only a question of grant-

[151] Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis*. H. L. Savage, "Enguerrand de Coucy VII and the Campaign of Nicopolis," *Speculum*, XIV (1939), 423–42.

[152] H. Schiltberger, *Reisebuch*, ed. V. Langmantel, 7.

[153] See J. H. Mordtmann, "Die erste Eroberung von Athen durch die Türken zu Ende des 14 Jahrhunderts," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, IV (1923), 346–50. R. Loenertz, "Pour l'histoire du Péloponèse au XIVe siècle (1382–1404)," *Études byzantines*, I (1944), 185–86.

[154] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. Bellaguet, II, 562.

ing "alms to those who are in such need and misery, besieged by the Turks."[155] Money was sent to Constantinople, where it was accepted with great gratitude. But money contributions could not help Manuel substantially.

The king of France, Charles VI, fulfilled his promise and sent in support of Constantinople 1200 men-at-arms, at whose head he placed Marshal Boucicaut. Boucicaut was one of the most interesting men of France at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. A man of extraordinary valor and determination, he had spent all his life in long journeys and dangerous adventures. As a young man, he had set out to the East, to Constantinople, traveled all over Palestine, reached Sinai, and for several months had been captive in Egypt. On his return to France, hearing of the appeal of the king of Hungary, Sigismund, Boucicaut had hastened to him, fought with astounding valor in the fatal battle of Nicopolis, and had fallen prisoner to Bayazid. Escaping death almost by a miracle, and ransomed, Boucicaut returned to France in order, in the ensuing year, with all readiness and energy, to take the head of the body of troops sent by Charles VI to the East.

Members of the most eminent families of the French chivalry were included among the men-at-arms of Boucicaut. He set out by sea. Notified of the approach of his vessels to the Dardanelles, Bayazid attempted to prevent the Marshal from passing through the straits. But Boucicaut, after many dangers and with much effort, succeeded in breaking through the Dardanelles, and arriving in Constantinople, where his fleet was received with the greatest joy. Boucicaut and Manuel made many devastating raids along the Asiatic coast of the Marmora Sea and the Bosphorus, and even penetrated into the Black Sea. But these successes did not change the situation; they could not free Constantinople from her approaching fall. Seeing the critical position of Manuel and his capital, as regards both finances and provisions, Boucicaut determined to return to France, but only after he had persuaded the Emperor to go with him to the West in order to make a stronger impression there and induce the western European rulers to take more decisive steps. Such modest expeditions as that of Boucicaut evidently could not help the desperate situation of Byzantium.

The journey of Manuel II in Western Europe.—When Manuel's journey to the West was decided, his nephew John consented to take the reins of government during the Emperor's absence. Late in the year 1399, accompanied by a retinue of clerical and lay representatives, Manuel and Boucicaut left the capital for Venice.[156]

[155] Nikonovskaya letopis, *Complete Collection of Russian Annals*, XI (1897), 168.

[156] For the most detailed description of Manuel's journey see A. A. Vasiliev, "The Journey of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus in Western Europe (1399–1403)," *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, N.S. XXXIX (1912), 41–78, 260–304. See also G. Schlumberger, "Un Empereur de Byzance à Paris et à Londres," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, XXX (December 15, 1915); reprinted in his *Byzance et croisades*, 87–147. M. Jugie, "Le Voyage de l'Empereur Manuel Paléologue en Occident," *Échos d'Orient*, XV (1912), 322–32. H. C. Luke, "Visitors from the East to the Plantagenet and Lancastrian Kings," *Nineteenth Century*, CVIII (1930), 760–69. Brief note on Manuel's visit.

The Republic of St. Mark was in a difficult position when asked to lend Byzantium a helping hand. Her important commercial interests in the East caused Venice to regard the Turks, especially after their brilliant victory at Nicopolis, not only from the point of view of a Christian state, but also from that of a trading state. Venice had even made some treaties with Bayazid. Then commercial rivalry with Genoa in the East, and the attitude of Venice towards the other Italian states, also kept her forces from Manuel's aid. They were needed at home. But Venice and the other Italian cities visited by Manuel received him with honor and showed him great compassion. Whether the Emperor saw the pope or not is doubtful. When Manuel was leaving Italy, encouraged by the promises of Venice and the Duke of Milan and the papal bulls, and planning a visit to the greatest centers of western Europe, Paris and London, he still believed in the importance and effectiveness of his long journey.

The Emperor arrived in France at a complex and interesting time, the epoch of the Hundred Years' War between France and England. The armistice which existed at his arrival might be broken at any moment. In France there was going on a very real and active polemic struggle between the Pope of Avignon and the University of Paris, which had reduced the papal power in France and caused the recognition of the final authority of the king in ecclesiastical affairs. Finally King Charles VI himself was subject to frequent fits of insanity.

A solemn reception and a richly adorned residence in the palace of the Louvre were prepared in Paris for Manuel. A Frenchman who was an eyewitness of the Emperor's entrance into Paris describes his appearance: he was of average stature and solid constitution, with a long and already very white beard, had features which inspired respect and, in the opinion of the French, was worthy of being Emperor.[157]

His stay in Paris of more than four months afforded modest results: the king and Royal Council decided to support him by a body of men-at-arms, at whose head Marshal Boucicaut was to be placed. Satisfied with that promise, the Emperor went to London, where he was also received with great honor and given many promises, but he was soon disappointed. In one of his letters from London, Manuel wrote: "The King gives us help in warriors, marksmen, money, and vessels to carry the troops where we need."[158] But this promise

[157] *Chronique de Religieux de Saint-Denys*, XXI, 1; ed. Bellaguet, 756.

[158] *Lettres de Manuel Paléologue*, ed. [illegible] grand, I, 52.

was not fulfilled. After a stay of two months in London, Manuel, loaded with presents and overwhelmed with attention and honor, but without the promised military support, returned to Paris. An English historian of the fifteenth century, Adam Usk, wrote: "I thought within myself, what a grievous thing it was that this great Christian prince from the farther East, should perforce be driven by unbelievers to visit the distant islands of the West, to seek aid against them. My God! What dost thou, ancient glory of Rome? Shorn is the greatness of thine empire this day; and truly may the words of Jeremy be spoken unto thee: 'Princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary, (Lament. I:1).' Who would ever believe that thou shouldst sink to such depth of misery, that, although once seated on the throne of majesty thou didst lord it over all the world, now thou hast no power to bring succour to the Christian faith?"[159]

Manuel's second stay in Paris lasted about two years. Information on this visit is scanty. He became, apparently, a matter of course to the French, and contemporary chroniclers who note many details concerning Manuel's first stay in Paris, say very little of his second visit. The little information on this subject comes from his letters. Those which refer to the beginning of his second stay are marked by high spirits; but these spirits gradually fell as he began to understand that he could not count upon any important support from either England or France. Of the last period of his stay in France, there are no imperial letters.

But some interesting records exist describing the way the Emperor spent his leisure time in Paris. In the beautifully decorated castle of the Louvre, for example, where Manuel had his residence, the Emperor turned his attention, among other decorations, to a magnificent tapestry, a kind of Gobelin, with a reproduction of spring. In his leisure time, the Emperor made a fine description written in a rather jocose style of this reproduction of spring on "a royal woven curtain." This essay of Manuel exists today.[160]

The battle of Angora and its significance to Byzantium.—Meanwhile, the fruitless stay of Manuel in Paris began to seem endless. At this time an event which had taken place in Asia Minor induced the Emperor to leave France at once and to return to Constantinople. In July, 1402, was fought the famous battle of Angora, by which Timur (Tamerlane) defeated Bayazid and thereby relieved Constantinople from immediate danger. The news of this exceedingly important event reached Paris only two and a half months after the battle. The Emperor prepared quickly for his return journey and came back

[159] *Chronicon Adae de Usk*, ed. E. M. Thompson (2nd ed., 1904), 57; in English, 220.

[160] Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CLVI, 577–80. Russian translation of this essay in A. A. Vasiliev, "The Journey of Manuel II Palaeologus," *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, XXXIX (1912), 58–60.

to the capital via Genoa and Venice after three years and a half of absence. The Slavonic city on the Adriatic, Ragusa (Dubrovnik), hoping that the Emperor would stop there on his way home, made elaborate preparations to welcome him. But he passed by without stopping.[161] In memory of his stay in France, he presented to the abbey of St. Denis near Paris an illuminated manuscript of Dionysius the Areopagite, preserved today in the Louvre. Among the miniatures of this manuscript is the picture of the Emperor, his wife, and their three sons. Manuel's picture is of great interest, because the Turks found and admired in his features a strong resemblance to Muhammed, the founder of Islam. Bayazid, reported the Byzantine historian Phrantzes, said of Manuel: "One who does not know that he is Emperor would say from his appearance that he is Emperor."[162]

The fruitlessness of Manuel's journey to western Europe, as far as the substantial needs of the Empire were concerned, is evident; both historians and chroniclers of the time recognized the lack of result and pointed it out in their annals.[163] But this journey is of great interest examined from the point of view of the information acquired by western Europe about the Byzantine Empire in the period of its fall. This journey is an episode in the cultural intercourse between West and East at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, in the epoch of the Italian Renaissance.

The battle of Angora had great importance for the last days of the Byzantine Empire. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the Mongol empire, which had fallen into pieces, was unified again under the power of Timur or Tamerlane (Timur-Lenk, which means in translation "iron-lame," Timur the Lame). Timur had undertaken on a large scale many devastating expeditions into southern Russia, northern India, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Syria. His marches were accompanied by atrocious cruelties. Thousands of men were slain, cities ruined, fields destroyed. A Byzantine historian wrote: "When Timur's Mongols left one city to go to another, they left it so deserted and abandoned, that in it was heard neither barking of dog, nor cackling of fowl, nor cry of child."[164]

Entering Asia Minor after his Syrian expedition, Timur clashed with the Ottoman Turks. Sultan Bayazid hastened from Europe to Asia Minor to meet Timur, and there, at the city of Angora (Ancyra), in 1402, was fought a bloody battle, which ended in the complete defeat of the Turks. Bayazid himself fell a prisoner to Timur; he shortly after died in captivity. Timur did not remain in Asia Minor. He undertook an expedition against China, and on his way

[161] See M. Andreeva, "Zur Reise Manuels II. Palaiologos nach West-Europa," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXIV (1934), 37–47.

[162] George Phrantzes, *Annales*, I, 39; Bonn ed., 117.

[163] *Ibid.*, I, 15; Bonn ed., 62. *Chronicon Tarvisinum*, in Muratori, *Scriptores rerum italicarum*, XIX, 794.

[164] Michael Ducas, *Historia byzantina* XVII; Bonn ed., 76–77.

there died. After his death, the whole huge Mongol Empire fell to pieces and lost its significance. But after their defeat at Angora, the Turks were so weakened that for a time they were unable to take decisive steps against Constantinople; thereby the existence of the dying Empire was prolonged for another fifty years.

In spite of Manuel's poor success, he did not give up his plans after his return from western Europe but continued to seek for the help of the West against the Turks. There are two very interesting letters addressed by Manuel to the kings of Aragon, Martin V (1395–1410) and Ferdinand I (1412–1416). In the first, which was transmitted to Martin through the agency of the famous Byzantine humanist Manuel Chrysoloras, who was at that time in Italy, Manuel informed Martin that he was sending him, at his request, some precious relics, and begged him to convey to Constantinople the money which had been collected in Spain to help the Empire.[165] Chrysoloras' mission, however, came to nothing. Later, during a voyage to Morea, Manuel wrote another letter from Thessalonica, this time addressed to Ferdinand I. It shows that Ferdinand had promised Manuel's son Theodore, the despot of Morea, to come there with a considerable army to aid the Christians in general and Manuel in particular. Manuel wrote to express his hope of meeting Ferdinand in Morea, but Ferdinand never came.[166]

The situation in the Peloponnesus.—In the last fifty years of the existence of the remains of the Byzantine Empire, the Peloponnesus, rather unexpectedly, attracted the attention of the central government. As the territory of the Empire was reduced to Constantinople, the adjoining portion of Thrace, one or two islands in the Archipelago, Thessalonica, and the Peloponnesus, obviously next to Constantinople the Peloponnesus was the most important part of the Greek possessions. Contemporaries discovered that it was an ancient and purely Greek country, that the inhabitants were real Hellenes and not Romans, and that nowhere else could be created a basis for continuing the struggle against the Ottomans. While northern Greece had already fallen a prey to the Turks and the rest of ancient Greece was on the point of succumbing to the Turkish yoke, in the Peloponnesus there arose a center of Greek national spirit and Hellenic patriotism, which was powerfully affected by a dream, delusive from the historical point of view, of regenerating the Empire and opposing the might of the Ottoman state.

