

The History of Thessaly, 1266-1393

The history and historical geography of medieval Thessaly (Vlachia) is a subject which has recently been established by two monographs, but which both in conception and in detail must still be approached independently and through the primary sources.

Thessaly is an area of transition between the continental Balkans and the Aegean world, both climatically and as an 'antechamber' to central and southern Greece. It is a land of great contrasts: broad, level, and fertile lowlands surrounded by rugged and massive mountains; and a long coast encompassing a large expanse of sheltered water, the Pagasitic Gulf. It thus provides equal opportunities for transhumant nomad pastoralism, for agriculture, and for maritime commerce, and its history may be viewed in terms of an interaction between these three economic occupations, which could give rise to very different kinds of society. In the High and Later medieval periods the differentiation was especially sharp both in degree of social sophistication and in ethnic and political terms.

Maritime commerce was in the hands of the Italian traders, who with the Jews seem to have monopolised the only 'bourgeois' settlement for which there is evidence - Almyros.

As transhumant nomads, only the Vlachs and the Albanians are mentioned. Both groups reached Thessaly as a result of extensive migration, the Vlachs in the Middle Byzantine period and the Albanians in the 14th century. They appear to have been based in the mountains, particularly to the west in the Pindos chain, an extension of the more northerly mountain blocs where most of their races lived. They were generally hostile to the plain-dwellers and

resentful of government control; their migrations seem to have been connected with the expansion of Balkan rivals of the Byzantine empire. However, the transhumants' need for winter pasture in the lowlands gave them an important point of contact with civilised society, which valued their produce and their military potential. The local rulers of the 13th and 14th centuries who most successfully maintained their political independence seem to have cooperated with their Vlach and Albanian subjects.

The agricultural society of the lowland was culturally and politically a part of the Byzantine 'commonwealth', and its settlement-pattern was arranged strictly according to the values of Byzantine civilisation. Towns were units in a military and ecclesiastical administrative network; sited with a view to defence, and important relative to one another by virtue of the opportunities they afforded for control from Constantinople and Thessalonica. When local Byzantine administration was permanently upset in 1204, the towns did not lose their essentially administrative 'raison d'être'; individual cases of rise and fall can usually be explained by the appearance of new dynastic centres in southern and western Greece, invasions, local hostility to Byzantium, and the decline of Byzantine sea-power.

Even when it occupied an ancient site, the medieval Thessalian town was a stronghold (kastron) rather than a city (polis) in the ancient and modern sense, partly because Constantinople was for so long the theatre of local aristocratic ambition, and partly because the standard object of cultural patronage, the monastery, was often by definition a negation of urban values.

The Latin conquest of Constantinople accelerated a process of administrative fragmentation in the western provinces of the empire which was not, except temporarily, arrested until the Turkish conquest. As part of this process, Thessaly became in 1266-8 a de facto political unit. Political independence

was maintained until 1318, when part of Thessaly fell to the Catalan Duchy of Athens, and the Albanians appeared as a permanent threat to security and prosperity. Andronikos III imposed Byzantine rule (1336-41) and Stephen Dušan made Thessaly part of his Serbo-Greek empire (1348-1356). But the only monarchs capable of sustaining an occupation of northern Greece were the Ottoman sultans. Before 1393, 'Vlachia' cannot be thought of as a full province of an empire, and even when its inhabitants did not choose their rulers, they submitted on terms favourable to themselves.

The Thessalian 'state' was founded on the principle of dynastic legitimacy. Its first ruler, John I (1267-1289) came of the Komneno-Doukas family which had organised resistance in the west to the Latin invaders. John was followed by his sons Constantine and Theodore (1289-1303), then by his grandson John II (1303-1318). All four rulers seem to have kept the loyalty of their subjects, despite serious crises and a constant challenge from the Palaiologan emperors. Their dynasty commanded respect because it had distinguished imperial antecedents, and had been established in northern Greece since 1204, if not earlier. John II died childless, but a collateral branch of the dynasty survived after a fashion in Epiros and gave rise to four princes who held both Epiros and Thessaly for short periods of time. John Orsini (1333-6), Nikephoros II (1356-9), Symeon Uroš (1359-71), and John Uroš (1371-2).

The rulers of the empire of Nicaea and of the restored empire of Constantinople solved the problem of Byzantine unity to their own theoretical satisfaction by bestowing upon the Komneno-Doukas dynasts of Epiros and Thessaly the titles of despot and sebastokrator. Although it is a mistake to think of these titles as creating hereditary 'despotates' or 'sebastocratorates', they came to represent an accord between the Komneno-Doukai and the emperor based on the latter's inability to assert effective jurisdiction

in Epiros and Thessaly. Most of the independent rulers of Thessaly in the 14th century also bore one of these titles or the third 'imperial' dignity of caesar (only Symeon and John Uroš proclaimed themselves emperor). There was an element of vassalage in the arrangement, but both sides had difficulty in making it work. The Komneno-Doukai half thought of themselves as imperial rivals, and the emperors Michael VIII and Andronikos II Palaiologos considered that the recovery of Constantinople gave them the right to demand Thessaly by force. This led John I and his sons to form marriage ties with the Latin Duchy of Athens and to ally with the Angevin kingdom of Naples, in return for military aid and perhaps also in the hope that vassal status under a Latin monarchy might give their dynasty constitutional security. But reaction against the Latins set in after 1303, when duke Guy II of Athens was regent for John II and when his successor, Walter of Brienne, hired the Catalan Company to conquer Thessaly. John II then came to terms with Andronikos II, marrying his daughter and receiving the title of despot.

Thessaly had a long tradition of military organisation, which John I greatly developed in his hostilities with Byzantium, thus giving local institutions a markedly feudal character. The Thessalian cavalry played an important part in the civil war of 1342-7, but seems to have been dissolved by Stephen Dušan. Besides, the frequent changes of ruler and the insecurity of their regimes allowed the laity to demand a reduction in military obligations. By contrast, local monasteries prospered in the 14th century, sometimes at the expense of the military establishment, and the local church obtained stable, effective leadership; conflicts between 'church' and 'state' were not infrequent. Local disorders led to the isolation of individual kastra, even within the comparatively small 'city-state' of Trikkala, which constituted the permanent core of Thessalian society in the 14th century.

In spite of such dislocations, 'Vlachia' retained a strong sense of corporate existence and organisation. The erosion of the dynastic and military foundations of local independence was compensated by the growing decentralisation of the Byzantine empire. Thessalian administrative, religious, and patronage systems conformed thoroughly to those of the Byzantine world as a whole, but they constituted a microcosm rather than a ramification of the larger organism.

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Thesis submitted to the Board of
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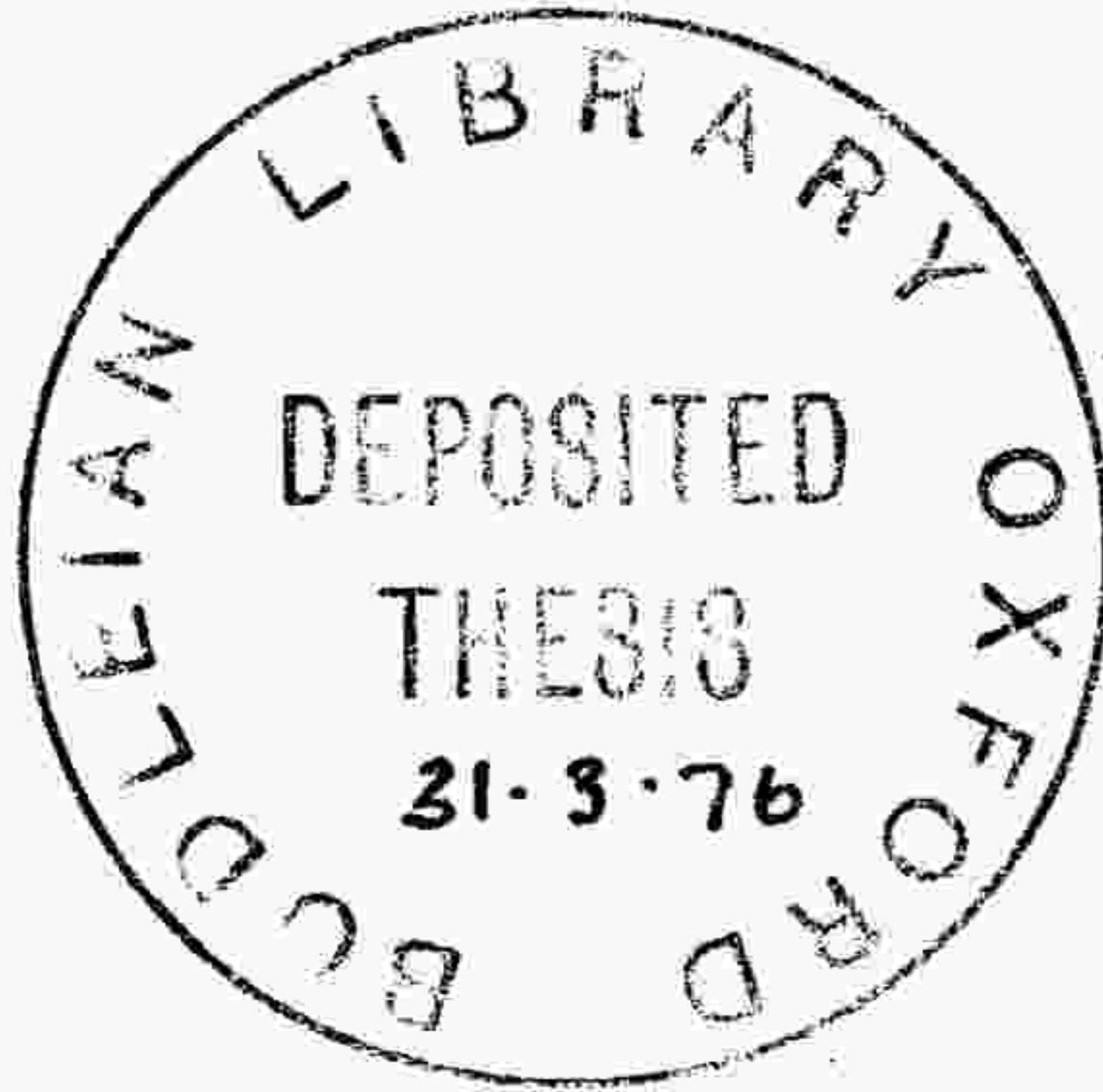


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Note on the transliteration of foreign names.

In general I have tried to render Byzantine proper names and technical terms as literally as possible, except in the case of authors and in that of common place-names whose standard English pronunciation would be altered by the adoption of a Greek as opposed to a Latin spelling. I have also made some concessions to the phonetics of late medieval and modern Greek. It seems needless to 'modernise' the rendering of β , $\mu\pi$, δ , and the iotacised vowels and diphthongs in words whose classical origins, genders and plurals might thus be obscured; on the other hand, to attempt to spell words of non-Greek origin on a phonetic basis is merely to copy the practice of the Byzantines themselves.

Serbian names are latinized according to the conventions of modern Serbo-Croat.

Abbreviations.A. Periodicals.

- Arch. Byz. Mn. Ell. - 'Αρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς
'Ελλάδος (Athens, 1935-).
- Arch. Delt. - 'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον (Athens, 1915-).
- Ath. Ann. Arch. - 'Αρχαιολογικὰ Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
(Athens Annals of Archaeology, 1968-).
- Byz. Neugr. Jahrb. - Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbucher
(Berlin, 1920-5; Athens, 1926-).
- Byz. Zeit. - Byzantinische Zeitschrift (Leipzig/ Munich, 1892-).
- Delt. Chr. Arch. Et. - Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς
Ἑταιρείας (Athens, 1892- : 4 series).
- Delt. Ist. Ethn. Et. - Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς
Ἑταιρείας (Athens, 1883-).
- D.O.P. - Dumbarton Oaks Papers (Cambridge, Mass., 1941-).
- Ell. - 'Ελληνικά (Athens, 1928-).
- Ep. Et. Byz. Sp. - 'Επετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
(Athens, 1924-).
- Ep. Parn. - 'Επετηρίς τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ (Athens, 1896-1917).

- Mak. - Μακεδονικά (Thessaloniki, 1940-).
- Or. Chr. Per. - Orientalia Christiana Periodica (Rome, 1935-).
- Praktika. - Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθηναῖς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας (Athens, 1870-).
- Rev. Et. Byz. - Revue des Etudes Byzantines (Bucharest/Paris, 1946-).
- Viz. Vrem. - Vizantijskij Vremennik (old series, S. Petersburg, 1894-1927; new series, Leningrad, 1947-).
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2: 'Η Μονὴ τῆς Παναγίας καὶ τοῦ 'Αγίου Δημητρίου παρὰ τὸ Τσάγεζι, ibid., v (1928), 349-75.
3: 'Η βασιλικὴ τῆς Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐν Καλαμπάκῃ, vi (1929), 291-315.
4: Αἱ Μοναὶ τῶν Μετεώρων, ibid., ix (1932), 383-415.
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INTRODUCTION

Thessaly was never one of the great cultural or political centres of the ancient world, but it made a seminal if unspectacular contribution to Greek civilisation. Its broad plains have always been rich in grain and horses; the Thessalian nobility was abnormally wealthy by Greek standards, and the Thessalian cavalry was an important contingent in the armies of Agamemnon and Alexander. As an area of transition between the continent and the Aegean, Thessaly accomodated the Greek peoples at an early stage of their formation, and thus became the principal theatre of their religious mytnology. The gods lived on Mount Olympos and the Muses on Parnassos, not far to the south; Cheiron the Centaur lived on Mount Pelion. Asklepios, the god of healing, came from Trikkala. The Argonauts began and ended their voyage in the Pagasitic Gulf; Medea bewitched the land with her poisons, and ever afterwards Thessaly was thought to be a land of the occult. The greatest hero of the Trojan generation, Achilles, was king of a part of southern Thessaly, and it was to this area that the names Achaia and Hellas were first applied.

In Roman and Byzantine times Thessaly continued to be important for its natural resources, and this importance must have grown after 1071, as the eastern empire became more and more resricted to the European provinces. Educated Byzantines, familiar with ancient writers and particularly with Homer and Strabo, liked to see parallels between past and present; Achilles, in particular, caught their romantic fancy.^I Archaising writers found it convenient to call Thessaly by its ancient name. Yet in

(I) Pachymeres, i, 84. Achilles was the hero of a popular late Byzantine verse romance; D.C. Hesseling, L'Achilléide byzantine (Amsterdam, 1919).

the Byzantine search for poetic variation, the name Thessalia had also become attached to the city of Thessalonica,^I to the point that the Metropolitan of Larissa acquired the title 'Exarch of the Second Thessaly'. Normal usage avoided such confusion. In mid-Byzantine times Thessaly was thought of as part of the Helladic theme. From the 11th century it was known as 'Vlachia' ('land of the Vlachs'), or 'Great Vlachia', to distinguish it from another area of Vlach settlement in Aitolia.²

By 1204 Thessaly had thus become to some extent ethnically separate from the rest of the Byzantine world. The events of the next half-century allowed this separateness to take on political forms. Thessaly did not properly return to provincial status until it was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire. For a century and a half the great landowners of the region were largely in control of their own destinies. They thus developed at home institutions and traditions which in the past had been associated with 'ecumenical' centres - Constantinople and Mount Athos. At the same time, their society seems to have remained relatively immune from the 'jealousy' (φθόρος) which contemporary Byzantines realised to be the bane of their existence.

(1) See G.L.F. Tafel, De Thessalonica eiusque agro dissertatio geographica (Berlin, 1839), 41-2; O. Tafrali, Thessalonique au XI^e siècle (Paris, 1913), 53 n. 4. Tafrali implies that the earliest example of this use occurs in Procopius, who says (Proc., De Aed., II2) that Diocletianopolis (roughly equivalent to the medieval and modern Kastoria) was a town ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας. However, it is evident from Hierocles that the Ἐπαρχία Θεσσαλίας to which Diocletianopolis belonged contained all the major towns of Thessaly and only one other from Macedonia, Kaisareia; E. Honigmann, Le Synekdèmos d'Hieroclès et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre (Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae. Forma Imperii Byzantini, fasc. I) (Brussels, 1939), 16. The arrangement dated probably from the time of Diocletian: F. Papazoglu, Makedonski gradovi u rimsko doba (Skopje, 1957), 88-9. On Diocletianopolis, see N.K. Moutsopoulos, Καστοριά· ιστορία - μνημεῖα - λαογραφία ἀπὸ τὴν ἰδρυσὴν τῆς μέχρι τὸν 10ον μ.Χ. αἰῶνος· προϊστορικῇ, ιστορικῇ καὶ παλαιο-χριστιανικῇ ἐποχῇ (Thessaloniki, 1974).

(2) Georgios Sphrantzes, Memorii, 1401-1477, ed. V. Grecu (Scriptores Byzantini, V) (Bucharest, 1966), 128. On the Vlachs in Thessaly, see *infra*, 66-70.

The history of Thessaly in the 13th and 14th centuries was thus a unique variation on a Byzantine theme. It may not tell us much that we do not already know about Byzantine life and thought, but it is of primary importance for our knowledge of how Byzantine 'Hellas' came to be modern Greece.

Sources.^I

Although Thessaly was only of peripheral concern to the Byzantine historians, they are still the best sources for the main outlines of its history. The background to the establishment of Thessaly as a separate principality is covered, up to 1261, by George Acropolites and, from 1257, by George Pachymeres, whose passages on the history of northern Greece from 1261 to 1264 have been neglected by modern historians. Pachymeres continues to be our main source until his narrative breaks off in the year 1308. Only at this point does the parallel account of Nicephorus Gregoras furnish valuable material. Gregoras is our main source for the period 1308-1318, and he is occasionally informative on the history of the following decades. From 1320, however, our most valuable information comes from the history of John Cantacuzene, who wrote almost entirely from personal experience. The narratives of Cantacuzene and Gregoras do not go beyond 1362; fortunately, Thessaly in the later 14th century finds some mention in the Chronicle of Ioannina, composed locally by an anonymous, probably monastic author in the early 15th century.² The post-Byzantine historians are of little interest, apart from Chalcocondyles, our source for the Turkish conquest of 1393.

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- (1) Where not given, the titles of most works referred to in this section will be found under Abbreviations, supra 2-13, or in later sections as indicated.
- (2) On the authorship, see L. Vranoussis, 'Deux historiens byzantins qui n'ont jamais existé, Comnénos et Proclos', Επετηρίς τοῦ Μεσσηνιακοῦ Ἀρχαίου, xii (1962), 23-9.

The court literati Manuel Holobolos, Manuel Philes, Theodore Metochites, and Thomas (Theodoulos) Magister provide some information; otherwise the rich rhetorical and theological literature of the period has no value as source-material for Thessaly.

Greek documentary evidence for the area is extensive. Most of it has been published, although the quality of the editions varies, and it is possible that the forthcoming catalogues of the Meteora libraries will reveal the existence of new manuscript sources.² Most of the material comes, directly or indirectly, from local archives, the main exceptions being those 14th-century patriarchal acts contained in the Vienna codex and published in vol. I of Miklosich/Müller's edition.³ The Acts of Athos are of some assistance.

For the 13th century, the main collection of documents is that which formerly constituted the cartulary of two monasteries on Mt. Pelion: Makritissa and Nea Petra. This cartulary survived as Cod. Taurinensis 237, and was presumed destroyed in the fire of 1912.⁴ It is available to us only in the edition of Miklosich/Müller (vol. iv), which, although it provides adequate texts, does not explore the palaeographical and diplomatic history of the codex. This was a copy of the original records, executed in the imperial chancery in the early 1280s, and given the seal of approval by the emperor and patriarch in 1285-6. The recensor of this edition introduced each document with a rhetorical preface. The 19th-century editors published only those prefaces which they judged to be of historical interest and thus omit the great majority, which might have been valuable as statements of contemporary political and legal theory.

(1) See infra, 148 n. 1, 188n.1, 198 n. 1, 186, 210 n. 5.

(2) Meanwhile, see Bees, Ekthesis, passim.

(3) See also J. Darrouzès, Le registre synodal du patriarcat byzantin au XIVe siècle, étude paléographique et diplomatique (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, XII) (Paris, 1971).

(4) For such information as exists, see J. Pasini, Codices manuscripti bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis Athenaei (Turin, 1749), i, 320ff.

The 14th-century documents are for the most part originals, and are preserved in the Meteora archives, although many concern monasteries which vanished long ago. They have been edited by St. Aristarches, Sp. Lampros, Léon Heuzey, N.A. Bees, D. Zakythinos, A. Solovyev and V. Mořin, in a variety of publications.¹ Two acts of limited value survive in the Olympiotissa monastery at Elasson.²

The dating, authenticity, and attribution of several Thessalian documents remain problematic. In this thesis, attention is drawn to some of the problems where relevant, and some attempt is made to solve them. However, only a critical and commented single edition of all local acts can bring out their full value as source-material.

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- (1) D.A. Zakythinos, 'Ανέκδοτα γράμματα περὶ τῶν Μηνῶν τῶν Μετεώρων, Ell., x (1938), 283-6.
- (2) E. Skouvaras, 'Ολυμπιώτισσα· περιγραφὴ καὶ ἱστορία τῆς Μονῆς, κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων (Athens, 1967), 493-500,

Another major group of Greek source-materials is that provided by hagiographical texts. Most religious literature written in Thessaly dates from the period of Turkish occupation. Three texts, however, are useful for the 14th century. One is the Life (Βίος) of the Holy Athanasios, founder of the monastery of the Great Meteoron, written shortly after 1387-8 by a member of the community.¹ Another is the so-called Patria of the Hypselotera monastery, written in the early 15th century by the monk Neilos.² An important if tendentious source for the early history of the Meteora monasteries is the Historical Discourse (Σύγγραμμα ιστορικόν), written in the 16th century to redress what was considered to be the unwarranted arrogance of the Great Meteoron.³

The existence has long been known of a collection of homilies written in the mid-14th century by Antonios, Metropolitan of Larissa, and preserved in two manuscripts: Christ Church (Oxford) Greek 66, and Ivron 57I, 5. In 1936 N.A. Bees published a preliminary study.⁴ This, however, does little more than draw attention to the texts, list their contents, and identify the author. It does not provide any idea as to their historical importance, and it gives erroneous palaeographical and codicological information. The Ivron MS, is at the end of a codex consisting mainly of parchment folios written in the 11th century; the part containing the homilies of Antonios is not merely not of this date, but Bees' estimate of a 14th/15th-century chronology is too early by two centuries. The 16th-century Oxford MS. is thus, despite its own faults of transmission, a more reliable text. Bees' comparative assessment of the contents of each MS. is completely unfounded since he copied the titles in the Oxford codex from the

(1) Byzantis, i, 208-36²³, 237-63; Nicol, Meteora, 73-6.

(2) Byzantis, i, 274-6.

(3) I have used the edition by Léon Heuzey in L. Heuzey and H. Daumet, Mission archéologique de Macédoine (Paris, 1876), ii, 440-7, but the text may also be found in several other publications, which are referred to in the bibliography.

(4) Bees, 'Antonios von Larissa'.

catalogue of van der Vorst and Delehayé without taking account of the authors' proviso that the list omits the titles of all homilies on feasts in the life of Christ (δεσποτικά ἑορταί).¹

These errors would no doubt have been rectified if Bees had, as he intended, published the homilies. It is to be hoped that this task will be undertaken in the not too distant future by his successor as Director of the Medieval Archives of the Athens Academy, Leandros Vranoussis. Only a proper critical edition of all the homilies will complete our knowledge of Antonios as a writer; meanwhile, I have for illustrative purposes transcribed those sections of his works which are most important as historical evidence. These will be found in Appendix II of this thesis.

The Latin presence in the Levant after 1204 gave rise to a large body of western source-material. The most valuable narrative account is the Chronicle of the Morea in its different versions, compiled in the 14th century.² Particularly valuable is the French version, whose author seems to have had personal experience of the Latin involvement in northern Greece after 1300. The local exploits of the Catalan company are covered in part by the contemporary Catalan chronicler Ramon Muntaner. The History of the Kingdom of Romania, written in the early 14th century by Marino Sanudo Torsello, a Venetian with extensive knowledge of the Levant, provides some unique details about Thessaly in the 13th century.³ Sanudo's letter to the Cardinal Archbishop of Capua (1325) deserves special mention as being the only source entirely devoted to giving an

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- (1) C. van der Vorst and H. Delehayé, Catalogus codicum hagiographicum graecorum Germaniae, Belgii, Angliae (Subsidia Hagiographica, XIII) (Brussels, 1913), 282-4.
- (2) Besides the Aragonese, French, and Greek texts cited throughout this thesis, one may consult the English introduction to and translation of the Greek version by H.E. Lurier, Crusaders as Conquerors (New York and London, 1964).
- (3) Istoria del regno di Romania, ed. Hopf, Chroniques, 99-170. On the term Romania as applied to Byzantium and Greece, see A. Bon, La Morée Franque (Paris, 1969), i, 305-6.

objective description of the political situation in Thessaly.¹ Sanudo was a keen advocate of the crusade, and as such he saw Thessaly as a potential source of provisions.²

The total contribution of western medieval archives is considerable. The papal registers are informative as to the condition of Thessaly under Latin rule,³ and to the part that the region played in the crisis arising out of the Union of Lyons (1274-1282).⁴ There are important Venetian documents dealing with the losses suffered by Venetian citizens in Thessalian waters, and with the establishment of a Venetian colony at Pteleon.⁵ The interest of the Aragonese archives is limited to those parts of Thessaly which came under Catalan rule in the 14th century. The most important collection of Latin archives for Thessalian history was, before its destruction in 1943, that of the Kingdom of Naples; some of the relevant texts can be found in the works of Filangieri and of Perrat and Longnon.⁶

(1) Original printed text published by J. Bongars, Gesta Dei per Francos, ii (Hanover, 1611), 293-4; reproduced, with notes, by Tafel/Thomas, i, 495-501; also by Rubio y Lluch, Diplomatari, no. 229, pp. 159. See infra, 215-6.

(2) On Sanudo as a crusading propagandist, see Laiou, Andronicus II, 354-5.

(3) See the Letters of Innocent III in vols. ccxiv-ccxvi of Migne, PL.

(4) Infra, 164 ff.

(5) Tafel/Thomas, iii, 159-281; infra, 91 n. 1.

(6) R. Filangieri, I registri della cancelleria angioina ricostruiti (Naples, 1950-); Ch. Perrat and J. Longnon, Actes relatifs à la principauté de Morée, 1289-1300 (Bibliothèque Nationale: Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, 8^e series, VI) (Paris, 1967).

Almost every study of late Byzantine history has some bearing on our subject. Here we need consider only a fraction of this secondary literature, although special mention should at the outset be made of Dr. Michael Angold's recent book on the Empire of Nicaea, a work which provides an indispensable introduction to all the problems which confront the student of the period.¹

The fundamental modern authority for the history of later medieval Greece is the 19th-century work of Karl Hopf. Most of the Greek documentary material had not been published when Hopf wrote, and the author made several careless mistakes, but it is a measure of his prestige that only in the last thirty years have systematic attempts been made - mainly by Father R.-J. Loenertz² - to correct many idées reçues which have no basis other than the fact that Hopf propounded them.

The publication of the Makrinitissa and, much later, the Meteora archives opened up a whole new field to researchers. Greek and western scholars have concentrated mainly on the critical elucidation of the texts and on the information they provide for the history of the monasteries concerned; in particular, we may mention the editorial work of N.A. Bees, a fundamental article by M. Lascaris, and D.M. Nicol's book on the Meteora, whose chapter on the history of Thessaly in the Middle Ages is still the best introduction to the subject.

The appearance of this archive-material could not fail to interest Russian historians concerned with agrarian questions. B.A. Pančenko and Theodore Uspensky dealt extensively with the Makrinitissa material;³ I. Sokolov was the first to draw on the Meteora documents published by Bees.⁴ Since the Revolution,

(1) M. Angold, A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea (1204-1261) (Oxford, 1975).

(2) See BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(3) References to these writers and to the Soviet historians B. Gorjanov and A. Každan will be found in the works of B. Ferjančić cited throughout this thesis.

(4) I. Sokolov, 'Krupnie i melkie vlastjeli v Fessalij v epokhu Paleologov', Viz. Vrem., xxiv (1923-6), 35-44.

however, the greatest contributions to our understanding of Thessalian 'feudalism' have been made by Russian scholars established in Belgrade. A. Solovyev, who was chiefly responsible for establishing a critical documentation of the Serbian occupation of northern Greece, published in 1932 an essay on 14th-century Thessalian feudal institutions which remains the authoritative work on this subject. George Ostrogorsky has used Thessalian material principally to illustrate his general conclusions about the development of late Byzantine society; from our point of view it is unfortunate that he has not done more source-work after the manner of his article about John Orsini's chrysobull for the monastery of Lykousada.

Among the generation of Yugoslav Byzantinists trained by Ostrogorsky one, Božidar Ferjančić, has devoted much attention to Thessaly as well as to the constitutional development of the titles of despot and sebastokrator which were held by the separatist rulers of northern Greece. In the 1960s he published two articles providing a much-needed commentary on the Makrinitissa documents. In 1974 he produced a long monograph on the history of Thessaly in the 13th and 14th centuries. This book takes as its theme the largely separatist development of Thessaly between the Frankish and the Turkish conquests. Cast in the form of a chronological narrative incorporating analytical essays, it contains thorough, frequently exhaustive critiques of secondary authorities, as well as treatment of questions for which the sources have never been used. As a synthesis of materials for the study of Thessaly in the later Middle Ages and as a résumé of Slavonic scholarship in the field, the book is a valuable pioneer achievement.

It is, however, marred by several omissions. In discussing the last years of Michael II of Epiros, the author relies on the testimony of Gregoras but completely ignores the much more reliable information of Pachymeres. His account of the period 1289-1318 lacks proper treatment of the international situation that

lay behind Thessaly's heavy involvement with the Latin powers during these years; an omission which suggests that the author did not have access to the Angevin documents published by Perrat and Longnon, or to Angeliki Laiou's study of the foreign policy of Andronikos II. There is no reference to Astruc's valuable article on the bishopric of Stagoi, or to E. Skouvaras' book on the Olympiotissa monastery. The Acts of Athos have not been used to full advantage, and no use is made of the unpublished writings of Antonios of Larissa.

Several points of interpretation and identification may be challenged: I have done so where appropriate.

More seriously, one feels perhaps the lack of a more inquisitive and sensitive approach to certain problems, such as the nature of separatist Greek constitutional authority and the significance of the court titles held by the lesser local magnates. One misses some comparative survey of local ecclesiastical domains, and a discussion of the evidence for land-disputes between the monasteries and the lay establishment. Such factors as the extreme militarism of Thessalian society and the rise of religious leadership in the 14th century are not sufficiently highlighted. These considerations have done much to determine the shape and the content of the present study.

Historical geography is a subject in itself, but in a regional study it must occupy a primary place. Ferjančić is aware of the basic division of Thessaly into eastern and western parts, but otherwise geography plays little part in his considerations. Anna Avramea's eagerly awaited study will, hopefully, establish the historical geography of Thessaly before 1204 and thus provide a framework within which the later period may be studied. With or without her book, however, the 13th and 14th centuries are still virgin territory. For this reason, the first and longest chapter of this thesis is devoted to presenting later medieval Thessaly in its geographical aspect.

Such an enquiry involves the use not only of the main sources of the period but also of earlier works. The history of Anna Comnena, the treatise of Cecaumenos, the Travels of Benjamin of Tudela, and the universal geography of al-Idrisi are basic sources. The administrative map of Thessaly on the eve of the Fourth Crusade can be established from two documents: Alexios III's charter of privileges to the Republic of Venice (1198), and the agreement by which the Crusaders divided the Byzantine empire among themselves. The sections of these sources pertinent to Thessaly are reproduced in Appendix I and are referred to respectively as the Privilegium (Alexii III) and the Partitio (Romaniae).

For the ecclesiastical geography of Thessaly, the basic sources are the hierarchy lists of the prelates - the Notitiae Episcopatum - which cover the whole of the middle and late Byzantine periods. On the whole, the dating of these lists proposed by H. Gelzer is still valid, but studies of individual regions have introduced further precision, and more revisions may become necessary as other provinces are studied in detail. It may be, too, that some lists are more reliable for some provinces than for others. The Notitia which Gelzer has dated to the reign of Alexios I lists under the Metropolitan of Larissa an extraordinary collection of names, most of which do not occur in other Notitiae and many of which are repeated. These additions may well be the interpolations of a scribe anxious to give his local sees a Byzantine ancestry.^I

The archaeological evidence is disappointingly meagre. Demetrias is the only methodically excavated site whose middle and late Byzantine levels have received as much as a mention. N. Giannopoulos' rambling reports on his findings at Almyros are better than nothing, but it is regrettable that this potentially very rewarding site did not receive a thorough investigation like that given to its predecessor, Palaio-Christian Thebes. We have rather more in the way of standing monuments; the structures of several Thessalian kastra survive, and the churches of the Hypapante (Meteora) and of Porta-Panagia are well-preserved

(I) The Notitiae for the ecclesiastical provinces of Larissa and Neopatras are given in Appendix I.

buildings with informative inscriptions. The efforts of Nikos Nikonanos, formerly epimelete of Byzantine antiquities at Volos, in identifying, cleaning, and excavating hitherto unknown monuments are a step in the right direction, and it is to be hoped that the programme he has inaugurated will continue to bear fruit.

In the last analysis, the key to the understanding of a region is the land itself; to this the best written introductions are still the works of those 19th-century gentlemen who visited every corner of Thessaly in conditions which have now all but disappeared.^I

(I) See especially W.M. Leake, Travels in Northern Greece (London, 1835), vol iv; N. Georgiades, Η Θεσσαλία (1st. edn. Athens, 1880; 2nd edn., Volos, 1894).

It was not until I had almost completed the final draft of this thesis that I received Mrs Anna Avramea's book on the historical geography of Thessaly to I204^I. This work fully justifies the hope expressed above that pioneer research into the I3th and I4th centuries may henceforth be confined to that period.

The author considers four main aspects of the subject:

- i) Thessaly as a geographical and administrative term and unit.
- ii) The physical geography of the region as described in contemporary sources.
- iii) Communications.
- iv) Towns.

All the sources for the early and middle Byzantine periods quoted below have been extensively used, as well as many others. Particularly impressive are the exploitation of hagiographical and archaeological materials, and the assembly of western references to I2th-century commerce at Almyros (pp. I66-73).

In general, I find that my own work complements Mrs Avramea's, and that where they overlap there is little disagreement. Attention may here be drawn to the following points where my conclusions will have to be reconsidered:

The date of Parthey <u>Notitia</u>	3	-	Thesis pp. 327,8;	Avramea p. 50-I.
The location of Lykostomion	-	"	97	" 69
" " " Raverinika	-	"	II3	" II3
" " " Ezeros	-	"	I08	" I74-5.

(1) "Αννας Π. 'Αβραμέα, 'Η Βυζαντινὴ Θεσσαλία μέχρι τοῦ 1204. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορικὴν γεωγραφίαν ('Αθήναι, 1974).

THESSALY IN RELATION TO THE BALKANS AND THE GREEK PENINSULA
 (from Cvijić, *La péninsule balkanique*)
 Scale 1: 3,000,000.



CHAPTER I: The Land and its Settlements.

Thessaly as studied in this thesis may be physically defined as the area drained by the rivers Peneios (Salamvriás) and Spercheios (Elláda^{Elladikós}), together with the coastlands between their mouths,^I for this is what late medieval men understood by the terms 'Thessalia' and 'Vlachia' in the geographical sense. It should be born in mind, however, that the political and administrative units with which we are concerned, and to which these names might also be applied, varied considerably in extent, rarely coinciding with natural frontiers or corresponding to convenient geographical unities. Usually the artificial region is smaller than the geographical one, but in some cases Thessaly can be seen to extend beyond its natural frontiers. This is nowhere more striking than in the provincial organisation of the church, the most stable department of Byzantine administration. Throughout the Middle Ages the Metropolitan of Larissa numbered among his suffragans the bishop of Loidoriki, a town near the Corinthian Gulf separated from central Thessaly by a large expanse of mountainous country, and closer by far to the metropolitan see of Naupaktos. Even more remarkably, this link was carried into politics; at the start of our period, Loidoriki and the greater part of Thessaly were united in a single principality.²

Of the two river basins, that of the Peneios is by far the larger, and its lower levels are nomally considered to constitute Thessaly proper. 'Thessaly is a great and deep plain, guarded by mountains on all sides; on the east by Ossa and Pelion; on the west by the Pindos, from which the Peneios springs and

(1) The only significant area of internal drainage is that of Lake Boibe (Karla) south-east of Larissa.

(2) Infra, I79.

issues eastwards into the sunrise; on the north by Olympos; and on the south by Othrys!^I This mountain ring isolates Thessaly from the Aegean and from the rest of the Balkan peninsula only to a limited extent, for mountains constitute an alternative form of human environment as well as a barrier to communication. In any case, the barrier around Thessaly can be crossed at several points, notably at those where it is naturally broken. One such break is the Vale of Tempe, the defile between Mounts Ossa and Olympos through which the Peneios reaches the sea. This provides a natural passage into the Thessalian lowland from the coastal plain of Pieria and hence from central Macedonia. The other complete break in the barrier occurs at sea, at the southern end of the Magnesian Peninsula. Here this extension of Mt. Pelion is separated from its natural continuation, northern Euboea, by a wide channel; another channel divides a westward offshoot of the same peninsula from the eastern end of the Othrys range. Not only do these channels give access by sea to the interior of Thessaly, but the Magnesian Peninsula by its formation creates a vast enclosed shelter, the Pagasitic Gulf. The main lowlands of Thessaly are cut off from the coast by a series of hills and low mountains connecting Othrys with Pelion. This obstacle is, however, easily crossed from the north and west shores of the gulf.

In addition to these natural corridors, several mountain passes lead into the Thessalian plain. Again, the easiest of these are to be found to the north and east. The pass of Petra, on a shoulder of Olympos, offers alternative access from Pieria. Between the Kambounia mountains and the Olympos massif

(I) Eustathios of Thessalonica, Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem, 32I, 22-5:

the pass of Sarantáporos connects the valley of the Aliakmon (Vístritsa) in southern Macedonia with that of the Titaresios (Xeriás), a tributary of the Peneios. Thessaly also communicates directly with the upper Aliakmon valley by way of passes in the Chasia mountains which are reached by ascending the valley of the Ion (Mourgáni) from its confluence with the Peneios near Kalam-báka. To the east, the low plateau of Agiá (the Dotian Plain of antiquity), lying between Ossa and Pelion's northward projection, Mavrovóuni, offers yet another alternative to the Vale of Tempe.

The Pindos chain and its offshoot, Othrys, present a more formidable barrier to approaches from the south and west, but this has never been impassable. Thessaly communicates with Ioannina through the upper Peneios valley and the pass of Métsovo, and with Arta by a pass which can be reached from the head waters of the rivers Portaïkós and Pamisos (Blióuris). The main route over Othrys is marked at either end by the towns of Lamia and Domokos, and there is some evidence that the more westerly pass, through Réntina and Smókovó, was also in use during our period.¹ The traveller from the south could, in any case, avoid the crossing of Othrys by making a detour to the east, through the coastal plains and upland valleys which lead to the Pagasitic Gulf.²

The interior of Thessaly is therefore not only quite easy of access, especially from the north and from the sea; it is crossed by lines of communication between different parts of Greece. It links Acarnania with Macedonia and Epiros with Boeotia. Above all, it is the natural area of transition between the mass and the southern extremities of the Balkan Peninsula. Philippson observes that in this respect the Thessalian plain is to Greece what Lombardy is to Italy.³

(1) G. Kolias, 'Η μεταξὺ Κατελάνων καὶ Μεγάλου Δουκὸς τῶν Ἀθηνῶν μάχη, Ep. Et. Byz. Sp., xxvi (1956), 374-5.

(2) E.g. Adler, Benjamin of Tudela, II.

(3) Philippson, I5.

With no exception, the main lines of communication within Thessaly may be described as routes linking the passages over or around the mountains. Owing largely to the fact that in the north and west the descents from the passes into the plain follow valleys of the Peneios river-system, it happens that several routes converge on leaving the mountains. Nearly all the ways from Macedonia and Epiros, therefore, reach the interior of Thessaly at one of two nodal points: Larissa and Trikkala. Larissa is the natural debouchment for the traveller coming from the Vale of Tempe and from the Sarantáporos and Petra passes. Trikkala is the starting-point for journeys to Arta, Ioannina, and Kastoria. The sites of Larissa and Trikkala are thus, strategically and economically, the most important in the Thessalian interior. The road linking them is a major axis in the life of the region also in that it roughly follows the course of the Peneios, and so constitutes the easiest line of communication between the upper and lower Thessalian plains. Except in special circumstances (which, as we shall see, were present in the later Byzantine period) Larissa is naturally the more important of the two centres, because it is nearer the sea, and the routes from Macedonia which it commands are the main ones joining Greece and the continental Balkans.

The routes into the Thessalian lowland from the south do not similarly converge on any point before passing on to Trikkala and Larissa; rather, they diverge upon leaving the mountains. The main road over Othrys divides shortly after entering the plain to the north of Domokos, one branch going to Pharsala and Larissa and the other to Trikkala. The exact course of the medieval road from Domokos to Trikkala is unknown; it may even have followed the direction of Larissa as far as Pharsala, which almost certainly lay on a road connecting Trikkala with the coast.^I The road circumventing Othrys by way of the Malian

(I) Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, iv, 330-I; Philippson, 63.

and Pagasitic coasts (roughly equivalent to the modern motor-road between Lamia and Larissa) enters the inland basin close to Veleshtinon. Near the same point, the traveller coming from Larissa turns slightly eastward in order to reach Volos. Veleshtinon may also have been the starting-point for a road following the eastern edge of the plain to the Vale of Tempe. The location of a fortress at Kastri, commanding this corridor at the point where the depression of Agia offers a further exit to the Thermaic Gulf, suggests the existence of such a route. When we observe, moreover, that the railway from Pharsala to Volos passes through Veleshtinon, it becomes obvious how important this site - that of ancient Pherai - was for the control of communications from east to west as well as from north to south.

Pharsala and Veleshtinon, therefore, although not as essential to inter-regional communications as Larissa and Trikkala, nevertheless control the lines of major thoroughfares and guard the approaches to the interior from the Pagasitic Gulf. These two sites together command direct access to all corners of the plain. It is no coincidence that the two crucial battles for control of Thessaly in antiquity - Kynoskephalai (97 B.C.) and Pharsalos (48 B.C.) - took place in the hills between them.

We have little information about travelling conditions in our period. In the early 13th century, the Metropolitan of Larissa complained of the bad roads, and his correspondent, John Apokaukos, expressed surprise that this should be so in a land famed for its horses and carriages.^I Previously, Michael Choniates had written to a Thessalian bishop asking him to send 'wagon-makers' (ἀμαξοποιούς), who were not to be found in Athens.²

(1) V. Vassilevsky, 'Epirotica saeculi XIII', Viz. Vrem., iii (1896), 280.

(2) Lampros, Michael Choniates, ii, 69.

by sea, Thessaly communicates with the outside world principally through the Pagasitic Gulf, since there are few sheltered anchorages on the Aegean coast of Pelion and Ossa. Although the entrance to the gulf is from the south, this has never been an obstacle to sea-traffic with the northern and eastern Aegean. In ancient and medieval times, especially, the channel between Thessaly and Euboea leading to the straits of Euripos was one of the busiest waterways in the Mediterranean, because mariners bound for Thessalonica or the Hellespont from southern Greece or the Adriatic often preferred to avoid the open sea off Euboea, whose east coast presented many hazards and no havens. In the 13th and 14th centuries the Venetians had one of their largest trading stations at Negropont (Chalkis).

In climate and vegetation, too, Thessaly is an area of transition between the continental and the Aegean parts of the Balkan peninsula. To the south and east, in the regions of Ossa, Pelion, and the Pagasitic and Malian Gulfs, the landscape is typically Levantine. Enjoying a mild climate, it supports all the standard Mediterranean evergreens: the olive, the vine, the orange, and the cypress.¹ On the opposite, western side Thessaly is a part of the Pindos chain and belongs to the continental mountain-system of the Balkans, which extends northwards with hardly a break to the middle Danubian basin and north-westwards to Albania. Lying between these extremes, the Thessalian plain partakes of both, and is the most southerly example of a type of alluvial lowland otherwise found in the semi-continental regions of Macedonia, Thrace, and Albania.² The climate is severe, because the mountains on all sides exclude the tempering influence of the sea. Philippson comments on the 'steppe-like' nature of the Thessalian interior and ascribes its treelessness to a combination of long winter frost and

(1) W.M. Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, iv, 397-8.

(2) J. Cvijić, La péninsule balkanique (Paris, 1918), 40.

long summer drought, along with a saline soil in certain places.^I He describes it as unique in Greece, and compares it to the vast plains of Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary.² A better likeness, however, is to be found in what Cvijić calls the transitional zone of Macedonia and Thrace.³

Although the Thessalian lowlands appear to form a compact bloc in relation to the greater mountain ranges, they are in fact divided into several parts by lower ridges. One is that, already mentioned, which links Othrys with Pelion and separates the Peneios basin from the Pagasitic coast. Branching from this is another, which follows a SE-NW course until it almost meets the foothills of the Chasia mountains half-way between Larissa and Trikkala; it is separated only by the valley of the Peneios. These Central Thessalian Highlands - which in places are no more than rolling hills - divide the lowland basin into two unequal parts. A further subdivision of the Peneios basin occurs in the form of the broad upper valley of the Titaresios, between the Olympos and the Chasia mountain blocs.

Thessaly is thus composed of the following physical units:-

The Central Lowlands - (I) The Upper or Western and (2) the Lower or Eastern

Thessalian plains, together with (3) the appendix of the Titaresios valley.

The Coast of the Pagasitic Gulf (4).

The Mountainous Regions - (5) The Central Thessalian Highlands, (6) Ossa, (7)

Pelion, (8) Olympos, (9) the Chasia, (10) the Thessalian Pindos, (11) Othrys.

The Spercheios Valley (12) and its seaward extension, the Malian Gulf.

(I) Philippson, 24.

(2) Ibid, 28.

(3) Cvijić op. cit., 186.

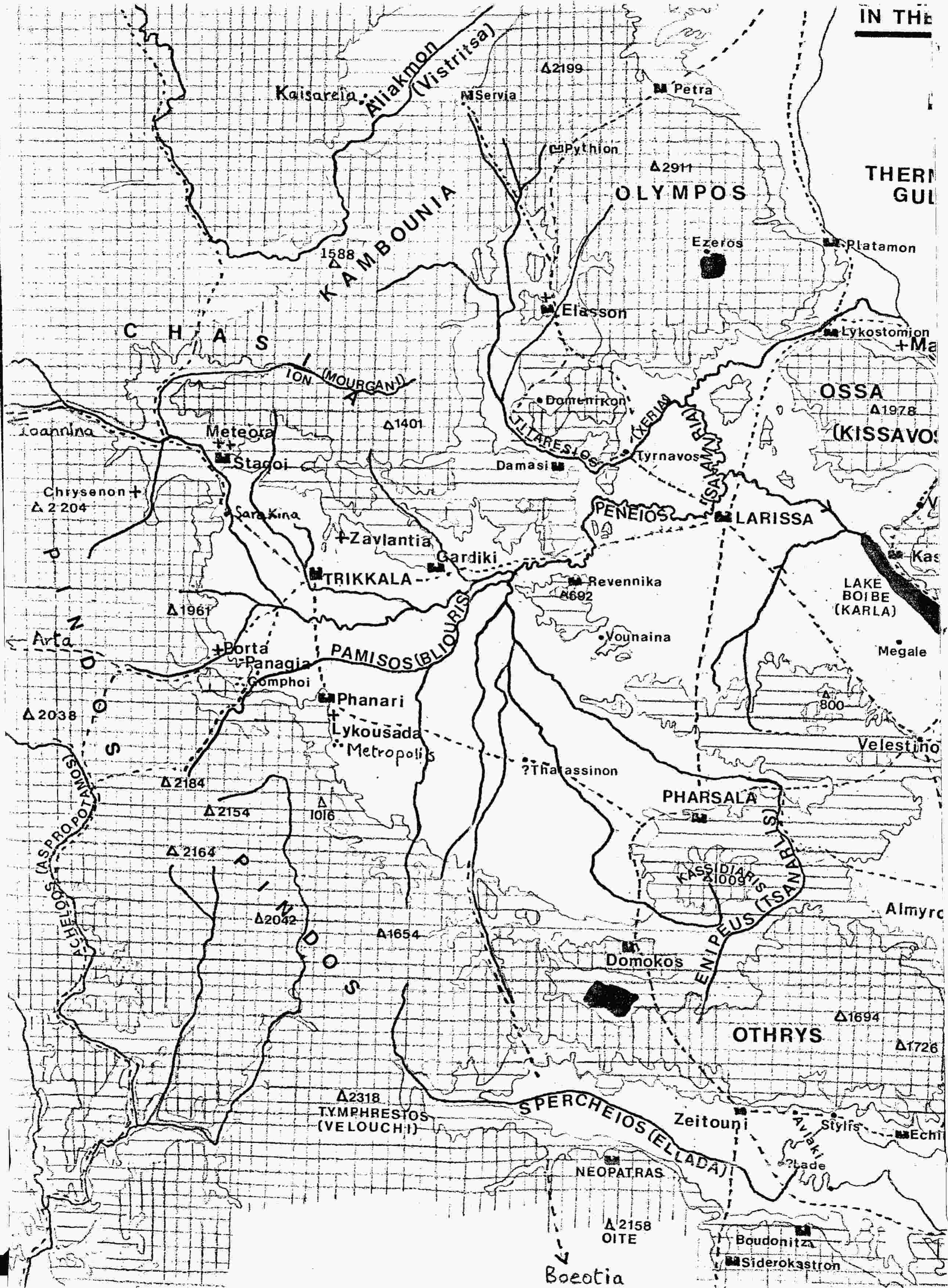
In the rest of this chapter it is proposed to discuss the historical geography of Thessaly in the later Middle Ages by considering in turn each of these twelve regions. This approach has its limitations, which will become apparent as the analysis proceeds and will be discussed at the end of the chapter. Under each region, every major settlement will be treated individually with regard to its importance in the 13th and 14th centuries, although with frequent reference to earlier data. Space will also be devoted to the topography and archaeology of the main sites; firstly, because these can aid our understanding of the historical data; and secondly, because it is felt that the historical data have not been sufficiently considered by those who have tried to interpret the local settlement in Byzantine times.

(I) The Upper (Western) Thessalian Plain.

This is the larger of the two central lowlands. It covers an area of 1718 sq. km., and is roughly in the form of a parallelogram with its longer sides aligned SE-NW. It communicates with other Thessalian lowlands by way of depressions in the central highlands and through the gap cut by the Peneios. With the neighbouring regions of southern, northern, and western Greece it communicates by mountain passes all of which, apart from that over Othrys, are reached by ascending the valleys of the Peneios and certain of its tributaries.

The Peneios enters the plain at its north-west corner, and continues on a south-easterly course to a point south of Trikkala, whence it flows East-North-east through the gap in the central highlands. Its bed is never far south of the Chasia mountains, which give rise to few permanent rivers. Thus the Peneios as it flows through the west Thessalian plain is fed almost entirely by waters rising in the Pindos and Othrys ranges. Most of these numerous tributaries

IN THE



THESSALY

Thessalonica
IN THE 13th & 14th CENTURIES.

10 km.

KEY



Land over 200 m.



" " 500 m.



Summit, altitude in m.



Lake.



Road.



Kastron.



Other settlement.



Major monastery.

THERMAIC GULF

Platamon

Lykostomion

+ Marmariana

Charmaina

OSSA

Δ1978

(KISSAVOS)

Vesaina

Kastri

LAKE BOIBE (KARLA)

Megale

Kanalia

PELION

Δ1618

+ Makrinitissa

+ Nea Petra

+ Agios Lavrentios

+ Lechonia

DEMETRIAS

Velesinon

Thebes

PAGASITIC GULF

Almyros

Δ1694

YS

Δ1726

Pteleon

Gardiki

Stylis

Echinos

EUBOEA

reach the river near the point where it leaves this part of its basin. The drainage-pattern of western Thessaly is therefore radial and occupies the south-west quadrant of a circle with its centre some 25 km to the west of Trikkala. This river-system, rising in areas of high precipitation, keeps the entire upper plain well supplied with water, making the land suitable for the cultivation of irrigation-crops and, at the same time, liable to become waterlogged. Large areas of the basin are thus in their natural state marshland. Such areas must have been far more extensive in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, presenting in the conditions of the time an obstacle to communication, cultivation, and - as breeding-grounds of pestilence - even to settlement.

One of these marshy regions is associated the Pamisos, a tributary of the Peneios north of the bluff of Phanari, and extends north-eastwards to the gap in the central highlands. The marshland and the bluff (the only protrusion of the Pindos into the plain) together form a natural barrier across the west Thessalian plain. The resulting break in the natural unity of the region underlay the ancient division between the tetrarchies of Hestaiotis and Thessaliotis, and is clearly marked by the modern boundary between the prefectures of Trikkala and Karditsa.^I

The northern part of the region has usually been the more densely populated and the more important historically - if, that is, we except the area around Pharsala, which in classical times formed a third tetrarchy, Phthia. The region of Trikkala is also the only part of the plain with a relatively dense vegetation, the southern area being characterised by its 'Steppennatur'.²

(I) Philippson, 55-6.

(2) Ibid., 60; Ferjančić, Tesalijska, 5.

The region of Trikkala.

This may be described as an irregular quadrilateral with corners at four natural landmarks: the Meteora rocks, the exit from the Pindos gorge of the Portaïkós at Pýli (Porta-Panagia), the bluff of Phanari, and the Peneios Gap in the Central Thessalian Highlands. These are all strategic points in the communications-network of the region, and in byzantine times they were marked by important settlements. The site of Trikkala stands at the geographical centre of the quadrilateral, and draws together the routes from three mountain passes; further to this, it is located at the southern extremity of a line of hills projecting into the plain from the Chasia mountains, and thereby impeding direct communication between the north-east and north-west corners of the region.

Trikkala is of special interest to us because from 1318, if not earlier, it was the administrative and cultural capital of that part of Thessaly which remained within the Byzantine commonwealth. The historical geography of the district is comparatively well-documented in local monastic records, and is worth considering at some length.

Economy and land-use. The local economy seems from the evidence to have been heavily agricultural, and while monastic documents are admittedly poor sources for the commercial and industrial activities which must have existed in a town like Trikkala, these activities no doubt depended exclusively upon local agriculture. Silk, for example, which was exported in large quantities to southern Italy during the 1270s, may well have been manufactured locally, since the neighbourhood is well suited to the growing of mulberry trees. Food crops, however, seem to have predominated. The basic constituents of every rural property were plots of arable land (χωραφαῖα/ἀροσίμη γῆ), vineyards (ἀμπέλια), and mills or presses (ὕδρομύλωνες/μυλοτόπια/μυλικά ἐργαστήρια).

From this we may conclude that cereals and wine were produced in quantities sufficient for local consumption and, perhaps, for export. Both cereal-crops and vines need a well-drained soil and cannot, therefore, have been grown in the marshy areas south of the Peneios; on the other hand, the gentler foothills of the mountains must, as today, have been under cultivation.

A 14th-century description of Trikkala refers to the town as being surrounded by coppices 'ideal for the pasturing of flocks'.¹ Here we are reminded that local transhumant nomads looked to the plain for winter grazing; their demands sometimes clashed with those of cultivators.² Their impact upon local society will be discussed in later sections.³ Here it is sufficient to observe that if livestock are not mentioned in most local documents, that may be because as charters of privilege these were not concerned to enumerate possessions in full detail: the single praktikon which has survived shows that one small monastery could have an endowment consisting of 185 sheep, 5 oxen, and 7 donkeys.⁴ There must also have been paddocks for the horses of the much-vaunted Thessalian cavalry, although there is only one specific reference.⁵

Wheat, wine, wool, milk-products, and silk must have accounted for at least 90 per-cent of both local subsistence and local surplus wealth. The diet was supplemented by fruit; orchards (κῆποι) formed part of many a property and there are specific references to apple and pear trees. Bee-keeping must have been important, for even the humblest monasteries were obliged to pay an annual

(1) Appendix II, iii, 14-15.

(2) Byzantis, ii, 62ff.

(3) See infra, 68-70, 321-3.

(4) Bees, 'Gradistion', 86-8.

(5) Byzantis, ii, 66.

rent in wax to their ecclesiastical superiors. The monastery of Lykousada owned fishponds, but these cannot have supplied all its needs, because it also kept two fishermen on a lake in eastern Thessaly.^I The one essential commodity that had to be imported was salt, of which the nearest sources of supply were the pans at the mouth of the Peneios and by the Pagasitic Gulf.² Olive oil, too, must have been brought from the coastal region, unless butter was used as a substitute.

Settlement. There are not sufficient materials for a demographic study, but the region would appear to have been as well settled in our period as at any time in its history. The only ancient town of any size which disappeared entirely was Gomphoi, north-west of Phanari. The large number of villages with Slavonic names suggests that the invaders of the 6th, 7th, and 10th centuries actually colonised areas of the plain for the first time since the Neolithic era.³

Settlements were of three kinds:

- the towns (Trikkala, Stagoi, Gardiki, Phanari);
- the monasteries (Porta-Panagia, Lykousada, Zavlantia, the Meteora, Gradistion, Chrysenon).
- the rural communities (villages and small monasteries which depended upon lay or ecclesiastical magnates).

Trikkala. Trikkala stands on the river Lethaios (Trikkalinós) at the point where this rounds the southern end of a long, low spur of the Chasia mountains. In addition, therefore, to being a road-junction, the site is defensible. Under its ancient name of Trikke, Homer mentions the town as the home of Asklepios

(1) Solovyev/Mošin, 154-6.

(2) Ibid. 226 (Byzantis, ii, 79); Byzantis, i, 256.

(3) Kirsten, 'Beiträge', 295. Vasmer, 86-99, derives 122 place-names in the region of Trikkala-Karditsa from Slavonic roots, though some of these are doubtful, and it is possible that many were brought by the Vlachs and Albanians.

and his sons, and according to Strabo it was the oldest centre of the cult of the healing-god.¹ In Christian times this cult was eventually replaced by that of a local bishop, Oikoumenios. According to a legend which Antonios of Larissa did much to popularise in the 14th-century, Oikoumenios was a Cappadocian and a nephew of the great S. Achillios of Larissa, with whom and with Achillios' other nephew, Reginus, bishop of Skopelos, he was active in fighting the Arian heresy at the first Council of Nicaea.² According to another tradition, Trikke was represented at the Council by one Diodoros.³ Equally fanciful may be the suggestion that Heliodoros, author of the Ethiopica, was a 4th-century bishop of Trikke.⁴ Trikke was one of the Thessalian towns favoured with refortification by Justinian,⁵ but its bishop never ranked higher than seventh among the suffragans of Larissa.

Under its present name, Trikkala is first mentioned by Anna Comnena.⁶ It appears as a fiscal unit in the Privilegium Alexii III, although without designation as thema or episkepsis, and it is omitted in the Partitio Romaniae.

- (1) Iliad, II, 729-31; Strabo, 437; see Origen, Contra Celsum, III, 3. For the results of archaeological attempts to find the Asklepion, see D.P. Theocharis, 'Ανασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναί ἐν Τρίκῃ', Praktika (1957-8), 64-80.
- (2) See the Akolouthia or order of service for the feast of Oikoumenios (3 May), which is attributed to Antonios in a 19th-century manuscript published by N.A. Bees, Χειρόγραφα καὶ παλαιότυπα Ἀγίου Νικολάου Τρικκάλων, Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν: Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου, xii (1962), 12-4. Hymns to Oikoumenios and to Achillios of Larissa are to be found in a 14th-century Athens MS.; I. and A.I. Sakellion, Κατάλογος τῶν Χειρογράφων τῆς Ἑθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος (Athens, 1892), no. 888. The real Oikoumenios seems to have lived in the 10th century: J. Schmid, 'Ökumenios der Apokalypsen-Ausleger und Ökumenios der Bischof von Triikka', Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb., xiv (1937-8), 89 n. 2 (who fails to point out that the legend dates at least from the 14th century).
- (3) Cedrenus, ed. I. Bekker, ii (Bonn Corpus, 1839), 436; Giannopoulos, 'Episcopal lists, i, 297 (without reference to a primary source). A.K. Orlandos, Arch. Byz. Mn. Ell., viii (1956), 125 n. 1, has cast doubt on the historical existence of Diodoros.
- (4) Socrates, Historia Ecclesiastica, IV, 22; G.I. Konidaris, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλλάδος, i (Athens, 1954-60), 430.
- (5) Proc., De Aed., 113.
- (6) Anna Comnena, ii, 24. The derivation of Trikkala not from Trikke but from Bulgarian trkala (circle, precinct) is dubious, as Vasmer, 98, himself admits.

Trikkala is hardly mentioned in 13th-century sources, but it must have been vital for the local dominion of the princes of Epiros; S. Oikoumenios figures in the 13th-century frescoes of the church of the Kato Panagia in Arta, probably a foundation of the Despot Michael II or his wife Theodora.^I Shortly after Thessaly became an independent principality, its rulers founded two large monasteries in the neighbourhood (Porta-Panagia and Lykousada), which suggests that Trikkala was as much the dynastic capital as Neopatras. After 1318, the fall of the latter to the Catalans and the insecurity of Larissa compelled not only the civil authorities but also the local Metropolitan to reside there permanently.

The nucleus of the settlement was the kastron, the fortified enclosure whose 14th-century structure remains largely intact on the hill to the west of the modern town centre. The kastron is generally assumed to have been built on the site of the ancient acropolis, but Antonios of Larissa suggests that this may have been on the hill of the Prophet Elias to the north.² Pouqueville writes of a dervish of his acquaintance who had evidently reached the same conclusion,³ which seems to be supported by the discovery of a Palaeo-Christian basilica on the slopes of this hill.⁴ A document of 1373 mentions a 'doubling-wall' (διπλότοιχος),⁵ which may refer to the wall surrounding the raised precinct, now occupied by an outdoor restaurant, below the main gate to the fortress. The other main section mentioned in the documents is the emporion, or commercial quarter, corresponding probably to the modern 'bazaar' area between the kastron and the main square. There is no evidence that this quarter was fortified.

(1) A.K. Orlandos, 'Ἡ Μονὴ τῆς Κάτω Παναγίας', Arch. Byz. Mn. Ell., ii (1936), 84-5.

(2) Appendix II, iii, 20-6.

(3) F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, Voyage de la Grèce (2nd.edn., Paris, 1826), iii, 344-5.

(4) A.K. Orlandos, 'Ψηφιδωτὸν δάπεδον ἐκ βασιλικῆς τῶν Τρικκάλων', Arch. Byz. Mn. Ell., viii (1956), 117-25.

(5) Byzantis, ii, 99.

Apart from the fortifications, no medieval buildings are standing, and no serious attempt has been made to excavate or identify foundations. The most fruitful area for investigation is the interior of the kastron, now closed to visitors, which undoubtedly contained the most important structures. It would be interesting to know where the princes and other semi-independent rulers of the 14th century had their residence. One of them, the Serbo-Greek Symeon Uroš, styled himself Emperor¹, and although the author of the Chronicle of Ioannina surely waxes rhetorical when he writes that Symeon 'built his palace' (τὰ βασιλεία ἐπήξατο) at Trikkala, and left his wife there 'in charge of the palace court' (ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν βασιλείων αὐλήν)², it is evident that in order to be taken seriously an emperor needed some kind of ceremonial residence. Inside the kastron too would probably have been the houses of the local nobility and higher clergy.

There is rather more information about churches. Antonios of Larissa has much to say about the cathedral church of S. Michael and the Archangels (the Taxiarchs)³ which he, like his predecessor, used as the metropolitan church. He records a tradition that the first church on this site, dedicated to the Mother of God (Theotokos), had been founded by Constantine the Great. He may have had more reliable evidence for stating that the edifice of his day was the work of Michael III (842-867). This church was badly damaged in a fire that swept Trikkala in the time of his predecessor Kyprianos (1318-c.1333). The roof was gutted and the walls blackened. Kyprianos managed to raise a temporary roof, but neither he nor Antonios could find the means to restore it fully. Political conditions made it impossible for work to be started until the reign of Symeon Uroš (post 1359), and even then there would have been no mortar had not Kyprianos from heaven 'miraculously' shown the way to a cache of quicklime. This enabled Antonios to complete the work, and he could proudly write that the church was not, in the

(1) On Symeon, see infra, 251 ff.

(2) Chr. Ioan., §5, p. 77.

(3) Appendix II, iv, 2-13; xvii, 10ff.; xxv - xxvii; xxxi, 20 - xxxii.

circumstances, under-embellished with icons. We find other references to the cathedral of the Taxiarchs in documents of 1373 and 1393¹. There is thus ample evidence that the church continued to hold the see of Trikkala at least until the end of our period, and N.I. Giannopoulos' theory that the Serbian rulers transferred it to the church of S. Stephen must be rejected.² Antonios says that the church of the Taxiarchs contained the relics of Oikoumenios and Kyprianos. He describes it as lying just inside the main gate of the town, on the right. Giannopoulos, writing in 1927, says that the then bishop of Trikke and Stagoi, Polykarpos, claimed to have discovered its ruins within the kastron.³

At this point we may mention an inscription that is in all respects of a doubtful character, but which may provide further testimony to the building activities of Symeon Uroš. The inscription has been published several times, although this has merely increased the uncertainty as to its provenance and its exact text. It seems to have been engraved on a cylindrical stone which, before disappearing early this century, served as a support for a post in the episcopal palace of Trikkala. It records the building of a μνημεῖον in the reign of Symeon Uroš and some unidentifiable 'Despoina', while Neilos was Metropolitan of Larissa. The designation mnemeion would seem to indicate a tomb, a memorial-chapel, or a commemorative column.⁴

The great monasteries of the neighbourhood had extensive properties in and around Trikkala. Within the kastron, the monastery of Porta-Panagia owned a church of the Saviour and various associated houses, along with two other houses 'of Iskariotes' (?); near the emporion it was, in the 1330s (?) building a church

(1) Byzantis, ii, 99-100; D.I. Zakythinos, 'Ανέκδοτα γράμματα περὶ τῶν μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων, Ell., x (1937-8), 284.

(2) Giannopoulos, 'Trikkala', 360-2.

(3) *Ibid.* 363.

(4) D. Papachryssanthou, 'A propos d'une inscription de Syméon Uroš', Travaux et Mémoires, ii (1967), 483-8.

of S. Anthimos.¹ South and west of the town it owned various agricultural properties, and a monydrion of S. Demetrios at Pyrgetos.² The monastery of Zavlantia became by 1366 an equally big property-owner in Trikkala. It possessed a metochion of S. Nicholas inside the kastron and a church of the Three Hierarchs, a brick house just outside, and various sites in the emporion, including the shop or market (ἀγορά) that had belonged to one Drakontaetes; in the surrounding countryside it acquired the monastery of Kalogeriane and the village of Phlamouline.³ The Meteoron monks obtained a kellion, first within the 'doubling-wall', and then next to the church of the Three Hierarchs: this they used as a hostel (anapausis) when they came to Trikkala.⁴ The monastery of Lykousada seems to have had no properties in the kastron or emporion, at least not before 1348, but it had three metochia in the vicinity, and various scattered vineyards.⁵

The list of villages and metochia in and around Trikkala belonging to these monasteries can be greatly extended if we include many other properties whose location is not easily identifiable, but which for that very reason may, mentioned as they are in documents drawn up for local purposes by local scribes, be inferred to have lain in or near the town.

When we remember that the monasteries were only one group of local property-owners, the evidence from their documents allows us to form an impression if not an exact picture of Trikkala as a settlement in the 14th century. The town itself may have occupied a very small area, but the surrounding countryside was well cultivated and well populated, with churches everywhere to be seen. The fact that

(1) Aristarches, 'Documents, 36-7 (authenticity suspect).

(2) Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 310.

(3) Byzantis, ii, 56, 74-5, 83 (Solovyev/Mošin, 220, 254-6).

(4) Byzantis, ii, 99.

(5) Solovyev/Mošin, 252-60.

monasteries which lay several hours' journey from the town acquired so much property there demonstrates the extent to which Trikkala stood at the centre of local business and agriculture, and shows, perhaps, that the donors (and the covetors) of monastic wealth were residents of the kastron.

In his Encomium on Oikoumenios, Antonios of Larissa has left us a kind of ekphrasis of Trikkala which is interesting as being the only known Byzantine literary description of a Thessalian town.^I

Stagoi (Kalambaka). The town lies at the foot of the Meteora rocks overlooking, to the south and west, the valley of the Peneios below the point where this broadens on leaving the mountains. The valley carries the road from Trikkala to Ioannina, which as far as the confluence of the Ion is also the road to western Macedonia. It seems that before the construction of the modern road, which passes close to Kalambaka, travellers crossed to the west bank of the Peneios at Sarakina, south of the town.² The site does not therefore tightly control the main roads or junctions,³ but its elevation makes it a strategic position nevertheless. In our period it must have been important as the Thessalian town closest to Kastoria and Ioannina, places with which Thessalian rulers maintained strong ties.

Stagoi was successor to the ancient Aiginion.⁴ The town first appears under its medieval name in the Notitia of Leo VI (886-912). It does not figure in the Privilegium or the Partitio, and there are indications that in the 12th century, as at times in antiquity, it was administered from Macedonia.⁵ By the 14th century,

(1) Appendix II, iii-iv.

(2) Pouqueville, Voyage de la Grèce, ii, 382; Fr. Chr. Mor., § 903, p. 356.

(3) Stählin, 122.

(4) Ibid.; Philippson, 34.

(5) Astruc, 222-8; Stählin, 122.

however, it appears as the centre of an archontia^I, with its own military governor or kephale.² As a bishopric, it had a more distinguished history. Its cathedral church seems to have been a liturgical centre since early Christian times, and the name Stagoi may be a corruption of εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους - 'the place of the saints'.³ In the 14th century, the bishops of Stagoi helped to promote the growth of ascetic communities among the Meteora rocks, and some of the diocesan archives thus found their way into the cartulary of the Great Meteoron. These documents have come down to us, and they contain references to several others. They are useful sources for the properties and boundaries of the diocese, and for the topography of medieval Stagoi.

As in Trikkala, we find the basic division between kastron and emporion. Hardly any visible remains of the kastron have survived, but it must have occupied a small area at the top of the modern town, taking in the episcopal church, slightly to the west of the acropolis of ancient Aiginion.⁴ The emporion, which lay at the foot of the kastron, belonged entirely to the bishopric.⁵ Astruc corrects the ideas of certain scholars, who thought that Stagoi was divided between two separate sites, corresponding to the modern settlements of Kalambáka and Kastráki, and of others who, not unreasonably, understood the term kastron to mean the town as a whole. That Stagoi was of military importance during our period is indicated by the fact that garrison-troops (τξάκωνες) were stationed here.⁷

(1) Bees, 'Gradistion', 86, 90-2; Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 173.

(2) Byzantis, ii, 28, 90, 91, 94 (Solovyev/Mošin, 242, 246); Bogiatzides, ii, 173.

(3) Nicol, Meteora, 79, n. 18 and refs.

(4) Stählin, 122; Kirsten, 'Beiträge', 275 n. 1.

(5) Uspensky, 406 (MM, v, 271).

(6) Astruc, 220, n. 2.

(7) Byzantis, i, 274.

The cathedral church of the Dormition of the Virgin, which can have been the only sizeable building in medieval Stagoi, is also the only one to have survived. In structure it is comparable to and probably contemporary with the 11th-century churches of Kastoria. The building covers the remains of an early Byzantine church, from which three pieces of liturgical furniture - the synthronon, the ciborium, and the ambo - seem to be partially reconstructed survivals. Painted on the inside wall is a copy of Andronikos III's chrysobull to the bishopric.¹

On the edge of the kastron area were a bathing-establishment (λόετρον) connected with a church of S. John the Baptist.² Mulberry trees have always been a feature of the town; this suggests that sericulture was central to the local economy in our period as in Leake's day.³

Gardiki (Palaiogardíki). This town, now abandoned, was situated, like Trikkala, on the southern end of a spur of the Chasia mountains. It lies 12 km. east of Trikkala, and overlooks the road to Larissa at a point where this has to pass between the spur and a large area of marshland (Voúla).

The site has been identified as that of the ancient Pelinna.⁴ The ruins of medieval fortifications and a large 14th-century church, Agía Paraskeví, testify to the existence of a town here in the late Byzantine period.⁵ Unfortunately, the history of this town is far from clear, partly through lack of evidence,

(1) Sotiriou, 'Monuments', iii; N. Nikonanos, Arch. Delt., xxv (1970), B', pt. 2, 290-I.

(2) Astruc, 221; Bogiatzides, ii, 155.

(3) Astruc, 221; Philippson, 34; W.M. Leake, Travels, iv, 262-3; L. Heuzey, Excursion dans la Thessalie Turque en 1858 (Paris, 1927), 125.

(4) Stählin, 117; Philippson, 53-4.

(5) A.K. Orlandos, Δύο ανέκδοτοι ναοὶ τῆς περιοχῆς Τρικκάλων, Arch. Byz. Mn. Ell., iii (1937), 153-60.

and partly because the name Gardiki, derived from the Slavonic *Gordŭkŭ* (fortress, citadel; = Gk. *Kastrí*), was common enough in medieval Greece.¹ There was, for example, a Gardiki in Phthiotis which Benjamin of Tudela visited in the 12th century and which is probably the town mentioned in several western sources, notably in connection with a Latin bishopric created after 1204.² It is unlikely that the Latins, whose influence in western Thessaly was never strong, would have had many dealings with the town near Trikkala, whereas they occupied Phthiotis for much of our period. On the other hand, the Gardiki with which we are concerned is more likely to be the see ranking twelfth or thirteenth among the suffragan bishoprics of Larissa in most *Notitiae Episcopatum*, since there were Greek bishops of Gardiki in the 14th century, when Phthiotis was under Latin rule, and there continued to be a see of the same name in Thessaly until 1899.³

Gardiki is first named in the *Notitia* of c. 1100. It is the only town in the region of Trikkala not mentioned in the monastic sources of our period. Yet it must have been a settlement of some importance, if it was indeed the Gardiki which was raised to the status of an autocephalous archbishopric under Isaac II (1185-1195). It was probably before this promotion that Michael Choniates wrote a letter to Epiphanius, bishop of Gardiki and Peristera.⁴

Phanari. The town occupies the conical summit of a spur of the Pindos falling steeply away to the plain on the north, east, and south-east. This bluff is a prominent landmark, and controls the 'boundary' between the two parts of the west Thessalian plain. It was probably the site of Homer's 'rocky Ithome' ('*Ἰθώμη*

(1) Vasmer, 88, and index (cf. also **Gordŭkŭ*, **Gradŭkŭ*).

(2) The confusion is evident in the works of even the best modern scholars: see Orlandos, op. cit. 154-5; Ferjančić, *Tesalija*, 23 n. 58, 50 n. 47, and map, who shows himself to be completely unaware of the existence of Gardiki near Trikkala. The identity of the Latin bishopric, at least, was clear to Tafel (*De Thessalonica*, 493-5).

(3) Giannopoulos, 'Episcopal lists', ii, 175-6; Heuzey, *Excursion*, op. cit., 53-6; Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, iv, 288-9.

(4) Lampros, *Michael Choniates*, ii, 69.

κλῶμακόςσασα)¹, and its later name, meaning a beacon, suggests that it was important throughout history as an observation and signalling post. Phanari does not, however, appear in the standard sources for the administrative geography of the Byzantine empire, and is first mentioned, as a small town (ἄστυ) in Andronikos II's chrysobull to the nearby monastery of Lykousada (1289).² There is no evidence that it was the seat of a local kephale, although Michael Gabrielopoulos, who issued the residents of the kastron with a charter in 1342, may have exercised this function.³ In any case, the military importance of the kastron is evident from 14th-century sources,⁴ and from its ruins, some of the most impressive medieval fortifications to be seen in Thessaly. Ecclesiastically, the town was served by the bishops of Kapoua (Kapoulia), who some time before 1381 began to include the name of Phanari in their title.⁵

The kastron is the only part of the town referred to; if there was an emporion, this was probably on the site of the modern village.

Porta-Panagia. The monastery of the Virgin Akatamachetos 'at the Great Gates' lay tucked inside the gorge of the river Portaikos at the point where this enters the west Thessalian plain some 20km. south-west of Trikkala. The text of an inscription now lost records its foundation in 1283.⁶ Besides the two documents

(1) Iliad, II, 729; Stählin, 129; Nicol, Meteora, 4-5.

(2) MM, v, 255.

(3) Ibid. 260-1.

(4) Fr. Chr. Mor, 349 ff; Bees, 'Lykousada', 484-5.

(5) Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 316-7; N.A. Bees, Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν Φαναρίου τῆς Θεσσαλίας, Viz. Vrem., xv (1913), 57-62; Archbishop Iezekiel, 'Ἡ ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Φαναριοφερσάλων, Θεολογία, vii (1929), 244.

(6) Orlandos, 'Porta-Panagia', 7-8.

which have survived,¹ the best evidence for the monastery is its church. The original structure is that of a three-aisled basilica crossed by an elevated transept west of the iconostasis. In style and in exterior brick decoration it is similar to the slightly earlier church of the Kato Panagia at Arta.² At the west end is a large exonarthex supporting a dome. Orlandos has suggested that this structure, which appears to date from the later 14th century, and which has certain Gothic features, shows Serbian influence.³ We read in the synodal judgment of 1381 that the caesar Alexios Angelos, ruler of Thessaly from c. 1372, found the monastery rather dilapidated and made repairs.⁴ It is probable, therefore, that the exonarthex was built by Serbian craftsmen working under his direction. The most interesting features of the interior are the marble templon with two full-length mosaic icons of Christ and the Virgin flanking the central gate, their normal positions reversed,⁵ and a deesis fresco of the founder in a recessed typanum over what was evidently his tomb.⁶

Lykousada. The monastery of Our Lady of Mercy at Lykousada is described as lying near Phanari, or, in one case, 'in the kastron of Phanari'.⁷ Bees claimed to have seen its ruins in 1909 in the village of Loxáda, beneath Phanari to the south,⁸ but these had disappeared by 1929. At this date, however, the villagers

(1) Aristarches, 'Documents', 36-7; Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal'.

(2) Orlandos, 'Porta-Panagia', 16-7.

(3) Ibid. 21-4.

(4) Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 306-8.

(5) Orlandos, 'Porta-Panagia', 26-33.

(6) Ibid. 33-6.

(7) Bees, 'Lycousada', 485.

(8) Ibid. 479 and n. 1.

still held a yearly litany of supplication before an icon brought for the purpose from the Meteora whither, according to tradition, it had been transferred from Lykousada.¹

The monastery was founded by the nun Hypomone, widow of the sebastokrator John Doukas, sometime before 1289.² By 1348 it was by far the richest Thessalian monastery, owning properties both in the vicinity and at Pharsala, Domokos, and Almyros.³ When we next hear of it, in 1383, it is mentioned as having recently been created a stavropegion, which suggests that it had been destroyed in the middle of the century and subsequently refounded. However, its abbot now held the prestigious office of archimandrite and protosynkellos of all the monasteries in Vlachia.⁴

Zavlantia. The dedication and location of this monastery present problems which have never been analysed. In charters of 1336, 1340, 1348, and 1359, it is called the monastery of S. George, but in 1366 the name of S. Nicholas also occurs. The synod of 1381, called to regulate the affairs of Porta-Panagia, met in the abbot's lodging (ἡγουμενεῖον) of S. Nicholas, and one of the members signed himself 'IAKOBOS, hieromonk...and abbot of Zavlantia, of the holy monastery of S. Nicholas' (ΙΑΚΟΒΟΣ, ἱερομόναχος ... καὶ καθηγούμενος Ζαβλαντίων, τῆς θείας μονῆς τοῦ Ἀγίου Νικολάου).⁵

(1) Archbishop Iezekiel, 'Ἡ ἱερὰ μονὴ Λυκουσάδας, Θεολογία, vii (1929), 163-4.

(2) *MM*, v, 254-5.

(3) Solovyev/Mošin, 154ff.

(4) Lampros, 'Sigillion', 176-8. In this document the monastery is called Leukousiada.

(5) Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 314.

Does this mean that the church of Zavlantia had been reconsecrated or abandoned? The document bears closer examination. The properties whose ownership was being established all lay close to Trikkala^I, the regional capital and hence the most natural meeting-point for the highest dignitaries of the area. Also present were 'the archons of this town together with all the Phanariots' (οἱ τῆς τοιαύτης πόλεως ἄρχοντες μετὰ τῶν Φαναριωτῶν πάντων)².

Heuzey takes the phrase to refer only to the archons of Phanari, whereas there is evidently another group: the archons of this town. In the context, the place in question can only be Trikkala, and the wording suggests that the proceedings were held inside and not outside the town. To find Iakobos described in the same passage as 'abbot of the holy monastery of Zavlantia and of S. Nicholas' (καθηγούμενος τῆς ἱερᾶς μονῆς Ζαβλαντίων καὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Νικολάου)³ is convincing enough evidence that the latter was a separate monastery and lay in Trikkala. It should no doubt be identified with the monydrion of S. Nicholas which the earlier charters state that Zavlantia possessed within the kastron,⁴ and with the 'monastery of S. Nicholas' mentioned in various other sources.⁵

Nicol, following Uspensky, locates the original monastery of S. George at Korbovo, in the mountains north-east of Trikkala, where there is now a nunnery of the same dedication.⁶ Yet Korbovo appears in the sources merely as a 'field'

(1) Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 308.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Byzantis, ii, 56, 74 (Solovyev/Mošin, 220).

(5) Byzantis, i, 255; ii, 40-2, 98-100; Nicol, Meteora, 104 n. 22, 153 n. 16.

(6) Ibid. 58; Uspensky, index.

(ἀγρίδιον)¹, belonging to the monastery and in no way associated with it geographically, as is, however, the village of Zavlantia. Zavlantia, recently renamed Palaiópyrgos, stands between Korbovo and Trikkala, to the south of a spur of hills shorter than that terminating at Trikkala but stemming from the same point in the mountains. On the hill above the village are the ruins of a small 14th-century fortress - the old tower or Palaiópyrgos.² This is almost certainly the tower (πύργος) which Symeon Uroš in 1366 allowed the monks to build 'above Zavlantia, in the place called Melissa' (περὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν Ζαβλαντίων ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν Μέλισσαν λεγομένην) as a place of refuge for themselves and the villagers.³ This tells us that the tower must have been easy of access from the monastery. In May 1974 I investigated the small church of S. George, marked on old staff-maps of the district 2, 5 km. north of Zavlantia. The church stands in a secluded, wooded valley on the east side of the spur, just below a large cistern. The present structure dates from 1870, but the following remains of an earlier building might bear expert examination:-

- i) the tile decoration on one part of the apse exterior;
- ii) the marble columns inside the sanctuary;
- iii) a sculptured slab built into the NW corner of the church, showing two peacocks facing each other.

At the time of its earliest surviving charter (1336), the monastery of S. George of Zavlantia, with merely four properties, was hardly of the same order as Porta-Panagia. Yet, lying close to Trikkala, and possessing a metochion within the kastron, it had in the local capital an influence for which conquerors were most grateful.⁴ As a result of donations made in the reign of Symeon Uroš, it became a major landowner. The growing importance of Trikkala and the continual threat from bandits must have been factors which caused the monastery of S. George to decline in favour of its urban metochion of S. Nicholas.

(1) Byzantis, ii, 56.

(2) N. Nikonanos in Arch. Delt., xxviii (1973) (forthcoming)

(3) Byzantis, ii, 82 (Solovyev/Mošin, 252-4).

(4) Byzantis, ii, 55-6, 73 (Solovyev/Mošin, 218).

TRIKKALA AND ZAVLANTIA
(from a Greek Staff map)
Scale 1: 75,000.

Dependencies of the monastery underlined.



The Meteora. Byzantine Thessaly's main claim to 20th-century fame lies in the monasteries perched on the summits or nestling in the caves of the gaunt rock pillars behind Kalambáka. The wildness of this landscape and the shelter and isolation afforded by the numerous caves must always have attracted the attention of would be solitaries, and it may be that the history of monasticism in the Meteora is as old as that of Christianity in Thessaly. Our earliest written evidence for it, however, is the mention of a small monastery (monydrion) at Doupiane in a praktikon issued to the bishopric of Stagoi. The praktikon is mentioned in a chrysobull of 1336, and attempts to date it to the 12th century have not been convincing.¹ The small church of Zoodochos Pege at the foot of the rock of Doupiane contains, however, Byzantine frescoes which N. Nikonanos has dated to the late 12th century;² this then may be evidence that some kind of monastic life flourished among the Meteora rocks before the Fourth Crusade.

Yet however long the prehistory of the Meteora, their history begins in the 14th century, with the appearance of documents, inscriptions, and hagiography, from which it appears that the formative period of the communities was between 1330 and 1362. Between 1362 and 1400 the larger ones acquired the status and structure of full, self-governing monasteries. A number of factors contributed to their growth: the personal reputation of the founders; the stark landscape, a passable substitute for the Egyptian desert; the patronage of local rulers and their associates. Above all, the Meteora monks, being separated from the ground by high precipices, could defy the marauders who, sooner or later, put an end to the older Thessalian monasteries.

(1) MM, v, 270-3; Uspensky, 405-8; Dogiatzides, ii, 153 ff.; Astruc, 235 nn. 2 and 4, 237 n. 4; Nicol, Meteora, 80 n. 20.

(2) His study of the paintings has yet to appear in print; meanwhile, see the report in Arch. Delt., xxv (1970), B', part 2, 294, and A. Xyngopoulos, 'Ανασκαφή Δούπιανης καὶ Καστροπίου', Praktika (1932), 53-5.

The earliest account of the beginnings of the Meteora, the 16th-century Historical Discourse, gives the impression that the local 'thebaid' began as the Skete of Stagoi, firmly controlled by the bishop and by the abbot of the monastery of Doupiane, whose church was the liturgical centre - the protaton or kyriakon - for all the scattered hermits, and who was therefore known as head or protos of the skete.¹ Formally this may have been true, but the Discourse, a piece of propaganda against the tyranny of the (Great) Meteoron, probably overstates the formality without much regard for the reality of the mid-14th century.² Two contemporary protoi, Neilos and Neophytos, certainly became abbots of Doupiane but Neilos, at least, acquired this title independently of the other.³ There is no evidence for a previous protos; his predecessor as abbot of Doupiane, Makarios, is otherwise referred to only as archimandrite,⁴ and mention of the title first occurs in a protagma which Symeon Uroš issued to Neilos in May 1362.⁵ This document, as Nicol points out, reads much like a monastery's typikon, which suggests that it represents the earliest effort to settle the affairs of the rock population as a whole. The rights of the protos as defined in it are far from absolute, and those of the bishop are almost nominal: rather, it is stressed that the monks must be left in peace to seek their salvation and pray for the powers that be.

The Meteora communities seem to have formed around not one nucleus but several, and in the beginning these nuclei were not churches but men. The first to attract a following appears to have been Gregory 'the Stylite', an Athonite and a Constantinopolitan, who arrived in the 1330s and settled in a cave on the Stylos rock. He returned to Constantinople about 1350, unable to bear the harsh condi-

(1) L. Heuzey and H. Daumet, Mission archéologique de Macédoine (Paris, 1876), i, 441-2.

(2) Nicol, Meteora, 71; Subotić, 153 and n. 40, 147

(3) Lascaris, 'byzantinoserbica', 297-8.

(4) Byzantis, ii, 88; Bogiatzides, ii, 172-5; Subotić, 240-1

(5) Byzantis, ii, 89-96 (Solovyev/mošin, 240-9).

(6) Nicol, Meteora, 85.

tions and the vexatious local officials. However, he left the rock well - populated with monks. His spiritual pupil Athanasios returned to carry on his work, although not at Stylos but on one of the rocks across the valley to the north: the Broad Rock (πλατὺς λίθος), which Athanasios renamed the Meteoron ('suspended in air'), and on which the largest of the rock monasteries was built. It owed its importance largely to the comparative splendour and wealth which it early acquired through the patronage of John-Ioasaph, the son of the 'emperor' Symeon-Uroš and a considerable political personality even after his abdication (c. 1372). His spiritual qualities also commanded respect, and Athanasios appointed him to lead the community after his death (1383).¹

The spiritual 'dynasty' of Gregory, Athanasios, and Ioasaph was by far the greatest single influence in the 14th-century thebaids of Stagoi. Other groups and individuals looked to these men for inspiration and guidance. Athanasios' biographer tells of one Ignatios who came, with five other men, to sit at the master's feet.² This may be the Ignatios mentioned in the documents as head of the monastery of Theosteriktos,³ or, if not the same person, the monk who took over the kellion of S. Demetrios at Douplane from Neophytos.⁴ This Neophytos, who also helped to found the Pantokrator monastery at Douplane, bequeathing both foundations to the Meteoron, felt greatly indebted to his spiritual mentors

(1) On Gregory, Athanasios, and Ioasaph, see the Life of Athanasios, Byzantis, i, 237-63; Nicol, Meteora, chapter 5.

(2) Byzantis, i, 253.

(3) Byzantis, ii, 38-9.

(4) Ibid. 31-2.

Gregory and Athanasios.¹ Three monks - Hilarion, Gervasios, and Iakobos - who wished to set up a kellion put themselves under Athanasios' supervision.² It was to Ioasaph, the abbot of a community at Stylos, turned for guidance after his disastrous fall into temptation.³ But the most striking evidence for the prestige of Gregory, Athanasios, and Ioasaph among contemporaries is the fact that other founding fathers of the thebaid left their houses to be dependencies of the Meteoron. One of these was the Makarios already mentioned as abbot of Doupiane and archimandrite some time before 1362. According to the author of the Patria he came, under the name of Manasses, from the monastery of Chrysenon in the Pindos.⁴ He took over the humble hermitage which Paschales, a penitent thief from Stagoi, had earlier constructed on the north side of the Stylos rock, and being a man of means, he built a small church in the cave above. He also seems to have been co-founder of a kellion at Petra.⁵ Later, we are told, he returned to Chrysenon, possibly because he, like Gregory, found the people of Stagoi unsympathetic.

Better known as a founder of rock communities is Neilos, who became successively dikaios of the diocese of Stagoi, protos of the skete, and, shortly before May 1363, abbot of Doupiane. He was on good terms with the Serbian rulers Symeon and John Uroš, and may have been a landowner. He was ktetor 'by hereditary right'⁶ (ἀπὸ γονικότητος) of a small hermitage at Mekane. He also claimed to have

(1) Byzantis, ii, 31-2.

(2) Uspensky, 448-9; Nicol, Meteora, 101.

(3) Byzantis, i, 275.

(4) *Ibid.* 274-5.

(5) Byzantis, ii, 27-9.

(6) *Ibid.* 10 (Solovyev/Mošin, 210); Lascaris, 'Byzantinoserbica', 300.

built and endowed three kellia - S. Demetrios, the Pantokrator, and the Hypapante - entirely at his own expense. In this he was certainly giving himself too much credit, with what intent it is hard to say. A noble monk Kyprianos (Constantine) helped to defray the building-costs of the Hypapante,¹ and Neilos' testament leaving S. Demetrios and the Pantokrator to the Meteoron² is repeated by one from a monk Neophytos.³ Both monks probably contributed materially to the welfare of the kellia, but it is strange that each claims to be their sole founder and benefactor, especially since the moving spirit behind the community of S. Demetrios appears to have been Neilos' disciple Kallinikos.⁴

The Historical Discourse claims that Neilos founded no less than four churches within the confines of the skete. Attempts have been made to identify these, but Subotić is probably right in thinking that all but one, the Hypapante, are fictitious.⁵

Under these men the 'stone city' (λιθόπολις⁶) behind Stagoi became by the end of the 14th century one of the largest monastic polities in the Byzantine world outside Mt. Athos. There is evidence for the existence of the following communities: the Stylos, Doupiane, the Meteoron, Agia Triada, S. Stephen, the Hypselotera, the Hypapante; and two whose location has not been identified - Petra and Theosteriktos.

(1) Byzantis, i, 573; Nicol, Meteora, 159; Subotić, 150-1.

(2) Confirmed in 1392-3 by Ioasaph, Metropolitan of Larissa: Byzantis, ii, 35-8.

(3) Ibid. 30-5. This will is probably later than that of Neilos since (1) it refers to the monk Ioasaph and cannot therefore be earlier than Nov. 1372, the terminus post quem for the latter's abdication as emperor (infra, 257-8) and also the last date at which Neilos is mentioned in the sources; (2) it calls Ioasaph Athanasios' successor - a succession which the saint did not decide upon until shortly before his death in 1383 (Byzantis, i, 253-5, 215). Neilos had died by 1381, for his positions as protos and abbot were then held by one Neophytos (Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 314). If this is the Neophytos of the bequest he may simply as abbot of Doupiane have had ktetor's rights over the two kellia.

(4) Byzantis, ii, 13-6.

(5) Subotić, 144-51.

(6) Byzantis, i, 248.

 Hypapante

SKETCH MAP
OF
THE METEORA AND STAGOI

(for greater detail see Heuzey-
Daumet, Mission de Macédoine,
Plan F).

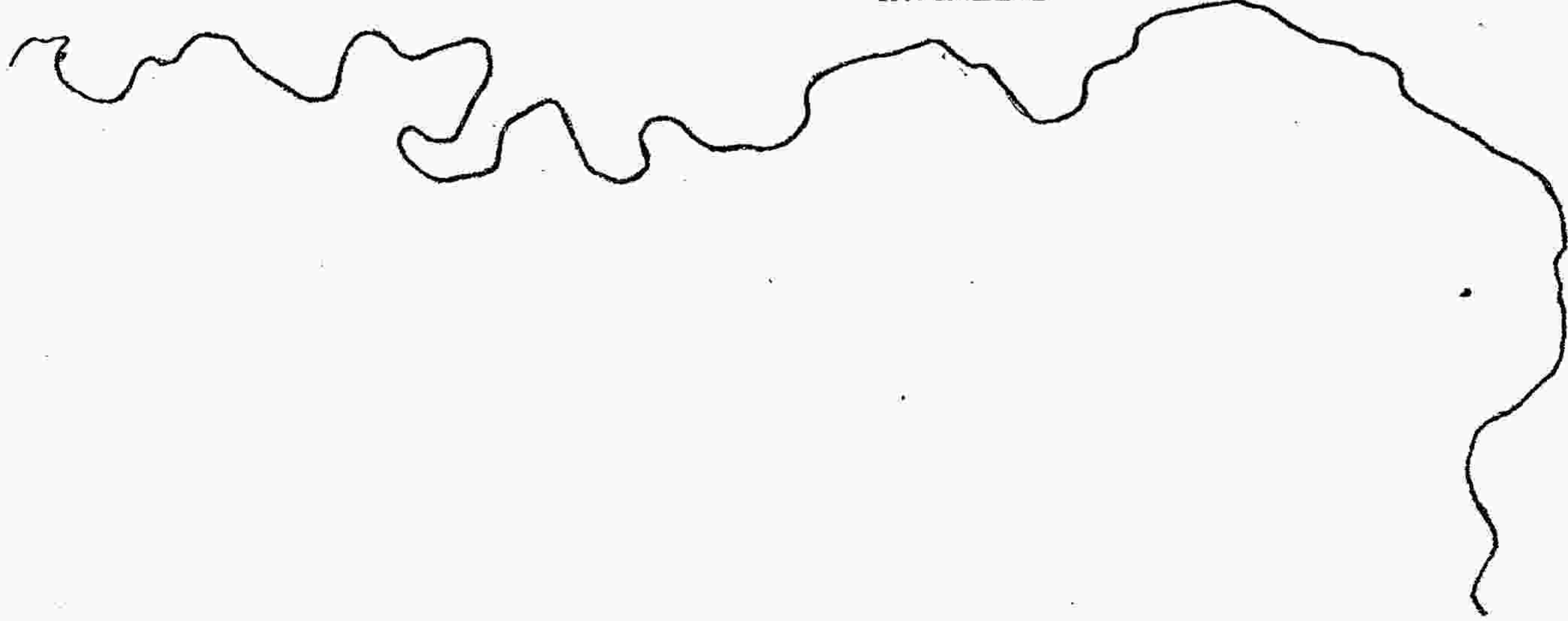
Platys Lithos
(Meteoron)  Barlaam
 Hypselotera
 S. Nicholas Kophinas

Scale 1: 25,000.

Daupiane  Ch. of
Zoodochos Pege
 Stylos?
KASTRAKI  Agia Triada
 S. Stephen
Kastron?
 Cathedral
STAGOI

TRIKKALA


R. PENEIOS



The Stylos. This has been identified with the rock of Agion Pnévma, the northernmost of the chain to the east of the modern village of Kastraki.¹ According to the biographer of Athanasios, when the saint and his spiritual father first arrived, it was the only rock not entirely left to the crows and vultures.² A shepherd had previously lived here and carved a chapel out of the rock, dedicating it to the Taxiarchs. This was now in the care of an aged monk called Trypheros. The newcomers made their homes in separate caves on the north side of the rock. Gregory drew crowds of admirers from the town as well as a group of dedicated disciples. For its sustenance, the community acquired a plot of land to the west of the rock; its possession was confirmed in January 1341 by the bishop of Stagoi, Xenophon.³

The Stylos was too near Stagoi for a monk's peace of mind. When Gregory banished his pupil to the south side of the rock after having observed demons hovering outside his cave, Athanasios could not bear the din from the town. Even when he had found a quieter place he was disturbed by robbers, and this decided him to move to the more inaccessible Broad Rock.⁴ These robbers seem to have been guards from the garrison of Stagoi.⁵ They raided the Stylos at least twice. On the first occasion one of them, Paschales, was caught by the authorities, who punished him by amputating his left foot. Returning to the scene of the crime, he let himself down the north side of the Stylos by a rope and landed in a cave, but he found this too cramped, and so decided to build his hermitage at the foot of the rock; the cave was not developed for monasticism until after

(1) Bogiatzides, ii, 175-7; Nicol, Meteora, 92 n. 9.

(2) Byzantis, i, 245.

(3) Byzantis, ii, 96-8; i, 275; Bogiatzides, ii, 176.

(4) Byzantis, i, 246-8.

(5) Ibid. 274.

his death.¹ On another raid, the tzakones brought the black Death to the rock. This attack may have had official approval, for about 1350 a governor of Stagoi confiscated two caves from the community.² It was certainly a clash with authority that prompted Gregory to return to Constantinople. Athanasios followed him to Thessalonica, but he persuaded his pupil to persevere in the wilderness, and appointed two other monks, Gregory and Pachomios, to accompany him. They returned to find that Gregory's chosen successor on the Stylos, Pachomios, had died. Athanasios left his companions with the other Stylites and returned to the Broad Rock.³

The history of the Stylos in the latter half of the century is fairly obscure. It never became the site of a major monastery. Yet the Stylites continued to think of themselves as an independent community, and seem to have been the first to contest the supremacy of the Meteoron. In 1388 their leader, the archimandrite Ananias, lost a suit in which he had disputed the Meteorites' title to a kellion of the Theotokos at Pegadi.⁴ The Meteoron had received this in bequest from 'the late archimandrite Makarios' - information which allows us to identify it with the 'cave of the archimandrite at Pegadi', which Symeon Uroš restored to the Stylites in 1362, together with that of 'father Neophytos'; these were the caves confiscated c. 1350. The names of Neophytos and Makarios are associated, in the Patria of Hypselotera, with the cave of Paschales on the north side of the rock: this, the same source informs us, was unsuitable for monks because it overlooked the place where women came to draw water.⁵ The monastery of the Theotokos at Pegadi may thus plausibly be identified with the home of the community which later migrated to the hypselotera rock.

(1) by Makarios-Manasses; see supra, 56.

(2) Byzantis, ii, 91 (Solovyev/Mošin, 242).

(3) Byzantis, i, 248-9.

(4) Byzantis, ii, 24-7.

(5) Byzantis, i, 274-5.

Doupiane. This rock stands to the north of the valley of Kastraki, immediately to the left as one climbs the modern road out of the village. We have already mentioned the church of Zoodochos Pege which lies at its foot and which seems to have been the first sacramental centre of the Meteora. Two other houses founded on the north side of Doupiane in the 14th century, the monasteries of S. Demetrios and the Pantokrator, have also been discussed, in connection with their founders and benefactors, Kallinikos, Neilos, and Neophytos.^I

The Meteoron. As we have seen, this rock was rebaptised by Athanasios after he had decided to live on it. His only predecessor, it seems, was another Athonite who had retired because of poor health.

'On climbing it, Athanasios found the rock most suitably sited for habitation, standing high above the surrounding rocks, and ample both in breadth and length. On one side was airy and enjoyed a fine view; on the other it was sheltered from the winter blasts. Clothed with thick copses and all manner of plants it had, in a word, the best of both worlds'.²

Athanasios' spiritual father, Gregory, was reluctant to part with him, but finally allowed him to live on the rock with two companions, of whom one, Iakobos, received ordination. In the cave above the one where they lived, they raised a small church to the Theotokos.

The community on the Broad Rock did not develop further until Athanasios returned from his farewell visit to Gregory in Thessalonica (c. 1350). Although in principle disinclined to accept disciples, Athanasios felt the need for company on his giddy eminence and thus allowed himself to become the head of a regular monastery or koinobion. As the community grew, the caves became overcrowded.

(1) See supra, 53, 57; Nicol, Meteora, 164.

(2) Byzantis, i, 247:

Obtaining financial aid 'from some Serbian magnate', Athanasios and his disciples built a new church, on top of the rock, dedicated to Christ the Saviour. This church was rebuilt on a larger scale by Athanasios' successor, John-Ioasaph Uroš. The apse and sanctuary of this second structure still serve the monastery church of the Metamorphosis, most of which is a 10th-century reconstruction. Two inscriptions of the year 1387-8 record Ioasaph's contribution, although in one of them Athanasios is also named as ktetor.¹

The monastery of the Metamorphosis is often called the 'Great' Meteoron, in contrast to the 'Little' Meteoron, or monastery of All Saints, called Barlaam, on the adjacent rock. Barlaam was a contemporary of Athanasios, but nothing more is known about him from 14th-century sources. He may have founded a church of the Three Hierarchs, but this had long been abandoned when the founders of the present monastery arrived in the 16th century.²

The Hypapante. The monastery of the Hypapante lies in a cave in a rock to the north of the Meteoron, somewhat removed from the main group of monasteries. It is the least documented but the best preserved of the 14th-century foundations. According to two inscriptions, its church of the Ascension was built in the year 1366-7 by the protos Neilos with the backing of a noble monk Kyprianos.³ Its structure, though adapted to the cave, is recognisably that of the stavrepistegos type which Orlandos has shown to be common among late Byzantine monuments in southern and central Greece, and which in Thessaly is also represented by Porta-Panagia.⁴

(1) Byzantis, i, 250 ff, 583-6; Sotiriou, 'Monuments', iv, 394-6; Nicol, Meteora, 107, and 119 ff. for the monastery buildings in general.

(2) Life and Testament of Nektarios and Theophanes, ed. Sp. Lampros, Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν Μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων, Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, ii (1905), 102-3.

(3) Subotić, 145-51; supra, 57.

(4) Subotić, 151-6; Sotiriou, 'Monuments', iv, 392-3; A.K. Orlandos, Οἱ σταυρεπίστεγοι ναοὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Arch. byz. Mn. Ell., i (1935), 41-52.

The painted decoration of the interior has been almost perfectly preserved. It is of a high quality, but cannot be assigned to any one school.¹ The iconographic cycle shows the influence of local religion and politics. Portrayed in the deesis of hierarchs in the apse are two local saints: Achilleios of Larissa and Oikoumenios of Trikke. The inclusion of the latter, depicted holding a scroll with the inscription 'Be mindful, O Lord, of the city in which we dwell'

(Μνήσθητι Κύριε τῆς πόλεως ἐν ᾗ κατοικοῦμεν) shows how the founders identified with Trikkala, the local capital, and were perhaps influenced by Antonios of Larissa, who did much to popularise local cults.² Prominence is given to S. Stephen, patron of the Serbian Nemanjid dynasty, and to S. Athanasios the Great, namesake of the founder of the Meteoron.³ The monastery may have been named after Christ's Presentation in the Temple and Circumcision by the High Priest Symeon in order to honour the 'Emperor of the Greeks and Serbs'.⁴

Another painting worthy of note is the deesis portrait of Neilos.⁵

The Hypselotera. The so-called Patria of Hypselotera⁶ traces the origins of this monastery back to a community on the Stylos rock. In the last quarter of the 14th century its leader was a local monk called Dorotheos. Although energetic and industrious, he was easily tempted, and succumbed, 'for his habitation was in the midst of snares'. After having come to himself, he consulted with Ioasaph of the Meteoron, with the Metropolitan of Larissa, and with his brothers; he concluded that the monastery should move, for in its present place it was 'not a heavenly

(1) Subotić, 174-6.

(2) Ibid. 167-8; infra, 310-II; Byzantis, i, 579, where Bees lists the representations of Oikoumenios which are to be found in other churches of north-western Thessaly.

(3) Nicol, Meteora, 159; Subotić, 157-8.

(4) Nicol, Meteora, 158.

(5) Subotić, 148, 150.

(6) Byzantis, i, 274-6.

retreat but a hell-hole' (οὐ γὰρ ἡσυχαστήριον ἀλλὰ κολαστήριον).

In 1390-I he climbed the Hypselotera or 'higher' rock next to the Meteoron, and by ropes and ladders the move was effected. On the summit of the rock he and his companions raised a church to the Theotokos. After his death, his place as abbot was taken by a young monk, Barnabas, who endowed the church with liturgical vessels and books, of which many were copied by Neilos, author of the 'Patria'.¹ The hypselotera also received benefactions from a noble lady, to whom Neilos wrote a letter of thanks.² In 1401, the monastery is referred to as a kellion of the Meteoron.³

The summit of the rock is today inaccessible, and the now-abandoned monastery buildings have not been investigated.⁴

S. Stephen's. This monastery, of whose medieval structure nothing remains, was founded prior to 1404 by a member of the Kantakouzenos family with the monastic name of Antonios,⁵ possibly a son of the despot Nikephoros II and Maria, daughter of John VI Cantacuzene; Nicol has suggested that the dedication shows an affinity with the local Serbian rulers.⁶ S. Stephen's is the only monastery visible from Kalambáka, to the right as one faces the rocks. The ancient Aiginion lay at its foot.

Agia Triada. The monastery of the Holy Trinity, near S. Stephen's, existed in the 15th century as a kellion of the skete. There seems to have been some kind of church on the rock as early as 1362.⁷

(1) Byzantis, i, 236^{xxx-xxxiv}; Bees/Vranoussis, Catalogue, nos. 25, 31, 195, and pp. 712-3.

(2) Byzantis, i, 277.

(3) Byzantis, ii, 48.

(4) Nicol, Meteora, 156-7.

(5) Uspensky, 428; A. Adamantiou, Εργασίαι ἐν Μετεώροις, Praktika (1909), 223-4.

(6) Nicol, Meteora, 124 ff.; Kantakouzenos, 133.

(7) Nicol, Meteora, 149-51; Byzantis, ii, 94 (Solovyev/Mošin, 246).

S. Nicholas at Petra. This monastery is among the possessions of the bishopric of Stagoi listed in the patriarchal act of 1393.¹ A badly damaged document issued by the bishop of Stagoi, probably in 1388, seems to refer to its foundation by the monks Sabbas and Manasses -Makarios.²

S. Nicholas Kophinās. Otherwise known as Bádova, this monastery is frequently mentioned in the Historical Discourse as having been a victim of Meteorite rapacity in the 15th century, and its name occurs in many later sources. The only evidence that it existed in the 14th century is an incomplete reference in the damaged episcopal letter of 1388 to the abbot (?) of some monastery τῶν Κοφινιῶν. It lay in the rocks between Kalambáka and Kastráki.³

Theosteriktos. This monastery, which lay in the diocese of Stagoi and seems to have had some connection with the Meteoron, is known solely from a document of 1394, in which the Metropolitan of Larissa confirmed its title to a vineyard. Its head, Ignatios, had complete jurisdiction over it.⁴

Gradistion. From a document of 1298 we learn that this hermitage was founded by one Kyril, and that its church of the Virgin lay in a cave at Gradistion, under the archontia of Stagoi.⁵ Bees has identified it with the 'Ἱερὰ Μονὴ τῆς Σπηλιᾶς at Grálista, south-west of Phanari,⁶ yet it seems inconceivable that the archontia of Stagoi should have extended so far south. I suggest tentatively that the monastery of Gradistion be identified with the cave of Kyril at Mekane to which Neilos later acquired ktetor's rights. This lay at a short distance from

(1) Aristarches, 'Documents', 34-5.

(2) Byzantis, ii, 27-9.

(3) Ibid. 28; Nicol, Meteora, 153, 166 n. 3.

(4) byzantis, ii, 33-9; Nicol, Meteora, 167

(5) Bees, 'Gradistion', 86.

(6) Ibid. 80; cf. Archbp. Iezekiel in Θεολογία, vi (1928), 138-9.

Stagoi, at the confluence of the rivers Peneios and Ion (Mourgani).¹

Chrysenon. This was the monastery from which Manasses came to the Meteora, adopting the name of Makarios, and to which he returned at the end of his career. It lay in the mountains across the Peneios from Stagoi.²

The Dependent Settlements.

In contrast to all the previously mentioned settlements were those which are listed in the sources as properties of the great lay and ecclesiastical landowners. They seem to have had no military, administrative, or cultural significance, and no recognisable continuity from ancient times, but appear rather to have been important solely as economic units, equivalent to the manors of western Europe.

The names of these settlements are generally not of Greek origin, which suggest that they were Slav or Vlach creations. Most of those listed lay in the immediate vicinity of Trikkala, Stagoi, and Phanari. The dependent settlements fall into two classes: those which were composed almost entirely of peasants, the villages (χωρία) ; and those agricultural communities centred around small monasteries (μετόχια, μονύδρια). It is perhaps in this connection that we should mention a group of 13th and 14th-century churches which N. Nikonanos has recently discovered at the north-east corner of the region of Trikkala, on the edge of the plain to the east of Gardiki.³

(1) Byzantis, ii, 10 (Solovyev/Mošin, 210); Bogiatzides, ii, 169; Lascaris, 'Byzantinoserbica', 300.

(2) Bogiatzides, ii, 174.

(3) Ath. Ann. Arch., iii (1970), 331 ff.; also the forthcoming vols. xxvii, xxviii of Arch. Delt., B.

The Upper (Western) Thessalian Plain, southern part.

This is considerably larger than the region of Trikkala, but the evidence, or rather the lack of it, suggests that in our period it was less developed. The northern end of it was dominated by Phanari, and apart from this there were only two major settlements, Pharsala and Domokos. After the ancient Metropolis and before the modern Karditsa there was no centre which served the whole area.^I Otherwise, there are references to villages and dependent monasteries, situated in the Pindos foothills, or on the low humps rising slightly above the level of the plain, mainly in the area between Phanari and Pharsala. These low 'loam-hills' and many of the villages on them are known by the name of Magoúla, which Vasmer derives from the Slavonic mogyla (hill).² No remains of the Byzantine period have attracted scholarly attention in this region, apart from the kastra of Pharsala and Domokos.

The apparent underdevelopment of south-western Thessaly in our period is hard to explain. It did not lack towns in ancient times, and today it is a flourishing agricultural region. The treeless, steppe-like nature of the countryside can hardly in itself have been a decisive deterrent to settlers. Possibly what served to prevent the region from developing was the fact that it is traversed by only one major road, that from Domokos to Trikkala. The areas, both highland and lowland, to the south of this route were thus likely to be bypassed by those influences which entered Thessaly from the centres of civilisation. For the same reason, however, the extreme south-west of Thessaly has always been a 'catchment-area' for primitive ethnic groups whose effect on the life of mainland Greece has been ultimately just as strong.

(1) Modern authorities on our period refer casually to Karditsa in Thessaly, but they are confusing it either with Gardiki or with Karditsa in Boeotia, on which see W. Miller, The Latins in the Levant (London, 1908), 200, 228.

(2) Vasmer, 93; Philippson, 26.

The essential feature common to all these groups was their pastoral economy, which in the climatic conditions of the peninsula takes the form of transhumant nomadism. In this, flocks and their herdsman migrate between summer pastures in the mountains and winter pastures in the plains. The land of Thessaly, being well endowed with both plains and mountains, is ideally suited to this practice, and, as we remarked in dealing with the region of Trikkala, there must have been a demand for winter grazing in every part of the lowland. Landowners cannot have objected in principle to this demand, which, after all, might promise rents that did not depend on the labours of cultivation. Nevertheless, transhumants were less likely to disturb or to be disturbed in areas away from the main towns.^I

Transhumance has been practised by all the Balkan peoples, often in association, but two in particular stand out whose 'inverse nomadism' (transhumant migration based upon permanent homes in the mountains) became virtually a part of their ethnic identity and helped them to preserve a strongly patriarchal society, with a value-system centred around brigandage and the blood-feud.² These two ethnic groups were the Vlachs and the Albanians, both of whom left a permanent mark on the history of medieval Thessaly, following massive migrations from more northerly areas of the Balkans. The Albanians did not migrate on a large scale until the 14th century, and their effect on local society will be considered in a later context. But Thessaly was throughout our period known as 'Vlachia', so this is an appropriate point at which to consider the term in more detail.

(1) F. Braudel, La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II, i (Paris, 1949), 76 ff., defines the various forms of transhumance (which is strictly to be distinguished from pure nomadism).

(2) On the structure of this type of society, see J. Campbell, Honour, Family, and Patronage (Oxford, 1964), a study of the Greek Sarakatsanoi of Epiros.

The origin of the Vlachs is one of the vexed questions of Balkan scholarship; Romania, Bulgaria, and Greece have disputed the nationality of these errant pastoral tribes as inconclusively as the Byzantine Empire once tried to claim their allegiance.¹ Yet the Vlachs were, and still are, to be distinguished by their Latin-based dialect, akin to modern Romanian, and on the whole the Romanians have the best of the argument against the Bulgarians. The Byzantines themselves believed that the Vlachs had migrated from the Danubo-Carpathian basin.² The most serious challenge to this idea has come from a Greek Vlach, who maintains that the tribes were native to the mountains of the southern Balkans, including Greece.³ This may be true of Macedonia, but it remains to be proved that the Vlachs were heavily settled in Thessaly before the 11th century. Given the frequent association of Bulgars and Vlachs,⁴ and the part which the latter played in both Bulgarian revolts against Byzantine domination,⁵ it is likely that the Bulgarian Tsar Samuel brought a great influx in the wake of his late 10th-century invasions of Greece. In the course of time, many Vlachs must have become assimilated to Greek-speaking agrarian society, but as late as the 14th century they were still a distinct local group.⁶

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- (1) The best analysis of the controversy is still that by R.L. Wolff, 'The "Second Bulgarian Empire". Its Origins and History to 1204', Speculum, xxiv (1949), 167-206. On the Vlach way of life, see A.J.B. Wace and M.S. Thomson, The Nomads of the Balkans (New York, 1913); M. Gyóni, 'La transhumance des Vlaques balkaniques au Moyen Age', Byzantinoslavica, xii (1951), 29-42.
- (2) Cecaumenos, § 75, pp. 268-70; O. Gorka, Anonymi Descriptio Europae Orientalis (Cracow, 1916), 13; Chalcocondyles, ii, 92.
- (3) T.M. Katzougianes, Περὶ τῶν Βλάχων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν χωρῶν (Thess/niki, 1964) i, passim but esp. 26-31, 34-7 (review by R. Janin, Rev. Et. Byz., xiii (1965), 300-1); P. Lemerle, Prolégomènes à une édition critique et commentée des 'Conseils et Récits' de Kékauménos (Académie royale de Belgique, classe des lettres: Mémoires) (Brussels, 1960), 75.
- (4) Anna Comnena, ii, 135; Cecaumenos, 260; Fr. Chr. Mor., § 898, p. 434.
- (5) E. Stănescu, 'Byzantinovlachica, I: Les Vlaques à la fin du Xe siècle - début du XIe et la restauration de la domination byzantine dans la péninsule balkanique', Revue des Etudes sud-est Européennes, vi (1968), 407-38.
- (6) Gorka, Anonymi Descriptio, loc. cit.

As G. Soulis has shown, there is no evidence that the name Vlachia was used of Thessaly as a whole before the 13th century.¹ It first occurs, in Benjamin of Tudela's Travels, with reference to the mountainous area north of Zeitouni.² Choniates defines 'Great Vlachia' as 'the mountainous parts of Thessaly'.³ On the basis of these references, Soulis argued that the fiscal division listed in the Privilegium Alexii III and the Partitio Romaniae as 'Provintia Vlachie' corresponded to the mountain country of Othrys, between Lamia, Domokos, and Almyros. It should be noted, however, that of the sources quoted only Benjamin of Tudela permits this precise geographical interpretation. If the Partitio and Privilegium are considered by themselves, it seems implausible that the fiscal division of Vlachia should have been comprised exclusively of the sparsely settled Othrys mountains, which were more likely to have been administered from the towns on their edge. If the two documents show a gap in the administrative geography of Thessaly about 1200, this is surely to be seen in the west Thessalian plain, where no fiscal or domanial centres are listed between Domokos and Pharsala on the one hand and Trikkala on the other.

That the original Vlachia included much of the west Thessalian plain is supported by a passage of Cecaumenos, our earliest source for the Vlachs in Thessaly. Describing a local revolt against the emperor Constantine X in 1066, Cecaumenos says that when the protospatharios Nikoulitzas Delphinas had been prevailed upon to lead it, he went from Larissa 'to Pharsala and the Pleres. This Pleres is a river having a wide plain; it flows through the middle of the Vlachs, dividing them on one side and the other' (ἐπὶ τὰ Φάρσαλα καὶ τὸν Πλήρην).

(1) G.E. Soulis, 'The Thessalian Vlachia', Zb. Rad. Viz. Inst., viii (1963), 271-3; idem, Βλαχία-Μεγάλη Βλαχία-Ἡ ἐν Ἑλλάδι Βλαχία, Γέρας Κεραμοπούλου (Athens, 1953), 490ff.

(2) Adler, Benjamin of Tudela, II.

(3) Choniates, 841.

Ποταμὸς δὲ ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ Πλήρης ἔχων πεδιάδα μεγάλην ἔνθεν κάκεϊθεν,
ὅς δὴ καὶ διέρχεται μέσον τῶν Βλάχων διαιρῶν αὐτοὺς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν).

It is not certain which of the tributaries of the Peneios is meant by the Pleres, but the passage may be taken as evidence that the area most heavily settled by the Vlachs half a century after their arrival was that part of the plain west of Pharsala.¹

The Settlements.

Pharsala. As we have seen, Pharsala stands near the intersection of routes from Trikkala to the Pagasitic Gulf and from Larissa to Domokos, in a sheltered and defensible position at the foot of the Kassidiaris mountains. Pharsalos was one of the largest towns in ancient Thessaly; at the end of antiquity its fortifications were rebuilt by Justinian.² The names of its early bishops are unrecorded, but it always ranked third among Thessalian sees. If the Notitiae can be trusted, it rose to the status of an autocephalous archbishopric under John I Tzimiskes (969-976), and by 1320 had become a metropolis. In secular administration it was hardly less important, being the centre of an episkepsis about 1200, and constituting a semi-independent fief in the later 14th century.³ The town is surprisingly badly documented in our sources.

The most conspicuous remains of Byzantine Pharsala are the walls of the kastron, a rebuilding of the ancient acropolis, on a hill to the south of the modern town. There was probably a large emporion, corresponding perhaps to the varoussi or Christian quarter of the Turkish period.⁴

(1) Cecaumenos, 260. Both Litavrin, 533, and Lemerle, 'Conseils et Récits', 47n.6, follow B. Wassiliewsky in identifying the Pleres with the Pamisos (Bliouris); see also Gyóni, 'Transhumance des Vlaques', 34: 'il s'agit du triangle situé entre les villes de Larissa, Trikkala, et Pharsala' [?].

(2) Proc., De Aed., II2-3.

(3) Infra, 263-4.

(4) See, in general, Stählin, 136-41; Pauly/Wissowa, Suppl. xiii, 1038-84.

Domokos. This town, the ancient Thaumakoi, has always been less important than Pharsala, but, occupying a site which commands the ascent to the main pass over Uthrys and affords one of the best views over the Thessalian lowland, it remained fortified and inhabited throughout ancient and mediaeval times. Its name in the ancient form is preserved in the title of its bishop, who ranked fourth among the suffragans of Larissa. In the Privilegium and Partitio it appears as the centre of an episkepsis. At the end of the 14th century it was a separate lordship.¹

The medieval kastron stands in ruins close to the modern village and on the site of the ancient acropolis.² In spite of its small size and high elevation from the plain, Domokos was in Philippson's day an important market-town.³ This suggests that it possessed an emporion in Byzantine times, dealing perhaps in the produce from Vlach flocks.

Thalassinon. The Greek Chronicle of the Morea describes this place, in connection with William of Villehardouin's march in 1259, as if it lay in the Spercheios valley.⁴ The French Chronicle, however, refers to Thalassinon as a place where, in 1303, another Frankish army slept while on its way from Domokos to Trikkala, 'auques au my dou grant plain de la Blaquie'.⁵ As the latter account deals with events nearer the time of writing, it is likely to be the more reliable. Longnon in his note identifies it with Elasson, but this does not fit the description, which suggests that it must have been situated somewhere in the western plain. Might the name derive from the Byzantine family of Dalassenos?

(1) Infra, 263-4.

(2) Stählin, 155-7.

(3) Philippson, 193.

(4) Gr. Chr. Mor., p. 156, l. 3636 and note.

(5) Fr. Chr. Mor., § 902, p. 356.

(2) The Lower (Eastern) Thessalian Plain.

This is the smaller of the central lowlands, occupying an area two-thirds the size of the western plain. It is roughly rectangular in shape, and has the same SE-NW alignment.

The Peneios meanders through the northern part of the plain, leaving it at the Vale of Tempe. In this section of its course it collects only one major tributary, the Titaresios. The area south of Larissa is mostly one of inland drainage, as was formerly manifest in the extensive marshlands at the foot of Ossa-Mavrovouni, and in the now-reclaimed Lake Boibe (Kárla), which in winter and spring used to fill the entire south-east corner of the basin. The lake was rich in fish;² in our period the monastery of Makrinitissa kept boats here.³ The presence of such a large drainage-area served to emphasise the importance of strongholds on the edge of the plain, particularly to the east.

The lower Thessalian plain has less rainfall than the western basin; an advantage to cultivators only in years of exceptional precipitation. Such evidence as the Makrinitissa documents provide for the economy of this region in the 13th century does not suggest that it differed from that which can be observed in the district of Trikkala in the 14th. In the 12th century, the plain of Larissa was reputed to be good horse-raising country.⁴

The following settlements call for comment: Larissa, Velestinon, Kastri, Kanalia, Tyrnavos, Kapraina.

(1) In general, see Stählin, 57 ff.; Philippson, II7-26.

(2) W.M. Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, iv, 423-4.

(3) MM, iv, 344, 421. It seems to have been known as the lake 'of S. Stephen'.

(4) Eustathios of Thessalonica, Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem, II87, 31.

Larissa. Lying at the point where several major land routes converge to cross the Peneios, by a defensible hill in the middle of a fertile plain, Larissa is the natural capital of Thessaly.¹ The only local town besides Trikke to retain its pre-Hellenic name, it played a prominent and often a leading part in the Classical leagues of Thessalian cities; its leading family, the Aleuadai, enjoyed a life-style unparalleled among Greek aristocrats. The incorporation of Thessaly into a large Mediterranean empire served only to enhance the position of Larissa as against that of other inland cities. For a military power based upon Thessalonica, Larissa was vital to the control not only of Thessaly but also of the whole Greek peninsula, and this remained equally true after the Slav invasions. The text of Cecaumenos suggests that Larissa was the headquarters for the strategos or military governor of Hellas, at least in the third quarter of the 10th century.² There is no better proof of the town's strategic value than the energy which the Bulgar and Norman invaders of Greece spent in trying to capture it.³

Larissa was no less important in the ecclesiastical administration of Thessaly, having become a metropolitan see under Constantine the Great. Ranking thirty-fourth (or, in our period, thirty-sixth) in the metropolitans' list, the prelates of Larissa held jurisdiction over an area that became more and more restricted with time, particularly after the sees of Neopatras (879) and Pharsala (c. 1300) were raised to metropolitan status. Nevertheless, they continued to

(1) In general, see N. Georgiades, 'Η Θεσσαλία, 240-50 (2nd edn. 1955-62); Stählin, 94-8; Philippson, 123-4; Pauly/Wissowa, 845-71.

(2) Cecaumenos, 250. As is clear from Litavrin's commentary (nn. 419, 893, 1040), the theme of Hellas must have undergone several organisational changes in the 10th-11th centuries. On the formation of the Greek themes, see G. Ostrogorsky, 'Postanak tema Hellada i Peloponez', Zb. Rad. Viz. Inst., i (1952), 64-77.

(3) Cecaumenos, loc. cit.; Anna Comnena, ii, 23-32.

count the distant bishops of Loidoriki among their suffragans, a reminder of the days when they had been in truth 'exarchs of all Hellas'. According to tradition, the first Metropolitan was the Achilleios who allegedly took part in the First Council of Nicaea.¹ Achilleios (feast on 15 May) has long been venerated as the town's patron saint, and the cathedral churches which have succeeded each other upon the hill of the ancient acropolis have all been dedicated to him. Cedrenus says that when Samuel of Bulgaria took the town (986), he carried the saint's relics off to Prespa.² The cult of S. Achilleios continued to be strong in Prespa,³ but Antonios of Larissa implies that when he came to his see in the 14th century he found the relics in their original shrine.⁴ This suggests that some Byzantine emperor, possibly Basil II, had repatriated them; the evidence is not, however, conclusive.

The 12th-century Arab geographer al-Idrisi described Larissa as a prosperous town,⁵ and about 1200 it was the centre of a small fiscal division. There are several references to it in the years following 1204.⁶ Yet the long-term effect of the Fourth Crusade seems to have been to send Larissa into a long decline. Acropolites is the last Byzantine historian to mention it;⁷ more remarkable, the name nowhere appears in the rich documentary sources of the 13th and 14th centuries, except as part of the Metropolitan's title. Clearly, the break-up of Byzantine power in central and southern Greece and the orientation of Thessaly towards

(1) L. Petit, Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques, i, 312.

(2) Cedrenus, ed. I. Bekker, ii, 436.

(3) See S.M. Pelekanides, Βυζαντινὰ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Πρέσπας (Thessaloniki, 1960), 64 ff.

(4) Appendix II, xxvii, 10-2; xxx, 2-5.

(5) Tr. P.A. Jaubert, Géographie d'Edrisi, ii (Paris, 1840), 292.

(6) See Ferjančić, Tesalija, II, 13, 19, 56, 59. The Latin Emperor Henry of Hainault fought a battle for the wooden bridge of Larissa in 1209; Henry of Valenciennes, Histoire de l'Empereur Henri, ed. J. Longnon (Paris, 1948), 651-2.

(7) Acropolites, 91.

new dynastic centres, both Latin and Greek, took away what official business remained to Larissa after it had ceased to be the military headquarters of Hellas. The results of this desertion were catastrophic, if Antonios of Larissa is to be believed. He writes that his predecessor, Kyprianos, was the son of a priest who served the metropolitan church.¹ But when Kyprianos took office as Metropolitan in 1318, conditions did not allow him to reside in his see, and he eventually settled into that of Trikkala. Explaining this move, Antonios says that Larissa 'was uninhabited; devoid of all signs of human life, it was given over to be trodden by the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air'.²

Andronikos III repaired its fortifications, but the emperor's plans for the future of the town were cut short by an early death.³ Thus when Antonios himself became Metropolitan, matters were even worse, and the church of S. Achilleios was now 'a brigands' lair. For putting its elevation and security to evil use, the practitioners of evil made it an ineradicable threat to the local inhabitants and a perpetual nightmare to the provincial governors'.⁴ Antonios naturally needed a good excuse for residing outside his see, but however his account is interpreted, it proves that in the 14th century the old provincial capital of Thessaly was no longer a desirable place in which to live.

Velestinon.⁵ This site, that of the ancient Pherai, lies in a lush, well-watered valley at the southern extremity of the plain, overlooking Lake Boibe to the north, and commanding an important road-junction. In the classical period Pherai was

(1) Appendix II, vi, II-5.

(2) Ibid. xvi-xvii, esp. xvii, I-3.

(3) Ibid. 3-7.

(4) Ibid. xxvii, 5-8.

(5) In general, see Stählin, 104-8; Philippson, 121-2; Pauly/Wissowa, Suppl. vii, 984-1026 (by E. Kirsten), esp. 1024-5.

one of the richest Thessalian towns. One of its citizens, Jason, made himself tyrant of Thessaly, and might have anticipated the career of Philip of Macedon had he not been assassinated in 370 B.C. By the 2nd century B.C. the town had become a nonentity. Its medieval successor is not listed in the Notitiae Episcopatum before the 12th century, and the earliest historical references occur after 1204^I, in connection with a Latin barony of Velesstinon. Velesstinon may not have given its name to the 'Provintia Valechative' listed in the Privilegium and the Partitio, but it was the centre of a fiscal division known as a curatoria (κουρατορία) ; this information occurs in a chrysobull which Michael VIII issued in May 1259, before the Nicene conquest of this part of Thessaly, and which therefore probably reflects a state of affairs existing before 1204². In 1256 and 1275 [?] the bishops of Velesstinon held jurisdiction over Almyros³. The clergy of the diocese seem to have been active in helping the local magnate Nicholas Maliasenos to acquire various properties close to Velesstinon for his convent of Nea Petra, founded 1271⁴. One of these properties lay near a monastery dedicated to a local saint, S. Nicholas the Younger⁵. The bishopric is not named in the list of 1371; this and the absence of references to Velesstinon in other 14th-century sources suggest that after 1300 it ceased to be a settlement of any importance.

(1) Migne, PL, ccxvi, cols. 298, 301. As Kirsten remarks (Pauly/Wissowa, Suppl. vii, 1025) there seems to be no primary evidence for the common assumption, based on E. Gerland, Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel, i (Homburg von Hohe, 1905), 162, that the first baron was Count Berthold von Katzenellenbogen.

(2) MM, v, 12.

(3) MM, iv, 356; Giannopoulos, 'Episcopal lists', ii, 186-7.

(4) MM, iv, 401, 406.

(5) D.Z. Sophianos, Άγιος Νικόλαος ὁ ἐν Βουναίνῃ (Athens, 1972), 99; Giannopoulos, 'Monasteries', i, 219.

The origin of the name Veleshtinon is unknown; modern scholars, in rejecting a connection with the Slav tribe of the Velegezetai mentioned in the Miracula Sancti Demetrii and heard of in the region of Demetrias and (Thessalian) Thebes, have failed to produce a better explanation.¹

Kastri. The town stood on a spur of Mt. Pelion's northern projection, Mavrovouni, commanding the narrow passage between the mountain and Lake Boibe, and controlling access from the plain to the gap between Mavrovouni and Ossa. The site has long been identified as that of the ancient Amyros.² Kastri is not listed as a bishopric until 1100 [?], after which the name disappears from the lists until 1371. It is nowhere mentioned as the centre of any administrative unit. But in the 14th century its strategic role of a 'minor Thermopylae',³ essential for the control of communications between Macedonia and the Pagasitic Gulf, made it a stronghold of some importance.⁴ Some authorities, following Hopf, have declared that Kastri was the seat of the Catalan barons Don Estanyol (tr. 'marshy lake'),⁵ but R.-J. Loenertz has argued that the name derives from the Catalan homeland.⁶

Extensive ruins of the fortress survive on the hill above the modern village. There are two line of fortification. Within the kastron proper stands a small Byzantine basilica dedicated to S. George.⁷

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- (1) D.K. Tsopotos, 'Ο Παγασιτικὸς Κόλπος καὶ ὁ Βόλος (Athens, 1930); E. Kirsten in Pauly/Wissowa, Suppl. vii, loc. cit.; Vasmer, 108. The source - A. Tougaard, De l'histoire profane dans les actes grecs des Bollandistes (Paris, 1874), 166 - does not indicate whether the Velegezetai settled or merely raided the area.
- (2) W.M. Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, iv, 447 ff; A. Mézières, Mémoire sur le Pélion et l'Ossa (Paris, 1853), 82-92; Stählin, 59-60.
- (3) I. Kordatos, 'Ιστορία τῆς ἐπαρχίας Βόλου καὶ Ἀγιάς (Athens, 1960), 488.
- (4) Sanudo in Tafel/Thomas, i, 499; Cantacuzene, i, 474; iii, 130.
- (5) Hopf, Geschichte, ii, 23; K. Setton, The Catalan Domination of Athens (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), 106-7; Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 143.
- (6) R.-J. Loenertz, 'Athènes et Néopatras. Regestes et notices pour servir à l'histoire des duchés catalans', Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, xxv (1955), 186-7.
- (7) N. Nikonanos, 'Ερευνες στὴν ἐπαρχία Ἀγιάς Λαρίσσης, Ἀρχεῖον Θεσσαλικῶν Μελετῶν, ii (1973), 52-6.

The Dependent Settlements.

Kanalia. The village of Kanalia stands by the edge of Lake Boibe at the foot of the Pelion range, slightly to the west of the ancient Boibe, and some 20 km SW of Kastri, on the line of the medieval road from the Thermaic to the Pagasitic Gulf.¹ In the 13th century and possibly earlier, there was a monastery here dedicated to S. George, mentioned in 1259 as a metochion of Nea Moni (Chios), within the thema of Almyros and the curatoria of Velestinon.² In 1271 the monks were forced to sell one of their vineyards near Velestinon; they found a buyer in Nicholas Maliasenos.³

Close to the village, on the site of a Neolithic settlement, is a church of S. Nicholas, with 13th-century frescoes. This may or may not have been the monastery's katholikon.⁴

Kapraina. In the later 13th century this village, valued at 50 hyperpyra annually, belonged to the Makrinitissa monastery.⁵ Kapraina stands at the southern end of Lake Boibe, near the ancient Glaphyrai.

Tyrnavos. The modern town of Tyrnavos, which lies on the Titaresios to the north-west of Larissa, is not mentioned as a major settlement before the Turkish period. Yet a hagiographical tradition dating from the early 10th century may indicate that the mountain (Meloúna) behind the town bore this name after the Slav invasions.⁶ The modern settlement may have grown from the village of Trinovo, which in the later 13th century belonged to a landowner called Marmaras.⁷

(1) Leake, Travels, iv, 427 ff; A.J.B. Wace, 'The Topography of Pelion and Magnesia', Journal of Hellenic Studies, xxvi (1906), 163-5; Stählin, 61.

(2) MM, v, 12.

(3) MM, iv, 405-8.

(4) E. Kourkoutidou, Βυζαντινὸς ναὸς Ἀγίου Νικολάου Καναλίων, Ath. Ann. Arch., i (1968), 147-51.

(5) MM, iv, 342-4, 388-9.

(6) D. Sophianos, Ἀγ. Νικ. ὁ ἐν Βουναίνῃ, 88-91, thus superseding the tradition according to which Tyrnavos is supposed to have been founded c. 1423 by Tourchan bey. The name, like that of the capital of the Second Bulgarian Empire, derives from the Common Slav * turnovo ('place of thorns'); Vasmer, 102.

(7) MM, iv, 419-20.

A group of dependent settlements and other properties belonging to Makritissa lay on the western edge of Lake Boibe some 15 km north of Velestinon. This location can be deduced from the name Petra, given to a piece of land which apparently lay at the centre of these settlements. They included a village, Megale, and the small monasteries of S. Nicholas, S. Demetrios, and the Panagia. There occurs the interesting toponym Armenonesin, perhaps derived from the ancient ^IArmenion.

(3) The Titaresios Valley.

The large northern tributary of the Peneios and the rivers which feed it in their turn (Sarantáporos, Elassonítikos) rise in the Kambounia and Olympos mountains, but together their valleys form a large area of level and fertile land communicating with the east Thessalian plain only by way of mountain passes and of the defile which the Titaresios has cut through the mountains north-west of Tyrnavos. There are two lowland basins proper: that of the Titaresios itself, and that south of Elasson. This area, the ancient Perhaibia, was the main channel of communication between Macedonia and the Thessalian interior.

Settlements.

Elasson. Commanding the descents from the passes of Petra and Sarantáporos, and standing at the edge of a small but fertile plain, Elasson (ancient Oloösson) has been inhabited since Homeric times². It formed part of Justinian's fortification system,³ and was a 14th-century kastron,⁴ but seems to have had no admin-

(1) MM, iv, 386-7, 390, 421; Leake, Travels, iv, 444-51; Giannopoulos, 'Monasteries', i, 219; Stählin, 103.

(2) Iliad, II, 739; Stählin, 23-4.

(3) Proc., De Aed., 119.

(4) Cantacuzene, i, 474.

istrative function. From the 13th century, it was the site of a large monastery, the Panagia Olympiotissa. According to a document of 1342, this stood inside the kastron, which E. Skouvaras has identified with the ancient acropolis.¹

The katholikon of the monastery still stands on the hill above the modern town, on the west side of the Elassonítikos. It is a 13th-century structure, very similar in style to contemporary churches of Thessalonica.² Most of the frescoes have been destroyed. The west door, however, is original, and bears an inscription recording its restoration in 1296 (or 1305).³

Domenikon. The modern village lies in the northern foothills of Mt. Meloúna (Týrnavos), slightly to the west of the site of the ancient Chyretai.⁴ Anna Comnena writes that when her father was manoeuvring to break the Norman siege of Larissa (1085), he came upon 'a wooded plain between two mountains, ending in a sharp defile (what they call a kleisoura), the so-called palation of Domenikon! (ἀναμεταξὺ δύο βουνῶν πεδιάδα εὐρὴν ἀποτελευτῶσαν εἰς στενωπὸν ὄξυν (κλεισοῦραν τοῦτον καλοῦσι), τὴν λέγομενην Δομενίκου παλάτιον).⁵ Domenikon does not seem to have had any secular administrative function. The bishopric is listed in the Notitia of c. 1100 and reappears in that of Andronikos II as an autocephalous archiepiscopal see; both sources, however, are suspect.⁶

(1) E. Skouvaras, 'Ολυμπιώτισσα· περιγραφή καὶ ἱστορία τῆς Μονῆς, κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων (Athens, 1967), 499, 7 ff.

(2) Sotiriou, 'Monuments', i, 328.

(3) Ibid. 327-9; E. Skouvaras, op. cit., 23-9.

(4) W.M. Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, iv, 320 ff; Stählin, 25.

(5) Anna Comnena, ii, 30. I have been unable to find a satisfactory explanation of the word palation, which may apply not to the kleisoura, as most translators have assumed, but to the pediada; in this case, it might be a corrupt derivation from the adjective πλατύς.

(6) On the latter, see N.A. Bees, 'Prosopographisches, Hagiologisches, und Kunstgeschichtliches über den hl. Bessarion, den Metropolit von Larissa', Eyz.-Neugr. Jahrb., iv (1923), 374 n. I.

In a document of 1250, the patriarch of Nicaea confirmed the bishop's jurisdiction over the monasteries of S. Demetrios at Krompoi and that of the SS. Theodore at Pokovikon.¹ Neither of these has been identified.

Damasis. This fortress, much of which still stands, commanded the passage of the Titaresios defile from the river's left bank. It is twice mentioned in 14th-century sources, on both occasions in a military context.²

The dependent settlements in this area for which there is evidence were all properties of the Olympiotissa monastery.³

(4) The Pagasitic Gulf and the Magnesian Peninsula.

The formation of the Pagasitic Gulf is apparent from any map; the gulf is roughly a circular lagoon some 30 km in diameter which opens through a passage 5 km wide into the strait between Thessaly and Euboea. On most sides the coast is steep and mountainous, so that the gulf receives no large, permanent rivers. There are, however, three coastal plains. The largest of these is the Krokian plain, on the western side, which reaches deep into the hinterland and closely resembles the main lowlands. Another, much smaller strip of level coastland is to be found at the northern extremity of the gulf, today filled by the urban sprawl of Volos. This terminates on the east at the hill of Goritza. Beyond begins another plain, which widens considerably at Lechonia, and then continues as a very narrow border to the mountains as far as the point where these begin to run in a westerly direction. This plain stands in contrast to the others, being thickly planted with olive and citrus groves. The rocky stretches of the shore are deeply indented.

(1) Papadopoulos-Kerameus, i, 474-6; Laurent, Regestes, no, 1311.

(2) Cantacuzene, i, 474.

(3) E. Skouvaras, op. cit., 493-8.

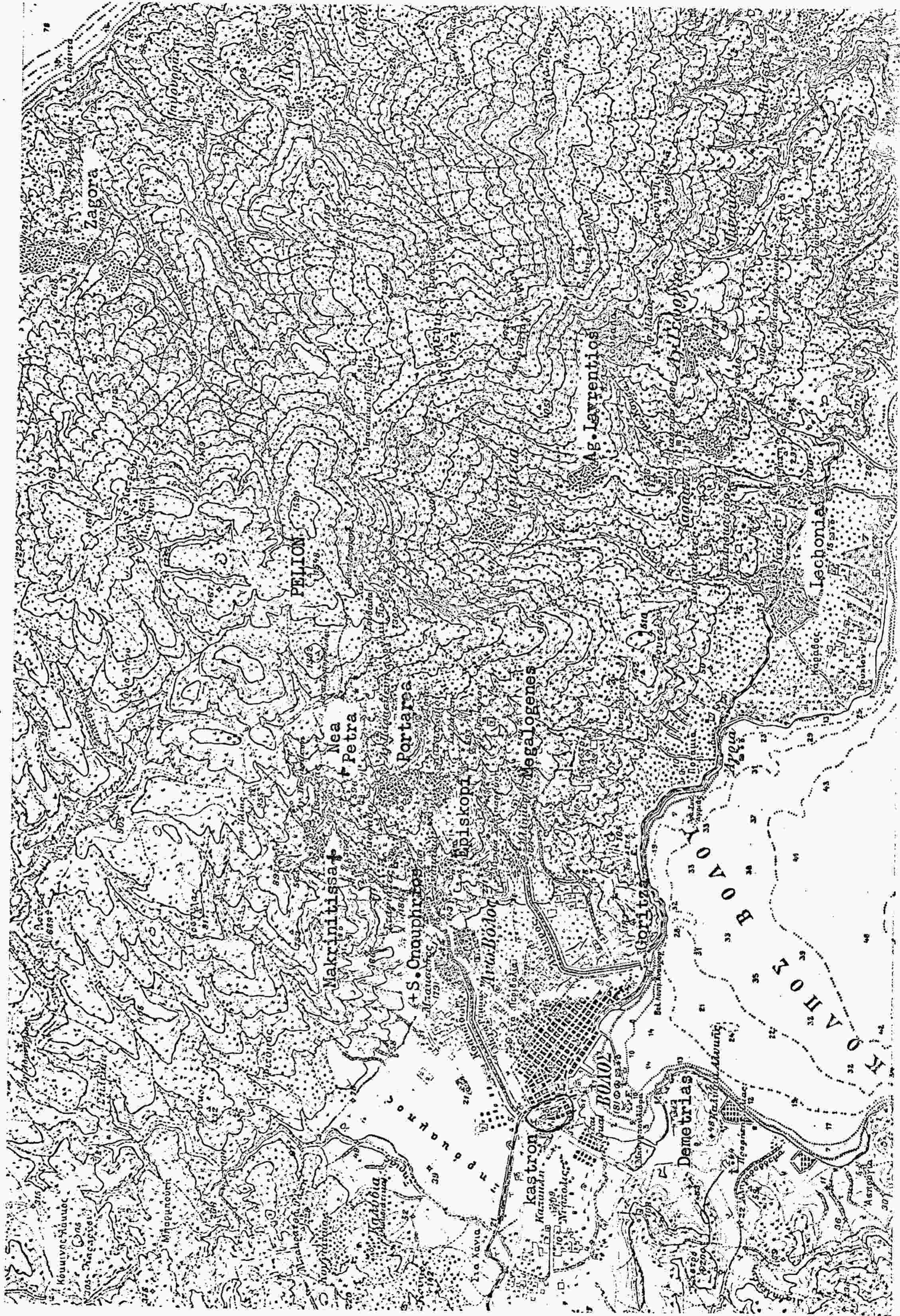
Only five major settlements are known from the written sources to have existed beside the Pagasitic Gulf in middle and late Byzantine times: Demetrias, Almyros, Volos, and Pteleon. Archaeological work has indicated, however, that the area was much richer in settlements than the sources suggest, particularly in the period before 1204, and particularly in the Magnesian Peninsula.^I

Demetrias. At the northern end of the Pagasitic Gulf, where the shoreline changes from a general SW-NE to a NW-SE alignment, a low promontory juts out from the east, forming a semicircular inlet open upon the west. Lying in the shelter of Mt. Pelion at the point of easiest access to the gulf from the east Thessalian plain, this position has always been a natural one for a major port. The prehistoric Iolkos, the classical Pagasai, the Hellenistic, Roman, and medieval Demetrias, and the modern Volos, have in their time all fulfilled this function. Thanks to the admirable monograph of Stählin, Meyer, and Heidner, we are quite well-informed about the geo-historical evolution of these sites.²

From the Hellenic to the early modern period, the main settlement stood to the south of the bay. The site of Pagasai, indeed, is nearer to the sea on the south side of the promontory. Demetrias, however, was situated on the north side, beside the harbour of Bourboulithra.

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- (1) A.J.B. Wace, op. cit. (supra, 92 n. 1), 148 ff; A.J.B. Wace and J.P. Droop, 'Excavations at Theotokou, Thessaly', Annual of the British School at Athens, xiii (1906-7), 309-20; N. Giannopoulos, Χριστιανικαὶ ἀρχαιοότητες ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ τῆς Θεσσαλίας, Delt. Chr. Arch. Et., iv (1927), 14-24.
- (2) F. Stählin, E. Meyer, A. Heidner, Pagasai und Demetrias (Berlin/Leipzig, 1934). Many of this book's conclusions will, however, have to be revised in the light of the discoveries made in recent years by Vl. Milošević of Heidelberg. Demetrias was one of the few sites which Leake failed to identify correctly; following his error, it was until early this century believed to have been located at Goritza, to the east of Volos.

DEMETRIAS, VOLOS, AND MT. PELION
(from a Greek Staff Map)
Scale 1: 75,000.



Demetrias was founded by the Macedonian king Demetrios Poliorketes in 294 B.C. as a synoecism of most of the Magnesian poleis.¹ It did not, however, become one of the great Hellenistic cities: 'Demetrias war eben Handelsstadt und Festung, nicht Kulturzentrum'.² Poliorketes' successors preferred the old dynastic capital of Pella, and the town of (Thessalian) Thebes to the south-west took away much of its trade. In the Roman period it lost its military importance, and regained this only under Justinian.³ The defensible nature of its site allowed Demetrias to survive the 7th-century invasions which destroyed Thebes. From this time, the see of Demetrias, which had been in existence since the 5th century, held the first place among the suffragan bishoprics of Larissa.

Demetrias, which may never have been lost to Constantinople for any great length of time, reappears in the middle Byzantine period as a prosperous town. Narrating its sack by the Arab emir Damian in 902,⁴ Cameniates describes it as 'surpassing its neighbours in the multitude of its inhabitants, and in other things of which cities proudly boast' (πολλῷ πλήθει τῶν οἰκητόρων καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς μέγα καυχῶνται πόλεις τῶν ἑγγιστα ὑπεραιρομένη).⁵ In 1040 the Bulgar rebel Peter Deljan took the town, which Cecaumenos describes as 'a city of Hellas beside the sea, which the sea and the surrounding marshes make secure' (πόλις τῆς Ἑλλάδος παρὰ θάλασσαν, ἀπό τε τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν κύκλωθεν βαλτῶν ἐξησφαλισμένη).⁶ He installed as commander one Litovoj,

(1) Stählin/Meyer/Heidner, 178 ff.

(2) Ibid. 193.

(3) Ibid. 207; Proc., De Aed., 113.

(4) See D.Z. Sophianos, "Ἅγιος Νικόλαος ὁ ἐν Βουναίνῃ", 117-9.

(5) John Cameniates, De excidio Thessalonicensi, ed. I. Bekker (Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae) (Bonn, 1838), 506.

(6) Cecaumenos, §31, p. 172.

who rebuilt the fortifications, trusting to which he neglected to guard against treachery on the part of the citizens. At some date close to this, a Constantinopolitan of some local standing helped a group of Saracen raiders to capture Demetrias, hoping that this would further his designs on the property of certain other citizens. Five of the raiders 'climbed up to the turrets of the kastron by scaling the buildings against the wall, and so straightway and without a fight gained control of a strong city abounding in all kinds of wealth'

(ἀνῆλθον εἰς τοὺς προμαχῶνας τοῦ κάστρου διὰ τῶν σύγκολλα τοῦ τείχους οἰκιῶν καὶ κεράμων καὶ ἐκράτησαν πόλιν τοιαύτην ὀχυρὰν καὶ βρίθουσαν παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἐπευθείας καὶ χωρὶς μάχης).¹ These passages show that

Demetrias impressed contemporaries as no mean provincial town.

Demetrias was among the markets which Alexios I opened to the Venetians in return for their help against Robert Guiscard (1082),² but the name is conspicuously absent from trade privileges of the 12th century. Benjamin of Tudela and al-Idrisi mention Almyros as a major emporium, but the latter refers to Demetrias simply as a 'small, well-populated town'.³ Once again, it seems, Demetrias was failing to compete with the ports on the west coast of the gulf.⁴ As before, however, it kept its importance as a seat of military and ecclesiastical authority. In the Privilegium and the Partitio it figures as the centre of an episkepsis, and from 1215 to 1280 it had a continuous series of active bishops, whose jurisdiction occasionally extended to Almyros.⁵ It may have been the residence of the

(1) Cecaumenos, 33, p. 186.

(2) Tafel/Thomas, i, 53.

(3) Tr. P.A. Jaubert, ii, 296; Stählin/Meyer/Heidner, 212 n. 6.

(4) Stählin/Meyer/Heidner, 213-5.

(5) Giannopoulos, 'Episcopal lists', i, 282-3.

noble family of Maliasenos, on whose support the 13th-century rulers of Epiros and Constantinople relied successively for political control of eastern Thessaly, and it may have been the seat of the 'governor of Great Vlachia' whom Michael VIII maintained locally after 1267.¹ The fortifications of Demetrias were rebuilt by an imperial general in 1283, and the town was in the last decade of the century an object of dispute between the local rulers and Andronikos II.² It evidently still had a commercial as well as a military value, since Venetian merchants had business there in the 1270s.³ But Demetrias mysteriously disappears from history after 1325;⁴ the much-vaunted Catalan lordship of Demetrias exists, like that of Kastri, 'dans le règne de la fable'.⁵ On the other hand, the first mention of Volos occurs in connection with events of 1333. Old Demetrias was inhabited at least until 1571,⁶ but the shift to the northern side of the bay had perhaps begun in the 14th century. This shift was caused by the silting of the harbour at Bourboulithra, by the growing importance of Mount Pelion, and possibly by a desire to escape the pestilential marshes which protected the old site.⁷

Nothing of Byzantine Demetrias now stands, but Stählin has made some analysis of the excavated data.⁸ The Byzantine town was only a fraction of the size of its ancient predecessor. Most of the structures are probably pre-7th-century, although the fortifications are basically those rebuilt in 1283,

(1) See infra, 152-3.

(2) Pachymeres, ii, 67ff, 206, 284.

(3) Tafel/Thomas, iii, 195, 200, 205, 278.

(4) Mention by Sanudo; Tafel/Thomas, i, 501.

(5) R.-J. Loenertz, 'Athènes et Néopatras I', Archivium Fratrum Praedicatorum, xxv (1955), 142 reg. 164, 187.

(6) Stählin/Meyer/Heidner, 236.

(7) See Pachymeres, ii, 71-2.

(8) Stählin/Meyer/Heidner, 151-9.

Volos. As 'Golos', this is mentioned in 14th-century sources for its fortress,¹ and for its salt-pans.² Volos-Golos may not derive its name from the Iolkos of the Argonaut legend,³ but the Turkish fort, which stands at the east end of the modern town and incorporates some remains of the medieval kastron, stands on the site of a prehistoric settlement probably to be identified with the palace of King Pelias.⁴

Almyros. We have already seen how the ports on the bay of Volos were often rivalled, sometimes outstripped, by their neighbours to the south-west. The bay of Almyros offered several commercial advantages. The Krokian plain is the largest cultivable area bordering on the gulf. Although this area is slightly further from Larissa than is Volos, it is, on the other hand, much easier of access from Pharsala and the western Thessalian basin. It is crossed by one of the routes from Larissa to southern Greece, whereas Volos is far from any major thoroughfare.⁵

In ancient times, two towns commanded the plain: Halos, to the south, and Phthiotid Thebes, to the north. The latter, which lay inland, had a sea-outlet at Pyrasos, the site of the modern Néa Anchíalos. By early Christian times, the inland settlement had moved to the maritime site, which took its name. Thessalian Thebes early became the seat of a bishop. The excavations begun by G. Sotiriou

(1) Cantacuzene, i, 473.

(2) Byzantis, ii, 79 (Solovyev/Mošin, 226).

(3) For the controversy surrounding the etymology of Golos and for the arguments in favour of a derivation from the Slavonic golo, gol ('bare'), see the excellent and apparently little-known article by M.M. Papaioannou, Γόλος-Βόλος καὶ τὰ συγγενῆ Σλαβικὰ τοπωνύμια στὴν Ἑλλάδα, Τὸ Βουνό [periodical of the Greek Mountaineering Association] (1946), I-23.

(4) N.I. Giannopoulos, Τὸ φρούριον τοῦ Βόλου, Ep. Et. Byz. Sp., viii (1931), 110-53; reports by D.P. Theocharis in Praktika (1956, 1959-).

(5) Stählin/Meyer/Heidner, 213-5; Philippson, 150.

and continued by P. Lazarides reveal that before its destruction in the late 7th century the city was an important one, whose remains stand comparison with those of Philippi and Nikopolis.¹ It is doubtful whether Thebes was inhabited to any great extent during the medieval period.² Halos, however, survived or revived as Almyros; the name first occurs in a 4th or 5th-century inscription.³ There is no reference to a bishop of Almyros except in the dubious Notitia of c. 1100, and in the 13th century the town seems to have come under the dioceses of Veleshtinon or Demetrias.⁴ It was not among the ports to which Alexios I admitted the Venetians in 1082. Yet in 1154, al-Idrisi described the town as 'considerable, populous, and busy with trade. It is here that the Greeks market their goods'.⁵ A few years later the Jewish Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela passed through on his way from Chalkis to Thessalonica; he remembered Almyros as 'a large city on the sea, inhabited by Venetians, Pisans, Genoese and all the merchants who come there. It is an extensive place and contains about 400 Jews'.⁶ The Venetians and the Pisans had their own quarters and their own churches;

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- (1) G.A. Sotiriou, *Αἱ Χριστιανικαὶ Θῆβαι τῆς Θεσσαλίας*, 'Αρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς (1931).
- (2) N.I. Giannopoulos, *Οἱ δύο μεσαιωνικοὶ Ἀλμυροὶ καὶ ὁ νῦν*, Ep. Parn., viii (1904), 91 ff, states that Thebes survived as the 'northern medieval Almyros', and Lemerle, Aydin, 125-8, favours this idea. See however, Sotiriou, Praktika (1954), 148. The only evidence for the later habitation of this site appears to be a solitary coin-find of Manuel I: P. Lazarides, Praktika (1963), 52.
- (3) Zakythinos, 'Studies', ii, 45 n. 7. "Ἄλος ('sea') is the root of ἄλμυρός ('salty').
- (4) Giannopoulos, 'Episcopal lists', i, 282-3.
- (5) Tr. P.A. Jaubert, ii, 296.
- (6) Adler, Benjamin of Tudela, II.

they frequently conflicted with each other and with the Genoese.¹ Almyros was evidently a boom town of the 12th century. It continued to flourish after the Fourth Crusade; besides the activities of Venetian traders,² we hear of 'Almyros linen cloth'³ and of a liquid measure called an 'Almyros holokatinaria'.⁴ In 1265 Michael VIII confirmed the Venetians' right to use the port,⁵ but during the 1270s he backed the pirates who preyed on the Republic's shipping in these waters.⁶

In the 14th century, Venice was concerned to acquire and to keep a stronghold at Pteleon, which shows that harbours inside the gulf were still important as the natural outlets for Thessalian wine and grain. Yet Almyros is not mentioned in the published Venetian archives of the 14th century. It may never, indeed, have recovered fully from its treatment at the hands of the Catalans, who sacked it in 1307,⁷ and sojourned here the winter of 1310-1311.⁸

The Privilegium and the Partitio refer to a fiscal division called 'the two Almyroi'. As Giannopoulos has shown, the medieval town was not a single nucleated settlement of the type which we have so far encountered. The Byzantine remains on the acropolis of ancient Halos may indicate that here stood the original kastron of Almyros, but the expansion which accompanied the 12th-century commer-

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- (1) Tafel/Thomas, i, 126; W. Heyd, Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age, tr. F. Raynaud (Leipzig, 1936), i, 245-6.
- (2) See Ferjančić, Tesalija, 154.
- (3) B. Vassilievsky, 'Epirotica saeculi XIII', Viz. Vrem., iii (1896), 280; N.A. Bees, Λέων/Μανουήλ Μακρός - Καλοσπότης - Χρυσοβέργης, Ep.Et.Byz.Sp., ii (1925), 134.
- (4) MM, iv, 400, 402, 411; E. Schilbach, Byzantinische Metrologie (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, XII, 4), 57-61.
- (5) Tafel/Thomas, iii, 69. The emperor reserved the right to forbid the export of foodstuffs which might go to his enemies in Euboea.
- (6) Ibid. 165, 167-8, 181, 188, 199, 214, 216, 257, 273; Ferjančić, Tesalija, 154f.
- (7) Muntaner, ii, 562-3 (Chapter 235). The incident appears quite clearly from the context to have occurred before the main Catalan invasion of Thessaly, and I do not understand why Ferjančić, Tesalija, 141, dates it to 1313.
- (8) Infra, 207.

cial boom took place down by the sea. Giannopoulos identified two main groups of ruins: one at Kephálosi, beneath the acropolis, and one at Tsengéli, in the middle of the bay.¹ These correspond to the 'two Almyroi'.² This long coastal straggle is what we might expect of a settlement which seems, both from the sources and from coin-finds, to have been no more than a loose multinational conglomeration of trading and artisan colonies. It lacked an Orthodox bishop throughout our period. Although the town was fortified after a fashion, it must have been a more tempting and vulnerable prey than the ordinary Byzantine kastron.