[165] See C. Marinescu, "Manuel II Paléologue et les rois d'Aragon. Commentaire sur quatre lettres inédites en latin, expediées par la chancellerie byzantine," *Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie roumaine*, XI (1924), 194–95, 198–99.

[166] *Ibid.*, 195–96, 200–201: "Vestra Excellentia illustri filio nostro, despoti Moree Porfirogenito, notificaverat qualiter accedere intendebat pro communi utilitate christianorum et specialiter nostra ad dictas partes Moree cum potencia maxima." See D. A. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat Grec de Morée*, 168.

After the Fourth Crusade, the Peloponnesus (or Morea) passed into the power of the Latins. At the beginning of the reign of the restorer of the Byzantine Empire, Michael VIII Palaeologus, the prince of Achaia, William Villehardouin, was captured by the Greeks and gave as ransom three strongholds: Monembasia, Maina, and the recently built Mistra. Since the Greek power in the Peloponnesus was slowly but continuously increasing at the expense of the Latin possessions, the Byzantine province which had been formed there became by the middle of the fourteenth century so important that it was reorganized as a separate despotat and made the appanage of the second son of the Constantinopolitan emperor, who became a sort of viceroy of the emperor in the Peloponnesus. At the end of the fourteenth century the Peloponnesus was mercilessly devastated by the Turks. Having lost all hope of defending the country with his own forces, the Despot of Morea proposed to yield his possessions to the Knights of the Order of Hospitalers of St. John, who at that time held the island of Rhodes, and only the popular insurrection at Mistra, capital of the Despotat, which burst out at this proposal, prevented him from doing so. The weakness of the Ottoman Turks after the defeat of Angora made it possible for the Peloponnesus to recover a little and to hope for better times.[167]

The chief city of the Despotat of Morea, Mistra, medieval Sparta, residence of the Despot, was in the fourteenth century and at the beginning of the fifteenth a political and cultural center of reviving Hellenism. Here were the tombs of the Despots of Morea. Here John Cantacuzene died at a very advanced age, and here he was buried. While the condition of the country people made a contemporary, Mazaris, afraid that he himself would become a barbarian,[168] at the court of the Despot, in his castle of Mistra, was a cultural center which was attracting educated Greeks, scholars, sophists, and courtiers. It is related that in the fourteenth century, at Sparta, there existed a school for copiers of ancient manuscripts. Gregorovius justly compared the court of Mistra with some courts of Italian princes of the Renaissance.[169] The famous Byzantine scholar, humanist, and philosopher, Gemistus Plethon, lived at the court of the Despot of Morea during the reign of Manuel II.

In 1415, Manuel himself visited the Peloponnesus, where his second son Theodore was Despot at the time. The Emperor's first measure to protect the peninsula against future invasions was the construction of a wall with numerous towers on the Isthmus of Corinth. The wall was erected on the site of the rampart which in the fifth century B.C. the Peloponnesians had raised on the approach of Xerxes; this was restored in the third century A.D. by the

[167] Zakythinos, *ibid.*, is a very fine work.

[168] Mazari Ἐπιδημία Μάζαρι ἐν Ἄιδου; A. Ellissen, *Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Litteratur*, IV, 230.

[169] *Geschichte der Stadt Athen*, II, 240–83.

Emperor Valerian when he fortified Greece against the Goths; and finally it was constructed again by Justinian the Great when Greece was threatened by the Huns and Slavs.[170] In preparation for this same Turkish danger in the fifteenth century, the predecessor of Theodore had established numerous colonies of Albanians in some desert regions of the Peloponnesus, and Manuel II, who delivered his funeral oration,[171] praised him for this precaution.

The projected reforms of Gemistus Plethon.—In Peloponnesian affairs in that time there were two interesting contemporary writers, quite different in character. One was the Byzantine scholar and humanist, Gemistus Plethon, a philhellenist obsessed by the idea that the Peloponnesian population was of the purest and most ancient Hellenic blood and that from the Peloponnesus had come the noblest and most famous families "of the Hellenes," who had achieved "the greatest and most celebrated deeds."[172] The other was Mazaris, author of the *Sojourn of Mazaris in Hades,* "undoubtedly," as K. Krumbacher said, perhaps not without exaggeration, "the worst of the hitherto known imitations of Lucian,"[173] a kind of libel, in which the author describes sarcastically the customs and manners of the Peloponnesus-Morea, deriving the latter name in the form of *Mora* (*μώρα*) from the Greek word *moria* (*μωρία*)[174] meaning silliness, folly. In contrast to Plethon, Mazaris distinguished seven nationalities in the population of the Peloponnesus: Greeks (in Mazaris, Lacedaemonians and Peloponnesians), Italians (i.e. the remains of the Latin conquerors), Slavs (Sthlavinians), Illyrians (i.e. Albanians), Egyptians (Gipsies), and Jews.[175] These statements of Mazaris are historical truth. Although both writers, the learned utopian Plethon as well as the satirist Mazaris, must be used with caution, both of them afford rich and interesting cultural data on the Peloponnesus of the first half of the fifteenth century.

To the time of Manuel II should be referred two interesting "accounts" or "addresses" written by Gemistus Plethon on the urgency of political and social reform for the Peloponnesus. One of these pamphlets was addressed to the Emperor, and the other to the Despot of Morea, Theodore. The German historian, Fallmerayer, was the first, in his *History of the Peninsula of Morea,* to draw the attention of scholars to the importance of those schemes of the Hellenic dreamer.[176]

[170] See Miller, *Latins in the Levant,* 377.

[171] Manuel Palaeologus, *Oratio funebris;* Migne, *Patrologia Graeca,* CLVI, 212–13.

[172] Gemistus Plethon, *Oratio prima,* 2–3; ed. Ellissen, *Analekten,* IV (2), 42.

[173] *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur,* 494.

[174] Mazari, *Ἐπιδημία Μάζαρι ἐν Ἄιδου,* 2, Ellissen, *Analekten,* IV (7), 192.

[175] Mazari, *ibid.,* 22. Ellissen, *ibid.,* 239.

[176] *Halbinsel Morea,* II, 300–66. See H. F. Tozer, "A Byzantine Reformer (Gemistus Plethon)," *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* VII (1886), 353–80. J. Dräseke, "Plethons und Bessarions Denkschriften über die Angelegenheiten im Peloponnes," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum,* XXVII (1911), 19.

Plethon had in view the regeneration of the Peloponnesus, and for this purpose he drew up a plan for a radical change in the social system and the treatment of the land problem.[177] According to Plethon, society should be divided into three classes: (1) the cultivators of the soil (ploughmen, diggers, for example, diggers for vineyards, and shepherds); (2) those who provide instruments of work (i.e. those who care for oxen, cattle, and so on);[178] and (3) those who have the care of safety and order, i.e., the army, government, and state officials; at the head of all should be an emperor—basileus. Opposed to mercenary troops, Plethon advocated the formation of an indigenous Greek army; and that the army may devote all their time and attention to performing their proper duties, Plethon divided the population into two categories: tax-payers, and those who render military service; the soldiery should not be liable to taxation. The portion of the taxable population which takes no part in administration and defense was called by Plethon the Helots. Private land ownership was abolished; "the whole land, as it seems to have been established by nature, should be the common property of the population; every one who will may plant and build a home where he would, and till the soil as much as he would and could."[179] These were the chief points of Plethon's report. His scheme shows the influence of Plato, whom the Byzantine humanist greatly admired. It will remain an interesting cultural document of the Byzantine renaissance of the epoch of the Palaeologi. Several scholars indicate in Plethon's scheme some points of analogy with parts of the *Social Contract* of Jean Jacques Rousseau, and with the ideas of Saint-Simon.[180]

Thus, on the eve of the final catastrophe, Plethon was proposing to Manuel II a plan of reforms for regenerated Hellas. The French Byzantinist, Ch. Diehl, wrote: "While Constantinople is weakened and falling, a Greek state tries to be born in Morea. And however vain these aspirations may seem and however sterile these wishes may appear, nevertheless this recovery of the consciousness of Hellenism and this conception of and obscure preparation for a better future is one of the most interesting and remarkable phenomena of Byzantine history."[181]

The siege of Constantinople in 1422.—Until the beginning of the third decade of the fifteenth century, the relations between Manuel and Bayazid's successor, Muhammed I, a noble representative of the Ottoman state, were

[177] Gemistus Plethon, *De Rebus Peloponnesiacis Orationes duae,* ed. Ellissen, *Analekten,* IV (2); ed. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca,* CLX, 821–66.

[178] *Ibid., Oratio I,* par. 12, *Oratio II,* par. 13; ed. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca,* CLX, 829, 853. See Tozer, "Gemistus Plethon," *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* VII (1886), 370; he called the second class "those employed in trade and manufactures," or "the trading class" (372).

[179] Gemistus Plethon, *Oratio I,* par. 18; ed. Ellissen, *Analekten,* IV (2), 53; ed. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca,* CLX, 833.

[180] See Ellissen, *Analekten,* IV (2), 143, n. 3. Tozer, "Gemistus Plethon," *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* VII (1886), 379.

[181] *Études byzantines,* 232.

marked, in spite of some errors on the part of the Emperor, by confidence and peace. Once, with the Emperor's knowledge, the sultan passed through a suburb of Constantinople, where he was met by Manuel. Each sovereign remained on his own galley, and conversing from the galleys in a friendly manner, crossed the straits to the Asiatic coast where the sultan pitched his tents; but the Emperor did not descend from his galley. During dinner, the monarchs sent each other their most delicate dishes from their tables.[182] But under Muhammed's successor, Murad II, circumstances changed.

In the last years of his life, Manuel withdrew from state affairs and entrusted them to his son, John, who had neither experience nor the poise and noble character of his father. John insisted on supporting one of the Turkish pretenders to the sultan's throne; an attempt at revolt failed and the infuriated Murad II decided to besiege Constantinople and crush at once this long-coveted city.

But the Ottoman forces, which had not had time enough to recover after the defeat of Angora and which were weakened by internal complications, were not yet ready to deal such a blow. In 1422, the Turks besieged Constantinople. In Byzantine literature there is a special work on this siege written by a contemporary, John Cananus, entitled, "A narrative of the Constantinopolitan wars of 6930 (= 1422), when Amurat-bey attacked the city with a great army and would have taken it if the Blessed Mother of God had not preserved it."[183] A strong Muhammedan army equipped with various war machinery attempted to take the city by storm but it was repulsed by the heroic efforts of the population of the capital. Some complications within the Ottoman Empire compelled the Turks to give up the siege. The capital's relief from danger was, as always, connected in popular tradition with the intercession of the Mother of God, the constant protectress of Constantinople. Meanwhile, the Turkish troops were not satisfied to attack the capital; after an unsuccessful attempt to take Thessalonica, they marched south into Greece where they destroyed the wall on the Isthmus of Corinth built by Manuel, and devastated Morea.[184] Manuel's co-emperor John VIII spent about a year in Venice, Milan, and Hungary in search of aid. According to the peace made with the Turks, the Emperor pledged himself to continue to pay the sultan a definite tribute, and delivered to him several cities in Thrace. The territory of Constantinople was growing still more limited. After this siege, the capital dragged out a pitiful existence for about thirty years in anxious expectation of its unavoidable ruin.

[182] George Phrantzes, *Annales*, I, 37; Bonn ed., 111–12.