Immovable property in Almyros no doubt fetched high rents, and owners are to be found far afield. In 1259, the monastery of Nea Moni on Chios possessed houses here, and properties donated by a certain Hyaleas.³ The monastery of Makritissa acquired various possessions in the neighbourhood, including a metochion of S. Hilarion,⁴ 'in the so-called episkepsis of the standard-bearer' (κατὰ τὴν οὕτωςί πως λεγομένην τοῦ τροπαιοφόρου ἐπίσκεψιν).⁵ The monastery of Lykousada received from its foundress, the wife of the sebastokrator John Doukas, various properties at Almyros: 'the village of Magoula with the so-called Simisaratoi and the land there of the Levachatoi and Taronatoi' (χωρίον ἡ Μαγουλα καὶ οἱ Σιμισαράτοι λεγόμενοι σὺν τῇ ἐκεῖσε γῇ τῶν Λεβαχάτων καὶ Ταρωνάτων).⁶ Zakythinos, followed by Carile, identifies 'the land of the Leva-

(1) N.I. Giannopoulos, Οἱ δύο μεσαιωνικοὶ 'Αλμυροὶ καὶ ὁ νῦν, Ep. Parn. viii (1904), 86-90; Giannopoulos, 'Phthiotis', 74-93.

(2) Giannopoulos located the northern Almyros at Néa Anchíalos (supra, 87., n. 2). There is no need to doubt with Philippon, 181, that the present, inland, settlement dates from the Turkish period.

(3) MM, v, 12.

(4) MM, iv, 346-7, 351, 387-8.

(5) Ibid. 346 (doc. of 1246). The tropaiophoros is presumably S. George.

(6) MM, v, 255.

chatoi' with the 'Provintia Valechative' of the Privilegium and the Partitio.¹
 This seems unlikely, since the reference is to an agricultural terrain. The word with which Levachatoi is twinned, Taronatoi, surely derives from the name of the donor's father, the Vlach Taronas,² and Levach-as, -atos would therefore seem to be the name of another Vlach family from which she was descended.³

Among the archives of Chilandar is a private act of 1304, by which a certain Demetrios Philanthropenos remitted to the artist Michael Proeleusis the dues which the latter had to pay for his tenure of the locality of Korakomone, near⁴ Almyros. Several religious establishments are mentioned in the same context, including a monastery of Exazenos, as well as property 'of the clergy of S. Sophia'. The identification of the Almyros of this deed with Almyros in Thessaly poses problems, given the origin of the source and the fact that the Exazenos⁵ monastery is elsewhere mentioned only in connection with Thessalonica.

Pteleon.⁶ This is one of the few Thessalian settlements mentioned by Homer, yet it was not an important ancient township, and in Byzantine times it seems to have had no administrative function, lying as it did away from the main roads. The inlet on which it stands is, however, a fine harbour, and commands the narrow entrance to the Pagasitic Gulf. Its strategic value was recognised by the Venetians, who seized the opportunity offered by the political disintegration of

(1) Zakythinos, 'Studies', i, 274; A. Carile, 'Partitio Terrarum Imperii Romaniae', Studi Veneziani, vii (1965), 285.

(2) Pachymeres, i, 83.

(3) See D.J. Geanakoplos, 'Greco-Latin Relations on the Eve of the Byzantine Restoration: the battle of Pelagonia - 1259', D.O.P., vii (1953), 112 n. 61.

(4) Actes de Chilandar, 46-9.

(5) MM, ii, 520-4; R. Janin, Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins (Paris, 1975), 345, 357; Polemis, 119.

(6) Iliad, II, 697.

Thessaly in 1318 to occupy and fortify the site. Possession of this base allowed them to protect their shipping in the narrows, and relieved them of the need to maintain colonies within the gulf. The small garrison and its rector were the responsibility of the bailo of Negropont. Venice kept this stronghold until 1470.¹

The district of Pteleon, known in the 14th century as Nikopolis,² is agriculturally quite productive; in the 12th century, the local wine had enjoyed a high reputation.³ On 6 June 1310 the Duke of Athens, Walter of Brienne, bequeathed to the Venetian John Querini the local properties of the monastery of 'Cochinta'.⁴ There were still Greek monasteries in the neighbourhood as late as 1365, when a monk Luke obtained ktetor's rights to three patriarchal monydria at Pteleon. The small ruined 12th-century church of Agía Triáda at Niés near the village of Siourpí may have belonged to one of these small communities.⁵

Remains of the Venetian fortress are to be seen below the modern village of Phtelió, on a hill to the north of the inlet. On a tongue of land on the south side, Leake and Giannopoulos found ruins of a large Byzantine monastery. According to local tradition, this was the original site of the monastery of the Panagia Xenía. After its destruction by pirates, the monks moved north along the coast to Vatá. The community was again forced to migrate, this time to the already established monastery of Kissiotissa in the mountains, which became known as the Ano (upper) Xenía. The present Káto (lower) Xenía, which overlooks the road southwards from Almyros, was a dependency of Kissiotissa until the mother-

(1) Tafel/Thomas, i, 499; iii, 167, 214, 216; G.M. Thomas and R. Predelli, Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum (1300-1454), i (Venice, 1880), 218; G. Giomo, I 'Misti' del Senato della Repubblica Veneta, 1293-1331 (Venice, 1887), 80, 120-3; Giannopoulos, 'Phthiotis', 22-6; Ferjancić, Tesalija, 161-3.

(2) Thomas/Predelli, loc. cit.

(3) Lampros, Michael Choniates, i, 83.

(4) E. Lunzi (Lountzes), Della condizione politica delle Isole Ionie (Venice, 1858), 125. Giannopoulos, 'Phthiotis', 20, identifies Cochinta with Kikynethos, or Palaiá Tríkkeri, an island just inside the gulf.

(5) MM, i, 474; Giannopoulos, 'Phthiotis', 36-8; N. Nikonanos in Arch. Delt., xxix (1974), B, part 2 (forthcoming).

house was abandoned in 1867. The only trace of a reference to the Xenía community in our period is in the exploits of Umur, emir of Aydin (Tralles), whose appearance in these waters c. 1349 may have caused the first migration.^I

Lechonia. The modern villages of Upper and Lower Lechonia lie south-east of Volos at the foot of Mount Pelion, in a wide, gently-sloping coastal plain which is the most productive in Thessaly of Mediterranean tree-crops. This rich territory went in dowry to William of Villehardouin in 1258 when he married a daughter of Michael II of Epiros.² After the battle of Pelagonia, the estate probably passed to the pro-Palaiologan local family of Maliasenos; the Missilino who held the kastron of Lechonia in 1325 together with that of Kastri may have been Nicholas, the last member of the house.³ Venetian traders took on cargoes here, which suggests that there may have been a regular harbour.⁴

Remains of the kastron have been found at Palaiókastro, on the heights above the plain. The ancient Methone lay probably on the hill of Nevestíki, between Upper and Lower Lechonia.⁵

(5) The Central Thessalian Highlands.

This area properly consists of the ridge dividing the Peneios basin into its eastern and western parts. It is no formidable barrier to communication, being broken by the Peneios valley, and by low depressions such as those which now carry the road and railway from Domokos to Larissa. The transition from plain to mountain is nowhere abrupt; indeed, much of the upland takes the form

(1) W.M. Leake, Travels, iv, 342-3; Giannopoulos, 'Phthiotis', 29-36; idem, 'Ιστορία καὶ ἔγγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Εὐνιάς', Delt. Ist. Ethn. Et., iv (1892), 653-92; Lemerle, Aydin, 126-7. On the date of Umur's raid, see Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 228 n. 4.

(2) Sanudo, Istoria, ed. Hopf, Chroniques, 107.

(3) Sanudo in Tafel/Thomas, i, 499.

(4) Tafel/Thomas, iii, 199, 214, 217.

(5) A. Mézières, Mémoire sur le Pélion et l'Ossa, 38-9; Georgiades, 'Η Θεσσαλία', 118-9 (1st edn. 181-3); Stählin, 53.

of rolling, cultivable hills. It is not surprising, therefore, that two of the largest cities in ancient Thessaly, Krannon and Skotoussa, lay in this region. Yet in Byzantine times the ridge did not attract any comparable settlements - a phenomenon which is hard to explain. It may be that in the early medieval period this was a frontier-area between the Byzantine-held east Thessalian plain and the regions of Slav and, later, Vlach settlement to the west. This hypothesis is suggested by the fact that the south-west side of the ridge is marked by the remains of a series of Byzantine forts which are, however, nowhere recorded in our sources.^I

Two settlements call for individual attention: Revennika and Vounaina.

Revennika.² Despite Carile, this is to be distinguished from the more famous Ravennika south of the Spercheios. Its location at the northern end of the high-land ridge can be deduced from a passage of Anna Comnena, from its mention in the Privilegium as part of the same domanial division as Pharsala, and from the fact that the name was until recently used of the hill-country in general.³ The settlement may have been at Alífaka, where Byzantine ruins, some of the most impressive in Thessaly according to Stählin, cover the remains of the ancient Atrax.⁴

(1) E.g. Vlochos, Petrinon, Driskoli; see Kirsten, 'Beiträge', 278-9, 283.

(2) A. Carile, 'Partitio Terrarum Imperii Romaniae', Studi Veneziani, vii (1965), 283-4.

(3) Anna Comnena, ii, 27; Zakythinos, 'Studies', ii, 46-7; N. Georgiades, op. cit., 25 (2nd edn. 46); N.I. Giannopoulos, *Αἱ ἰουδικαὶ παροικίαι τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ἡπειρωτικῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Ep. Et. Byz. Sp., vii (1930), 260-I.

(4) Stählin, 102; Philippson, 67; Kirsten, 'Beiträge', 283.

Vounaina. This is known from medieval sources as the place where a local saint, Nicholas the Younger, was martyred by the Arabs about 902, as the location of a monastery of S. Demetrios belonging to Lykousada from about 1289, and, questionably, as the seat of a bishop c. 1100. Sophianos has chosen to locate Vounaina at the village of this name which stands in the middle of a direct line from Larissa to Karditsa, near the site of the ancient Krannon. By the village is a shrine of the saint.^I

(6) Mount Ossa.

Mount Ossa, known in medieval times as Kissavos, forms part of the barrier separating the east Thessalian plain from the sea. To the north-west it is divided from the Olympos massif by the narrow chasm of Tempe, while the depression between its south-eastern flank and Mavrovouni is occupied by a small and fertile plain, the ancient Dotian plain, now dominated by the town of Agiá. Immediately below the depression on the seaward side is the coastal plain of Agiókampos. This narrows considerably towards the north, but the mountain slopes are nowhere very abrupt. The eastern side of Ossa does not, therefore, present an obstacle to communications, and there are indications that this corridor was used as an alternative to the Vale of Tempe.² The side of the mountain facing Larissa is barren, but its southern and eastern slopes are well-watered and lush.

(1) *MM*, v, 255; D.Z. Sophianos, Ἅγιος Νικόλαος ὁ ἐν Βουναίνῃ, *passim* but especially 91-8. It is remarkable, however, that the other Thessalian Vounaina, near Almyros, also has a shrine of the saint, on the site of an early Christian church. See also Sophianos, Ἀνέκδοτος κανὼν τοῦ Μάρτυρος Ἀρμυδίου συνταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρσενίου τῆς Κρυπτοφέρρης (1Α' αἰῶν), *Ep. Et. Byz. Sp.*, xxxix-xl (1972-3), 96-109.

(2) Anna Comnena, ii, 24; Adler, Benjamin of Tudela, II.

With these natural advantages, it is not surprising that the region was well-populated in Byzantine as in ancient times. There is little written evidence for this, but the area is rich in Byzantine antiquities, which have in recent years received systematic investigation. The remains of churches and other buildings that have been identified form a continuous series from the mouth of the Peneios to the plain of Agiá.^I

Apart from these, the following settlements are mentioned in the sources: Vesaina, Charmaina, Lykostomion, and the monastery of Marmariana.

Vesaina. The site of Vesaina has, on the basis of an inscription, been identified as that of the modern village of Désiani, in the plain of Agiá.² There is no evidence that the town was fortified, or that it succeeded to an ancient settlement, unless this was Justinian's Kentauropolis.³ It was the seat of a bishop from the IIth century,⁴ and at the end of the I2th it was the centre of an epi-skepsis. Shortly before this, Benjamin of Tudela had found here a Jewish population of 100,⁵ which suggests the presence of a silk-industry. Ruins and sculptured fragments of Byzantine churches have been found in Désiani.⁶

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- (1) N.I. Giannopoulos, "Ερευναι ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ Ἀγιάς", *Ep. Et. Byz. Sp.*, xvi (1940), 370-83; N. Nikonanos, "Ερευνες στὴν ἐπαρχία Ἀγιάς Λαρίσσης, Ἀρχεῖον Θεσσαλικῶν Μελετῶν", ii (Volos, 1973), 39-59.
- (2) N.I. Giannopoulos, "Ἡ ἐπισκοπὴ Βεσαίνης ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ, Εἰς Μνήμην Σπυρίδονος Λάμπρου (Athens, 1935), 199-204; Zakythinos, 'Studies', ii, 47-8; D.A. Chatzikostas, "Ἡ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ πόλις Βέσσαίνα καὶ ἡ ὁμόνυμος ἐπι-Θεσσαλικὰ Χρονικά (special issue, 1965), 534-8. σκοπή,
- (3) *Proc., De Aed.*, II3-4.
- (4) Letter of Psellos, ed. Sathas, v, 344-5.
- (5) Adler, Benjamin of Tudela, II.
- (6) Giannopoulos, "Ερευναι ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ Ἀγιάς", 370-6.

Charmaina and the monastery of Marmariana. The location of the see of Charmaina, mentioned in all the episcopal lists from 1100 to 1320, has not been established. Vasmer derives the name from Common Slav * chorm na ('domus'; hence 'church', as in Bulgarian chram and Serbo-Croatian hram).¹ Kirsten identifies the town in question with Phanari, near which a village of Charmaina is to be found.² But a Makrinitissa document of 1277 concerns a monastery of the Virgin situated at Charmaina, 'under the foothills of Kissavos' (ὕπὸ τοῦς πρόποδας τοῦ Κισσάβου).³ The monastery of Marmariana, which is known from Antonios' Encomium on Kyprianos to have been near Larissa, lay within the diocese of Charmaina.⁴ These data rule out any identification with Phanari. The exact location of Charmaina must, however, remain a mystery until Marmariana itself has been properly identified. The monastery, which was a stavropegion dedicated to S. Demetrios, had been in existence at least since the time of Isaac II (1185-95), and is described by Antonios as one of the largest in the district. Such a monastery can hardly have disappeared without trace, yet remains of it have in vain been sought where one would most expect to find them - near the village of Marmáriani, on the west side of Ossa. For want of better evidence, we should perhaps follow Bees in identifying Marmariana with the monastery of S. Demetrios and the Panagia at Tságezi, near the mouth of the Peneios.⁵ The 13th/14th-century katholikon incorporates remains of an 11th-century structure.⁶ According to Sotiriou, the monastery takes its modern name of Kommeneion or Oikonomeion from a now-abandoned nearby Byzantine town; could this name be a 'hellenisation' of Charmaina?⁷

(1) Vasmer, 98.

(2) Kirsten, 'Beiträge', 293; see Giannopoulos, 'Episcopal lists', ii, 184-5.

(3) MM, iv, 426-9.

(4) MM, i, 85-8; Appendix II, vi-vii.

(5) Bees, 'Antonios von Larissa', 319.

(6) Sotiriou, 'Monuments', ii, 364, 366.

(7) Ibid. 350 n. I, 355 nn. I-2. Eustathios (Commentarii in Homeri Iliadem, 758, 28) derived Charmaina from Orchomenos.

Lykostomion. The kastron of Lykostomion mentioned by Cantacuzene is probably to be identified with the κάστρον τῆς Ὠριᾶς which commands the passage of Tempe from a steep spur of Mt. Ossa.¹ From other sources, it appears that the name, meaning 'wolf's mouth', could be applied to the gorge as such² and to the flat land at the mouth of the Peneios, where there were important salt-pans.³

The kastron may have contained a metochion of S. Nicholas belonging to Marmariana; Antonios says that this stood by the Peneios and received all the good things of the sea. When Kyprianos was given charge of it (post 1300) it was in a bad state, and Turkish pirates used it from time to time as a raiding-base.⁴ One of the castra mentioned by Sanudo in 1325 is that of Sannicolo de Custinni super flumine Solombriae in contrata Achiliae, which Tafel and Thomas have identified as Lykostomion.⁵ A manuscript of the Great Lavra dated 19 July 1337 was written by command of Niphon, 'proïstamenos of our monastery of Lykostomion'.⁶

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- (1) Cantacuzene, i, 473-4; A.E. Vakalopoulos, Τὰ κάστρα τοῦ Πλαταμώνα καὶ τῆς Ὠριᾶς Τεμπῶν καὶ ὁ Τεκὲς τοῦ Χασάν Μπαμπᾶ (Thessaloniki, 1972), 95-9.
- (2) Anna Comnena, ii, 27, 29, 31. Anna comments that Bohemond made a weak pun on the name.
- (3) Byzantis, i, 256; ii, 79 (Solovyev-Mošin, 226).
- (4) Appendix II, x, 15-20. Antonios writes of the raiders as Ἀρσакίδαι, for which both Lampe and Sophocles give 'Persian kings'. This, according to the logic of Byzantine pedantry, must mean 'Turkish emirs'; cf. Actes de Kutlumas, no. 36, l.60, where a document of 1378 refers to the Turks as 'Achemenids'.
- (5) Tafel/Thomas, i, 498-9 and n. 5.
- (6) Sophronios Eustratiades and Spyridon Lavriotes, Catalogue of the Greek MSS. in the Library of the Lavra on Mt. Athos (Harvard Theological Studies, XII) (Cambridge, Mass., 1925), p. 167, no. 1080.

(7) Mount Pelion.

The name Pelion is properly given to the mountain whose twin peaks rise behind Volos, but this only part of a range which runs unbroken from the plain of Agiá to the end of the Magnesian peninsula.

The side of the mountain facing the sea is steep and its coast inhospitable, but it is watered by perpetual streams and covered with thick woods.

Pelion appears to have been one of the few areas of Thessaly which was more heavily settled in medieval than in ancient times. The series of forts whose remains are to be found along both sides of the mountain were no doubt built in the 6th-7th centuries to protect the shore and the eastern corridor of the plain from both Arab and Slav attacks. The Slavs, however, were not prevented from colonising the mountain.² The return of Byzantium opened up Mt. Pelion to a way of life unknown in the pre-Christian world: monasticism. Pelion held something of the same attraction for solitaries as did Athos, being similar in geology and vegetation. By the late 11th century the mountain was known both as Zagora, a name derived from a Slav expression meaning 'across the mountain',³ and as Kellia - 'the mountain of the (monastic) cells'. Alexios I, who came this way on campaign in 1085, decided that the monk Christodoulos, a saintly refugee from Latros in Asia Minor, could put his talents to good use by organising the undisciplined local anchorites. These, however, did not rise to the occasion, and Alexios finally granted Christodoulos' original request for permission to found a community on Patmos.⁴

(1) Mézières, Mémoire sur le Pélion et l'Ossa, 49, 90; Kirsten, 'Beiträge', 293.

(2) Vasmer, 108-10; Kirsten, 'Beiträge', 278, 294-5.

(3) In this original sense, Zagora is the area on the Aegean side of Pelion. The name was also given to regions in Bulgaria and Epiros. See Vasmer, 33, 109.

(4) On the medieval names of Pelion and its interest to Alexios I and S. Christodoulos, see E.L. Vranoussi, 'Le mont des Kellia. Notes sur un passage d'Anne Comnène', Zb. Rad. Viz. Inst., viii, B (1964), 459-64; eadem, Τὰ ἀγιολογικὰ κείμενα τοῦ Ὁσίου Χριστοδοῦλου, ἱδρυτοῦ τῆς ἐν Πάτμῳ μονῆς (Athens, 1966), 128-39. Pelion was also known simply as the mountain of Demetrias; MM, iv, 331.

The monks of Kellia were never again to find such a spiritual leader or such an imperial patron, but at the beginning of the 13th century their houses were sufficiently important to attract the attention of Pope Innocent III.^I One of these communities was the monastery of S. Andrew, high above the plain of Lechonia. The main structure of the ruined church dates from the rebuilding, and rededication to S. Lawrence, in 1378. A fragment of a Latin inscription, however, gives rise to the theory that the original church may have been built in the 11th century as a metochion of the Amalfitan monastery on Mt. Athos.²

The most important period in the monastic life of the mountain began with the Greek reconquest of Thessaly in 1213-4. By February 1215 a local landowner, Constantine Maliasenos, had with the help of Arsenios, bishop of Demetrias, completed the building of a monastery called Makrinitissa and dedicated to the Virgin 'of Speedy Succour' (τῆς Ὁξείας Ἐπισκέψεως).³ Throughout the century he and, after his death c.1255, his son Nicholas, kept on good terms with all the local political regimes. By so doing they added substantially to Makrinitissa's properties, especially after 1259, when Nicholas recognised the rising star of the emperor Michael VIII, master of eastern Thessaly from about 1267. Nicholas was rewarded for his loyalty with a Palaiologan marriage and with a large estate, Dryanouvaine, adjacent to Makrinitissa. Here Nicholas and his wife by an act of compulsory purchase in September 1271 relieved an unfortunate peasant, Michael Archontitzes, of his unprofitable family-holding, because they considered that 'the quiet and altogether anchoritic nature of the spot' (τὸ φιλήσυχον καὶ πάντῃ ἀναχωρητικὸν τοῦ τόπου) made it ideal for the nunnery they planned to

(1) Migne, PL, ccxvi, col. 230.

(2) N.I. Giannopoulos, 'Ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πηλίου μονὴ τοῦ Ἀγίου Λαυρεντίου', Ep. Et. Byz. Sp., xi (1935), 385-408; D.A. Zakythinos, 'Ἡ λατινικὴ ἐπιγραφὴ τοῦ Ἀγίου Λαυρεντίου', Ell., ix (1936), 29-31. On the Amalfitan monastery of Athos, see P. Lemerle, 'Les archives du monastère des Amalfitains au Mont Athos', Ep. Et. Byz. Sp., xxiii (1953), 548-66.

(3) MM, iv, 382-3. On the family of Maliasenos and their political importance, see infra, II47 ff.

I
 build. This convent, which they dedicated to S. John the Baptist and called
 Nea Petra, was being constructed in December 1271² and had been finished by
 July of the next year.³

By a similar process of pious exploitation, Nea Petra was endowed with a
 series of properties, on Pelion and in Veleshton, whose owners could not in the
 conditions of the time afford to maintain them. Nea Petra thus acquired a large
 number of vineyards,⁴ and several dilapidated metochia donated by the bishop of
 Demetrias.⁵ After almost every transaction, Maliasenos sought legal guarantees
 from the emperor and patriarch, and the authorities in Constantinople, who needed
 all the support they could find in this sensitive area, were only too glad to ob-
 lige. By 1278, both monasteries had acquired an impressive list of local proper-
 ties, as well as a metochion in Thessalonica.⁶

The last document in the cartulary can be dated to 1280; in 1285-6 Andro-
 nikos II put his signature to the new de luxe edition of the archives. This is
 the last we hear of the monasteries. There may have been a later series of docu-
 ments which are now lost, but in all probability Makrinitissa fell victims to
 some Catalan, Albanian, or Turkish raid. If the local 'Missilino' who shortly
 before 1325 married his sister to the Catalan Marshal Odo de Novelles was in fact
 a Maliasenos, he cannot have been deeply concerned about the fate of his family
 monasteries.⁷

(1) MM, iv, 397.

(2) Ibid. 405: τῆς μονῆς.....ἀνεγειρομένης.

(3) Ibid. 363: δεδομένται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πατριαρχικὸν μοναστήριον.
 The 14th-century foundation of Dionysiou on Mt. Athos, similarly dedicated
 to the Baptist, was also called Nea Petra: Actes de Dionysiou, 21, n.44.

(4) MM, iv, 402-II.

(5) Ibid. 414-8, 421-4.

(6) Ibid. 330-9. The combined total is small, however, compared with the estate
 of Lykousada in 1348.

(7) Tafel/Thomas, i, 499. The Catalan magnate Missili de Novelles may have been
 a son of this marriage: Loenertz, 'Athènes et Néopatras', I, 185.

Makrinitissa and Nea Petra were in effect a Maliasenos family trust. The patriarchal and imperial charters not only defend them against the encroachments of all officials, but insist that they belong to Nicholas and Anna 'by hereditary right' (ἀπὸ γονικότητος) and that after the ktetors' death, their son John is to be 'absolute inheritor of the whole of his birth-right that devolves on him from his parents' (κληρονόμον τέλειον εἶναι πάντων τῶν γονικῶν αὐτοῦ, ὅσα παρὰ τῶν γονέων πρὸς αὐτὸν διαβαίνει).¹ By building up the endowments of monasteries which remained a family monopoly, the Maliasenoi insured a substantial part of their estate against the heavy taxation, arbitrary expropriation, and divided inheritance which threatened lay holdings. This type of investment was undoubtedly common in Byzantium, and in the long term it worked to the detriment of the monasteries concerned, by keeping them dependent on the whims and fortunes of noble families. In contrast, communities which grew spontaneously around the figure of some spiritual celebrity had the memory of a saintly founder to keep them going through hard times; they were also more likely to attract the direct patronage of the state. Makrinitissa and Nea Petra, like their counterparts in western Thessaly, the aristocratic foundations of Porta-Panagia and Lykousada, lacked such beginnings, and their fate was similarly obscure.

While they lasted, however, they gave a great boost to the spiritual life of Mt. Pelion. The Maliasenoi, while careful to look after their own interests, were perfectly genuine in their devotion, of which the emperor and patriarch speak highly.² Constantine, the founder of Makrinitissa, received spiritual training from a monk John who came 'from the east'.³ Nicholas and Anna lived together in the world until they were sure of a son and successor; then, in autumn 1274, Nicholas became the monk Ioasaph and Anna took the veil as the nun Anthousa.⁴

(1) MM, iv, 375; Ferjančić, 'Posedi', 37-9.

(2) MM, iv, 336-7, 357, 363, 366, 371-3.

(3) Ibid. 380

(4) Ibid. 333, 417; Ferjančić, 'Porodica', 247.

Coming only seven years after their marriage, this was hardly a last-minute repentance. Monasteries could be an investment, but, in themselves not economically viable, they could also be a considerable expense. The Maliasenoi paid for the entire construction of Makrinitissa and Nea Petra, and to judge from the sculptures that survive they commissioned the best artists available. Whatever profits they derived from the monastic endowments had to be offset by the cost of providing for the monks and nuns. In agreeing to part with various metochia the bishop of Demetrias, Michael Panaretos, who was no less jealous than his predecessors of the patriarchal monasteries which fell within his diocese but outside his jurisdiction,¹ tacitly admitted that these properties were more of a liability than an asset; in all cases the churches needed rebuilding or repair. The house of Rasousa, which Makrinitissa acquired as a metochion in 1270, had itself been built by Nicholas Maliasenos, and its entire inventory of liturgical books and vessels had originally been donated by Constantine to his spiritual father, the abbas John.² Indeed, there are two indications that Nicholas and Anna founded several monasteries in addition to Nea Petra.³

Of the monasteries and metochia mentioned in the sources nothing is now visible but scattered fragments of masonry and sculpture. Several of these are to be seen in the village of Makrinitza, in the 18th-century church of the Virgin, which has presumably succeeded to the katholikon of Makrinitissa.⁴ In 1266 there was a Vlach settlement close to the monastery, associated with (a church of) the

(1) Before 1273 he had taken advantage of some local disturbances to seize one of Nea Petra's metochia; his claim, which he did not abandon until 1280, may have had some basis (MM, iv, 369-71, 422-3). In the first half of the century Makrinitissa had often suffered from the local prelates, despite the part that their predecessor, Arsenios, had played in its construction and his guarantee that no bishop of Demetrias would interfere (MM, iv, 382-3); Ferjančić, Tesalija, 70-2.

(2) MM, iv, 377-8, 380.

(3) Ibid. 366 (1272), 425 (1280).

(4) Giannopoulos, 'Monasteries', i, 234-40; ii, 227-35; Vasmer, 109, derives the name Makrinitza from Slavonic *Mokrinica ('damp place').

Asomatos of Katakalon.¹ Makrinitissa stood on the 'mountain of Drongos', as opposed to the 'mountain of Dryanouvaine' on which Nea Petra lay. Dryanouvaine was the name of an estate (ktema) which Michael VIII gave to Nicholas Maliasenos about 1267,² and which Nicholas donated in its entirety to Nea Petra in October 1274.³ It was divided into an upper and a lower part, and included mountainous and lowland terrain, vineyards and arable land.⁴ Its inhabitants formed a single village community (χωρίον).⁵ Nea Petra lay in Upper Dryanouvaine; and Giannopoulos has identified the site as that of the present monastery of the Prodomos, above the village of Portariá, where several sculptured fragments are built into the wall.⁶ The area of Portariá belonged to the Lower Dryanouvaine; here were two of the metochia donated by the bishop of Demetrias - S. Nicholas Palaiorropatos and the Panagia Portarea.⁷ Nea Petra acquired three other metochia in Dryanouvaine: the Holy Apostles at Megalogenes, S. Nicholas Xylopas, and a hesychasterion dedicated to the Virgin. The first two lay in the village of Katechóri, south-east of Portariá.⁸ The hesychasterion, which was a gift of the patriarch to Nea Petra, has not been identified. It lay on the flank of the mountain, looking

(1) MM, iv, 351; Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 93.

(2) MM, iv, 397.

(3) Ibid. 374.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid. 398, 391-3.

(6) Ibid. 362; Giannopoulos, 'Monasteries', ii, 235-6.

(7) MM, iv, 414-6, 366-9; Giannopoulos, 'Monasteries', ii, 237-40.

(8) MM, iv, 417-8; Giannopoulos, 'Monasteries', ii, 241.

east; possibly it stood on the hill of Episkopí, in Upper Volos.^I Another unidentified metochion which Nea Petra received from the bishop was that of S. Maria Koukouras.² On the lower slopes of Pelion overlooking Volos, Makrinitissa had a metochion of S. Onouphrios.³

Makrinitissa owned a few properties at Zagora, on the Aegean side of Pelion.⁴ These properties included the monastery of Rasousa, which Giannopoulos has identified with the deserted convent of Rásova, east of the modern village.⁵ The monastery also possessed an 'abandoned' (ἀπορριμμένη) metochion of the Prodomos.⁶ Mézières and Georgiades claim to have seen in the village a cross-in-dome church of the Transfiguration with an inscription bearing the date 1160.⁷ The existence of a harbour below Zagora is implied in one Venetian source.⁸

Taken together, the sculptured and inscribed fragments surviving from Makrinitissa and Nea Petra are quite numerous. They are to be found in the churches of the Dormition and S. Athanasios at Makrinitza, in the churches of the Prodomos and S. Nicholas at Portariá, and in the church of Episkopi in Ano Volos. The most important fragments are:

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- (1) MM, iv, 369; N.I. Giannopoulos, 'Les constructions byzantines de la région de Démétrias', Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique, xliv (1920), 181-218.
 - (2) MM, iv, 424-6.
 - (3) Ibid. 354-5.
 - (4) Supra, 98 : n. 3.
 - (5) Giannopoulos, 'Monasteries', i, 220.
 - (6) MM, iv, 331.
 - (7) A. Mézières, Mémoire sur le Pélion et l'Ossa, 68; N. Georgiades, Ἡ Θεσσαλία, 1st edn., 215.
 - (8) Tafel/Thomas, iii, 219. The harbour was probably that at Póri (ancient Sepias); see A.J.B. Wace, Journal of Hellenic Studies, xxvi (1906), 145-8.

- a) A fragment of the tomb of Anna Palaiologina Maliasena (Episkopí)¹.
- b) A late 13th-century deesis of a monk Leontius, bearing the inscription
 Ἡ Μακρινίτισσα-καὶ Ὁξεία Ἐπίσκοπος (Episkopí)².
- c) A sculptured slab of the Virgin and Child with a border inscription, and with one flanking the head of the Virgin which reads MP-ΘΥ Ἡ Ὁξεία Ἐπίσκοπος (Church of the Dormition, Makrinitza)³.
- d) An inscribed slab bearing the verse epitaph of the monk Neilos Bryennios Maliasenos (Church of S. Athanasios, Makrinitza)⁴.

(8) Mount Olympos.

Olympos, the highest mountain in Greece, is the most massive link in a mountain chain that runs from the Aliakmon valley in southern Macedonia to the southern tip of Euboea. To the north-west it is separated from the mountains of Pieria by the Petra pass, and, to the south-east, from Ossa by the Vale of Tempe. On the west, Olympos is separated by the broad lowland of the Titaresios from the Chasia mountains; the north-eastern part of these, the Kambounia mountains, meet the Pieric range at the pass of Sarantáporos. To the east, the main summit of the mountain has at its foot a broad coastal plain, but the foothills of the lower, southerly 'nieder-Olymp' at one point fall directly to the sea.

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- (1) Giannopoulos, 'Les constructions byzantines', op. cit. (*supra*, I 04 n.1), 195-6; corrigendum, perhaps unnecessary, in Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique, li (1927), 502. G. Millet, 'Les sculptures byzantines de la région de Démétrias', Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique, xliv (1920), 211 n.3, incorrectly dates Anna's death to 1275.
- (2) Dated by A. Xyngopoulos, Τὸ ἀνάγλυφον τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς Βόλου, Ep. Et. Byz. Sp., ii (1925), 107-21.
- (3) Giannopoulos, 'Monasteries', i, 237-40.
- (4) Ibid. ii, 235-6. Polemis, 143, identifies this Neilos with the one mentioned as 'second ktetor' of Makrinitissa in an inscription at the Church of the Dormition (Giannopoulos, 'Monasteries', ii, 229).

The main roads from Macedonia to Thessaly are forced to circumvent Olympos, and the two sites which control the northern approaches to the passes have played a very important part in the history of the region: Sérvia, at the northern end of the Sarantáporos pass in the Aliakmon valley; and Platamón, at the point where the foothills of Lower Olympos interrupt the coastal plain. These two settlements lie on the Macedonian side of the natural boundary, and they have always belonged to the ecclesiastical province of Thessalonica. Yet in a sense it is their proximity to Thessaly which has given them their importance - an importance that was above all military, as the sources and the impressive remains of both kastra show most clearly.¹

Servia is of particular interest to us as being one of the provincial towns most fully described by Byzantine writers. Cecaumenos writes, 'This kastron lies perched on the top tall rocks and is surrounded by deep and high ravines' (Τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον κάστρον ἐστὶν ἐν πέτραις ὑψηλαῖς πάνυ κείμενον καὶ φάραγξιν ἀγρίαις καὶ βαθυτάταις περικυκλούμενον).² Cantacuzene, describing his own attempt to take Servia from Stephen Dušan in 1350, writes:

'This not a mean city, lying on the borders of Botiaia and Thessaly, which Preljub, one of the kral's magnates, ... ruled along with the rest of Thessaly (μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης Θεσσαλίας). The town lies on a steep spur of the mountain, such that as you approach it, it appears higher than the mountain itself. It rises to its summit by three rings of fortifications, so that from without there appear to be three towns, one on top of the other (ἐπαλλήλους). On all sides it is girt with deep ravines. The space between the town on the one hand and the level ground and the ravines on the

(1) Letter of John Apokaukos, ed. B. Vassilevsky, 'Epirotica saeculi XIII', Viz. Vrem., iii (1896), 247; Acropolites, 62, 84, 133; Cantacuzene, ii, 355; iii, 130; Gr. Chr. Mor., p. 158, l. 3676; Fr. Chr. Mor., 358; L. Heuzey, Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie (Paris, 1860), 207-20; A. Xyngopoulos, Τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν Σερβίων (Athens, 1957); A.E. Vakalopoulos, Τὰ κάστρα τοῦ Πλαταμῶνα καὶ τῆς Ὠριᾶς Γεμπῶν, II-61. The name of Servia probably derives from the time when this was temporarily a settlement of Serbs transplanted by Heraclius; see Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio, ed. Gy. Moravcsik and tr. R.H.L. Jenkins, I: Text (Dumbarton Oaks Texts, I; Washington D.C., 1967), § 32, 10-12; II: Commentary, ed. R. Jenkins (London, 1962), pp. 131-2 (by F. Dvornik).

(2) Cecaumenos, 260.

other is filled, wherever the terrain permits of habitation, with houses, not only of the common folk (τῶν πολλῶν) but also of the best of the citizens and of the stratiotai, who are of local men and of good standing. The polis, having its houses on top of each other because of the nature of the site, seems to have few dwellings of more than one storey (πολυορόφους). Two sections are inhabited by the citizens; the third, being the highest, is reserved to the governor'. I

Preljub was on the point of retiring to Thessaly, but his companions persuaded him not to leave the town, arguing that if Cantacuzene gained control of it he would easily be able to occupy the whole of Thessaly.

The actual boundary between Macedonia and 'Vlachia' was crossed at a place called Katakalon, at the summit of the Sarantáporos pass.² But the above passage of Cantacuzene shows that Servia looked to Thessaly as much as to Macedonia. Indeed, up to 1204 it seems to have been the centre from which much of northern Thessaly, including Stagoi, was administered.³ It was here, according to tradition, that Michael II of Epiros met his wife Theodora Petraliphina.⁴

Another settlement that must have been of strategic value for communications between Thessaly and Macedonia was Petra, near the pass of that name, also the seat of a suffragan bishop of Thessalonica.⁵

Two settlements which lay in Thessaly proper remain to be considered: Ezeros and Pythion.

(1) Cantacuzene, iii, 130, 8 - 131, 1; D.A. Zakythinos, Le Despotat grec de Morée, ii (Athens, 1953), 166-7.

(2) Gr. Chr. Mor., p. 158, l. 367₄ and n.

(3) Astruc, 222-6. The Bulgar invasions considerably complicated the administrative geography of this region. It is possible, however, that the Peneios had always constituted the southern boundary of Byzantine 'Thessalonica' and the northern frontier of 'Hellas'; see Pachymeres, i, 205.

(4) Job, Monachus, Life of S. Theodora of Arta, ed. A. Mustoxidi, Ἑλληνομνήμων (Athens, 1843-53), 44.

(5) Cantacuzene, ii, 355; iii, 130; Tafel, Thessalonica, 61; Heuzey, Mont Olympe 145-50.

(N)Ezeros. The toponym is a common one, derived from the Slavonic word for a lake (*ezero)¹, and this has, not surprisingly, caused some confusion as to the location of the Ezeros whose bishop is listed in the Notitiae under Larissa². Philippson and Kirsten chose to place it beside the lake in the Othrys range now known as Xyniá³. In the Privilegium, however, its administrative district or chartoularaton was associated with that of a settlement near Berrhoia⁴, which is an argument in favour of the site between Upper and Lower Olympos, beside the Lake Askoris mentioned by Livy⁵. Ezeros is the main communications-centre in the Lower Olympos area.⁶

Pythion. On the Thessalian side of the Petra pass, Nikonanos has identified, near the site of the ancient Pythion, a Byzantine fortress and several small churches. One of these, dedicated to the Holy Cross, has important frescoes and an inscription dating the building to 1339, in the reign of Andronikos III and the empress Anna.⁷

(1) Vasmer, 101 and index.

(2) See also Laurent, Regestes, no. 1316.

(3) Philippson, 108-9; Kirsten, 'Beiträge', 293; see also V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, 'Autour de la pénétration du Tzar Bulgare Samuel dans les régions de la Grèce proprement dite', Byzantinobulgarica, ii (1966), 237-9.

(4) Zakythinos, 'Studies', ii, 48-9.

(5) Livy, Ab Urbe Condita, XLIV, 2, 3.

(6) Giannopoulos, 'Episcopal lists', ii, 179; Stählin, 9-10; Heuzey, Mont Olympe, 66-71.

(7) N. Nikonanos, Εἰδήσεις ἐκ Θεσσαλίας - Πύθιον Ἐλασσόνορος, Ath. Ann. Arch., v (1972), 368-73.

(9) The Chasia.

The mountains of Chasia, and, north-east of these, Kambounia, continue the barrier between the Peneios and Aliakmon basins westward from Olympos, to which, for the most part, they are geologically alike. They do not form a single range but rather a highly-dissected highland bloc, which although not unsuited to cultivation, pasture, and habitation, seems to have attracted no major settlement at any stage in its history. This is possibly because they are not traversed by any major route, except in the area north of Kalambaka, where they join the Pindos. Here various points in the Aliakmon valley can be reached by crossing the watershed. These routes are not much used today, but they must have been vital in Byzantine times, when Stagoi belonged to the theme of Servia and Trikkala had links with Kastoria.

(10) The Pindos.

The vast territory of the Thessalian Pindos presents many contrasts, from barren precipices and ravines to habitable valleys and upland plateaux. Yet apart from references to a monastery at Chrysenon and a bishopric at Kadovisdion, the sources are completely silent about this area. This is understandable, since the Pindos was probably still the preserve of those groups - the Vlachs and later the Albanians - who called for special comment only when they affected the life of the lowlands. Even in their native mountains, however, these peoples did not allow themselves to be forgotten. They must have had all traffic between Thessaly and Epiros at their mercy, and must, therefore, have played a large part in the considerations of all those 13th and 14th-century rulers of Epiros and Thessaly who extended their power across the Pindos.

The area to the south-west of the Upper Thessalian plain must, if our theory about the early location of the Thessalian Vlachia is correct, have constituted the mountainous part of the 'Provintia'. This area is today known as Ágrapha; here Christian society flourished at its most uninhibited under the Turks. Leake gives a good account of it:-

'Agrapha may be described as comprehending the mountains bordering on Thessaly which connect Pindus with Othrys as well as with Oeta, for the two latter ranges, though separated from one another towards the sea by the vale of the Spercheius, are united inland, Mount Velúkhi or Tymphrestus forming the common link of connexion'. 1

Elsewhere he writes that Agrapha

'has enjoyed particular privileges dating perhaps from a remote period in the Byzantine empire, when the villages were "not written down" in the publicans' books, and the inhabitants of the district accounted in a body for their taxes. To judge from the names of places, and from the absence of every language but the Greek, Agrapha had preserved itself before the Turkish conquest from admixture with Bulgarians and Wallachians in a greater degree than most other parts of Greece'. 2

Leake's etymology is surely correct, although the privileges of which he speaks most probably did not date from before the Turkish period, and the prevalence of Greek language and place-names would seem to suggest an influx of Greeks in the 15th or 16th century, as happened on Pelion, when the plains were recolonised by Turks from Konya. None of the many local monasteries shows signs of having been founded in the Byzantine period.

(II) Othrys.

Othrys is an eastward projection of the Pindos which reaches the sea at Pteleon and extends northwards to the central Thessalian highlands, thus creating a barrier between the Upper Thessalian plain and the sea. It is crossed by two passes. Othrys seems to have been very sparsely settled in our period. The interesting 15th-century church of Antínitsa was probably built in the interval of quasi independence from the Turks that followed the battle of Ankara (1402).³

(1) Leake, Travels, iv, 268.

(2) Ibid. 266-7.

(3) A.K. Orlandos, 'Ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς "Θεσσαλίας" ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας, Ep. Et. Byz. Sp., vii (1930), 369-81; infra, II7-8.

(12) The Spercheios Valley and the Malian Gulf.

The valley of the Spercheios (medieval Hellada, modern Alamána) is formed by the two ranges of Othrys and Oita (Katávothra)-Kallídromos, which run eastwards from Mt. Tymphrestos in the Pindos. The flat, alluvial valley-floor narrows at a point half-way between Ypáti and Lamia, after which the river takes a slight southerly turn and the valley becomes considerably wider than before. The river discharges into the Malian Gulf, an extension of the valley corridor, which is flanked by coastal plains, that to the north being somewhat wider. The entrance to the gulf is blocked by the tapering north-west corner of Euboea.

The corridor is important for its productivity, as the valley floor is good arable-land and the coastal plains are rich in olives and vines, and for being a funnel of communications between northern and southern Greece. Both the coastal and the inland routes from north to south are brought together at Lamia, although it has happened that the stands against northern invaders were made not at this nodal point, but slightly to the south, at Thermopylae or in the Boeotian plain. The sea-lanes, too, are forced deep inside the gulf because of the formation of north-western Euboea.

The northern littoral of the Malian Gulf has usually been classed with Thessaly (Phthiotis), and the southern, ancient Lokris, has tended to look to Boeotia and Euboea. The Spercheios valley has always been something of a no-man's land. By the end of antiquity it had become part of Phthiotis, but the fusion was never complete. Lamia (Zeitoúni) remained within the archdiocese of Larissa, but from the 9th century Hypata (Neopatras) was the metropolis of a separate province. The sources hesitate to include Zeitouni in Vlachia. Neopatras was from 1267 to 1318 the capital of princes who based themselves economically on the west Thessalian plain, but from 1273 Zeitouni and the other strongholds controlling the passes

(1) Adler, Benjamin of Tudela, II; Fr. Chr. Mor., 877, p. 347; Zakythinos, 'Studies', ii, 44; Ferjančić, Tesalijska, 4 (whose references in n. 15 are incorrect).

were in Frankish hands, and after the formation c.1320 of the Catalan Duchy of Neopatras, the northern frontier of Latin Greece never ran south of Othrys. From 1832 to 1881 the river Spercheios was the northern boundary of the modern Greek kingdom.

The settlements which call for individual attention in the present context are four: Neopatras, Zeitouni, Echinós, and Gardiki. Three fortresses in the Oite range, however, played an important part in the history of this area: Siderokastron, which controlled the Kallidromion pass;^I Gravia, which controlled the access to this from Boeotia and Phokis;² Boudonitza, with its baronial castle above Thermopylae³ and its harbour below.⁴ There existed another port, 'Lade' or 'Lata', which was evidently called after the contemporary name for the Spercheios.⁵ The ports of the Malian Gulf were probably more important then than they are now, for Lade and Boudonitza are referred to as major outlets for 'Vlachian' grain.⁶ This must allude primarily to the Spercheios valley, but it may be that much produce from the west Thessalian plain was brought over Othrys to be shipped. The Venetians of Negropont handled most Thessalian merchandise,⁷ and both they and the producers may have found it profitable for cargoes to be embarked as far south as possible.

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- (1) A. Bon, 'Forteresses médiévales de la Grèce centrale', Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, lxi (1937), 139-41; G. Kolias, Σιδερόκαστρον, Ep. Et. Byz. Sp., x (1933), 72-82.
- (2) A. Bon, op. cit. 142.
- (3) Ibid. 141-2; W. Miller, 'The Marquisate of Boudonitza', Essays on the Latin Orient (Cambridge, 1921), 245-61. There was a Greek bishop of Boudonitza in 1371.
- (4) Tafel/Thomas, iii, 201, 218; Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 158.
- (5) Sanudo in Tafel/Thomas, i, 501; see also iii, 221, 213 - 'dum iret de Nigroponte at Latam per medium Buldunizam'.
- (6) Sanudo, loc. cit.; Bocardus, Directorium ad passagium faciendum (Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniens, II) (Paris, 1908), 508, Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 161.
- (7) F. Thiriet, Délibérations des assemblées vénitiennes concernant la Romanie, I (1163-1363) (Paris/The Hague, 1966), no. 215, p. 75.

One other settlement deserves passing mention: Ravennika. This has now disappeared without trace, but Benjamin of Tudela found here a substantial Jewish minority, and here, in 1209, the Latin emperor Henry of Hainault called a Parliament of all the feudatories in Latin Greece. Ravennika stood a day's journey south of Zeitouni, probably at the north end of the Boeotian plain.^I

Neopatras (Hypata - Ypáti). Hypata does not appear in the ancient sources before the 4th century B.C., but it quickly became the most important town in the region. Under the Roman Empire it was one of the chief cities in Thessaly.²

According to tradition, its first bishop was Herodian, a kinsman and disciple of S. Paul.³ Justinian repaired the fortifications,⁴ but the ancient settlement may not have survived the Slav invasions; the name under which it reappears in the 9th century (Neai Patrai - Neopatras) suggests that it was recolonised from the Peloponnese.⁵ At about the same time the bishopric was raised to metropolitan status, but its suffragan sees were few in number and constantly changing; by the 14th century there were none at all. The most famous incumbent was the 12th-century Euthymios Malakes, one of the correspondents of Michael Choniates.

(1) Henry of Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'Empereur Henri*, ed. J. Longnon, §§ 667-70 (§669- 'ou val de Ravenyke'); Zakythinos, 'Studies', ii, 46-7; Migne, PL, ccxvi, col. 230.

(2) Apuleius, *Metamorphoseon*, I, 5 - 'quae civitas cunctae Thessaliae antepollet'; Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, II, 34; Stählin, 220-3; Pauly/Wissowa, ix, 236-41.

(3) Romans, XVI, II; M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, ii (Paris, 1740), 123; Giannopoulos, 'Episcopal lists', ii, 204 ff.; N.I. Giannopoulos, 'Υπάτη - Νέαι Πάτραι', *Delt. Ist. Ethn. Et.*, vii (1918), 442-3, followed by G.A. Sotiriou in 'Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς' (1929), 186-7, records the finding of remains of a basilica dedicated to Herodian, but no epigraphical or iconographical evidence is published in support of this.

(4) *Proc.*, De Aed., II0.

(5) However, a contemporary, Leo Choïrosphaktes, used the ancient name of the town in an epigram: Fr. J. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, ii (Paris, 1830), 470; P. Lemerle, Le premier humanisme byzantin (Paris, 1971), 148-9 nn. 1 and 3.

Neopatras appears as a thema in the Partitio (though not in the Privilegium). Its importance increased during the 13th century, for its position near Mt. Tymphrestos - the meeting-point of Akarnania, Phokis, and Thessaly - made it the most centrally placed town in the southern half of the 'Despotate' of Epiros. When the last two of these regions were combined, about 1267, in one principality, Neopatras, as the link between them, naturally became the dynastic capital. The economic strength of the state lay in the west Thessalian plain, and, as has been suggested, Neopatras may have shared its status with Trikkala. Yet while the dynasty was hostile to the government in Constantinople the balance was in favour of Neopatras. It had a more defensible citadel and was less exposed to attack from Macedonia, while it lay close to the capitals of the Latin rulers whose friendship the princes of Thessaly were, until 1309, most keen to cultivate. After this, however, the position of Neopatras became a liability and, with the failure of the dynasty in 1318, it quickly fell to the Catalans of Athens.

Even then, it did not lose its importance. It was the capital of the Catalan possessions in Thessaly, and it gave its name to a separate Duchy, whose title was assumed by the Crown of Aragon. As various scholars have shown, Neopatras, in contrast to other local strongholds, was treated by the Catalans not just as a castrum but as a self-governing commune or ciutat^I. The citizen body (universitat de la ciutat) elected its municipal council of prohomens ('prud'hommes') and representatives at the royal court (síndichs). Royal appointments were limited to the fortress-commander (castellà) and the rector (capità), but these officials often came from local families. The universitat included Greeks as well as Catalans, but the former must have been strictly in a minority. The case of the

(I) A. Rubio y Lluch, 'Els castells catalans en la Grécia continental', Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans, ii (1908), 364-425, Gk. tr. by G. Mavrakis, Επεὶ τῶν Καταλανικῶν Φρουρίων τῆς Ἡπειρωτικῆς Ἑλλάδος (Athens, 1912), pp. 52-73 on Neopatras; K. Setton, Catalan Domination of Athens, 84 ff; R. J. Loenertz, 'Athènes et Néopatras', I, 172-3; Ferjancić, Tesalijsa, 142-8, 149-51.

uncle of the future S. Athanasios of the Meteora, who fled to Thessalonica at the time of the Catalan occupation,¹ cannot have been unique. The Catalans made Neopatras the seat of a Latin archbishop,² and the Orthodox hierarchy was probably persecuted. Antonios does not say what happened to the metropolitan whose appointment in 1318 he mentions,³ but he records that one of the subordinate clergy fled with his family to Neopatras.⁴

Today all that remains of medieval Neopatras is the ruined fortress standing on a steep spur of Mt. Oite, high above the Spercheios valley; this certainly confirms Pachymeres' description of its impregnability.⁵ This tight enclosure cannot permanently have housed all the citizens, and it is likely that the main part of the settlement stood on the site of the modern village of Ypáti, where the remains of ancient Hypata have been found. In a letter of 3 January 1390, John I of Aragon instructed Andrea Çavall, castellan and capità of Neopatras, to improve the fortifications of the ciutat, which Rubio y Lluch takes to mean that the lower town was fortified.⁶ It is characteristic that western scholars can assume a distinction in Latin sources between the geographical and legal unit of the town (civitas) and that of the citadel (castrum), a distinction which is far from implicit in Byzantine usage of the words polis and kastron/phrourion.

(1) Byzantis, i, 240.

(2) R.-J. Loenertz, 'Athènes et Néopatras', II, Archivium Fratrum Praedicatorum, xxviii (1958), 17-8, 25.

(3) Appendix II, xii, 22-3.

(4) Ibid. xxxiii, 15-7.

(5) Pachymeres, i, 326.

(6) Rubio y Lluch tr. Mavrakis, op. cit. 54; Diplomatari, no. 627.

At the beginning of this century, the church of Agia Sophia in Ypáti apparently contained various pieces of Gothic sculpture, which led to the supposition that it had been the Latin cathedral, but like much intriguing archaeological evidence these soon disappeared.¹ It is possible that the modern church of S. George has succeeded to the Greek cathedral; according to Manuel Philes, the widow of the the last Greek ruler of Neopatras had the figure of 'S. George of Patras' carved on his memorial in Constantinople in order to show the site of his actual grave.²

Ypáti is famous today principally for the thermal resort of Loutrá in the valley below the village. The name, if not the settlement, existed in our period.³

Giannopoulos notes that in the neighbourhood of Ypáti is a village called Vogomíli.⁴

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- (1) N.I. Giannopoulos, 'Υπάτη - Νέα Πάτρα', Delt. Ist. Ethn. Et., vii (1918), 444: refs. to Vortselas, Φθιώτις, 474, and T. Evangelides, Ἱαματικὰ Λουτρά Ὑπάτης (Athens, 1905).
- (2) A.E. Martini, Manuelis Philae carmina inedita (Naples, 1900), 123.
- (3) Fr. Chr. Mor., 893, p. 352.
- (4) Giannopoulos, op. cit. 451-2. Vasmer, 106, gives the variations Bougoméla, Vougómylos. I am unaware of any further evidence for Bogomilism in Thessaly, unless it be the passages in Psellos' De Operatione Daemonorum, which refer to dualist heretics called 'Euchitai' in Elasson and on 'a peninsula adjacent to Hellas': Migne, PG, cxxii, cols. 840, 853; C. Mango, Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror (Oxford, 1975), II-2, n. 2. Mango believes the peninsula in question to be Chalkidike, although neither in the Byzantine nor in the ancient sense of 'Hellas' would the description be particularly apt. Could the allusion be to the Magnesian peninsula? This might then help to explain Alexios I's desire to reform the monks of Mt. Pelion.

Zeitouni. Medieval Zeitouni, the ancient and modern Lamia, never enjoyed the distinction of Hypata/Neopatras, in spite of the fact that it is more strategically located, on a hill at the base of Othrys, near the point where the land routes from north to south converge to round the head of the Malian Gulf. Like Hypata, Lamia was in the late Roman period the seat of a bishop, and like its neighbour it changed its name in the Byzantine Dark Ages.^I Its bishop, however, remained a suffragan of Larissa, and in secular matters it seems to have fallen within the administrative competence of other centres.

During our period the only mentions of Zeitouni are in Latin sources, as 'Giton' or 'Siton'. In the first Latin occupation the kastron belonged to the Templars.² The first prince of Neopatras, the sebastokrator John I Komneno-Doukas, gave the kastron c.1273 to the de la Roche Dukes of Athens, who in the early years of the 14th century used it as a base for further expansion in Thessaly. Under the Catalans it did not constitute a self-governing commune, and its Latin bishop was a suffragan of Neopatras.³ It was, however, an important baronial fief belonging to the chief feudatories of the Catalan Duchy, the de Fadrique Counts of Salona (Amphissa). The last of the line, Don Luis de Fadrique, died in 1382, leaving as heiress his daughter Maria, but his wife Helen, a daughter of Matthew Kantakouzenos, assumed his title.⁴ It is interesting that when in the early 15th century the troubles of the Ottoman empire allowed the Christians of Thessaly to regain a brief independence, the kephale sent from Constantinople to organise their resistance was a member of the Kantakouzenos family, Stravometes,

(1) Giannopoulos, 'Episcopal lists', i, 308-9.

(2) Migne, PL, ccxvi, col. 470: 'castrum de Situm super Ravennica'.

(3) Loenertz, 'Athènes et Néopatras', II, 18-9. There was also a Greek bishop in 1371.

(4) Loenertz, 'Athènes et Néopatras', I, 177, 180-1; Nicol, Kantakouzenos, no. 52, pp. 160-1; Rubio y Lluch, Diplomatari, no. 562, p. 604 - 'despina dela Sola e del Cito'.

and that his residence was Zeitouni.^I In 1423 Stravometes gave the settlements of Stylis and Avlaki, on the north coast of the Malian Gulf, to the Venetians of Negropont.²

The kastron of Zeitouni still dominates the modern town of Lamia; like the fortresses of Corinth and Argos, its walls are the work of all its occupiers.³

Echinos. Echinos stood at the base of Othrys some 20 km. to the east of Zeitouni, overlooking the northern coastal plain of the Malian Gulf. The ancient town (Echinaion) was refortified by Justinian, and the relatively well-preserved fortifications that can be seen today are probably those of the 6th century.⁴

We hear of bishops of Echinos from 431,⁵ and the name regularly appears in the Notitiae; its absence from the list of 1371 must be attributed to the Catalan occupation. It is remarkable that Echinos, which appears to have been settled continuously,⁶ is not mentioned in other medieval sources.

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- (1) Ducas, Historia Turcobyzantina, ed. V. Grecu (Scriptores Byzantini, I) (Bucharest, 1958), p. 239, XVIII, 11; see also p. 111, XVIII, 2 and note. The editor's doubt as to the identity of the Zeitouni mentioned in the text is unfounded: Nicol, Kantakouzenos, no. 59, p. 167; A. Bakalopoulos (Vakalopoulos), 'Les limites de l'empire byzantin jusqu'à sa chute (1453)', Byz. Zeit., lv (1962), 60-1.
- (2) K.N. Sathas, Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Age, i (Paris, 1880), nos. 87, 89, pp. 140-9.
- (3) Rubio y Lluch tr. Mavrakis, 43 ff; F. Stählin, Lamia. Topographische und geschichtliche Untersuchungen über die Hauptstadt der Malier (Erlangen, 1920-1).
- (4) Proc. De Aed., II2; L.W. Daly, 'Echinos and Justinian's fortifications in Greece', American Journal of Archaeology, xlv (1942), 500-8.
- (5) Giannopoulos, 'Episcopal lists', ii, 177.
- (6) L.W. Daly, op. cit. 500.

Gardiki. Gardiki, the ancient Larissa Kremaste and modern Pelasgia, stands in the foothills of Othrys above a fertile valley, near the point where the coast road from Lamia turns inland.¹ If the bishop of 'the other Gardiki' listed in the Notitia of c.1100 is at all credible, he must have served this town rather than the Gardiki near Trikkala. When Benjamin of Tudela passed through on his way to Almyros in the mid-12th century, he found the place in ruins and inhabited by only a few Greeks and Jews.² The fortunes of Gardiki seem to have revived under the Latins, who, in their first ephemeral occupation, installed a bishop who had charge of the kastron.³ The Venetians of Negropont imported much corn and wine from here;⁴ they also suffered from the piratical depredations of a certain 'John of Gardiki' (1271).⁵ Gardiki was among the strongholds which the sebastokrator John Komneno-Doukas gave in dowry to William de la Roche (c. 1273), and which William's son Guy gave in fief to Boniface of Verona (1294).⁶ It then passed to Boniface's daughter Maroula, who shortly before her father's death in 1317 married Don Alfonso de Fadrique, the most powerful feudatory in the Catalan duchy.⁷

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The kastron of Gardiki occupied the site of Larissa Kremaste.

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- (1) W.M. Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, iv, 346-8; Stählin, 182-4; Philippson, 208.
- (2) Adler, Benjamin of Tudela, II.
- (3) Migne, PL, ccxvi, col. 297.
- (4) Tafel/Thomas, iii, 223.
- (5) Ibid. 205.
- (6) Fr. Chr. Mor., 879, p. 348; Hopf, Chroniques, 175; Muntaner, Chapter 244; W. Miller, Latins in the Levant, 193.
- (7) Muntaner, Chapter 243; K. Setton, The Catalan Domination of Athens, 28
- (8) Stählin, 184. See Giannopoulos, 'Phthiotis', 14 ff., on the subject of medieval churches in the vicinity.

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In reconsidering Thessaly as a whole, we are bound to question whether the logical and convenient division of the province into physical units - lowland basins, coastlands, and mountain blocs - truly underlay the human geography of the province in Byzantine times. One is struck, above all, by the interdependence of plain and mountain. Several of the towns which were vital to the control, if not to the economy, of the plains, were situated on high ground. Mountain sites were more defensible than lowland ones; they also enjoyed fresher and more plentiful water supplies and were more conducive to the contemplative life. The plains were unbearably hot in summer, and their marshy stretches were breeding-grounds of malaria. It is therefore not surprising to find most towns and nearly all monasteries situated on the border between mountain and plain, if not in the mountains themselves. The inhabitants of the open plain were mostly the peasants who supported the town and monastic economy. The higher mountain areas represented for an agrarian, sedentary society all that was unknown, unprofitable, and frightening, but for that very reason they were the natural haunts of men who opted out of worldly society: the brigand and the solitary ascetic. They also provided summer pasture for the flocks of all shepherds, whether these were permanent inhabitants of the upland or the plain. In this way, a large number of Thessalians divided their time equally between the highlands and the lowlands. The human unity of Thessaly was not broken by contrasts in relief, except perhaps in the south, where the Othrys range prevented the Spercheios valley and the coasts of the Malian Gulf from becoming an integral part of the province.

If we look at the map of Thessaly proper in terms of areas of high and low settlement, the pattern is quite clear: all the major towns, with the exception of Pharsala and Domokos, all the major monasteries, and all the Byzantine monuments

lie in the oblique angle formed by two lines drawn from Lykousada and Pteleon to meet at Larissa. This concentration of settlements to the north and east is due mainly to the accident that so many naturally advantageous sites are grouped here, but it may also have been influenced by the fact that administratively and culturally Thessaly depended on Constantinople and, to a lesser extent, on Thessalonica and Mt. Athos - places which were reached from the passes into Macedonia and the ports on the Pagasitic Gulf. The effect produced on the internal settlement-pattern of the province by its political orientation can be seen most clearly in the shifts in importance which took place within the area of densest settlement. In the middle and early-late Byzantine periods the two most frequently mentioned towns are Larissa and Demetrias, the key strongholds for Byzantine control of Thessaly by land and sea. The only monasteries for which there is evidence before the 13th century are Marmariana and Xenia, both on the east coast of Thessaly. After 1204, the picture begins to change. The French aristocracy of the Fourth Crusade establishes a centre of Latin power and culture at Thebes which is inherited, in 1311, by the Catalan Company. Refugees from Constantinople set up a Byzantium-in-exile at Arta, with a second centre at Ioannina; these did not cease to be important after 1261. Contact with Constantinople and Thessalonica, though it continues to be maintained, is weaker than before because of political disturbances and deteriorating communications.

The result of these changes was to cause Thessaly to become oriented towards new centres and to become more independent: from 1267 to the Turkish conquest its subjection to outside rulers was nominal. This allowed the local aristocracy to develop its cultural aspirations at home, and fostered the growth of alternative centres to Larissa and Demetrias. For much of the 13th century these towns kept their importance, and cultural progress was first manifest in eastern Thessaly,

in the monastic movement which the Maliassenoi sponsored on Mt. Pelion. Yet in the 14th century, as we have seen, Larissa was abandoned, Makrinitissa and Nea Petra are hardly mentioned, and Demetrias but once. From 1267 to 1318 Neopatras, whose southerly position suited the ruling dynasty's antipathy to Constantinople and affinity with the Latins, became the provincial capital; because of its position, it eventually fell within the Latin orbit. Even before, this but especially afterwards, Trikkala seems to have become the main centre of Byzantine civilisation in Thessaly, developing in response to Arta, Ioannina, Kastoria, and also perhaps to the Albanian tribes who now dominated the mountain areas between these four towns. Trikkala continued to be the local capital almost until the end of Ottoman rule in this part of Greece. Its pre-eminence affected other settlements in the region: Stagori and Phanari reached their peak in the 14th century and several new monasteries came into being. In our period, as at other times in the history of Thessaly, we see a division between the east, more susceptible to prevailing developments in the Aegean area (Latin occupation, Byzantine revival and final decline) and the west, more land-locked, more self-contained, but closer to the inner human currents of the Balkans (Vlach and Albanian colonisation; Epirot and Serbian expansion).^I

(I) Vasmer is no doubt right in stating (p. 317) that 'der Osten Griechenlands weniger slavische Einflüsse aufweist als der Westen. ...Wo die Küste für Landungen geeigneter war, wie in Ostthessalien, da sind vermutlich die Slaven schneller zurückgedrängt worden.' However, the evidence of place-names is not conclusive, in Thessaly at least, because as M. Papaioannou points out (op. cit. supra, 86: n.3, pp. 17-9) the east Thessalian plain lost most of its medieval toponyms in the 15th century, when it was almost entirely resettled by Turks from Konya.

Changes in sea-power in the Aegean during this period also affected the settlement-pattern. From the 12th century to the 15th the dominant commercial interests in Thessalian ports were those of the Italian maritime republics and particularly of Venice. There seems to have been a direct connection between the rise of Venetian commercial activity in the Aegean and the rise of Almyros, although the same cannot be shown of any other Thessalian town.^I This activity increased in the 13th century, when the Venetians established a large emporium at Negropont (Chalkis), and continued unabated until that city's fall (1470) to the Turks, along with the minor strongholds which the republic had acquired on the Thessalian coast, beginning with Pteleon.² Yet the collapse of Byzantine power in western Asia Minor during the reign of Andronikos II (1282-1328) allowed the ports of the eastern Aegean to become bases for Turkish pirate ships, which now began to raid the coasts of Greece year after year. This may have prompted the Venetians and the shore-dwellers to abandon exposed sites like Almyros and Demetrias in favour of small fortified settlements, like Pteleon, Lechonia, and Volos. Early in his reign Andronikos, following bad advice, disbanded the fleet, which meant that Byzantine interests in Thessaly had in future to be maintained by land. This may explain the mentions given in the 14th century to the three kastra which control the land-route from the Pagasitic to the Thermaic gulf: Volos, Kastri, and Lykostomion.

Other factors which undoubtedly affected the settlement-pattern of Thessaly at the beginning of the 14th century were the invasion of the Catalan Grand Company (1309-11), the wars between the Thessalian magnates and the Catalan Duchy of Athens (post 1318), and the Albanian inroads of about the same time.

(1) Despite statements to the contrary in the works of V. Hrochova (infra, 125 n. 1).

(2) On Negropont and its dependencies, see I. Koder, Negroponte. Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euböia während der Zeit der Venezianerherrschaft (Vienna, 1973).

At the outset, a distinction was proposed between three types of settlement: the town, the monastery, and the dependent rural community. We are now in a position to evaluate the merits and the defects of this classification-scheme.

Two of the categories present no difficulties. It cannot be doubted that the monasteries were in a class by themselves; they were sexually-segregated communities whose members were totally committed to the service of God, supposedly in complete isolation from the economic and political concerns of worldly society. The deference and the generosity with which men of the world treated the monastic life tended to blur the distinction in ways which we shall consider shortly; the important point here is that geographical withdrawal, anachoresis, was a basic monastic ideal. In his search for a retreat, the Orthodox monk liked to think that he was returning to the Egyptian desert of his great prototypes, but he cannot have been unmoved by the beauties as well as by the savageries of nature, for the monasteries of Greece are usually situated in idyllic countryside and enjoy superb views.

The dependent settlements are a less clearly-defined category, obviously, since many of them can also be classified as monasteries. It is clear, however, from any chrysobull, that the legal status of a metochion was exactly the same as that of a village; both were economic units that could be possessed in their entirety by a landlord - some villages, indeed, were named after the families who owned them. Villages were numerous on the plains, they were unfortified, they were not often the successors of late antique settlements, and their names were mostly Slavonic in origin. The social composition of a village may have been fairly complex, but all villagers were ultimately responsible to the members of other settlements.

The third type of settlement, what we have called the town, is harder to define.¹ Broadly speaking, the towns were the places where all the most important local business was transacted; where trade and industry were conducted; where jurisdiction both civil and ecclesiastical was dispensed; where important men lived and where lesser men sought protection. Yet of the settlements which are left to discuss, few fulfilled all these functions, and it is not easy to say which function was the most essentially urban.² Provincial Byzantine towns had no separate constitutional status. unlike those of the ancient world or of medieval Italy. Townsmen were not, as in north-western medieval Europe, distinguished by their economic activities, and given collective status in the polity as a 'Third Estate'. In Thessaly, Almyros seems to have been the one town whose primary function was commercial, yet for this the Venetians and other foreigners

- (1) On the phenomenon of the Byzantine provincial town, see E. Kirsten, 'Die Byzantinische Stadt', Berichte zum XI. internationalen Byzantinisten - Kongress (Munich, 1958), V, 3, and the remarks by Lemerle, Zakythinos, and others in the Discussions-Beiträge of the same congress. Vera Hrochova (see BIBLIOGRAPHY) has written much on the urban geography of Greece, especially Thessaly, in the later Byzantine period, but her conclusions, which grossly overemphasise the commercial factor, are not based on a critical study of the primary sources.
- (2) Sp. Vryonis, The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor (U.C.L.A., 1971), 6 ff., sees the presence of a bishop as the decisive factor, but in Thessaly Phanari and Almyros are examples of flourishing communities which lacked an episcopal see for long periods of time.

were responsible. Only rarely do the sources mention the emporia, or commercial quarters, which must have been part of many Thessalian towns.

The one feature that all the towns of Byzantine Thessaly seem to have had in common was their fortifications. We cannot determine how far Servia and Kastri, with their three concentric fortified perimeters, were representative of other local communities. However, the nucleus of every Byzantine town was its citadel, known as a kastron, or, more pedantically, as a phrourion. The kastron was the final centre of resistance to attack; it also contained what a Byzantine would have considered to be the most important elements in the town's life: the residence of the prince or governor, the episcopal church, at least one monastery, and the houses of local landowners. Not surprisingly, then, Byzantine writers used the word kastron to denote a town in general.^I The inhabitants of the kastron became, as Byzantine society evolved, exclusive groups who treated corporately with invaders and with their own rulers, who in certain cases issued them with charters of privilege. The best known are those of Michael VIII to the inhabitants of Monemvasia, of Andronikos II to the citizens of Ioannina, and of Michael Gabrielopoulos to the archons of Phanari. In this limited sense, the Byzantine provincial towns did have a special status.²

In contrast to the villages and monasteries, the towns lay on or near long-inhabited sites. Certain settlements, indeed, retained the names of ancient towns. As we should expect, this group is formed mainly of the chief ecclesiastical,

(1) Kirsten, 'Byzantinische Stadt', 4, 20 ff. The word ἄστυ was used as an alternative to πόλις. The smaller fortified settlements are described as πολίσματα or πολίχνια, and the term προάστειον (Italian 'casale') was used of unfortified, semi-urban communities.

(2) Lemerle, Diskussionsbeiträge, 94-6, has argued that the first two of these charters were ad hoc political concessions, not normal pieces of legislation. The kastron of Ioannina has been studied in all its aspects by L. Vranoussis, Ἱστορικά καὶ τοπογραφικά τοῦ μεσαιωνικοῦ κάστρου τῶν Ἰωαννίνων Χαριστήριον εἰς Α.Κ. Ὑρλάνδον (Athens, 1966), 439-515; also as monograph (Athens, 1968).

military, and economic centres (Larissa, Demetrias, Pharsala, Domokos, Trikkala, Almyros). There are, however, some oddities; two insignificant places, Elasson and Pteleon, kept their Homeric names, and the two main centres in the Spercheios valley, Hypata and Lamia, were rebaptised in medieval times. The survival of the ancient name probably indicates a continuity of settlement from antiquity. Whether the same is true of other towns which stood on or near ancient sites cannot, in the present state of archaeological research, generally be determined; the archaeology of the cathedral of Stagoi indicates that this might happen. Continuity or no, however, ancient sites surely attracted the Byzantines for the same strategic reasons which had caused their settlement in the first place. The only towns to be permanently abandoned were those whose sites were not indispensable (Gomphoi, Metropolis, Kaisareia, Thebes, Kentaupolis).

The medieval inhabitation of ancient sites is of interest as one aspect of the survival in the Byzantine world of elements of Greco-Roman antiquity. As in other aspects, profound changes accompanied the survival. One only has to compare the plan of medieval Demetrias with that of the ancient city, or the remains of Almyros with those of (Thessalian) Thebes, to realise that the towns of Byzantine Thessaly were skeletons of their former selves, built on a much more modest scale, and lacking well-constructed public buildings and amenities. The various Dark-Age invasions might explain the destruction of ancient buildings; they do not explain the failure of the medieval Thessalians to replace them with anything comparable. Nor can any fall in local wealth - even were this proven - be held responsible. What had happened, surely, was that the provincial towns had ceased to be theatres of ambition. Constantinople, in becoming the guardian of all that was considered worth saving from the ancient world, prevented the provincial town from assuming the same role: in a society which claimed to have created the New Rome and the New Jerusalem, the most important men in the localities were the

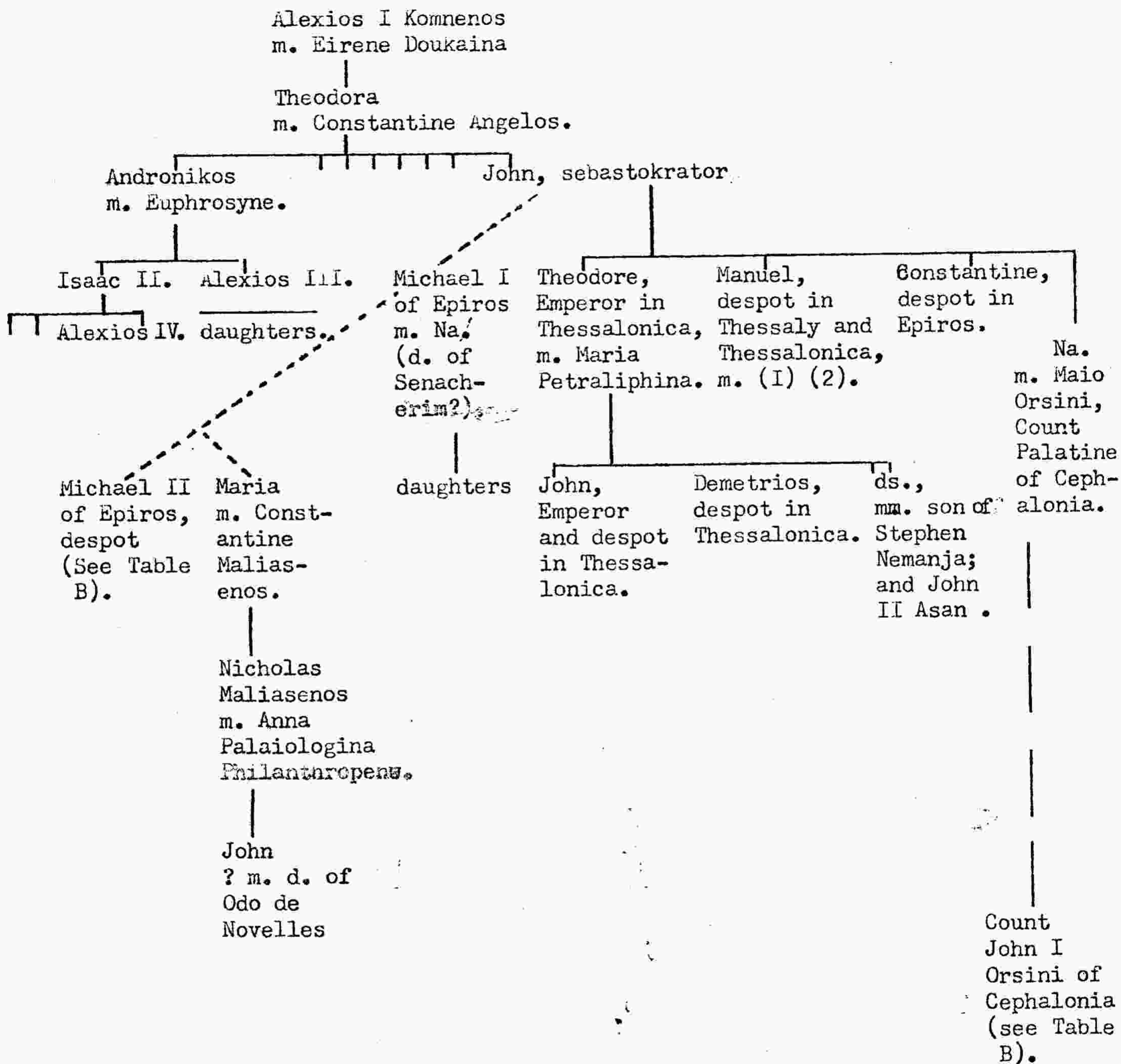
representatives of these two kinds of earthly perfection, the military governor and the bishop. Along with this, the standard object of social and cultural patronage ceased to be the civic edifice and became, instead, the monastery. These factors between them explain why Thessaly became a theatre of aristocratic patronage only after 1204, and why this patronage showed itself in the creation of new monasteries, not in the embellishment of old towns, like Demetrias, Neopatras, and Trikkala, which had suddenly gained a new importance. Yet too much should not be made of the antithesis between town and monastery. Essentially it was none other than the ancient distinction between city and sanctuary. The large distances between the big monasteries of Thessaly and the regional capitals should not obscure the fact that the relation between the two kinds of settlement was as real as it was in other cities, such as Arta, Ioannina, Kastoria, and Mistra, where the geographical separation is less apparent. Monks sought withdrawal, but this was idealised as a quest for a more perfect human estate, the heavenly politeia. The best among them were often men who had had every possibility of worldly refinement, and whose vocation might therefore be seen to spring not from popular piety, but from the most cherished values of metropolitan culture. Their enterprise needed worldly support, and the closer the patron, the more effective his help. We have noted the personal stake which aristocratic founders had in their monasteries. Monastic Christianity and town Christianity, the latter reflected in local cults and promoted by the bishop, did not always see eye to eye, but for the most part monastic life complemented that of the town. Within the overall framework of the oikoumene, the unit of life was not the province, still less the individual settlement, but the region - not the physical region, but the human region, where town, monastery, and village looked to each other for support. The more the ecumenical framework collapsed, the more closed this circuit of dependence became. Its internal mechanisms will be examined in Chapter 6, with special reference to the region of Trikkala - in every respect the Thessalian unit par excellence.