[183] John Cananus, *De Constantinopoli anno 1422 oppugnata narratio*, Bonn ed., 457.

[184] Gemistus as an eyewitness described Turkish atrocities in Greece. His lengthy poem, "Ad S. D. N. Leonem X. Pont. Maximi Ioannis Gemisti Graeci a secretis Anconae Protrepticon et Promosticon," is given by C. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs a l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*, VIII, 546–[illegible] especially 548–50. See also *ibid.*, IX, vii.

In 1425, the paralyzed Manuel passed away. With a feeling of profound mourning the mass of the population of the capital followed the hearse of the dead Emperor. Such a crowd of mourning people had never been seen at the burial of any of his predecessors.[185] A special investigator of Manuel's activity, Berger de Xivrey, wrote: "This feeling will seem sincere to whoever will remember all the trials which this sovereign shared with his people, all his endeavors to help them, and the deep sympathy of thought and feeling he always had for them."[186]

The most important event of the time of Manuel was the battle of Angora, which delayed the fall of Constantinople for fifty years. But even this brief relief from the Ottoman danger was attained not by the strength of the Byzantine emperor, but by the Mongol power accidentally created in the east. The chief event upon which Manuel had relied, the rising of western Europe in a crusade, had not taken place. The siege and storm of Constantinople by the Turks in 1422 was only a prologue to the siege and storm of 1453. In estimating relations with the Turks in Manuel's time one must not lose sight of the personal influence which the Emperor had with the Turkish sultans and which several times delayed the final doom of the perishing Empire.

John VIII (1425–48) and the Turkish menace.—Under John VIII the territory of the Empire was reduced to the most modest extent. Shortly before his father's death John had been forced to cede several cities of Thrace to the sultan. After John had become sole ruler of the Empire, his power extended, properly speaking, over Constantinople and the nearest surrounding country. But the rest of the Empire, for example, the Peloponnesus, Thessalonica, and some scattered cities in Thrace, were under the power of his brothers as separate principalities almost entirely independent.

In 1430, Thessalonica was conquered by the Turks. One of the brothers of John VIII, who was governing Thessalonica with the title of despot, realized that with his own forces he could not contend with the Turks, and sold the city to Venice for a sum of money. Venice in taking possession of this important commercial point pledged herself, according to Ducas, "to protect and nourish it, raise its prosperity, and make it a second Venice."[187] But the Turks, who already possessed the surrounding country, could not tolerate the establishment of Venice at Thessalonica. Under the personal leadership of the sultan, they laid siege to Thessalonica; the course and result of the siege are well described in a special work, *On the last capture of Thessalonica,* written by a contemporary, John Anagnostes (i.e., Reader).[188] The Latin garrison

[185] George Phrantzes, *Annales*, I, 40; Bonn ed., 121.

[186] "Mémoire sur Manuel Paléologue," *Mémoires de l'Institut de France*, XIX (2), 180.

[187] Michael Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, XXIX; Bonn ed., 197.

[188] *De extremo Thessalonicensi excidio*, Bonn ed., 481–528.

of Thessalonica was small and the population of the city regarded the new Venetian masters as aliens. They could not resist the Turks who, after a short siege, took the city by storm and exposed it to terrible destruction and outrage. The people were murdered without distinction of sex or age. Churches were turned into mosques, but the Church of St. Demetrius of Thessalonica, the chief patron of the city, was temporarily left to the Christians, though in a state of complete desolation.

The taking of Thessalonica by the Turks was also described in Greek verse by a high church official in Constantinople in his Chronicle on the Turkish Empire.[189] Some Greek folk songs were composed on this disastrous event.[190] The loss of Thessalonica impressed deeply both Venice and western Europe. The nearness of the decisive moment was of course also felt in the city of Constantinople.

An interesting description of Constantinople was written by a pilgrim returning from Jerusalem, a Burgundian knight, Bertrandon de la Broquière, who visited the capital of the Palaeologi at the beginning of the thirties, shortly after the fall of Thessalonica. He praised the good state of the walls, the land-walls in particular, but noticed some desolation in the city; he spoke for example of the ruins and remnants of two beautiful palaces destroyed, according to a tradition, by an Emperor at the command of a Turkish sultan. The Burgundian pilgrim visited the churches and other monuments of the capital, attended the solemn church services, saw in the church of St. Sophia the performance of a mystery on the subject of the three youths cast by Nebuchadnezzar into the fiery furnace, was charmed with the beauty of the Byzantine Empress, who came from Trebizond, and told the Emperor, who was interested in the fate of Joan of Arc, who had just been burnt at Rouen, "the whole truth" about the famous "Maid of Orléans."[191] The same pilgrim, from his observations of the Turks, believed it possible to expel them from Europe and even to regain Jerusalem. He wrote: "It seems to me that the noble people and the good government of the three nations I have mentioned, i.e., the French,

[189] Ἱέρακος χρονικὸν περὶ τῆς τῶν Τούρκων βασιλείας. Sathas, *Bibliotheca graeca medii aevi*, I, 256–57, lines 360–88; the same fragment is given in "Ἡ ἐν θεσσαλονίκῃ μονὴ τῶν Βλαταίων καὶ τὰ μετόχια αὐτῆς," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, VIII (1899), 421; a brief Greek note on the fall of Thessalonica on pp. 403–4. S. Lampros, "Τρεῖς ἀνέκδοτοι μονῳδίαι εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων ἅλωσιν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης," Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, V (1908), 369–91 (two pieces in verse, and one in prose).

[190] See Florence McPherson, "Historical Notes on Certain Modern Greek Folk-songs," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, X (1889), 86–87.

[191] La Broquière, *Voyage d'outremer*, ed. Schefer, 150–65. See A. A. Vasiliev, "La Guerre de Cent Ans et Jeanne d'Arc dans la tradition byzantine," *Byzantion*, III (1926), 249. Some news of Joan of Arc penetrated to Ragusa. See N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades*, II, 272: "on parle 'd'una mamoleta virgine, la qual gli è (a! rè Carlo) apparuta maravigliosamente, la qual rege et guida lo suo exercito,'" (from the Archives of Ragusa, April 30–December 28, 1430, Nouvelles de France).

English, and German, are rather formidable, and, if they are united in sufficient number, will be able to reach Jerusalem by land."[192]

Realizing the coming danger to the capital from the Turks, John VIII undertook the great work of restoring the walls of Constantinople. Many inscriptions on the walls preserved today with the name of "John Palaeologus Autocrat in Christ," testify to the Christian Emperor's difficult last attempt to restore the fortifications of Theodosius the Younger, which had once appeared inaccessible.

But this did not suffice for the struggle with the Ottomans. Like his predecessors, John VIII hoped to receive real help against the Turks from the West, with the co-operation of the pope. For this purpose the Emperor himself with the Greek patriarch and a brilliant retinue sailed for Italy. The result of this journey was the conclusion of the famous Union of Florence. As far as real help to Byzantium was concerned, however, the imperial journey to Italy was of no avail.

Pope Eugenius IV preached a crusade and succeeded in arousing to war against the Turks the Hungarians, Poles, and Roumanians. A crusading army was formed under the command of the king of Poland and Hungary, Vladislav, and the famous Hungarian hero and chief, John Hunyadi. In the battle at Varna, in 1444, the crusaders were crushed by the Turks. Vladislav fell in battle. With the remnants of the army, John Hunyadi retreated to Hungary. The battle of Varna was the last attempt of western Europe to come to the help of perishing Byzantium. Thereafter Constantinople was left to its fate.[193]

Some documents from the archives of Barcelona, comparatively recently published, have revealed the aggressive plans of the famous Maecenas of the epoch of the Renaissance, the king of Aragon, Alfonso V the Magnanimous, who died in 1458. Having reunited Sicily and Naples under his power for a short time in the middle of the fifteenth century, he was planning to carry on a vast aggressive campaign in the East, which was similar to the grandiose plans of Charles of Anjou. Constantinople was one of Alfonso's goals, and the idea of a crusade against the Turks never left him. For a long time he had realized that, if the growing might and "insolent prosperity" of the Ottomans were not put down, he would have no security for the maritime confines of his realm. But Alfonso's ambitious plans were not realized and the Turks were never seriously menaced by this talented and brilliant humanist and politician.[194]

[192] *Ibid.*, 230.

[193] Aziz Suryal Atiya, *Crusade in the Later Middle Ages;* see a review by O. Halecki, *Byzantion*, XV (1940–41), 473–83. Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna. A Discussion of Controversial Problems*, 96. A fine monograph.

[194] See F. Cerone, "La politica orientale di Alfonso d'Aragona," *Archivio storico per le provincie Napolitane*, XXVII (1902), 425–56, 555–634; XXVIII (1903), 167. Norden, *Das*

After the victory of the Turks at Varna, John VIII, who had taken no part in the crusading expedition, entered immediately into negotiations with the sultan, whom he endeavored to soften with presents, and he succeeded in keeping peaceful relations with him up to the end of his reign.

Although in relations with the Turks, Byzantium under John VIII suffered continuous and bitter failures, the Greek arms gained a considerable victory, though of short duration, in the Peloponnesus (Morea), an appanage nearly independent from the central government. Besides the Byzantine possessions, there were in the Peloponnesus the remnants of the principality of Achaia and some other places, especially in the very south of the peninsula which belonged to Venice. At the beginning of the fifteenth century Venice set herself the goal of subduing the portion of the Peloponnesus which was still in Latin hands; for this purpose she entered into negotiations with the different rulers in the peninsula. On one hand, the Republic of St. Mark wanted to take possession of the wall on the Isthmus of Corinth, which had been built under Manuel II, in order to offer adequate resistance to the Turkish invasions. On the other, Venice was attracted by her commercial interests, because, according to the information gathered by the representative of the Republic, the resources of the country in gold, silver, silk, honey, corn, raisins, and other things promised great advantages. During the reign of John VIII, however, the troops of the Greek despotat in Morea opened hostilities against the Latins, quickly gained the Latin part of the Peloponnesus, and thereby put an end to Frankish power in Morea. From then to the time of the Turkish conquest, the whole peninsula belonged to the family of the Palaeologi; Venice maintained only the points in the south, which she had possessed before.

One of the Despots of Morea, Constantine, John VIII's brother, who was to be the last emperor of Byzantium, took advantage of some difficulties of the Turks in the Balkan peninsula to march north with his troops across the Isthmus of Corinth into middle and northern Greece, where the Turks were already making their conquests. After his victory over the Christians at Varna, Sultan Murad II considered the invasion of Constantine into northern Greece as an insult to him; he marched south, broke through the fortified wall on the Isthmus of Corinth, terribly devastated the Peloponnesus, and carried away into captivity a great number of Greeks. The horrified Despot Constantine was glad to make peace on the sultan's terms; he remained Despot of Morea and pledged himself to pay a tribute to the sultan.

Papsttum und Byzanz, 731–33. C. Marinescu is preparing, on the basis of the rich store of unpublished documents of the *Archivios de la Corona de Aragon* in Barcelona, a work especially devoted to the relations of Alfonso and the Orient. See "Manuel II Paleologue et les rois d'Aragon," *Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie roumaine*, XI (1924), 197. See also *Compte-rendu du deuxième Congrés international des études byzantines* (1929), 162.

Under Constantine Palaeologus the famous traveler, archeologist, and merchant of that time, Cyriacus of Ancona, visited Mistra, where he was graciously received by the despot (*Constantinum cognomento Dragas*) and his dignitaries. At his court Cyriacus met Gemistus Plethon, "the most learned man of his age," and Nicholas Chalcocondyles, son of his Athenian friend George, a young man very well versed in Latin and Greek.[195] Nicholas Chalcocondyles can have been none other than the future historian Laonikos Chalcocondyles, for the name Laonikos is merely Nicolaos, Nicholas, slightly changed. During his first stay at Mistra, under the Despot Theodore Palaeologus, in 1437, Cyriacus had visited ancient monuments at Sparta and copied Greek inscriptions.[196]

Constantine XI (1449–53) and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks.—The territory which recognized the power of the last Byzantine emperor was confined to Constantinople with its nearest environs in Thrace, and the major part of the Peloponnesus or Morea at some distance from the capital, and governed by the Emperor's brothers.