CHAPTER 2: Thessaly and the 'Despotate' of Epiros.

The political independence of medieval Thessaly originated in a decision taken by Michael II Komneno-Doukas, effective ruler in the mid-13th century of the whole of mainland Greece north and west of Boeotia, to divide his dominions between two heirs. Michael's capital of Arta together with all the mainland territory west of the Pindos, south of Albania, and north of the Corinthian Gulf, fell to his eldest son, the despot Nikephoros. The greater part of Thessaly and the mountainous country between the Spercheios valley and the Gulf of Corinth formed the inheritance of an illegitimate son, John, otherwise and hereafter known as John the Bastard. The full force of this arrangement was not felt until Michael's death c. 1267¹, but it was already a fact in the last years of his life, and it arose as a natural result of his policies. Thessaly as an historical unit and John the Bastard as an independent ruler can only be understood against the background of the 'Despotate' of Epiros and the noble Greek dynasty of Komneno-Doukas, a background itself set in the wider context of Latin occupation and Byzantine diaspora.²
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- (1) Following Hopf, the date originally accepted for Michael's death was 1271, but we have documentary evidence that it occurred between September 1266 and August 1268 (*infra*, 151-2. The correction was first proposed by A. Nikarouses, *Χρονολογικαὶ ἑρευναι*, B': Πότε ἀπέθανε Μιχαὴλ Β' Ἀγγελος ὁ δεσπότης τῆς Ἠπείρου; *Delt. Ist. Ethn. Et.*, x (1928), 136-41.
- (2) On the male side, the Epirot rulers were descended from a cousin of Isaac II and Alexios III, and like these emperors they are often called 'Angeloi', especially by detractors. They themselves, however, used the more distinguished names of Komnenos and Doukas, to which they were entitled. See L. Stiernon, 'Les origines du Despotat d'Épire', *Rev. Et. Byz.*, xvii (1959), 102-20; Polemis, 85 ff, esp. 89 n. 2.
- (3) In addition to the works cited in the preceding note, see Nicol, *Despotate*; idem, 'The Fourth Crusade and the Greek and Latin Empires', *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1966), IV, pt. I, 275-330; J. Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople* (Paris, 1949); A. Gardner, *The Lascarids of Nicaea* (London, 1912); R.-J. Loenertz, 'Aux origines du Despotat d'Épire', *Byzantion*, xliii (1973), 360-94 (with care); M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*; Ferjančić, *Tesalijsa*, II-94.

A. THE ORIGINS OF THE KOMNENO-DOUKAI OF EPIROS AND THESSALY.



The emergence of the Thessalian principality.

In the division of spoils which followed the Fourth Crusade, Thessaly was one of the provinces allotted to the lesser participants. Boniface of Montferrat, ruler of Thessalonica, marched south in 1205 and extended Latin rule to the tip of the Peloponnese. He rewarded certain of his followers with baronies in Thessaly - at Larissa, Veleshtinon, and perhaps elsewhere. Through his wife Maria, the widow of Isaac II, he himself owned Vesaina, Demetrias, Archontochori [?], and Almyros: a bloc of territory reminiscent of the 'pertinentia imperatricis' in the Privilegium Alexii III.¹ The Thessalian feudatories formally owed allegiance to the Latin emperor of Constantinople, but their sympathies lay with Boniface and his successors, the ephemeral 'kings of Thessalonica'.² As well as lay fiefs, the Latins established bishoprics throughout their conquered territories. Lay feudatories frequently encroached upon the landed rights of the church; it is characteristic that so many of the disputes which came to the attention of Pope Innocent III concerned the rich estates of Thessaly.³

The Latins never penetrated west of the Pindos, and here an illegitimate Greek of imperial lineage, Michael Komneno-Doukas,⁴ organised resistance from the towns of Arta and Ioannina (1204-c.1213). The lack of evidence for a Latin occupation in western Thessaly suggests that this too belonged to him. Less hard-pressed than the main Byzantine refugee ruler, the emperor Theodore I Laskaris of Nicaea, Michael more quickly turned to the offensive, conquering Corfu and the city of Dyrrachion. His brother and successor Theodore extended his domain to cover the whole of Thessaly (1214-15) and Macedonia, including the city of

(1) Migne, PL, ccxvi, col. 226; MM, iv, 346; Ferjančić, Tesalija, 16-7. The empress in question was Alexios' wife Euphrosyne Doukaina.

(2) On the correct use of this title, see B. Ferjančić, 'Počeci Solunske Kraljevine (1204-9)', Zb. Rad. Viz. Inst., viii, pt. 2 (1964), 101-16.

(3) Ferjančić, Tesalija, 29-33.

(4) Polemis, no. 45, pp. 91-2.

Thessalonica (1225), where he established his capital and had himself crowned emperor.¹ His attention was now directed towards Constantinople and Bulgaria, and he seems to have left the administration of his southern territories to his brothers Constantine and Manuel,² the first in Epiros and the second in Thessaly. Theodore's promising career suffered a severe setback in 1230 when a foolhardy attack on Bulgaria led to his defeat, capture, and blinding, but he retained some influence among the members of his family who ruled on in northern Greece. The Bulgarians ravaged but did not occupy Thessaly, which continued to be administered by Manuel from Thessalonica. Dislodged in 1237 by Theodore's intrigues, Manuel took refuge in Nicaea, whence with Nicene help he sailed to Thessaly in 1239 and established himself in Larissa, Demetrias, Pharsala, and Platamon.³ Within a year or two, however, he died, leaving the field clear for the only other member of the family with the resources to keep the dynastic state intact. This was an illegitimate son and namesake of the first Michael,⁴ who had ruled Epiros in Manuel's name since 1231. The fact that neither Trikkala nor Neopatras is mentioned among the towns which Manuel ruled on his return from Nicaea suggests that in 1239 Michael already had control of western Thessaly. By 1241 he governed the whole province, and could begin to entertain the grand ambitions of his predecessors.

Unfortunately, Macedonia was no longer the easy prey it had been under the Latins, for here the initiative had passed to a power with a much better claim to local loyalties, the Empire of Nicaea. Nicene ascendancy in Europe was finally confirmed when John III Vatatzes made himself absolute master of Thessalonica (1246). From this point he and his successors, Theodore II Laskaris and Michael

(1) Polemis, no. 42, pp. 89-90.

(2) Ibid. nos. 43-4, pp. 90-1.

(3) Acropolites, 62.

(4) Polemis, no. 48, pp. 93-4.

VIII Palaiologos had one objective: the recovery of Constantinople. They could not, however, attempt to besiege the city until they had guarded their rear against Bulgarian invasions of Thrace, and, more dangerous, against the arrival of Latin reinforcements from Italy by way of the Via Egnatia. This naturally gave them a strategic interest in central Albania and the man with most influence in that area, Michael II of Epiros.

Michael's attitude to the Nicene emperors was highly ambivalent. On the one hand he respected their unquestioned authority and feared their military power; on the other hand, he was acutely jealous of them. He could not forget that it was his own uncle who had wrested Thessalonica from the Latins, and to the end of his life he resented the fact that the Nienes had reaped the fruits of this victory. Also, as we shall see, his constitutional position was such that their success meant his ruin. They had more pressing concerns than the reconquest of Epiros and Thessaly, but Theodore II's demand for the surrender of Servia was a hint of things to come.² For ten years Michael played a double game, hastening to make peace with the Nienes when they gave him their attention, but attacking their outposts in western Macedonia whenever they were distracted by other enemies. In 1258, the imperial government was unsettled when Theodore II died and Michael Palaiologos usurped the throne. Michael of Epiros saw his opportunity to put an end to the Nicene empire in Europe, and accordingly threw in his lot with two like-minded Latin princes: Manfred, illegitimate son and (after Conrad) successor of Frederick II Hohenstaufen on the throne of the Two Sicilies; and William of Villehardouin, Prince of Achaia, who had just completed the Latin conquest of the Peloponnese and forcibly won recognition as the leading feudatory of Frankish Greece. Each of these received a daughter of Michael II in marriage, together

(1) Pachymeres, i, 81-2, 137.

(2) Acropolites, 133; Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 60.

with a good portion of dotal territory. Manfred obtained several towns in Albania and William the lordship of Lechonia near Demetrias. Not without ulterior motives, they supplied Michael with military aid. Manfred sent a body of German cavalry; William came in person at the head of the whole chivalry of the Morea. They joined to face the Nicene forces near the town of Pelagonia (Monastir), some time in the summer of 1259. The result, which according to the odds should have been the collapse of Nicene power in Macedonia, was the utter defeat of the coalition - in the final analysis because its members were ill-suited to each other, and in the event because it was more or less betrayed by its architect.^I

It is for his part in this episode that John the Bastard is first recorded in history. In describing the prelude to the battle, Pachymeres says that Michael

'also had with him his natural son John with his own people, commanding great forces (μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου λαοῦ, τὰ μέγιστα συναιρόμενον). John, who had taken to wife the daughter of Taronas, thus gaining the leadership of a rare breed of men, was already capable of leading a victorious campaign by himself (λαὸν ἐξαίρετον ἔχων, δυνατὸς ἦν καὶ μόνος στρατηγεῖν καὶ προσκταῖσθαι). For summoning his Megalovlachites, the ancient Hellenes whom Achilles led (τοὺς γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν Ἑλληνας, οὓς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἤγε, Μεγαλοβλαχίτας καλῶν) he [on one occasion] so prevailed against three generals with numerous forces - the grand domestic John Palaiologos, Alexios Strategopoulos, and John Raoul - as to check their advance beyond Berrhoia'.²

On the eve of the expected confrontation, some followers of William of Villehardouin looked lustfully at John's beautiful Vlach wife, whereupon John became angry and abused them. William then came to the support of his men, sneering at John for being a bastard and therefore no more than a menial beside his brother Nikephoros. John reacted like Achilles, and determined to show that he was 'the whole of the army, and those he inclined to would win'

(1) On the battle of Pelagonia, see D.J. Geanakoplos, 'Greco-Latin Relations on the Eve of the Byzantine Restoration: The battle of Pelagonia - 1259', D.O.P., vii (1953), 99-141; D.M. Nicol, 'The Date of the Battle of Pelagonia', Byz. Zeit., xlix (1956), 68-71.

(2) Pachymeres, i, 83, 6-14. For another Vlach Taronas, possibly the father of John's wife, see Demetrios Chomatianos ed. J.B. Pitra, Analecta Sacra et Classica, vii (Paris/Rome, 1891), cols. 343-4; on the name, cf. also H. Hunger, Johannes Chortasmenos (ca. 1370-ca. 1436/37), Briefe etc. (Wiener Byzantinische Studien, VII) (Vienna, 1969), 87-8.

(τὸ πᾶν τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ οἷς ἂν προσέκειτο, ἐκείνους νικῶντας)^I.

He sent word to the Nicene commanders that he would be joining them, and warned his father and Nikephoros to stay away from the fighting. On the morrow, William of Villehardouin was defeated with great loss and taken prisoner.

After the battle, the victorious generals went on a grand chevauchée throughout Greece.² John Raoul³ and Alexios Strategopoulos crossed the Pindos into Epiros and, leaving a force to besiege Ioannina, went on to occupy Arta. Michael and Nikephoros fled to their Orsini cousins in Cephalonia.⁴ Meanwhile, John Palaiologos, the emperor's brother,⁵ marched through Thessaly. Here, according to Acropolites, he garrisoned several strongholds. He was accompanied by John the Bastard, to whom the movements of the Nicene army in these parts must have caused some concern, and at whose invitation, no doubt, it encamped at Neopatras. But as soon as Palaiologos was on his way to sack Latin Levadia and Thebes, the Bastard slipped away to rejoin his father and brother, who felt encouraged to come out of hiding. Together they recovered Arta and relieved the siege of Ioannina. The Nicene generals for their part did not take their task seriously enough, and were too eager to return to court to receive their rewards. 'Thus', says Acropolites, 'things began to go badly for the Romans' (οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν κακῶν τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἴληφε πράγματα).⁶

(1) Pachymeres, i, 85.

(2) Acropolites, I7I-3.

(3) Fassoulakis, no. 6, pp. I8-9.

(4) Count Maio Orsini had married Michael's aunt (Theodore's sister) Anna about I227; see Nicol, Despotate, I07.

(5) Papadopoulos, Genealogie, no. 2, pp. 4-5.

(6) Acropolites, I72.

The principality of Michael II was thus temporarily lost because John the Bastard could not stand a blow to his honour, and eventually saved because he put family first. His short association with John Palaiologos no doubt convinced him, too, that there would be little to gain but much to lose if the Nicene empire were allowed to keep its foothold in Thessaly.

William of Villehardouin was a prisoner at the Nicene court, but Michael II could still count on mercenaries from Manfred, and something of the old coalition revived. With the aid of these reinforcements, Nikephoros in 1260 defeated and captured Alexios Strategopoulos at Trikoryphon near Loidoriki.¹ Ferjančić believes that the victory allowed Michael II to regain control of Thessaly,² although this was a task that John the Bastard may well have performed unaided. Peace was signed, and Strategopoulos was released.³ It was he who, almost unintentionally, managed to recover Constantinople for Michael VIII in July 1261.

This triumph was a severe humiliation for Michael of Epiros. Now that an Orthodox emperor could once more reign in the City of Constantine, his own attempts to acquire Thessalonica and an imperial title must have seemed futile. Yet he seems to have persevered, if not in his greatest ambitions, at least in trying to regain some of the ground lost in 1259. Pachymeres, our only source for the fighting in these years, is frustratingly vague as to its chronology, its location, its objectives, and its outcome. He is at pains to depict Michael II as the party who took the initiative in making and breaking peace treaties, for his sense of propriety would not allow him to cast the emperor as the aggressor or the loser. All the same, the relevant passages in his history do leave the

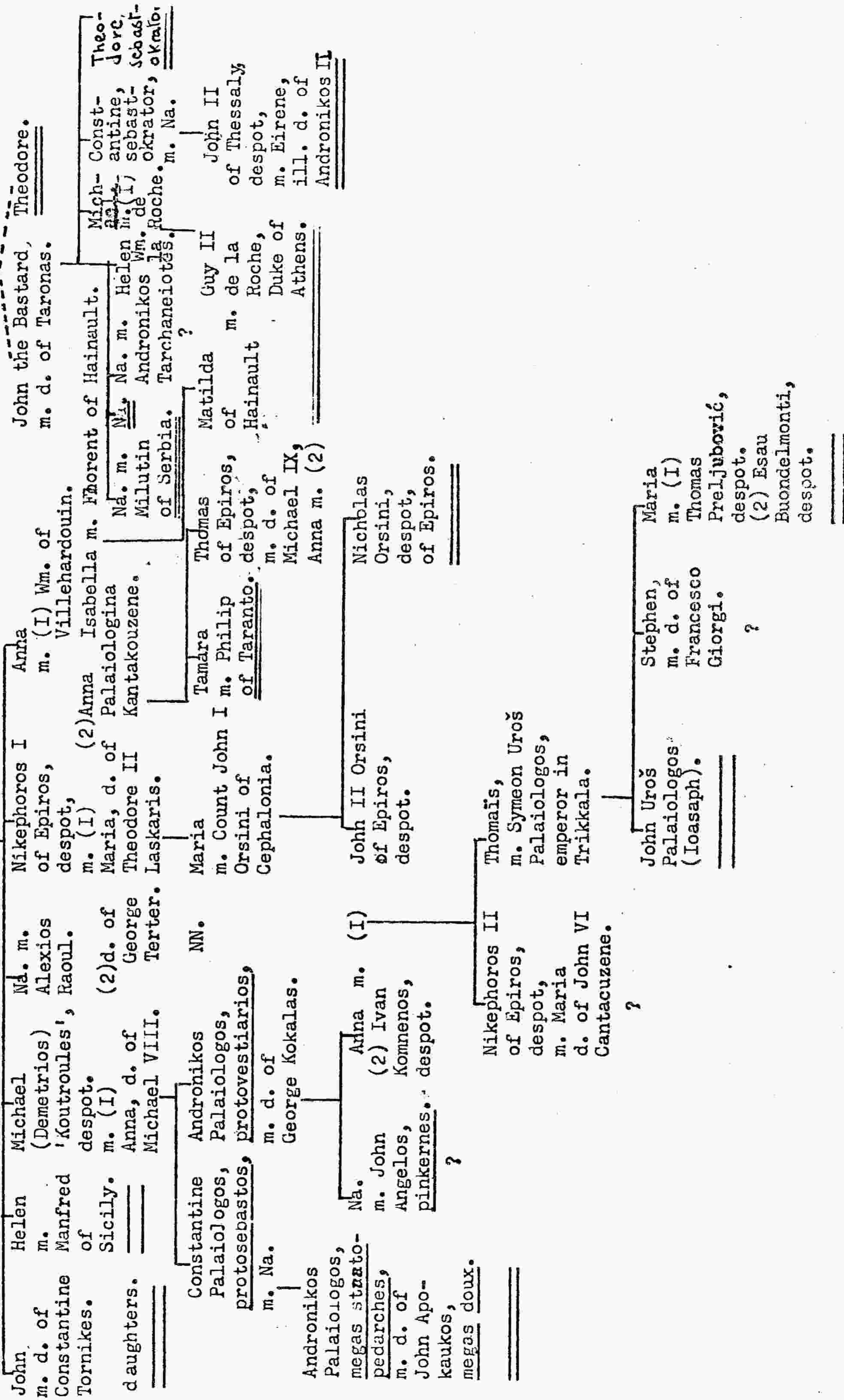
(1) Pachymeres, i, 89.

(2) Ferjančić, Tesalijska, 62.

(3) Pachymeres, loc. cit. and 108 tells of a second capture and release in 1262.

B. THE DESCENDANTS OF MICHAEL II.

Michael II of Epiros, despot, (x Na. Gangrene)
m. Theodora Petraliphina.



impression that while these wars, like many conflicts up to and including Pelagonia, confirmed the ultimate failure of the attempt to rule Macedonia from Epiros, they also prevented a strong effort on the part of the Palaiologoi to restore the rest of northern Greece, particularly Thessaly, to the orbit of imperial Thessalonica.¹

In 1264 a more lasting agreement was reached. By the terms of this Nikephoros, now bereft of his wife Maria, the daughter of Theodore II Laskaris, married Michael VIII's niece Anna. After the wedding he went to Constantinople, where the emperor renewed his title of despot.²

Less than four years later, Michael II died. The subsequent fortunes of his five sons were in some measure a consequence of their father's sins, if the Life of S. Theodora is to be believed.³ According to this, hardly had Michael married the noble and beautiful Theodora Petraliphina when he became infatuated with a courtesan of the Gangrenos family, and only after years of banishment did he readmit his wife to her rightful place. Besides providing the people of Arta with a saint, the incident made it happen that only one of Theodora's sons, Nikephoros, was older than the illegitimate offspring of Gangrene. Of one bastard, Theodore, nothing is known except that he fought some of his father's battles and was killed at Vodena (Edessa) in 1257. The other, John cannot have been far removed from either him or Nikephoros in age. Nikephoros and John are the only two Epirot commanders named at the battle of Pelagonia besides Michael himself, so it is fair to assume that the other two legitimate sons were at most still winning their spurs.⁴

(1) Pachymeres, i, 107, 137, 205, 206-7, 214-5, 224, 241-2. Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 65 neglects the testimony of Pachymeres but quotes Gregoras (i, 98 ff) to prove that Michael VIII led army to Thessaly. Pachymeres in fact gives a much more detailed account of the same campaign, from which it is evident that this is yet another case of confusion between Thessaly and Thessalonica.

(2) Pachymeres, i, 242-3. For the date, see Dölger, Regesten, no. 1931; for Anna Palaiologina Kantakouzene, see Nicol, Kantakouzenos, no. 16, pp. 20-4.

(3) Ed. A. Mustoxidi, Ἑλληνομνημῶν, 42-59; Nicol, Despotate, 128-31.

(4) For the sons of Michael II, see Polemis, nos. 49-52 and n. 94, n. 7.

whatever his personal qualities, and they seem to have been average, Nikephoros, as the eldest son born in wedlock, had to take pride of place. Yet Michael II could hardly have a prejudice against bastards, being himself one and the son of one. All we know of John suggests that he was of the type to be his father's favourite. Throughout his career he showed the same contempt for the authority of Constantinople which the Byzantine historians deplored in Michael. He was also indispensable to the dynastic war-effort in ways which the accounts of Pelagonia and its aftermath illustrate only too well. Indeed, they seem to show that Michael's decision to give John a share in the succession was taken well before I259.^I

Michael may have regretted having to divide the state that had so nearly become an empire, but he had no alternative. Although Nikephoros would have to take his own place, Michael could not, either as a father or as a dynast, afford to let the talented, ambitious John go without landed property, military security, and some degree of independence. The wisdom of the arrangement was, on the whole, borne out by events; not until the I280s do we hear of trouble between the brothers. What might have happened had Theodore not died in I257 is another matter. Both Sanudo and the author of the Chronicle of the Morea call John Theodore, which may indicate that the elder illegitimate brother had something of the same reputation in Latin Greece that John was later to acquire.

(I) Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 98, 100, points out that Pachymeres' account of John at Pelagonia as a leader of Thessalian Vlachs is no proof that the Bastard administered Thessaly before his father's death. However, the possibility should not be dismissed. Michael may well have followed the practice of his uncles Theodore and Manuel, who as rulers of Thessalonica had delegated regional government to members of their family. That Nikephoros issued an argyrobull to a Thessalian monastery in I266 (MM, iv, 349-52) is no basis for argument, because he was legislating in his capacity as despot: at this time John had no title. See infra, I50-I.

Constitutional problems.

The principality of the Komneno-Doukai of Epiros is generally included within the scope of Byzantine history. Its culture was Greek and its religion Orthodox. Its princes were of imperial lineage and held high Byzantine titles. In its early years it was a valuable rallying-point for the Byzantines in exile. From 1225 to 1231 when its second ruler, Theodore, possessed the imperial city of Thessalonica and wore an imperial title, it seemed to be the power destined to lead the Greeks to victory over the Latins. Yet to Byzantine historians writing in the security of post-restoration Constantinople it was a constitutional freak born of unnatural circumstances. The great event of 1261 was regarded not simply as a personal and dynastic triumph for Michael Palaiologos, but also as proof that the Empire of Nicaea had always been the one true 'Roman' Empire of the diaspora; proof, too, that Michael II of Epiros was and always had been a rebel and a traitor.

As such, however, he was not to be despised or ignored. Neither he nor the emperor could forget that he had striven to imitate his uncle Theodore, and unlike the 'Grand Komnenoi' of Trebizond, his aspirations could not be treated with tolerant good-humour. His northern frontier was within striking-distance of Thessalonica, and he was in a position to master the Albanians who controlled the Via Egnatia. His capital, Arta, lay beyond the reach of most imperial armies, but easy of access to the Latin courts of Italy, Cephalonia, and the Morea.

From the moment, therefore, that his ambitions began to clash with theirs, and especially from the point when the two powers had a common frontier in Macedonia, the emperors of Nicaea were faced with the disagreeable necessity of having to treat with Michael II as if he were a sovereign ruler. Worse still, Michael was not a barbarian prince who could be addressed by some meaningless title of his own choice. He was a noble 'Roman', and as such had to be induced to

accept a place within the hierarchy of the imperial court; a place that was both extremely binding and extremely flattering; one that would accord with his power while it denied him any sovereignty. It was with such considerations in mind that John III Vatatzes recognised Michael's title of despot and conferred it upon Michael's son Nikephoros, to whom he also betrothed his own grand-daughter
I
Maria.

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- (I) Acropolites, 88-9, 133-4. L. Stiernon, 'Les origines du Despotat d'Epire', *Rev. Et. Byz.*, xvii (1959), 90-126, has proved that the first Michael never held the title of despot, and so could not have 'laid the foundations of the Despotate of Epiros' as was formerly assumed by Nicol, *Despotate*, following earlier authorities. The fullest treatment of the subject is by Ferjančić, *Despoti*, 49 ff. On pp. 65-9, Ferjančić discusses the origins of Michael II's title, and concludes on the basis of information in Gregoras (i, 48), that Michael was made despot by John Vatatzes in 1252. He argues on p. 66 that the Latin rulers who later referred to two charters issued by Michael to the citizens of Corfu (1246) supplied the word 'despota' when quoting his signature, because they had no knowledge of the date at which he had received his title. If this is so, it is very strange that the Byzantine chancery of Andronikos II should have made exactly the same mistake when commenting on Michael's charter to Makrinitissa, also of 1246 (MM, iv, 345-9): Ferjančić ignores this evidence because he thinks that the reference is to Constantine Maliasenos (*Despoti*, 61; 'Porodica', 244). Certainly, in the text of the charter Michael does not call himself despot (except, perhaps, obliquely, in saying that he δεσποτικῶς προοιῶσσει). But it must be remembered that the chancery officials may well have been able to verify Michael's title from his signature, which they omitted in copying the codex edited by Miklosich and Müller, as can be seen by examining the other documents in the series (thus even had the folio containing the last part of Michael's charter survived, it would probably not have been informative on this point). That Michael does not call himself despot in his charters to Ragousa (1237) probably establishes a terminus post quem. But it is interesting that on the second occasion where Acropolites (who on the subject of this period deserves more attention than Gregoras) introduces Michael (p. 84) he calls him despot without commenting on the origin of his title: could this be because it had originally been granted by Theodore, emperor of Thessalonica? This supposition derives some support from the fact that Michael's wife Theodora was a niece of Theodore's wife Maria (Polemis, nos. 160, 162 and nn.) but had no obvious affinity with the Nicene dynasty such as we should expect had John Vatatzes first bestowed the title.

The title of despot was the highest of the three 'imperial dignities' (the others being those of sebastokrator and caesar^I) which originated as attributes of the imperial person detached in order to associate certain individuals to the throne without actually making them co-emperors. First created by Manuel I to designate a son-in-law as heir apparent, it kept this function until about 1220²; even after this it was jealously reserved to persons related to the sovereign by blood or marriage, for it invested the bearer with a high degree of authority and several imperial insignia.³ Yet, however prestigious, the title had to be conferred and could not, unlike the imperial office itself, be assumed. It was not hereditary, nor did it carry the right to govern particular territories. In other words, John Vatatzes and later emperors who conferred the rank of despot upon Michael II and his descendants in no way envisaged an association between it, them, and the lands they ruled which allows us to talk of an hereditary 'Despotate' of Epiros. If the title might be thought to be associated with anything, it was with marriage to an imperial bride. In accepting it, Michael II and Nikephoros accepted a close relationship with the emperor, declaring themselves to be his subjects and him to be their sovereign. All acts of war against him were now automatically acts of treason - this is why Acropolites so often refers to Michael as the apostate. The relationship naturally implied a measure of Nicene jurisdiction in Epiros and Thessaly. The patriarch of Nicaea had long been the arbiter of local religious affairs, and John Vatatzes confirmed Michael's legis-

(1) See the hierarchical list of Vatic. Gr. 952, edited by Verpeaux, Pseudo-Kodinos, 307, which distinguishes between these three ἀξιώματα τοῦ βασιλέως and the other ὀφφίκια τῶν ἀρχόντων.

(2) G. Ostrogorsky, 'Urum-Despotes. Die Anfänge der Despotenwürde in Byzanz', Byz. Zeit., xliv (1951), 448-60; Ferjančić, Despoti, 35.

(3) Pseudo-Kodinos, II-6, 274-5.

lation in favour of the Thessalian monastery of Marmariana.¹ A despot could not technically issue chrysobulls,² sign his name in cinnabar ink,³ or strike his own coins. Michael liked to do all these things, and there are signs that he sought titles which better suited his de facto independence.⁴

The notion of a 'Despotate' of Epiros is however of long standing, and deserves to be treated as more than an uncritical anachronism: the word despotatos was, after all, used by the emperor John VI Cantacuzene in one of his official acts.⁵ The expression may have originated among the Latins of 14th-century Greece or southern Italy,⁶ who believed that Byzantine titles, like their own, were feudal. They assumed that just as a dux had a ducatus and a princeps a principatus, so a despotes had a despotatus. They also no doubt took it for granted that the holders of the title paid homage to the Greek emperor just as their own magnates swore homage to the Latin emperor of Constantinople.

Strange as these ideas must have seemed to traditional Byzantines, and disastrous to the principle of good government, there was much to recommend them to Michael II. He was better placed than most Greeks to overcome the inherent prejudice against Latin ways. As one who was not a subject but not exactly a sovereign, he had every reason to appreciate a polity like the Latin empire of Con-

(1) MM, i, 85-6; Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 51-2.

(2) MM, iv, 346.

(3) Acropolites, 43-4. The despot John Palaiologos, however, enjoyed this privilege under Michael VIII; see Pachymeres, i, 335, and Ferjančić, Despoti, 21

(4) Nicol, Despotate, 208-II.

(5) Cantacuzene, ii, 321; Ferjančić, Despoti, 18 (who does not discuss the term).

(6) R.-J. Loenertz, 'Aux origines du Despotat d'Épire', 161; Gr. Chr. Mor., 1.1032.

stantinople, with its independent, hereditary duchies and principalities. Before he could be a 'Despot of Epiros', however, he had of course to stop thinking of himself as a potential Byzantine emperor. Such a change of attitude became inevitable after the great event of 1261. At this point it is likely that he would have accepted a lasting peace with the empire if Michael VIII had been prepared to concede him some legal right to his jurisdiction. Unfortunately, the recovery of Constantinople made the emperor less ready to compromise. This is evident from Pachymeres' account of a campaign which John Palaiologos led in 1262 or 1263. Michael VIII had instructed his brother

'to overrun the lands beyond the Peneios, properly called Hellas (τὰ τοῦ Πηνειοῦ πέραν, τὴν ἰδίως Ἑλλάδα λεγομένην), and to make war on the despot Michael, for the latter could no longer use the excuse that he had a right to keep his lands so long as the emperor was without a capital'.

This is developed further on:

'And the despot [John Palaiologos] confronted the despot Michael, calling upon him to give up his land, since this of old belonged to the empire (ὥς πάλαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ προσήκουσαν). Michael had previously excused himself, quite plausibly (καὶ ἐπροφασίζετο πιθανολογούμενος), saying that the emperor, since he did not occupy the throne of empire (i.e. Constantinople), had no need to demand the rest; rather than seeking the western provinces from him, the imperial throne should be sought from the Italians, whose presence still threatened Thessalonica. That had been his excuse formerly, but now it was to protest: how could he rightfully give up territory that his ancestors had won with tears and sweat and everything but their own blood, to be a patrimony for their children?-they had taken these lands from Italians, not from Romans, and handed them on to their successors as an inheritance made rightful by valour; well was it said, "Nothing ventured, nothing gained" (Ἰταλοὺς γὰρ ἀφαιρουμένους καὶ μὴ Ῥωμαίους, κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνων εἰς διαδοχὴν καταλείπειν ὥς σφέτερον κληρὸν ἐξ ἀρετῆς· εὐ γὰρ καὶ λελέχθαι ὥς οὐδὲν οὐδενὸς πλὴν τοῦ σπουδάζοντος κατὰ πόλεμον)'.²

(1) Pachymeres, i, 205, 10-14.

(2) Ibid. 206, 17 - 207, 8.

It is debatable whether John Palaiologos was claiming the whole of Michael's dominions. 'The lands beyond the Peneios, properly called Hellas' must by definition refer to lands east of the Pindos, if the allusion is indeed to the Byzantine theme of Hellas - Epiros had formed the theme of Nikopolis. That Thessaly and not Epiros is meant may also be inferred from Michael's claim that the territories had been taken from the Latins in war. Epiros had never suffered a Latin occupation, as Cantacuzene was careful to point out three quarters of a century later when engaged on a mission not unlike that of John Palaiologos:

'The Angeloi did not obtain their power by liberating Acarnania from the barbarians, but by being subject to the Roman emperors, who allowed them a yearly rule over the territory; they then usurped power because of the war then brought on the Romans by the Latins (ἀλλ' ὑποχειρίους ὄντας Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῦσι καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἐτήσιον ἀρχὴν τῆς χώρας ἐπιτετραμμένους, σφετερίσασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τὸν ἐπενεχθέντα τότε παρὰ Λατίνων Ῥωμαίοις πόλεμον). These by indulgence of the Almighty having gained possession of (κρατησάντων) Byzantium and the whole of Thrace and many of the Macedonian cities, the empire of the Romans moved to the east, and the Angeloi seized the government of Acarnania and others likewise that of other western provinces where they happened to be governors (Ἀκαρνανίας δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἄγγελοι προσεποιήσαντο ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλας τῶν ἐσπερίων ἐπαρχιῶν, ὧν ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον ἐπιτροπεύοντες), because the way was blocked to the Roman emperors, Macedonia and Thrace being under the Latins'. I

These passages from Pachymeres and Cantacuzene may be set beside two from Acropolites. In one, the author describes Michael I Komneno-Doukas as 'ruling Epiros, and a certain portion of the land of the Romans' (τῆς Ἡπείρου κατάρξαι καὶ τινος μέρους τῆς χώρας Ῥωμαίων)². In another, Acropolites says that the Pyrrhenaian (Pindos) mountains 'divide Old and New Epiros from our Hellenic land' (ἃ δὲ διορίζει τὴν παλαιάν τε καὶ νέαν Ἡπειρον τῆς Ἑλληνίδος καὶ ἡμετέρας γῆς)³.

(1) Cantacuzene, i, 520, 15 - 521, 5.

(2) Acropolites, 24.

(3) Ibid. 166.

Taken together, the three late Byzantine historians seem to be suggesting that even before 1204 Epiros was not quite of the same status as other Byzantine provinces, and that the Komeno-Doukai were somehow part of this arrangement, which had some legitimacy in Byzantine eyes. Whether the evidence will support yet another enquiry into the origins of the 'Despotate' of Epiros cannot be discussed here, but one possibility that is raised should be noted: in addition to the practical reasons which Michael II may have had for dividing the succession to his principality, there could have been the constitutional consideration that part of his lands belonged to him by right and part by conquest.

Whatever the territory at stake in 1261-4, Michael does seem to have been impressed by the argument that the recovery of Constantinople had deprived him of his most valid excuse for keeping it. That the emperors of Nicaea also recognised the excuse as valid is attested by the comments with which an official of Michael VIII's chancery later prefaced the text of Michael II's chrysobull to the Makrinitissa monastery. The commentator observes that the author, on being asked for an argyrobull, exceeded his authority and produced a chrysobull. But he concedes that Michael

'had received the title of despot from the imperial authority, under which he pledged that he would be, discreetly undertaking, if nothing else, and rightly perhaps, to remain on the spot, and wherever he happened to be toparch, there he was entitled to enact legislation of this sort for those living close to him. But since God, looking on the Roman people with a benevolent countenance, delivered to this our most powerful emperor the queen among cities, and re-established imperial government in its original and proper form, it is from him that all legal acts now proceed...
(ἤδη γὰρ παρὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀξίωμα ἔλαβε καὶ ὑπὸ ταύτην μὲν εἶναι κατηγγυήσατο εὐλαβηθεὶς, εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο, τό γε δίκαιον ἴσως, μένειν δὲ κατὰ χώραν καὶ ὅπου περ ἔφθη τοπαρχῶν, ἐντεῦθεν ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν πρὸς τοὺς παρ' αὐτῷ μένοντας· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ θεὸς εὐμενὲς ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων γενὸς ἰδὼν φέρων παρέδωκε τῷ κρατίστῳ τούτῳ βασιλεῖ τὴν βασιλεύουσάν ταύτην ἐν πόλεσι καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ προτέρου καὶ προσήκοντος κατέστησε σχήματος, ἐκ τούτου λοιπὸν ἅπαντα κατὰ λόγον προβαίνει...)¹.

(1) MM, iv, 346. MM have a full stop after τοπαρχῶν.

As emperor of Nicaea Michael Palaiologos might have been content to maintain the convenient fiction that Michael Komnenos-Doukas, bearing the despotic title, was in a sense his delegate in northern Greece; as liberator of Constantinople he was in no way disposed to tolerate this sorry reminder of the years of exile, this provincial court that continued to absorb the revenues of a large area despite the fact that the New Constantine had opened the gates of the metropolis to all noble 'Romans'. It took the Palaiologoi three quarters of a century to make good their claim to northern Greece, but this lost none of its theoretical absolutism. The memoirs of Cantacuzene carry the same message as the histories of Pachymeres and Acropolites and the propaganda of the imperial chancery: the only regime which could be officially recognised for Thessaly and Epiros was that which had prevailed before 1204.

In practice, however, the emperors after 1261 more often than not found it desirable to come to terms with the 'rebels'. If they could not reduce the independence of the Komnenos-Doukai, they could at least make it look like dependence. In this, the relationship between the emperor and the separatist Greek states after the restoration became very much what it had been before, with the difference that the latter no longer thought of themselves as rivals. The symbol of their implied dependence continued to be the title of despot (in Thessaly, *sebastokrator*) which they received at the emperor's hands. As before, the title was meant to emphasise not the singularity but the conformity of their status. Yet the Palaiologoi could not confer the dignity in this way without giving it a new, feudal, significance. In granting it to princes who defied them, they were putting it to uses quite different from those for which it had originally been conceived, and were allowing an association between the title, one family, and one region, which foreigners could well be forgiven for calling the 'Despotate' of Epiros.

Perhaps the decisive point in this development was the treaty of 1264 which ended the fighting between the two Michaels. As we have seen, it is hard to regard this treaty as a victory for either side; Hopf's statement that Ioannina was ceded to the empire is unsupported.¹ A stalemate of this kind may reasonably be considered a victory for the less aggressive contestant. While Pachymeres makes only vague mention of Michael II's 'treachery, the passages quoted on page 156 leave no doubt that the Palaiologoi made a determined effort to conquer northern Greece in 1262-3. By the terms of the treaty, Nikephoros married the emperor's niece and had his despotic title renewed. In a sense, this was an act of submission: Nikephoros was allowing that his former claim to the dignity had died with his former wife. But Michael VIII for his part was repeating an arrangement which John Vatatzes had made when the two powers were on more equal terms. In doing so he may have been making a tacit admission that the balance had not altered as much as he could have wished.

It is as natural for Byzantinists as it was for Byzantines to deplore the 'Despotate' of Epiros and its offshoots as an unfortunate consequence of the great rape of 1204. Yet - to develop an image coined by Nicetas Choniates² - the queen of cities had lost her virtue well before the Fourth Crusade, and had conceived several creatures of dubious constitutional paternity. The revolt of Peter and Asen in Bulgaria (1185) was only the most successful of a number of provincial uprisings led by disaffected nobles; in particular we may mention the attempt of one Kamytzes to set himself up in Thessaly.³ Choniates was appalled at the ease with which local magnates seized control of the provinces after the fall of Constantinople, whether to welcome the conqueror or to oppose him.⁴ The Latin empire of Constantinople was not unworthy of its immediate predecessor.

(1) Hopf, Geschichte, i, 297.

(2) Choniates, 661-2.

(3) Ibid. 707-9.

(4) Ibid. 840; E. Frances, 'La féodalité et les villes byzantines', Byzantino-slavica, xvi (1955), 77-85; Angold, A Byzantine Government in Exile, 122-3.

This tendency for provincial magnates to flourish to the detriment of the government had posed a problem for Byzantine legislators since the 10th century, but it was only one aspect of a centrifugal process as old as the empire itself. Divested of all religious, dynastic or ethnic guise, this tradition is hard to grasp, because it was never a respectable literary theme. Yet the general chorus of praise for Constantinople is sometimes broken by dissident cries. Cecaumenos urged men who had castles and lands of their own not to give them up for a lucrative place at court.¹ A leading citizen of Nicaea in 1261 expressed dismay when he heard that Constantinople was once more the imperial capital.² Of this centrifugal process, Michael II and his descendants are perhaps to be regarded as the prime exponents. The wisdom of Cecaumenos' advice was certainly borne out by the fate of two of Michael's sons and one grandson who found their different ways to Constantinople.³

Two recent authorities have suggested that the main strength of the Palaiologan empire lay in its provinces.⁴ This was perhaps a reality which Byzantine statesmen would have done well to appreciate much earlier than the 13th century.

The family of Maliasenos.

The ambiguity of Michael II's constitutional position was bound to affect his relations with his subjects, especially those who saw no advantage to themselves in his continuing hostility to the emperor - the landowning families of eastern Thessaly, where the Palaiologoi were close and Arta was remote. One of

(1) Cecaumenos, 298.

(2) Pachymeres, i, 149; Angold, *Op. cit.* 296.

(3) Polemis, nos. 50-1, pp. 95-6; p. 97 n.7.

(4) Maksimović, *Uprava*, 4; A.E. Laiou, 'The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Palaiologan period', *Viator*, iv (1973), 150-1.

these was the family of Maliasenos, the patrons of the 13th-century monastic movement on Mt. Pelion. The history of this family, as documented in the cartulary of the Makrinitissa and Nea Petra monasteries, gives insight into the complexity and relativity of the power structure in the Byzantine provinces at this time.

The name of Maliasenos (not to be confused with Melissenos) is only twice heard of before the 13th century. Yet the Constantine Maliasenos who appears in 1215 as founder of Makrinitissa had the names of Komnenos, Doukas and Bryennios, and was descended from ancestors born in the purple who had held the title of caesar - a description which Polemis sees as pointing to Nikephoros Bryennios and Anna Komnena. It is not known whether Constantine had always lived in Thessaly; more likely, the Latin conquest of Constantinople had forced him to reside on his provincial estates. In 1215 he is referred to as ἐπ'ἀνεψία γαμβρός of Theodore, emperor of Thessalonica, and in a later source as Michael II's gambros through the despot's sister. This indicates that he married Maria, daughter of Michael I, probably during the latter's lifetime.^I

We next hear of Constantine under Michael II, who in May 1246 issued Makrinitissa with a chrysobull, confirming the monastery in the possession of a metochion in Almyros, which had been seized during a recent Latin occupation of the area. The document speaks warmly of Constantine as a soldier and a general who had struggled loyally 'on behalf of this Roman territory that comes under us' (ὕπὲρ ταύτης τῆς ὑφ' ἡμᾶς ῥωμαϊτικῆς γῆς). Michael II afforded the Maliasenoi protection against the Latins, and Constantine prospered materially from his connection with the ruling dynasty. This is clear from the tax-exemptions

(I) M. Treu, 'Manuel Holobolos', *Byz. Zeit.*, v (1896) 550-1; *MM*, iv, 382-3; Ferjančić, 'Porodica', 241-4; Polemis, pp. 142-3.

which Michael granted in his chrysobull, and from the preface to the document: 'both in his own right and through his marriage relationship [Constantine] enjoyed great favour with him [Michael], obtaining great wealth and abundance of lands and all kinds of property' (ὅς ἑκ τε τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἐπιγαμβρίας τὰ μεγάλα δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ πολὺν εἶχε τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ πλείστην ἀφθονίαν ἑκ τε δὴ κτημάτων καὶ περιουσίας παντοδαπῆς).¹

The interests and reputation of the Maliasenoi were not however confined to Thessaly or the 'Despotate'. Constantine frequently appealed to the Nicene patriarch to help him against the local bishop, and in so doing cannot have gone unnoticed by the Nicene emperor. In 1252, Constantine was one of three men whom Michael II chose to represent him in negotiations with John Vatatzes. By the time of his death, which occurred before October 1256, Constantine had therefore ensured that his family connection with the Komneno-Doukai did not stand in the way of advancement under the ascendant Greek monarchy.²

The head of the family was now his son Nicholas, born before 1246. Raised in a generation which had not known the heroic struggle against the Latins and barely remembered the great years of the Empire of Thessalonica, Nicholas could not feel any deep political commitment to his Epirot cousins. After the battle of Pelagonia, as we have seen, John Palaiologos, one of the victorious Nicene generals, marched south through Thessaly. It must have been during this campaign that he granted Makrinitissa a charter datable to September 1259.³ Nicholas is

(1) MM, iv, 345-9; Ferjančić, 'Porodica', 244; 'Posedi', 35; Tesalija, I6 n. 25, 66, 85. The metochion of S. Hilarion had arrived in Constantine's possession as a donation from 'the late count' to Michael II's aunt. The aunt in question was no doubt Theodore's wife, but attempts to identify the donor have been no more than guesswork; see Nicol, Despotate, I55 n.3.

(2) Acropolites, 91; MM, iv, 353-7; Ferjančić, 'Porodica', 245.

(3) MM, iv, 384-5; Ferjančić, 'Porodica', 246; Tesalija, 62-3. The date can be deduced from the indiction together with the fact that John Palaiologos issued the document not as despot but sebastokrator.

not mentioned in this document, which suggests that he may not even have been present, but his political sympathies are fairly evident from the text of the act, whose purpose was to restore to Makrinitissa its metochion of S. Hilarion, for this 'had been sequestered ...recently by the despots, the former rulers of the district, out of enmity to the late Maliasenos' (ἔφθασε δὲ ἀποσπαθῆναι...πρὸ ὀλίγου παρὰ τῶν προαυθευόντων τὴν τοιαύτην χώραν δεσποτῶν διὰ τὸ ἔχειν ἀπεχθῶς ἐπὶ τῷ Μαλιασηνῷ ἐκείνῳ). The date of this seizure poses a problem, because the patriarchal charter of 1256 which refers to Constantine as deceased also confirms S. Hilarion in Makrinitissa's possession;¹ this and the expression πρὸ ὀλίγου suggest that Michael II's hostility was directed against Nicholas, not his father. The donation of Lechonia to William of Villehardouin in 1258 could well have been a bone of contention.² But whatever the case, Nicholas must have had a grievance against Michael, and if he defected to the Palaiologoi after Pelagonia he was certainly not alone among the western aristocracy.³

As we have seen, a reading of the narrative sources leaves the impression that the Nicene occupation of Thessaly did not survive the winter of 1259, and that Palaiologan attempts to reconquer the area from 1261 to 1264 met with no success. Unfortunately, the cartulary contains no document datable to these years. The next in the series is an argyrobull of September 1266, issued by Michael II's son, the despot Nikephoros. The tax-exemptions granted in this document could only have been authorised by one who exercised full jurisdiction over the locality. There is no positive indication as to how long he had done so. Yet the lack of any reference to recent wars or previous Palaiologan legis-

(1) MM, iv, 356.

(2) Sanudo, ed. Hopf, Chroniques, 107; supra, 132-3

(3) Pachymeres, i, 109.

lation suggests that Nikephoros issued the argyrobull not after a recent conquest, but after several years of undisturbed occupation.¹

This hypothesis is in no way contradicted by the fact that in June 1265 Michael VIII granted the Venetians trading-rights in Almyros.² It helps if we remember that Michael II and the emperor were, since 1264, officially at peace. In accepting an imperial marriage-alliance and the title of despot for his son, Michael had reaffirmed his formal recognition of imperial sovereignty. It was thus quite in order for the emperor to grant trading-rights in Almyros, even if he had no effective jurisdiction there. It was equally legitimate for Nikephoros to legislate in favour of Nicholas Maliasenos, because as despot he now had the authority to issue argyrobulls in the emperor's name, even though he derived his real power from his father.

However, the next datable documents in the series reveal a totally different state of affairs. In September 1267, John Palaiologos ordered his gambros Basil Metretopoulos, logothete of the drome, to give the monks of Makrinitissa a piece of land in compensation for their loss of a terrain rendered unproductive by the flooding of Lake Boibe. This was to be done for the sake of the emperor's salvation, for which the monks were urged to pray ceaselessly.³ In August 1268, John Palaiologos ordered that certain properties belonging to Makrinitissa's dependency of S. Hilarion should remain tax-free. The exemption had originally been decreed by the late despots Manuel and Michael (παρὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἑκείνων, τοῦ τε κυροῦ Μανουῆλ καὶ τοῦ κυροῦ Μιχαήλ), and was now renewed because God had recently brought the district under imperial rule. Basil Metre-

(1) MM, iv, 349-52.

(2) Tafel/Thomas, iii, 69, 80-I; Ferjančić, Tesalija, 64; Dölger, Regesten, no. 1934.

(3) MM, iv, 386-7.

topoulos, the governor of the district (ὁ νῦν κεφαλαικεύων τὴν τοιαύτην χώραν) and his subordinate tax-officials were ordered to see that the privilege was not infringed. The opening lines of the document refer to Nicholas Maliasenos as the emperor's 'beloved son-in-law',^I

The evidence of these two documents is unequivocal. Between September 1266 and August 1268, three major changes affected eastern Thessaly: Michael II died, the Palaiologoi occupied the region and governed it as a province, and Nicholas Maliasenos became affiliated to the imperial dynasty. There is, unfortunately, no evidence which allows us to establish the chronology of these events and any causal relation between them. But it seems plausible that Michael II's death should have preceded the other developments: it may have thrown the administration of the 'Despotate' into temporary confusion, and could have caused both the Palaiologoi and the Maliasenoi to feel released from their obligations towards the Epirot dynasty. Whether Michael VIII then occupied eastern Thessaly by force, or whether he did so by agreement with John the Bastard is even more speculative. What is certain is that he enjoyed the support of the Maliasenoi.

In spite of the benevolent tone of Nikephoros' argyrobull, relations between Nicholas Maliasenos and Michael II had not improved since 1259. This is evident from an undated argyrobull which the despot John Palaiologos issued to Makrinitissa restoring the village of Kapraina, of which the monastery had been deprived 'through tyrannical sacrilege' (ἐξ ἱεροσυλίας... τυραννικῆς); now, however, justice could be done because the area had reverted to imperial rule. The 'sacrilege' had clearly been committed by Michael II or with his approval. The document probably dates from 1267, since Kapraina is not listed in Nikephoros' argyrobull of 1266.²

(1) MM, iv, 387-8.

(2) MM, iv, 342-4; Ferjančić, Tesalija, 63 n. 94.

Given that Nicholas Maliasenos desired a change of rulers, what part could he play in bringing this about? There is no hint that he was at all active politically. He held no title, and had no administrative function either before or after 1267; indeed, there is nothing to prove that he lived permanently in Thessaly. The part of Thessaly under imperial rule was governed as a normal Byzantine province, by an official known as the 'kephale of Great Vlachia' (κεφαλὴ τῆς Μεγάλης Βλαχίας), sent from Constantinople. The kephale was responsible to the emperor, usually through John Palaiologos, who in the first decade of the reign (1261-1271) often resided in Thessalonica, with special authority for western affairs.²

Yet in view of the fact that Nicholas' main interest was monasticism, and that our documents would not necessarily refer to his worldly concerns, it is quite possible that the sources do not reflect his true political status in the locality. There are several signs that the emperor valued his loyalty most highly. Michael VIII favoured Makrinitissa and Nea Petra in every way: he gave them the benefit of their disputes with local landowners, he exempted them of all but the most necessary taxes,³ and he allowed the imperial and patriarchal chanceries to be kept busy drafting acts in confirmation of almost every new property that the monasteries acquired - all this for a family concern. He gave Nicholas the large imperial estate of Dryanouvaine on Mt. Pelion,⁴ and received him into the imperial family. Nicholas' bride, Anna, belonged to the families of Palaio-

(1) MM, iv, 420; Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 67.

(2) Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 69-70.

(3) Ibid. 85-7.

(4) MM, iv, 397; Ferjančić, 'Posedi', 41-2.

logos and Philanthropenos - she is called Michael's niece ($\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\psi\iota\acute{\alpha}$), although Polemis believes she was the daughter of a cousin.¹ Nicholas is usually referred to as the emperor's oikeios.² In a chrysobull of c. 1278, however, he is mentioned only as nephew ($\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\psi\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$).³ This chrysobull is interesting in other respects. It is the last piece of imperial legislation in the cartulary, and was issued in the most critical period of Michael VIII's reign, when, because of the Union of Lyons, the emperor had many domestic enemies, even in his own family. In the long prooemium, Nicholas is several times commended for his services to the genos.⁴ It is explicitly stated that it is in return for his loyal support of the Byzantine cause that the emperor accedes to his request that the Latomos monastery in Thessalonica be given to Makrinitissa and Nea Petra as a metochion of both foundations. Altogether, Michael VIII seems to have been less concerned to promote the monastic life on Mt. Pelion than to maintain good relations with Nicholas Maliasenos.

The policy, which Michael VIII exploited to the full, of arranging marriages for every available female relative, was a standard Byzantine method of associating potential enemies with the fortunes of the imperial dynasty. The Palaiologoi, a new dynasty, had as much to fear from their own noble subjects as they did from foreign princes. It thus becomes extremely difficult to make a distinction between the type of marriage-relationship which the Palaiologoi formed with the 'subject' Maliasenoi and that which they contracted with the 'independent' Komneno-Doukai of Epiros. Only the bride's degree of kinship with the emperor

(1) Polemis, no. 154, p. 163.

(2) Ferjančić, Tesalijska, 74-7.

(3) MM, iv, 336-9.

(4) It is not clear whether the reference is to Nicholas own family, to the imperial dynasty, or to the Byzantines in general.

might denote comparative status. Nicholas Malaisenos had as good a claim as the Epirot dynasty to the name Komnenos, which in 13th-century Byzantium had somewhat the same significance as that of Caesar had had during the Roman principate. In the chrysobull mentioned above, Michael VIII calls Nicholas 'a man closely related by birth to my majesty' (ἀνὴρ τυγχάνων ἐκ γένους προσήκων τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου). We may thus conclude that the high lineage of the Maliasenoi, combined with their great landholdings, gave them an authority in eastern Thessaly which in kind if not in degree resembled that of their more ambitious Epirot cousins. The marriage of Nicholas and Anna should therefore perhaps be regarded not as a consequence but as a prerequisite of the Palaiologan occupation of eastern Thessaly, and as the link on which the imperial administration of 'Great Vlachia' ultimately depended. If M. Treu is right in believing that Manuel Holobolos composed the epitaph on Nicholas' father about 1266, this may well have been in honour of the rapprochement.^I

Ferjančić has in three publications drawn extensively on the Makrinitissa cartulary to analyse the Maliasenoi and the society of eastern Thessaly in the 13th century. His treatment of the economic and legal status of Nicholas Maliasenos is a valuable footnote to the work of Ostrogorsky in this field. It is unfortunate that he has not brought the same thoroughness to his consideration of politics. He ignores the enigmatic but valuable testimony of Pachymeres, and misses the documentary evidence for a quarrel between the Maliasenoi and Michael II: this leads him to say that Nicholas 'continued in his father's political attitude and remained loyal to the Angelos dynasty ... Nicholas decided to change his policy ... only after the consolidation of the power of Constantinople in eastern Thessaly'.^I He does not explore the possibility that the change

(1) M. Treu, 'Manuel Holobolos', 551, n. 1.

(2) Tesalijs, 74.

of regime was connected with Michael's death, or that Nicholas Maliasenos was influential in bringing this change about. Above all, he fails to envisage a distinction between sovereign and effective jurisdiction, and take account of the informal, personal nature of power relationships at the time. This leads him to write of Epiros and the empire as warring states, and of the Maliasenoi as subjects of one or the other, without allowing for the possibility that practice may have been more complex than theory. Thus he comments on Nikephoros' argyrobull of 1266 that 'the Despot Nikephoros may have ruled parts of Thessaly, or he may simply have led an expedition which for a short time removed the influence and the power of the Palaiologoi from eastern Thessaly'¹: this does not accurately reflect Nikephoros' legal position after 1264. In the same context, we may quote his remarks on Andronikos II's 1289 chrysobull for Lykousada, where he says that the mention of properties in Almyros 'shows that John the Bastard ruled territories in eastern Thessaly'². To test this argument, we only have to look at Michael VIII's chrysobull for Nea Moni of Chios, which guaranteed the possession of various holdings in Thessaly.³ The document, of May 1259, must have been issued before the battle of Pelagonia, when the Nicene government had no effective jurisdiction in Thessaly. But Michael VIII could not deny the monastery its right to properties in a former Byzantine province, and naturally assumed the prerogative of confirming their ownership.

If the full map of land-ownership in 13th and 14th-century Byzantium were known to us, it would probably bear no relation to the internal political frontiers created by dynastic rivalries and civil wars. The great families of Con-

(1) Ibid. 74-5; see also 100.

(2) Ibid. 128, n. 42.

(3) *MM*, v, 10-3; Dölger, Regesten, no. 1870.

stantinople had owned lands in Thessaly before 1204; besides the well-known cases of Euphrosyne Doukaina and Constantine Maliasenos, there is the testimony of place-names such as Katakalon and Thalassinon (?Dalassenon). The property which the caesar Alexios Strategopoulos owned in eastern Thessaly may have been recently donated by the emperor, or it may have come to him by inheritance.^I It seems unlikely but it is not impossible that Michael II and his successors allowed families residing in the imperial territories to keep lands in Epiros and Thessaly. The Kommeno-Doukai were, after all, a part of the Byzantine aristocracy, and their marriages after 1204 repeatedly confirmed their membership of this caste. The dynastic rivalries which led to the fragmentation of the Greek world also produced dynastic unions which caused the names of Komnenos, Doukas, Angelos, Kantakouzenos, and Palaiologos to be virtually inseparable. By a similar paradox, the insecurity which Greek rulers felt with regard to their neighbours led them to marry outside their own cultural milieu. Thus, the Bulgarian house of Asen became a Greek noble family, and the descendants of the members of the Fourth Crusade carried the blood of Michael II in their veins. The Serbs, Vlachs, and Albanians were included in this process. By the end of the 14th century it becomes impossible to classify the aristocracy of northern Greece according to ethnic origin. The intermingling of noble elites did not do away with religious and linguistic differences, but it does perhaps indicate that the politically centrifugal trends of the times ultimately pointed away from rather than towards Balkan nationalism of the 19th-century kind.

(1)MM, iv, 390.

CHAPTER 2: The Reign of John the Bastard, 1267-1289.

The death of Michael II opened a new phase in the hostilities between his dynasty and the Palaiologoi. Nikephoros 'was content with what he had' (ἡγάπα κατέχων τὰ ἑαυτοῦ), but John the Bastard immediately set about attacking imperial territory. This may have been unprovoked aggression, as Pachymeres implies, or it may have been in retaliation for the imperial occupation of eastern Thessaly. Michael VIII tried the usual expedient of a marriage-alliance, betrothing John's daughter to his own nephew, Andronikos Tarchaneiotes, who was promoted to the rank of grand constable. John himself received the title of
I
sebastokrator.

In the short term, appeasement had the desired effect. The treaty, says Pachymeres, 'gave no small respite to the imperial forces in the area' (ἀνακωχὰς οὐ τὰς μικρὰς εἶχον τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατεύματα). John also performed more active services for the emperor. On 10 October 1268, as the Venetian Rafael Traianauto was leaving Negropont, he was captured and robbed 'by Caloian, Duke of Patra, then a captain [i.e. kephale ?] in the emperor's service, and officers of the imperial fleet, who were with him' (per Calogianum, Ducam de la Patra, tunc capitaneum pro domino Imperatore, et comes-
tabiles lignorum exercitus Imperatoris, qui simul erant)². This information shows what kind of a relationship John had entered into with Michael, and provides a terminus ante quem for the date of the treaty.

(1) Pachymeres, i, 307-9; for Tarchaneiotes, see Papadopoulos, Genealogie, no. 23, p. 14.

(2) Tafel/Thomas, iii, 174. The year was that when Andrea Dandolo was bailo of Negropont, for which the list published by Hopf, Chroniques, 371, gives 1268.

This precarious equilibrium was soon upset by John's new son-in-law. In 1270 Andronikos Tarchaneiotes was governor of Adrianople. Piqued, as most people alleged, by the humiliation of seeing his brother Michael promoted to the rank of grand domestic, senior to his own, he decided, in Pachymeres' image, like the cuttlefish to vanish behind a murky screen of his own secretion: provoking a Tartar invasion of Thrace, he used this as an excuse to defect, with his wife, to John the Bastard. 'It is perhaps superfluous', says Pachymeres, 'to describe the welcome he received; at all events, he added fuel to the flames of war. Recently Doukas had kept within his bounds. But this was enough to make him revert to type, and he began to encreach on the emperor's defences and those around Ioannina (ἔστι δ' οὗ καὶ τὸν ἴδιον τρόπον κατασκευάζων ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτειχίσματα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰ Ἰωάννινα παρασπῶν). It was indeed impossible for a man like that to remain in peace who rejoiced in battles and wars, from which he always hoped to gain (ἀνδρὶ μαχαῖς χαίροντι καὶ πολέμοις, ἐξ ὧν κερδαίνειν ἀεὶ ποτ' ἤλπιζεν).'¹

The emperor determined on revenge, and raising a huge mercenary army of 40,000, including a naval contingent, sent this off in 1273² under the command of his brother, the despot John Palaiologos, and their cousin Alexios Kavallarios, domestic of the table.³ The army descended suddenly upon Thessaly. Most strong-

(1) Pachymeres, i, 322-3, esp. 323, 13-19. This is presumably the source on which Hopf, Geschichte, i, 297, bases his statement that Ioannina was ceded to Michael VIII by the treaty of 1264. But it seems to me that Pachymeres is distinguishing the emperor's epiteichismata from those of Ioannina. This would support Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 122-3, who suggests that the action was against Nikephoros.

(2) There are three narrative accounts of this expedition: Pachymeres, i, 324-36; Gregoras, i, 109-20; Sanudo, ed. Hopf, Chroniques, 121-2. I have argued in favour of the date proposed in an article submitted to Rev. Et. Byz., to be published in 1976.

(3) Kavallarios appears to have been kephale in Thessaly in 1270; see MM, iv, 389; Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 68.

holds surrendered at once. John the Bastard fled from place to place, leading his pursuers on quickly in the hope that in the disorder of the chase he might catch them off their guard. But the imperial army observed good discipline,^I and John was finally compelled to seek refuge in his rocky citadel of Neopatras, which he had recently refortified. The despot and his troops settled down for a long siege. He tried to entice some of John's followers into betraying their master. They were not to be swayed, but they sent back encouraging replies in order to gain time for John to work out an Odyssean scheme. One moonless night he dressed in rough clothes and let himself down from the castle by a rope. Escaping through the enemy camp by pretending to be a groom who had lost a horse, he made for Thebes, and begged for help from the Duke of Athens, John II de la Roche. The Duke promised him military aid in return for a marriage-alliance between his brother William and John's daughter Helen. John set off back to Neopatras at the head of 300-500 men.² His followers within the castle had continued to feed the despot's hopes of a betrayal, and the imperial army was utterly unprepared to fight. Many of the troops had scattered to go hunting or pillaging. According to Sanudo, the Duke of Athens had accompanied the relief expedition, and on catching sight of the disorderly besiegers remarked in an Herodotean phrase 'Poli laos, olighi atropi'.³

John the Bastard and his Athenian cavalry fell upon the imperial army and created havoc in its ranks. Its mixed and largely mercenary origins gave it little natural cohesion. The belief spread that the assailants were only the advance-guard of a huge army. John Palaiologos tried vainly to rally his troops, but the majority took flight, and finally he was obliged to join them. The fugitives were relentlessly pursued until many of them were stripped of all they possessed.

(1) However, Gregoras, i, 112, says that the Cuman mercenaries brought a curse on the campaign by looting churches; see Ferjančić, *Tesalijsa*, 110

(2) The figures are those of Pachymeres and Gregoras respectively.

(3) Hdt. VII, 210.

Meanwhile, the imperial fleet, commanded by Alexios Philanthropenos, had according to plan followed the army's progress and anchored off Demetrias. The Latins of Negropont were waiting their opportunity to destroy Byzantine sea-power in their waters, and when they heard the result of the battle of Neopatra^I they considered their moment had come. News of their attack reached John Palaiologos and those of his followers who had managed to join him at Drimiani. He made for Demetrias, where he found the naval battle in full progress. His loud cheers from the shore encouraged the imperial crews; this and the skilful strategy of Philanthropenos won the day for the Byzantines. John did not, however, consider this sufficient compensation for his own defeat, and later put aside the despotic insignia.

John the Bastard had been saved by the timely intervention of the Duke of Athens. It cannot have been long afterwards that the wedding took place, as agreed, between his daughter Helen and William de la Roche, to whom he made over a considerable dowry: the kastra of Gravia, Siderokastron, Zeitouni, and Gardiki,² which together controlled the whole passage between Thessaly and Boeotia.

In drawing closer to his Latin neighbours, John could not but develop ties with their overlord, king Charles I of Naples. The alliance between the French royal dynasty and the Papacy which had put an end to the Hohenstaufen domination of southern Italy had added a new dimension to Balkan politics.³ After destroying Manfred at the battle of Benevento (1265) and adding to his already powerful domain, which included Provence and Piedmont, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Charles, Duke of Anjou and brother of King Louis IX of France, inherited the old

(1) Pachymeres, i, 332 - possibly the modern Brymon, south of Almyros.

(2) Sanudo, ed. Hopf, Chroniques, 136; Fr. Chr. Mor., § 879, p. 348.

(3) See, in general, D.J. Geanakoplos, The Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus and the West (Cambridge, Mass., 1959); S. Kunciman, The Sicilian Vespers (Cambridge, 1958); Nicol, Last Centuries, 45-76; Perjančić, Tesalijsa, 110-2.

Norman and Swabian dream of expansion beyond the Ionian Sea. This made him the inevitable champion of those Latin interests which had suffered from the Byzantine restoration in 1261. By a series of treaties in 1267, he drew the Latin emperor Baldwin, the Papacy, Venice, William of Villehardouin and the princes of Latin Greece into a coalition whose avowed aim was to destroy Michael VIII Palaiologos. Charles went ahead with military preparations, and also sought to extend his diplomatic web across the Adriatic, partly in order to isolate Byzantium, and partly to execute his strategy. Serbia and Bulgaria were wooed being the main Balkan powers; so too was Epiros, because of its proximity to the bridgehead - Corfu and the Albanian towns of Dyrrachion, Butrinto, and Berat - that Charles had inherited from Manfred. In 1279, the despot Nikephoros formally became a vassal of the Kingdom of Naples.¹ There is no evidence that John the Bastard did the same. But John needed allies against Michael VIII, and he was useful to Charles because of his capacity to make trouble for the Byzantines; also, perhaps, because Thessaly could play a vital part in a 'crusade', both as a source of provisions and as a corridor between Latin Greece and Byzantine Macedonia. In April 1273, Charles gave permission for the envoy of 'our most dear friend, the distinguished Duke of Patra' (*egregii viri Ducis Patere, karissimi amici nostri*) to sell silk and buy various permitted commodities in the ports of Apulia.² On 11 August of the same year, the envoy, who is named as Constantine 'de Ianni', was given leave to return to his master, and to load on his ship 40 horses at Trani and Brindisi, together with victuals, and cloth for himself and his family, who were accompanying him.³ A year later he was back in Italy

(1) D.M. Nicol, 'The Relations of Charles of Anjou with Nikephoros of Epiros', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, iv (1972), 170-94.

(2) R. Filangieri, *I registri della cancelleria angioina ricostruiti*, ix (Naples, 1957), 207, 209.

(3) Ibid. xi (1958), 129.

repayment of a loan of 150 lb. of Venetian groats (equivalent to 500 gold ounces at the rate of 6 solidi per oz.) which John had given Charles' commander (Capitaneus) in Greece, William de Barris; Constantine was bearing letters-patent issued by William on 2 October 1273 at Thebes - the capital of the Athenian duchy.^I

If we are right in dating the battle of Neopatras to 1273, these transactions must have been going on at the time when John the Bastard was entering into his marriage-alliance with the de la Roche family. At any rate, there is enough evidence to suggest that from this point the ruler of Thessaly, the Duke of Athens, and the King of Naples were political allies.

Michael VIII might soon have been overpowered by the combination against him had he not been able to exploit the Popes' preference that the schismatic Greeks should be brought back to the Roman fold by the dictates of their conscience rather than by violence. The emperor accordingly negotiated the Union of the Churches on terms completely acceptable to the papacy, and this Union was officially enacted in 1274 at the Second Council of Lyons. In the short term the expedient worked, for most popes could not in conscience bless an attack upon a Christian emperor who had formally renounced his schismatic ways - and Charles wanted his enterprise to be recognised as a crusade. Yet the majority of Byzantines rejected the Union as an infamous betrayal.² Michael replaced the dissident patriarch Joseph with a loyal tool, John Bekkos, but this served only to increase the unhealthy tensions within the church: in addition to the schism of those who had objected to the emperor's deposition of the patriarch Arsenios for having condemned the treatment of young John IV Laskaris, there was now the schism of those opposed to union. Opposition grew,

(1) Filangieri, Registri, xi, 150-1.

(2) D.M. Nicol, 'The Byzantine Reaction to the Second Council of Lyons, 1274', Studies in Church History, vii, Councils and Assemblies (Cambridge, 1971), 113-40.

despite vicious persecution. The Popes could not but fear for the prospects of such a union. The best that Michael could do was to reassure them that he was doing all that could be expected of him. To this end, he entrusted a couple of returning papal envoys, Marco and Marchetto, with a memorandum drawn up in the spring or summer of 1278 by his protonotarios Ogerius (probably a Latin or a Gasmule), explaining the difficulties that he faced. A copy of this Memorandum has been preserved among the registers of Pope Nicholas III. It is worth considering at some length, because it shows that John the Bastard, while allied to the champion of Latin Christendom, was also keen to pose as the champion of Byzantine Orthodoxy.¹

Far from imitating his own example, Michael explained, many of his people, including some of his own relatives, had publicly repudiated the Union. They were encouraged to do so by certain Greek magnates on the fringes of the empire. One was the princeps of Trebizond. The others were the brothers John and Nikephoros Komneno-Doukas, whose apostasy was particularly odious, since as subjects of the empire they were bound to obey the emperor in all things. Yet on learning of his submission to the church of Rome they had rebelled, and they (who were the real infidels and heretics) had proclaimed the pope, the emperor, and the patriarch all guilty of heresy.²

(1) J. Gay and S. Vitte, Les registres de Nicolas III (1277-1280) (Paris, 1938), 134-7; recent edition and commentary by R.-J. Loenertz, 'Mémoire d'Ogier, protonotaire, pour Marco et Marchetto nonces de Michel VIII Paléologue auprès du pape Nicolas III. 1278, printemps-été', Or. Chr. Per., xxxi (1965), 374-408. For the political setting and the prosopography the earlier article by D.M. Nicol, 'The Greeks and the Union of the Churches. The Report of Ogerius, Protonotarius of Michael VIII in 1280', Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, lxiii, Section C., no. 1 (1962), 1-16. Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 112-21, makes a thorough analysis of John's part in the Union controversy.

(2) Loenertz, op. cit. 378-9, 389.

The emperor sent envoys to urge them to desist from their folly, but they were obstinate. So he sent them the papal anathema, together with a supporting bull issued in Constantinople (spring-summer 1277).¹

As they still refused to be brought to reason, the emperor sent an army against them, commanded by his cousin Andronikos Palaiologos, protostrator, and the pinkernes Manuel Raoul, together with John Kantakouzenos and Andronikos' nephew John Palaiologos.² These men not only failed to act against the Bastard, but told him they shared his sentiments, and invited him to invade imperial territory. John accordingly seized several strongholds. When the emperor heard of his commanders' treachery, he had them arrested and thrown into prison, some time in the second half of 1277.³

New commanders were appointed against John, with orders to remain on the defensive. These orders they disobeyed, and launched a foolhardy offensive. This may be the expedition described by Pachymeres as being loosely combined with a sea-campaign by Michael VIII's admiral, the renegade Latin Licario. Once again, the imperial forces were victorious at sea and defeated on land. The leaders, Alexios Kavallarios and John Synadenos, allowed themselves to be trapped and ambushed in a defile while on their way to relieve the imperial garrison at Pharsala. Synadenos was captured and Kavallarios was killed in the rout when his horse carried him into the branch of a tree. Pachymeres criticizes the underhand tactics of John the Bastard, while the Memorandum of Ogerius blames the incompetence of the imperial generals.⁴

(1) Loenertz, 'Mémoire d'Ogier', 380, 390, 402. The excommunication is mentioned in a patriarchal letter of 16 July 1277: Laurent, Regestes, no. 1435; Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 114-5.

(2) For the prosopography, see Nicol, 'The Greeks and the Union of the Churches', 11-3; idem, Kantakouzenos, 26-7; Rassoulakis, 19-21.

(3) Loenertz, op. cit. 381-2, 390, 402. Manuel Raoul held office in Thessaly at least until July 1277: *Mn.*, iv, 419-20.

(4) Loenertz, op. cit. 382-3, 391; Pachymeres, i, 411-2. For Synadenos, see Nicol, Kantakouzenos, 34.

The rot spread to other provinces, where other imperial dignitaries and relatives began to foment disaffection. The emperor found himself in an intolerable position and wanted the pope to be aware of the facts. His palace was crowded out with incarcerated anti-unionist nobles. His closest associates were away governing the provinces, for they alone could be trusted.^I

Opponents of union were sure of a warm welcome at the court of John the Bastard, who had soon gathered enough to be able to call his own anti-unionist council, composed of about one hundred monks and eight assorted bishops and abbots. This council, which met probably in December 1276, , 'blasphemed at will', anathematising the emperor, the patriarch, and the pope.²

Two bishops who dared to protest against these enormities were roughly handled. John, bishop of Trikkala, was thrown into prison, where he remained until he managed to escape eighteen months later. The bishop of Petra had subscribed to the union at a synod in Constantinople, and said that it would be gross perjury and disloyalty to his superior, the Metropolitan of Thessalonica, to go back on his vote. He was promptly turned out into the December snow in nothing but his undershirt. From this the Pope should be able to realise 'the malice of this apostate bastard, and how much he is divided from himself, having no fear of God and no shame before men' (*malitiam ipsius apostate bastardi et quomodo a se ipso diuisus est et non timet Dei iudicium et non uerecundatur de hominibus*).³

(1) Loenertz, 'Mémoire d'Ogier', 383-5, 391-2.

(2) Ibid. 385-6, 392.

(3) Ibid. 386-7, 393. On Petra and its see, cf. G. Tafel, *De Thessalonica eius-que agro*, 61-2: the reference is neither to Neopatras, nor, despite Loenertz, to Kitros.

as Ferjančić points out, it is not certain that this council was held at Neopatras.¹ He is inclined to reject the date suggested by Loenertz, and to favour Grumel's theory that the council was convoked in reply to the synod which had been held in Constantinople in 1277 in order to pass the sentence of excommunication on all opponents of the Union; this would then place it in December 1277.² Much has this opinion has to commend it, there remains the evidence of the signature of John, bishop of Trikkala, at the bottom of a synodal letter of November 1278 granting a dispensation for the son of Michael II of Epiros, Demetrios-michael 'Koutroules', to marry the emperor's daughter Anna.³ According to the Memorandum, eighteen months at least elapsed between the bishop's humiliation in Thessaly and his arrival in Constantinople. Ferjančić rightly rejects Grumel's idea that the text should be amended to read 'menses decem et octo [dies]', but himself resorts to questioning the validity of the synodal signature, which he suggests may have been forged, or registered in absentia, or added later.⁴ His main point, that the signature occurs at the bottom of the list, is easily answered by drawing attention to the fact that the signatory was the only bishop

(1) Ferjančić, Tesalijska, 118.

(2) Ibid. 118-9; V. Grumel, 'En Orient après le 2e Concile de Lyon', Échos d'Orient, xxiv (1925), 321-5.

(3) M. Gedeon, 'Ἀρχαῖον ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας', I (Constantinople, 1911), 50; Laurent, Regestes, no. 1441; Pachymeres, i, 439-41; Polemis, no. 51, p. 96. Demetrios had come to Constantinople because his ambitions were not satisfied by the legacy he had received from Michael II. The canonical objection to his marrying Anna was that she was a first cousin of his brother's, Nikephoros', wife.

(4) Ferjančić, Tesalijska, 120.

(5) The point was originally made by Dölger, Regesten, no. 2044; see also Nicol, 'The Greeks and the Union of the Churches', 8 n. 29.

among metropolitans and archbishops. As for his surprise at finding the Metropolitan of Larissa, Nikandros, named among the members of the same synod, the explanation is clear: Nikandros had been consecrated by Bekkos,^I and is therefore to be identified with the Metropolitan of Larissa who took part in a Unionist synod of February 1274,² and also with the Metropolitan of Larissa to whom the monk Lazaros, probably a Thessalian, addressed a letter urging him to cease collaborating with the Latinophile establishment, even if to do so meant martyrdom.³ Being what he was, Nikandros can hardly have wanted to reside in a Larissa ruled by John the Bastard. It is not clear, however, why his name appears in only one other synodal act, of 1280,⁴ or why no more is heard of the bishop of Trikkala.

The Memorandum of Ogerius was designed to show the pope that if the Union of the churches was not all it should be on the Greek side, this was due to factors beyond the emperor's control. It also carried the implication that the pope could do much to reduce these factors with a few well-placed excommunications. John the Bastard derived much of his support from the Latins of Athens and Negropont, and the memorandum ends with a long tirade against them.⁵ The defeats they were suffering at the hands of Licario and the imperial fleet were clear signs that God disapproved of their support for schismatics and rebels. This, of course, neatly avoided the issue of whether Michael, as a good son of the Roman church, had any right to be making war on them.

(1) Pachymeres, ii, 66.

(2) L. Delisle, 'Notice sur cinq manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale', Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, xxvii (1885), 150.

(3) K. Simonides, Νικολάου Μεθώνης Λόγος πρὸς Λατίνους (London, 1859), 215-8; Beck, 680.

(4) J.D. Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio, xxiv (Venice, 1780), 366.

(5) Loenertz, 'Mémoire d'Ogier', 387-8, 393.

The popes were always ready to suspect Michael of dissimulation, and they determined that if such was his role, he should play it to the full in order to earn his political safeguards. The emperor could have aired many sound political grievances against John the Bastard, but he knew that these would win him little sympathy in Rome, and so chose to dwell upon John's spiritual enormities. The Memorandum does not, therefore, tell us all we should like to know about John's policy: his methods, resources, alliances, conquests, and, above all, his motives. Yet, by the same argument, we need not suspect it of exaggeration. What it does tell us is remarkable enough. In the space of little more than a year, the sebastokrator had successfully promoted and exploited the rift in Byzantine society. He may have had agents in Constantinople: a monk, Makarios, was put to death for intriguing with the states 'of the west'.^I The only Byzantines capable of bearing John in the field were secretly in league with him, and he had the support of the Latin princes and of Nikephoros his brother.

Michael's appeals came to nothing; the pope declined to excommunicate his political enemies. In 1279 Charles of Anjou intensified his invasion of Albania. Then, in 1281, with the election of a Frenchman as pope Martin IV, Charles gained papal backing for his crusade. But in the same critical year, Byzantine troops marching to the relief of the key Albanian fortress of Berat drove back an Angevin army with great loss. In 1282, as the result of a conspiracy organised by the court of Aragon and probably financed with Byzantine gold, Sicily rose in revolt against its French rulers. For the next twenty years, Charles and his successor were fully occupied in trying to win back the island from its new Aragonese sovereign. From 1281 to 1289, the dissensions of the Greek states

(I) Pachymeres, i, 489; D.J. Geanakoplos, The Emperor Michael VIII, 276 and n.81.

were not exacerbated by western diplomacy.

When the Angevin danger had passed, Michael VIII made it a priority to punish the Bastard. Pachymeres and Gregoras both accuse John of breaking treaties.¹ From a later passage of Pachymeres it is clear that John had negotiated an alliance with the Bulgarian Tsar George Terter, and had sent one of his daughters to marry Terter's son Svetoslav.² Terter, an ally of Charles of Naples, had come to power in 1280 by deposing the Byzantine puppet John Asan.³

Michael decided to lead this expedition in person. He collected a huge army of Tartar mercenaries, supplied through the khan Nogai, his relation by marriage. The Byzantine historians write with horror at the idea that these brutal nomads were to have been used by Christians against Christians. The campaign was planned for the winter of 1282, this apparently being a time of year at which they liked to fight. Michael, by now an old and ailing man, insisted on being carried in a litter at the head of his troops. His condition worsened, and at Lysimachia in Thrace he died, leaving his son Andronikos II to disband the army as best he could.

The new emperor saw it as his main duty to mend the schisms within the church, and at once reversed the whole religious policy of the previous reign. It was some time, however, before he sought an alternative to his father's expansionist policies on the Greek mainland.⁴ In 1283 he tried a new approach to the Thessalian problem. John the Bastard's eldest son Michael⁵ showed signs of

(1) Pachymeres, i, 524; Gregoras, i, 148.

(2) Pachymeres, ii, 74.

(3) Ibid., i, 466-8.

(4) Laiou, Andronicus II, 32-3.

(5) Polemis, 97 n. 7. Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 123, misled by Dölger, Regesten, nos. 2032, 2260, 2262, confuses Michael with Demetrios, son of Michael II of Epiros, who had adopted his father's name on going to live in Constantinople c. 1278; see supra, 167, n. 3.

becoming as great a troublemaker as his father. Andronikos schemed to have him kidnapped, and to this end made overtures to his cousin Anna, the wife of Nikephoros of Epiros. Anna was willing to cooperate, particularly as she feared the Thessalians on her own account, and promised to contrive some means of bringing Michael into her hands.¹

At the same time, the emperor sent an expedition to Thessaly. This was to be another combined land and sea operation - the last, as Pachymeres points out with regret.² The naval arm consisted of eighty ships under the command of Alexios Raoul³ and the megas stratopedarches John Synadenos.⁴ The army was led by Michael Tarchaneiotes, protovestiarios, who had orders to seize as much land as possible, and to be ready to receive Michael from Anna of Epiros. The military part of the mission came to grief. Tarchaneiotes occupied Demetrias, which had apparently at some stage fallen into enemy hands,⁵ but he wasted time in rebuilding its fortifications. In the course of the summer, he and many of his men died of plague;⁶ the rest deserted.

The kidnapping, however, went according to plan. Nikephoros and Anna enticed Michael into their power with solemn promises that he could marry their daughter - the canonical objections to such a match between cousins did not make him suspicious. They despatched him under guard to Constantinople, and received a large sum of money for their pains.⁷

(1) Pachymeres, ii, 67-8.

(2) Both Pachymeres and Gregoras write of the disbanding of the fleet as a major disaster: Pachymeres, ii, 70-1; Gregoras, i, 174-6; Laiou, Andronikos II, 74-6.

(3) Fassoulakis, no. 13, pp. 28-9.

(4) G. Theodorides, Μιχαήλ Λούκας Γλαβὰς Ταρχανειώτης (προσωπογραφικά), Επιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, vii (1957), 186-91.

(5) Pachymeres, ii, 284, says that Tarchaneiotes had rendered Demetrias subject to the emperor, which suggests a previous, temporary enemy occupation.

(6) Pachymeres, ii, 71-2.

(7) Ibid. 72.

At first, the emperor tried to make the captive part of his court. Just as Michael VIII had found noble brides for the two sons of Michael II, John and Demetrios-Michael, who had settled in Constantinople,¹ so Andronikos II proposed a match between the new arrival and his own niece, the daughter of the despot John Asan, erstwhile Tsar of Bulgaria.² Pachymeres does not say whether the wedding ever took place, but in any case Michael was not disposed to end his days as an honorary member of the house of Palaiologos. He tried so often to escape that he had to be put in prison. He was joined by one of his sisters, recently arrived from Bulgaria, where she had been engaged to the heir-apparent, Svetoslav. The reigning tsar, George Terter, had delivered her to Constantinople in the company of John Asan's sister, with whom he had been living in bigamy, and whom he had agreed to give up in return for Byzantine recognition of his title. It was evidently a condition of the same agreement that he should break off his son's betrothal and the alliance with John the Bastard.³

Michael next attempted to escape in 1299, when the emperor was temporarily absent in Thessalonica. He succeeded, with the promise of his sister's hand, in inducing his head gaoler, an Englishman called Henry, to help him on board a ship bound for Negropont. But a south wind brought him back to captivity. For eight years the emperor politely refused his family's requests to have him set free. Finally, in December 1307, out of frustration he set fire to his prison, which adjoined the imperial palace, and in the resulting confusion was hacked to death by the imperial axe-bearers.⁴

(1) Pachymeres, i, 107-8, 441; Polemis, 95-6.

(2) Pachymeres, ii, 72; Papadopoulos, Genealogie, no. 44, pp. 27-8.

(3) Ibid. 57, 73.

(4) Ibid. 73-7.

John made the rulers of Epiros suffer for their treachery. In a letter written probably about 1285, the patriarch Gregory of Cyprus rebuked him for having attacked Nikephoros with an army of Greeks and foreign mercenaries; according to Pachymeres, he caused great damage, occupying much of his brother's territory. At the same time, John negotiated a marriage treaty with the kral of Serbia, Stephen Uroš II Milutin, sending his daughter to the Serbian court. Together, the two rulers plotted to attack Byzantine territory. The patriarch threatened excommunication for what he held to be gratuitous aggression, and warned John that the emperor might send hordes of godless barbarians to punish him.

Whether or not John heeded these threats, it was not long before he decided to make his peace with God. A fresco in the church of Porta-Panagia, which he had founded in 1283, portrays him being led by an angel towards the enthroned Virgin and infant Christ, cowed and in a monastic habit.² He is referred to as deceased in the chrysobull which Andronikos II in March 1289 issued to his wife, now the nun Hypomone, for her foundation of Lykousada.³

It may be needlessly academic to search too deep for the causes of the bitter antagonism between John the Bastard and the Palaiologan emperors. All the Byzantine sources speak of him as if he had a devil in him. He also had a born flair for winning allies, for extricating himself from tight corners, and for leading his adversary into them - all the qualities which were needed to make his dark energy dangerous. It is thus not surprising that he became something of a figure in international politics. A lesser man would not have provoked at least three major punitive expeditions.

(1) Gregory of Cyprus, Letter; Laurent, Regestes, no. 1480; Pachymeres, ii, 201.

(2) Orlandos, 'Porta-Panagia', 33-5.

(3) MM, v, 253-6.

Was it altogether natural, however, for John to persist in violent and risky hostility towards the empire, which was still a great power, and which should have represented for him, as an Orthodox Greek, the highest institution on earth? He began his reign by concluding an agreement which brought him, as sebastokrator, to a position of considerable prestige within the imperial orbit. We may well ask why he did not seek, by co-operation with Michael VIII and Andronikos II, to consolidate and improve that position.

It is probable that John the Bastard, like his father, considered his lot to be much less than was due to him. The Palaiologoi were as yet newly-established, and there were still those in Constantinople itself who thought of them as usurpers. It was still possible for a member of the Komnenos-Doukas family to feel that in contributing to the difficulties which threatened to destroy Michael VIII he was not betraying the Roman genos, but simply undoing the undeserved good fortune of a rival faction. In addition to the humiliation of his family, John had that of his illegitimate origins. At Pelagonia he had reacted to a verbal taunt by ruining his father's plans simply in order to prove that his side could not win without him. This incident may well contain the clue to his character. Even if he was not so pretentious as to measure himself against Michael VIII, he could certainly feel jealous of his brother Nikephoros. He held a lower title, and the principality he had inherited from his father was not intact now that the Palaiologoi, with the blessing of the Malaseni, occupied the Pagasitic coast and much of the east Thessalian plain. His pretensions, and the insecurity that lay behind them, are perhaps summed up by the inscription on the seals which have been attributed to him: 'The seal of John the sebastokrator, whose ancestry stems from emperors' (Σφραγὶς σεβαστοῦ)

'Ιωάννου τοῦ Δούκα| ῥίζαν γένους ἔχοντος ἐκ βασιλέων)¹.

when all this has been said, it would be wrong to consider John simply as the embittered scion of a luckless dynasty, or as a frustrated candidate for imperial honours. There was much about him that was not Byzantine. His principality was a buffer between Byzantine Macedonia and Latin Romania, but his capital lay much nearer the latter, and its rocky citadel is strongly reminiscent of the baronial castles of the Latin feudatories who were his constant allies. William de la Roche, Duke of Athens from 1280, was his son-in-law, and held four important strongholds between Othrys and the Boeotian plain. John was also on good terms with the triarchs of Negropont. Like many of the island lords, these were seafarers, and vassals of Venice. It is possible that they acted as John's agents at the court of Naples.²

John may have cultivated the Latins simply as a matter of convenience, but on the other hand he may have realised that they had a lot in common. Like them, he owned a small state on what was nominally imperial territory. The fact that he was Greek and Orthodox would not inhibit Michael VIII from trying to dispossess him. 'It was, indeed, almost impossible for Byzantium to maintain cordial relations with the separatist Greek principalities, for the emperor's real aim was the absorption of these states'.³ It was in the interests of all the petty rulers of Greece, whether Greek or Latin, to band together against Palaiologan irredentism.

(1) Originally published by P. Lampros, 'Monnaies inédites de Néopatras et de Caryténa', *Revue Numismatique*, xiv (1869-70), 188 and pl. IX. See also G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1884), 428-9; V. Laurent, 'Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine', *Ell.*, vi (1933), 84-5; Ferjančić, *Tesalija*, 100-1.

(2) Loenertz, 'Mémoire d'Ogier', 393. On the lords of Negropont, see J. Bury, 'The Lombards and Venetians in Euboea (1205-1303)', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vii (1886), 309-52; R. J. Loenertz, 'Les seigneurs tiersiers de Négrepont: registres et documents', *Byzantion* (1965), 235-76, esp. reg. nos. 98a, 98c, 101, pp. 262-4.

(3) Ostrogorsky, *History*, 457.

It was also in their interest to find a powerful protector. The Latins had one in the person of the king of Naples, and most of them became his vassals. We have no evidence that John entered into such a relationship. Charles was a militant champion of Latin Christianity, and the people of Sicily and the Morea knew him for a hard master. The prospect of a restored Latin empire should not, in principle, have appealed to any descendant of Michael I of Epiros. It is unlikely that John looked so far ahead. He no doubt considered that before either side won a decisive victory there would be years of cold-warfare in which he and his kind would be ignored, or courted for their loyalty. In the meantime, it was prudent to back the likely victor, especially when there was business to be done. Charles allowed John's envoys to sell at least two large shipments of silk. They returned with war-horses and other beasts of burden.^I

The full picture may be even more complex. Half a century of indeterminate constitutional status had led the rulers of Epiros, especially Michael II, to adopt certain western procedures, both in their relations with the senior Greek monarchy and in the administration of their state. The same impulse to westernise was felt even more strongly by the next generation of Doukai, and could be followed all the more readily now that the family was no longer competing for the prize of Constantinople.

The main primary source, the Memorandum of Ogerius, portrays the half-brothers in a distinctly feudal light: 'as subjects, servants, and bondsmen of the empire they have many times taken the oath of fealty and liege-homage to my

(1) The Angevin documents refer to the following transactions:
 (April 1273) sale of 1000 lb. of silk and purchase of 20 horses;
 (August 1274) purchase of 1 dextrier and 40 other horses;
 (March 1278) sale of 6240 lb. of silk;
 (May 1278) purchase of 3 war-horses, 8 donkeys, and 4 mules.
 See R. Filangieri, I registri della cancelleria angioina ricostruiti, ix, 207, 209; x, 44, 48; xi, 129; xviii, 382; C. Minieri-Riccio, Saggio di codice diplomatico, i (Naples, 1878), 165.

lord the emperor, swearing to obey the orders and injunctions of him, from whom they received the dignities and offices to which they have been nominated (qui ut subditi serui et submanuales imperii sacramentum domino meo sancto imperatori fidelitatis et ligii homagii multotiens prestiterunt de parendis praeceptis et mandatis suis, a quo dignitates et officia quibus nominati sunt hactenus acceperunt)¹. This passage has often been quoted to illustrate the extent to which liege-relationships were being accepted in the Byzantine world.² But can the evidence be taken on its face value? While it was quite in keeping with Byzantine practice for the emperor's subjects to take an oath of loyalty (ὄρκος δουλείας) and to receive in return dignities (ἀξιώματα) and offices (ὀφφίκια), the expression sacramentum ligii homagii is not a translation of a Byzantine legal term; the good emperor should reward those who swore fidelity to him, but he was not obliged to reciprocate the oath.³ Given the context, the passage was probably worded not so as to represent an exact state of affairs, but so as to impress upon an Italian pope the enormity of what John and Nikephoros were doing.

For John to imitate the Latins he had to identify with them. Michael II and Nikephoros had, as 'Despots of Epiros', a confused constitutional identity. John acquired a double one. From the Byzantine point of view he was simply John Doukas the sebastokrator, a turbulent member of a suspect family who by force of

(1) Loenertz, 'Mémoire d'Ogier', 392.

(2) D. Zakythinos, 'Processus de féodalisation', L'Hellénisme Contemporain, ii (1948), 505; N.G. Svoronos, 'Le serment de fidélité à l'empereur byzantin', Rev. Et. Byz., ix (1951), 140; J. Ferluga, 'La ligesse dans l'empire byzantin', Zb. Rad. Viz. Inst., vii (1961), 122; G. Ostrogorsky, 'The Aristocracy in Byzantium', D.O.P., xxv (1971), 22 and n. 80.

(3) The dignitates in this case are clearly those of despot and sebastokrator, but it is difficult to see what officia John and Nikephoros could have held, unless the word is not here being used in its normal sense of 'court positions', but rather with reference to 'governorships' which the separatist rulers were supposed to be exercising on the emperor's behalf.

circumstance ruled 'Great Vlachia'. Among Latins he passed under a different guise. They took his surname, Doukas, to mean that he was a duke.^I Charles of Anjou habitually referred to him as 'duke John of Neopatras'.² Michael VIII found it easiest to identify John to the pope in this way: '... the natural son of the lord Michael, who by the Latins is called Duke of Patra' (filius naturalis domini Mihalicii, qui a Latinis Dux Patre vocatur).³ To see what the Latins of 13th-century Greece understood by the words Dux and Ducatus, one only has to look south from Neopatras, at the Duchy of Athens; its lords, the de la Roche, were second only to the princes of Achaia on the feudal roll of Latin Romania, and their court at Thebes was famous for its splendour.⁴ But the thing most likely to impress John about his Latin relatives was their legal security. Their homage to their overlord was a bilateral process; their title was hereditary and guaranteed them in their estates. John may have considered that he would do better as the client of a western monarch, even Charles of Anjou, than as the titular of a basileus who grudged him his lands. He had good reason to enjoy his fictitious role as 'Duke of Neopatras'.

In pointing out to John the folly of his ways, Gregory of Cyprus argued that he already possessed everything that worldly ambition could legitimately demand.⁵ According to Gregoras, John's principality consisted of 'the Pelasgians and the Phthiotians, the Thessalians and the Ozolian Locrians, having to the

(1) See Polemis, 3-4, 97 n. 2.

(2) The one variation is in a document of August 1274 (Filangieri, Registri, xi 150): '...a nobili viro Caloiohanne Sabbastocratore Cominiane Dux'.

(3) Loenertz, 'Mémoire d'Ogier', 390.

(4) W. Miller, The Latins in the Levant, 65-70, 165.

(5) Gregory of Cyprus, Letter, 9.

north Olympos, and to the south Parnassos, both lofty mountains whose peaks reach high into the upper air' (Πελάσγους καὶ Φθιώτας, ἔτι καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ Λόκρους τοὺς Ὀζόλας· καὶ πρὸς μὲν ἄρκτους Ὀλυμπον ἔχει τὸ ὄρος, πρὸς δὲ μεσημβρίαν τὸν Παρνασσόν, ἀμφοτέρω ὑψηλὰ καὶ εἰς βαθὺν τὸν ἀέρα τὰς κορυφὰς ἀνατείνοντα).¹ That John's principality lay on an axis between Mounts Olympos and Parnassos is confirmed by Sanudo, who calls him 'Signor de la Parte, d'Odrich e finalmente de la Blachia'.² The mention of Neopatras between Loidoriki and Thessaly perhaps indicates why John made it his capital. It held the balance between the two dissimilar halves of his territory; between the plains of Thessaly to the north and the mountains of Phokis and Lokris to the south.

There were, of course, other considerations, demonstrated by John's near escape from defeat in 1273. Neopatras was unassailable. It was also too far from the imperial bases to be taken by surprise; on the other hand, it was close to Thebes and Negropont. Its main disadvantage was that it lay too far from the area which provided John with the substance of his power - the Thessalian plain. How much of this actually belonged to him is hard to tell; frontiers must constantly have shifted according to the fortunes of war. Demetrias, Almyros, Velesstinon and Tyrnavos seem to have come under the Palaiologoi, and for a time imperial troops held Pharsala. All this suggests that the core of John's state was the west Thessalian plain. The fact that he and his wife founded monasteries near Trikkala perhaps indicates that this was a second capital.

John no doubt inherited the elaborate, traditional fiscal apparatus alluded to in Nikephoros' argyrobull of 1266,³ and must have maintained a court worthy of

(1) Gregoras, i, 110.

(2) Sanudo ed. Hopf, *Chroniques*, 106-7. The tradition of John's rule in Loidoriki was still alive in the 18th century: see G. Baletas, *Χρονικὸ τοῦ Παλαξειδίου* (Athens, 1944), 117-8.

(3) *MM*, iv, 352.

his grandiose foreign policy. Yet his dominion is to be seen as a political state not in superstructure nor in theory, but in action, as a military machine. As such, it was composed of three elements: the professional, the feudal, and the tribal. The professional element consisted of the Latin mercenaries whom John used on at least two occasions.¹ The feudal element is not mentioned in the sources for John's reign. But from later indications that the Thessalian aristocracy paid homage to their overlord and joined him on campaign, one may conclude that John commanded a feudal host.² The third element, the tribal, arose from John's marriage into the family of a powerful Vlach chieftain. When Pachymeres wrote that John commanded an army of Megalovlachites at Pelagonia, he may have been referring to Thessalians in general, without regard for their ethnic origins.³ But his suggestion that John owed his following to his marriage implies that part of it, at least, was formed on the basis of the clannish loyalties operating among a pastoral people. At a much later date, something of a parallel is afforded by Ali Pasha, who was able to maintain a luxurious oriental despotism thanks to the devotion of his rough Albanian henchmen. The Vlachs were notoriously insubordinate, fickle, and predatory. John no doubt appealed strongly to their 'klephtic' values. It would be interesting to know whether the military 'command of the Vlachs of Hellas' which Cecaumenos mentions in the 11th century survived into the later period.⁴

It was no doubt a combination of feudal and tribal loyalties which came to John's rescue when his followers refused to betray him during the siege of Neopatras. The same combination must have accounted for much of his success in the

(1) Pachymeres, i, 411; Gregory of Cyprus, Letter, 6.

(2) Fr. Chr. Mor., 354.

(3) Pachymeres, i, 83.

(4) Cecaumenos, 282 and nn. 1160-1; E. Stanesco, 'Byzantinovlachica I', Revue des Etudes sud-est Européennes, vi (1968), 424-8.

field. Thessaly was well-suited to be the territory of a warlike prince; in medieval as in ancient times its plains were ideal for the raising of horses. Theophylact of Bulgaria commented on the Thessalians' prowess with horses and chariots.¹ Anna Comnena records that Nikephoros Bryennios in his revolt against the emperor Nikephoros Botaneiates had a contingent of Thessalian cavalry in his army, and that his elite noble warriors were mounted on Thessalian steeds.² Gregory of Cyprus had to admit that John was 'powerful in horses, in arms, and in military prowess' (ἐν ἵπποις δύνασαι καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ ἀκμῇ στρατιωτικῇ).³ Not even Thessaly, however, could provide all the cavalry mounts that John required, and on at least three occasions he imported them from southern Italy.⁴ John may even have had his own navy: early in his reign he dabbled in piracy, and an Angevin document of March 1278 records the capture of two craft manned by his 'vassals', most of whom seem from their names to have been residents of Neopatras.⁵

There is no evidence at all for social conditions in the part of Thessaly that John ruled. They cannot, however, have differed greatly from those which the monastic archives of Mt. Pelion show to have prevailed in the region of the Pagasitic Gulf.⁶ Here, adverse economic factors and the wars of the 1270s allowed Nicholas Maliasenos, already a disproportionately wealthy landowner, to enrich himself at the expense of several local inhabitants. These included not only his

(1) Migne, PG, cxxvi, col. 496.

(2) Anna Comnena, i, 20.

(3) Gregory of Cyprus, Letter, 9.

(4) Supra, I76 n. I.

(5) R. Filangieri, Registri, xviii, 413-4.

(6) G. Ostrogorsky, Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine (Corpus bruxellense Historiae byzantinae, Subsidia II) (Brussels, 1956), 52-5, 63-4, 65; Ferjancić, 'Posedi', 40-7; Tesalijsa, 79-85.

own dependent peasants, but also independent landowners like the monastery of Kanalia and the bishop of Demetrias. The circumstances which worked to the advantage of one great local family can hardly have failed to benefit another whose possessions were probably even more extensive.

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If John's reign is assessed solely in terms of military and diplomatic achievement, it must be accounted a failure. His wars led to no decisive settlement with the empire, and the rulers of Serbia and Bulgaria soon tired of their Thessalian brides. The marriage-alliance with the Duchy of Athens held firm, but this had been bought at the price of giving the Latins unimpeded access to the Thessalian plain. It was indeed impossible for an area the size of Thessaly to sustain a policy as ambitious as that of John the Bastard. Yet in making such heavy demands on his modest resources, John seems to have given the Thessalian aristocracy a military efficiency that was unique in the Byzantine world. Nothing else can explain the remarkable degree of cohesion which this society was to show in subsequent decades, or the continuing reputation of the Thessalian cavalry as a force unrivalled in the field.

CHAPTER 4: The Later Komnenos-Doukai of Neopatra, 1289-1318.

The death of John the Bastard by March 1289 did not bury the issues of his reign. The independent rulers of Epiros and Thessaly became even more ambivalent in their attitudes, both to each other and to the Greek and Latin sovereigns between whom they were buffers. John's successors seem to have followed no coherent external policy, and as personalities they fail to impress. During the period 1289-1318 it is Thessaly's neighbours, not its rulers, who appear to take the initiative in its affairs. Yet for all their apparent lack of self-assertion, John's heirs remained true to the basic tradition of their dynasty: de facto political independence of all other powers. The compliance with which they or their subjects occasionally accepted the tutelage of other potentates should not lead the historian to underrate their dedication or their competence in pursuing this aim.^I

John left three sons, each of whom received one of their father's noble names - Komnenos, Doukas, and Angelos - possibly in order to establish a sense of precedence among them.² As we have seen, the eldest, Michael, was from 1283 a prisoner in Constantinople. The other two sons were named Constantine and Theodore.³

Some evidence for the situation in Thessaly immediately after John's death may be found in the source which refers to him as deceased, Andronikos II's chrysobull for the monastery of Lykousada. The prooemium to this document, drafted by the grand logothete Theodore Mouzalon, is unusually long and full

(1) Ferjančić, Tesalija, 126 ff, perhaps overstates the decline of Thessaly as an independent power in this period.

(2) Pachymeres, ii, 201; Gr. Chr. Mor. 11. 3537-40.

(3) Hopf, Geschichte, i, 355; M. Lascaris, Θεόδωρος "Αγγελος, υἱὸς τοῦ Σεβαστοκράτορος τῆς Θεσσαλίας 'Ιωάννου, Ep. Et. Byz. Sp., iii (1926), 95.

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of political allusion. Its theme is the empire's God-given right (δικαίωμα)² to demand obedience from men. God had caused the empire to expand. Later, He had seen fit to reduce it, depriving it of the queen of cities, yet not with the intention of bringing it to an end, but rather so that it might change for the better; now He has re-established it.

'In that turmoil of events, which brought disaster to a head, much power fell into many hands, and even to this day there are cities and territories belonging to men who hold them as if by personal lordship derived from those who gained possession of them at the time, but these men submit to our rule and rightly embrace obedience. She who in the world was wife to my majesty's sympentheres, the late sebastokrator John Komnenos Doukas, and has now taken the veil as the nun Hypomone Komnene Doukaina; she, well recognising the empire's [Divine] right, and realising that there is no secure tenure of property, whether secular or monastic, unless imperial decrees give it authority, has sent to my majesty, and requests that possession of its properties be formally authorised to the monastery she has founded by chrysobull from my majesty.'

(τότε δὴ ἐν τῇ κινήσει τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκείνη, ἣ τὰ δυσχερῆ ἐπλεόνασε, τότε πρὸς πολλοὺς πολλὰ τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς μεταπέπτωκε, καὶ ἔτι δὴ ἐς τὸ παρὸν πόλεων τινὲς καὶ χωρῶν ἔστιν οἷς τῶν τότε κατασχόντων ὡς εἰς ἰδιόζουσάν τινα τὴν δεσποτείαν κατέχονται, ἀλλ' ὑποκύπτουσι τῷ ἡμετέρῳ κράτει καὶ τὴν ὑποταγὴν δικαίως ἀσπάζονται. ἡ μὲντοι τῷ περιποθήτῳ συμπεθέρῳ τῆς βασιλείας μου, τῷ σεβαστοκράτορι ἐκείνῳ Κομνηνῷ κυρῷ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Δούκῃ κατὰ κόσμον χρηματίσασα σύζυγος, εἴτα τὸν μοναδικὸν ζυγὸν ὑποδύσα Κομνηνὴ κυρὰ Ὑπομονὴ ἢ Δούκαινα, τὸ τῆς βασιλείας καλῶς ἐπεγνωκυῖα δικαίωμα, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν βεβαίῳ τὴν τῶν προσόντων ἀποφέρεισθαι κτήσιν, οὔτε μὴν καθ' ἓνα τῶν ἐν βίῳ, οὔτε μοναστῶν καταγωγίον, εἰ μὴ τὸ κύρος ἐπιθείη τούτοις βασιλικά διατάγματα, διαπέμπεται τε πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν βασιλείαν, καὶ τῇ παρ' αὐτῆς συστάσει σεβάσμιᾳ μονῇ τὸ κύρος τῶν ἐνυπαρχόντων αἰτεῖται διὰ χρυσοβούλλου προσγενέσθαι τῆς βασιλείας μου).³

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- (1) Dölger, Regesten, no. 2131; F. Dölger and J. Karayannopoulos, Byzantinische Urkundenlehre, I, 36 n. 8, pl. 17.
- (2) Dikaioma is not one of the 'Elemente der Kaiseridee' discussed by H. Hunger in his study Prooimion (Wiener Byzantinische Studien, I) (Vienna, 1964), but see pp. 72-3.
- (3) MM, v, 254-5.

This passage is eloquent of the relationship between the emperor and the new rulers of Thessaly. The chrysobull was issued to John's widow, but the harangue was directed to the family as a whole and particularly its most active members, her sons Constantine and Theodore. The statement that the independent Greek princes now submitted to imperial rule must allude to some recent peace agreement. Andronikos naturally considered it beneath his dignity to refer to this agreement as a treaty. Still, that the emperor received the submission of men who held parts of the empire 'as if by personal lordship' was very nearly an official recognition of the status-quo in northern Greece.

Andronikos probably considered that such recognition was a small price to pay for a solution of the Thessalian problem which had so often diverted his father's and his own attention from more important matters. It must have seemed that with John dead and his most warlike heir in custody the dynasty was incapable of causing serious trouble. The fact that two brothers remained offered a good opportunity for dividing and ruling. It was possibly in an attempt to set them against each other that Andronikos granted them both the title of sebastokrator.¹ It may have been as part of this arrangement that one of the brothers took to wife a lady who bore him a son John, the last of the dynasty. There is no primary evidence for the mother's name, or for the assumption that Constantine² was the father.

The few references to the sebastokrators in Byzantine sources suggest that they in no way deviated from their father's policy towards the Palaiologoi. Pachymeres and Gregoras do not record any imperial campaigns in northern Greece during the 1290s, but this may be because more momentous wars were then being

(1) Pachymeres, ii, 284; Ferjančić, 'Sevastokratori', 182.

(2) Hopf, *Geschichte*, i, 360, says that the mother was called Anna Evagionissa; however, the source quoted clearly refers to the basilissa of Epiros - doc. of 1317 reproduced by J. Valentini, *Acta Albaniae Veneta saeculorum XIV et XV*, Part I, vol. I (Palermo, 1967), 13-4.

fought against the Turks, the Venetians, and the Serbs. Yet Manuel Philes, in a poem celebrating the exploits of Michael Tarchaeiotes Glabas, protostrator, tells us that his hero, after a victorious campaign in which he took Dyrrachion, Kanina, and Kroia, 'turned against the once-bold Vlachs; battling against Theodore, the enemy sebastokrator, he obtained the land as it were a gift of chance!' (ὁρμᾷ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς θρασεῖς πάλαι Βλάχους| Θεόδωρον δὲ πυρπολεῖ κατακράτος| τὸν σεβαστοκράτορα τῶν ἀλλοτρίων| καὶ λαμβάνει τὴν χώραν, ὡς δῶρον τύχης) .^I The date of this war is difficult to ascertain because the Albanian victories are described immediately after an account of Glabas' part in the suppression of a Bulgarian revolt (1277), and, as far as we know, Glabas was not appointed to a western command until 1282. Philes evidently compiled this list of campaigns without mention of what may have been long intervals. There is thus no difficulty in dating the Thessalian victory to the 1290s - although nothing proves that it necessarily occurred after John the Bastard's death.

The Byzantine historians are equally silent about a massive expedition which, according to the Chronicle of the Morea, the emperor mounted in 1292 against Nikephoros of Epiros.² A Genoese fleet anchored in the Ambracian Gulf and disembarked troops which failed to conquer Arta. A land army had more success against Ioannina, but retreated in disorderly haste when the Prince of Achaia, Florent of Hainault, came to Nikephoros' aid. The army made its advance and retreat through 'Vlachia', so the Thessalian sebastokrators may have been

(1) E. Miller, Manuelis Philae carmina, ii (Paris, 1857), 240-55, esp. 253. On Glabas, who is not to be confused with Michael Tarchaneotes proto-vestiarios (d. 1283 at Demetrias), see G. Theodorides, op. cit. (supra, 185 n.4); P. Schreiner, 'Eine Beschreibung der Pammakristoskirche', D.O.P., xxv (1971), 230-3.

(2) Gr. Chr. Mor., ll. 8792-9235; Fr. Chr. Mor., §§ 608-51, pp. 244-60.

in some way involved. The imperial official who commanded the expedition has not been identified. His title of grand domestic suggests either Syrgiannes, the Cuman in Byzantine service who married the emperor's cousin Eugenia about ^I1290, or Alexios Raoul.²

In 1294-5 Andronikos seems to have sought some reconciliation with the Thessalian rulers. At this time he had a spare bride in the person of Theodora, daughter of Hetoum II, king of the Catholic Armenians in Cilicia. Theodora had come to Constantinople with her sister Rita, who was baptised into the Orthodox church as Maria and on 16 January 1295 married Andronikos' heir-apparent and co-emperor Michael IX.³ Theodora was similarly rechristened Theophano. One of the Thessalian sebastokrators, attracted by the offer of a rich dowry which included Demetrias, agreed to marry her. Constantine and Theodore occupied the town and could not be persuaded to give it back after Theophano died at Thessalonica while on her way to join her betrothed.⁴ They no doubt felt encouraged to defy Andronikos because the imperial armies in the west were, from 1296, fully occupied in defending Macedonia against the Serbs. Michael Tarchaneiotes Glabas, who had the command, soon advised Andronikos to make peace. But the Serbian ruler, the kral Stephen Uroš II Milutin, would negotiate only on condition that he were given a bride from the emperor's immediate family. Andronikos' sister Eudokia declined the honour, and he was eventually forced to part with his infant daughter Simonis, despite the protests of his patriarch, who was disturbed by stories of Milutin's chequered marital career. The kral had gone through a

(1) Papadopoulos, Genealogie, no. 34a; Laiou, Andronikos II, 40 n. 28.

(2) Fassoulakis, no. 13, pp. 28-9.

(3) Pachymeres, ii, 206; J. Verpeaux, 'Notes chronologiques sur le De Andronico de Pachymère', Rev. Et. Byz., xvii (1959), 170-3.

(4) Pachymeres, ii, 206, 284.

form of marriage with two women besides his first wife: a daughter of John the Bastard and a Bulgarian princess. When Theodore Metochites went to Milutin in the hard winter of 1298 to seal the agreement, he found himself in competition with delegations from both the Thessalian and the Bulgarian rulers, fearful of a reconciliation between Byzantium and Serbia. The Thessalians were particularly insidious, assuring Milutin that the Byzantine overtures were all pretence, and that he would best serve his interests by renewing his union with John the Bastard's daughter.¹ This propaganda may have had some effect, for the kral remained suspicious until Simonis actually arrived. The wedding was celebrated at Thessalonica late in the spring of 1299. Andronikos, who accompanied his daughter, took the opportunity to challenge the sebastokrators to give back Demetrias as being his by right. Even now, 'they were not at a loss for their usual foxiness' (τοῦ συνήθους ἀλωπεκισμοῦ οὐδὲ τότε πάμπαν ἐπελάθοντο).² Pachymeres does not say whether Andronikos took any further steps in the matter before returning to Constantinople in the autumn of 1300.³

Like John the Bastard, his sons flirted with the western enemies of Byzantium. Charles II of Naples, son and successor of Charles of Anjou, was until 1289 a prisoner of the Aragonese, and until 1302 was mainly occupied in trying to undo the work of the 'Sicilian Vespers'. He thus took a more conciliatory attitude to Byzantium than his father had done, and even entertained proposals for Michael IX Palaiologos to marry his ward Catherine of Courtenay, upon whom all claims to the Latin empire of Constantinople had devolved. Yet the failure

(1) Theodore Metochites, *Προσεβευτικὸς*, ed. Sathas, i, 188-9, who writes, alluding to Demosthenes (I, 21-2), ὡς αἰεὶ τὰ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἄπιστα. For John the Bastard's alliance with Milutin, see *supra*, 174.

(2) Pachymeres, ii, 284.

(3) Ibid. 290.

of these marriage-negotiations shows that Charles did not want to close the issue of an anti-Greek crusade. In other matters, he made sure that his father's preparations were not wasted. He did all he could to maintain an Angevin base in Corfu, and insisted that the Latin princes of Greece respect his sovereignty and cooperate with his agents. Above all, he renewed his father's ties with the separatist Greek states. The Byzantine patriarch's refusal to countenance a marriage between Michael IX and Tamara, daughter of Nikephoros of Epiros, allowed Charles to offer one of his sons as suitor. Negotiations were begun in 1291. There seems to have been much bargaining over the size of Tamara's dowry, for it was not until 1294 that the marriage took place. Nikephoros granted his son-in-law, Charles' fourth son Philip, Prince of Taranto, 'not a few towns and territories' (οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν τῆς χώρας καὶ πόλεις) in the southern part of the 'Despotate' - Naupaktos, Vrachori, Angelokastron, and Vomitza.^I

On 13 August 1294, Charles II formally bestowed on Philip all the feudal rights of the kingdom of Naples in 'Romania', not only in the areas of Latin domination, but also in the 'kingdom of Albania' and the 'province of Vlachia'. On 8 April 1295, Charles issued a letter giving two procurators, Gervase de la Haye and Alexander of Bitonto, full power to receive the homage of Helen, Duchess of Athens, of the 'Duke of Neopatras' and Angelus his brother, since on their behalf 'it was revealed to my majesty that they, wishing to be subject to our dominion, are ready to hold from us and from our heirs the lands, castles, and fiefs which they hold in Romania (nostre fuit expositum majestati quod ipsi, nostro subesse dominio cupientes, parati sunt et intendunt cognoscere se tenere

(1) Pachymeres, ii, 202; *Fr. Chr. Mor.*, 1524, pp. 262-4; Ch. Perrat and J. Longnon, *Actes relatifs à la principauté de Morée, 1289-1300* (*Bibliothèque Nationale; Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, 80 series, VI) (Paris, 1967), *passim*, but esp. nos. 21, 44, 121, 130; Laiou, *Andronikos II*, 41-56; D.M. Nicol, 'The Relations of Charles of Anjou with Nikephoros of Epiros', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, iv (1972), 193-4. Naupaktos had fallen into Latin hands in 1284-5, possibly in connection with John the Bastard's attack on epiros; *MM*, i, 469.

(2) Perrat/Longnon, *op. cit.* no. 116, pp. 113-4.

a nobis et heredibus nostris terras, castra, et bona feudalia que tenent et possident in partibus Romaniae)^I. In this and in two other letters of the same date,² the emissaries are instructed to receive 'from the said duchess and her brothers the oath of fealty, liege-homage, and the promise of [military] service due from them, according to the use and custom of that region' (a predictis ducissa et fratribus sacramentum fidelitatis et ligium homagium ac promissionem servicii per eos debiti iuxta usum et consuetudinem regionis ipsius). This shows that in 1295 the sebastokrators committed themselves to the Angevin alliance, and that this commitment took the form of a full feudal relationship. It is especially interesting that the 'use and custom' of Vlachia made such a relationship possible.

The sebastokrators' sister Helen, widow of William de la Roche, Duke of Athens (1280-1287), figures prominently in the Angevin documents of the 1290s. Through her responsibility for the young duke Guy II, her son, and her marriage in 1291 to Hugh of Brienne,³ a leading feudatory in southern Italy and the Morea, she stood high in the society of Latin Greece, and was no doubt useful to her brothers. Her role was somewhat diminished after 1294, when on 21 June Guy came of age and in a splendid ceremony at Thebes called upon Boniface of Veroma to dub him knight.⁴ Resenting, perhaps, her loss of power, she quarrelled with her son, who sometime before July 1299 seized some of her movable property, together with the monastery of Hosios Loukas at Steiris ('l'Estir'), which formed part of her dotal inheritance.⁵ Charles II gave her the benefit of this

(1) Perrat/Longnon, Documents, no. 147, p. 136.

(2) Ibid. nos. 148-9.

(3) Ibid. no. 22.

(4) Muntaner, Chapter 244; Miller, The Latins in the Levant, 192-4.

(5) Perrat/Longnon, no. 220, p. 191.

dispute, but he proceeded more carefully with regard to her claim that the castles of Gravia and Zeitouni belonged to her.¹ That she insisted on keeping these strategic strongholds perhaps indicates a wish to reunite them with the Thessalian principality. Pachymeres, writing of Michael Komnenos' attempt to escape from Constantinople in 1299, makes the intriguing remark that he had a sister in control of Euboea.² This was presumably Helen, but the basis of her power is not clear.

Constantine and Theodore seem to have maintained consistently bad relations with only one power, Epiros. According to Pachymeres, it was from fear of them that the basilissa Anna sought a marriage alliance with the Palaiologoi, and then, when this failed, with the Angevins.³ In July 1295, Charles II instructed Florent of Hainault, Prince of Achaia, to join forces with Ponzard de Tourcy, Philip of Taranto's viceroy in Greece, and punish the brothers for defying his order not to invade the land 'of the lord despot'. They had, it seems, attacked Epiros recently, 'bringing great damage to the persons and possessions of those loyal to the despot, making off with a great quantity of spoil' (*eiusdem despoti fidelibus in personis et rebus dampna gravia intulerunt ac quecumque ipsorum bona capuarunt abinde more predonio absportarunt non minus in dicti despot contumeliam et iacturam*).⁴ Peace was signed to Charles' satisfaction by 3 September 1296, and he urged the princes of Latin Greece to help Constantine against his enemies. Hopf, who refers to documents now lost, has more to say about the war. According to him, Constantine and Theodore succeeded in capturing Acheloos, Naupaktos, and Angelokastron, although in the treaty the first two were restored;

(1) Perrat/Longnon, no. 232, pp. 198-9.

(2) Pachymeres, ii, 75.

(3) Ibid. 201-2.

(4) C. Minieri-Riccio, Saggio di codice diplomatico, Suppl. I (Naples, 1882), 95.

hostilities being renewed in 1301-2, Anna with Angevin aid succeeded in recovering Angelokastron.¹

It is tempting to see these wars as part of a wider struggle. Certainly, the Thessalian attack of 1295, coming at a time when one of the sebastokrators was about to marry the emperor's daughter-in-law, seems to have been a piece of Byzantine diplomacy aimed at eliminating the new Angevin bridgehead in western Greece. Yet Epirot policy towards the Angevins was far from consistent. Nikephoros' acceptance of an Angevin affiliation implied hostility to Andronikos, and the campaign of 1292 shows that this hostility was reciprocated. Pachymeres, however, says that Anna cherished the idea of marrying their daughter to Michael IX, for which she was prepared to allow Byzantium full sovereignty over Epiros. Andronikos granted her request that her son Thomas be made despot.² Was there a difference of opinion between the despot and the basilissa? Pachymeres writes as if Anna was at the head of affairs well before Tamara's wedding, but as late as September 1296 the Angevin documents speak of Nikephoros as still alive.

To these puzzles must be added the enigma of the Angevin motives. While Charles II was negotiating for Tamara's hand, he was receiving Byzantine ambassadors soliciting for Catherine of Courtenay.³ Was it that he favoured a high-level reconciliation with Andronikos, limiting his eastern aspirations to the acquisition of a feudal commonwealth in Greece, or did he simply want to keep the emperor in suspense until Philip of Taranto was sure of his dowry? This raises the further question of whether the union of Tamara and Michael IX was in truth prohibited, or whether Andronikos used this excuse because he was tempted by the greater prize of the heiress to the Latin empire.⁴

(1) Hopf, *Geschichte*, i, 355-6; Ferjančić, *Tesalija*, 129-31, who does not mention the role of Charles II of Naples in this affair.

(2) Pachymeres, ii, 202; Polemis, no. 53, pp. 97-8.

(3) Laiou, *Andronicus II*, 51-2.

(4) Ibid. 42.

All we can say for certain is that throughout the decade 1290-1300 Andronikos II Palaiologos and Charles II of Naples pursued the aims of their fathers, with less panache, but with about the same degree of success. The rulers of Epiros and Thessaly continued to seek their independent places in the balance of power, and if they lost some of their independence, it was mainly because of their failure to cooperate with each other. As before, the Latin sovereign showed himself a more equitable protector, and the Greek powers accordingly drew closer to him. In the next decade, Latin influence in Epiros and Thessaly reached its height, although it took such forms that in reaction local sympathy for Constantinople began to increase.

The fate of the Greek world after 1300 was decided in western Asia Minor, where the Byzantines were losing their last possessions to the Turks, among them the founder of the Ottoman dynasty. In a last desperate attempt to save the situation, Andronikos brought not only the Turkish but also the Latin peril dangerously close to Constantinople. The Peace of Caltabellotta in 1302 reconciled the various branches of the Capetian dynasty to the loss of Sicily, and allowed them once more to indulge in dreams of eastward expansion. The treaty also released from service a large army of Catalan mercenaries, who in 1303 decided to seek their fortune at the Byzantine court. The emperor pampered them highly and sent them off to fight the Turks. After a few minor successes in 1304, the Catalans turned to the more profitable business of robbing their employers. From this point they remained at war with Andronikos, terrorising Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly in turn, until finally, in 1311, they took over the Duchy of Athens.

Latin pretenders to the Byzantine throne did not miss the opportunity afforded by the presence of a large Latin army on Byzantine soil. While in Asia Minor and Thrace, the Catalans sought direction from their former employer,

Frederick III of Sicily, and his brother James II of Aragon, both of whom had vague eastern ambitions. But by the time the Company was ready to move on to Macedonia, at the end of 1307, it had found a more interested patron. This was Charles, Duke of Valois, who in 1301 had married Catherine of Courtenay. As a brother of the French king Philip IV, and as an arbiter of Italian affairs with the backing of Naples, Venice, and the Papacy, Charles was set to repeat the career of the first Angevin king of Naples. In fact, this second Capetian 'plot' to restore the Latin empire proved even more abortive than the first, largely because Charles of Valois relied ultimately not on his own military resources but on unreliable allies. His reputation must, however, have given encouragement to those French feudatories who lived on the borders of Latin Romania and stood most to profit from its expansion.^I

After the death of Nikephoros I in 1296, his widow Anna ruled Epiros in the name of their seven-year-old son, the despot Thomas. In 1304, Charles II of Naples demanded that either the kastra of Epiros be turned over to Angevin officials, or that Thomas do homage to the King of Naples for his lands, as had been agreed in the marriage-treaty of 1294. Anna protested that she could not disinherit her son of his rightful patrimony, nor could he do homage to any but his natural overlord the emperor, from whom he held his lands. This argument failed to impress the Angevins, who now made the first in a series of unsuccessful attempts to take Epiros by force. Anna was strictly in the wrong, but the incident perhaps reveals on the Angevin side a new attitude of impatience at the constitutional ambiguity of the 'Despotate'. Anna had no choice but to throw in her lot with Andronikos. Thomas was betrothed to Anna, a daughter of Michael IX, and the couple were married in 1313.²

(1) Byzantine relations with the west at this time are fully discussed by Laiou, Andronikos II, chapters 5-7.

(2) Pachymeres, ii, 450-1; Gregoras, i, 283; Fr. Chr. Mor., pp. 262-3, 381 ff; Laiou, Andronikos II, 257-8.

Thessaly was even more susceptible to Latin domination during these years. The sebastokrators Constantine and Theodore were both alive in 1300,¹ but the longest-lived died in 1302-3,² leaving one infant son, John. Fearful that the principality would fall prey to its many enemies, the sebastokrator willed that his subjects should deliver John to the care of his uncle, Guy II de la Roche, Duke of Athens.³ When their lord had died, 'tout li baron et li haut homme de la Blaquie si furent ensemble et orent leur conseil', and agreed to respect the terms of the will.⁴ They sent to Guy, who asked them to meet him at Neopatras the following week. He received them at his own castle of Zeitouni.

'Et la vindrent li hault et noble homme de la Blaquie, et lui firent la reverence que li Grec font a leur seignor, et puis lui jurerent de lui avoir pour seignor et gouverneur, jusques a tant que l'enfant de l'Angle, leur seignor naturel, fust en age parfait, par tel convent et condicion que li baron gardassent et maintenissent les chastiaux et forteresses en nom de l'enfant, et li dux eust toutes les rantes et les antrees pour gouverner et maintenir le pays.⁵

when he had received their homage, 'si leur jura aussi le dux de eux tenir et maintenir en leurs franchises et raisons'. The oaths having been sworn on both sides ('d'anbedeux pars'), Guy took the most noble of their company with him to Neopatras. Here he met his young ward, and gave instructions that he should be treated most honourably, 'comme il appartenoit a fil de roy'.⁶ He appointed a Greek called 'Vucomity' to be his marshal in Vlachia, with full responsibility⁷

(1) Pachymeres, ii, 284 l. 10.

(2) The chronological table appended to the Fr. Chr. Mor. gives 1302, a date favoured by Hopf, Geschichte, i, 360, and J. Longnon, L'empire Latin, 283. Laiou, Andronikos II, 230; Nicol, Last Centuries, and Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 134, all favour 1303.

(3) Fr. Chr. Mor., § 873, p. 345.

(4) Ibid. § 874, pp. 345-6.

(5) Ibid. § 877, p. 347. John's father had insisted that his subjects were to let no kastra out of their hands.

(6) Ibid. § 878, p. 347.

(7) On 'Vucomity' or boutometes, see infra, 221-2, 271.

for military matters, in association with one of his own men, John the Fleming. As his judicial representative, 'pour bail et son lieutenant sus tout le pays, pour maintenir justice de toute maniere de gent', he appointed Anthony the Fleming.^I

Not long after this, Guy had to deal with one of the enemies whom John's father had feared.² Anna induced the commander of Phanari to betray it into her hands. Guy felt that his own honour was at stake, and summoned his host. He also appealed for help to his cousin, Nicholas II of S. Omer, Marshal of the Morea. Nicholas raised eighty-nine horsemen, crossed the Gulf of Corinth to Vetrenitza near Galaxidi, and marched by way of Salona to Gravia in the Spercheios valley. He eventually joined Guy north of Domokos. The Duke was now leading not only the levies of Negropont and the Duchy, but also 'de la Blaquie et de Burguerie plus de VI m. hommes de cheval, moult bele gent et bien montee; et estoient desparti en XVIII bataille; et les guioyent XVIII barons, tout grand seignor, gentilz hommes grec de grant affaire; et bien XXX m. de pied'.³

Guy implored his cousin to take command of both armies. After some polite protest, Nicholas agreed. The combined host marched by way of Thalassinon, Trikala, and Stagoi, to Sarakina, whence, they were told, it was three days' march to Ioannina. Hearing of their approach, Anna of Epiros hurriedly sent messengers to Guy, offering to return Phanari and to pay the army's expenses if they would leave her in peace. Urged by the Thessalian nobles to accept these terms,

(1) Ibid. § 879, p. 348. It has often been said that Anthony was lord of Karditsa in Thessaly. The source for this information is, however, a dedicatory inscription in a church which he founded at Karditsa in Boeotia (1311). See W. Miller, Essays on the Latin Orient (Cambridge, 1921), 132-4 and plates.

(2) Fr. Chr. Mor., §§ 881-918, pp. 348-62.

(3) Ibid. § 898, pp. 354-5.

Guy thus recovered the kastron without a blow. All, however, agreed that it would be a shame for such a great host to disperse without doing something 'honourable'. It happened that Guy was at peace with the empire, the only other power whose lands they could conveniently overrun. But such was the pressure from their followers that he and his cousin had to find a pretext for war; they accordingly informed the imperial garrison at Servia that they were going to attack because 'la gent de l'empereur avaient forfait a ceaux de la Blaquie'^I, which may mean that Andronikos had been in league with Anna. The company crossed into Macedonia and rode far and wide, to Pelagonia and to Thessalonica.

At that time, the empress Eirene was resident in Thessalonica. The French Chronicle says that Andronikos had sent her here because she had baptised one of his illegitimate children, and the patriarch had insisted that since this made her its spiritual mother, she and Andronikos might no longer live together in the flesh. Hearing of the Duke's incursion, Eirene sent a deputation of two Lombard knights and two Greek archons to remonstrate with him, for the emperor 'avoit trieves et bonne pais avec le duc pour le pays de la Blaquie'; in any case, 'l'empereur avoit donné a l'empereys la cité de Salonique ou ses appartenances pour sa chevance'², and it was unworthy of Guy to make war on a woman. The Duke and his cousin agreed to leave Macedonia in peace. Returning to Thessaly, 'si prenoient congié li noble homme de la Blaquie'³. The men of Negropont took their leave at Zeitouni, as did most of those who had come from Argos, Nauplia, and Athens. Guy took those who remained to visit his young cousin John at Neopatras. After two days, he returned to the river Spercheios, where he had his quarters ('a la riviere de la Elade ou il avoit son heberge')⁴. Here he stayed to see to administrative affairs in Thessaly. He also entertained Nicholas

(1) Fr. Chr. Mor., § 910, p. 353.

(2) Ibid. § 913, pp. 359-60.

(3) Ibid. § 916, p. 361.

of S. Omer for a week, after which his cousin returned to the Peloponnese.

where the empress Eirene is concerned, the Chronicle can be compared with Byzantine sources.¹ These give a more complex picture of the circumstances that lay behind her departure for Thessalonica. She seems to have gone partly to spite her husband, and partly to pursue her own political ambitions. She was angry at Andronikos because he had married their eldest son, John, to a woman whom she considered beneath him - Eirene, daughter of Nikephoros Choumnos. She also resented the fact that he recognised only one heir, Michael IX, his son by his first marriage, and absolutely refused to invest her own sons with separate principalities on the pattern of the western appanages.²

Unwilling or unable to prevent his wife from going to Thessalonica, Andronikos made sure that she had as her chief minister a man of unquestioned loyalty to himself, Theodore Metochites. The versified memoirs in which Metochites recorded this phase of his career contain no more than an allusion to Eirene's ulterior motives. Pachymeres, who no doubt gave the official version of events, is even more discreet. But Gregoras, who wrote when the issue was less sensitive, and who had probably heard from Metochites, his mentor, the inside story of the conjugal politics, says that as soon as Eirene arrived in Thessalonica she began to conduct an independent foreign policy aimed at providing her two unmarried sons with appanages. Pachymeres mentions that Eirene was anxious to

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(1) Pachymeres, ii, 287-90; Gregoras, i, 233-44; M. Treu, Dichtungen des Cross-logotneten Theodoros Metochites (Programm des Victoriagymnasiums, Potsdam, 1895), I-37; I. Sevcenko, Etudes sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos (Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae, Subsidia III) (Brussels, 1962), Appendix 3, pp. 275-9.

(2) Eirene, baptised Yolanda, was Andronikos' second wife, and came from the noble house of Montferrat. Her ideas may thus have been influenced by her western origin and by the fact that her family had claimed Thessalonica since the 12th century. Gregoras obviously agreed with Andronikos' view that the appanage-system was not monarchy but polyarchy; however, it is interesting that in another passage (i, 238-9) he writes of the 'Grand Duchy of Athens and the Principate of the Peloponnese' as if certain titles had always carried jurisdiction over particular areas. See Laiou, Andronikos II, 45-8, 229 ff; J. Barker, 'The Problem of Appanages in Byzantium during the Palaiologan period', Byzantina, iii (1971), 105 ff; Lj. Maksimović, 'Geneza i karakter apanaža u Vizantiji', Zb. rad. Viz. Inst., xiv-xv (1973), 104-6.

see her daughter Simonis; Gregoras describes how she intrigued with Simonis' husband Milutin of Serbia.² Metochites says that one of her main objects was 'to settle the affairs of Thessaly, which was then without a master' (πραγμάτων ἕνεκ' ἐς τὰ πὶ Θεσσαλίαν βελτίστων | τῷ τότε ἀδέσποτον οὔσαν).³ Gregoras is more explicit. According to him she considered that Thessaly would make an ideal appanage for her second son Theodore. To this end she proposed to the Duke of Athens that Theodore should marry his half-sister; they would then attack Thessaly in concert and dispossess its infant ruler. Guy rejected the proposal, and Eirene had to turn to her country of origin in order to find Theodore a wife and an inheritance.⁴

All this evidence for the period of John II's minority suggests that his father had been fully justified in naming Guy II as the boy's regent. The re-censor of the Chronicle no doubt greatly simplifies the issues by describing them in terms of feudal etiquette, but an independent source, the Chronicle of Muntaner, confirms that the last de la Roche Duke was the very picture of French chivalry.⁵ As such he was bound to respect the 'use and custom' of the Thessalian aristocracy and the dynastic position of a prince to whom both he and his wife were related.⁶ He enjoyed the revenues from Vlachia, but this was by consent of the Thessalian nobles, who continued to hold the kastra. His main function as regent was to protect the principality of Neopatras against those who wished to take advantage of John's tender age, and it was indeed thanks to him that Anna and Eirene were frustrated in their designs.

(1) Pachymeres, ii, 379.

(2) Gregoras, i, 241-4.

(3) Treu, Dichtungen, A, ll. 725-6 (Ševčenko, op. cit. 275).

(4) Gregoras, i, 237, who wrongly refers to Guy's 'daughter'.

(5) Muntaner, chapter 244.

(6) He married Matilda, grand-daughter of Wm. of Villehardouin: Fr. Chr. Mor., 835 ff; Ar. Chr. Mor., 506 ff.

Yet while Guy lived up to his present responsibilities, he may not have been fully reconciled to the idea that he must, when his ward came of age, lose the revenues of Vlachia and the freedom to campaign beyond Olympos. The Duke was anxious to defend Thessaly against the Byzantines and Epirots, but would it have distressed him to see the province become part of Latin Romania? Three kastra which held the key to Thessaly - Gravia, Siderokastron, and Zeitouni - had belonged to his family since 1273; his great-uncle, in demanding these from John the Bastard, had evidently desired an avenue to the north. As long as the de la Roche and the Komneno-Doukai were equal partners threatened by Palaiologan irredentism, it did not matter where the border between them ran. But in the hands of a Duke of Athens who was also Protector of Thessaly, with nothing to fear from Andronikos II, the dotal territory of Helen of Neopatras held for her young nephew John II the same danger that the dowry of Tamara of Epiros held for the young despot Thomas.

Guy II was at this time the most powerful feudatory in Latin Greece. Inevitably, he became an important piece in the game being played by Charles of Valois. Charles' plans came to a head in 1307-8, when he made a strong diplomatic effort to capture the city of Thessalonica. He formed an alliance with Milutin of Serbia, and intrigued with various malcontents inside the city, which the Catalan Company, now based at Kassandreia in Chalkidike, was attempting meanwhile to take by siege.

The expense accounts which Charles' agent in Greece, Thibaut de Chepoy, later submitted to the French royal treasury show that there was much contact between the Catalans and the Duke of Athens. Guy, through his Marshal Bouto-

(1) I was not able to consult the source cited by Laiou, Andronikos II, 202 n. 6: H. Moranvillé, 'Les projets de Charles de Valois sur l'Empire de Constantinople', Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, li (1890), 78.

(2) 'Comptes de Chepoy' in Ch. du Fresne du Cange, Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les empereurs françois, new edn. by J.A.C. Buchon (Paris, 1826), ii, 355-6.

metes, supplied the Company with Thessalian grain, and a plan was afoot for the Catalan leader, Berengar de Rocafort, to marry Guy's half-sister Jeannette. It is hard to imagine what the Duke thought to gain by this union. Perhaps he hoped to forestall any hostilities in the event of the Catalans heading south from Macedonia, or he may have agreed to the match as a means of committing the Company more deeply to Charles of Valois. The sequel suggests that he intended to use the Catalans for his own ends. In the summer of 1308, Berengar did homage to him, and agreed to join Guy and two of the Duke's vassals, Boniface of Verona and Anthony the Fleming, in attacking the Venetian colony of Negropont.^I Yet the Venetians were essential to Charles' enterprise, and this alliance proved the undoing of Berengar, already unpopular with the Company. With the help of the Venetians and various Catalan malcontents, Thibaut de Chepoy had him kidnapped and delivered to a Neapolitan prison, where he died. Thibaut did not seek to renew his master's agreement with the Company, who in failing to take Thessalonica had disappointed Charles' most substantial hope of making progress in his crusade. His claims to Constantinople did not die, and in 1313 he passed them, with the hand of his daughter Catherine of Valois, to a worthy successor, Philip of Taranto. Yet the Latins did not find another opportunity to strike so deep into the heart of Byzantium. From the 1320s, in any case, western crusading strategists regained sight of their original objective,² the Muslim world.

In 1308, however, the Catalans were still at large, with a growing reputation for atrocities. The Byzantines had built a wall at Christoupolis (Kavalla)³ to prevent them from returning to Thrace. Resisted by the inhabitants of Thessa-

(1) Rubio y Lluch, *Diplomatari*, no. 43; G. Giomo, 'Lettere segrete del Collegio' (*Miscellanea di storia Veneta, Reale Deputazione di storia patria*, 3rd. series, I) (Venice, 1910), no. 37; Laiou, *Andronicus II*, 225, makes of Anthony the Fleming a 'Venetian bailo of Thessaly'.

(2) Laiou, *Andronicus II*, 316 ff.

(3) P. Lemerle, *Philippe et la Macédoine orientale* (Paris, 1945), 189-92.

lonica, harassed by the Byzantine general Chandrenos, and unable any longer to live off the Macedonian land, the Company was bound, sooner or later, to make^I for Thessaly. John II and his 'barons' cannot have felt cheered to know that Guy II had accepted the Catalan leader as a son-in-law. The Duke of Athens obviously did not want to see the mercenaries devastate a land which provided him with revenue, but this was perhaps a lesser evil than a war which could endanger his own ducal territory. He may have decided that it was worth sacrificing Thessaly for the sake of giving the Catalans the permanent home they² had always wanted - at least, he must have settled a dowry upon his half-sister. He may even have considered employing the Company to capture the Thessalian kas-
tra.³ His own death on 5 October 1308 put an end to whatever schemes he may have had. He left no children, and two claimants disputed the succession. It was probably not until 1309 that the dispute was resolved in favour of Walter of Brienne. Muntaner says that when Walter came to the Duchy 'the Despot of Arta⁴ defied him, and Angelo, lord of Vlachia, did likewise, and also the emperor'. Two versions of the Chronicle of the Morea imply that in this he did no more than take up where Guy II had left off.⁵

(1) Gregoras, i, 246-9; Laiou, Andronikos II, 225-6.

(2) Jeannette was his mother's daughter by Hugh of Brienne, and might thus be considered to have dynastic claims to Thessaly, as the empress Eirene had indicated by her earlier proposal (supra, 199). Jeannette eventually married Nicholas Sanudo, Duke of Naxos: Gr. Chr. Mor., l. 8030 ff; Fr. Chr. Mor., § 550.

(3) Miller, Latins in the Levant, 219-20.

(4) Muntaner, ii, 575.

(5) Ar. Chr. Mor., §§ 536, 546; Gr. Chr. Mor., ll. 7274-9, which says that Guy had hired them to conquer the Morea, which he claimed through his wife Matilda.

Whatever the truth of this, a coalition of the three Greek powers was a remarkable and unprecedented phenomenon. It was, of course, a natural response to the Catalan danger.^I But for the Epirots and for the Thessalians it was much more than this: it was a break with their traditional policy of partnership with their Latin neighbours. It was useless for them to expect Latin help against a Latin enemy which appeared to be an instrument for the revival of the Latin empire. Close contact with Philip of Taranto and Guy II de la Roche had taught the people of Epiros and Thessaly that French princes, given a free hand, had even less respect for their provincial institutions than did the Byzantine emperor. On his side, Andronikos II may at last have been convinced that he could not hope to restore the Byzantine empire of the past, and that it was worth accepting the separatist Greek states on their own terms. For the last ten years of their existence, the two branches of the Komneno-Doukas dynasty found their natural place as members of a commonwealth presided over by the house of Palaiologos, in much the same way that the house of Anjou presided over the princes of Latin Romania.

The marriages which sealed this arrangement differed from the dynastic unions of the past in that this time the Komneno-Doukas princes received brides directly descended from the emperor. As we have seen, Thomas of Epiros was betrothed to a daughter of Michael IX. For John II a match was arranged with Eirene, an illegitimate daughter of Andronikos. The date and circumstances of this marriage are hard to establish, for Gregoras gives conflicting information.² In one passage he says that it took place in 1315, and in another that John and Eirene were married already in 1309. That the match was arranged long before it was consummated is not unlikely in view of John's tender age and the Catalan

(1) Gregoras, i, 247.

(2) Ibid. 249, 278; Laiou, Andronicus II, 230 n. 127.

disruption of communications between Thessaly and the imperial cities. Gregoras says that John wanted Andronikos' support against any of his subjects who might wish to overthrow him, but if the betrothal was arranged before 1309, it surely had something to do with the Catalan menace. Most probably it occurred after the death of Guy II and before the arrival of Walter of Brienne. On the imperial side, the prime mover in the negotiations may have been the empress Eirene. As we have seen, the French Chronicle of the Morea says that she had adopted Andronikos' illegitimate baby. If this is true, she may well have taken the child with her to Thessalonica. The fact that John II's bride was the empress' namesake suggests that she was the infant in question.

At the end of 1308 the Catalan Company made camp at the mouth of the Pen-
eios. In the spring of 1309 they marched up the Vale of Tempe. They did not leave Thessaly for two years.

According to Gregoras, the Company spent the whole of 1309 in looting the rich countryside, ravaging everything that was not within walls. The government of the young and ailing John II felt powerless to oppose them, and offered them a large sum of money to leave, promising in addition to lend them guides to show them the way through the mountains into Boeotia. The Catalans had found Thessaly easy to plunder but impossible to conquer. 'The inhospitable mountains', they reflected, 'with which nature has fortified the country, give courage and security to those who hold them; the fortresses, built in high places, make siege-warfare quite impracticable' (αἱ τε δυσχωρίαι τῶν ὄρων, οἷς ἡ φύσις πολλαχόθεν τὴν χώραν ὠχύρωσεν, ἀσφάλειάν τε καὶ θάρσος τοῖς ἔχουσι δίδωσι· τὰ τε προύρια ἐφ' ὀρητῶν ἰδρυμένα τῶν τόπων ἀμήχανον ἡμῖν

(1) Supra, 98.

(2) Dated exactly to 22 February by a manuscript note: Sophr. Eustratiades and Arkadios Vatopedinos, Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of Vatopedi on Mount Athos (Harvard Theological Studies, XI) (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), no. 962, p. 170.

I
παρέξει τὴν πολιορκίαν). They accepted the offer. 'With the spring ... they crossed over the mountains that are beyond Thessaly; passing through Thermopylae, they camped in Locris by the Kephissos river' (ἅμα ἦρι... ὑπερβάλουσι τὰ μετὰ Θετταλίαν ὄρη· καὶ διαβάντες τὰς Θερμοπύλας στρατοπεδεύουσι περὶ τε Λοκρίδα καὶ ποταμὸν τὸν Κηφισσόν)².

The other Byzantine source to mention the Catalan invasion of Thessaly is Thomas Magister's eulogy of the general Chandrenos.³ According to this, the Catalans left Macedonia both in order to find supplies and to escape from Chandrenos, who had been harassing them constantly. In this second hope they were disappointed because the Thessalians, unable to fend for themselves, appealed to Chandrenos to help them. This he did, with such success 'that even today the Thessalians are singing of it; indeed, almost the whole of mankind is singing' (ὥστ' ᾄδουσι μὲν ἐς δεῦρο ταυτὶ Θετταλοί, ᾄδουσι δὲ σχεδὸν πάντες ἄνθρωποι). The Catalans hastened to make peace with the Thessalians, leaving Chandrenos free to retire from his Herculean labours. 'Now that the fighting, of which they had had the worst, was past, they removed themselves from the danger, and went on to win their most glorious and amazing victory against the neighbouring Italians' (σφαῖς τε αὐτοὺς ἐξείλοντο τοῦ κινδύνου, πεπαυμένης τῆς μάχης δι' ἣν κακῶς ἔπραττον, καὶ τὴν καλλίστην καὶ θαυμαστὴν ἐκείνην κατὰ τῶν προσχώρων Ἰταλῶν ἀνείλοντο νίκην).

(1) Gregoras, i, 250.

(2) Ibid. 251.

(3) J. Fr. Boissonade, Anecdota graeca, ii (Paris, 1830), 199-200.

I

The Catalan version is given by Muntaner, who had himself served with the Company and, on a previous occasion, had visited Thessaly.² According to him, the Catalans left Macedonia at the invitation of the new Duke of Athens, Walter of Brienne. Walter had grown up in Sicily under the Aragonese regime and could speak fluent Catalan. He sent messengers to the Company, offering to hire them at a generous rate. So they left their headquarters at Kassandreia and arrived in the 'Morea', 'after great trouble they suffered in passing through Vlachia, which is the most rugged country in the world'.³ The Duke gave them two months' pay; they made war on his enemies and routed them. Walter acquired more than thirty kastra and was able to make an advantageous peace with the emperor, Angelos, and the Despot.⁴ An evil thought now occurred to him. Choosing 200 Catalans for permanent service, he dismissed the rest. When they protested that he owed them four months' pay, he lost patience and threatened to destroy them. He raised a huge army and confronted them 'on a beautiful plain near Thebes'.⁵

It is easy to see that none of these accounts stands by itself; only taken together do they cover the whole two years that the Catalans spent in Thessaly.

(1) Muntaner, chapter 240.

(2) Ibid. chapter 235: ii, 562-3; supra, 88-93.

(3) Ibid. 575. By the 'Morea', Muntaner must mean the Duchy of Athens. Walter may have met the Catalans at Zeitouni, where a document attests to his presence on 6 June 1310: E. Lunzi (Lountzos), Della condizione politica delle isole Ionie (Venice, 1858), 124-5 n. 1; Miller, Latins in the Levant, 224 n.1; supra, 88 n.4.

(4) On 11 November 1310, pope Clement V ordered that the properties of the Order of Templars, recently suppressed, in the Duchy of Athens should be given to Walter 'ad defendendum fideles christianos illarum partium, qui frequenter a Graecis schismaticis de imperio Romanie graviter impugnantur, et ad impugnandum eosdem schismaticos tamquam sollers christiane fidei propugnator se totis viribus exposuerit et exponat': Regestum Clementis Papae V, ed. Benedictine Order, v (Rome, 1887, no. 5768, p. 235.

(5) Muntaner, ii, 576.

Muntaner appears to telescope the events of 1309. Gregoras and Thomas Magister ignore the whole question of the war between Walter and the Greek powers. All three sources are probably accurate within their limits. The Catalans would seem to have entered Thessaly in the first place both to escape from Chandrenos and to find food. Finding that the going was hard and that they were still worried by the Byzantine general, they made peace with the ruler of Thessaly and agreed to leave. They then entered the service of the Duke of Athens and returned as conquerors, but left again when they fell out with their employer.

Modern historians have been puzzled not so much by the purpose as by the geography of the Catalan movements in Thessaly. On 15 March 1311, Walter of Brienne, commanding the flower of the chivalry of Frankish Greece, attacked the Company. They annihilated him and his army and made themselves masters of the Athenian duchy. Most modern authorities follow Gregoras and Muntaner in stating that the battle took place near Lake Kopais in Boeotia, in the plain of the Kephissos. Only two, T. Neroutsos and N. Giannopoulos, have based themselves on the Chronicle of the Morea and decided for Almyros in Thessaly. The best analysis of the controversy is by G. Kolias. While agreeing with the majority that the Boeotian site is the most likely, he shows that the reference to Almyros is not irrelevant. The Greek version of the Chronicle, much fuller in this instance than the French, says not that the battle took place in Almyros, but that the Catalans were based there when the quarrel occurred.

(1) Gr. Chr. Mor., ll. 7270-7300, pp. 295-7; Fr. Chr. Mor., 500, p. 196; Ar. Chr. Mor., 548-51; T. Neroutsos, Χριστιανικά Ἀθῆναι, Delt. Ist. Ethn. Et., iv (1892), 127 ff; N. Giannopoulos, Οἱ δύο μεσαιωνικοὶ Ἀλμυροὶ καὶ ὁ νῦν, Ep. Parn., vii (1904), 75 ff.

(2) G. Kolias, Ἡ μεταξὺ Καταλανῶν καὶ Μεγάλου Δουκὸς τῶν Ἀθηνῶν μάχη, Ep. Et. Byz. Sp., xxvi (1956), 358-79.

(3) Ibid. 372-3; Gr. Chr. Mor., loc. cit.

One important relic of these events that came to light in the past century is Walter's will, made at Zeitouni on 10 March 1311, only five days before the battle.¹ Giannopoulos, the most voluminous if not the original protagonist of the Almyros theory, uses this evidence to make his most telling point. Zeitouni commanded both the main southward routes from Thessaly, and Walter must have taken up position there while he knew the Catalans to be north of Othrys; how then would it have been possible for them so to elude him as to be able to prepare for battle at the Boeotian Kephissos?² The objection is answered by Kolias, who suggests that the Company took difficult and little-used routes to the west of the main mountain passes.³ This might explain Gregoras' reference to guides.

Modern authorities repeat Muntaner's information that the Company captured more than thirty kastra, but do not question this figure or discuss what happened to these conquests after the battle. It is not unlikely that the Catalans captured several Thessalian strongholds, including Domokos.⁴ But the figure of 30 kastra seems, without qualification, excessive; it is unlikely that Muntaner used the word in the usual Byzantine of major fortified settlements. The sources do not say whether the Catalans delivered any of their conquests to Walter of Brienne. No doubt when they heard of his intention to cheat them of four months' pay they decided to keep what they held. In mobilising against him, however, they must have needed every man they had, and they can hardly have afforded to maintain garrisons in Thessaly. It is possible that they agreed with the ruler of Neopatras to restore their conquests in return for a subsidy and guides to lead them past Walter and his host at Zeitouni.

(1) I was unable to consult the edition of the original by D'Arbois de Jubainville, Voyage paléographique dans le département de l'Aube (Troyes/Paris, 1855), 332-40. See Hopf, Chroniques, xxix, 537-8; Miller, Latins in the Levant, 229 n. 3; Setton, The Catalan Domination of Athens, 10 n. 33.

(2) Giannopoulos, 'Phthiotis', 48 ff.

(3) Kolias, op. cit. 374-5.

(4) Gr. Chr. Mor., l. 7287.

The Catalan incursion of 1309-II produced few obvious changes in the political history of Thessaly. John II's rapprochement with the Greek powers had already been set in motion. The Catalans failed to make any permanent conquests, and after 1311 their main quarrel was with their Latin neighbours to the south. In the first years of their establishment in Athens, the Duchy was completely isolated, and thus represented less of a threat to Thessaly than it had under Guy II de la Roche and Walter of Brienne. John II was even able to take advantage of the situation: Muntaner comments that the first Vicar-General of the Catalan Duchy, En Berenguer Estanyol, did well to defend the frontiers against four great powers, of which 'Vlachia' was one.^I Yet the replacement, at Thebes, of a regime to which John was related by one with which he had no connection at all removed any remaining possibility that the Greek nobility of Thessaly might once more ride with the lords of Latin Romania. The Catalan episode must have had a long-term effect on the local economy. Over ten years later, Sanudo wrote that Thessaly might produce plenty of grain for the provisioning of a crusade 'if only it could be restored to its former condition, from which it was reduced by the Count of Brienne, while he had the lordship of the Catalan Company (si ad statum reduceretur pristinum, eo, quod ipsa consumpta fuit a comite Brenensi, dum societatis Catelanorum dominium obtinebat)²'. The Catalan devastation was probably a major factor in the decline of eastern Thessaly during the 14th century.³

(1) Muntaner, chapter 242 (ii, 582); Setton, Catalan Domination of Athens, 15, 27.

(2) Tafel/Thomas, i, 501.

(3) Supra, 121-3.

As John II grew to manhood, he must have come to assume full control of his government. Modern historians, following Gregoras, have tended to dismiss him as ineffectual.¹ This is perhaps unfair in view of the fact that his only proven defects were physical: his extreme youth, his failure to beget an heir, (for which he may not have been to blame), and the infirmity which carried him off at an early age. As Ferjančić has shown, it is unlikely that John II was given the title of sebastokrator.² However, all modern authorities have overlooked the fact that the verse epitaph which Manuel Philes wrote on the occasion of his death explicitly calls him a despot.³ It is unlikely that Philes was exaggerating, because he tells us that the epitaph was commissioned by John's widow Eirene, the emperor's illegitimate daughter, for a monument in Constantinople; it cannot, therefore have contained inaccurate statements about imperial policy. The same text praises John for his military prowess, his precocious maturity, and his political wisdom. Such compliments flowed easily from the pen of a court poet, but there may have been some truth in them. In a letter which John sent the Doge of Venice in May 1317, promising to make restitution of money that his subjects had taken from a Venetian citizen, and permitting all Venetians to trade freely within his dominions, he styled himself

(1) W. Miller, The Latins in the Levant, 246; Ostrogorsky, History, 496; Polemis, 98; Ferjančić, Tesalija, 136; Laiou, Andronicus II, 226.

(2) Ferjančić, 'Sevastokratori', 183; Tesalija, 137-8 and nn.

(3) A. Martini, Manuelis Philae carmina inedita (Naples, 1900), no. 87, pp. 123-5. The title simply calls John 'Angelos, son of the sebastokrator', but see lines 1-2, 36-7 (κἀν τοὺς πρὸ μικροῦ δεσποτικοὺς μαργάρους | εἰς δακρύων ἤμειψεν ὡς ὄναρ χύσιν), 39-40 (τοῦτον αἰτοῦ πρὸς Θεοῦ τὸν δεσπότην | ἄλλην ἄνω κάτωθεν εὐρεῖν ἀξίαν). In the Codex Iustinianus, XI, 2, pearls are among the precious objects reserved 'ad cultum et ornatum imperatorium'. In our period they were so essential a part of the despotic insignia, particularly on the skiadion or kalyptra which covered the head, that Philes tried hard to work pearly images into poems about despots: Pseudo-Kodinos, 141; Pachymeres, i, 321-2, 335, 337; E. Miller, Manuelis Philae carmina (Paris, 1855-7), i, 259; ii, 149; Martini, ed. cit., 64. Cf. Ferjančić, Despoti, 23.

'John Komnenos, Angelos, Doukas, lord of the territories of Athens and Neopatras, Duke of Great Vlachia and Kastoria' (Çane cominino, Anzolo, ducha et segnor de le terre da thenes at patras, educha de lagran blachia e dela castoria).^I

His claim to the Duchy of Athens was an inevitable consequence of the fact that he was at war with the Catalans, and was no doubt based on his affinity with the late ducal family. It is difficult to imagine the significance of his title to Kastoria - possibly the town had come to him in dowry from the emperor.