Honesty, generosity, energy, valor, and love of country were Constantine's characteristics, vouched for by many Greek sources of his time and by his own conduct during the siege of Constantinople. An Italian humanist, Francesco Filelfo, who during his stay at Constantinople, knew Constantine personally before his ascension to the throne, in one of his letters calls the Emperor a man "of pious and lofty spirit (*pio et excelso animo*)."[197]

The strong and terrible adversary of Constantine was Muhammed II, twenty-one years old, who combined rude outbursts of harsh cruelty, bloodthirstiness, and many of the baser vices, with an interest in science, art, and education, energy, and the talents of a general, statesman, and organizer. A Byzantine historian relates that he occupied himself enthusiastically with the sciences, especially astrology, read the tales of the deeds of Alexander of Macedon, Julius Caesar, and the emperors of Constantinople, and spoke five languages besides Turkish.[198] Oriental sources praise his piety, justice, clemency, and protection of scholars and poets. Historians of the nineteenth and

[195] See Cyriacus' description of the Peloponnesus, first published by R. Sabbadini, "Ciriaco d'Ancona e la sua descrizione autografa del Peloponneso trasmessa da Leonardo Botta," *Miscellanea Ceriani*, 203–4. On Cyriacus of Ancona see G. Castellani, "Un Traité inédit en Grec de Cyriaque d'Ancône," *Revue des études grecques*, IX (1896), 225–28. E. Ziebarth, "Κυριακὸς ὁ ἐξ Ἀγκῶνος ἐν Ἠπείρῳ," Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικά, II (1926), 110–19; some additions and corrections by Δ. Καμπουρογλοῦ, *ibid.*, III (1928), 223–24; he gives an exact date for Cyriacus' death: 1452 (p. 224). F. Pall, "Ciriaco d'Ancona e la crociata contro i Turchi," *Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie roumaine*, XX (1937), 9–60. See also Zakythinos, *Le Despotat Grec*, 231–35.

[196] See *Epigrammata reperta per Illyricum a Cyriaco Anconitano apud Liburniam*, xxxvii. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat Grec*, 236.

[197] Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades*, IV, 83.

[198] George Phrantzes, *Annales*, I, 32; Bonn ed., 93, 95.

twentieth centuries vary in their estimation of Muhammed II; they range from denying him all positive qualities[199] to acknowledging him as a man of genius.[200] The desire to conquer Constantinople was an obsession with the young sultan, who, as the historian Ducas said, "by night and day, going to bed and getting up, within his palace and without, turned over and over in his mind the military actions and means by which he might take possession of Constantinople." He spent sleepless nights drawing on paper the plan of the city and its fortifications, pointing out the places where it could be most easily attacked.[201]

The pictures of both these adversaries survive, those of Constantine Palaeologus on seals and in some later manuscripts,[202] and those of Muhammed II on the medals struck by Italian artists in the fifteenth century in honor of the sultan and in some portraits, particularly one painted by the famous Venetian artist, Gentile Bellini, who spent a short time (in 1479–80) at Constantinople at the end of the reign of Muhammed.[203]

Having decided to deal the final blow to Constantinople, Muhammed set to work with extreme circumspection. First of all, north of the city, on the European shore of the Bosphorus, at its narrowest point, he built a powerful stronghold with towers, the majestic remnants of which are still to be seen (Rumeli-Hisar); the guns placed there hurled stone cannon balls which were enormous for the time.

When the erection of the stronghold on the Bosphorus was known, there came from the Christian population of the capital, Asia, Thrace, and the islands, from all directions, as Ducas said, exclamations of despair. "Now the end of the city has come; now we see the signs of the ruin of our race; now the days of Antichrist are at hand; what is to become of us or what have we to do? . . . Where are the saints who protect the city?"[204] Another contemporary and eyewitness, who lived through all the horrors of the siege

[199] For example, Ellissen, *Analekten*, III, 87–93. On Muhammed's interest in science, poetry, and art, see J. Karabaček, *Abendländische Künstler zu Konstantinopel im XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert*, 2.

[200] N. Iorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, II, 3.

[201] Michael Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, XXXV; Bonn ed., 249, 252.

[202] See Lampros, "Αἱ εἰκόνες Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου," Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, III (1906), 229–42; Lampros, "Νέαι εἰκόνες Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου," *ibid.*, IV (1907), 238–40; VI (1909), 399–408. S. Lampros, *Empereurs byzantins. Catalogue illustré de la collection de portraits des empereurs de Byzance*, 57–58.

[203] See L. Thuasne, *Gentile Bellini et Sultan Mohammed II. Notes sur le séjour du peintre vénitien à Constantinople (1479–1480)*, 50–51; in this book Muhammed's pictures and medals are reproduced. Karabaček, *Abendländische Künstler zu Konstantinopel*, I, 24–49; this work has many illustrations. Before World War I the famous picture of Bellini was in the private collection of Lady Enid Layard at Venice; during the war it was transferred to London. See Karabaček, *ibid.*, 44.

[204] *Historia byzantina*, XXXIV; Bonn ed., 238.

of Constantinople, the author of the precious *Journal of the Siege*, a Venetian, Nicolò Barbaro, wrote, "This fortification is exceedingly strong from the sea, so that it is absolutely impossible to capture it, for on the shore and walls are standing bombards in very great number; on the land side the fortification is also strong, though less so than from the sea."[205] This stronghold put an end to the communication of the capital with the north and the ports of the Black Sea, for all foreign vessels, both on entering and leaving the Bosphorus, were intercepted by the Turks; in case of siege Constantinople would be deprived of the supply of corn from the ports of the Black Sea. It was very easy for the Turks to carry out these measures, because, opposite the European stronghold, there towered on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus the fortifications which had been built at the end of the fourteenth century by the Sultan Bayazid (Anatoli-Hisar). Next Muhammed invaded the Greek possessions in Morea, in order to prevent the Despot of Morea from coming to the aid of Constantinople in case of emergency. After these preliminary steps Muhammed, this "pagan enemy of the Christian people,"[206] to quote Barbaro, began the siege of the great city.

Constantine made every possible effort adequately to meet his powerful adversary in the unequal struggle whose result, one may say, was foreordained. The Emperor had all possible corn supplies from the environs of the capital brought into the city and some repairs made on the city walls. The Greek garrison of the city numbered only a few thousands. Seeing the coming fatal danger, Constantine appealed to the West for help; but instead of the desired military support, a Roman cardinal, Greek by origin, Isidore, the former metropolitan of Moscow and participator in the Council of Florence, arrived in Constantinople, and in commemoration of the restored peace between the Eastern and Western churches, celebrated a union service in St. Sophia, which aroused the greatest agitation in the city population. One of the most prominent dignitaries of Byzantium, Lucas Notaras, uttered his famous words, "It is better to see in the city the power of the Turkish turban than that of the Latin tiara."[207]

The Venetians and Genoese took part in the defense of the capital. Constantine and the population of the city relied especially on a Genoese noble of great military reputation, John (Giovanni) Giustiniani, who arrived in Constantinople with two large vessels bringing seven hundred fighting men. Access to the Golden Horn was barred, as had already happened several times at dangerous moments in the past, by a massive iron chain. The remains of this

[205] *Giornale dell'assedio di Constantinopoli*, ed. E. Cornet, 2.

[206] *Ibid.*, 18.

[207] Michael Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, XXXVII; Bonn ed., 264.

chain, it was supposed, could be seen until recently in the Byzantine church of St. Irene, where the Ottoman Military-Historical Museum is now established.[208]

The military forces of Muhammed on land and sea which consisted, besides the Turks, of the representatives of different peoples whom he had conquered, largely exceeded the modest number of the defenders of Constantinople, the Greeks and some Latins, particularly Italians.

One of the most important events in all world history was imminent.

The very fact of Turkish siege and capture of the "City protected by God," Constantinople, left a deep mark in the sources, which, in various languages and from different points of view, described the last moments of the Byzantine Empire and allow one to follow, sometimes literally by days and hours, the development of the last act of this thrilling historical drama. The sources which exist are written in Greek, Latin, Italian, Slavonic, and Turkish.

The chief Greek sources vary in their estimation of the event. George Phrantzes, who participated in the siege, an intimate friend of the last Emperor, and a very well-known diplomat, who held high offices in the Empire, was full of boundless love for his Emperor-hero and for the house of the Palaeologi in general, and was opposed to the union of the Churches; he described the last days of Byzantium in order to restore the honor of the vanquished Constantine, his abused country, and the insulted Greek Orthodox faith. Another contemporary writer, the Greek Critobulus, who had passed over to the Turks and wished to prove his devotion to Muhammed II, dedicated his history, which shows strongly the influence of Thucydides, to the "greatest emperor, king of kings, Mehemet";[209] he related the last days of Byzantium from the point of view of a subject of the new Ottoman Empire, though he did not attack his Greek countrymen. A Greek of Asia Minor, Ducas, a supporter of the union, in which he saw the only means of security for the Empire, wrote from a standpoint favorable to the West, especially stressed the services and merits of the Genoese commander, Giustiniani, rather belittled the role of Constantine, but at the same time wrote not without love and pity for the Greeks. Finally, the fourth Greek historian of the last period of Byzantium, the only Athenian in Byzantine literature, Laonikos Chalcocondyles (or Chalcondyles), choosing as the main topic of his history not Byzantium, but the Turkish Empire, took a new and vast theme to describe—"the extraordinary evolution of the might of the young Ottoman Empire which was rising on the ruins of the Greek, Frankish, and Slavonic states";[210]

[208] At the present time this chain is believed to be a portion of the chain from the harbor of the island of Rhodes, which was brought to Constantinople by the Turks after the conquest of Rhodes.

[209] C. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, V, 52.

[210] Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 302. See also W. Miller, "The Last Athenian Historian: Laonikos Chalkokondyles," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLII (1922), 38.

in other words, his work is general in character. Since, in addition to that, Laonikos was not an eyewitness of the last days of Constantinople, it has only secondary significance.

Among the most valuable sources written in Latin were several by authors who lived through the whole time of the siege at Constantinople. One was the appeal *To All the Faithful of Christ* (*Ad universos Christifideles de expugnatione Constantinopolis*) written by Cardinal Isidore, who narrowly escaped Turkish captivity. He begged all Christians to rise up in arms to defend the perishing Christian faith. The report to the pope of the archbishop of Chios, Leonard, who also escaped Turkish captivity, interpreted the great distress which had befallen Byzantium as a punishment for the Greeks' secession from the Catholic faith. Finally, a poem in verse, in four stanzas, "Constantinopolis," was composed by an Italian, Pusculus, who spent some time in Turkish captivity. He was an imitator of Virgil and to a certain extent of Homer. A zealous Catholic, he dedicated his poem to the pope and was, like Leonard, convinced that God had punished Byzantium for its schism.

Italian sources have given us the priceless *Journal of the siege of Constantinople,* written in the old Venetian dialect in a dry business style, by a noble Venetian, Nicolò Barbaro. He enumerated day by day the conflicts between the Greeks and Turks during the siege, and his work is therefore of the greatest importance for the reconstruction of the chronology of the siege.

In old Russian an important history of the capture of Tsargrad, "this great and terrible deed," was written by the "unworthy and humble Nestor Iskinder (Iskander)."[211] Probably a Russian by origin, he fought in the sultan's army and described truthfully and, as far as possible, day by day, the actions of the Turks during the siege and after the fall of the city. The story of the fall of Constantinople is also related in various Russian chronicles.

Finally, there are Turkish sources estimating the great event from the point of view of triumphant and victorious Islam and its brilliant representative, Muhammed II the Conqueror. Sometimes Turkish sources offer a collection of Turkish popular legends about Constantinople and the Bosphorus.[212]

[211] *The Tale of Tsargrad* by Nestor-Iskander, ed. Abbot Leonides, *Pamyatniki drevney pismennosti*, LXII (1886), 43. For other Slavic accounts, see *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 888. A Russian text of the Tale, from the edition of 1853, is reprinted by N. Iorga, "Origines et prise de Constantinople," *Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie roumaine*, XIII (1927), 89–105. The question now arises whether the original text of this tale is not Greek and whether the Slavic account of it may belong not to a Russian but to a Serbian. See N. Iorga, "Une Source négligée de la prise de Constantinople," *ibid.*, 65. B. Unbegaun, "Les Relations vieux-russes de la prise de Constantinople," *Revue des études slaves*, IX (1929), 13–38: on the Russian version of Iskander and on the old Russian translation of the account of Aeneas Sylvius of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks.

[212] See F. Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, 23–45 and *passim*.

This enumeration of the chief sources shows what rich and various information exists for the study of the problem of the siege and capture of Constantinople by the Turks.

At the beginning of April, 1453, the siege of the great city began. It was not only the incomparably greater military forces of the Turks that contributed to the success of the siege. Muhammed II, called by Barbaro, "this perfidious Turk, dog-Turk,"[213] was the first sovereign in history who had at his disposal a real park of artillery. The perfected Turkish bronze cannons, of gigantic size for that time, hurled to a great distance enormous stone shots, whose destructive blows the old walls of Constantinople could not resist. The Russian tale of Tsargrad states that "the wretched Muhammed" conveyed close to the city walls "cannons, arquebuses, towers, ladders, siege machinery, and other wall-battering devices."[214] The contemporary Greek historian, Critobulus, had a good understanding of the decisive role of artillery when he wrote that all the saps made by the Turks under the walls and their subterraneous passages "proved to be superfluous and involved only useless expense, as cannons decided everything."[215]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, in several places of Stamboul, one might still see on the ground the huge cannon shots which had hurtled over the walls and were lying in nearly the same places in which they had fallen in 1453. On April 20 the only piece of good fortune for the Christians in the whole siege took place: the four Genoese vessels which had come to the aid of Constantinople, defeated the Turkish fleet in spite of its far superior numbers. "One may easily imagine," wrote a recent historian of the siege and capture of the Byzantine capital, Schlumberger, "the indescribable joy of the Greeks and Italians. For a moment Constantinople considered itself saved."[216] But this success, of course, could have no real importance for the outcome of the siege.

On April 22 the city with the Emperor at its head was struck by an extraordinary and terrifying spectacle: the Turkish vessels were in the upper part of the Golden Horn. During the preceding night the sultan had succeeded in transporting the vessels from the Bosphorus by land into the Golden Horn; for this purpose a kind of wooden platform had been specially made in the valley between the hills, and the vessels were put on wheels and dragged over the platform by the exertions of a great number of "canaille," according to Barbaro,[217] who were at the sultan's disposal. The Greco-Italian fleet stationed

[213] *Giornale dell 'assedio di Constantinopoli,* ed. Cornet, 20, 21.

[214] *Tale of Tsargrad,* ed. Leonides, 27. See also *The Tales of Tsargrad,* ed. V. Yakovlev, 92, 93. Iorga, "Origines et prise de Constantinople," *Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie roumaine,* XIII (1927), 99.

[215] Critobulus, I, 31, 3; ed. C. Müller, 80.

[216] *Le Siège, la prise, et le sac de Constantinople par les Turcs en 1453,* 140.

[217] Barbaro, *Giornale dell 'assedio di Constantinople,* ed. Cornet, 28.

in the Golden Horn beyond the chain was thereafter between two fires. The condition of the city became critical. The plan of the besieged garrison to burn the Turkish vessels in the Golden Horn at night was treacherously revealed to the sultan and prevented.

Meanwhile the heavy bombardment of the city, which did not cease for several weeks, brought the population to the point of complete exhaustion; men, women, children, priests, monks, and nuns were compelled, day and night, under cannon fire, to repair the numerous breaches in the walls. The siege had already lasted for fifty days. The tidings which reached the sultan, perhaps especially invented, of the possible arrival of a Christian fleet to aid the city, induced him to hasten the decisive blow to Constantinople. Imitating the famous orations in the history of Thucydides, Critobulus even gave the speech of Muhammed to the troops appealing to their courage and firmness; in this speech the sultan declared, "There are three conditions for successful war: to want (victory), to be ashamed(of dishonor, defeat), and to obey the leaders."[218] The assault was fixed for the night of May 29.

The old capital of the Christian East, anticipating the inevitable catastrophe and aware of the coming assault, spent the eve of the great day in prayer and tears. Upon the Emperor's order, religious processions followed by an enormous multitude of people singing "O Lord, have mercy on us," passed along the city walls. Men encouraged one another to offer a stubborn resistance to the Turks at the last hour of battle. In his long speech quoted by the Greek historian, Phrantzes,[219] Constantine incited the people to a valorous defense, but he clearly realized their doom when he said that the Turks "are supported by guns, cavalry, infantry, and their numerical superiority, but we rely on the name of the Lord our God and Saviour, and, secondly, on our hands and the strength which has been granted us by the power of God."[220] Constantine ended his speech thus: "I persuade and beg your love to accord adequate honor and obedience to your chiefs, everyone according to his rank, his military position, and service. Know this: if you sincerely observe all that I have commanded you, I hope that, with the aid of God, we shall avoid the just punishment sent by God."[221] In the evening of the same day service was celebrated in St. Sophia, the last Christian ceremony in the famous church. On the basis of Byzantine sources an English historian, E. Pears, gave a striking picture of this ceremony:

> The great ceremony of the evening and one that must always stand out among the world's historic spectacles was the last Christian service held in the church of Holy Wisdom. . . . The emperor and such of the leaders as could be spared were

[218] Critobulus, I, 50, 2; ed. Müller, 91.

[219] George Phrantzes, *Annales,* III, 6; Bonn ed., 271–79.

[220] *Ibid.,* 273.

[221] *Ibid.,* 278.

present and the building was once more and for the last time crowded with Christian worshippers. It requires no great effort of imagination to picture the scene. The interior of the church was the most beautiful which Christian art had produced, and its beauty was enhanced by its still gorgeous fittings. Patriarch and cardinal, the crowd of ecclesiastics representing both the Eastern and Western churches; emperor and nobles, the last remnant of the once gorgeous and brave Byzantine aristocracy; priests and soldiers intermingled; Constantinopolitans, Venetians and Genoese, all were present, all realizing the peril before them, and feeling that in view of the impending danger the rivalries which had occupied them for years were too small to be worthy of thought. The emperor and his followers partook together of "the undefiled and divine mysteries," and said farewell to the patriarch. The ceremony was in reality a liturgy of death. The empire was in its agony and it was fitting that the service for its departing spirit should be thus publicly said in its most beautiful church and before its last brave emperor. If the scene so vividly described by Mr. Bryce of the coronation of Charles the Great and the birth of an empire is among the most picturesque in history, that of the last Christian service in St. Sophia is surely among the most tragic.[222]

Phrantzes wrote: "Who will tell of the tears and groans in the palace! Even a man of wood or stone could not help weeping."[223]

The general assault began on Tuesday night between one and two o'clock of May 28–29. At the given signal, the city was attacked simultaneously on three sides. Two attacks were repulsed. Finally, Muhammed organized very carefully the third and last attack. With particular violence the Turks attacked the walls close to the St. Romanus gate (or Pempton) where the Emperor was fighting. One of the chief defenders of the city, the Genoese Giustiniani, seriously wounded, was forced to abandon the battle; he was transported with difficulty to a vessel which succeeded in leaving the harbor for the Island of Chios. Either there or on the journey there Giustiniani died. His tomb is still preserved in Chios, but the Latin epitaph formerly in the church of S. Dominic in the citadel has apparently disappeared.[224]

The departure and death of Giustiniani was an irreparable loss to the besieged. In the walls more and more new breaches opened. The Emperor fought heroically as a simple soldier and fell in battle. No exact information exists about the death of the last Byzantine Emperor; for this reason his death soon became the subject of a legend which has obscured the historical fact.

[222] *The Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks*, 330–31. A French paraphrase of Pear's account is given by Schlumberger, *Le Siège, la prise et le sac de Constantinople*, 269–70. R. Byron, *The Byzantine Achievement. An Historical Perspective A.D. 330–1453*, 295–98.

[223] George Phrantzes, *Annales;* Bonn ed., 279.

[224] See F. W. Hasluck, "The Latin Monuments of Chios," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XVI (1909–10), 155 and fig. 18. The text of the inscription is given. The author remarked: "This is the tomb of the famous Giovanni Giustiniani, whose wound was the immediate cause of the fall of Constantinople" (p. 155).

After Constantine's death, the Turks rushed into the city inflicting terrible devastation. A great multitude of Greeks took refuge in St. Sophia, hoping for safety there. But the Turks broke in the entrance gate and poured into the church; they murdered and insulted the Greeks who were hiding there, without distinction of sex or age. The day of the capture of the city, or perhaps the next day, the sultan solemnly entered conquered Constantinople, and went into St. Sophia, where he offered up a Muhammedan prayer. Thereupon Muhammed took up his residence in the imperial palace of Blachernae.

According to the unanimous indication of the sources, the pillage of the city, as Muhammed had promised his soldiers, lasted for three days and three nights. The population was mercilessly murdered. The churches, with St. Sophia at the head, and the monasteries with all their wealth were robbed and polluted; private property was plundered. In these fatal days an innumerable mass of cultural material perished. Books were burnt or torn to pieces, trodden upon or sold for practically nothing. According to the statement of Ducas, an enormous number of books were loaded upon carts and scattered through various countries; a great number of books, the works of Aristotle and Plato, books of theology, and many others, were sold for one gold coin; the gold and silver which adorned the beautifully bound Gospels was torn off, and the Gospels themselves were either sold or thrown away; all the holy images were burnt, and the Turks ate meat boiled on the fire.[225] Nevertheless, some scholars, for example Th. Uspensky, believe that "the Turks in 1453 acted with more mildness and humanity than the crusaders who had seized Constantinople in 1204."[226]

A popular Christian tradition relates that at the moment of the appearance of the Turks in St. Sophia the liturgy was being celebrated; when the priest who held the holy sacrament saw the Muslims rush into the church, the altar wall miraculously opened before him and he entered it and disappeared; when Constantinople passes again into the hands of the Christians, the priest will come out from the wall and continue the liturgy.

About sixty years ago the local guides used to show tourists, in one of the remote places of Stamboul, a tomb purporting to be that of the last Byzantine Emperor, over which a simple oil lamp was burning. But of course this nameless tomb is not really that of Constantine; his burial place is unknown. In 1895 E. A. Grosvenor wrote, "Today, in the quarter of Abou Vefa in Stamboul, may be seen a lowly, nameless grave which the humble Greeks revere as that of Constantine. Timid devotion has strewn around it a few rustic ornaments. Candles were kept burning night and day at its side. Till eight years ago it

[225] Michael Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, XLII; Bonn ed., 312.

[226] "The Start and Development of the Eastern Problem," *Transactions of the Slavonic Charitable Society*, III (1886), 251.

was frequented, though secretly, as a place of prayer. Then the Ottoman Government interposed with severe penalties, and it has since been almost deserted. All this is but in keeping with the tales which delight the credulous or devout."[227]

It has usually been said that two days after the fall of Constantinople a western relief fleet arrived in the Archipelago, and learning the tidings of the fall of the city immediately sailed back again. On the basis of some new evidence, at the present time this fact is denied: neither papal vessels nor Genoese nor Aragonese sailed to the East in support of Constantinople.[228]

In 1456 Muhammed conquered Athens from the Franks;[229] shortly after all Greece with the Peloponnesus submitted to him. The ancient Parthenon, in the Middle Ages the church of the Holy Virgin, was, on the sultan's order, turned into a mosque. In 1461 the far-off Trebizond, capital of the once independent Empire, passed into the hands of the Turks. At the same time they took possession of the remnants of the Despotat of Epirus. The orthodox Byzantine Empire ceased to exist, and on its site the Muhammedan Ottoman (Othman) Empire was established and grew. Its capital was transferred from Hadrianople to Constantinople, which was called by the Turks Istamboul (Stamboul).[230]

Ducas, imitating the "lamentation" of Nicetas Acominatus after the sack of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204, bewailed the event of 1453. He began his lamentation:

> O, city, city, head of all cities! O, city, city, center of the four quarters of the world! O, city, city, pride of the Christians and ruin of the barbarians! O, city, city, second paradise planted in the West, including all sorts of plants bending under the burden of spiritual fruits! Where is thy beauty, O, paradise? Where is the blessed strength of spirit and body of thy spiritual Graces? Where are the bodies of the Apostles of my Lord? . . . Where are the relics of the saints, where are the relics of the martyrs? Where is the corpse of the great Constantine and other Emperors. . . .[231]

Another contemporary, the Polish historian Jan Dlugosz, wrote in his *History of Poland:*

[227] *Constantinople,* I, 47.