This is not the only evidence for links between Thessaly and Kastoria. It is also worth recalling that the late Roman Diocletianopolis had been part of² Thessaly.

Whatever his qualities, John could certainly not have reigned as long as he did, surviving five years of a foreign protectorate and two years of terrorisation by a mercenary army, if he had not had the unqualified support of his most powerful subjects. Their behaviour after his father's death shows that the Thessalian aristocracy had the greatest respect for the two principles on which every medieval polity depended: the principle of dynastic legitimacy, and the principle of corporate organisation. The case of Thessaly proves that in the Byzantine as in the Latin world, these principles could carry more weight than concepts of universal, 'Roman' sovereignty. Ultimately, what made the principality of Neopatras effective as a state was the capacity of the Thessalian nobles to organise themselves for war, and this was rooted in their own aristocratic values rather than in their ruler's family or personality. Yet as a focus for their loyalty, nothing could compare with the dynasty of Komnenos-Doukas. Few other families could claim such direct descent from the emperors of the 11th and 12th centuries, and none could claim a century-old tradition

(1) J. Valentini, Acta Albaniae Veneta, Part I, i (Palermo, 1967), 12-13.

(2) Supra, 15 n. 1.

of rule in northern Greece. That the principle of dynastic legitimacy was indispensable to the existence of the Thessalian state is evident from the chaos which followed when John II died in 1318.

The date of his death is given implicitly by Gregoras, who links it with that of Thomas, despot in Arta.^I It is confirmed by sources relating to the election of a Metropolitan of Larissa in the same year. Antonios says that the prelate in question, his predecessor Kyprianos, was elected shortly after the death of the last ruler of the 'Angelos' dynasty.² The terminus ante quem for the election is August 1318, the date of a patriarchal letter giving the new metropolitan permission to reside outside his see.³

(1) Gregoras, i, 318.

(2) Appendix II, xi, II ff.

(3) MM, i, 79-80; Ferjančić, Tesalijska, 138-9.

CHAPTER 5: Political Changes, 1318-1393.

The second decade of the 14th century was a turning-point in the history of the restored Byzantine empire. Problems which had vexed the Palaiologan dynasty from its beginnings now lost their importance. In 1309 the Arsenite schism was finally laid to rest, and with it the last reminder of the dynasty's 'original sin'. The Catalan experience demonstrated that the Latins could not achieve their main objectives in the Levant except by cooperation with the Byzantines. Although far from reconciled to the loss of Asia Minor, the Greek noble families had rooted themselves in Europe. The greatest intellectual of Andronikos II's court, Theodore Metochites, realised that he lived in the empire's old age. Men of a younger generation, represented by the emperor's grandson Andronikos III and the grand domesticate John Cantacuzene, wanted to do something to halt the decline, and in some respects they were to succeed. These men were also more ready to admit that the empire needed to adopt a style more suited to its status. Andronikos III lowered the tone of court ceremonial,² and later emperors openly flirted with Latin powers and Latin ways. Possibly the most significant step of all was taken by the old emperor, Andronikos II, who about 1316 dropped the names Komnenos, Doukas, and Angelos from his official signature,³ thereby expressing a new confidence in his dynastic security and, perhaps, recognition of the great gulf that separated him from the 12th-century past.

Unfortunately, the new generations of the 14th century could not shake off certain bad old habits. In his effort to put his talents to full use, John Cantacuzene involved the empire in three disastrous civil wars. The Byzantines' acceptance of a more limited horizon made them ultimately even more incapable of

(1) I. Ševčenko, 'The Decline of Byzantium as seen through the Eyes of its Intellectuals', D.O.P., xv (1961), 182.

(2) Gregoras, i, 566-8.

(3) F. Dölger, byz. Zeit., xxxiv (1934), 126 n.1; xxxv (1935), 258, 505; lxi (1958), 432.

I
seeing beyond their own internal dissensions. The third, fourth, and fifth decades of the century saw polite Byzantine society in the throes of a controversy about the value of Hesychasm, the form of solitary mysticism practised on Mt. Athos. The Palaiologan dynasty emerged supreme from its struggle with John Cantacuzene and his sons only to be torn apart by quarrels between the emperor John V and his sons. This internal discord allowed the empire's enemies, the Serbs, and then the Ottoman Turks, to advance virtually unopposed.

Both the strengths and weaknesses of 14th-century Byzantium had their effect on Epiros and Thessaly, and other, local factors helped to make the second decade of the century a turning-point in the history of these regions. About this time occurred the great southward expansion of the Albanian people, which in Thessaly severely disrupted public order, and in Epiros brought large areas under Albanian rule. Equally momentous was the extinction of the Komneno-Doukas line, when Thomas of Epiros and John II of Thessaly died childless in 1318. In Epiros the dynasty was in a sense perpetuated through the new ruling family of Orsini, which could claim descent, both recent and remote, from Komneno-Doukas daughters. In Thessaly, however, the death of the last prince of Neopatras created a vacuum which many candidates, both inside and outside the region, hastened to fill.

The 'Time of Troubles' and the hegemony of Stephen Gabrielopoulos in Trikkala (1318-1333).

Gregoras, narrating the death of Michael IX Palaiologos at Thessalonica (1319), says that the emperor had gone there a year earlier on account of events in Thessaly. Enlarging on this, he says that after John II's death, the lands

(I) Φθόνος, the envy which corrupts and destroys, is the main theme of the largely contemporary Belisarius romance: R. Cantarella, 'Διήγησις ὁμοιοτάτη τοῦ Βελισσαρίου', Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, iv (1935), 172.

and towns of the region were dispersed. Some went to the emperor together with his widowed daughter; some fell to local magnates, and others to the neighbouring Catalans. Many letters were sent to the Thessalians from the holy synod containing exhortations and 'horrendous sanctions' against those who did not wish to submit to the emperor and be one with the empire as in the past, but these letters were of no avail.^I

This dismemberment of the province seems to have been violent. When Kyprianos, Metropolitan of Larissa, returned to Thessaly after his consecration in 1318, he was unable to reside in his see because of battles being fought around Larissa.² In his Encomium, Antonios writes that 'upon the death of him who had the lordship, the province was divided among many masters, and upon this division there followed destruction, loss of lives, confiscations, exiles, threats, and deaths'.³

The state of Thessaly in 1325 is fully described by Sanudo in a letter to the Cardinal-Archbishop of Capua:⁴

'The news which I have of Romania from a trustworthy and well-informed man is the following: he says that the Duchy of Athens is exceedingly prosperous, and that the Catalans who rule there have acquired and hold in Vlachia Neopatras, and the castra of Loidoriki, Siderokastron, Zeitouni, Domokos, and Pharsala. And there a certain Greek who holds the castrum of Trikkala and Kastoria and many other lands. There is also another Greek called 'Signorinus' who holds the castle of 'Sannicolo de Custinni' on the river Solombria in the country of Achilles (5), and other castra and territories; these two Greeks side with the emperor. There is yet a third Greek, called 'Missilino', who holds the castra of Kastri and Lechonia, and it seems that he has contracted a marriage-alliance with the Catalans, by which he has given his sister to be the wife of the Catalan

(1) Gregoras, i, 277-9.

(2) MM, i, 79-80.

(3) Appendix II, xiii, 21-5.

(4) Tafel/Thomas, i, 495-201; Rubio y Lluch, Diplomatari, no. 229, pp. 159-61.

(5) The reference may, alternatively, be to S. Achilleios.

Marshal (I), and it seems that he has sworn loyalty to him - but not to the extent of putting himself in the other's power. The Venetians have a castrum by the sea, by name of Pteleon, which through goodwill and by his license the emperor gave them, because otherwise the Catalans would have obtained it. God sent this plague to the above-mentioned country of Vlachia, because it was already infected with a certain race, the Albanian people by name (2), to such an extent that this people virtually destroyed everything that was outside the castra, both the possessions of the Catalans and those held by the Greeks, and now they waste

and destroy to such an extent that outside the castra almost nothing remains standing. The Catalans and the Greeks were for a time united in trying to expel the Albanians, but to no avail. It is said that these Albanians wished to retire from the aforesaid country, Vlachia. On their way back they encountered many others of their race, who said to them, "Why do you retire hence? They replied, "Because we could not conquer any stronghold". The others rejoined, "Do not do this, because we and many of our wives and children are coming to your aid, so let us all return to Vlachia in company". And so all with one accord turned back. I believe that this Albanian invasion was useful to those who border with the aforesaid Catalans. For these, if they did not have their forces thus occupied, would wax exceeding fat at their neighbours' expense!

Little need be added to what Sanudo says about the Catalan conquests in southern Thessaly. The chronology of the occupation is a matter of conjecture. It is traditionally dated to 1319, but, as Ferjančić points out, the only certain ³terminus ante quem is Sanudo's letter. The evidence for wars in 1318 suggests a date soon after John II's death, as does the fact that in 1321 the grand domestic John Cantacuzene was ordered to lead the defence of Thessaly against the Catalans. ⁴Nothing came of the appointment, because the emperor knew Cantacuzene to be in league against him with the younger Andronikos, and denied him funds for the payment of the troops. Andronikos II made no further attempts to halt the Catalan advance; for the next seven years he and his grandson were ⁵intermittently involved in civil war. The Greeks eventually recovered Pharsala

(1) Odo de Novelles; see supra, 100 and n.7.

(2) On the Albanians in Thessaly, see infra, 320-2.

(3) Ferjančić, Tesalijska, 142.

(4) Cantacuzene, i, 85-7.

(5) On the civil wars, see U. Bosch, Kaiser Andronikos III Palaiologos (Amsterdam, 1965), 7-52; Laiou, Andronicus II, 284-99.

and Domokos, but all the towns of Phthiotis to the south of Othrys remained in Latin hands until the Turkish conquest. These possessions constituted the Duchy of Neopatras; this title, together with that of Athens, became permanently attached to the Aragonese crown. The Catalan feudatories did not develop further ties with the Greek rulers of Thessaly until late in the century, and their contribution to the evolution of the Greek-speaking society of the region seems, from the little evidence, to have been entirely negative. For this reason, our study of Thessaly after 1318 is not concerned with the Catalan Duchy^I of Neopatras.

The nature and extent of imperial intervention in Thessaly after 1318 is not clear. From Sanudo and Cantacuzene it is evident that the Palaiologoi did not maintain an effective military presence here after 1320, and Gregoras implies that Michael IX did not live long enough to carry out his plans. The synodal letters which he mentions were obviously prompted by the refusal of the more important Thessalians to submit to imperial authority. Ferjančić concludes that Andronikos II exercised no more than a nominal jurisdiction over a part of Thessaly.² Gregoras, however, makes an explicit distinction between those areas which fell to the emperor and those which fell to local magnates. It is possible that immediately after John II's death certain fortress-commanders anticipated military intervention by submitting to Andronikos. Yet such intervention became less likely after Michael IX's death and with the deepening of the rift between the emperor and his grandson. Sanudo probably said all that could be said for imperial jurisdiction in Thessaly in 1325 when he wrote that two local magnates 'sided with the emperor'.

(1) For this, see Ferjančić, Tesalijska, 141-52. The same information, though more scattered, is to be found in Setton, Catalan Domination of Athens.

(2) Ferjančić, Tesalijska, 169.

The fortunes of those areas which escaped Catalan dominion were evidently governed by the three magnates whom Sanudo mentions. The 'Missilino' who held Lechonia and Kastri was probably a member of the family of Maliasenos, possibly I John, the son of Nicholas and Anna the ktetors of Nea Petra. It is impossible to identify the 'Signorinus' who held Lykostomion and other territories. As for the third magnate, the fact that he held Trikkala leaves no doubt that he was the same as the sebastokrator Stephen Gabrielopoulos mentioned in various later sources.²

The next account of the political situation in Thessaly is by Cantacuzene³ and relates to events of the early 1330s. When 'the master of that part of Thessaly bordering upon Botiaia died, Stephen Gabrielopoulos the sebastokrator' (ὁ Θεσσαλίας δεσπότης τῆς ὁμόρου τῇ Βοτταίᾳ Γαβριηλόπουλος Στέφανος ὁ σεβαστοκράτωρ ἐτεθνήκει), the governor of Thessalonica, the eparch Michael Monomachos, saw the opportunity to bring Thessaly under imperial control. Collecting an army, he entered the province, 'this being disturbed because of the late ruler's death' (οὕσαν τεταραγμένην διὰ τὴν τοῦ δεσπότης τελευτήν). Monomachos took Golos, Kastri, and Lykostomion. Stagoi, Trikkala, Phanari, Damasis, and Elasson, 'which had come under Gabrielopoulos' (ἃ ὑπὸ Γαβριηλόπουλον ἐτέλουν), fell to John II Orsini of Epiros.

From this evidence, it is certain that by the time of his death, Stephen Gabrielopoulos had gained control of the region of Trikkala and the Titaresios

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- (1) Ferjančić, Tesalija, 168, apparently oblivious of his own previous work on this family, assumes that the person in question was a Melissenos.
- (2) Ibid. Modern authorities followed Hopf in calling him 'Stephen Gabrielopoulos Maliasenos' until corrected by R.-J. Loenertz, 'Athènes et Néopatras I', Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, xxv (1955), 184-5. For other contemporary occurrences of the name Gabrielopoulos, see Loenertz, Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance, i (Studi e Testi, CLXXXVI) (Rome, 1956), 166-7, 173; Actes d'Esphigménou, 102, 145-6. A 13th-c. [?] MS. note in codex 642 of the Lavra records that the book was commissioned by one Gabrielopoulos, oikeiotatos of the reigning emperor: Sophr. Eustratiades, Catalogue (Harvard Theological Studies, XII) (Cambridge, Mass., 1925), 97.
- (3) Cantacuzene, i, 473-4.

valley. The information that he ruled the part of Thessaly bordering upon Botiaia suggests that his direct jurisdiction did not extend beyond this area. Yet it is surely significant that no other Thessalian magnates are mentioned, and that Michael Monomachos did not occupy the three key fortresses of eastern Thessaly until after Gabrielopoulos' death. Gabrielopoulos probably exercised a nominal control over all those parts of Thessaly not occupied by the Catalans. I He may have done so by virtue of his title of sebastokrator, which he must have received from Andronikos II or from Andronikos III after the latter's elevation in 1325, in return for the nominal submission to the emperor which he had evidently made by the time of Sanudo's letter. That the submission was merely formal is clear from Cantacuzene, from Antonios of Larissa's Encomium on Kyprianos, and from certain retrospective documentary references to his period of² rule. He had no doubt already been important under the Komneno-Doukai of Neopatra; indeed, it is not impossible that his power was based on some kind of family relationship with John II, perhaps through the boy's mother.

Gabrielopoulos hunted boar and pastured his horses in the neighbourhood of Trikkala, which suggests that the town was his capital.³ Yet Sanudo also refers to him as lord of Kastoria. As we have seen, John II had claimed the town in 1317 - perhaps Gabrielopoulos had provided the substance of this claim. The only other reference to the history of Kastoria at this time is in Cantacuzene's account of the third civil war between the two Andronikoi.⁴ Describing

(1) Ferjančić, 'Sevastokratori', 183-4; Tesalijsa, 170-1.

(2) Cantacuzene, i, loc. cit.; Appendix II, xviii, II - xx, 3; Byzantis, ii, 66-7, 76 (Solovyev/nošin, 222); Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 172.

(3) Byzantis, ii, 66-7.

(4) Cantacuzene, i, 273-4.

the younger emperor's campaign to take the towns of western Macedonia early in 1328, Cantacuzene says that the epitropos of Kastoria at this time was his own kinsman John Angelos. Angelos was gambros of the protovestiarios Andronikos Palaiologos, a strong supporter of the old emperor, but his close friendship with Cantacuzene induced him to betray the place to Andronikos III. Was Angelos a local man? Had he ruled Kastoria for Stephen Gabrielopoulos, or had he displaced the sebastokrator's regime? At all events, it is interesting that he later became governor of Thessaly (1342).

To Gabrielopoulos' regime has been ascribed a form of praktikon issued to the monastery of Gradistion by the sebastos John Migiares, 'while doing the fiscal survey, by order of our most holy lord the blessed sebastokrator, in all his Vlachian territory' (ποιούντος οὖν ἐμοῦ τὴν ἀναθεώρησιν καὶ ἀποκατάστασιν ἐξ ὁρισμοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου τοῦ πανευτυχιστάτου σεβαστοκράτορος εἰς τὴν κατὰ τὴν Βλαχίαν ἅπασαν χώραν αὐτοῦ). The document is of August, indiction 11. Bees dated it to 1328 and identified the sebastokrator in question with Gabrielopoulos, on the grounds that Migiares is described elsewhere as one of the magnate's officials. Yet the text to which he refers, bears closer examination. This is the report of a synodal enquiry held by Antonios, Metropolitan of Larissa, in 1340, in order to regulate land disputes between the family of Bodeses and the monastery of Zavlantia over the latter's

(1) Nicol, Kantakouzenos, 147-8. Cantacuzene describes Angelos variously as his 'close relative', 'nephew', 'cousin', and even 'brother'. Most probably he was a cousin. The two men may have had a common ancestor in Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes, which makes it faintly possible that Angelos was the son of Andronikos Tarchaneiotes and John the Bastard's daughter.

(2) A son of the despot Demetrios-Michael Koutroules and Anna, daughter of Michael VIII: Polemis, no. 51; Papadopoulos, Genealogie, no. 50, who does not, however, note the relationship with John Angelos.

(3) Bees, 'Gradistion', 86-8.

(4) Ibid. 82 n. 2.

metochion of Kalogeriane. Antonios and his tribunal used two sets of evidence:-

a) Certain 'documents of privilege issued at the time when Boutomites had the kephalatikion of Vlachia ... by Constantine Kalophiles, assistant of the deceased Migiares at the time of the cadastral survey..' (διακαιώματα ἔγγραφα γεγονότα κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν καθ' ὃν ἐκράτει το κεφαλαττίκιον τῆς Βλαχίας ὁ Βουτομίτης ... παρὰ τοῦ συνακολουθήσαντος ἐκείνῳ τῷ Μίγ-
ιαρῇ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἀπογραφικῆς καταστάσεως, καὶ συνυπηρετοῦντος αὐτῷ καὶ συμπράττοντος, Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Καλοφίλη), because of disputes which the monks of Kalogeriane were then having with Alexios and John Albanites, owners of a neighbouring village. These documents showed that two villages established by the Bodesasoi were situated, quite illegally, within the metochion's bounds.^I

b) The testimony of certain men who had served on a commission appointed by Stephen Gabrielopoulos to fix the boundary between the estate of Kalogeriane and the topos 'of Hyaleas'. The commission had been set up by request of the monks of Zavlantia, who wished to refound the metochion after a long period of ruin, in which 'the church completely collapsed because of long desertion, and the documents defining the bounds of the estate disappeared' (ὥς καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καταπεσεῖν ἀπὸ πολυχρονίου ἐρημίας, ἠφανίσθησαν καὶ τὰ διορίζοντα τὸν τόπον ἔγγραφα τε καὶ τοπικὰ δικαιώματα)². Among the men who gave testimony were George Kourbouleas and Kalotas, 'as neighbours, who followed Migiares at the time of the apographe that he was conducting, on account of our holdings at Voxista' (τί μὲν καὶ ὥς πλησιασταὶ, τί δὲ καὶ ὥς παρακολουθοῦντες ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἀπογραφῆς τῷ ταύτην τότε ποιήσαντι Μίγιαρῇ, διὰ τὸν εἰς τὴν Βοξίσταν τόπον ἡμῶν)³.

(1) Byzantis, ii, 64-6.

(2) *Ibid.* 66.

(3) *Ibid.* 68.

It was finally established that the encroachments which the monks complained of suffering from the Bodeses family, the present owners of the topos 'of Hya-leas', were completely unjustified.

There is nothing in this evidence to indicate that the apographe of Migiares took place under Gabrielopoulos, but we are told that it took place while Boutomites was kephale of Vlachia. Modern historians have not tried to identify this Boutomites. But it seems probable that he is none other than the 'Vucomity' or 'Votemite' whom Guy II de la Roche had in 1303 appointed as his Marshal (sc. kephale)^I in Vlachia. It is, of course, quite possible that both Boutomites and Migiares continued to serve under John II and then under Stephen Gabrielopoulos. But why, in this case, does Antonios specify that Boutomites was kephale, rather than that Gabrielopoulos was ruler? The fact that Kalotas and Kourbouleas (who is described, at the time he served on the commission, as 'grandson' of the nomikos of the bishopric of Trikkala) had been present at the survey of Migiares and were still alive in 1340 to give testimony certainly argues against setting the two events far apart. But it is clear that the two men were appointed by Gabrielopoulos and then summoned by Antonios because they had information about the last cadastral survey which could not be consulted in documents -² these having disappeared when the metochion fell into ruin. This suggests a considerable lapse of time between the survey and the enquiry ordered by Gabrielopoulos. Besides, it is surely significant that the members of the Albanites family who sat on Antonios' tribunal of 1340 were not John and Alexios,³ but Alexios' three sons.

(1) Fr. Chr. Mor., § 879, p. 348; Du Cange, Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les empereurs français, ed. J. Buchon, ii, 355.

(2) Those which Antonios consulted in connection with the other part of the dispute had, presumably, been kept at Zavlantia, not in the metochion.

(3) Byzantis, ii, 64.

There is thus a case for dating the Gradistion document to a year close to the regency of Guy II de la Roche (1303-8), when Boutomites was the Duke's Marshal in Thessaly. 1313, the only possible year in the next indiction-cycle, will not do, because the then ruler of Thessaly, John II of Neopatras, did not have the title of sebastokrator. But if the date is brought back another fifteen years, to 1298, the document could well have been issued on behalf of one of the two sebastokrator sons of John the Bastard, Constantine and Theodore.

Gabrielopoulos did not make much of an impression on contemporary Constantinopolitans, and local ecclesiastical sources depict him as a tyrant. He nevertheless seems to have provided the military leadership against the Catalans and the Albanians which the empire could not supply, and without which the institutions of the principality of Neopatras might have been completely destroyed. He permitted local Greek society to re-group within the region of Trikkala, and tolerated even if he did not encourage the beginnings of developments which were to make 14th-century Trikkala one of the more flourishing religious centres of the Greek world.

The Rule of the Despot John II Orsini in Trikkala (1333-1336) and the Reunification of Thessaly with the Byzantine Empire under Andronikos III (1336-1341).

As we have seen, after Gabrielopoulos' death the eparch Michael Monomachos seized the fortresses of eastern Thessaly, while the regions of Trikkala and the Titaresios valley fell to John Orsini of Epiros.

Throughout the 13th century, the Orsini had been Counts Palatine of the island of Cephalonia. The first count, Maio, had married an aunt of Michael II. The fifth count, John I, married Maria, a daughter of the despot Nikephoros, and this affinity caused him to covet the mainland principality. His ambition

was inherited by his son Nicholas, who in 1318 murdered the young despot Thomas and married his widow Anna. Anna died in 1320; Nicholas survived her until 1323, when he was murdered and succeeded by his own brother John. John took to wife another Anna Palaiologina, the daughter of Andronikos Palaiologos, proto-vestiarios. Both brothers received the title of despot from Constantinople, and John at least embraced the Orthodox faith. Anna poisoned him in 1337 and ruled in the name of their young son, Nikephoros II.^I

According to Cantacuzene, Orsini gained control of the fortresses of north-western Thessaly 'by agreement' (ὁμολογίᾳ). Installing garrisons, he returned to 'Akarnania'. When the emperor heard this news, he decided to make a personal appearance in Thessaly. 'Arriving there shortly afterwards' (ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἐλθὼν), he took all the strongholds that Orsini had occupied; expelling the garrisons, he sent them home unharmed.²

(1) Gregoras, i, 536; I.A. Romanos, *Περὶ τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἡπείρου*, *Κερκυραϊκὰ Χρονικά*, viii (1959), 60-9; Hopf, *Chroniques*, Genealogical Table no. XI; Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, 248-50; Papadopoulos, *Genealogie*, no. 51; Ferjančić, *Despoti*, 74-6; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, 183 ff. The year 1335 is usually given as the date of John II Orsini's death, but Gregoras, who appears to be the only source, mentions it in the context of two eclipses, one solar and one lunar, which occurred within 16 days of each other in Feb.-March 1337. Lemerle, *Aydin*, 109 n. 2, argues that Gregoras mistook the year, because the sequence in his narrative brings us to the year 1336. However, if all Gregoras' chronological indications are followed from the death of Syrgiannes (August 1334), it will be seen that this is not the case:-

- i) 'The next year' (Sept. 1334 - Aug. 1335) 2 bishops came from Rome to discuss the union of the churches (i, 501).
- ii) 'The next year' (Sept. 1335 -) the Aegean was infested with Turkish pirates (i, 523).
- iii) The emperor spent the whole winter (1335-6) in fitting out a fleet, which was ready by the end of spring (i, 526).
- iv) In July-August (1336) the emperor set out against the Latins of Phokaia (i, 528).
- v) In the winter (1336-7) he returned to deal with a revolt in Constantinople (i, 531 ff.).
- vi) 'At the beginning of spring' (1337) Thrace was devastated by the 'Scyths'. This event was foretold by the near-coincidence of two eclipses (i, 535-6). That Gregoras was consciously writing of 1337, not 1336, is confirmed by the fact that he records the appearance of a comet in the same summer and another three years later. For the natural phenomena, see V. Grumel, *La chronologie* (Paris, 1958), 467, 474.

(2) Cantacuzene, i, 474, where Orsini is referred to as doux - obviously a name and not a title: see Polemis, p. 98, n. II.

This information suggests that John Orsini's occupation of north-western Thessaly did not last long after Gabrielopoulos' death. Ferjančić has argued, however, that he ruled Trikkala and its neighbourhood for a period of years, and that Andronikos III did not take over until after the despot had died.¹ In support of this argument, Ferjančić shows that John Orsini legislated in favour of Thessalian monasteries,² and that future rulers called upon to confirm long-standing local privileges made a point of referring to his period of rule,³ which would have been unnecessary if this had lasted only a matter of weeks. Further, there is no authentic chrysobull of Andronikos III for a Thessalian monastery datable to earlier than March 1336.

The dating of the 'Thessalian sequence' in Book II of Cantacuzene's history can only be hypothetical, given the lack of a proper critical edition of this text, and the lack of conclusive documentary evidence.⁴ There are, however, two sets of data which scholars have not yet used as a basis for argument, and to which we may draw attention.

The epitropos of Thessalonica who took the initiative after Gabrielopoulos' death was Michael Monomachos, not Syrgiannes Palaiologos, whom Andronikos III had in 1329 appointed commander of the forces in the west.⁵ From Gregoras we

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- (1) Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 193, 197-8. Ferjančić accepts the traditional date of 1335 for Orsini's death.
- (2) Bees, Lykousada, 484-6; Ostrogorsky, 'Chrysobull', passim.
- (3) Byzantis, ii, 67, 76 (Solovyev/Mošin, 222).
- (4) The re-editing proposed by R.-J. Loenertz, 'Ordre et désordre dans les mémoires de Jean Cantacuzène', Rev. Et. Byz., xxii (1964), 222-37, is of limited value since, like the Bonn text, it is based solely upon the Paris MS. of Cantacuzene. The same criticism applies to the speculations advanced, without reference to Loenertz, by F. Barišić, 'Mihailo Monomah, eparh i veliki kontostavl', Zb. Rad. Viz. Inst., xi (1968),
- (4) On the career and antecedents of Syrgiannes, see St. Binon, 'A propos d'un prostagma inédit d'Andronic III Paléologue', Byz. Zeit., xxxviii (1938), 133-55, 378-407. Before 1320, Syrgiannes had been kephale of an area on the borders of Macedonia and Albania (Gregoras, i, 298). He is probably the Iohannes pichernus referred to in Venetian documents of 1315-20: L. Thalloczy, C. Jireček, E. Sufflay, Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis illustrantia, i (Vienna, 1913), nos. 621, 625, 670. His jurisdiction seems also to have extended to Ioannina: MM, v, 79-80, 83.

learn that Syrgiannes had his headquarters in Thessalonica, where he ingratiated himself with the empress-mother Xene; together they attempted to gain a following among the citizens.^I It seems that both acted out of a common fear of John Cantacuzene, and that their anxieties were particularly acute during the pregnancy of the empress Anne of Savoy. Anne was delivered of John V on 18 June² 1332, which is an indication that Syrgiannes may still have held his command at this point. Indeed, his position was probably secure until Xene died about August 1333: nothing in the narrative accounts suggests that he left Macedonia before his indictment by Arsenios Tzamplakon.³ This indictment led to a trial in Constantinople, which was interrupted when Andronikos had to cross to Nicomedia to ward off an attack by Orchan; the short chronicle of 1352 dates this event to August 1333.⁴ This, then, would seem to be the date at which Monomachos took command of the forces in Thessalonica, and hence to be a terminus post quem for the eparch's Thessalian expedition. To accept this dating is, consequently, to place the death of Stephen Gabrielopoulos shortly after that of Xene and not that of Andronikos II (February 1332); as it stands, Cantacuzene's information

(1) Gregoras, i, 440-1, 488-9; Cantacuzene, i, 439 (does not implicate Xene).

(2) Gregoras, i, 482; R.-J. Loenertz, 'La chronique brève de 1352', Or. Chr. Per., xxx (1964), 62.

(3) On Arsenios Tzamplakon, megas papias, see G. Theodorides, Οἱ Τζαμπλάκωνες· συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν βυζαντινὴν μακεδονικὴν προσωπογραφίαν τοῦ ΙΔ' αἰῶνος, Mak., v (1961-3), 164 ff.

(4) Loenertz, 'La chronique brève', no. 27, pp. 52-4.

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is ambiguous. It is also to fix August 1334 as a terminus post quem for Andronikos III's expedition to Thessaly, for until the end of this month the emperor was fully occupied with matters in Constantinople, and with Syrgiannes' escape and defection to Stephen Dušan, the Serbian kral.² It may be objected that Monomachos, as epitropos of Thessalonica, might have been Syrgiannes' successor, not his successor as commander of the western forces, and that he could have gone to Thessaly while Syrgiannes was engaged on some other front. But Cantacuzene clearly describes Monomachos as acting on his own initiative. This suggests that he was not responsible to a local superior, and that he was in charge of military affairs in all the western provinces, not just in Thessalonica.³

Antonios of Larissa provides some chronological information in his Encomium on Kyprianos. Antonios writes that he succeeded Kyprianos shortly before a change for the better which his predecessor had prophesied.⁴ In another passage, he makes it clear that this change was the arrival of Andronikos.⁵ The date of his appointment can be deduced from his statement that fifteen years passed before the Serbian conquest forced him to go into exile.⁶ Stephen Dušan occupied Thessaly in 1348; Antonios must therefore have taken office in 1333. In this case, for the reasons stated in the last paragraph, the emperor's expedition is not likely to have taken place before August 1334.

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- (1) Cantacuzene, i, 473. On the ambiguity see F. Barišić, 'Mihailo Monomah', 218 n. 14; Loenertz, 'Ordre et désordre', 232 - 'l'expression "vers la même époque" est vague au point que nous ne savons même pas si Gabriélopoulos mourut avant ou après Xene'. What, then, does Cantacuzene mean by *περὶ μικρόν*?
- (2) See the short chronicle edited by R.-J. Loenertz, Démétrius Cydonès, correspondance, I, 174 n. 1. Syrgiannes escaped to the Genoese suburb of Galata, where he boarded a ship bound for Euboea. He made his way to Serbia with the help of the Albanians of Thessaly, with whom he had developed friendly ties while commander in the west (Cantacuzene, i, 450-1).
- (3) Cantacuzene describes Syrgiannes as ἑσπέρας στρατηγός and Monomachos as Θεσσαλονίκης ἐπιτροπεύων. Gregoras, i, 440, says that Syrgiannes had τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. In a prostagma of 1330, he is addressed as κεφαλὴ τῶν κατὰ δύσιν κάστρων καὶ χωρῶν: Actes d'Esphigménou, no. 18. On the governorship of Thessalonica, see Maksimović, Uprava, 54 ff.
- (4) Appendix II, xxvii, 17 - xxviii, 6.
- (5) Ibid. xxiii.
- (6) Ibid. xxviii, 10 ff.

In the light of the arguments given above, together with those of Ferjančić, Andronikos III's occupation of the Thessalian strongholds held by John Orsini must be placed between August 1334 and March 1336. The chrysobull to Zavlantia, issued on the latter date, begins by thanking the monks for having facilitated the emperor's capture of Trikkala, which suggests that this had been a recent occurrence.¹ Dölger and Jireček both came to this conclusion,² although the former connects the document with Andronikos' expedition to Albania and Epiros, which took him through Thessaly.³ However, from the short chronicle of 1352 and from the chronological indications of Gregoras, it appears that this second visit took place in 1338.⁴

Cantacuzene gives no details of the way in which Andronikos gained control of Thessaly, but since he does not mention any fighting, one may conclude that the process was peaceful. The province cannot, therefore, have been restored to the empire on terms very different from those according to which Andronikos in 1338 received the submission of Epiros.⁵ Here he refused to allow the members of the ruling dynasty - John Orsini's widow Anna and her son Nikephoros - any form of political power, and he appointed his own governors to all the towns. Otherwise he did nothing to upset the provincial status quo, and may, indeed, even be thought to have reinforced it: 'not only did he look after the town populaces with common benefactions, but he rewarded the powerful among them with honours and annual incomes and other prizes' (οὐ μόνον τοὺς τῶν πόλεων

(1) *Byzantis*, ii, 55-6.

(2) J.K. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben* (Gotha, 1911), i, 376; Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2819.

(3) Cantacuzene, i, 496.

(4) Loenertz, 'La chronique brève de 1352', no. 29, pp. 55-6; Gregoras, i, 544-5.

(5) Cantacuzene, i, 499 ff.

δῆμους κοιναῖς εὐεργεσίαις ἐθεράπευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δυναμένους
 παρ' αὐταῖς τιμαῖς τε καὶ προσόδοις ἐτησίοις καὶ ἄλλαις ἡμείψατο
 εὐεργεσίαις).^I The 'common benefactions' were no doubt chrysobulls of the
 kind which Andronikos II had issued to Ioannina.² Mentions of chrysobullatoi
 in Trikkala and Phanari, and of lands which the residents of Phanari held 'by
 imperial chrysobull and gramma of the eparch' (διὰ χρυσοβούλλου βασιλικοῦ
 καὶ γράμματος τοῦ ἐπάρχου)³ perhaps indicate that Andronikos III issued
 such charters for Thessalian towns. Examples of the dynamenoi who received
 pensions and court-titles can be seen in two members of the Spinges family,
 which had been prominent under Stephen Gabrielopoulos.⁴

Andronikos thus gained control of Epiros and Thessaly at the price of
 strengthening those very same interests which had supported the autonomy of
 local separatist regimes. The weakness of this arrangement was felt at the end
 of 1339 when many Epirot notables, who had submitted reluctantly to Andronikos,
 rose in open revolt.⁵ Winning several towns, including Arta, and throwing the
 imperial governor, Theodore Synadenos, into prison, they invited the young
 Nikephoros II to return from Taranto, whither he had escaped, to claim his
 rightful inheritance. Andronikos ordered John Angelos and Michael Monomachos,
 now kephale of Thessaly, to proceed to Epiros and contain the rebellion as best
 they could until he arrived in the spring (1340). The siege of the rebel
 strongholds dragged on all summer, and it was only as a result of long negot-
 iations that the defenders agreed to capitulate and to hand Nikephoros over to
 the emperor. They were probably influenced less by Cantacuzene's arguments

(1) Cantacuzene, i, 503.

(2) MM, v, 77-84.

(3) Ibid. 260-I; Byzantis, ii, 64; Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 2II-2.

(4) Infra, 276.

(5) Cantacuzene, i, 509 ff.

against the legitimacy of the Epirot dynasty than by his promise that Andronikos would add to the benefactions they had already received. The episode illustrates the superficiality of local attachment to Constantinople. It also typifies the process of conquest in northern Greece in the later Middle Ages: this was not achieved by mobile warfare, but by the systematic reduction of walled towns. The town leaders were reluctant to see their agricultural estates overrun, but the invaders were equally reluctant to incur the expense and discomfort of long sieges and thus, in return for a formal surrender, were prepared to leave the defenders better-off than they had been before. Almost a century earlier, Acropolites had written, 'Such are the inhabitants of the west, ever-ready to submit to all occupiers - this way they avoid slaughter and they preserve most of their properties' (τοιοῦτοι γὰρ εἰσὶν οἱ τῶν δυτικῶν οἰκήτορες, ῥαδίως πᾶσι τοῖς δυναστεύουσιν ὑποπίπτοντες - ἐντεῦθεν τοὺς ὀλέθρους ἀποφυγάνουσι καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν σφετέρων περιουσιῶν διασώζουσιν).

In spite of these handicaps, Andronikos did his best to restore the substance as well as the name of imperial power. The governor (περιέχουσα κεφαλή) whom he appointed to Thessaly, Michael Monomachos, was not a local magnate but his own subordinate, responsible not only for local order and defence but also, as his role in the Epiros campaign demonstrates, for mobilising the resources of the province for use elsewhere. Antonios says that the emperor took steps to refortify Larissa. This was part of a general policy of reconstruction; it may also have been an attempt to make Larissa the provincial capital, as it had been before 1204.

(1) Cantacuzene, i, 532, ll. 17-8. See also pp. 516-8, 525, 511 - where it is stated that Andronikos, on arriving in Epiros, immediately rewarded those towns which had remained loyal to him.

(2) Acropolites, 167.

(3) Byzantis, ii, 63; Aristarches, 'Documents', 34; Bogiatzides, i, 157; Ferjancić, Tesalijsa, 206-7.

(4) Appendix II, xvii, 3-7; supra, 74-5.

(5) Cantacuzene, i, 541-2.

Andronikos' policy can best be studied in his legislation to the local church. Antonios says that he restored this to its 'ancient liberty',^I which probably means that the emperor annulled many confiscations and impositions. His chrysobulls to Zavlantia and the bishopric of Stagoi are standard pieces of late Byzantine benevolence, confirming the churches in the tax-free possession of their estates. There is no longer any attempt to qualify these concessions with long proemia presenting them as acts of imperial grace. The chrysobull to Zavlantia begins by stating that it is issued because the abbot and monks have asked for it, and because they have shown themselves 'diligent, willing, and cooperative in making the kastron of Trikkala subject and obedient to my majesty' (ἐπιμελεῖς καὶ πρόθυμοι καὶ σύνεργοι εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι τὸ κάστρον τῶν Τρικκάλων εἰς τὴν ὑποταγὴν καὶ ὑποχειριότητα τῆς βασιλείας μου)². This expressed the familiar idea that the emperor legislated in favour only of those who were loyal to him, but it also carried the admission that he owed his power in the locality to the cooperation of established local interests, and implied that he granted the privilege out of obligation rather than choice. The formula is all the more striking when contrasted with that of the opening lines of John Orsini's chrysobull to Lycousada. Here, too, the author expresses gratitude for the surrender of a kastron (Phanari), yet he³ directs his thanks not to the monks but to the Virgin, the monastery's patron. This example of a Byzantine emperor who showed himself ready to outdo his predecessor in admitting to the element of contract that underlay his local power was not to be lost on later conquerors.

(1) Appendix II, xxiii.

(2) Byzantis, ii, 56.

(3) Bees, 'Lycousada', 485.

It is to be noted, however, that Andronikos did not add to the properties of Zavlantia or the bishopric of Stagoi, while he did provide lands in Trikkala^I and Phanari for Greek and Albanian laymen. This suggests that although he was careful to appear as the just, Christ-loving protector of local religious institutions, he reserved his positive benefactions for laymen, who were obliged to render some practical service in return for their holdings. In this context, we may consider Andronikos III's legislation for Lykousada. A copy of a chrysobull issued by him to the monastery is contained in the archives of the Great² Meteoron; unfortunately, the text of this is unpublished. The last digit of the date is illegible, so the document could belong to any year in the decade³ 1331-1341. This raises the problem of how the document relates chronologically to John Orsini's chrysobull for the same monastery, which is also undated. It is natural to assume, as does Ferjančić, that Andronikos issued the chrysobull along with those to Zavlantia and the bishopric of Stagoi, i.e. in 1336. But this ignores the point made by Ostrogorsky that the properties listed in Andronikos' chrysobull omit four which do appear in that of Orsini: certain holdings 'of Madarites', the village of Levache, and two donations from the author - the⁴ village of Lasda near Phanari, and a metochion of the Panagia near Arta. With the exception of the last-named, these possessions are included in Stephen⁵ Dušan's chrysobull of 1348. There is thus a good case for believing, with Ostrogorsky, that Andronikos' chrysobull predates that of Orsini.

(1) Byzantis, ii, 65, 76 (Solovyev/Mošin, 222); MM, v, 260; Ferjančić, Tesalija, 211-2.

(2) Dölger, Regesten, no. 2780.

(3) On this Dölger and Uspensky, 486, are agreed. Antonin, Iz Rumelij (S. Petersburg, 1886), 396, gives the date as 6840 (1331-2), but this is not very helpful because two other documents in Antonin's list (nos. 2 and 4, pp. 394-7) which have since been published are grossly misdated by him.

(4) Bees, 'Lykousada', 485-6; Ostrogorsky, 'Chrysobull', 210.

(5) Solovyev/Mošin, 152-61.

If this is so, our document must have been issued at a time when Andronikos was not full master of Thessaly. There is no objection to this hypothesis in itself: as we have seen, Andronikos II had issued a chrysobull to the same monastery at a time when, by his own admission, his authority in the province had been nominal. We must also take into account the fact that the supposed chrysobull of Andronikos III for Porta-Panagia is dated to September 1331². It would, however, be unwise to argue on the basis of this document, for the last few lines, which contain the date, contain several aberrations from the formal usage of the imperial chancery³. It seems, in any case, extremely surprising that some local religious institutions should have received chrysobulls from Andronikos only after his arrival and some only before⁴.

For this reason we have, in the absence of a proper palaeographical and diplomatic study of the sources, to entertain the possibility that Andronikos' chrysobull is indeed later in date than Orsini's. The discrepancy in the property-lists should then be interpreted as evidence that Andronikos revoked several donations to the monastery. Such evidence would add weight to suggestions that the emperor, if not a seculariser of monastic lands, was determined to stop and even to reverse the transfer of military holdings from lay to monastic ownership⁵.

(1) Supra, B3-5.

(2) Aristarches, 'Documents', 36-7. The text contains a reference to a chrysobull for Porta-Panagia from Andronikos II.

(3) E.g. the additional reckoning of the date from the Incarnation, and the description of Andronikos as αὐτοκράτωρ Γραμμορραίων: Ferjančić, Tesalija, 208.

(4) Unless they were given special attention because of their imperial status.

(5) Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, 152-4.

I

Andronikos III died on 14 June 1341, perhaps the first emperor since John III Vatatzes whose death was mourned by all classes of Byzantines. Without him there was nothing to bind the 'new men' of his administration, Alexios Apokaukos and the patriarch John XIV Kalekas (to whom he had entrusted the regency of his widow Anna and son John V) to the grand domestic John Cantacuzene, who felt that his intimacy with the emperor and his high social position gave him a prescriptive right to dominate the affairs of state. Cantacuzene refused to be outmanoeuvred by his opponents, and on 26 October 1341 had himself proclaimed emperor at Didymoteichon,² thus inaugurating the most disastrous civil war in a century of fratricidal strife.³ He entered Constantinople in triumph on 2 February 1347, but at a terrible price: most of Macedonia had fallen to the Serbs, the Turks had devastated Thrace, and a revolutionary regime ruled Thessalonica. In these conditions, the ties which bound Thessaly to Constantinople became looser and looser, until the work of Andronikos III became no more than a memory, albeit a bright one.

John VI Cantacuzene and John Angelos, 1342-1348.

Among those who declared against Cantacuzene after his proclamation as emperor was Michael Monomachos, governor of Thessaly. When Cantacuzene made an unsuccessful attempt to take Thessalonica in the spring of 1342, Monomachos joined the forces of the opposition in Macedonia, where he campaigned 'with his men' (⁴ἄμα τοῖς οἰκείοις). It is unlikely that these included many Thessalians.

(1) Loenertz, 'La chronique brève de 1352', no. 32, pp. 59-60.

(2) Ibid. no. 35, pp. 62-3.

(3) On the course of the war, see Nicol, Kantakouzenos, 44-63; Last Centuries, chapter 12. On the background and issues: G. Weiss, Joannes Kantakouzenos - Aristokrat, Staatsman, Kaiser und Mönch - in der Gesellschaftsentwicklung von Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert (Wiesbaden, 1969); P. Matschke, Fortschritt und Reaktion in Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert (Berlin, 1971).

(4) Cantacuzene, ii, 228, 236; Barišić, 'Mihailo Monomah', 227-9.

Cantacuzene already knew that he could count on Epiros and Thessaly as a last
^Irefuge. In the previous winter one Thessalian noble, Constantine Spinges, had
because of his attachment to the new emperor been deprived of his estates in
²Berrhoia. After Monomachos had gone, power in the region of Trikkala seems to
have passed briefly to one Michael Gabrielopoulos, perhaps a relative of the late
sebastokrator, who in June issued the residents of Phanari with a charter of pri-
³vileges. But towards the end of 1342, the people of Thessaly sent envoys to Can-
tacuzene, asking him to be their ruler, for from the first they had inclined to
him. Cantacuzene, who was by now reduced to the costly friendship of Stephen
Dušan, confessed himself unable to express his gratitude for this turn in his
fortunes. He explained that his present concerns had and would prevent him from
coming in person to visit the Thessalians, but he offered them a viceroy in the
person of his cousin, the pinkernes John Angelos, and promised that when he re-
turned to Didymoteichon he would see to their interests. With the returning
envoys he sent one of his own retinue, Manuel. 'The army and the aristoi of the
towns' (ἡ τε στρατιὰ καὶ τῶν πόλεων οἱ ἄριστοι) declared themselves
satisfied with his proposals, and assured Cantacuzene that they would gladly
⁴welcome John Angelos, or whomsoever the emperor chose to appoint.

The civil war of 1342-7 began as a power-struggle within the Byzantine es-
tablishment, but in many towns of Macedonia and Thrace, including Thessalonica
and Adrianople, discontented populaces took the opportunity to overthrow and
⁵dispossess their social superiors. These revolutionaries immediately identified

(1) Cantacuzene, ii, 239; Gregoras, ii, 596.

(2) Lemerle, 'Praktikon inédit', 285.

(3) MM, v, 260-I; Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 188.

(4) Cantacuzene, ii, 309 ff.

(5) G. Weiss, Johannes Kantakuzenos, 70-102.

with the regime in Constantinople. This, together with Cantacuzene's high noble pedigree and vast landed wealth, which contrasted sharply with the obscure origins and mercantile fortune of the opposition leader, Alexios Apokaukos, earned him a reputation as champion of the established order. Recent historians have assumed that the Thessalian aristocracy sided with Cantacuzene for this reason.¹ Yet while social conservatism was evidently a common bond, there is no indication that the Thessalian landowners had to fear revolution. According to Cantacuzene,² west of Thessalonica the demoi as well as the dynatoi of every town supported him. It may be that the westerners had never known any other patron at court - Nikephoros of Epiros had been betrothed to his daughter, not to a Palaiologan bride, and he had managed all the negotiations with the Epirot rebels in 1340. At all events, if the Thessalian magnates were capable of uniting to choose their sovereign, they were certainly capable of dealing with popular unrest. The way in which they approached Cantacuzene is highly reminiscent of the way in which an earlier generation had approached the Duke of Athens; a similarity which suggests that the corporate military organisation of the region had survived the political changes of the past forty years, and that Cantacuzene, like Guy II de la Roche, was thought of as one who would respect the feudal 'use and custom' on which this organisation was built. Already, in 1341, the Latins of the Morea had offered to have him as their overlord, if only he would visit them in person.³

Cantacuzene had neither the opportunity to come to Thessaly, nor the power to enforce the same sovereign claims as Andronikos III. The arrangements which he made for the government of the province were therefore somewhat different. Although the Thessalians showed willing to accept any governor sent by him,

(1) Nicol, Last Centuries, 203; Ferjančić, Tesalija, 215.

(2) Cantacuzene, ii, 297; cf. Weiss, Johannes Kantakuzenos, 85

(3) Cantacuzene, ii, 74 ff.

he took care to choose one who should be thoroughly suitable. John Angelos was closely related to Cantacuzene, he was a good soldier, and he had long experience of the western provinces: he had been kephale of Kastoria before 1328, and may have had the same command in 1339 when Andronikos III ordered him to join in suppressing the Epirot revolt.

Cantacuzene defined the terms of his cousin's appointment in a special ^Ichrysobull, which he quotes in full. This begins with a general justification of his policy and an affirmation of loyalty to the Palaiologan dynasty. There follow some words in praise of John Angelos. The third and last section enumerates the conditions which John had sworn to observe. These were as follows:-

- I. John Angelos was to be 'friend of [his majesty's] friend and enemy of his enemy' (φίλος τοῦ φίλου αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ αὐτῆς ἐχθρός²).
2. He was to have the governorship (κεφαλατίκιον) of Vlachia for life, and could not pass it to his child, unless the emperor were to ordain this 'as a new appointment' (ὥς ἐξ ἄλλης ἀρχῆς).
3. He was to owe servitude not only to Cantacuzene but also to John V, or to any other successor Cantacuzene might choose. John V with his mother Anne was to be 'proclaimed and commemorated in all the land of Vlachia'.
4. Whatever metropolitan sees, bishoprics, monasteries, and religious institutions existed there were to be subject as of old to the church of Constantinople, and were to keep such rights as pertained to them by privilege.
5. If the emperor should send his gambros Nikephoros Doukas or anyone else 'to the Despotate' (εἰς τὸ δεσποτάτον), Angelos was to be at peace with him 'and each was to keep to his own' (καὶ χωρῆται ἑκάτερος εἰς τὰ δίκαια αὐτοῦ). Any difference was to be submitted to the emperor's arbitration. The original frontiers of Vlachia and the 'Despotate' were to be preserved 'to avoid trouble' (διὰ τὸ ἀσκανδάλιστον).

(1) Cantacuzene, ii, 312-22.

(2) On this formula, see infra, 303.

6. If Angelos should capture any kastra within the confines of Vlachia, he was to administer these as part of his province. As for the other kastra 'beyond (Neo)Patras', Angelos was to be at peace or at war with the Catalans according to the emperor's own policy: the emperor would appoint a kephale to any conquests in this area.^I
7. If any of the archons of Vlachia should wish to seek positions at court and serve the emperor personally, Angelos was not to prevent them.
8. Angelos was to serve the emperor in all the western parts, wherever he should be needed, 'in person, with all the Greek and Albanian forces' (μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ φωσσοῦ 'Ρωμαϊκοῦ τε καὶ 'Αλβανιτικοῦ). East of Christoupolis (Kavalla),² he was to serve with as many forces as he could muster.

Cantacuzene says that he issued this chrysobull in order to show how he respected the legitimate rights of the Palaiologan dynasty. Yet in order to prove this to his readers, he need simply have quoted or paraphrased the prooemium, without including those sections whose contemporary legal terminology interrupts the literary flow of his Thucydidean narrative. He may, rather, have wished to draw particular attention to an appointment which, as Zakythinos and Maksimović³ have demonstrated, was quite a departure from Byzantine norms.

The chrysobull considers the interests of three parties: the emperors, the newly-appointed kephale, and the people and institutions of Thessaly.

Beyond allowing John V a nominal sovereignty, the imperial rights defined are those of John Cantacuzene. John Angelos is to remain strictly dependent on the emperor, to whom he is bound by solemn oath. He is to have the same foreign

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- (1) Serbian historians, following Solovyev, 'Arkhonty', I65, have taken John Angelos to be the subject of the clause on p. 322, ll. 6-7. But the subject is clearly the personal pronoun αὐτῇ which here, as at other points in the text, must refer to the only feminine nominative in the sentence: ἡ βασιλεία μου. In adopting this reading, I follow D. Zakythinos, 'Processus de féodalisation', L'Hellénisme Contemporain, 2nd series, ii (1948), fasc. 6, 499-515.
- (2) This seems to have been at the time the point of division between the eastern and western parts of the empire in Europe: Cantacuzene, i, II5; I. Sevcenko, 'The Imprisonment of Manuel Moschopoulos in the Year 1305 or 1306', Speculum, xxvii (1952), 156 n. 91.
- (3) Zakythinos, op. cit. 506-14; Maksimović, Uprava, 82.

policy, his competence is limited to Thessaly, and his office is not hereditary. Even if he makes any conquests from the Latins, the emperor reserves the right to arrange their administration. The local church is to depend on Constantinople, and Angelos is not to dispense imperial patronage. He owes full military service in the western provinces, and east of Kavalla he is obliged to appear, in person, if summoned. By imposing these conditions John Cantacuzene, true to the arguments he had put to the Epirot rebels in 1340, guarded against a resurgence of dynastic separatism in northern Greece.

It is clear, however, that John Angelos was to be more than an ordinary kephale. Such appointments were not normally for life, and they were never made by chrysobull.^I The terms did not seriously restrict Angelos' freedom of action. Although the emperor was to grant titles and benefices, Angelos seems to have had full control of the resources of the province, for he swore to no financial obligation.² As Zakythinos and Maksimović have recognised, the appointment was a significant step in the development of a Byzantine appanage system - the system,³ already well-established in France, whereby cadet branches of the royal family governed provinces as semi-independent, hereditary principalities. Thessaly was the first of a number of domains which Cantacuzene created for members of his family. One son, Manuel, ruled the Byzantine part of the Peloponnese until his death in 1380, after which the Palaiologoi adopted a similar system both here and in Thessalonica. Thus, in spite of his traditionalism, John Cantacuzene was responsible for introducing to Byzantium the very governmental pattern which Andronikos II had abhorred.⁴

(1) Zakythinos, 'Processus de féodalisation', 507.

(2) Ibid. 510.

(3) See, in addition, Lj. Maksimović, 'Geneza i karakter apanaža u Vizantiji', Zb. Rad. Viz. Inst., xiv-xv (1973), 125.

(4) Supra, 198, n. 2.

As Zakythinos points out, it is no accident that the experiment was first^I tried in Thessaly, a land where feudal traditions were strong. This reminds us that John Angelos was not the only beneficiary by the chrysobull of 1342. He swore to a number of conditions which served neither his nor the emperor's interests. He undertook to respect the privileges of the local church and to let the Thessalian lay aristocracy have its fill of imperial patronage. The last clause (8) shows that although the emperor could ask his cousin to serve on distant fronts, he could not ask the same of the Vlachian levies. There is in this an echo of Michael Gabrielopoulos' recent pledge to the archons of Phanari that they would not be liable for garrison duty.² Cantacuzene's chrysobull for John Angelos therefore implied a contract not only between emperor and kephale,³ but also between the kephale and the leading inhabitants of the province; as Ferjančić has observed, John Angelos' position was different from that of a western⁴ appanage holder because his subjects dealt directly with their sovereign.

In practice, as Cantacuzene must have foreseen, Angelos was very much his own master, and under him Thessaly regained something of its old independent⁵ strength. He profited from the degenerate state of the neighbouring Catalans to conquer many of their possessions: it was probably at this time that Pharsala and Domokos returned to Greek hands. He occupied the whole of Epiros, dispossessing Nikephoros II's mother Anna, who had escaped from forced retirement in Thessalonica to enjoy her old autonomy - according to Gregoras, only the bonds of kinship prevented him from putting her to death for her crimes. This was not

(1) Zakythinos, 'Processus de féodalisation', 514.

(2) MM, v, 260; Ferjančić, Tesalija, 185-6.

(3) Solovyev, 'Arkhonty', 165; Zakythinos, op. cit. 513.

(4) Ferjančić, Tesalija, 221.

(5) Gregoras, ii, 657-8.

quite in accordance with his pledge to respect the frontiers of the 'Despotate'. To increase his military potential, he secularised several peasants attached to the monastery of Zavlantia,^I which was strictly a violation of his agreement not to interfere with local religious institutions. Yet Cantacuzene could hardly complain of these measures, which greatly increased his own strength. Between the spring and winter of 1343 Cantacuzene was based on Berrhoia, and John Angelos with the Thessalian cavalry assisted him against the attacking forces of Alexios Apokaukos.² In a delegation to Apokaukos, Cantacuzene proudly announced, 'I think you will be familiar with the reputation of the Thessalian cavalry and its experience in battle, trained as it has been in many a long war' (ἀκούειν δὲ οἶμαι τὴν Θεσσαλικὴν ἵππον ἡλικίῃ, καὶ ὅσῃν ἔχει ἐμπειρίαν στρατοῦ ἐκεῖνος πρὸς πολέμια, καὶ ὅπως μακρῶν καὶ ποικίλων πολέμων εἴσιν ἀθληταί).³ Gregoras says that Apokaukos called off his offensive because he feared these cavalry, as well as the Turks whom Cantacuzene had summoned to his aid.⁴ When the enemy had retired, Cantacuzene rewarded the aristoi of Berrhoia and Thessaly for their loyalty 'and conferred such honours as were appropriate upon the rest

(1) The source is a chrysobull of Stephen Dušan, which says that 'the late sebastokrator John' confiscated the village of Zavlantia καὶ εἰς τάξι'ν στρατιωτῶν ἀπεκατέστησε τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρισκομένους παροίκους: Solovyev/Mošin, 164; the edn. by Bees, *Byzantis*, ii, 59, has εἰς τὰ τῶν. P. Charanis, 'The Monastic Properties and the State', *D.O.P.*, iv (1948), 112, and Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité*, 158, who implicitly identify the sebastokrator John with John Angelos, take this to mean that he turned the paroikoi into stratiotai. Ševčenko, 'Cabasilas', n. 132, pp. 158-9, suggests that the peasants were allotted to soldiers, though he does not use Bees' edition, which would support this view. Recently, Ferjančić has reaffirmed that the sebastokrator John was indeed John Angelos: 'Sevastokratori', 184-6; *Tesalijsa*, 223-4. Ševčenko's hesitation in accepting the identification was no doubt due to his belief that John had the name of Doukas.

(2) Cantacuzene, ii, 355; Gregoras, ii, 656-7.

(3) Gregoras, ii, 663.

(4) Ibid. 670.

of the army' (ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν προνοίας τῆς δεούσης ἀξιῶσα)
 To the command of Berrhoia he appointed his younger son Manuel, ordering him to
 work in cooperation with Angelos, and recommending to both 'a mild and unburden-
 some form of government' (τύπον τε ἐκθέμενος αὐτοῖς ἡμέρου καὶ ἀνεπαχθοῦς
^I
 ἀρχῆς). Both commanders with their troops accompanied Cantacuzene to Thessalo-
 nica, where he failed in a third attempt to take the city, despite support from
 Umur, Emir of Aydin. Yet Umur and his Turkish troops afforded Cantacuzene the
²
 protection he needed in order to return to Didymoteichon. The emperor had no
 further need of the Thessalians, who in any case, as we have seen, were not ob-
 liged to serve in Thrace. John Angelos led them home and Manuel Kantakouzenos
³
 returned with the contingents from Berrhoia. From this point Thessaly had no
 further part in the civil war.

Soon after Cantacuzene entered Constantinople in 1347 he awarded titles to
 his closest and most loyal relatives. It was probably at this point that John
 Angelos received the dignity of sebastokrator which is attributed to him in a
⁴
 document of the next year. But Cantacuzene's supporters in Thessaly did not
 enjoy his victory for long. By November 1348 John Angelos had died, probably
⁵
 of the Black Death, and the province had fallen to the Serbs.

(1) Cantacuzene, ii, 391.

(2) Lemerle, Aydin, 166 ff.

(3) Cantacuzene, ii, 394.

(4) Supra, 241 n. 1.

(5) Solovyev/Mošin, 158: ref. to a church built by 'the late Angelos' ἐν τῇ τοῦ
 θανατικοῦ θεηλάτου ὀργῇ; cf. Sevčenko, 'Cabasilas', loc. cit.; Nicol,
Meteora, 58.

I

Stephen Dušan and Gregory Preljub, 1348-1356.

The southward expansion of the kingdom of Serbia had a powerful if passing influence on the history of northern Greece in the 14th century. This expansion had begun with the capture of Skopje (1290-7).² It was temporarily halted by agreements which Andronikos II reached with the then ruler, Stephen Uroš II Milutin, but Milutin maintained his pressure on the Byzantine frontier, and his son Stephen Uroš III Dečanski (1321-31) made some minor acquisitions. Dečanski's son Stephen Uroš IV Dušan directed all his energies toward expansion. In 1334 Andronikos III ratified all Serbian acquisitions to date, including Prilep and Ochrid. Towards the end of Andronikos' reign, Dušan advanced deep into Albania. After 1341, both sides in the Byzantine civil war appealed to him for help. By backing first Cantacuzene and then, from 1343, Anne of Savoy, Dušan helped to prolong the conflict and provided himself with an excuse for taking one Byzantine city after another. In 1342-3 he occupied Melenikon, Albania, and all the towns in western Macedonia apart from Berrhoia. Thessalonica eluded him, but on 25 September 1345 he entered Serres, third city of the empire. It was perhaps this victory which prompted him to change his title. On Easter Sunday, 16 April 1346, at Skopje, he had himself crowned 'Emperor of the Serbs and Greeks'.³ From this point he sought to present himself to his conquered subjects not as a conqueror, but as their legitimate sovereign.

In 1347, Dušan bribed the citizens of Berrhoia to expel Manuel Kantakouzenos, who took refuge with John Angelos in Thessaly and soon afterwards left for Constantinople in a ship sent by his father.⁴ The way was now clear for Dušan to in-

(1) The most comprehensive treatment of this period and its background is in the as yet unpublished Harvard Ph.D. thesis of the late George Soulis.

(2) L. Mavromatis, 'La prise de Skopje par les Serbes: date et signification', Travaux et Mémoires, v (1973), 329-34.

(3) The earliest known use of this formula is in a chrysobull for Iviron, issued in January 1346: Solovyev/Mošin, 40 - βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Σερβίας καὶ Ῥωμανίας.

(4) Cantacuzene, iii, 31, 33; Gregoras, ii, 797.

vade Thessaly and Epiros. The exact circumstances of the conquest are not known. According to Cantacuzene, it occurred after Angelos' death, but the author seems to indicate that before this Dušan had devastated both provinces, reducing Epiros¹ to such a plight that the inhabitants were forced to sell themselves into slavery.

The terminus ante quem for both Angelos' death and the conquest of Thessaly² is November 1348, when Stephen Dušan issued two chrysobulls for local monasteries. One of these, for Lykousada, is a remarkable document. After listing all the monastery's possessions, the author states that he issues this 'sworn chrysobull' (ὀρκωμοτικὸς χρυσόβουλλος λόγος, pledging 'to God, to the Holy Gospel, to the worthy and life-giving Cross, to all that is holy, and to his own soul' (εἰς Θεόν, εἰς τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον, εἰς τὸν τίμιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν σταυρὸν καὶ εἰς πάντα τὰ ἅγια καὶ εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῆς) that Lykousada may keep these properties according to the terms of the chrysobulls from former emperors and other privileges which it has received, and may add to its estate as it sees fit. The monastery is exempted from all taxes, including the Serbian pozovica and preselica, and its yearly allowance of salt from the salt-pans at Lykostomion is raised from 250 to 300 modia.

In common with the chrysobulls which Dušan granted to the monasteries of Athos, this document shows his concern to appear as the legitimate successor of former legislators, even surpassing them in generosity. Yet some of its formulae are entirely without precedent in Byzantine and Serbian monastic acts. The 'sworn chrysobull' was a type of document normally used to seal reciprocal agreements,³ such as those of international diplomacy. The solemnity of the oaths, set out in full, shows that the formula was more than simply a terminological eccentricity.

(1) Cantacuzene, iii, 147.

(2) Solovyev/Mošin, nos. 20-I, pp. 152-67.

(3) Solovyev, 'Arkhonty', 167-8; Dölger/Karayannopoulos, Urkundenlehre, i, 100.

Why did Dušan so depart from his own practice and from the tradition he aspired to inherit? Evidently he was conforming to a usage that was peculiar to Thessaly. In title and in the enumeration of solemn oaths, his chrysobull is reminiscent of Michael Gabrielopoulos' ὀρκωμοτικὸν γράμμα to the archons of Phanari, a document which Dušan may well have seen in the Lykousada cartulary. Lykousada is among the possessions confirmed to the Phanariotes by Gabrielopoulos, which suggests that there was a close connection between the monastery and the kastron. We have seen that the monks may have had a hand in delivering Phanari to John Orsini, as the monks of Zavlantia had certainly helped Andronikos III, by the emperor's own admission, to gain control of Trikkala.² It is likely that Stephen Dušan was similarly obliged to Lykousada. His 'sworn chrysobull' may therefore be seen as the culmination of the process whereby successive occupiers of Thessaly, increasingly conscious of the competition in which they stood, sought to outdo all rivals in their promises to influential local monasteries, as well as in the degree of contract by which these promises were enacted.

Ferjančić sees the bilateral nature of these Thessalian documents as resulting from the insecurity of earlier local regimes, which had lacked a legitimate power-basis.³ I cannot agree with the main premises of this argument. We have no documents to illustrate the bonds between the Kommeno-Doukai and the local aristocracy, but we have seen that the evidence of the narrative sources suggests that the Thessalian magnates had felt loyalty towards a dynasty, not a constitution.⁴ If they were more feudal than their counterparts in Macedonia and Thrace, this may have been because their society was more militaristic. From their point of view it was not the Kommeno-Doukai but the regimes of post 1318 which repre-

(1) MM, v, 260-I; Solovyev, loc. cit. S. Michael and the Virgin are absent from Dušan's list.

(2) Supra, 231.

(3) Ferjančić, Tesalija, 233-4.

(4) Supra, 211-2.

sented the break with tradition and therefore had to provide guarantees of their good faith.

Dušan's chrysobull to the monastery of Zavlantia contains no unusual formulae, and is concerned solely with restoring the paroikoi whom John Angelos had conscripted. Yet Ferjančić is no doubt right in supposing that the Serbian ruler granted the monastery another charter, possibly a 'sworn chrysobull', confirming ^I all its possessions and privileges.

It is generally accepted that the Serbian conquest of Thessaly was peaceful.² Ferjančić has gone so far as to suggest that the local magnates were dissatisfied with the government of John Cantacuzene, and welcomed Dušan in the hope that he would renew their feudal contract on even more favourable terms.³ This assumes that our two chrysobulls were representative of Dušan's policy toward all the established interests of the area: bishops and laymen as well as monasteries. Such a policy would certainly have been consistent with his Zakonik, or law-code,⁴ and with his practice in eastern Macedonia. However, other sources for this period of the Serbokratia in Thessaly do not show Dušan's regime in a favourable light, at least where the secular clergy are concerned. Antonios, Metropolitan of Larissa, wrote that he was forced to go into exile in Thessalonica.⁵ He was clearly hostile to the Serbs, and his exile may well have been self-imposed or needlessly provoked. Yet it is perhaps significant that at the same time the bishopric of Stagoi belonged to a Serbian lay magnate, Hranislav.⁶

(1) Ferjančić, Tesalijska, 235.

(2) Solovyev, 'Arkhoty', 166; Nicol, Meteora, 58.

(3) Ferjančić, Tesalijska, 229, 234.

(4) M. Burr, 'The Code of Stephen Dušan', Slavonic and East European Review, xxviii (1949-50), articles 39, 40, 124, 126, pp. 205-6, 521, 534; A.V. Solovyev, 'Grečeskie arkhoty v serbskom carstvie XIV vjeka', Byzantinoslavica, ii (1930), 275-87.

(5) Appendix II, xxviii, 22-3.

(6) Byzantis, ii, 87; cf. Astruc, 230-I.

As in Berrhoia, the Serbs must have kept a large body of troops at Trikkala, who could have been maintained only by a re-allocation of local benefices, preferably at the expense of all who were capable or desirous of raising armed^I rebellion.

It is possible, of course, that the Tsar was not himself responsible for contradicting his own policy of conciliation. He could not supervise every corner of his vast, pan-Balkan empire. Most of the sources which refer to this period of the Serbokratia in Thessaly mention not him but the local governor² whom he appointed with the title of caesar some time before 1350. This was Gregory Preljub. Preljub, whose wife Eirene was a member of the Serbian royal family, ruled from Trikkala the greater part of Thessaly, including Servia but excluding Pteleon and the Spercheios valley. There is no evidence that his jurisdiction extended to Epiros; here Dušan appointed his own half-brother Symeon, giving him the title of despot. The Life of Athanasios records that Preljub brought the local Albanians to terms and boasted of it to the holy man. Athanasios replied by prophesying the caesar's death; soon afterwards Preljub died of a wound in the abdomen.³ He may have aroused such hostility in Athanasios not only for being a Serb and arrogant, but also on account of bad behaviour towards the local church.

The emperor John VI Cantacuzene was not reconciled to the loss of his western provinces. In 1350, having finally received the surrender of Thessalonica, he managed to recover Edessa and Berrhoia. In Thessaly, Lykostomion and Kastri⁴ went over to him, and he appointed to their command Nikephoros Sarantenos.

(1) Cantacuzene, iii, 120, 124, says that in 1350 there were 30 Serbian nobles and 1500 stratiotai in Berrhoia; cf. Chr. Ioan., 4, ll. 23-5.

(2) For the administration of Thessaly under Dušan, see G. Soulis, 'Η πρώτη περίοδος τῆς Σερβοκρατίας ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ', Ep. Et. Byz. Sp., xx (1951), 56-73.

(3) Byzantis, i, 258-9.

(4) Cantacuzene, iii, 135.

He failed, however, to capture Serbia, because Preljub did not desert the defence of this important town which held the key to Thessaly.¹ Shortly afterwards, Cantacuzene had a meeting with Dušan in which, he claims, the Tsar agreed to return Epiros, Thessaly, and his recent acquisitions in Macedonia.² Dušan's heart was evidently not in this agreement, because he soon allowed himself to be persuaded into recovering the towns which Cantacuzene had taken. He permitted his soldiers to sack Berrhoia, and turned the leading citizens out of their homes.³ This suggests that after the events of 1350, if not before, Dušan and his subordinates did not feel themselves bound to respect the Byzantine status quo in western Macedonia and Thessaly, areas noted for their loyalty to Cantacuzene.

Stephen Dušan died on 20 December 1355.⁴ The empire which he had formed quickly fell apart as various members of his family disputed his throne. The Serbian regimes in the occupied territories depended more than ever on their governors. Cantacuzene and the Chronicle of Ioannina say that Preljub did not long outlive his master,⁵ so we may assume that he died before the winter of 1355-6 was out. According to Antonios, the towns of Thessaly threw off the Serbian yoke one by one, Trikkala last of all.⁶ Once more, Thessaly was ready for a new ruler to present himself.

(1) Supra, 206-7.

(2) Cantacuzene, iii, 155-6.

(3) Ibid. 162.

(4) Chronicon breve Thessalonicense, ed. Loenertz, Démétrius Cydonès, I, 175.

(5) Cantacuzene, iii, 315; Chr. Ioan., § 3.

(6) Appendix II, xxix, 17 - xxx, 1.

I

Nikephoros II of Epiros, 1356-1359.

The Byzantine government was powerless to take advantage of Dušan's death. In 1354 the Ottoman Turks had established themselves in Gallipoli, and Cantacuzene had been forced to abdicate. John V, now sole emperor, was preoccupied with the Turkish peril and with trying to win Latin allies. But the change of rulers in Constantinople and the death of the Serbian Tsar held opportunities for the man with the best dynastic claim to Epiros and Thessaly: the despot Nikephoros II Doukas. Nikephoros owed his title and his governorship at Ainos to Cantacuzene, whose daughter he had married. He may have felt that his father-in-law's abdication removed any possibility of advancement at court and any obligation not to set foot in northern Greece. Hearing of Preljub's death, he fitted out a fleet and sailed to Thessaly, leaving his wife behind. And landing, he quickly had control of Thessaly. None resisted, for the Thessalians came over willingly, fleeing from the rule of the Triballians as if from a great storm to the peace and calm of Roman rule' (καὶ ἀποβάς, ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ εἶχε Θετταλίαν, τῶν ἀμυνομένων οὐδενῶν ὄντων, Θετταλῶν δὲ προθύμως προσχωρούντων, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ κλύδωνος μεγάλου τῆς Τριβαλῶν ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων καταφεύγοντες ἡμέραν καὶ γαλήνης μεστὴν ἡγεμονίαν).³

Meanwhile, one of his followers, Limpidarios, persuaded the soldiers and sailors in the fleet to return to Ainos and avoid the ardours of a long war fought for the benefit of others. On their return, they overthrew Nikephoros' supporters, although his wife defended herself valiantly in the citadel and had to be given a safe-conduct to Constantinople. John V gave her a warm welcome and allowed her to join her husband - this suggests that he approved of Nikephoros' venture.

(1) Cantacuzene, iii, 314-9; Gregoras, iii, 556-7; Chr. Ioan., §§ 3-4; Polemis, no. 57, pp. 99-100; Nicol, Kantakouzenos, no. 27, pp. 130-3.

(2) John VI had made Nikephoros despot in 1347, after his entry into Constantinople: Cantacuzene, iii, 33; Ferjančić, Despoti, 76-7.

(3) Cantacuzene, iii, 315.

By this time the despot had become master of Epiros. He welcomed his wife and for a time they lived together in harmony. Then some of his followers persuaded him to put aside Maria Kantakouzene and marry Helen, sister of Dušan's widow, arguing that this would prevent the Serbs from disputing his title to Epiros and Thessaly and allow him to concentrate on crushing his unruly Albanian subjects. Maria took refuge in the Peloponnese with her brother Manuel. It was said that Nikephoros had exchanged gold for bronze; the Albanians warned him that if he did not at once recall his wife they would openly make war on him. Maria agreed to return. Nikephoros, unwilling to let it appear that his power depended on her, prepared to crush the Albanians by force before she arrived, and hired for the purpose a band of Turkish pirates who had just appeared off the Thessalian coast. With these he prepared to do battle near the village of Acheloos, but was killed even before the armies had joined. The Chronicle of Ioannina says that Nikephoros ruled for three years and two months. This probably establishes I February-March 1359 as the date of his death.

The documentary evidence for Nikephoros' rule in Thessaly consists of one passing mention, in a later charter, to a monydron of S. Demetrios which he gave to Zavlantia.² Antonios of Larissa makes an interesting mention of his own role during this period. He writes that the people of Thessaly, unable to bear the lack of a spiritual leader, put pressure on Nikephoros to recall him from exile in Thessalonica. 'So favourable did he [Nikephoros] show himself in his disposition towards me that when they beseeched him to go on campaign and capture another province, he offered to leave me in charge of all his worldly affairs'.³

(1) R. Mihaljčić, 'Bitka kod Aheloja', Zbornik Filofskog Fakulteta, xi, part I (1970) (Spomenica Jorja Tadiča), 271-6; Ferjančić, Tesalijska, 240-I. The point is discussed independently by Soulis, in his unpublished thesis (pp. 128-31), who concludes in favour of the year 1358.

(2) Byzantis, ii, 74 (Solovyev/Mošin, 218-20); Ferjančić, Tesalijska, 239.

(3) Appendix II, xxxi.

Antonios does not say whether he accepted the offer; it is probable, however, that since Nikephoros had to suppress the Albanians of Epiros he needed a permanent exarch in Trikkala. In the next reign Antonios held the title of 'Judge-General of the Romans' (καθολικὸς κριτῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων), which^I shows that he was not reluctant to take on civil responsibilities.

The fact that Nikephoros accomplished what he did in spite of being deserted by the force that he had brought with him from Thrace shows that he was strongly supported in Thessaly; partly, as Cantacuzene says, in reaction to the Serbs, and perhaps partly as a member of the old ruling dynasty. There can be little doubt that he left the privileges of the local church and aristocracy as good as if not better than he found them.

Symeon Uroš Palaiologos, 1359-1371.

By August 1359 Trikkala had fallen to Symeon Uroš, who was Stephen Dušan's half-brother, son of Stephen Dečanski by Maria, daughter of the caesar John Palaiologos.² The main source for Symeon's career is the Chronicle of Ioanni-na.³ As we have seen, Dušan had put him in charge of Epiros and given him the title of despot. When Nikephoros arrived to claim his inheritance in 1356, Symeon was expelled to Kastoria. Yet their relations cannot have been too unfriendly, for Symeon had married Nikephoros' sister Thomaïs.⁴ Nikephoros probably favoured his brother-in-law's claim to the Serbian throne. Symeon attracted⁵ a large following of Albanians and Greeks, who proclaimed him emperor at Kastoria.

(1) Lemerle, 'Juge-général', 311; idem, 'Documents et problèmes nouveaux concernant les Juges-généraux', Delt. Chr. Arch. Et., 4th ser., iv (1964) (Mélanges G. Sotiriou), 29-44.

(2) Papadopoulos, Genealogie, nos. 38-40.

(3) Chr. Ioan., §§ 2-9.

(4) Ibid. § 2.

(5) Ibid. § 4.

At the head of an army 4000-5000 strong he set off to dispute the throne with Dušan's son, Stephen Uroš V. While he was at the borders of Serbia, however,^I he heard of Nikephoros' death, which caused him to abandon his enterprise; gaining control of Thessaly, he made his capital at Trikkala. Summoning his wife Thomaïs from Kastoria, he left her in charge of his court and his two children, a boy and a girl, while he went to lay claim to Epiros.² The Epirots gladly welcomed him as emperor, and handed over Arta, Ioannina, and other strongholds.³ The 'Christ-loving' emperor Symeon rewarded the local magnates handsomely, and hurried back to Thessaly to deal with an invasion by Radoslav Hlapen.

Hlapen was a Serbian 'satrap' who had gained control of several Byzantine strongholds, including Berrhoia. He later married Gregory Preljub's widow Eirene, whom Nikephoros II, on taking power in Trikkala, had sent to Serbia along with her young son Thomas. Having by Serbian law a claim to Thessaly through his marriage, Hlapen marched against the province, bringing his stepson Thomas Preljubović.⁴ He took Damasis by siege, but soon afterwards came to terms with Symeon and relinquished it. By the same agreement, Thomas Preljubović entered Trikkala and was betrothed to Symeon's daughter Maria in a ceremony performed by the Metropolitan of Larissa. He returned with Hlapen to Macedonia, where his bride⁵ joined him when she became of marriageable age.