[228] See G. B. Picotti, "Sulle navi papali in Oriente al tempo della caduta di Costantinopoli," *Nuovo Archivio Veneto,* N.S. XXII (1911), 416, 436.

[229] This is the correct date. Sometimes the year 1458 is given. See, e.g., Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen,* II, 381.

[230] The Arabian geographer al-Masudi, of the tenth century, said that the Greeks in his day spoke of their capital as Bulin (i.e. the Greek word Polin), also as Istan-Bulin (Greek στὴν πόλιν, *stinpolin*), and did not use the name of Constantinople. See G. LeStrange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate,* 138, n. A. Andreadès, "De la population de Constantinople sous les empereurs byzantins," *Metron,* I (1920), 69, n. 2. Thus Istamboul (Stamboul) is the Greek *stinpolin,* "to the city."

[231] *Historia byzantina,* XLI; Bonn ed., 306. See nine texts, six in prose and three in verse, of different Monodies and Laments on the fall of Constantinople in S. Lampros, "Μονῳδίαι καὶ θρῆνοι ἐπὶ τῇ ἁλώσει τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως," Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, V (1908), 190–269.

> This Constantinopolitan defeat, both miserable and deplorable, was the enormous victory of the Turks, the extreme ruin of the Greeks, the infamy of the Latins; through it the Catholic faith was wounded, religion confused, the name of Christ reviled and oppressed. One of the two eyes of Christianity was plucked out; one of the two hands was amputated, since the libraries were burnt down and the doctrines of Greek literature destroyed, without which no one considers himself a learned man.[232]

A far-off Georgian chronicler remarked piously, "On the day when the Turks took Constantinople, the sun was darkened."[233]

The fall of Constantinople made a terrible impression upon western Europe, which first of all was seized with dismay at the thought of the future advances of the Turks. Moreover, the ruin of one of the chief centers of Christianity, schismatic though it was from the point of view of the Catholic Church, could not fail to arouse among the faithful of the West anger, horror, and zeal to repair the situation. Popes, sovereigns, bishops, princes, and knights left many epistles and letters portraying the whole horror of the situation and appealing for a crusade against victorious Islam and its representative, Muhammed II, this "precursor of Antichrist and second Sennacherib."[234] In many letters the ruin of Constantinople was lamented as that of a center of culture. In his appeal to Pope Nicholas V the western emperor, Frederick III, calling the fall of Constantinople "a general disaster to the Christian faith," wrote that Constantinople was "a real abode [*velut domicilium proprium*] of literature and studies of all humanity."[235] Cardinal Bessarion, mourning the fall of the city, called it "a school of the best arts" (*gymnasium optimarum artium*).[236] The famous Enea Silvio Piccolomini, the future Pope Pius II, calling to mind numberless books in Byzantium which were still unknown to the Latins, styled the Turkish conquest of the city the second death of Homer and Plato.[237] Some writers named the Turks Teucrians (Teucri), considering them the descendants of the old Trojans, and warned Europe of the sultan's plans to attack Italy, which allured him "by its wealth and by the tombs of his Trojan ancestors."[238] On one hand, various epistles of the fifth decade of the fifteenth century said that "the Sultan, like Julian the Apostate, will be finally forced to recognize the victory of Christ"; that Christianity, doubtless, is strong enough to have no fear of the Turks; that "a strong expedition [*valida expeditio*]" will be ready and the Christians will be able to defeat the Turks and "drive them out of Europe (*fugare extra Europam*)." But, on the

[232] The Latin text of Dlugosz is reproduced by O. Halecki, "La Pologne et l'Empire Byzantin," *Byzantion,* VII (1932), 65.

[233] See M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie,* I, 683.

[234] See G. Voigt, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini,* II, 95.

[235] Baronii *Annales ecclesiastici,* ed. A. Theiner, XXVIII, 598.

[236] See Iorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs,* II, 41.

[237] Voigt, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini,* II, 94.

[238] Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades,* IV, 74.

other hand, some epistles anticipated the great difficulties in the coming struggle with the Turks and the chief cause of these difficulties—the discord among the Christians themselves, "a spectacle which inspires the Sultan with courage."[239] Enea Silvio Piccolomini gave in one of his letters an excellent and true picture of the Christian interrelations in the West at that time. He wrote:

> I do not hope for what I want. Christianity has no longer a head: neither Pope nor Emperor is adequately esteemed or obeyed; they are treated as fictitious names and painted figures. Each city has a king of its own; there are as many princes as houses. How might one persuade the numberless Christian rulers to take up arms? Look upon Christianity! Italy, you say, is pacified. I do not know to what extent. The remains of war still exist between the King of Aragon and the Genoese. The Genoese will not fight the Turks: they are said to pay tribute to them! The Venetians have made a treaty with the Turks. If the Italians do not take part, we cannot hope for maritime war. In Spain, as you know, there are many kings of different power, different policy, different will, and different ideas; but these sovereigns who live in the far West can not be attracted to the East, especially when they are fighting with the Moors of Granada. The King of France has expelled his enemy from his kingdom; but he is still in trouble, and will not dare to send his knights beyond the borders of his kingdom for fear of a sudden landing of the English. As far as the English are concerned, they think only of taking revenge for their expulsion from France. Scotch, Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, who live at the end of the world, seek nothing beyond their countries. The Germans are greatly divided and have nothing to unify them.[240]

Neither the appeals of popes and sovereigns, nor the lofty impulse of individuals and groups, nor the consciousness of common danger before the Ottoman menace could weld disunited western Europe for the struggle with Islam. The Turks continued to advance, and at the end of the seventeenth century they threatened Vienna. That was the climax of the might of the Ottoman Empire. They were turned back from Europe, but Constantinople, it is well known, even today is in the hands of the Turks.

ECCLESIASTICAL PROBLEMS UNDER THE PALAEOLOGI

The ecclesiastical history of the time of the Palaeologi is extremely interesting both from the point of view of the relations between the Greek Eastern church and the papal throne, and from the point of view of the religious movements in the internal life of the Empire. The relations with Rome, which took the form of attempts to achieve union with the Catholic church, were, except the Union of Lyons, closely connected with the ever-growing Turkish danger, for in the opinion of the Byzantine Emperor this danger could be prevented

[239] *Ibid.*, 64, 76, 82, 84, 90.

[240] Voigt, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini*, II, 118–19.

only by the intervention of the pope and the western European sovereigns. The readiness of the pope to favor the proposition of the eastern monarch very often depended upon international conditions in the West.

The Union of Lyons.—The popes of the second half of the thirteenth century, in their eastern policy wished no repetition of the Fourth Crusade, which had failed to solve the extremely important problem of the Greek schism, and merely had served to postpone the other important question of a crusade to the Holy Land. Now it seemed desirable to the popes to achieve a peaceful union with the Greeks, which would put an end to the old schism and give grounds to hope for the liberation of Jerusalem. The recapture of Constantinople by the Greeks in 1261 was a heavy blow to the pope. Papal appeals to save what the Latins had accomplished in the East were sent to many sovereigns. But the papal attitude depended upon affairs in Italy: the popes, for example, did not wish to act with the Hohenstaufen Manfred, whom they hated. Yet when Manfred's power in southern Italy was destroyed by Charles of Anjou, though the latter had been invited by the pope, his aggressive policy against Byzantium found no favor with the papacy. The popes realized that the power of Charles, increased by the conquest of Byzantium, would be hardly less dangerous to the world position of the papacy than the Hohenstaufen sway in Byzantium. It is interesting to note that the first union at Lyons under Michael Palaeologus was achieved not under the pressure of the eastern Turkish danger, but under the menace of the aggressive policy of Charles of Anjou.

Since the Comneni, the attitude of the eastern Emperor towards the union had greatly changed. Under the Comneni, especially in the epoch of Manuel, the emperor had sought for union not only under pressure of the external Turkish danger but also in the hope, already merely an illusion, that with the aid of the pope he might gain supreme power over the West, i.e. restore the former Roman Empire. This aspiration clashed with the similar aspiration of the popes to attain supreme temporal power over the West, so that no union took place. The first Palaeologus, in his negotiations for union, had much more modest pretensions. He had in mind not the expansion of the Byzantine Empire in the West, but its defense, with the help of the pope, against the West in the person of the powerful and menacing Charles of Anjou. The papal curia met his proposals favorably, realizing that the ecclesiastical submission of Byzantium to Rome would bring about a political submission also even if the Sicilian danger were averted. But the possibility of such an increase of the temporal power of the pope met with definite resistance from western European rulers. In his turn, on his way to the reconciliation with the Roman church, the eastern Emperor met with stubborn opposition among the Greek clergy who, in an overwhelming majority, remained faithful to Greek Ortho-

doxy. The historian Norden said that Pope Gregory X "influenced the King of Sicily with spiritual reasons, Palaeologus his prelates with political arguments."[241]

One of the prominent representatives of the Greek church, the future patriarch John Beccus (Veccus), "a wise man, master of eloquence and science,"[242] according to Gregoras, had been opposed to union and was therefore imprisoned. During his confinement he became a partisan of the union and an active supporter of the Emperor in his project of reconciliation with Rome, an event of great importance for Michael's aim.

The council was held in 1274 in the French city of Lyons. Michael sent a solemn embassy headed by the former patriarch Germanus and the historian George Acropolitas, the grand logothete and the Emperor's friend. It was intended that Thomas Aquinas, the most famous representative of medieval Catholic scholarship, should take the leading part at the council on behalf of Rome, but he died on his way to Lyons. His place was taken by the no less brilliant Cardinal Bonaventura. A Mongol bishop also attended the council.[243] The author of the *Vita* of Saint Bonaventura, Petrus Galesinius (Pietro Galesino) in the sixteenth century, and some other writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries asserted that at the invitation of the pope Emperor Michael Palaeologus himself went to Lyons to attend the council. But this error was caught and refuted by Leo Allatius in the seventeenth century.[244]

The Union of Lyons was achieved on condition that the Emperor should recognize *filioque, azyme* (unleavened bread), and the supreme authority of the pope; to all these stipulations, in the name of Michael, George Acropolitas took oath.[245] Michael also expressed to the pope his readiness to support by troops, money, and provisions the proposed joint crusade for the liberation of the Holy Land, but he stipulated that peace be established with Charles of Anjou so that the Emperor, in diverting all his forces to the East, need not fear attack from the West.[246]

[241] Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, 505.

[242] *Historia*, V, 2, 5; Bonn ed., I, 128.

[243] L. Bouvat, *L'Empire Mongol*, 1.

[244] On Michael's journey to Lyons see, e.g., Theodore Spandugino, patritio Constantinopolitano (died after 1538), "De la origine deli imperatori Ottomani," in Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce*, IX, 143. *Chronicon Carionis a Casparo Peucero expositi et aucti*, V, part 3, 874–75. There are also several old editions of this chronicle. Also Flavius Blondus (Biondo), who died in 1463. On the refutation of this story see Leo Allatius, *De ecclesiae occidentalis atque orientalis perpetua consensione*, II, chap. XV, 753. Allatius quoted several other names.

[245] See the profession of faith read at the Council on behalf of Michael Palaeologus, in the very interesting article by F. Vernet, "Le IIe concile oecumenique de Lyon, 7 mai–17 juillet, 1274," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, IX, 1384–86. See also V. Grumel, "Le IIe concile de Lyon et la réunion de l'église grecque," *ibid.*, 1391–1410. Both articles afford information on the sources and literature of the Union of Lyons. See also Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, 520–615.

[246] On the Union of Lyons there is an old Russian work, accurate but written strictly from the Greek Orthodox point of view: Vladimir Nikolsky, "The Union of Lyons. An Episode from Medieval Church History, 1261–1293," *Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie*, XXIII (1867), 5–23, 116–44, 352–78; XXIV (1867), 11–33. According to Nikolsky, "the union was a heavy burden, a shameful spot on Michael Palaeologus' conscience. Of course it collapsed, covering its builder with infamy and leaving behind it piles of hideous rubbish—those fatal consequences which his successors were destined to suffer" (XXIII, 377–78).

[247] V. Grumel, "En Orient après le IIe concile de Lyon," *Échos d'Orient*, XXIV (1925), 321–22. See G. Rouillard, "La Pôlitique de Michel VIII Paléologue à l'égard des monastères," *Études byzantines*, I (1944), 73–84. Michael VIII and the monasteries of Mount Athos.

[248] See V. Grumel, "Les Ambassades pontificales à Byzance après le IIe concile de Lyon (1274–1280)," *Échos d'Orient*, XXIII (1924), 446–47; in this article there are some important corrections of the chronology given by W. Norden. Cf. M. Viller, "La Question de l'union des églises entres Grecs et Latins depuis le concile de Lyon jusqu'à celui de Florence (1274–1438)," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XVI (1921), 261.

[249] Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia*, VI, 1, 7; Bonn ed., I, 165. George Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, IV, 12; Bonn ed., I, 280.

[250] *Historical Essays on the Situation of the Byzantine-Eastern Church* (2nd ed., 1902), 296–97.

Neither side was pleased with the results of the union. As was to be expected, Michael met with stubborn resistance among the great majority of the Greek clergy. An antiunion council against Michael Palaeologus and John Beccus was held in Thessaly.[247] Moreover, the idea of a crusade could not be agreeable to the Emperor, who was unable to forget the warning of the Fourth Crusade. There was the additional difficulty that Michael Palaeologus was on good terms with the sultan of Egypt, the sworn enemy of the Latins of Syria.

From 1274 to 1280, five papal embassies came to Constantinople in order to confirm the union.[248] But in 1281 the new pope, the Frenchman Martin IV, whom Charles of Anjou set upon the papal throne, broke the union and gave entire support to Charles' aggressive plans against Byzantium. But Michael regarded himself as formally bound by the Union of Lyons to the day of his death.

The Arsenites.—Besides the question of union Byzantium was agitated during the reign of Michael by the struggle of religious-political parties, the most important of which was concerned with the so-called Arsenites.

Beginning with the twelfth century, there were two irreconcilably opposing parties in the Byzantine church which were struggling for influence and power in ecclesiastical administration. One of those parties is called in Byzantine sources the "zealots" (ζηλωταί), the other the "politicians" (πολιτικοί) or moderates;[249] church historian A. Lebedev styled this party "by the modern French parliamentary term of *opportunists*."[250]

The zealots, champions of the freedom and independence of the church, were opposed to state interference in church affairs, a point of view which brought them into continual collision with the emperor. In this respect the zealots' ideas resembled those of the famous Theodore of Studion who in the ninth century openly spoke and wrote against imperial interference with

church affairs. The zealots would not make any concession to the imperial power; they wished to submit the Emperor to severe ecclesiastical discipline, and were fearless of any collision with the government or society that might arise from their ideas. Accordingly, they became involved at various times in political troubles and disorders and gained the reputation of a party political as well as ecclesiastical. They could not boast of much education and took no care to have an educated clergy, but they faithfully observed the rules of strict morality and austerity. In the struggle with their opponents they were often supported by the monks, and in the moments of their triumph they opened to the monks the way to power and activity. A historian of that time, Gregoras, noted that one patriarch "could not even read correctly."[251] Describing the spirit prevailing among the monks when a zealot became patriarch the same historian wrote: "It seemed to these malignant monks that after storm and troubles calm had come, and after winter, spring."[252] Strict supporters of Orthodoxy, the zealots were stubbornly opposed to Michael's inclination to the union, and they had great influence with the mass of the people.

The politicians or moderates were directly opposed to the zealots. They stood for state support of the church and co-operation between church and state; accordingly they did not object to the exerting of state influence on the church. They believed that a strong temporal power unrestrained by external interference was essential for the well-being of a nation; therefore they were ready to make considerable concessions to the imperial power. They followed the so-called theory of "economy," which stated that the church in its relation to the state should accommodate itself to circumstances; to justify the theory of economy the politicians usually referred to the life of the Apostles and the Holy Fathers. Recognizing the importance of education, they tried to fill the ecclesiastical offices with cultured and educated men. As they interpreted the rules of strict morality rather liberally and lacked sympathy with severe asceticism, the politicians sought support not among the monks, but among the secular clergy and the educated classes of society.

Naturally, the activities of both parties greatly differed. The Russian church historian A. Lebedev, said: "When the politicians were acting on the church stage, they put their theories into effect smoothly and with comparative peace; on the contrary, when the zealots had the reins of government, relying upon so changeable an element in Byzantium as the monks and, to some degree, the mob, they always acted noisily, often stormily, and sometimes even seditiously."[253] The majority of the politicians were in favor of the Union of Lyons, giving their support to the religious policy of Michael Palaeologus.

The struggles between the zealots and politicians, the origin of which some

[251] *Historia*, VIII, 12, 1; Bonn ed., I, 360.
[252] *Ibid.*, VI, 7, 4; Bonn ed., 193.
[253] *Essays on the Byzantine-Eastern Church*, 298.

scholars trace back to the epoch of iconoclasm and the disputes between the Ignatians and Photians in the ninth century, were felt, of course, by the people and aroused great agitation. Sometimes matters came to such a pass that one house and one family held representatives of both parties; a historian of that time said: "The church schism has reached such a point that it separates the dwellers of one house: father is opposed to son, mother to daughter, sister-in-law to mother-in-law."[254]

Under Michael Palaeologus the zealots, or, as they were sometimes called at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, the Arsenites, displayed intensive activity. The word Arsenite comes from the name of Patriarch Arsenius, who twice mounted the patriarchal throne, the first time at Nicaea, the second time at Constantinople after the restoration of the Empire. A man of little scholarship, Arsenius was chosen patriarch by the Emperor of Nicaea, Theodore II Lascaris, who hoped that Arsenius, exalted beyond his merits, would be a mere tool in the Emperor's hands. But Theodore's expectations were not fulfilled. The administration of Arsenius was marked by severe collisions with the Emperor and led to the formation first of the party and then of the schism of the "Arsenites," which agitated the Greek church for several decades. Arsenius did not hesitate to excommunicate Michael Palaeologus, who, contrary to his oath, had dethroned and blinded the unfortunate John IV Lascaris, the last Emperor of Nicaea. The infuriated Emperor deposed Arsenius and sent him into exile, where he died. Arsenius considered his deposition and the ordination of the new patriarchs of Constantinople misdeeds which were bringing about the ruin of the church. Arsenius' ideas roused the people and found not a few partisans among both clergy and laymen. The result was the formation of the schism of the "Arsenites," who chose as their motto a sentence of the Apostle Paul: "Touch not; . . . handle not" (Coloss., 2:21), i.e. touch not those whom Arsenius has condemned. Eager guardians of Eastern Orthodoxy, the Arsenites are distinguished from the zealots only by their position in regard to the Patriarch Arsenius.

The Arsenites gained strong support from the people, among whom they sent secret agents, pilgrims and vagrants, called by the populace "godly men" and by a historian, Pachymeres, "wearers of sackcloth" (σακκοφόροι),[255] who made their way into many families and sowed there the seeds of schism. A Russian church historian, J. E. Troizky, described the situation as follows:

> There was in the Byzantine Empire a force, dark and unrecognized. It was a strange force. It had no name, and revealed itself only in moments of emergency. It was complicated, intricate, and of doubtful origin and character. It consisted of the most

[254] George Pachymeres, *De Michaele Palaeologo*, IV, 28; Bonn ed., I, 314.
[255] *Ibid.*, IV, 11; Bonn ed., I, 277.

manifold elements. Its members were beggars, "wearers of sackcloth," pilgrims, simpletons, obscure wanderers, madmen, and other disreputable people—men of unknown origin, without settled homes. For various reasons they were joined by disgraced dignitaries, deposed bishops, interdicted priests, monks expelled from their monasteries, and sometimes even by dishonored members of the imperial family. The spirit of this party was determined by its origin and composition. Created by abnormal social conditions, it offered a secret opposition, in general passive but effective, to these conditions and to the power responsible for them, that is, the imperial power. This opposition was usually expressed by spreading rumors which more or less compromised persons in government authority. This force seldom ventured openly to provoke political punishment, but it often seriously affected the government, whose fear was the greater, because, on the one hand, the secret activity was very difficult to trace, and, on the other hand, it had a great effect on the social organization. The people, miserable, depressed, and ignorant, and therefore credulous and superstitious, constantly persecuted both by external enemies and state officials, burdened with exorbitant taxes, and crushed under the pressure of the privileged classes and foreign merchant monopolists—the people were very easily influenced by the insinuations coming from the out-of-the-way places where lived the representatives of the secret force. This was the more true because the force, formed from the people and subject to the conditions under which they lived, had the secret of playing upon their feelings at the decisive moment. The populace of the capital itself was particularly affected by these insinuations. . . . This force in its opposition to the government used different slogans; but its opposition was particularly dangerous to the head of the state, when upon its banner was exhibited the magic word "Orthodoxy."[256]

Under Michael Palaeologus the partisans of the blinded ex-Emperor John Lascaris joined the Arsenites.

The government of Michael Palaeologus resorted to measures of compulsion and severity and the Arsenites were forced to flee from the capital, where their activity had been almost exclusively concentrated. The provinces were now open to their propaganda, and the provincial population, in huge crowds, thronged to listen to their inflammatory speeches condemning the Emperor and exalting the deposed patriarch. Arsenius' death failed to put an end to the schism, and the struggle continued. As J. Troizky said, the struggle of the parties under Michael, "by its feverish animation and unscrupulousness, reminds us of the stormiest times of the heresy struggles in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries."[257]

The Union of Lyons changed in many respects the position of the Arsenite party. The question of union presented a broader interest, for it touched the main foundation of the Greek church—Orthodoxy. The Arsenites with their narrow interests and biased speculations were pushed temporarily into the

[256] *Arsenius and the Arsenites*, 99–101. See also I. Sykutres, "Περὶ τὸ σχίσμα τῶν Ἀρσενιτῶν," Ἑλληνικά, II (1929), 267–332; III (1930), 15–44. The author said that the book of the Russian theologian Ivan Troizky, was absolutely inaccessible to him (II, 269).

[257] Troizky, 178.

background; the attention of the government and people was turned almost exclusively to the problem of the union. This fact explains the almost complete silence of the sources upon the activity of the Arsenites from the time of the Union of Lyons to the death of Michael VIII. There is a rather hazy indication that in 1278 an Arsenite council was held in Thessaly or Epirus; its chief aim was to secure the triumph of the Arsenite cause and to glorify Arsenius' memory.[258]

Feeling this stubborn opposition, open and secret, to his plans for union, Michael behaved with great cruelty in the last years of his reign.

His successor and son Andronicus II inherited from his father two difficult problems in the ecclesiastical life of the Empire: the union, and the strife between the Arsenites and the official church. First of all, the new Emperor solemnly renounced the union and restored Orthodoxy. A historian of that time wrote: "Envoys were sent everywhere carrying the imperial decrees which announced the settlement of the church disorders, free return to all those who had been exiled for their zeal in church affairs, and an amnesty to those who had suffered in any other way."[259] The carrying out of this measure presented no great difficulties, because the great majority of the Eastern clergy and population was opposed to the union with the Roman church. The Union of Lyons lasted formally for eight years (1274–82).