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- (1) R. Mihaljčić, 'Bitka kod Aheloja', 274-5, following the 17th-century history of Orbini, says that Symeon was thwarted by his failure to take Skodra in Albania; he dates the siege to the summer of 1358, and concludes that from 1358 to 1359 Symeon ruled an 'empire' limited to Kastoria and the surrounding territory. See Dom Mauro Orbini, *Rauseo, Il regno degli Slavi, hoggi corrottamente detti Schiavoni, Historia* (Pesaro, 1601), 270; Serbian translation and commentary by F. Barišić, R. Samarčić, S. Cirković, *Kraljevstvo Slovena* (Belgrade, 1968), 45, 311.
- (2) *Chr. Ioan.*, § 5; *supra*, 39.
- (3) E.g. his chrysobull of January 1361 for John Tzaphas Orsini Doukas, lord of Arta: *MM*, iii, 126-9; Solovyev/Mošin, no. 32, pp. 230-9.
- (4) *Chr. Ioan.*, §§ 6-7; Nicol, *Meteora*, 62.
- (5) *Chr. Ioan.*, § 7. S. Cirac Estopanan, *Bizancio y Espana* (Barcelona, 1943), i, 123-5, rightly points out that some rearrangement and amplification of the *Chronicle* is necessary here.

'The emperor Symeon, caring only for Vlachia, left the whole of Aitolia in the hands of the Albanians' (ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Συμεὼν μόνῃς φροντίζων τῆς Βλαχίας, τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ἅπασαν τοῖς Ἀλβανίταις παραχωρεῖ)!¹ Only the city of Ioannina did not submit to them, and here many of the noble inhabitants of Vagenetia took refuge. The people of Ioannina sent to Symeon and asked him for a leader. He recommended Thomas Preljubović. Thomas, who was living at Vodenā (Edessa), gladly accepted the invitation. In 1367 he with his wife,² 'the righteous Angelina Palaiologina' took up residence in Ioannina. From this point the Chronicle tells what the citizens suffered from him and from the Albanians.

The Chronicle in its preoccupation with Ioannina does not tell us much that we should like to know about Thessaly. However, the outline which it gives is confirmed, clarified, and only occasionally corrected by other sources. The Chronicle says that Symeon abandoned his claims to the Serbian empire as a whole as soon as he learned that he could inherit Nikephoros' principality. The Serbs, in fact, did not take these claims at all seriously. Symeon may not have been so devoid of military or political talent as Jireček assumed,³ but the fact that his mother and wife were Greek certainly counted against him. Hlapen's invasion may have reflected the antagonism of the Serbian element in northern Greece. It was the Greeks and Albanians who formed Symeon's army and proclaimed him emperor; his empire consisted of towns dominated by old-established Greek families and mountains ruled by Albanian tribes. Dušan had sought to make himself Byzantine emperor with Serbian resources. Symeon, by contrast, relied on the Byzantine element in Dušan's empire to strengthen his hand among the Serbs. His title

(1) Chr. Ioan., § 8, p. 79.

(2) Ibid. § 9.

(3) C.J. Jireček, Geschichte der Serben, i, 414-5.

reflected this change in emphasis: 'Emperor of the Greeks and Serbs' (πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ῥωμαίων καὶ Σέρβων [Σερβίας]), to which in 1366 he added 'and of every Albanian' (καὶ παντὸς Ἀλβανοῦ). He used the name Palaiologos and gave his children those of Doukas and Angelos. The Chronicle and the documents of Zavlantia and the Meteora show that Symeon was highly regarded by his Greek subjects.

The two children of Symeon mentioned in the Chronicle are well-known. The boy was his son and successor John, who appears from an inscription in the metropolitan church of Kastoria to have been associated with the throne as early as 1359-60. The girl, Maria, is frequently mentioned in the Chronicle, because after 1367 she was married to both the despots who ruled in Ioannina: Thomas Preljubović, and, after his death in December 1384, Esau Buondelmonti. Symeon seems also to have had a second son, Stephen.

It is difficult to determine the exact extent of Symeon's empire, but the evidence suggests that the greater part of Thessaly, the greater part of Epiros and a portion of western Macedonia acknowledged his sovereignty: roughly the area which had constituted the old 'Despotate' of Michael II Komneno-Doukas.

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- (1) Byzantis, i, 569-73 (Subotić, 145-7); Byzantis, ii, 80 (Solovyev/Mošin, 228); Ferjancić, Tesalijska, 244-5.
- (2) Byzantis, ii, 84 (Solovyev/Mošin, 256).
- (3) A.K. Orlandos, Tὰ Βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Καστοριάς, Arch. Byz. Mn. Ell., iv (1938), 97-9; Lascaris, 'Byzantinoserbica', 283-4.
- (4) See however Jerome Zurita, Anales de la corona de Aragon, ii (Saragossa, 1668), fols. 386-7, who says that Symeon's Greek and Latin subjects were 'muy descontentos' with his rule. The relevant passage of Zurita is reproduced and commented by R.-J. Loenertz, 'Une page de Jérôme Zurita relative aux duchés catalans de Grèce', Rev. Et. Byz., xiv (1956), 158-68; Lascaris, 'Byzantinoserbica', 317.
- (5) Cf. n. 3.
- (6) His existence is attested by several sources; the evidence is fully presented and commented by Lascaris, 'Byzantinoserbica', 310-9.

Symeon was threatened by no major enemies and was constitutionally autonomous. Yet he wielded much less real power than Michael had done. Experience taught him that he could not rule both Epiros and Thessaly effectively, so he confined himself to Thessaly. This is an eloquent comment on the changes that had taken place in northern Greece over the past century. Epiros, once the bastion of western Greek independence, had become little more than an extension of Albania. Arta, its southern capital, went the way of Neopatras after remoteness from Macedonia ceased to be an advantage. Byzantine civilisation in the lands of the old 'Despotate' was now preserved within the walls of Trikkala, Ioannina, and Kastoria. A comparative study of these three cities might be instructive, for all had important features in common. All lay relatively far from the sea, on the edge of the Pindos. All claimed the archangel Michael as their patron. Although Kastoria had been a flourishing commercial centre in the middle Byzantine period, all three towns reached their zenith in the 14th century. It is possible that their rise was connected with the growing influence of the Albanians who dominated the mountainous triangle between them and who, as we have seen, were an important constituent of Symeon's subject population. That Symeon chose to rule from Trikkala is not altogether surprising. It was not immediately susceptible to the worst Albanian excesses, as was Ioannina, or to the dangers of a Serbian invasion, as was Kastoria. Above all, it commanded some of the richest agricultural land west of the Strymon valley.

Symeon's chrysobulls for Zavlantia are very much in the Thessalian tradition. The earlier, of August 1359, begins by acknowledging that the monks 'pressed and laboured with all their strength for my natural inheritance, Trikkala, to become subject to my majesty' (ἔσπευσαν καὶ ἐνηργήσαντο κατὰ πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν καὶ δύναμιν αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι τὴν φυσικὴν μου κληρονομίαν, τὰ Τρίκκαλα, εἰς τὴν δουλοσύνην καὶ ὑποταγὴν τῆς βασιλείας μου).^I

(I) *Byzantis*, ii, 73 (Solovyev/Mošin, 218).

Symeon made some donations and, as Dušan had done for Lykousada, increased the monastery's yearly supply of salt. In the chrysobull of 1366, the prooemium states that the emperor, on taking possession of Vlachia, had found the monasteries and churches ruined on account of recent disorders, but well disposed to accept his rule. Zavlantia was particularly zealous in his cause. The monks showed 'every sign of servitude, loyalty, submission, and pure love to my majesty, from whom they were to have received great security and assistance, but business intervened and the monastery received no worthy recompense' (πάσαν δουλοσύνην, πίστιν καὶ ὑποταγήν καὶ καθαρὰν ἀγάπην εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν μου, καὶ ἔμελλον, ἵνα ἀπολαύωσι μεγάλης ἀναδοχῆς καὶ βοηθείας παρ' αὐτῆς, ὁ καιρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐνεπόδισαν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐγένετο ἀμοιβὴ ἀξία πρὸς τὴν μονήν^I). For this reason they were permitted to build a tower (πύργον) for their defence. Symeon pledges that neither he nor his children nor any successor will lay hands on this tower, for he 'is-greatly obliged' (πολλὰ χρεωστεῖ καὶ ὀφείλει²) to the monastery. This chrysobull is a δι' ὀρκωμοτικοῦ χρυσό-βουλλος λόγος². The formula of the oath is nearly identical to that of Stephen Dušan for Lykousada, but resembles that of Michael Gabrielopoulos in that S. Michael is named among the holy persons. The inclusion of this warrior archangel³ may, as Solovyev suggests, give these oaths a military character, but it must have been due primarily to the consideration that S. Michael was the patron saint of Trikkala⁴.

(1) *Byzantis*, ii, 81 (Solovyev/Mošin, 252).

(2) *Ibid.* 84 (256).

(3) Solovyev, 'Arkhonty', 167-8.

(4) Appendix II, iii, 25 - iv, 2.

Symeon died some time before November 1372, when his son John issued two charters for the Meteora. ^I 'Siniša', the 'Emperor of the Greeks and Serbs', may not have performed any memorable political or military feat, but he was the first medieval Thessalian ruler to give full theoretical expression to de facto local autonomy, and the first to take a deep personal interest in the region's spiritual life. In the circumstances of the time, to have kept his throne as long as he did was itself quite an achievement.

John Uroš Palaiologos, 1371-1373.

The short reign of John Uroš is known to us from the two documents which he issued while in power, and from Orbini. ² According to the latter, Symeon's elder son, 'Duca', was a strong and popular ruler. 'Clapeno', a powerful baron in Greece whose daughter he had married, grew jealous of him, fearing that he would try to make himself ruler of 'Rascia' [?Serbia]. So 'Clapeno' plotted to destroy his son-in-law. With the help of various bishops and monks of the region, he deceived 'Duca' into coming to Kastoria where, breaking his promise not to harm him, he put out his eyes and sent him to 'those parts of Vlachia which adjoined ³ the Morea and Negropont, where lived his brother Stephen'. Stephen, when he came of age, married the daughter of Francesco Giorgi, lord of Messara and many other towns and territories on the coast between Romania and Negropont.

Orbini's account has been accepted as essentially reliable. One may doubt whether John Uroš married a daughter of Radoslav Hlapen; possibly there is con-⁴ fusion with John's successor in Trikkala, whose wife was called Maria Radoslava.

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- (1) Byzantis, ii, 9-13 (Solovyev/Mošin, 208-15); Lascaris, 'Byzantinoserbica', 287-94.
 (2) Orbini, Il regno degli Slavi, 270-1; reproduced by Loenertz, 'Une page de Jérôme Zurita', 163-4, and Lascaris, 'Byzantinoserbica', 318.
 (3) This is presumably the basis for the almost universal assumption that Stephen was lord of Pharsala and Domokos.
 (4) V. Laurent, 'Une nouvelle fondation monastique des Choumnos; la Néa Moni de Thessalonique', Rev. Et. Byz., xiii (1955), 128-30; Lascaris, 'Byzantinoserbica', 321-3.

It seems unlikely that John tried to make himself ruler of Serbia - the allusion is surely to his father. There is, however, documentary evidence that Hlapen¹ ruled in Kastoria about this time. As for Stephen, his marriage to the daughter² of Francesco Giorgi, lord of Boudonitza, is not recorded in any other source. On 17 August 1386 he was about to wed Maria, daughter of Don Luis Fadrique, Count of Salona, and Helen Kantakouzene, but a year later Maria married the Catalan husband whom the king of Aragon had originally proposed.³

Whether blinded or not, and whether he abdicated or was deposed, the emperor John Uroš had by November 1381 become the monk Ioasaph.⁴ A document issued at Trikkala in June 1373 refers to the regime (ἐπικράτεια) of the righteous caesars Alexios Angelos Philanthropenos and Maria his wife (τῶν εὐσεβῶν καيسάρων 'Αλεξίου 'Αγγέλου Φιλανθρωπίνου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς αὐτοῦ συζύγου).⁵ As we have seen, Maria had the name Radoslava, which suggests that she was a daughter of Hlapen, and that he had had a hand in the change of rulers.

The emperor John Uroš is a fleeting and shadowy figure, but the monk Ioasaph⁶ was a major personality of his time. Like his namesake, the ex-emperor John Cantacuzene, with whom he has wishfully been confused, he continued to be

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- (1) A.P. Každan, 'Dva pozdnevizantijskikh iz sobraniia P.I. Sevastianova', *Viz. Vrem.*, N.S. xxvii (1949), 317-20; Lascaris, 'Byzantinoserbica', 287-94.
- (2) Loenertz, 'Jérôme Zurita', 164-5.
- (3) Rubio y Lluch, *Diplomatari*, nos. 591, 605, 615; Loenertz, 'Jérôme Zurita', 159, 161-3; idem, 'Athènes et Néopatras, I', 177; Nicol, *Kantakouzenos*, nos. 52-3.
- (4) Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 314.
- (5) *Byzantis*, ii, 98-100. The document is of the 11th indiction; Bees dated it to 1388, but Ferjančić, *Teslija*, 166-7, has shown that the Metropolitan of Larissa who signed it, Neilos, had been replaced by 1387. The only difficulty in dating it to 1373 is the text's reference to a 'long interval' between the hegemony of the present rulers and that of Symeon Uroš.
- (6) N.A. Bees, *Byzantis*, i, 236²⁷⁻³⁸; idem, 'Geschichtliche Forschungsergebnisse und Mönchs- und Volkssagen über die Gründer der Meteorenklöster', *Byz. neugr. Jahrb.*, iii (1922), 364-403; Nicol, *Meteora*, 101-2; *supra*, 55.

consulted on political matters; the sources continue to refer to him as basileus. At the end of 1384 he went to help his sister Maria settle the affairs of Ioannina after her husband, the despot Thomas Preljubović, was murdered on 23 December. ^I He stayed to welcome Thomas' successor, Esau Buondelmonti (31 January 1385), and to witness his wedding to Maria, for which the kaisariassa Maria Radoslava and his brother Stephen also came. After helping the new ruler to become established he returned to Thessaly. His sister entrusted various treasures to his safe-keeping, but by May 1386 she considered that the situation in Ioannina was sufficiently stable for her to take these back. ²

Ioasaph took his monastic vocation seriously. S. Athanasios considered him a worthy successor and, on his death bed, deeply regretted that Ioasaph was then ³ (1383) in Thessalonica. In 1387-8 Ioasaph completed an enlarged reconstruction of the katholikon of the Meteoron. ⁴ In 1390-1 he approved a Stylite community's move to the Hypselotera rock. ⁵ He is next heard of on Mt. Athos, whither, presumably, he had fled from the Turkish invasion of Thessaly in 1393. In October 1394 he obtained for himself and his three companions - Serapion, Philotheos, and Gerasimos - five adelphata from the monastery of Vatopedi. ⁶ Next month, Jeremias, Protos of Athos, confirmed his tenure of certain properties in Karyes. ⁷

(1) Chr. Ioan., 28-31.

(2) Byzantis, ii, 20-3 (Solovyev/Mošin, 290-7).

(3) Byzantis, i, 253-4.

(4) Ibid. 250, 583-6; supra, 6F.

(5) Byzantis, i, 275-6; supra, 62-3.

(6) Byzantis, i, 271-3.

(7) Actes de Dionysiou, no. 7, pp. 68-73.

But he returned to Thessaly in 1396, and in 1400 sold his Athonite possessions to the monastery of Dionysiou.^I He receives high praise in documents which the Metropolitan of Larissa issued to the Meteoron in 1401-2.² He lived until shortly after 24 February 1423,³ the last male descendant of Stephen Nemanja, like whom he was remembered almost as a saint.

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The caesars Alexios and Manuel Angelos Philanthropenos, 1373-1393.

The origins of the men who ruled Thessaly in the twenty years before the Turkish conquest are obscure. Their names Angelos and Philanthropenos suggest that they may have been descended from the former kephale of Vlachia, John Angelos, or from Syrgiannes, both of whom had been important figures in western Macedonia.⁵

Alexios appears in 1373 with the title of caesar which, as Loenertz has pointed out, at this time enjoyed a much greater vogue among the Serbs than in Byzantium; it may therefore have come from Symeon or John Uroš. Yet it was certainly confirmed by the Palaiologoi. A document of 1381 says that Alexios and his wife 'by Divine Providence and by the mercy of our righteous lords and emperors worthily steer the bark of Vlachia' (Θεοῦ προνοία καὶ ἐλεημοσύνη τῶν κραταιῶν καὶ ἁγίων εὐσεβῶν αὐθεντῶν ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέων τὸ τῆς Βλαχίας σκάφος σεπτῶς ἔτυχον πηδαλιουχεῖν).⁷ John V Palaiologos, his

(1) Actes de Dionysiou, no. 9.

(2) Byzantis, ii, 42-9.

(3) Ibid. 52-5.

(4) R.-J. Loenertz, 'Notes sur le règne de Manuel II à Thessalonique', Byz. Zeit., 1 (1957), 390-4; G.T. Dennis, The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, clix) (Rome, 1960), 99-108; Nicol, Meteora, 65-9; Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 263-81.

(5) A Michael Angelos Philanthropenos lived at Serres about this time: Actes de Kutlumis, 127, 130.

(6) R.-J. Loenertz, 'Un prostagma perdu de Théodore Ier Paléologue regardant Thessalonique (1380/82?)', Ep. Et. Byz. Sp., xxv (1955), 170-2.

(7) Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 306.

two sons Andronikos IV and Manuel II, and his grandson John VII all claimed the imperial title at this^{time}. It is likely that Alexios owed allegiance to John V, and above all to Manuel II, who as early as 1371 received from his father a grant of lifelong authority over those towns which he had won or might yet win from the Serbs in Macedonia and Thessaly.^I

From 1382 to 1387 Manuel II was established as emperor in Thessalonica.² Alexios Angelos possessed properties in and near the city, to which his title was confirmed by ὀρκωμοτικὸν προσταγμ(c. 1380) of the despot Theodore Palaiologos,³ and then by chrysobull of Manuel II (1382-4). We know of these documents through records of donations to the Nea Moni of Thessalonica,⁴ a community with which he had close ties.⁵ In January 1384, he presented the monastery with the kastron of Kolydros,⁶ and in December 1389 he donated the monydrion of S. Photis within the city.⁷ This is the last mention of him. By 1392-3 he had been succeeded in Thessaly by his brother^[?] Manuel, who also had the title of caesar.⁸

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- (1) The source is the prooemium to a chrysobull written by Demetrios Cydones: Dölger, Regesten, no. 3130; text partially reproduced by K. Sathas, Documents relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Age, iv (Paris, 1882), XVII, n. I. Modern historians do not seem to have made enough of this evidence.
- (2) G.T. Dennis, op. cit.; J.W. Barker, Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425). A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship (New Brunswick, N.J., 1968), 45-59.
- (3) Loenertz, 'Un prostagma perdu'.
- (4) G. Theodorides, 'Ἡ Νέα Μονὴ Θεσσαλονίκης', Mak., iii (1953-5), 334-52.
- (5) One of the monks, Neophytos, sat on a tribunal which Alexios called in Thessaly in 1388: Byzantis, ii, 25.
- (6) G. Theodorides, Δύο νέα ἔγγραφα ἀφορῶντα εἰς τὴν Νέαν Μονὴν Θεσσαλονίκης, Mak., iv (1955-60), 321-2.
- (7) V. Laurent, 'Une nouvelle fondation monastique des Choumnos', 129.
- (8) Byzantis, ii, 36-8 - the last documentary mention of a Christian ruler in Thessaly.

Manuel lived in Thessalonica after the Turkish conquest of Thessaly (1393) and married into the local family of Alleloufias.¹ If Lascaris is to be believed, he governed the city in a short period of independence from the Turks,² and died before 14 April 1421.³

Thus from 1373, if not earlier, to 1393, Thessaly returned to the Byzantine jurisdiction. Alexios and Manuel Angelos no doubt ruled as independently as any of their predecessors. But this can hardly have caused concern at a time when the empire was divided among many claimants, when appanages were the order of the day, and when the Ottoman Turks were about to engulf the remnants of the Byzantine world.

The Turkish Conquest, 1393.

After their establishment in Europe (1354), the Ottoman Turks expanded rapidly at the expense of all the Balkan powers. Under Sultan Murad IV (1360-1389) they conquered Thrace, crushed the Serbs at the battle of the Maritsa (1371) and made Byzantium a vassal state. For five years the emperor Manuel II put up a brave resistance at Thessalonica, but in 1387 he was forced to abandon the city. Murad IV was killed in the moment of final victory against the Serbs at Kosovo (1389). However, his son Bayezid I (1389-1402) was an even more formidable adversary.

The Ottoman presence had already been felt in Thessaly and Epiros. Thomas Preljubović had twice invited the Turks to fight against the Albanians, though he

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- (1) S. Kugéas, 'Notizbuch eines Beamten der Metropolis in Thessalonike aus dem Anfang des XV. Jahrhunderts', *Byz. Zeit.*, xxiii (1920), 153; M. Lascaris, *Ναοὶ καὶ Μοναὶ Θεσσαλονίκης τὸ 1405 εἰς τὸ Ὀδοιπορικὸν τοῦ ἐκ Σμολένσκ Ἰγνατίου, Τόμος Κωνστ. Ἀρμενοπούλου* (Thessaloniki, 1952), 333 ff.
- (2) Ibid. 336, 340: ref. to patriarchal letter of 1394, *MM*, ii, 201. Theodorides, op. cit. (*supra*, 261, n. 6) does not disagree with Lascaris as G. Dennis, 'The Second Turkish Capture of Thessalonica', *Byz. Zeit.*, lvii (1964), 57 n. 61, supposes. Bayezid's authority over the city 1387-94 may only have been nominal: Barker, *Manuel II*, appendix 2.
- (3) Lascaris, op. cit. 336-7; F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges* (Munich, 1948), 265-8 - ref. to John Angelos Philanthropenos, 'nephew of the late caesar'.

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later professed loyalty to Manuel II. Thomas Xeros, chartophylax of the bishopric of Trikkala, wrote apprehensively that in 1385-6 'the Agarenes became lords not only of Berrhoia but of nearly everything under the sun'.² Khaireddin Pasha devastated, even if he did not conquer, Kitros, Lykostomion [?], and Larissa in 1386.³ In 1390-I the ruling caesar, along with Esau Buondelmonti, spent fourteen months serving at Bayezid's court, which shows that they, like their emperor,⁴ were now Ottoman vassals.

In the winter of 1393 Bayezid marched 'against Thessaly and its rulers the "Epikernaioi"' (ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίαν καὶ τοὺς ταύτη ἡγεμόνας 'Επικερναίους τοῦνομα)....'He took Domokos, its ruling Epikernaioi being absent, and the town of Pharsala, which also came under the Epikernaioi' (τὴν τε Δομοκίην παρέλαβεν, ἐκλιπόντος τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ ἡγεμόνος 'Επικερνέω, καὶ δὴ καὶ Φαρσάλων πόλιν, καὶ ταύτην ὑπο 'Επικερναίων ἐπικρατουμένην ὑφ' αὐτῷ ἐποίησατο).⁵ Modern authorities assume that the Epikernaioi to whom Chalcocondyles refers are to be identified with Alexios and Manuel Angelos, as the descendants of some pinkernes - John Angelos or Syrgiannes have been suggested.⁶

(1) Chr. Ioan., §§ 23-5.

(2) Byzantis, i, 236⁸; Bees/Vranoussis, Catalogue, p. 568.

(3) 'Čitroz, Čaihišār, Jenišehir': F. Taeschner and P. Wittek, 'Die Vezirfamilie der Ganderlyzāde', Der Islam, xviii (1929), 74-5.

(4) Chr. Ioan., § 35.

(5) Chalcocondyles, I, 61-2; on the date, see R.-J. Loenertz, 'Pour l'histoire du Péloponnèse au XIVE siècle', (Rev.) Et. Byz., i (1943: Bucharest, 1944), 177-8.

(6) Bees, op. cit. (supra, 272 n. 6), 376 n. 5; M. Lascaris, Naoi kai Movai, Nicol, Meteora, 66 n. 38; Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 280.

If so, it is strange that men who had the title of caesar should have been remembered by an ancestor's lowly rank. In any case, the Epikernaioi are mentioned in connection with Pharsala and Domokos, not with Trikkala. Their identity is, I suggest, apparent in the synodal judgment of 1381. The council which issued this document included not only the notables of Trikkala and Phanari, but also several from neighbouring ^Ikastra. Among the signatories two, Theodore Sebastopoulos and one Peter, held the title of ²epikernes. It seems likely that they were present as the principal representatives of Pharsala and Domokos, and that they are the persons mentioned by Chalcocondyles.

The conquest of 1393 was not final. Bayezid settled many Turks in Thessaly, but according to one contemporary observer the 'infidelity' of the region was not complete until 1403-4. Even then, a local manuscript note tells us, Phanari, which fell on 11 July 1404, regained its freedom on 30 September. The Ottoman regime was badly shaken after the battle of Ankara (1402), and for some years the Byzantines maintained a base at Zeitouni. In 1444 the despot of Mistra, the future and last emperor Constantine Dragases, penetrated as far north as Agrapha on his victorious march through Greece, and may have installed a governor at Phanari. The Christian life of Thessaly continued undisturbed. But here after 1393, as in the whole Greek world after 1461, 'there were no more despots, ⁸sebastokrators, and caesars; the Sultan's firman replaced the imperial chrysobull!'. These names had been the stuff of local history, and their passing marked the end of an era.

(1) Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 308.

(8) Nicol, Last Centuries, 433.

(2) Ibid. 316.

(3) Chalcocondyles, I, 93.

(4) Sp. Lampros, Βραχέα Χρονικά ed. K. Amantos, Μνημεία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας, i (Athens, 1932), 58.

(5) Olympiotissa cod. 139, fol. 159 v. : E. Skouvaras, Ὀλυμπιώτισσα, 371.

(6) Supra, II 7-8.

(7) Chalcocondyles, II, 93; Lampros/Amantos, Short Chronicles. 118.

CHAPTER 6: Society in the region of Trikkala, 1318-1393.

Between the collapse of the principality of Neopatras and the Turkish conquest, exactly three quarters of a century elapsed, and ten political regimes came to power in Thessaly. The local generations who saw these rulers pass may be thought of as constituting a single, continuous society. As we saw in the previous chapter, there is no evidence that the successive occupiers of the area made radical changes in its social composition and organisation (except, possibly, for Stephen Dušan), while there is much to suggest that their rule depended on some kind of contract with established local interests. In this, the quick turnover of regime was a measure of social stability. Our main sources come from ecclesiastical institutions which maintained a continuous existence throughout the period, and occasionally the same documents bear witness to a similar continuity of local families. The society of 14th-century Thessaly may, therefore, justifiably be considered in isolation from the political changes of the time.

This survey is of necessity limited to a small geographical area. The sources speak of 'Vlachia' as a political unity and it is probable that the whole of Thessaly north of Othrys came under the Greek regimes described in Chapter 5, except for the period when the Catalans held Pharsala and Domokos (1319-42). Yet our evidence for the internal history of the province in the 14th century is limited almost exclusively to the region of Trikkala. This is partly due to the fact that the evidence consists of documents and hagiographical texts preserved during the Turkish occupation in the monasteries of the Meteora and Dousiko. Yet even had the libraries of Makrinitissa and Marmariana survived intact, it is unlikely that they would add significantly to our knowledge of Thessalian society in the 14th century. Trikkala was from 1318 the civil and ecclesiastical capital

of the province. The churches and monasteries of this locality were closely in touch with the authorities and thus received a preponderant share of attention and patronage. An interesting comparison is afforded by the Olympiotissa monastery at Elasson, which was in existence from the early 14th century, and preserves a library from before the Turkish conquest. This, however, contains no relevant hagiographical material, and of the two surviving 14th-century documents one, a chrysobull attributed to Andronikos III, is probably a forgery.^I As forgeries go, it is interesting for some touches of authenticity: it refers to a local administrative division called a katepanikion, and to 'those who tyrannised over Vlachia' (οἱ τυραννήσαντες εἰς τὸν τόπον τῆς Βλαχίας). It is dated, appropriately, to March 1336, and seems, all in all, to have been a wishful imitation of Andronikos' chrysobulls for the monasteries near Trikkala.

It is, in any case, legitimate to confine our study to one centre, given the fragmentation of the Byzantine world at this time. In Chapter I we suggested that the town with its surrounding monasteries and villages formed a self-sufficient unit. This unit was the basis of all provincial administration in the Palaiologan period. Its self-sufficiency is illustrated throughout the 14th-century sources; in Thrace, Macedonia, and Epiros, Andronikos III, Cantacuzene, and Dušan made their conquests town by town. In Thessaly one has an impression of greater provincial solidarity, but Michael Gabrielopoulos' privilege for Phanari shows how here, too, parochial exclusiveness could operate, even within the hinterland of a large town. Such parochialism was as much a matter of necessity as of choice: at a time when the plains of Vlachia were constantly under Catalan or Albanian attack, the only agricultural properties guaranteed to yield a profit were those

(1) Dölger, Regesten, no. 2824.

within easy reach of some fortified settlement. The sources frequently allude to the violence and insecurity of the times. So far had the fragmentation of Thes-^Isaly gone by 1371 that the Metropolitan of Larissa was largely ignored by his² own suffragans.

The economy of medieval Greece was almost exclusively agricultural, and the structure of contemporary society was fundamentally expressed in the legal distribution of landed wealth. This analysis may therefore begin by identifying the landowners of the region.

The landowning class is never referred to as such, except in the vague sense that the rich are contrasted with the poor. Yet there was a fundamental distinction between those who owned land and those who owned land belonging to others. This second group, the paroikoi, formed the Byzantine peasantry of the later period. Their status was not entirely that of free men: they and their descendants were tied to the land (thus acquiring the alternative name of proskathemenoi), and their manual labour and their produce were at their lord's disposal. As in western Europe, however, their lot was not necessarily miserable. They could own land apart from that for which they were obliged, and their obligations could be commuted to money rents. There were different degrees within the peasant class, as³ the variant names of douloparoikos and ptochos suggest.

Within the landowning class there were two main groups: the lay and the ecclesiastical landowners.

(1) Byzantis, ii, 81 (Solovyev/Mošin, 252), 86; Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 306.

(2) MM, i, 587-9

(3) See in general G. Ostrogorsky, Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine (Brussels, 1956).

(a) Lay Landowners.

The State. The state, represented by the emperor, was the main landowner, the source of land-legislation, and the main repository of land which, for one reason or another, went unclaimed. In Thessaly the state was represented by those dynasts or governors who succeeded, displaced, or served the government in Constantinople. Frequently the local ruler came from or had married into a family which in a private capacity owned land locally. This makes it impossible to determine whether a distinction was always made between private and public estates, and if so, into which category fell the properties donated to various local monasteries by John the Bastard and his wife, John Orsini, Michael Monomachos, John Angelos, Nikephoros II and Symeon Uroš. There are only two clear references to state land in our sources. One is to the stasis which after the decease of a certain Pegonites became 'public' (demosiakon), as distinct from ^Ibasilikon). The other is to a ²δεσποτικὸν μονάμπελον within which Porta-Panagia possessed a plot. That despotikos refers to the state seems to be indicated by the fact that the caesar Alexios Angelos compensated the monastery for its loss of this vineyard with another 'which had been planted by Angelos [sc. John]' (ὁ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ Ἀγγελος).

Individual landowners and lay families. The documents provide few details about lay land-holdings, but they do provide material for a basic prosopography of Thessaly in the 14th century. It is possible to identify three categories of

(1) Byzantis, ii, 76 (Solovyev/Mošin, 222).

(2) Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 314. Cf. MM, vi, 257; Ferjančić, Despoti, 6.

individuals:

- i) those explicitly named as holders of land, either by private possession or state grant (pronoia, oikonomia);
- ii) ktetors, donors, and illegal exploiters of ecclesiastical property;
- iii) laymen who appear in some official or judicial capacity.

I have chosen to include all three groups in a single alphabetical list, partly because they are quite liable to overlap, and partly because all had a common, immediate interest in the distribution of local agricultural wealth. The list excludes all identifiable paroikoi, all local rulers, and all churchmen without any evident private income.

Monastic names are bracketed. An asterisk denotes a probable resident of Trikkala. Footnote references are to occurrences of a surname outside Thessaly.

- 1] ABOSGOS ('Αβωσγός) (GEORGILAS)
N.
ante 1331 (?) donated property to Porta Panagia: [Aristarches, 'Documents', 36]
- 2] *ALBANITES ('Αλβανίτης)
(a) Alexios and (b) brother John
1303-8 owners of village Klinovista, disputed boundaries with neighbouring monastery of Kalogeriane;

(c) Manuel, (d) Michael, (e) Theodosios, sons of (a)
1340 ἄρχοντες in tribunal called by Antonios of Larissa [Byzantis, ii, 64].
- 3] Syr Alexios (συρ' Ἀλέχιος), καβαλλάριος
c. 1300 assisted in the cadastral survey of MIGIARES [Byzantis, ii, 64].
- 4] *ANDRITZAS ('Ανδρίτζας)
George
1342-8 δούξ of the χώρα of Trikkala under John Angelos [Byzantis, ii, 77
(Solovyev/Mosin, 224)].

[2] MM, i, 168-71; Actes de Chilandar, no. 157.

[3] The prefix 'syr' denotes Frankish origin: Binon, 'Prostagma'; Ostrogorsky, 'The Aristocracy in Byzantium', 18 n. 70.

5]*ARCHONTITZES (Ἀρχοντίτζης)

John πανευγενέστατος

I342-8 in boundary commission of John Angelos [Byzantis, ii, 77 (Solovyev/Mošin, 224)].

= (?) N. μέγας δούξ, "γλυκύτατος ἀδελφός"

I359-66 donated 2 properties to Zavlantia [Byzantis, ii, 83 (Solovyev/Mošin, 256)].

= (?) N. MALIASENOS (Μαλιασινός)

I381 found to have seized properties from Porta-Panagia [Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 310].

6]*ASPIETES (Ἀσπιέτης)

N.

I359-66 donated 3 properties to Zavlantia

† ante I366[Byzantis, ii, 83 (Solovyev/Mošin, 254)].

7]*BALEAS (Βαλέας) (STANIMIROS)

N. λογοθέτης

I392-3 among πανευγενέστατοι ἄρχοντες approving a bequest to Zavlantia [Byzantis, ii, 40-2].

8]*BALSAMAS (Βαλασαμάς) see GRAMMATIKOS

George ὁ τῆς Γραμματικίσης λεγόμενος, ὅντινα εἶχεν ἡ τοιαύτη χώρα τῶν Τρικκάλων εἰδήμονα τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοποδείκτην εἰς ἅπαντα, ἐπίτε ἀμπελίους καὶ χωραφίους, καὶ ἑτέροις τισίν

I342-8 an old man, revealed the existence of land belonging to Zavlantia [Byzantis, ii, 77-8 (Solovyev/Mošin, 224, 226)].

9]* BARDANES (Βαρδάνης)

N.

I340 archon in tribunal called by Antonios of Larissa; GOULENOS gambros [Byzantis, ii, 64].

10]*BODESES (Βοδέσες)

(a) Constantine and (b) N. Βοδέσαι; Βοδεσάδες

I336 obtained topos 'of Hyaleas' from Andronikos IIII336-40 held by prostagma part of the village of GOULENOS; encroached upon the neighbouring monastery of Kalogeriane [Byzantis, ii, 62-72].

= (?) N.

ante I359 holder of oikonomia at Voxista [Byzantis, ii, 75 (Solovyev/Mošin, 200)].

[5] Cantacuzene, ii, 556.

[6] Anna Comnena, i, 161; iii, 58 ff; Choniates, 251, 254, 560.

[9] Nicol, Despotate, 82-3.[10] M. Lascaris, 'Survivances dans la toponymie de la Macédoine des "Francs" d'avant et après la IVe Croisade', Byzantion, xxiii (1953), 7, believes the name to be of Latin, not Albanian origin.

- II]*BOUTES (Βούτης)
Demetrios
 I340 archon in tribunal called by Antonios of Larissa [Byzantis, ii, 64].
- I2] BOUTOMITES (Βουτομίτης) , Vucomity, Votemite)
 I303-8 Marshal (kephale) of Vlachia for Guy II de la Roche. [Supra, 222.].
- I3]*BRAKOS (Βράκος)
John
 I318-33 supervisor of boundary commission appointed by Stephen Gabrielopoulos
 I340 summoned to give testimony by Antonios of Larissa [Byzantis, ii, 67-8].
- I4]*CHLERINOS (Χλερινός)
 N.
ante I381 donated topos to Porta-Panagia [Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 310].
- I5] Constantine (Kyprianos) πανευγενέστατος καὶ ἐνδοξώτατος
ante I366 financed the building of the church of the Hypapante at the Meteora
 [Byzantis, i, 573-4; Subotić, I50-I].
- I6]*DESES (Δέσης)
 N.
ante I331 donated (?) properties to Porta-Panagia [Aristarches, 'Documents', 37].
- I7]*DRAKONTAETES (Δρακονταετής)
 N.
 † ante I359, owner or tenant of shop or market in Trikkala. [Byzantis, ii, 83
 (Solovyev/Mošin, 254)].
- I8]*GARARES (Γαράρης)
Manuel πρωτασηκρήτης
 I392-3 kastrophylox of Trikkala; among 'most noble archons' witnessing a
 bequest [Byzantis, ii, 40-2].
- I9]*GEORGILAS. See ABOSGOS.
- 20]*GOULENOS (Γουληνός)
 N.
ante I340 owner of village adjacent to monastery of Kalogeriane; BARDANES
 his gambros [byzantis, ii, 64 ff].

[I2] K. Amantos, Πόθεν τὸ ὄνομα Βουτουμίτης; Ell., ii (1929), 440;
 V. Laurent, Documents de sigillographie byzantine. La Collection C. Orghidan
 (Paris, 1952), no. 422.

21] GRAMMATIKOS (Γραμματικός)

N.

ante 1331 donated (?) property to Porta Panagia [Aristarches, 'Documents', 36].

= (?) father of GRAMMATISSA, mother (?) of BALSAMAS.

22] GROUZES (Γρουζής)

(Matthew)

† ante 1401, donated mills to the Meteoron [Byzantis, ii, 44].

23]*GYMNOS (Γυμνός)

N.

ante 1381 his daughter Na. wrongfully holding gardens belonging to Porta-Panagia [Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 310].= (?) N., nephew of Na., mother of Bratianos and one other son1392-3 renewed bequest to Zavlantia formerly made under pressure from the kaisarissa (?Maria Radoslava Angelina) [Byzantis, ii, 40-2].

24] HRANISLAV (Χρανισθαλάβος)

Ieremias

1348-54 holder of the bishopric of Stagoi. [Byzantis, ii, 87].

25]*IERAIAS ('Ιεραίας) (= (?) 'Ιερεύς)

N.

1342-8 apographeus of the chora of John Angelos [Byzantis, ii, 77 (Solovyev/Mošin, 224)].

26] KALOPHILES (Καλοφίλης)

Constantine

c. 1300 assisted MIGIARES in the cadastral survey

1303-8 issued Kalogeriane with documents supporting it in a dispute with the family of ALBANITES [Byzantis, ii, 64].

26] KALOTAS (Καλοτᾶς)

N., with KOURBOULEAS owned topos in Voxista

c. 1300 present in cadastral survey of MIGIARES

1318-33 served on boundary commission appointed by Stephen Gabrielopoulos

1340 summoned to give testimony by Antonios of Larissa [Byzantis, ii, 67-8].

28]*KOLYDAS (Κολυδάς)

N.

1340 gambros of ORPHANOIOANNES [Byzantis, ii, 71].[23] Laurent, Collection Orghidan, no. 311.

[24] Pachymeres, ii, 426.

- 29] KOMITOPOULOS (Κομοιτόπουλος)
 Loukas πανευγενέστατος καὶ ἐνδοξώτατος
 1362-3 kephale of Stagoi (?); assisted in the appointment of (Neilos) as
 abbot of Douplane [Byzantis, ii, 15].
- 30]*KORESES (Κορέσης)
 (a) Stephen πανυπερσέβαστος
 1387-8 kephale of (?) Stagoi, doulos of the emperor (?) Manuel II)
 1392-3 among 'most noble archons' approving a bequest to Zavlantia
 [Byzantis, ii, 27-9, 40-2].
 (b) Manuel (?) brother of (a)
 1392-3 also connected with the bequest to Zavlantia - (?) a relative of
 the legator (see GYMNOS).
- 31]*KOTANITZES (Κοτανίτζης)
 N.
 ante 1359 gave Zavlantia 2 stremmata of a vineyard bought from the stasis
 of Voulpavos [Byzantis, ii, 75 (Solovyev/Mošin, 220)].
 Na. (Loukiane, Theodoula) KOTANITZENA, daughter of (a) πανευγενεστάτη
 1359-66 donated to Zavlantia 4 properties, including a church of the Three
 Hierarchs which she had built [Byzantis, ii, 83 (Solovyev/Mošin, 254)].
 ante 1373, near this, provided the Meteoron with kellion and anapausis
 [Byzantis, ii, 99-100].
 1381 wrongfully holding gardens near the kastron of Trikkala belonging to
 Porta-Panagia [Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 312].
 1392-3 still alive [D. Zakythinos, 'Ἀνέκδοτα γράμματα περὶ τῶν Μονῶν
 τῶν Μετεώρων', Ell., x (1938), 283-4].
- 32] KOURBOULEAS (Κουρβούλεας)
 George, from Voxista, floruit 1300-40 [see KALOTAS]
 (?)c.1330 ἑγγονος of nomikos of the bishopric of Trikkala [Byzantis, ii, 67].
- 33]*KOUTZALAS (Κουτζαλάς)
 Peter
 1340 took part in boundary commission of Antonios of Larissa [Byzantis, ii, 71]
 = (?) N. μέγας στρατοπεδάρχης
 1336-48 donated metochion to Lykousada [Solovyev/Mošin, 156. Ferjančić,
Tesalijska, 182, thinks that he left Thessaly at the Serbian conquest].

[29] Cantacuzene, ii, 282.

[30] Actes de Kutlumas, index; Laurent, Collection Orghidan, no. 444; Polemis, 137.

[31] Pachymeres, i, 474, 479-8; ii, 65-7, 257, 271f., 285, 619; Actes de Chilandar,
 nos. II, 153 (cf. Actes d'Esphigménou, 172).

- 34] (Kyriil)
ante c. 1300 ktetor of monastery at Gradistion [Bees, 'Gradistion', 86-7;
 for the date, supra, 220-3].
- 35]*KYSSIANOS (Κυσσιανός, Κησιανός)
 N.
ante 1366, bequeathed properties in Trikkala to Porta-Panagia [Byzantis, ii,
 74, 83 (Solovyev/Mošin, 220, 256)].
- 36]*MAKROGENES (Μακρογένης)
 (a) Michael
 1340 archon in synod called by Antonios of Larissa [Byzantis, ii, 63].
- (b) Stephen
 1392-3 among 'most noble archons' approving bequest to Zavlantia [Byzantis, ii,
 40-2].
- 37]*MALIASENOS see ARCHONTITZES
- 38] (Manasses, Makarios) from monastery of Chrysenon
ante 1350 founded and endowed monasteries in the Meteora, became abbot of
 Doupiane and archimandrite, returned to Chrysenon [Supra, 56].
- 39]*Manuel ὁ διοικητής, oikeios of John VI Cantacuzene
 1342 lands near Thessalonica confiscated and given to John Margarites
 - sent with returning Thessalian envoys [Lemerle, 'Praktikon inédit', 285;
 Cantacuzene, ii, 311]
 1342-8 kephale of Trikkala under John Angelos [Byzantis, ii, 77 (Solovyev/
 Mošin, 224)].
- 40]*MICHALAKES (Μιχαλάκης)
 N.
ante 1336 converted part of the stasis of Pegonites to arable land; this
 confirmed to him by Stephen Gabrielopoulos and by prostagma of
 Andronikos III, but later disputed by Leo SPINGES
 [Byzantis, ii, 76 (Solovyev/Mošin, 222)].
- 41]*MIEKRAS (Μίεκρας)
 N. μέγας πριμμικήριος
 1340 served in boundary commission of Antonios of Larissa [Byzantis, ii, 71.
 Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 181, believes that he was not a member of the local
 aristocracy].
- 42] MIGIARES (Μίγιαρης, Μίγαρης)
 (a) John σεβαστός
 c. 1300 apographeus of Vlachia [Bees, 'Gradistion', 86-8; Byzantis, ii, 64, 68.
 For the date, see supra, 220-3]

[36] G.A. Chionides, Ἱστορία τῆς Βεροίας (Thessaloniki, 1970), ii, 128.

Demetrios πρωτοβεστιάριος

I392-3 among 'most noble archons' approving bequest to Zavlantia [Byzantis, ii, 40-2].

43] *MILIARAS (Μιλιαράς)

N., subordinate of Stephen Gabrielopoulos, seized land from ch. of Trikkala
† ante c. I330 at Phanari of an illness prophesied to his wife at Trikkala
by Kyprianos, Metropolitan of Larissa [Appendix II, xx-xxi].

44] (Neilos)

ante I362 dikaios of the bishopric of Stagoi

I362 protos of the skete of Stagoi

ante May I363 appointed abbot of Doupiane

I366-7 completed Hypapante monastery with help of Constantine (Kyprianos)

I372 confirmed as ktetor of Doupiane and of the cave of Kyril at Mekane

† ante I38I, bequeathed kellia of S. Demetrios and Pantokrator to Meteoron
[Supra, 56-7].

45] *NEOLOS (Νέολος)

Nikephoros

I340 archon in tribunal called by Antonios of Larissa [Byzantis, ii, 64].

46] Nicholas χαρτουλάριος

I300 assisted in cadastral survey of MIGIARES [Byzantis, ii, 64].

47] *NOTAROPOULOS (Νοταρόπουλος)

(a) N.

I38I dikaiophylax of the bishopric of Trikkala

(b) N., his son

I38I wrongfully held garden belonging to Porta-Panagia [Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 310].

48] *ORPHANOIOANNES ('Ορφανοιωάννης)

N.

ante I340 owner of the village of Samosada, unwittingly held property
belonging to Kalogeriane [Byzantis, ii, 70-1].

= (?) Theodore πανυπερσέβαστος, kephale of Stagoi

† ante I362 [Byzantis, ii, 91 (Solovyev/Mošin, 242);
Bogiatzides, ii, 173].

49] *PACHYS (Παχύς)

N.

ante I336 with TANOS doner of 100 modia of land to Lykousada [Dölger, Regesten, no. 2780].

50] Peter ἐπικέρννης

I38I signatory of synodal judgment [Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 316; supra,
263-4].

51] SEBASTOPOULOS (Σεβαστόπουλος)

Theodore ἐπικέρνης

I381 signatory of synodal judgment [Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 316; supra 263-4].

52]*SPINGES (Σπίγκης)

(a) Constantine

I318-33 subordinate of Stephen Gabrielopoulos

I340 ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναμνήσεων, oikeios of Andronikos III [Byzantis, ii, 66-7].

I342 400 modia of land confiscated by the opposition to John Cantacuzene
[Lemerle, 'Praktikon inédit', 285].

(b) Leo

I336-41 obtained by chrysobull the stasis of Pegonites, disputed this with
MICHALAKES

I340 archon in tribunal called by Antonios of Larissa

† ante I359

[Byzantis, ii, 64, 71, 76 (Solovyev/Mošin, 222)].

53]*STANIMIROS (Στανιμίρος) see BALEAS

54] STROUBITENOS (Στρουμπητηνός)

Theodosios (?) archon

I388 signatory of episcopal document of Stagoi [Byzantis, ii, 29].

55]*TANOS (Τάνος) see PACHYS.

56] THEODORITZES (Θεοδωρίτζης)

N.

I340 served on boundary commission of Antonios of Larissa [Byzantis, ii, 71].

57]*THEOTOKES (Θεοτόκης)

George

ante I359 donated houses and vineyards in Trikkala to Zavlantia
[Byzantis, ii, 75, 83 (Solovyev/Mošin, 220, 256).]

58] TOUNTOS (Τουντός)

Alexios (?) archon

I388 signatory of episcopal document of Stagoi [Byzantis, ii, 29]

59]*ZAKLEVANES (Ζακληβάνης, Ζαχληβάντης)

(a) Andreas

I340 archon in synod called by Antonios of Larissa [Byzantis, ii, 64, 71].

[51] Cantacuzene, i, 354; R.-J. Loenertz, Démétrius Cydonès, correspondance, ii, index 2; Actes de Dionysiou, no. 25.

[52] Actes de Dionysiou, no. 44.

(b) N.

I38I wrongfully held land belonging to Porta-Panagia [Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 310].

60] ZAMPATHRAS (Ζαμπαθράς)

Manuel, from Theodorā

ante I333 served on boundary commission of Stephen Gabrielopoulos

ante I340

[Byzantis, ii, 67-8]

61]*ZERVOS (Ζερβός)

N.

ante I33I donor of land to Porta-Panagia [Aristarches, 'Documents', 37].

Since there is no basis for a comparison of local secular estates, the relative importance of the individuals listed above must be assessed according to other criteria. Contemporaries recognised the predominance within the propertied class of a certain elite. In the tribunal which Antonios called in I340 to regulate the affairs of Kalogeriane, a number of members are mentioned by name. These men are 'of the archons' (ἐκ τῶν ἀρχόντων) and are given clear precedence over the group who are mentioned in second place and not listed individually: 'many of the stratiotai and chrysobullatoi from Trikkala' (ἀπὸ τῶν Τρικκαλιτῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ χρυσοβουλᾶτων πολλῶν).

The term archon was of long standing among Greeks, and can be roughly translated to mean 'a member of the ruling class', or simply 'a ruler'. In general it applied to men at the very top of the social hierarchy. Of the archons who appear in I340, three have family names - MAKROGENES, SPINGES, ZAKLEVANES - whose mention in other sources further testifies to their importance. In his chrysobull to John Angelos, Cantacuzene insisted that the archons of 'Vlachia' should have access to his court and its dignities (ὁφείκω). As we have seen,

(1) Byzantis, ii, 63-4.

(2) G. Ferrari, 'Formulari notarili inediti dell'età bizantina', Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano, xxxiii (1913), 59-60.

(3) Supra, 238.

in Epiros it was only the powerful (¹δυνάμενοι) who were honoured with court titles (τιμαῖς). Elsewhere Cantacuzene tells us that when he dismissed the contingents from Thessaly and Berrhoia in 1343, he dispensed two kinds of patronage: special rewards to the aristoi, and appropriate pronoia to the rest of the ²stratia. There seems to be no doubt, therefore, that the archons of our documents correspond to the ἄριστοι, δυνατοί, δυνάμενοι of the narrative sources.

Three elements may be discerned in the social pre-eminence of this group: landed wealth, noble birth, and political influence. Wealth, in the nature of the evidence, is the least easy to detect, but where the other two elements are present it may be assumed to exist in an equal degree. Noble birth (³εὐγένεια) was the hall-mark of the highest society, and usually implied an old connection with the imperial court.⁴ Political influence had many aspects. A provincial aristocrat was powerful, basically, insofar as he commanded large economic resources which gave him a military standing. Yet unless he could rule independently, his power was effective only within a monarchical system, where it was tied to administrative functions and rewarded with conventional honours. These honours consisted of court titles; of economic rewards like land grants, pensions, and tax-exemptions; and of marriage connections with families already prominent in the imperial service. In this, the aristocratic qualifications of any one family, although in the first place hereditary, could be considerably enhanced by association with the prevailing monarchical regime. The formulae which ex-

(1) Supra, 228-9.

(2) Supra, 241-2.

(3) G. Weiss, Johannes Kantakuzenos, 6 ff.

(4) N.B. the use of the name Komnenos as a status-symbol: Ferrari, 'Formulari notarili', loc. cit.

pressed this association thus became the highest symbols of aristocracy itself. A man did not become the emperor's oikeios (doulos in his own signature) unless he was worth cultivating for his loyalty, and for him to be called the emperor's αὐτάδελφος or γλυκύτατος ἀδελφός implied a degree of near equality. The epithets 'most noble' (πανευγενέστατος) and 'most illustrious' (ἐνδοξότατος) denote not only a man's high status but also the degree of favour in which he stood with the prevailing regime.

This close association between political affiliation and social status should be born in mind when approaching the sources. The fact that a man is or is not mentioned with a court title or honorific epithet is not in itself a point for comparison with others described differently in the same context. Symeon Uroš's chrysobull of 1359, referring to the period of John Angelos' rule, describes ARCHONTITZES as paneugenestatos but does not similarly label the other men mentioned in the same passage; these were, however, the most important officials in Trikkala. In the chrysobull of 1366, Archontitzes is described as megas doux and as the emperor's glykytatos adelphos. This suggests that he was singled out for special mention in the earlier document because of his intimacy with Symeon. That the other figures were not similarly designated may have been because they were dead by 1359 or had left Thessaly, or perhaps because Symeon regarded John Angelos with some disfavour. It is interesting that in referring to former documents he calls Andronikos III αἰὶνός βασιλεύς, John Orsini αἰὶνός δεσπότης, Nikephoros II, αἰὶνός ἀδελφός...δεσπότης, while John Angelos is mentioned, without title, simply as his θεῖος. It is clear from another instance that Symeon did not attach much importance to titles that he himself had not granted. A former kephale of Stagoi, Theodore ORPHANOIOANNES, had had the title of panhypersebastos, but the reference to him in Symeon's

prostagma of 1362 contains no hint of this; on the other hand, Symeon's own kephale, Loukas KOMITOPOULOS, is described in a document of the next year as 'most noble' and 'most glorious'.

It is probable, therefore, that the political changes of the time caused some hierarchical changes within the archon class. We must also entertain the possibility that new elements were introduced into the aristocracy. This was certainly the case with the rulers themselves, and it may have been true of their subordinates: for example, Manuel the dioiketes, kephale of Trikkala under John Angelos, seems to have first gone to Thessaly in 1342. But it is unlikely that most local functionaries and dignitaries were drawn from outside the local archon body. As we saw in the previous chapter, each new regime was keen to present itself as the guardian of the status quo. In Thessaly the status quo was that of an independent principality with its own semi-monarchical tradition, and thus, presumably, with a well-established power and patronage system which left little room for changes in structure or in personnel.

Although it is fairly easy to isolate the greater aristocracy and to discern the principles of their own internal hierarchy, it is harder to establish a common identity for the lesser landowners and to distinguish their upper and lower limits as a class. In Thessalonica they formed a middle class (^Iμέσοι), but in most northern Greek towns, the other landowning elements are not distinguished from the faceless multitude (²ὁ δῆμος, οἱ πολλοί). There are certain legal

(1) The problem is discussed by A.E. Laiou, 'Byzantine Aristocracy', Viator, iv (1973), 141-3, who suggests, with reference to a 14th-century praktikon, that 'the economic cut-off point for the greater aristocracy was an annual revenue of 80 hyperpyra'. For the document; P. Schreiner, 'Zwei unedierte Praktika aus der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts', Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik, xix (1970), 38, 42-6; for the date and different interpretations as to the significance of the praktika published by Schreiner, see G. Ostrogorsky, 'Drei Praktika weltlicher Grundbesitzer aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts', Zb. Rad. Viz. Inst., xiv-xv (1973), 81-101; N. Oikonomides, 'Notes sur un Praktikon de pronciaire (juin 1323)', Travaux et Mémoires, v, 335-46.

(2) E.g. Cantacuzene, ii, 352-3; iii, 130.

categories— those who owed military service (οἱ στρατιῶται, ἡ στρατιά) those who benefited from common chrysobull (χρυσοβουλλάτοι) or tax-exemption (ἐσκουσάτοι) — but these were not mutually exclusive, and the terms, unlike the words aristoi, dynatoi, archontes, did not imply any place within a hierarchy. The biographer of S. Athanasios of the Meteora distinguished two kinds of laymen who came to see Gregory the Stylite: ἄρχοντες^I and ἀρχόμενοι^I. The small land-owners KALOTAS and KOURBOULEAS and the aunt of GYMNOS were obviously in a more lowly position vis-à-vis the authorities than, say, members of the SPINGES or KORESES families. The Zakonik of Stephen Dušan, which was strongly influenced² by contemporary Byzantine practice, provides some interesting details. A noble (vlastelin) and a 'gentleman' (vlastelijčić) were on the same footing where the ownership of property was concerned, but if the former insulted the latter he had to pay a fine of 100 hyperpyra, whereas if the insult happened in reverse, the 'gentleman' was to be punished additionally by being beaten with sticks.

The term vlastelijčić, paralleled in Greek by the diminutive ἀρχοντόπουλος does however suggest the existence of a lesser aristocracy, with which it is probably legitimate to identify the bulk of the stratiotai. Even at this late date, many military holdings were extremely modest. Yet the Byzantine stratiotes³ was a cavalryman, who had to provide a horse, weapons, and armour. Although not distinguished by birth or office, he was distinguished for his valour, and was addressed as 'most brave' (ἀνδρικότε⁴τε). He could share in the medieval

(1) Byzantis, i, 245.

(2) See Articles 39, 50, 55, 75.

(3) Actes de Kutlumas, no. 20; Heisenberg, Palaiologenzzeit, 40; Laiou, 'Byzantine aristocracy', loc. cit.

(4) Ferrari, 'Formulari notarili', 61; R. Browning, Notes on Byzantine Prooimia (Wiener Byzantinische Studien, I, Supplement), 22-3, 29-31. Cf. also the re-editions and analyses of aspects of these sources by N. Oikonomides, 'Contribution à l'étude de la pronoiā au XIII^e siècle', Rev. Et. Byz., xxii (1964), 158-75; I. Sevčenko, 'On the Preface to a Praktikon by Alyates', Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft, xvii (1966), 65-72.

I

military mystique, which in all societies was an aristocratic preserve;
 official usage of the time defined three classes of society: the clergy, the
 military, and the common people.² In Constantinople and Thessalonica the upper
 classes retained something of the cultured urbanity of Hellenistic and Roman
 times, but in the provinces, especially in Thessaly, the prevailing values were
 'akritic' if not 'chivalric'. The image conveyed in the French Chronicle of the
Morea of the Thessalian aristocracy setting forth, several thousand strong, like
 a crusader host, is probably not far from the truth.

The solidarity of the Thessalian military landholding class is apparent
 from Michael Gabrielopoulos' charter to the archons of Phanari.³ All the sup-
 plicants are described as archons, although some were 'greater' and some 'lesser',
 and chrysobullatoi and excusatoi are also included. Because of gaps in the text,
 it is hard to determine whether the stratiotai are in apposition to or distinct
 from the initially mentioned ἄρχοντες Φαναριῶται; this has led Ferjančić to
 exclude them from the aristocracy.⁴ But one of the promises Gabrielopoulos makes
 is this: 'that I shall not ask all [?any] of the Phanariotes to go on campaign
 before three years are up, and that after the expiry of this term they shall
 give only expeditionary service and none other, that is garrison-duty'

(1) Cf. the contemporary Achilles Romance, ed. D.C. Hesseling, ll. 26-8:

ποτέ του γὰρ οὐκ ἠθέλεν, εἰς ὅλον τὸ φουσσάτον
 ἄνδρα νᾶ ἰδῆ πολεμιστὴν ἐξ ἁφανῶν γονέων
 εἰμὴ ἐκ γένους ἑκλαμπροῦ, πάνυ πλουσιωτάτου

Cantacuzene, ii, 297-8, says that the stratia and the aristoi took his side
 in the civil war of 1342-7. Elsewhere he writes (iii, 120) that the popu-
 lation of Berrhoia contained οὐ δημόδη μόνον ὄχλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατι-
 ώτας, καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγων τῶν συγκλητικῶν.

(2) Sathas, vi, 641: οἱ ἔποικοι ἅπαντες ... ἱερωμένοι, στρατευόμενοι, καὶ
 ὁ κοινὸς ἅπας λαός.

(3) MM, v, 260-I; C.P. Kyrris, 'The Social Status of the Archons of Phanari in
 Thessaly', Ell., xxviii (1964), 74-8.

(4) Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 184.

(οὐδὲ νὰ ἀπαιτήσω τοὺς αὐτοὺς Φαναριῶτας ἅπαντας εἰς ταξήδιον πού¹
 ποτε εἰς χρόνους τρεῖς, μετὰ δέτην πλήρωσιν τῶν τριῶν χρόνων ἵνα²
 δίδωσιν δουλείαν στρατιωτικὴν καὶ οὐχὶ ἑτέραν, ἥγουν τζακονικὴν).

This suggests that all the archons of Phanari were liable for military service, if only for the occasional expedition. The passage may be contrasted with one from Andronikos II's chrysobull to the citizens of Ioannina, where it is stated that the inhabitants of the kastron are not obliged to serve outside the town; only the ἀποτεταγμένοι στρατιῶται³ were liable for this duty. It may be that the kastrenoi of Ioannina were more considerable people than the inhabitants of a small Thessalian kastron, and could therefore demand higher privileges, but it is possible that the Phanariotes, even the greatest of them, were more accustomed to a military career and, in spite of other inequalities, had as a result a greater sense of corporate identity.

(b) The Church.

Next to the state, the most important landowner was the church, whose estates were administered by the clergy elected or appointed to ecclesiastical office. Outside Constantinople all church affairs were ordinarily the preserve of the bishops, presided over by the metropolitan of each ecclesiastical province. Yet all clergy were subject to the jurisdiction of the patriarch and synod, and all patriarchal and imperial monasteries were able to bypass episcopal visitation, which often led to episcopal interference with monastic possessions. The feud

(1) MM have ποτε.

(2) On the term tsakon, see Ch. P. Symeonides, Οἱ Τσάκωνες καὶ ἡ Τσακωνία (Thessaloniki, 1972), esp. 76-7.

(3) MM, v, 81; Maksimović, Uprava, 157. Both in Phanari and in Ioannina the stratiotai are distinguished from the τοπικοὶ ἄρχοντες whose service is limited to the kastron: MM, v, 83, 261; Kyrris, op. cit. 74.

I

between bishop and monk was unending; the bishoprics and the monasteries were two quite distinct groups of landowners.

The bishoprics. At one time the greatest ecclesiastical landowner in Thessaly must have been the Metropolis of Larissa, the oldest and the most senior of local sees. Antonios tells us, however, that there had been no incumbent for many years before 1318,² and that when after John II's death Kyprianos, abbot of Marmariana, was elected, he was unable to reside in Larissa,³ which must have been the nucleus of the Metropolitan estates. He eventually took over the vacant see of Trikkala, 'but even this fraction was not permitted to him in entirety', for Gabrielopoulos and others constantly encroached upon church lands.⁴ Even though Kyprianos used his parresia with God to punish the transgressors, Antonios on taking office after his death found the property of the church 'similarly sundered and appropriated by others', and incapable of supporting the cost of restoring the cathedral church, which had recently been gutted by fire.⁵ Antonios did not manage to carry out the restoration until shortly before he wrote his Encomium on Kyprianos (1362),⁶ which suggests that the finances of the bishopric had only recently recovered, perhaps thanks to Nikephoros II and Symeon Uroš. In accordance with his imperial pretensions, Symeon insisted that Zavlantia pay to the Metropolitan of Larissa the kanonikon normally due to the patriarch of Constantinople.⁷

(1) Ševčenko, 'Cabasilas', 150, 119 - οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐχθρὸν ὡς ἐπίσκοπος μοναχοῖς.

(2) Appendix II, xi, 12-3; possibly the last Metropolitan was the Unionist Nikandros (supra, 168).

(3) Appendix II, xv.

(4) Ibid. xv, 8-9; xvi-xvii; xviii-xxi.

(5) Ibid. xxv-vi; xxviii, 1-4.

(6) Ibid. xxxi-xxxii; xxiii: 21 years from the death of Andronikos III (1341).

(7) Byzantis, ii, 75-6 (Solovyev/Mošin, 222); compare with Byzantis, ii, 57-8. On the kanonikon, see Ševčenko, 'Cabasilas', 147-8 and bibliography.

Our documents barely mention the bishopric of Trikkala or the Metropolis of Larissa as landowners. The only specific reference to diocesan property is an inscribed slab discovered, oddly, in Constantinople.^I This threatens with excommunication all who should attempt to lay hands on the property of the church of Trikkala at the [Panagia] Megalomma and at the Monampelon. The inscription is dated to 1372-3 and signed by Neilos, Metropolitan of Larissa and titular incumbent of Side in Asia Minor.² It was probably a copy of a document, and the stone probably stood on one of the two properties named. I think Preger's second hypothesis, that the stone was brought, perhaps as ballast, in a ship from Thessaly, is preferable to his first, that the bishopric had possessions in Constantinople. The Monampelon might be the state vineyard mentioned in connection with Porta-Panagia.³

The Bishopric of Stagoi, because of its connection with the Meteora, has left a fuller record of its landed fortunes than any other Thessalian see.⁴ By chrysobulls of Nikephoros Botaneiates and Alexios I Komnenos, the church possessed 1000 modia of land, mostly near the village of Kouveltsi, and 19 paroikoi with their zeugaria.⁵ By 1163 the number of paroikoi had been increased to 46, probably by horismos of Manuel I. The diagnosis of John Athanasopoulos which gives us this information also shows the bishopric to have been in possession of various properties in and near the kastron of Stagoi. These may have been

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- (1) Th. Preger, 'Inscripfen aus Konstantinopel', Byz.Zeit., viii (1899), 485-8.
 - (2) The Metropolitan of Larissa is similarly addressed in a patriarchal document of September 1371: MM, i, 587-9.
 - (3) Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 314; supra, 268.
 - (4) Astruc, 238-46.
 - (5) MM, v, 270-I. Can these 1000 modia not be identified with those listed in the diagnosis of 1163, and with the topion of Chiliómodon which perplexes Astruc, 245 n. 1.

the oldest part of the episcopal estate. They are listed together with three metochia (including Doupiane) and the emporion (with a total of 96 dependents) in a praktikon issued by the anagrapheus Manouses. Different opinions have been expressed as to the date of this praktikon, which is known from its mention in Andronikos III's chrysobull of 1336. The term anagrapheus had gone out of use by the Palaiologan period; on the other hand, 'par rapport à Manoussès, Athanasopoulos décrit un stade moins développé de la fortune de l'évêché^I'. Manouses is unlikely to have lived later than Migiares, who as we have seen was apographeus² in these parts at the beginning of the century.

The latest document in the series, the sigillion of the patriarch Antonios IV (1393), mentions several grammata of Michael Monomachos by which the eparch³ 'freely dedicated' certain properties to the bishopric. This is curious, since among the properties are some listed in the praktikon of Manouses; these must, therefore, have been confirmed rather than conferred by Monomachos, unless he made over revenues from them which the bishopric had not hitherto enjoyed. Other possessions, however - the village of Kouveltzi and the metochia of Petra and Knina - are not mentioned in the chrysobull of 1336. Monomachos' grammata must date from the period 1336-1341. They were no doubt submitted to the patriarch as being the latest pieces of legitimate government legislation in the episcopal archives. It is interesting that the bishopric received no donations⁴ in the whole period 1341-1393.

(1) Astruc, 237 n. 4; cf. also 220 n. 3.

(2) Supra, 220-3.

(3) Aristarches, 'Documents', 32-3.

(4) Astruc, 246.

Metropolitans of Larissa resident at Trikkala.

- ¹
 (I318-c. I333) Kyprianos
²
 (cI333-post I363) Antonios
³ ⁴
 (ante I371- c. I382) Neilos
⁵ ⁶
 (ante April I383 - I401/2) Ioasaph

Bishops of Trikkala.

- ⁷
 (?) (c. I336) N.
⁸
 (I401-2) N.

Officials of the Diocese of Trikkala.

- (?I318-I333) Nomikos, N. grandfather of George KOURBOULEAS.
 (I381) Nomophylax, NOTAROPOULOS.
⁹
Dikaiophylax, N.
¹⁰
 (I385-6) Chartophylax, Thomas Xeros.

- (1) Supra, 212, 228.
 (2) Byzantis, ii, 15.
 (3) D. Papachryssanthou, 'Une inscription de Syméon Uroš', Travaux et Mémoires, ii (1967), 486; supra, 285 and n. 2.
 (4) Last mentioned in Nov. I381: Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 314.
 (5) Cf. I. and A.I. Sakellion, Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος (Athens, 1892), no. 629; Bees, 'Antonios von Larissa', 312; Bees/Vranoussis, Catalogue, no. 2.
 (6) Byzantis, ii, 45-9.
 (7) Ref. to bp. of Trikkala in chrysobull of Andronikos III: Byzantis, ii, 57.
 (8) Byzantis, ii, 47.
 (9) Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 310.
 (10) Bees/ Vranoussis, Catalogue, 219, 568-9.

- (I392-I401) Dikaiophylax, protonotarios, Manuel Kabares.^I
 = (I401-2) Dikaiophylax, Manuel Κηβήρχης (sic).²
 (I401-2) ἐντιμώτατος protonotarios, Manuel Tichomeres.³

Bishops of Stagoi.

- (I340-1) Xenophon.⁴
 (I366-7) Bessarion.⁵
 (I387-8) N.⁶

Officials of the diocese of Stagoi.

- (c. I360) Oikonomos, Constantine (also I362).^{7 8}
Kanistrius, Michael.
Hieromnemon, John.
Domestikos, Andronikos Oungros (also I362).⁸
Protopsaltes, Nicholas.
Dikaïos, Neilos.
 (I401) Oikonomos, Kaloioannes.⁹

Bishops of Phanari and Kapoua.

- (I381, † I388) Damianos.¹⁰

(1) Byzantis, ii, 41-2, 45.

(2) Ibid. 47.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid. 72, 97.

(5) Byzantis, i, 569-73.

(6) Byzantis, ii, 27-9.

(7) Ibid. 87-8.

(8) Ibid. 18

(9) Ibid. 47

(10) Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 316; E. Skouvaras, 'Ολυμπιώτισσα', 371.

The Monasteries.

Lykousada. The original endowments of Lykousada are known from the monastery's first charter, the chrysobull of I289^I. The ten properties listed (including 4 villages and 4 metochia) were all no doubt donated by the foundress. The chrysobull of Andronikos III lists I7 properties, which do not include certain ones² donated and others confirmed by John Orsini. The last full list of Lykousada's possessions is in Stephen Dušan's 'sworn chrysobull' of I348³. By this time, the monastery had 33 properties, including I3 monastic dependencies (one donated by John Angelos) and 7 1/2 villages.

Later in the century Lykousada seems to have been refounded by a certain hieromonk Euthymios, who obtained from the patriarchs Philotheos (d. I376) and Neilos (I383) charters giving it the status of a stavropegion, and making its abbot protosynkellos of all the monasteries in Vlachia, with the power to consecrate stavropegiac churches⁴. Euthymios was Lykousada's ktetor, not its abbot as Lampros assumed⁵. It is surprising that we find no other reference to this man, who must have been a local figure of some importance⁶.

(I) MM, v, 253-6.

(2) Dölger, Regesten, no. 2780; Bees, 'Lykousada', 485-6; supra, 232-3.

(3) Solovyev/Mošin, I52-6I.

(4) Lampros, 'Sigillion', I76-8; supra, 50. On the origin of the term stavropegion, which came to mean a church directly answerable to the patriarch, see Beck, I29.

(5) Lampros, 'Sigillion', I76. The abbot of Lykousada in I38I was called Ioannikios: Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 308.

(6) His name should perhaps be inserted in the prosopographical list, supra, 27I, after no. I7.

Porta-Panagia. We possess only one full list of the monastery's possessions, an alleged chrysobull of Andronikos III, dated to 1332, which claims to confirm one of Andronikos II.^I As we have seen, the formulae of the date and signature² are dubious, but this may be because some much later copyist decided to interpret them in a way intelligible to his own generation. In expressing doubt as to the authenticity of the document, Ferjančić fails to mention that the council which met in 1381 to save Porta-Panagia from ruin had before it chrysobulls of former emperors:³ one of these must surely have been issued by Andronikos III. The text published by Aristarches may therefore be an accurate statement of the monastery's landed fortunes in the second quarter of the 14th century. Most properties mentioned lay in Trikkala or the immediate vicinity - a further indication that the founder, John the Bastard, had had the bulk of his estate in this area. Three villages are listed and ten dependent monasteries.

Zavlantia. This monastery, not being a princely foundation, had only four properties in 1336.⁴ But it was already of independent patriarchal status, and its connections with Trikkala gave it a special advantage. In Symeon Uroš's chrysobull of 1359, its estate shows a large increase.⁵ Many of the properties listed are small units: houses in Trikkala, and vineyards totalling 22 stremmata. Yet Zavlantia had also acquired 4 dependent churches of which one had been given by Nikephoros II and two, along with half a village, were donations of Symeon. The chrysobull of 1366 was issued principally to grant permission for the monastery to build a tower, but Symeon took the opportunity to confirm Zavlantia's posses-

(1) Aristarches, 'Documents', 36-7.

(2) Supra, 233, n. 3; Ferjančić, Tesalija, 208.

(3) Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 306.

(4) Byzantis, ii, 55-8.

(5) Ibid. 73-80 (Solovyev/Mošin, 216-29).

sions, among which were several new acquisitions: three dependent monasteries,^I and half the village of Zouliane, donated by the emperor.

The Meteora. We have no evidence as to how much land the Meteora monasteries owned in the 14th century. Yet with their formal inauguration, all must have acquired at least a bare minimum of agricultural land, and the Meteoron, with its saintly founder and his princely successor, must have received large endowments by the end of the century. The fact that by 1373 the monks had a hostel at Trikkala suggests that they already possessed properties in and around the town. The Meteora were subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Stagoi, yet they do not seem to have been held to any material obligation beyond the annual payment of wax in respect of certain properties.

At the death of Michael II of Epiros (c. 1267) the bishoprics were the chief, possibly the sole, ecclesiastical landowners in the region of Trikkala, with large estates and privileges acquired over many centuries. Of the monasteries known to us only one, Zavlantia, could then possibly have been in existence. By the mid 14th century there were four large monasteries in the district, two of which, Porta-Panagia and Lykousada, compared in wealth with some of the more junior Athonite houses. The middle years of the century seem to have brought much destruction, for Symeon Uroš found 'all the monasteries and the holy churches of God ruined by the onslaught of the times' (πάντα μὲν τὰ μοναστήρια καὶ τὰς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας εὐροῦσα ἡρημωμένας ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ καιροῦ ἐπιθέσεως)². Symeon extended his patronage to Zavlantia and the Meteora, but it seems to have been not until the reign of the caesar

(1) Byzantis, ii, 80-4 (Solovyev/Mošin, 252-6).

(2) Ibid. 81 (252).

I
 Alexios Angelos that Porta-Panagia, and perhaps Lykousada, were fully reconstituted. The explanation for this difference is not clear; at any rate, Lampros' idea of an 'ethnic' clash between the 'Serbian' emperor and the old 'Greek' monasteries must be discounted,² partly because Symeon states that all the monasteries of Vlachia were well disposed towards him,³ and partly because two prominent Greeks of Symeon's court, ARCHONTITZES MALIASINOS and (Loukiane, Theodoula) KOTANITZENA, were patrons of Zavlantia and the Meteora and despoilers of Porta-Panagia.

It is significant that neither Symeon Uroš nor Alexios Angelos made any benefactions to the bishopric of Stagoi, and that for most of the century the bishopric of Trikkala was in desperate financial straits. Lay patrons favoured the monasteries over the secular church for various reasons. The case of the Maliasenoi shows that a layman who founded and endowed a monastery did not have to alienate the investment from his own family.⁴ Monastic religion was far more attractive than episcopal Christianity. It could be practised by amateurs and offered repose, whereas the church of the bishops was a worldly profession, lacking all mystique. Only monks were free enough to achieve the degree of prayer necessary to keep the community in touch with God, and to lead a truly exemplary life; in any case, most bishops were monks in origin. To promote the monasteries seemed, therefore, to promote spirituality at its source.

(1) Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 306; supra, 49.

(2) Lampros, 'Sigillion', 176.

(3) Byzantis, ii, and Solovyev/Mošin, loc. cit.

(4) Ferjančić, 'Posedi'.

The Bonds of Society.

Much of this thesis has been devoted to tracing the existence of Thessaly within the Byzantine 'commonwealth' as a de facto independent political unit. It is the purpose of the section which follows to examine the links and the forces which held the 'bark of Vlachia' (τὸ τῆς Βλαχίας σκάφος^I) together and kept it afloat.

The administration. Even at its most independent, Thessaly modelled itself on Byzantine forms, and the partial re-establishment of links with Constantinople further exposed the province to the influence of the Palaiologan administrative system.²

The provincial administrative units of the 14th century were no longer those of the 12th, but, in theory at least, they were still defined according to the needs of imperial government, and their terminology reflects a division into departments which is characteristic of centralised bureaucracy. The basic military unit was the katepanikion, which corresponded roughly to the individual kastron and its surrounding forts. Both the mobile troops and the garrisons (each commanded by a kastrophylox) of every katepanikion were controlled by the kephale, appointed by imperial prostagma and maintained by material contributions (mitaton)³ from the residents of the kastron. This official was called the partial (μερικὴ) kephale, as distinct from the commander-in-chief of a whole province, the 'general' (περιέχουσα) kephale. The basic fiscal unit was the thema, where properties and owners were assessed for tax according to the cadastral survey (ἀπογραφικὴ κατάσταση), conducted by the apographeus with the

(1) Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal', 306.

(2) Maksimović, Uprava, passim.

(3) For the appointment and duties of the kephale and kastrophylox, see Sathas, vi, 642-5.

aid of trained surveyors. Taxes were collected by officials known variously as [δ.]ενεργοῦντες, δημοσιακοὶ ἑνοχοί.

In practice this system was neither fixed nor uniform. The distance of a town from Constantinople or Thessalonica, its proximity to an enemy frontier, the terms according to which it was subject, the standing of the official, his connections with the locality, the terms of his appointment: these were all variables which, given the political conditions of the time, made government extremely fluid and improvised. This can be seen most clearly in the sphere of justice. There was no specific judicial unit and no permanent provincial judiciary. All cases could be referred to the emperor, and, from the reign of Andronikos III, 'Judges-general' (καθολικοὶ κριταί) were permanently established in the capital with power to try all provincial cases. But most provincial suits were decided by mixed civil and ecclesiastical tribunals composed of local notables, none of them professional lawyers, where the kephale represented the authority of the central government. The kephale was, indeed, the official upon whom all matters, even financial, devolved when other bureaucracies failed. As we saw in the case of John Angelos, special circumstances could give a 'general' kephale so much responsibility that he became an appanage-holder rather than an imperial functionary: in the later 14th century, when appanages become the order of the day, the title goes out of use.

The sources allow us an occasional insight into the internal administration of Thessaly during the 14th century. The term thema nowhere occurs. There is only one instance of a katepanikion, in the Titaresios Valley, although the expressions 'chora of Trikkala' and 'archontia of Stagoi' no doubt designate units of equivalent size. The term kephale is used, both of 'general' governors of the whole province (Michael Monomachos, John Angelos), and, in a 'partial' sense,

(I) Maksimović, Uprava, 47.

of the administrators of Trikkala and Stagoi; Phanari may have had a kephale, though there is no mention of one. The name was probably first introduced to Thessaly by Michael VIII, who termed his commander in the region of Demetrias (post 1267) ^I 'Kephale of Great Vlachia', and may have been adopted by the Komneno-Doukai of Neopatras: BOUTOMITES, 'Marshal' of Thessaly during the minority of John II, is referred to as having had the kephalatikion of Vlachia. The 'partial' kephalai are mentioned mainly in their judicial capacity, as members of tribunals deciding or approving property suits and bequests. Only one subordinate military official is mentioned, Manuel GARAKES, kastrophylax of Trikkala in 1392-3.