The abolition of the union meant the triumph of the ideas of the zealots and Arsenites, who were the convinced enemies of union, the "uniates," and of everything Latin. But the Arsenites were not satisfied. They took part on the side of Lascaris in a political plot against the Emperor, hoping, in the case of success, to obtain exclusive influence in the state. But the conspiracy was disclosed in time and put down; thereafter the Arsenite schism gradually disappeared and did not survive Andronicus the Elder, who, in spite of many troubles from the Arsenites, finally consented to their solemn reconciliation with the church. After the reconciliation, a few of the schismatic Arsenites "seceded from the agreement and began to live apart in schism again";[260] but J. Troizky, said this was "the last convulsion before the death of the out-of-date movement, which at that time found no support anywhere, and soon disappeared, leaving no trace, along with its last followers, giving place to new civil and ecclesiastical troubles."[261]

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, in connection with the abolition of the union and triumph of the Orthodox policy, the party of the zealots, who placed their reliance upon the monks and monastic ideals, increased in power.

[258] See Grumel, "En Orient après le IIe concile de Lyon," *Échos d'Orient*, XXIV (1925), 324–25.

[259] Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia*, VI, 1, 2; Bonn ed., I, 160.

[260] *Ibid.*, VII, 9, 4; Bonn ed., I, 262.

[261] *Arsenius and the Arsenites*, 445.

In the fourteenth century they showed vigorous activity not limited to church problems, but extended to politics and social movements. For example, the zealots took an active part in the troubles of Thessalonica in the fourteenth century, pursuing some political aims which have not yet been satisfactorily elucidated, and they sided with Emperor John V Palaeologus against Cantacuzene; for this reason Iorga called the zealots "legitimists."[262] An interesting attempt to expound the political ideology of the zealots, on the basis of an unpublished oration of the famous Byzantine mystic Nicholas Cabasilas has been recently made by the Roumanian scholar Tafrali.[263]

In the first half of the fourteenth century the zealots and monks gradually got the upper hand of the secular clergy. This movement ended in the com-exclusively occupied by monks, and the patriarchal throne of Constantinople in the epoch of the so-called Hesychast controversies. This period saw the last patriarch elected from the state officials and the last patriarch elected from the secular clergy. "From this time on the highest posts in the hierarchy are exclusively occupied by monks, and the patriarchal throne of Constantinople becomes for a long time the property of the representatives of Mt. Athos."[264]

Under Andronicus II the Elder an important change in the administration of Athos took place. At the end of the eleventh century Alexius Comnenus had freed Athos from submission to any outside ecclesiastical or civil power and placed the monasteries of Athos under the control of the Emperor alone. He ordained the *protos,* that is to say, the head of the council of abbots (igumens), to whom the administration of the monasteries was entrusted. Andronicus the Elder renounced direct power over Mount Athos and handed the monasteries over to the patriarch of Constantinople, who was to ordain the *protos*. In the imperial charter (*chrysobull*) granted on this occasion, the *protos* of Mount Athos, this "second paradise or starry heaven or refuge of all virtues," was to be "under the great spiritual power of the Patriarch."[265]

With the name of Andronicus the Elder is connected the last important reform of the ecclesiastical organization in the history of Byzantium, a new distribution of the eparchies in accordance with the reduced territory of the Empire. In spite of some changes under the Comneni and Angeli, the distribution of the eparchies and episcopal sees at the end of the thirteenth century corresponded nominally to the distribution usually ascribed to Leo the Wise in about 900. But in the thirteenth century circumstances completely changed. The territory of the Empire was reduced: Asia Minor was almost entirely lost; in Europe, the Slavonic and Latin states occupied the major part of the land

[262] "Latins et Grecs d'Orient," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* XV (1906), 185. We shall discuss later the troubles of Thessalonica.

[263] *Thessalonique au quatorzième siècle,* 225–72.

[264] Troizky, *Arsenius and the Arsenites,* 522.

[265] P. Uspensky, *The Christian Orient,* III (2), 140, 141, 144, 633, 651. P. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster,* 191, 193.

which had belonged before to the Empire. Nevertheless "the list of the metropoles submitted to the Apostolic and Patriarchal throne of the city protected by God, Constantinople,"[266] which was drawn up under Andronicus the Elder, entirely disregards the modest extent of the territory of the Empire: the list enumerates a long line of cities in foreign regions and lands, which in ecclesiastical respects were subject to the patriarch of Constantinople. Of the more distant points indicated in this list one may notice several metropoles in the Caucasian regions, in the Crimea, Russia, Galich, and Lithuania. The distribution of the metropoles under Andronicus the Elder is also important, because with some changes which were introduced later, it is still in force in Constantinople. "The list at present in force of the metropoles of the Oecumenical throne," wrote a Russian specialist in the field of the Christian East, J. Sokolov, "goes back to ancient times and in one part is a direct and undoubted continuation from the Byzantine epoch."[267]

The Hesychast movement.—In the first half of the fourteenth century the interesting Hesychast movement, mystical and religious, made its appearance in Byzantium and gave rise to eager controversies and vigorous polemic. Hesychasts (Greek word ἡσυχασταί), i.e. "those who live in quiet," or quietists, was the name given to the men whose goal was indivisible and full unity with God, and who chose as the only way to its attainment complete seclusion from the world, *hesychia* (ἡσυχία) which meant "silence, speechlessness."

The quarrel of the Hesychasts, which greatly disturbed the inner life of the state, originated in the troubled and complicated period when the Empire was struggling for its existence, first against invasion by the Turks and later the Serbs, and second, against severe internal troubles arising from the stubborn conflict of the two Andronicoi, grandfather and grandson, and of John Palaeologus and John Cantacuzene. Only a short time had elapsed since the schism of the Arsenites, which had greatly disturbed church and state affairs.

A Greek monk, Barlaam, who arrived from south Italy (Calabria), began the quarrel. He distorted and ridiculed the Hesychast doctrine prevalent chiefly in the Athonian monasteries, which was communicated erroneously to him by an uneducated Byzantine monk. A report presented to the patriarch contains these lines: "Until the most recent time we had lived in peace and stillness, receiving the word of faith and piety with confidence and cordial simplicity, when, through the envy of the devil and insolence of his own mind a certain Barlaam was raised against the Hesychasts who, in the simplicity of their heart, live a life pure and near to God."[268] Athos, which had always

[266] See H. Gelzer, *Ungedruckte und ungenügend veröffentlichte Texte der Notitae Episcopatuum. Ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Kirchen- und Verwaltungsgeschichte,* 595, 597, 599–600, 605.

[267] *The Eparchies of the Constantinopolitan Church of the Present Time,* 66.

[268] Th. I. Uspensky, *Essays on the History of Byzantine Civilization,* 327. The best accounts of the Hesychast doctrine are The Monk

been the guardian of the purity of Eastern Orthodoxy and monastic ideals, was painfully affected by this quarrel and, of course, took a leading part in its development and solution.

Scholars consider this quarrel a very important event of the fourteenth century. The German Byzantinist Gelzer rather exaggerated when he said this ecclesiastical struggle "belongs to the most remarkable and, in its cultural and historical aspect, the most interesting phenomena of all times."[269] Another scholar, the more recent investigator of the problem, a Greek who received his education in Russia, Papamichael, considered the Hesychast movement the most important cultural phenomenon of the epoch, deserving attentive study.[270] Scholars vary greatly concerning the inner conception of the Hesychast movement. Troizky saw in this movement the continuation of the struggle between the zealots and the politicians,[271] or, in other words, the monks and the secular clergy, a struggle which, during the Hesychast quarrel, ended in complete triumph for the monks. Th. Uspensky came to the conclusion that the Hesychast quarrel was a conflict between two philosophical schools, the Aristotelian, whose doctrines had been adopted by the Eastern church, and the Platonic, whose followers were anathematized by the Church. Later the conflict was transferred into the theological sphere. The historical significance of the chief spokesmen for the Hesychast doctrine comes from the fact that they were not only the spokesmen for the Greek national ideas in the struggle with the West, but, still more important, stood at the head of the monastic movement and had the support of Athos and the monasteries in the Balkan peninsula which depended upon the Holy Mountain.[272] A more recent investigator of this problem, Papamichael, whose book came out in 1911, did not deny that the struggle of the monks (the party of the zealots) with the politicians, and some philosophical speculation, were secondary factors in the movement; but he believed that the correct interpretation of the Hesychast quarrel lies primarily in the purely religious domain. On the one hand it is found in that intense mysticism prevalent at that time, not only in the West but also in the East, especially in Athos; on the other hand, in the attempt of the western Greek monk Barlaam to Latinize the Orthodox Byzantine East,

Vasiliy (Krivoshein), "The Ascetic and Theological Doctrine of St. Gregorius Patamas," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VIII (1936), 99–151, and Archimandrite Cyprian, *The Anthropology of Saint Gregory Palamas* (Paris, s.d. [1951]).

[269] Gelzer, *Abriss der byzantinischen Kaisergeschichte*, 1058.

[270] G. Papamichael, Ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος Παλαμᾶς ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης, 14–15. See the detailed exposition of this work by J. Sokolov in *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, N.S. XLIV (1913), 381. A very fine study of Gregory Palamas and the Palamite controversy by M. Jugie, "Palamas et Controverse palamite," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, XI (2), 1735–1818.

[271] Troizky, *Arsenius and the Arsenites*, 521.

[272] Uspensky, *Byzantine Civilization*, 273, 364, 366.

by rationalistic and sarcastic attacks, which shook monastic authority in Byzantium.[273]

Barlaam's Latin proselyting is not yet satisfactorily proved. Putting that aside, the Hesychast movement, though primarily religious, became still more interesting in connection with the prevailing mysticism in western and eastern Europe, and with some cultural phenomena of the epoch of the Italian renaissance. The study of this aspect of the Hesychast movement belongs to the future.

The most prominent of the Hesychasts in the fourteenth century and the man who best reduced to a system the doctrine of *hesychia* was the archbishop of Thessalonica, Gregorius Palamas, a well-educated man and an able writer, a sworn adversary of Barlaam and the head of the party of the Palamites, named from him. At the same time many other Hesychasts were explaining and interpreting the doctrine of *hesychia*, especially a Byzantine mystic, unfortunately very little known, Nicholas Cabasilas, whose ideas and works deserve careful study.

According to the above-mentioned work of Papamichael and its exposition by J. Sokolov, the Hesychasts devote themselves entirely to the knowledge and contemplation of God, and the attainment of unity with Him, and concentrate all their strength for this purpose. They retire "from the whole world and all that reminds them of the world," and isolate themselves "by means of the concentration and gathering of the mind in themselves." To attain this concentration the Hesychast has to detach himself from all imagination, all conceptions, all thoughts, and free his mind from all knowledge, in order to be able freely, by an absolute independent flight, to merge easily into the truly mystic darkness of ignorance. The highest, most sincere, and most perfect prayer of the perfect Hesychasts is an immediate intercourse with God, in which there exist no thoughts, ideas, images of the present or recollection of the past. This is the highest contemplation—the contemplation of God one and alone, the perfect ecstasy of mind and withdrawal from matter. No thought is more perfect or higher than such a prayer. It is a state of ecstasy, a mystic unity with God, deification (apotheosis; ἡ θέωσις). In this state the mind wholly transcends the limits of matter, frees itself from all thought, requires a complete insensibility to outward impressions and becomes deaf and mute. Not only is the Hesychast entirely cut off from outward impressions, but he also transcends his individuality and loses consciousness of himself, being wholly absorbed in the contemplation of God. Therefore he who has reached ecstasy no longer lives a personal and individual life; his spiritual and corporeal life stops, his mind remains immovable, attached

[273] Papamichael, Ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος Παλαμᾶς ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης, 18. J. Sokolov, in *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, N.S. XLIV (1913), 382.