For fiscal purposes, 'Vlachia' appears to have been one unit. John MIGIARES, apographeus, describes himself as having been appointed by the sebastokrator (? Constantine Komneno-Doukas) to conduct the cadastral survey 'in all his Thessalian territory' (εἰς τὴν κατὰ τὴν Βλαχίαν ἅπασαν χώραν αὐτοῦ²). The officials whom John Angelos ordered to investigate the boundaries of a certain property claimed by Zavlantia were all of the locality (i.e. Trikkala), but IERAIAS, who drafted the document incorporating the results of this commission, is described as 'him whom [Angelos] had in charge of the cadastral survey of [all] his territory' (ὃν εἶχεν εἰς ἀπογραφικὴν κατάστασιν τῆς χώρας αὐτοῦ³), which must refer to Thessaly as a whole. Colleagues and assistants of the apographeus may have been assigned to smaller areas. Under BOUTOMITES, MIGIARES was assisted by Constantine KALOPHILES, the kavallarios Syr Alexios, and Nicholas, ⁴ chartoularios. George ANDRITZAS, doux of the region of Trikkala, and George BALSAMAS, the regional consultant on questions of disputed boundary or possession, would seem to have been IERAIAS' local assistants.

(1) Supra, 153.

(2) Bees, 'Gradistion', 86.

(3) Byzantis, ii, 77 (Solovyev/Mošin, 224).

(4) The doux in this period performed the same duties as the apographeus: Maksimović, Uprava, 65-70.

There are several instances in our documents of tribunals set up to adjudicate on issues involving local landowners. Only one specifically judicial title is recorded, that of 'Judge-general', which Antonios of Larissa held under Symeon I Uroš.

The court. The administrative system outlined above catered to the practical needs of government, but it did not carry the monarchical mystique which made government authentic in medieval eyes. This was provided by the hierarchy of the imperial court, which we have already several times encountered. The court hierarchy was a large accretion of positions (ἀξιώματα, ὀφφίκια, τιμαί), some as old as the empire itself; some the creations of later emperors, notably Alexios I; some bureaucratic in origin, some military, and some, including the very highest, purely honorific. A few offices still carried specific duties, but as a whole the court only functioned on ceremonial occasions. There was a strict order of precedence, exhibited in the attire of each dignitary. The system as it had evolved by the mid 14th century is set out in the treatise of the Pseudo-Kodinos.²

The evolution of the two highest titles, those of despot and sebastokrator, has been explored in detail by Ferjančić. These titles were originally created to honour intimates of the emperor's family who enjoyed his special confidence, and they continued to be granted with this intention. Yet during the 13th and 14th centuries they were, as we have seen, increasingly bestowed upon separatist rulers with whom the empire was often at war, and in time the marital ties which identified the titular with the imperial family became more and more indirect.

(1) Lemerle, 'Juge-général', 311; Ferjančić, Tesalija, 251-2, n. 103.

(2) Pseudo-Kodinos, passim; J. Verpeaux, 'Hiérarchie et préséances sous les Paléologues', Travaux et Mémoires, i (1965), 421-37.

Other court dignities have not been studied in quite the same detail - the numerous essays of R. Guiland are far from adequate.^I Yet there is some indication that at other levels of the hierarchy too, titles were bestowed not only 'internally' upon favoured associates of the imperial family and government, but also 'externally', upon distant magnates whom the emperor wished to woo. In 1228, the despot Manuel Komnenos-Doukas, though subject to his brother the emperor Theodore of Thessalonica, had had his own protovestiarites in Thessaly.² The case of Michael Zorianos, who was successively 'Steward' and protostrator under Thomas of Epiros (1296-1318),³ suggests that Michael II and his descendants assumed the prerogative of granting court titles; Thomas Preljubović certainly did so in Ioannina.⁴ The way in which John MIGIARES signed his gramma for Gradistion suggests that he held his title of sebastos from his master the sebastokrator.⁵

It would seem, then, that when Andronikos III conquered northern Greece he had to compensate the local aristocracy for no longer being the dignitaries of a local prince. He may thus have created a group of local titularies intended not to integrate with the court at Constantinople, but rather to constitute

(1) Those published up to 1962 collected in 2 vols., Recherches sur les institutions byzantines (Berlin/Amsterdam, 1967).

(2) A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ιωάννης Ἀπόκαυκος καὶ Νικήτας Χωνιάτης, Τεσσαρακονταετηρίς τῆς καθ' ἡγεσίαν Κ.Ε. Κόντου (Athens, 1909), 379.

(3) G. Sotiriades, Βυζαντιναὶ ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐξ Αἰτωλίας, Ep. Parn., vii (1903), 211; S. Lampros, Πρόχειρον σημείωμα περὶ Μιχαὴλ Ζωρτιανού, *ibid.*, 216-21; Bees, 'Gradistion', 93-4.

(4) Chr. Ioan., § II, ll. 28-9.

(5) Bees, 'Gradistion', 87-8.

their own local court loyal to him. This may explain the existence of a megas primmikerios and a megas stratopedarches in the locality at times when these titles were held by others in the capital.^I

From the usurpation of Cantacuzene to the Turkish conquest there were at any one time at least two claimants to the imperial throne. The presence of local titularies in this period is not therefore at all surprising, especially when we remember that under Symeon Uroš Trikkala was itself the capital of an 'empire'. It is possible that he decided to base himself here partly because he found the rudiments of a court already in existence.

The piecemeal system of military and financial administration and the more orderly but parallel system of court patronage were the only formal structures of the Palaiologan empire and of its more or less independent satellites. Byzantine political theory did not change, so it was impossible for Byzantine institutions to lose their centralised, bureaucratic appearance. Yet whereas the institutions of an earlier age had been the essential systems of a healthy organism, the institutions of Palaiologan Byzantium were maintained by the working of other mechanisms. The kephale faced with the disaffection of the aristocracy in his katepanikion was powerless, because the local landowners provided his main basis for military action. The apographeus spent much of his time assessing properties that were largely immune from taxation. The archon who received a court title was expected not so much to perform specific duties as to be loyal rather than disloyal to the emperor. Clearly then, the bonds of society in 14th-century Thessaly cannot be seen in the formal structures inherited or borrowed from Constantinople. Rather, they must be sought in the expression of the most deeply held social principles. The dynastic principle has already been discussed.

(I) Supra, 273-4, nos. 33, 41; Guillard, op. cit., i, 317, 508-9.

It remains to analyse those values which may be termed 'feudal' and 'religious'.

I
Feudalism. 'Feudalism' in western Europe was a way of life so deeply engrained that it lay behind every thought process of society. This did not happen in Byzantium, where the idioms inherited from late antiquity were never forgotten. But the Byzantines formed political, social, and economic relationships analogous to those of the west, which westerners found possible to express in their own terms. Relations between Greeks and Latins were strained at the best of times, and although historians dispute the pace and the degree of 'feudalisation' in Byzantium, they are agreed that it was an independent, internal development. Yet the Latin presence in the east after the First Crusade undoubtedly made for transmission of ideas and terminology, especially in Greece after 1204, where Greek aristocrats were constantly in touch with French feudatories.

Like the western fief (feudum), the Byzantine pronoia or oikonomia, from which most landowners in the later period benefited, was a benefice, usually² though not always a piece of land, held in return for service to the emperor. More often than not it was the tenant who had the best of the exchange, but his bargaining-power lay in what he had to offer: his military strength, or that of the group with which he identified. It is clear, therefore, that feudal institutions were most likely to flourish in those societies which had the strongest tradition of warfare. Thessaly has been described as the most highly feudalised of all the Greek provinces, and various explanations have been offered for this: the richness of the plains, proximity to the Latin states, the fact that local regimes were not 'legitimate'. Yet Thessaly was most unique, surely, in being

(1) See in general M. Bloch, Feudal Society, 2 vols; on Byzantine feudalism, cf. besides the works of G. Ostrogorsky, Lj. Maksimović, G. Weiss and A.E. Laiou cited throughout this thesis, D.A. Zakythinos, Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Αὐτοκρατορία (Athens, 1969), 252-9.

(2) Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, 9 ff. and passim; see also the articles by Oikonomides, Ševčenko, Schreiner, and Ostrogorsky referred to supra, 280 n. 1, 285 n. 4.

the Greek society most highly geared for war. As we have seen, this feature dated probably from the time when John the Bastard called upon the Thessalian aristocracy to help further his dynastic ambitions. As late as 1342, the local cavalry was still a formidable force, 'trained in many a long war', and capable of swaying the civil conflict in favour of Cantacuzene.^I It is remarkable and perhaps significant that we hear no more of the Thessalian cavalry after this date; the way in which the archons of Phanari sought to curtail their military duties may be indicative of a trend. As was argued earlier, however, war for a medieval aristocrat was not simply a duty but a profession, in which there was honour and sometimes profit to be won. Thessalian feudalism must be viewed not just as a set of tenurial relationships, but as the code of men who although jealous of their material assets took a professional pride in honouring their obligations to their leader and to their comrades in arms.

The old Roman idea that all 'citizens' were equal before the law had no currency in feudal society, where it was believed that those who fought and those who prayed deserved special treatment. This impaired the homogeneity of the whole community, but it helped to foster a spirit of corporate responsibility within each class, which in western Europe led to the growth of representative assemblies. Such corporate organisation was never written into the Byzantine 'constitution', but the mentions of 'senates' (σύγκλητοι) and 'popular assemblies' (ἐκκλησίαι)² show that the basic structures were there. As we should expect, these structures were especially strong in Thessaly. Although there are numerous instances of town residents negotiating collectively with their masters, only in Thessaly do we find a whole province taking such corporate

(1) Supra, 241.

(2) C.N. Tsirpanlis, 'Byzantine Parliaments and Representative Assemblies', Byzantion, xliii (1973), 432-81.

action. within this framework, of course, towns like Phanari are to be found striking their own bargains. But a sense of collective responsibility prevailed. In the charter to Phanari we find the idea, characteristic of feudal society, that an archon^I is to be judged by his peers. Several of our documents concern the uncertain possession or limits of lands: in all instances the litigant appealed to the authorities, but the rights and wrongs of the case were decided by a group. In 1340, the dispute between the BODESADES and Zavlantia over the latter's metochion of Kalogeriane was resolved by a commission led by the Metropolitan of Larissa, but including laymen of different degrees.² John Angelos, called upon to approve the restitution of a certain property to Zavlantia, appointed the local kephale, the local doux, ARCHONTITZES, 'and several others' to look into the matter.³ In 1388 the caesar Alexios Angelos made decisions affecting certain Meteora properties in council with the protos Neophytos, the monk Philotheos from Nea Moni in Thessalonica, and various 'most noble archons'.⁴ In the same year the bishop of Stagoi confirmed the ktetorship of the kellion of Petra along with Stephen KORESES, kephale of Stagoi, and various archons 'great and small'.⁵ In 1392-3 a bequest to Zavlantia of certain properties in Trikkala was approved by a group of 'most noble archons'.⁶ Most spectacularly, the for-

(1) MM, v, 261; Zakythinos, 'Processus de féodalisation', 506; Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 187.

(2) Byzantis, ii, 62-72.

(3) Ibid. 77 (Solovyev/Mošin, 224).

(4) Byzantis, ii, 24-7.

(5) Ibid. 27-9.

(6) Ibid. 40-2. Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 275-6, sees it as unique that the laymen are here in a majority, a feature which he attributes to the special conditions of 14th-century Thessaly.

tunes of Porta-Panagia were in 1381 investigated by a tribunal representing the full spectrum of local landowning interests: John-Ioasaph Uroš, the Metropolitan of Larissa, the bishop of Phanari, the abbot of Douplane and protos of the skete of Stagoi, the abbots of Zavlantia, Lykousada, and Porta-Panagia, and archons from Trikkala, Phanari, and other kastra.¹ These examples suggest that according to local custom justice in the matter of land-ownership could only be dispensed by a representative selection of local landowners.

In the context of these legal privileges, we may mention the fiscal immunities which most lay landowners enjoyed, and which in the later period consisted of almost complete exemption (ἐκσκούσσεια)² from the many taxes which afflicted the Byzantine economy. Sometimes in grants of fiscal immunity all the taxes are enumerated, but as early as the 12th century it was customary to express the exemption in a clause saying that the beneficiary is to hold his property 'freely' and 'undisturbed'.³ In some circumstances the general exkousseia did not apply to the levy for the construction and repair of fortresses (kastroktisia),⁴ which is characterised as 'for the public good' (κοινοφελής),⁵ although in Phanari, as in Ioannina, it is stated that this could not be raised for the expenses of any other kastron.⁶ Michael Gabrielopoulos also demanded from the people of Phanari a sales-tax (κομμέρκιος), the payment of fines for all cases of murder (φόνος)⁷ and defloration of virgins (παρθενοφθορία), and a due

(1) Heuzey, 'Jugement synodal'.

(2) G. Ostrogorsky, 'Pour l'histoire de l'immunité à Byzance', Byzantion, xxviii (1958), 165-254.

(3) Ibid. 226.

(4) S. Trojanos, 'Καστροκτισία: Einige Bemerkungen über die finanziellen Grundlagen des Festungsbaues im byzantinischen Reich', Byzantina, i (1969), 41-57.

(5) Ostrogorsky, op. cit. 208; MM, iv, 332, 335; Bees, 'Gradistion', 87; Ferjančić, Tesalija, 86-7, 174.

(6) MM, v, 82, 261.

(7) N.A. Bees, 'Ὑπῆρχε ius primae noctis παρὰ Βυζαντινοῖς;', Byz. Zeit., xxi (1912), 169-86. On p. 170 Bees amends the text published in MM, v, 261 to read τὸ κομμέρκιον, φόνον.

I
called the πενταμίδεια.

No feudal agreement was valid unless sealed by solemn oath. By the early 14th century it was customary for all officials in government service to take an oath of personal loyalty to the emperor (ὄρκος βασιλικός), by which they undertook to be 'friend of his friends and enemy of his enemies', a formula common in western ties of vassalage.² Such an oath could not be demanded by force, and the swearer had to be rewarded with some kind of benefice.³ He thereby became his sovereign's oikeios, an expression which can be rendered to mean 'vassal', and joined his 'retinue' (ἐταίρεια). It goes without saying that a man who is described as being of the hetaireia or oikeioi of a magnate other than the emperor was also bound to him by oath.³

Byzantine 'vassalage' differed from that of the west in that the personal oath was not necessarily bilateral. Here again, Thessaly appears to have been an exceptional case. As we have seen, Guy II swore to keep the Thessalian barons in their rights and franchises, and later, Stephen Dušan and Symeon Uroš delivered their patronage to local monasteries in the form of 'sworn chrysobulls', after the manner of Michael Gabrielopoulos: ὀρκωμοτικὸν γράμμα for Phanari.⁴

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- (1) The occurrence of this term is, so far as I am aware, unique; it may, however, refer to some form of 'treasure-trove' (εὕρησις θησαυροῦ), with which the phonos and parthenophthoria are usually listed. These two fines were articles of a general judicial imposition known as the aer or aerikon: see Ostrogorsky, 'Immunité', 246 ff, who concludes that where the landowner was exempted from the aer he had judicial rights over his dependents.
- (2) N. Svoronos, 'Le serment de fidélité', Rev. Et. Byz., ix (1951), 134, 140-1; for the text of this oath, see Sathas, vi, 652-3.
- (3) Svoronos, loc. cit.; L. Levi, 'Cinque lettere inedite di Emmanuele Moscopulo', Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica, x (1902), 65.
- (4) Supra, 176-7, 195, 237, 244-6, 256.

The feudal aspect of Byzantine society became more and more marked with time, and it is natural to conclude that feudalism was a symptom, or even a cause, of the empire's disintegration. As we saw in examining the status of Michael II, and as we can read in the Akritic Cycle and the Counsels of Cecaumenos, there was a fundamental antagonism between the classic Romano-Byzantine idea of empire and the 'rights' of the feudal warrior: rights which led inevitably to the alienation of state land, the non-taxability of the wealthiest members of society, the decentralisation of power, the decline of maritime enterprise, and the development of insubordinate habits among the aristocracy. The medieval 'Roman' empires of the West suffered equally from their dependence upon the services of powerful feudatories. Yet, on a smaller scale, feudalism was a cohesive, not a dissolving force, which, far from being incompatible with monarchy, could not survive without it, just as medieval monarchs could not dispense with the services of their feudal cavalry. The feudatory was above all a warrior. This led him to idealise the military virtues of leadership and organisation, and to sanctify the bonds by which these virtues were expressed: the 'vertical' bond of bilateral contract between vassal and lord, and the 'horizontal' bond of fraternity among equals. Properly encouraged and exploited, these bonds could create a deep sense of constitutional propriety in ruler and ruled, and a sense of collective responsibility among the ruling class. It was the lasting achievement of the medieval monarchies of England and France that they managed to turn the bonds of the feudal system into governmental institutions, and the tragedy of Byzantium is perhaps that these bonds were never fully effective except in provinces such as Thessaly.

religion. It is impossible to exaggerate the force of religion in the Middle Ages. There was no aspect of life in which a man was not called upon to bear witness to his Christian orthodoxy, and the consequences of failure were too horrible to contemplate. Laymen were appointed to defend society against its earthly enemies, but only the true faith was worth defending, and only the true church could sanctify the use of arms. The feudal oath was sworn on the most holy names and objects of the church. The monasteries were given special treatment because the emperor valued their prayers on his behalf; these were believed to be far more effective than mere force. In a feudal sense, Porta-Panagia and Lykousada belonged to the archons of Phanari, but in another sense the kastra² belonged to the monasteries which were thanked for their surrender.

The church focussed the loyalties of Orthodox Christians at two levels: the ecumenical and the local. At the ecumenical level, the main focus was Constantinople, where ecclesiastical leadership and dogma were directed by the emperor, patriarch, and synod. During our period, when the Greeks felt acutely threatened by both Turks and Latin Christians, the sense of the Orthodox community became stronger; this must have been especially true of border areas such as Thessaly. While the emperor declined as an effective champion of Christianity, the patriarch grew in stature, and even extended the influence of Constantinople. In spite of the chaos of the times, the Synodal Register of the 14th century shows the patriarch ruling on the affairs of the Thessalian church; it was to the patriarch that the Metropolitan of Larissa looked for assistance in 1371³ in order to reassert control over his suffragan bishops.

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- (1) See the prooemium to a chrysobull of Dušan: Actes d'Esphigménou, no. 24,
 (2) MM, v, 260; supra, 231, 255. p. 146.
 (3) MM, i, 79-80, 85-8, 514-5, 587-8.

Equally important for the unity of the church as a whole were the monastic centres of international renown. Although in the 14th century isolated places, such as the hermitages of Berrhoia and the monastery of Paroria in Bulgaria, attracted attention for short periods of time, the spiritual power-house of the Orthodox world was Mt. Athos. The Athonites were the strongest pressure-group in the church. Through the persuasiveness of their apologist, Gregory Palamas, and through his influence with Cantacuzene, they succeeded in establishing as Orthodox dogma the belief that their own form of mystical prayer, 'hesychasm', could lead to the vision of the uncreated light that shone at Christ's Transfiguration.^I The Thessalian church is not mentioned as having played a leading part in the hesychast controversy. But the local influence of Athos is apparent from the hagiographical sources: the founding fathers of the Meteora and at least two Metropolitans of Larissa spent time on the Holy Mountain.

The provincial church was a microcosm of the ecumenical, with metropolitans and local synods, its own monasteries, and its own patron saints and holy men. Thessaly had always had a local Christian tradition, but conditions allowed this to take on a new strength in the 14th century. Neither Constantinople nor Athos could satisfy the spiritual needs of the Thessalian people at a time when communications were hazardous and the province was politically isolated. On the other hand, the presence of local princes encouraged the patronage of local cults and holy men, and the instability of local political regimes enhanced the rôle of the Metropolitan of Larissa as a leader.

Both the ecumenical and the provincial aspects of the Thessalian church can best be studied with reference to the two men who did most to shape local religious life: Hosios Athanasios of the Meteora, and Antonios, Metropolitan of Larissa.

(I) See, in general, J. Meyendorff, Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas (Paris, 1959).

Athanasios' career is well known from his Bios and from modern studies of this text. The saint spent his formative years in Thessalonica, where he acquired something of a secular education. He developed his spiritual qualities through contact with the greatest ascetics of Constantinople and Athos, and he would not have gone to the Meteora but for Turkish pirate raids which made the Holy Mountain unsuitable for the contemplative life. His masters were evidently practitioners of hesychasm, and his biographer's condemnation of Akindynos, who later opposed Gregory Palamas, no doubt reflects Athanasios' own attitude. In all this, Athanasios belonged to the main stream of Byzantine life. Yet he was born in Neopatras, of a well-to-do family, and might never have left but for a local event - the Catalan invasion of c. 1319. After all his travels, to Constantinople, Athos, Thessalonica, and Crete, it was in his native province that he found the conditions for the life he wished to lead. He founded his community with the help of local bishops and of emperors who were ignored east of the Vardar. To this extent, his life and work were creations of Thessalian history.

The main outlines of Athanasios' career in the Meteora are given in Chapter I. Here we may briefly consider the qualities which earned him his reputation as a spiritual father and a saint. It comes as no surprise to see Athanasios invested with the whole hierarchy of virtues listed by S. John Klimax; indeed, a stated purpose of the Bios is to prove that the author's generation was still capable of producing holy men. There can be no doubt that Athanasios strove unceasingly to cultivate these virtues. His typikon shows his concern to promote a very austere kind of monasticism. He had a human affection for his spiritual

(1) Byzantis, i, 237-60, 208-36¹⁷; Nicol, Meteora, 88-104.

(2) He may have left in the raid of 1325-6 which forced Palamas and others to flee Athos: G. Chionides, 'Ιστορικά προβλήματα καὶ μνημεῖα ἐκ τῆς παραμονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Γρηγορίου Παλαμά εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν Βεροίας, Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμάς, 1 (1967), 282-4.

(3) Byzantis, i, 241.

(4) Ibid. 251-2.

father Gregory, but otherwise his outstanding qualities were those which proved his utter contempt for the world. He had nothing to say to Gregory Preljub beyond prophesying his death. His horror of the female sex was so great that he completely refused to see Preljub's widow when she came to Stagoi; since she persisted, he shouted at her from afar that she would go the way of her husband for her vainglory.^I The author of the Bios confesses himself unable to judge the depth of his hero's hesychasm, but he claims to have heard from a reliable source² that Athanasios had been the equal of any mystic on Athos.

Antonios of Larissa is not nearly so well known as Athanasios. His importance is evident from his published documents, and has been noted by Ferjančić,³ but cannot be fully understood without reference to his unpublished writings,⁴ whose value as source material is not apparent from Bees' preliminary study.

Antonios' origins are obscure. Although in his Encomium on Kyprianos he⁵ describes his own appointment as Metropolitan of Larissa (c.1333), the Oxford MS., which alone contains the passage, is largely illegible at this point.⁶ Yet he says that he heard about Kyprianos, his predecessor, from the clergy of the diocese of Trikkala,⁷ which suggests that he was not acquainted with Thessaly before taking office. At one point, he writes that before his second recall

(1) Byzantis, i, 259.

(2) Ibid. 258.

(3) Ferjančić, Tesalijska, 256-7.

(4) Bees, 'Antonios von Larissa'.

(5) Supra, 227.

(6) Fols. 314v - 315r.

(7) Appendix II, xvii, 12-3; xxi, 3-5; xxii, 7-9; xxv, 21-2.

from exile (I356)¹, he was on the point of visiting the Great Lavra 'my separation from which I did not willingly undergo' - an unwillingness to which he attributes the misfortunes of his career.² From this we may assume that before his appointment he was a monk at the Lavra.³ His Greek is not of the most attitudinised, but it reveals some training in rhetoric, and in his synodal report of I340 he derides the rustic wording of some local praktika.⁴ This suggests that he came from Thessalonica or Constantinople, of a fairly well-to-do family.

Antonios seems throughout his life to have felt loyal to Byzantium and its rulers. Although he wrote in I362, under Symeon Uroš,⁵ he does not call Symeon basileus, and refers to the first Serbokratia as a 'tyranny'.⁶ On the other hand, he presents the coming of Andronikos III as a 'change for the better' which restored the 'ancient liberty' of the Thessalian church. When he describes the tragic consequences of Andronikos' death, his sympathies are clearly with 'that tiny portion directed by the Roman right hand'.⁷ He spent the first Serbokratia in Thessalonica, where, he says, he was well treated by Anne of Savoy, for whom and for Cantacuzene he has the most extravagant praise.⁸ Shortly before his

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- (1) He was in Thessalonica at least until 9 May I356: G. Theodorides, 'Tzampalakones', Mak., v (I96I-3), I34-7.
- (2) Appendix II, xxx, 25 - xxxi, 4.
- (3) Cod. Lavra I358, which Sophr. Eustratiades (Catalogue, p. 229) believes to be of the 14th century bears a postscript recording that the book was donated by τοῦ τιμιωτάτου ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀντωνίου μοναχοῦ τού πικλήν φιλοσόφου.
- (4) Byzantis, ii, 64.
- (5) Supra, 284 n. 6.
- (6) Appendix II, xxix, 25.
- (7) Ibid. xxiii, I4-2I.
- (8) Supra, 246. He may have been exiled for refusing to recognise the Serbian rather than the Byzantine patriarch: G. Soulis, 'Byzantino-Serbian relations', Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies (London, I967), 59, ref. to Arhiepiskop Danilo i drugi, Životi kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih, ed. Dj. Daničić (Zagreb, I866), 383 (not 38I?).
- (9) Appendix II, xxx, I5-8.

second recall from exile, he authenticated a copy of an act of donation from Arsenios Tzamlakon to the monastery of Vatopedi.^I This indicates that Antonios was highly regarded in the city, and suggests that he was connected with, or even related to the powerful Tzamlakon family.

Antonios does not directly express his attitude to the hesychast controversy, and although he must have been in Thessalonica by 1351, he made no effort to put his signature to the Hagioretic Tome.² But as a nostalgic Lavriot he certainly identified with the Athonite cause. Writing of Kyprianos' visit to the Holy Mountain, he says that the young monk there consorted with his own equals, men abounding in spiritual gifts, who foretold to him the events of his later career. By contrast, the monks of Kyprianos' own monastery, Marmariana, 'were deemed unworthy to look upon such glory!'.³ This elitism is clearly that of the hesychast, who believed that only his form of prayer could lead to spiritual perfection. Antonios may have suffered for his attachment to the hesychast cause, for he records that when he first returned from Thessalonica, he stayed only three months before again going into exile 'not because I had espoused teaching that was misleading and contrived ... but because I taught the precepts of virtue, hurtful indeed to those who are their own worst enemies, but not to the Church of the Fathers'.⁴ That Antonios was concerned to vindicate his orthodoxy is suggested by the way in which he presents Oikoumeniōs, patron saint of Trikkala, as a fighter against the Arian heresy; in this period, Arianism and heresy were virtually synonymous.⁵ The iconographic cycle of the church of the Hypapante at the

(1) Theocharides, 'Tzamlakones', loc. cit.; Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 251.

(2) Ed. E. Honigmann, Byz. Zeit., xlvii (1953), 106-8.

(3) Appendix II, ix.

(4) Ibid. xxx.

(5) Meyendorff, Grégoire Palamas, 311-2.

Meteora, which, as we have seen, was completed in 1366-7 under the patronage of men connected with the court of Symeon Uroš^I, includes the figures of Oikoumenios of Trikke, Achillios of Larissa, and Athanasios of Alexandria, and the Vision of S. Peter of Alexandria with a strong anti-Arian caption.² The Metropolis of Larissa established in the see of Trikkala is thus linked with an affirmation of Orthodoxy at a time when Antonios, if not still alive, was fresh in local memories. It is tempting to believe that the paintings, whose style is fairly individual, were executed by the artists who had recently, under Antonios' direction,³ completed the redecoration of the cathedral in Trikkala.

Although Antonios dreamed of the Lavra, he was committed to the pastoral care of his impoverished provincial church, and thus had to collaborate with regimes which were not recognised in Constantinople. Stephen Dušan was more than he could take, but under Nikephoros II he seems to have assumed the regency.⁴ of Thessaly. Under Symeon Uroš his position as a Metropolitan resident in the 'imperial' capital made him in a sense the patriarch of the 'empire of the Greeks and Serbs'; Symeon referred to him as ὁ δεσπότης μου⁵, and, as we have seen,⁶ he received the kanonikon from a local patriarchal monastery. In 1359 he be-

(1) Supra, 61-2.

(2) See G. Millet, 'La vision de S. Pierre d'Alexandrie', Mélanges Charles Diehl, (Paris, 1930), ii, 99-115; S. Dufresne, Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra (Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, IV) (Paris, 1970), 54-5.

(3) Appendix II, xxxi-xxxii

(4) Supra, 250-I.

(5) Byzantis, ii, 94-5 (Solovyev/Mošin, 246).

(6) Supra, 284.

I
 came 'Judge-general', and officiated at the betrothal of Symeon's daughter
 2 Maria. It was in Symeon's reign that he found the means to restore the cathe-
 dral of Trikkala. He attributed this good fortune to the miraculous agency of
 Kyprianos, but it is hard to believe that Symeon did not help: the emperor could
 not allow the main church in his capital to lie in ruins. It is from Symeon's
 reign that we have documents which show Antonios supporting the activities of
 3 the Meteora monks. For him as for Athanasios the opportunity to perform his
 self-appointed task was provided not by the imperial authorities in Constan-
 tinople and Thessalonica, but by the Greco-Serbian prince who had to decided
 to build an empire around the independent political traditions of Thessaly.

It is against this background that Antonios' literary activity should be
 judged. His subjects are mainly conventional, geared to the major feasts of the
 church on which the homilies were to be delivered. Two homilies, however, are
 devoted to local saints who were not recognised by the church as a whole:
 Oikoumenios, bishop of Trikke, and Kyprianos, Metropolitan of Larissa.

The tradition which made Oikoumenios a Cappadocian, a Nicene father, and a
 relative of S. Achilleios is almost certainly spurious, but it goes back at
 least as far as Antonios. Whether Antonios related the tradition as he found
 it is impossible to say, but he may have embroidered upon some aspects of the
 story. As we have seen, he had a personal reason for wanting to present Oikou-
 menios as a champion of orthodoxy. Now, too, that Trikkala accomodated an em-
 peror and a Metropolitan the town's poliouchos had to be as distinguished as
 possible. In Oikoumenios, the 'emperor of the Greeks and Serbs' needed to see

(1) Ferjančić, Tesalija, 253, thinks that he lost the title by 1363, but it
 should be noted that the document on which he bases this conclusion is not
 of imperial or episcopal origin, and mentions Antonios only in passing.

(2) Chr. Ioan., § 7; supra, 252.

(3) Byzantis, ii, 18-9, 15, 94-5 (Solovyev/ Mošin, 246).

that his capital was no mean city. This is surely the sentiment to which Antonios is appealing in his ekphrasis^I of Trikkala.

The choice of Oikoumenios as a subject for homily is understandable, since his cult was long-established. The Encomium on Kyprianos is a much more unusual piece of work, since it relates to a 'father among the saints' who was Antonios' own predecessor.

As befits the genre, Antonios makes extravagant claims for his hero's sanctity, but the picture that emerges is of a fairly unremarkable holy man. Antonios need not be suspected of invention, because the miracles related are rather unmiraculous, and explicable by natural causes. Kyprianos is defended against the charge that he used his powers uncharitably, yet it is significant that three miracles were miracles of punishment, and that two of those punished were men who had taken land from the bishopric. Given the state of the episcopal finances, this was perhaps inevitable. But there is documentary evidence that Kyprianos was unduly preoccupied with property; in 1318, the patriarch defended the monks of Marmariana against the Metropolitan's claim to be the monastery's² ktetor. If Kyprianos behaved thus towards the community of which he had recently been head, it is not surprising that he made enemies.

It is clear that Antonios never knew Kyprianos personally. He passes most summarily over the details of his predecessor's pastoral career. By contrast, in relating the miracle of the restoration of the cathedral, he gives much autobiographical information that is not strictly relevant. Altogether, one has the impression that the Encomium celebrates Kyprianos not as a man, but as a symbol of much that was important to the writer. Throughout the work the dominant theme is that of a 'change for the better' in the fortunes of the diocese which took

(1) Appendix II, iii-iv.

(2) MM, i, 85-8; Bees, 'Antonios von Larissa', 315.

place between the 'Time of Troubles', when Kyprianos had lived, and the time of writing, when the cathedral had finally been rebuilt. It is obvious that the change was essentially political, and brought about, in the first instance, by the coming of Andronikos III, and, in the second, by the accession of Symeon Uroš. If any churchman had had a hand in it, this was Antonios himself. Yet Antonios writes as if Andronikos arrived mainly in order to fulfil Kyprianos' prophecy, and describes the restoration of the church in such a way as to make his predecessor the sole agent, despite the fact that Kyprianos did no more than lead the way to a lime-pit thirty years after the fire.

It was only natural that Antonios should have sought a supernatural agent behind the events of his career, and it was fully in accordance with Byzantine ideas of the Divine Monarchy that this agent should not have been God himself, nor even the Archangel Michael, but a more approachable saint who enjoyed 'familiarity' (παρρησία) with the Deity. Yet why did Antonios create a new 'saint' rather than use one who was already established, like Achilleios of Larissa or Oikoumenios of Trikke? Neither of these saints was quite relevant to the paradoxical and highly uncanonical situation where the Metropolitan of Larissa resided at Trikkala and enjoyed the favour of a usurping emperor. Kyprianos, on the other hand, was the key to the paradox. Before him there had been no Metropolitan of Larissa for years, and when he arrived in Thessaly, he was without support from the Byzantine authorities. He had to reside in a suffragan see, and here the secular power continually vexed rather than protected him. In these circumstances, Antonios could well believe - or hope that others might believe - that his own residence at Trikkala and his ability to adapt to changing political conditions were sanctified, and justified, through the heroic precedent of the man whose place he had taken. In his own words, 'I deprived myself of the treasures which the divine Achilleios yields up from his holy shrine, but

I had a great consolation in his successor...the fruit of whose labours I
 I
 continue to reap daily'.

To understand the homily fully, we have to consider the public for which it was intended. Antonios' care to identify with the byzantine establishment suggests that he wrote with an eye to readers in Constantinople, Thessalonica, and Athos, where he may have wanted to see a greater recognition for the trials and triumphs of the Thessalian church; he may also have feared a summons from the patriarch. But if, as is likely, the homily was first written to be delivered from the episcopal pulpit in Trikkala, the original audience would have been the diocesan clergy; indeed, many phrases in the text suggest that Kyprianos was being celebrated primarily for the benefit of those who already knew about him. Considered in this light, the Encomium appears as an attempt to provide the clergy of Trikkala with a myth to sustain them. Since the main sacramental centre of the province had been without a roof while the local monasteries were receiving more than a fair share of patronage, it is not hard to see why Antonios' subordinates might need a boost to their morale.

Athanasios, who lived in the Meteora rocks for about forty years, and Antonios, who held the Metropolitan see for at least thirty, were undoubtedly the most important religious figures in late medieval Thessaly. No other local monastery could vie with the asceticism of the Meteoron. Although Athanasios had not been alone as a founder of rock monasteries he, by his personal reputation, attracted the partnership of John-Ioasaph Uroš, and thus gave the monastery of the Transfiguration a pre-eminence unchallenged until the 16th century. The importance of Antonios is less obvious, inevitably, given the contemporary vogue for monastic Christianity. Yet from his lifetime the Metropolis of Larissa was permanently re-established as an authority in local affairs. No-one wrote his

(1) Appendix II, xxvii, 10-7.

encomium, but this may be because his talent was for the worldly side of religion. His homilies do not reveal any mystical or theological originality, but his documents and his civil functions suggest a good business mind. By the reign of Symeon Uroš he probably had more experience of local society and politics than any man in Trikkala. His personal influence may well have been behind Symeon's benevolent policy towards the local church.

Antonios' efforts to popularise local cults were ignored outside Thessaly, but his homilies were copied in local scriptoria of the Turkish period, and in time he became something of a cult figure himself. The 17th-century church of the Anargyroi in Trikkala has frescoes showing, among others, 'S. Kyprianos^I Thaumaturgos' and 'S. Antonios the Confessor and New Theologian'. A later scribe produced the idea that Antonios ended his life as patriarch of Constantinople; he also noted a correct and significant point - Antonios was a contemporary of Athanasios of the Meteora.² For the secular church as for the monastic life of Turkish-occupied Thessaly, the 14th century was the formative period.

Sources of Internal Conflict.

Economic. The great contrasts between rich and poor in Byzantium were potentially a source of social unrest, which could break out whenever the succession to the throne was disputed. The spirit of revolt was particularly strong in the civil war of 1341-7, when the lower classes of several towns, including Thessalonica, overthrew their ruling aristocracies, and the nascent 'capitalist' sections of society made some attempt to advance their interests. However, as we

(1) Giannopoulos, 'Trikkala', 354-5.

(2) N.A. Bees, Χειρόγραφα καὶ παλαιότυπα 'Αγίου Νικολάου Τρικκάλων, 'Επετηρίς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ 'Αρχείου, xii (1962), 13.

have seen, there is no evidence for social revolution in western Macedonia, Thessaly or Epiros.^I Such economic rivalry as can be discerned existed within the 'rentier' class, and had mainly to do with the ownership of land.

Many of the local sources concern cases where religious institutions complained of injustice at the hands of laymen. It is possible to see in these incidents the classic medieval conflict between the temporal and religious orders of society. In economic terms this conflict stemmed from the church's effort to free itself of material obligations to the state. This was as true in the east as in the west. Yet the Byzantine emperor had a semi-sacerdotal role as head² of the church, whose protector he swore to be at his coronation. This made him directly responsible for the welfare of his clergy, and hesitant to force the church to contribute to the needs of government, except in moments of extreme³ emergency. Lesser potentates did not have to be so scrupulous, and their need for land with which to reward their lay followers was in proportion to their insecurity or their ambition. Under the independent rulers of Thessaly, the local church seems to have fared badly. The Thessalian church was no doubt exceptionally well-endowed with land; it is significant that of the Latin barons whom Innocent III had to censure for occupying ecclesiastical benefices, those of Thessaly were most frequently addressed.⁴ Michael II and John the Bastard founded

(1) Supra, 236.

(2) Pseudo-Kodinos, 253.

(3) On the secularisation of monastic property, see P. Charanis, 'The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire', D.O.P., iv (1948), 53-118; Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, 146-76; Ševčenko, 'Cabasilas', 151 ff.; E. Fisher, 'A Note on Pachymeres' "De Andronico Palaeologo", Byzantion, xl (1970), 230-5.

(4) Ferjančić, Tesalija, 29-33.

monasteries, but this is no guide to their religious policy as a whole. The Palaiologoi made much of the ¹fact that Michael had 'tyrannically' confiscated properties from Makrinitissa. Antonios' information that the see of Larissa had remained vacant for many years before 1318, and that only after the death of John II were Metropolitans appointed here and at Neopatras suggests that the Komneno-Doukai had deliberately kept these incumbencies empty in order to enjoy their usufruct.² Gabrielopoulos and his subordinates clearly resented Kyprianos³ because he opposed their seizure of church lands. Andronikos III and Michael Monomachos extended to Thessaly the 'ancient liberty' enjoyed by the rest of the Byzantine church, although the emperor was not over-generous to the monas-⁴teries. John Angelos was virtually independent and had heavy military commitments; his secularisation of paroikoi belonging to Zavlantia may not have been an isolated measure.⁵ It was probably under him that Theodore ORPHANOIOANNES, kephale of Stagoi, seized two kellia at the Stylos, and that the monks of the Meteora were vexed by local tsakones.⁶ Dušan's 'satrap' Preljub seems⁷ equally to have gone against his sovereign's generous policy towards the church. With Nikephoros II and Symeon Uroš a change becomes apparent, for these rulers and

(1) MM, iv, 342-4.

(2) This seems to have been the case in Ioannina also: MM, v, 78-9.

(3) Appendix II, xviii-xxi.

(4) Supra, 232-3.

(5) Byzantis, ii, 59-62 (Solovyev/Mošin, 162-7).

(6) Ibid. 90-I (242); Byzantis, i, 274-5; supra, 58-9.

(7) Supra, 246-7. His policy was probably not unlike that which his son Thomas later pursued in Ioannina: Chr. Ioan., 10.

their successors, although independent, were noted for their benevolence to the church. A number of causes may be suggested for this change. Nikephoros depended entirely upon the goodwill of the local population. The first Serbokratia had probably weakened the native military element, while the role of the religious leaders Antonios and Athanasios had perhaps been enhanced by their opposition to the Serbs. In assuming the imperial title, Symeon assumed an emperor's special responsibility for his church. His decision to leave most of Epiros to the Albanians suggests that his military demands were much reduced from those of his predecessors. The same was true of his successors, John Uroš and the Angelos caesars, none of whom seems to have placed great value on the maintenance of Thessaly as a military power. Indeed, the trend in Thessaly seems to have been quite the opposite of that in the Byzantine territories proper, where the reign of Andronikos II was for the monasteries a 'golden age', and Manuel II made so many exactions that the Athonites almost welcomed the Turks. I

The idea of a 'conflict between church and state' should not be pressed too hard. Not all disputes fell into this pattern. The Metropolitan of Larissa, who had upheld Zavlantia against the BODESADES, was himself found guilty of holding land belonging to the monastery.² Two of the persons found to be in illegal possession of orchards belonging to Porta-Panagia, ARCHONTITZES and the nun KOTANITZENA, were patrons of other monasteries. Two laymen, MICHALAKES and Leo SPINGES, disputed the stasis of Pegonites. In short, there were as many grounds for economic conflict in local society as there were landholders.

(1) Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, 173.

(2) Byzantis, ii, 75 (Solovyev/Mošin, 220).

Ethnic. At the beginning of our period, the population of Thessaly consisted of Greeks, Vlachs, and local Slavs. In the course of the 14th century two new elements appeared: the Albanians and the Serbs. All these peoples shared a common religion, and their ethnic pride was probably less developed than that of their modern Greek historians. All the same, some documents make a point of dividing the local population into its ethnic groups. Antonios' remarks about the Serbs, and Michael Gabrielopoulos' promise not to settle Albanians in the kastron of Phanari or to admit a Frankish garrison do reveal a local sense of hostility to foreign elements.

Serbian settlement in Thessaly was probably on a small and transitory scale, but the Albanian influx took the form of a full migration. The Albanians led a pastoral existence indistinguishable from that of the Vlachs, with whom, however, they are not to be confused. The land from which the Albanians took their name, the Albanon, was probably situated in the mountains to the west of Lake Ochrid. The evidence is not sufficient for us to trace with any precision the progress of their expansion to the south. There can be little doubt, however, that this was set in motion by the international politics of the 13th century, when the Albanon stood at the meeting-point of four power blocs: the Byzantine empire,

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- (1) These are presumably the 'Vorgaires' of Fr. Chr. Mor., § 874; cf. Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 202 n. 81.
- (2) E.g. Lampros, 'Sigillion', 176; A.E. Vakalopoulos, Origins of the Greek Nation. The Byzantine Period, 1204-1461, tr. I. Moles (New Brunswick, 1970), 33, III.
- (3) MM, v, 271; Byzantis, ii, 10 (Solovyev/Mošin, 210); Lampros, 'Sigillion', 178; Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, loc. cit. and p. 204.
- (4) G. Soulis, Περὶ τῶν μεσαιωνικῶν Ἀλβανικῶν φυλῶν τῶν Μαλακασίων Μπουίων καὶ Μεσαρίτων, Ep. Et. Byz. Sp., xxiii (1953), 213-6.
- (5) The location of the Albanon is open to question, but the arguments put forward by A. Ducellier, 'L'Arbanon et les Albanais au XIe siècle', Travaux et Mémoires, iii (1968), 353-63, esp. 267-8, are more persuasive than those of G.A. Stadtmüller, Forschungen zur Albanischen Frühgeschichte (re-edition, Wiesbaden, 1966), which are based entirely on linguistic grounds.

the 'Despotate' of Epiros, the Kingdom of Naples, and the Kingdom of Serbia. The Albanians were wooed for their friendship, and it is likely that at this time, as later in the 14th century, they served as mercenaries in the armies of these powers. Altogether, the conditions of the time were such as to give them a sense of importance and contact with the more productive and civilised regions around them.

It has been suggested that the Albanians were first settled in Thessaly under Michael II as a defence against the Duchy of Athens.¹ But the fact that one of the archon families in Trikkala at the beginning of the 14th century was called ALBANITES suggests that local Albanians were rare. In 1303 the Albanians were clearly regarded as an external threat,² and Sanudo gives the impression that it was not until after 1318 that they settled in Thessaly in large numbers.³ Without control of the towns, they could not fully integrate with local society, and the evidence suggests that most of them remained mountain-dwellers, transhumant nomads, and brigands. At the end of 1333 they helped Syrgiannes to escape to Serbia.⁴ Soon afterwards, Andronikos III was approached by 'the stateless Albanians who inhabit the mountainous parts of Thessaly, called the Malakasioi, Mpouioi, and Mesaritai after their tribal leaders, being about 12, 000 in number' (οἱ τὰ ὄρεινὰ τῆς Θεσσαλίας νεμόμενοι Ἀλβανοὶ ἀβασιλευτοὶ Μαλακάσιοι καὶ Μπούϊοι καὶ Μεσαρίται ἀπὸ τῶν φυλάρχων

(1) K. Μπίρης, Ἀρβανίτες. Οἱ Δωρεῖς τοῦ Νεωτέρου Ἑλληνισμοῦ (Athens, 1960), 53 ff.; Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 199. Mpires shows a poor command of the evidence, but his overall thesis, that the Albanian expansion took place as a result of military employment, seems plausible.

(2) Fr. Chr. Mor., §874.

(3) Supra, 216.

(4) Cantacuzene, i, 450: Syrgiannes went from Euboea διὰ Λοκρῶν καὶ Ἀκαρνανῶν εἰς Ἀλβανούς, οἱ περὶ Θεσσαλίαν οἰκοῦσιν αὐτόνομοι νομαδες...

προσαγορευόμενοι, περὶ δισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους ὄντας)¹. They agreed to submit to Andronikos, 'for, since they dwell in no city, but among mountains and inaccessible places, departing thence in winter because of the cold and the snow' (ἄτε πόλιν οἰκοῦντες οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ' ὄρεσιν ἐνδιατρίβοντες καὶ χωρίοις δυσπροσόδους, ὧν ἀναχωροῦντες τοῦ χειμῶνος διὰ τὸ κρύος καὶ τὴν χιόνα) they knew that in the plains they would be at the Byzantines' mercy. Such submission was, however, bound to be superficial. At Andronikos' death the Albanians again began to give trouble.² About ten years later, Gregory Preljub counted it a major achievement that he had brought the Albanians to terms.³ The Albanians of Thessaly were no doubt closely connected with those of Epiros.

As in the case of the Vlachs, local lowland society absorbed a certain Albanian element.⁴ John Angelos and Preljub had Albanians in their armies. That these troops were rewarded with pronoiai and not only with wages (rogai) is suggested by the fact that Andronikos III settled several Albanians with lands at Phanari.⁵

Whatever their ethnic origins, it is certain that the permanent inhabitants of Trikkala, Phanari, and Stagoi were fully 'byzantinized' in language, religion, and culture. Among the notarial archives of Venice are documents recording the sales of various captives from northern Greece between 1381 and 1388. It is to be noted that while many of the captives from Kastoria and other Macedonian towns were of Bulgarian origin, the three from Trikkala were all Greek.⁶

(1) Cantacuzene, i, 474; Ferjančić, Tesalijs, 200.

(2) Cantacuzene, ii, 15; Ferjančić, Tesalijs, 202.

(3) Byzantis, i, 258.

(4) Ferjančić, Tesalijs, 202-3.

(5) Ibid. 202; MM, v, 260.

(6) K. Mertzijs, Μνημεῖα Μακεδονικῆς Ἱστορίας (Thessaloniki, 1947), I-II.

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So far we have been concerned with the permanent features of the Thessalian community in the 14th century, and the picture that emerges is of a static society. Yet that society was in some respects very different in 1393 from what it had been in 1318.

The rulers of the 14th century had inherited from the Kommeno-Doukai formidable military establishment, of which there is no sign after John Angelos. In part this is explicable by a change in the source-material; before 1348 we have the testimony of Cantacuzene and Gregoras, but with detachment of Thessaly from Constantinople and the termination of these historians' accounts c. 1360, we have to depend on sources which, including the Chronicle of Ioannina, are ecclesiastical in nature. In part the decline of Thessalian militarism may be attributed to the political changes of the middle of the century, particularly the first Serbokratia, when it is quite likely that the conquerors sought to neutralise local resistance by destroying the military basis of the local feudal system.

More broadly, the decline can perhaps be seen as an inevitable consequence of the centrifugal tendencies inherent in feudalism itself; these had already caused the separation of Thessaly from the empire as a whole. The continuing instability of political regimes in Thessaly afforded the local landowners successive opportunities to contract with their rulers on terms progressively more advantageous to themselves. If, as is likely, these terms involved a reduction in military obligations, it is not surprising that Thessaly became less effective as a military unit.

At the same time, the disappearance of the Thessalian military establishment must be studied in relation to the rise of the Thessalian church. As we have seen, the decisive phase in this rise occurred in the mid-14th century, and is explicable by the same political factors which weakened Thessaly militarily.

The connection may be even more direct. The sources show that throughout the century the monasteries enjoyed a large increase in their landed fortunes, in which the secular church shared to a small degree. This increase was made as a result of lay donations, especially from the local rulers. It was accelerated by the frequency with which regimes changed and new rulers were forced to buy the favour of influential monasteries. In all, therefore, the century saw a large transfer of land from the lay to the religious establishment - land which was henceforth lost to fiscal and feudal exploitation.

As we have seen, some local rulers tried to reverse this trend, which did not become fully reversible until the local church obtained proper leadership. But the psychological impulse to be generous to monasteries went deeper than considerations of political expediency. Men were deeply concerned for their salvation, and the curses which ecclesiastics laid on all who should touch their property did not fall on deaf ears. The fate of Ananias and Sapheira stood as an example of what happened to those who grudged a monastery even a fraction of its estate.^I The inhabitants of the village of Samosada heard that their lord, ORPHANOIOANNES, was unwittingly holding land that belonged to Zavlantia. Fearing divine punishment they informed him of this; he straightway asked pardon² of the abbot for his sinful action. George BALSAMAS was afraid that he might go to hell for not having informed Zavlantia that a certain piece of land belonged to it.³ MICHALAKES and Leo SPINGES, unable to resolve their dispute over the stasis of Pegonites,⁴ decided to give it to the monastery. These examples give some idea of how Zavlantia was able to raise support for Andronikos III

(1) Ševčenko, 'Cabasilas', 156 n. 123.

(2) Byzantis, ii, 70.

(3) Ibid. 77 (Solovyev/Mošin, 224.

(4) Ibid. 76 (222).

and Symeon Uroš. Laymen who donated their lands to monasteries may also have considered that only thus could the terrain remain economically viable, for monastic holdings were tax-free, and their cohesion and their continuity of exploitation did not suffer from the problems of divided inheritance and genetic failure which affected lay families.

APPENDIX I: Byzantine Administrative Lists of Thessaly.(a) Fiscal divisions of Thessaly c. 1200.CHRYSOBULL OF ALEXIOS III TO THE VENETIANS, 1198 (Privilegium Alexii III).Partitio Romaniae, 1204.²

Prouincia Velechative

Orium Larisse

Prouincia Valachiae

Provintia Vlachie cum personalibus et monasterialibus in eis existentibus

Episkepsis Dimitriadis

(Provintia Servion)

Episkepsis Creuennicon et Fersalon

(Provintia Castorie et provintia Deavoleos)

Episkepsis Domocu et Vesenis

Pertinentia imperatricis, scilicet Vessena, Fersala, Domokos, Revennica, Duo Almeri cum Demetriada

Chartularata Ezeros, Dobrochuysta et que sub ipsa sunt ville

Tricala

Pertinentia Neopatron

Prouincia Larisse

Provintia Velechative

*****³
 Provincia (θέμα). A small fiscal division, not the classic mid-Byzantine 'theme'.

Pertinentia-episkepsis (ἐπίσκεψις). Originally a fiscal division of a military theme, by this time used to denote an imperial, ecclesiastical, or aristocratic estate.⁴

⁵
Orium (ὄριον). A smaller version of a thema.

Chartularatum (χαρτουλαράτον). A small, probably fiscal, division superintended by a chartoularios.⁶

 (1) Tafel/Thomas, i, 265-7.

 (2) A. Carile, 'Partitio Terrarum Imperii Romaniae', Studi Veneziani, vii (1965), 221-2.

(3) Ibid. 227; Zakythinos, 'Studies', vi, 150-5.

 (4) Carile, op. cit. 228; F. Dölger, Beiträge zur Finanzverwaltung.. (Byzantinische Archiv, IX) (Leipzig/Berlin, 1927), 151-2.

(5) Carile, op. cit. 229.

(6) Ibid. 230.

(b) Episcopal lists.

The following sources have been used:-

(i) Notitiae episcopatum from the reigns of the following emperors:

- A - Leo VI (886-912): H. Gelzer, 'Ungedruckte und ungenugend veröffentlichte Texte der Notitiae Episcopatum', Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-philol. Klasse, xxi (1901), 557 ff.
- B - Constantine VII/Romanos I (930-940): 'Nea Taktika', ed. H. Gelzer, Georgii Cyprii Descriptio Orbis Romani (Leipzig, 1890), 57-83.
- C - John I Tzimiskes (969-976): Gelzer, 'Texte', 568 ff.
- D - Alexios I Komnenos (1082-1118): published as Notitiae 2 and 3 by G. Parthey, Hieroclis Synecdemus et Notitiae Graecae Episcopatum (Berlin, 1866), 120 ff.; dated by H. Gelzer, 'Zur Zeitbestimmung der Griechischen Notitiarum Episcopatum', Jahrbucher für Protestantische Theologie, xii (1886), 556. †
- E - Manuel I (1143-1180): Gelzer, 'Texte', 595. *
- F - Isaac II (1185-1195): H. Gelzer, Analecta Byzantina (Jena, 1891), 4-14. *
- G - Alexios III-Theodore I (c. 1204): B. Benešević, 'Monumenta Vaticana ad ius canonicum pertinentia', 4: Vatic. MS. 640', Studi Bizantini, ii (1927), III-86; dated by P. Lemerle, 'Philippe et la Macédoine orientale', 253-4, and A. Bon, Le Péloponnèse byzantin (Paris, 1951), II3.
- H - Theodore I (c. 1216): Parthey, no. 10; dated by C. Finke, 'Neues zu den Not. Ep. und zur kirchlichen Geographie von Byzanz', Zeitschrift für Savignystiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, kanonische Abteilung, xix (1930), 674-9.
- I - Michael VIII (1261-1282): Gelzer, 'Texte', 592 ff. *
- J - Andronikos II (1282-1328): Parthey, no. 10; supplemented by Gelzer, 'Texte', 595 ff.* This list is also good for the reign of Andronikos III (1328-1341); cf. Beck, 153.

(ii) K - A letter of the patriarch to the Metropolitan of Larissa (1371): MM, i, 587-9.

- L - The Latin Provinciale Romanum (c. 1210): text reproduced by R.L. Wolff, 'The Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople', Traditio, vi (1948), 51-6.

* Gelzer does not publish these Notitiae in full.

† See the remarks about the authenticity of this Notitia supra. I am grateful to Dr. Judith Herrin for drawing my attention to this point.

c. 900-970 (A,B,C).	c. 1100 (D).	c. 1150-1250 (E,F,G,H).	c. 1261-1341 (I,J).	1371 (K).
LARISSA [34] Demetrias Pharsala (C)[49] Thaumakos Zeitouni Ezeros Loidoriki Trikke Echinos Kolydros Stagoi	LARISSA [34] Pharsala [38] Demetrias Zeitouni Ezeros Loidoriki Trikke Echinos Kolydros Stagoi Domenikon Kastri Gardiki I Gardiki II Echinos Peristera Radovisdion Patsouna Vesaina Skopelos Kallindos Marmaritsion Kolydros Lytsa Charmaina Vounena Almyros Oxymokovos Viaine	(E,F,G,H). LARISSA [34] Demetrias Pharsala [35] (F) Thaumakos Zeitouni Ezeros Loidoriki Trikke Echinos Kolydros Stagoi Vesaina Kapoulia Gardiki (Ve)Lestinon Charmaina Peristera	LARISSA [41] Demetrias PHARSALA [72] Thaumakos Zeitouni Ezeros Loidoriki Trikke* Echinos Kolydros Stagoi Vesaina Kapoulia Gardiki (Ve)Lestinon Charmaina Peristera	(LARISSA) Demetrias Pharsala Thaumakos Zeitouni Ezeros Loidoriki Mountinitza Stagoi Trikke Domenikon Kastri Gardiki Peristera Radovisdion Patsouna Vesaina
NEOPATRAS [50] Marmaritzana	NEOPATRAS [50] (E)Marmaritzana Agia Vela (G)Erisos Strongylos Tenedos Vervinos Perperine	NEOPATRAS [50] (E)Marmaritzana Agia Vela (G)Erisos Strongylos Tenedos Vervinos Perperine	NEOPATRAS [62] † <u>Domenikon</u>	
	NEOPATRAS [50] Galazoi Koutiagros Siviktos Variane	c. 1210 (L). LARISSA [50] Demetriense Almirensen Sidoniense Nazarosense Dimicense	LARISSA [50] Demetriense Almirensen Sidoniense Nazarosense Dimicense	

Metropolitan sees in capital letters.

Autonomous archiepiscopal sees underlined.

Numbers in square brackets denote position in the hierarchy.

* In J described as united with the Metropolis.

† In the supplementary list published by Gelzer.

APPENDIX II: Excerpts from the unpublished works of Antonios, Metropolitan of Larissa.

This Appendix contains a transcription of those portions of Antonios' writings which are of direct importance as evidence for the history of Thessaly in the 14th century: an ekphrasis of Trikkala, contained in the Encomium on Oikoumenios, Bishop of Trikke; and the whole of the Encomium on Kyprianos, Metropolitan of Larissa.

Two texts of Antonios' homilies were identified by N.A. Bees: Oxford Christ Church Greek 66, and Ivion 57I, 5. Since then, two other manuscripts have come to light, although all four texts belong to the same corrupt tradition, and none is earlier than the 16th century.* In preparing the present typescript I have used the manuscripts publicised by Bees, these being the only two to which I had access. Where possible I have relied exclusively on the Oxford text, which dates from the 16th century, and is superior to the 18th-century Ivion MS. in everything but its state of preservation. The first few folios of the Encomium on Kyprianos are bound in the wrong order, and the last two, like many in the codex, have been rendered almost illegible by damp; part of this section, where Antonios writes of his own appointment (fols. 314v.-315r.), is not contained in the other text. The Oxford MS. ends in the middle of Antonios' account of the miracle concerning the cathedral at Trikkala, and for the highly important section which follows I have had to rely solely on the Ivion text. Unfortunately, I was not in this case able to check my transcription of the original on the basis of a photographic copy, since the only microfilm available to me, that at the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies in Thessaloniki, is lacking in the relevant section, and

*For this information I am indebted to Professor L. Vranoussis.

Professor N. Oikonomides, who had kindly offered to take photographs while on his visit to the archives of Iviron in July 1975, was prevented from doing so by the fact that the librarian, Father Kallinikos, was at the time the monastery's representative in Karyes. In consequence, my version of the Iviron text retains a number of imperfections which, although for the most part apparent upon revision, could not receive proper critical treatment because I was not always able to distinguish between my own errors as a copyist and those present in the original. Fortunately, few of the problematic readings which remain to be resolved are obviously crucial to the sense of the narrative, and thus detrimental to its value as historical evidence.

I am grateful to Dr. J. Duffy of Dumbarton Oaks for assisting me with his philological and palaeographical expertise. I am grateful to the Governing Body of Christ Church for permission to reproduce fols. 235-6, 288-315 of their Greek MS. no. 66.

Oxford, Christ Church Greek 66.

- 235v. [... [ὁ Οἰκουμένιος] τὸν τῆς Θεοτόκου καταλαμβάνει νεών,
 ταύτης γὰρ ἡ παλαιὰ καλουμένη τῶν Τρικάλων ἐκκλησία ἐφαιδρύ-
 νετο τῷ ὀνόματι. Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀσυντελὲς οὐδ' ἀξύμφορον καὶ περὶ
 τῆς πόλεως ταύτης διὰ βραχεῶν ἐπιμνησθῆναι· γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν
 ἡδυσμα τοῦτο τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις καλῶς ὅτι φίλον ἔδαφος ἡ πατρίς. 5
 Πόλις τοίνυν ἡ Τρίκκη μεγίστη τε καὶ τῶν ἐκ παλαιοῦ προελθου-
 σῶν εἰς κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος οὐμενοῦν ἀπολιπομένη, καθοτιοῦν
 πόλις ἑλληνίς καὶ ἀρχαῖα καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐχούσων ὄνομα οὐ
 πολλῷ δευτέρα τυγχάνουσα· πόλις πολλαῖς εὐθυνουμένη ταῖς χάρισι
 καὶ ταῖς ἐκ γῆς καὶ ποταμῶν δωροφορίαις οὔσα κατάπλεως, ἥς 10
 ὑπερκεῖται μὲν ὥς ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ διαστήματος ὄρος τῶν ἀνεφῶν ἐν
 καὶ ὄψι κόμων καὶ χιονουμένων προφητικῶς, Πίνδος τοῦτο, μεταξὺ
 δὲ τούτου καὶ τῆς εἰρημένης πόλεως ὑφαπλοῦται πεδῖον εὐρὺ
 λοχμᾶς κεκτημένον βαθείας καὶ διηκοῦσας ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ οὐκ ἀσυν-
 236 τελεῖς πρὸς παντοίων βοσκημάτων διοί|κησιν, ποταμοὶ τε τῶν 15
 ἡδίστων καὶ ποσιμοτάτων καὶ πρὸς ἀρδεῖαν γῆς ἐπιτηδείων ἐπιρ-
 ρέουσι. Τῶν μέντοι ποταμῶν ὁ μέγιστος, Πηνειὸς οὗτος ἐστίν,
 ὃς Τέμπη τὰ Θετταλικά διατέμνων εἰς θάλασσαν ποιεῖται τὰς ἐκ-
 βολάς, ἡρέμα πως τῇ Τρίκκῃ πλησιάζων ποιεῖται τὴν κίνησιν.
 Τῆς μέντοι πόλεως οὐ πόρρω λόφος τις ὑπερῆρται, ἵχνη τῆς ἀρχαίας 20
 ὑποφαίνων σοὶ πόλεως, καὶ τῇ θέσει μᾶλλον συντελῶν πρὸς ἀκρό-
 πολιν, ἐξ ἀπόπτου σοι πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ὁρᾶν παρέχεται, μόνον οὐχὶ
 καὶ τῇ χειρὶ τῷ κύκλῳ λοχμῶν, εἴ σοι βουλομένῳ ἐστὶ, περιδράτ-
 τεσθαι· εἴτα τὴν ὑπώρειαν κατιόντι ἀνατέλλειν ἡ πόλις ἀρχεται,
 οὐ πάνυ τι πολλῷ περιγραφομένη διαστήματι, πόλις ἡ νῦν οὔσα καὶ 25
 ὑφ' ἡμῶν οἰκουμένη, ἥ χρὴ τᾶλθεστέρον εἰπεῖν, τὸν μέγαν Οἰκου-
 μένιον κεκτημένη πολιοῦχον καὶ οἰκιστὴν <καὶ> ἄγρυπνον φύλακα,

καὶ πρό γε τούτου καὶ μετὰ τούτου τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων
 Ταχιάρχην. Τὴν γὰρ πύλην εἰ βούλει τῆς πόλεως εἰσελθεῖν, ἔξεις
 ἐπὶ δεξιᾷς τοῦτον τὸν μέγαν ἔχοντα θησαυρόν, τὴν τῶν λειψάνων
 ἱεραρχικὴν θήκην, του τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων ἐξάρχοντος Μιχαήλ 5
 θεῖον νεών, ὃς δὴ καὶ ὕστερος πολλῷ τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦ ἀνωτέρω δηλω-
 θέντος τῆς Θεοτόκου θείου οἴκου κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν τυγχάνων
 ἐστίν. Ἐκεῖνον μὲν γὰρ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ μέγας καὶ πρῶτος τῶν
 βασιλευσάντων ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου μητρὶ οἰκοδομήσας
 ἀνέθετο· ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡμεῖς ἀθροισθέντες νῦν τὴν παροῦσαν ἐπιτελοῦμεν 10
 πανήγυριν, τὰ τῆς ὀφειλῆς ἀποδιδόντες Οἰκουμένῳ τῷ θαυμαστῷ,
 τοῦτον Μιχαήλ ὁ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς βασιλείσης Θεοδώρας υἱὸς τῷ τῶν
 ἀγγέλων ἀνέθετο πρωτοστάτῃ, βασιλικάϊς προθυμίαις καὶ ἀναλώμασι.

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† Ἀντωνίου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ σοφωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Λαρίσης
ὑπερτίμου καὶ ἐξάρχου δευτέρας Θετταλίας καὶ πάσης Ἑλλάδος
λόγος εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρα ἡμῶν ἀρχιεράρχην καὶ θαυμα-
τουργὸν Κυπριανὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Λαρίσης· δέσποτα εὐλόγησον.

Ἀλλὰ μοι πόρρωθεν ἐπείγομένῳ τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ 5
 θεῷ Κυπριανῷ συνάρασθε οἱ τούτου κατατρυφῶντες τοῖς θαύμασι
 τοῦ σκοποῦ. Μικροῦ γὰρ ἀπροσφώνητον αὐτὸν ἐκινδυνεύομεν
 παρελθεῖν· Κυπριανόν, οὐ τὸν μέγαν ἐν σοφίᾳ καὶ μεγίστου
 τετυχηκότα τοῦ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐξηγήτου, ὃς ἐκόσμει τὴν
 Καρχηδόνα καὶ τῷ μαρτυρικῷ ἐκοσμήθη στεφάνῳ, τὴν κεφαλὴν 10
 διὰ τὸν δεσπότην ξίφει μετὰ πολλὰς στερηθεῖς βασάνους, ἀλλὰ
 τῶν Λαρισαίων προστάτην καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπαρχίας πηδαλιοῦ-
 χον καὶ ἔφορον, ὃν ἔσχε βλαστὸν ἢ περιφανῆς τῶν Λαρισαίων
 μητρόπολις καὶ ἡ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκκλησία προστάτην καὶ ὁδηγὸν τῶν
 αὐτῆς θρεμμάτων πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὅλων δεσπότην ἐπλούτισεν. 15
 Ἀλλ' ἀποδῶμεν αὐτῷ σὺν τῷ προθύμῳ τὸ ὄφλημα· μᾶλλον δὲ βραχύ
 τι τοῦ μέρους τούτου καὶ τοῦ κατὰ πάντα ἐνδέοντος, τὴν ἐλευ-
 θερίαν καὶ λύσιν παρέξεται προθυμότερον ἢ ἡμεῖς τὴν περὶ τού-
 του προσάγομεν ἔντευξιν. Ἰσασι γὰρ ῥαδίως συγγινώσκειν οἱ
 τοῦ ὄντως πλούτου τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν, ἔχοντες τοῖς καθοτιοῦν ἐνδε- 20
 ἔσι καὶ χεῖρα κάμνουσιν ὀρέγειν καὶ προθυμίας ἐμπιπλᾶν, εἰ
 μόνον τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τῷ ὄντως ἀγαθῷ εὐάρεστον γνοῖεν προθυμ-
 ουμένους καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὴν τῆς προθέσεως ὁρμὴν ἀνέκδοτον
 κεκτημένους καί, ἣ φῆσιν| ὁ ἐν προφήταις καὶ βασιλεῦσι, τὰ

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18 περιέξεται

τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξερευνῶντας μαρτύρια καὶ τέρψιν αὐτὰ ποιουμένους
καὶ ἀγαλλίαςιν. Ἀποδῶμεν τοιγαροῦν μικρόν τι τοῦ χρέους,
καὶ πολυπλασίονα δ' ἡψώμεθα δύναμιν, αὐτῷ τῷ εἰς ὑπόθεσιν
προκειμένῳ μεσίτῃ χρώμενοι, παρὰ τῆς μεγαλοδώρα τοῦ κρείτ-
τονος χάριτος, ἣτις αὐτῷ δαψιλέστατα ἐπεισρυεῖσα ὅλον ἀπετέ- 5
λεσε θεῖον, ὅλον πνευματικόν, ὅλον τῶν αὐτῆς μεγίστων καὶ
ἀκενῶτων θησαυρῶν ἄξιον, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου τοῖς φιλακροάμοσι
διηγητέον, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις ταῦτα καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ
ἡμᾶς τὴν περὶ τούτων προσεκτέον ὑπόμνησιν· ἔστι γὰρ αὕτη οὐκ
ἡδονῆς μόνον πρόξενος ἀλλὰ καὶ παράκλησις μεγίστη πρὸς ἀρετὴν. 10

Πατρίς τοίνυν τῷ μεγάλῳ φωστῆρι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, λαμπρο-
τάτῳ δὲ ἡλίῳ δ' εἰπεῖν προσφυέστερον ταύτης, ἢ τῶν Λαρισαίων
πόλις· γένος τὸ ἐκ πατρῶν, θεῖον καὶ ἱερατικόν καὶ τοῦ χοροῦ
τῆς εἰρημένης συμπληρωτικὸν μητροπόλεως. Ὁ γὰρ εἰς φῶς
τοῦτον προαγάγων τῷ τῆς ἱερωσύνης κεκόσμητο ἀξιώματι, ὃς ἐπὶ 15
νέα τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἡλικίᾳ τὸν βίον ἀπολιπὼν, καὶ τῷ πάντων
πατρὶ καὶ δεσπότῃ καταλιπὼν, μεγίστης διαδοχῆς καὶ πλούτου
τῷ ὄντι τῷ παιδὶ γίνεται πρόξενος. Τῇ γὰρ ἀποβολῇ τοῦ πατρὸς
εἰς περιουσίαν χρησάμενος πλούτου τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ζητεῖ τὸν ὄντως 20
πατέρα, καὶ ὡς ἔλαφος διψῶσα ἐπὶ διδασκαλεῖον τρέχει πνευμα-
τικόν, ὃ καὶ τὸν πόθον ὡς ἥλπισεν ἐμπιπλᾷ καὶ τῶν κατὰ σκοπὸν
μὴ διαμαρτεῖν γίνεται πρόξενον. Παρὰ γὰρ τὴν | ἱερὰν τῶν
Μαρμαριανῶν φοιτᾷ καὶ σεβασμίαν μονήν, οὐ μόνον κατὰ πᾶν
εἶδος φαινόμενον τῶν ἐν τῇ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπαρχιῶν τὸ ἀσύγκριτον

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ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀφανῆ πλοῦτον, τὴν πνευματικὴν
 δηλαδὴ πολιτείαν, καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ βίῳ καὶ πολιτεύματι τῶν
 ἀποταξαμένων τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐν κόσμῳ κατάλληλον. Ἐν
 ταύτῃ τοιγαροῦν τὸν πνευματικὸν θεμέλιον πῆξας καὶ τὸ σχῆμα
 ἀμείψας ἤνυσεν τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς δρόμον, ἐτέρῳ μὲν τὸν οἰκεῖον 5
 αὐχένα κλίνας, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑποζεύξας, καὶ τοῦ ἐκείνου ἐξηρτη-
 μένου θελήματος, ἐνδείκνυμενος δ' ἄμιλλαν ἀγαθὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν
 τῷ ῥηθέντι θαυμασίῳ συστήματι τὸν ἀσκητικὸν διαπλέοντας ποτα-
 μόν - εἰ δὲ χρὴ προσφύτερον φᾶναι, τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς διαπεραι-
 ουμένους μέγα καὶ βαθύτατον πέλαγος· ἄνθρωπον μὲν ἔχων φανε- 10
 ρῶς πηδαλιουχοῦντα ἀσθενῆ τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν καὶ μάλα
 ἐρῶμων ἄστατον, καὶ δυνάμεις δὲ θείας ἀοράτους ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀορά-
 του καὶ ἀπεριγράπτου Θεοῦ πεμπομένας εἰς ὁδηγίαν τῶν ἐν τῇ
 ῥηθείῃ θαλάσῃ πνευματικῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν. Ἦνυσεν τοίνυν τὸν
 δρόμον τῆς ὑψηλῆς πολιτείας καὶ ἀόκνως πᾶν ἐπιτελεῖ ἐπίταγμα, 15
 καὶ Χριστοῦ δοῦλον ἑαυτὸν διὰ τῶν ἔργων παριστᾶν ἔσπευδε,
 τοῦ μέχρι σταυροῦ καὶ θανάτου τὴν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν
 ὑπακοὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἴδιον ἐπιδειξαμένου καὶ τοῖς ὑπ'
 αὐτοῦ ἀναγεννηθεῖσιν ὁδὸν ἀπλανῆ σωτηρίας καὶ ἀθανάτου ζωῆς
 παρασχόντος. Ἐν τοίνυν τῇ εἰρημένῃ ἱερᾷ μάντρᾳ οὐ βραχύν| 20
 διατρίψας χρόνον, καὶ τῆς προσοῦσης αὐτῷ καταστάσεως ἱκανὰ
 παρασχὼν σημεῖα, καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τὴν ἱερωσύνην προμνηστευσάμενος
 τῷ οἰκείῳ, προβάλλεται εἰς τοῦτο, καὶ παρὰ τῶν τὴν πολιτείαν
 οἷα αὐτοῦ ἀκριβωσαμένων καὶ προσάγεται παρ' αὐτῶν τῷ μεγάλῳ
 καὶ θείῳ βήματι, καὶ τῷ ἱερατικῷ κοσμεῖται στολίσματι ὃ καὶ 25
 ἑαυτὸν ὅλον ἱερατεύσας θεῷ καὶ πρὸ γεννήσεως κατὰ Ἱερεμίαν
 τὸν θεῖον εἰς τοῦτο προωρισμένος, καὶ πολυπλασιάζει τὸ τῆς

χάριτος τάλαντον, καὶ τῶν πνευματικῶν χαρισμάτων πολυπλασίους τὰς δωρεὰς δέχεται.

Τί τὸ ἐντεῦθεν; Πόθον ἐν γαστρὶ λαμβάνει θεῖον ἀτέχνως καὶ τῇ ἐκ παιδὸς ἀγωγῇ καὶ βιώσει κατάλληλον. Ὁ δὲ πόθος, τὸ θεῖον ὄρος καταλαβεῖν· ὄρος ἐκεῖνο· περὶ οὗ καὶ τὸν θεῖον 5 οἶμαι Δαυὶδ θαυμασιώτατα προειπεῖν, 'τὸ ὄρος δ' εὐδόκησεν ὁ Θεὸς κατοικεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ', καὶ 'ὄρη τὰ ὑψηλὰ τοῖς ἐλάφοις', ψυχαῖς δηλαδὴ ταῖς δι' ἀρετῶν ὑψουμέναις, καὶ τὰ ἄνω φρονούσαις, τὰ ἄνω ζητούσαις οὗ ὁ Χριστὸς ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ καθήμενος. Ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ ὄρει οὐ φαντάζεται ὁ Θεὸς ἀνθρώποις διὰ πυρὸς 10 καὶ βροντῶν τῶν φωνῶν τε καὶ νεφέλης καὶ αὔρας λεπτῆς, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀγώνων καὶ πάλης τῆς πρὸς τὸ λευϊαθὰν ὄρος, τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ σκότους τοῦ ἀέρος τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας τὰ ἄπαυστα κινουῦντα τὸν πόλεμον κατὰ τῶν εἰς τὴν πνευματικὴν στρατίαν αἵρεσθέντων ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτοῦ ἐγχειρί- 15 ζοντος τὰ πνευματικὰ πρὸς καθαίρεσιν ὀχυρωμάτων, καὶ πᾶν ὕψος ταπεινουῦντος εἰς τὴν ὑπακοὴν αὐτοῦ. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ εἰς τὴν μόνην ἀπείρανδρον καὶ ἀλάξευτον ἡ ἀναγωγὴ τείνει τοῦ ὄρους ἄλλ' οὐδ' ἀπὸ σκοποῦ, καὶ τῇ προκειμένῃ ὑποθέσει ὑπάρξει. Εἰ γὰρ Θεοὶ κατὰ μέθεξιν οἱ τῆς θείου πνευματικῆς δωρεᾶς γίνονται καταξ- 20 ιωθέντες, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἶεν καὶ κατοικητήρια καὶ τόποι αὐτοῦ καὶ μοναί, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον φιланθρώπως παρὰ τοῦ μόνου πάντα φύσει καὶ οὐκ ἐπίκτητα ἔχοντος, οἱ αὐτῷ γνησίως προσοικειώμενοι;

Ἐν τούτῳ τοίνυν γενόμενος καὶ πόλιν εὐρὴν τῇ αὐτοῦ κατάλληλον ἀγωγῇ, χαίρει μὲν τῷ εὐορήματι καὶ ὅλος του πράγματος γίνεται. 25

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βραχὺν δὲ χρόνον ἐν τούτῳ συγχωρεῖται παρὰ τοῦ πάντα σοφῶς
 διεξάγοντος διαγαγεῖν, καὶ καλεῖται παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν πολ-
 ιτείαν ἐξέτι παίδων ἐπισταμένων, οὐκ ἀγνοησάντων, οἷον ἐν
 χερσὶν ἔχοντες ἀπώλεσαν θησαυρόν. Μετακαλεῖται τοίνυν ἅμα
 δυσὶν ἐταίροις τὴν ἀρετὴν, σὺν οἷς καὶ τὴν λαθραίαν ὑποχώρ- 5
 ησιν ἔδρασε, τῇ ἀνυπερβλήτῳ ἀρετῇ τῶν ἐν τῷ θείῳ ὄρει θελχ-
 θεῖς, καὶ ταύτης ἔνεκα λύπης κέντροις ἀνασχόμενος βάλλεσθαι
 τοὺς τὴν αὐτοῦ στέρησιν ὑποστάντας. Μετάκλητος οὖν γεγονῶς
 οὐκ ἦν ἀπειθής, οὐδὲ ἀντιλέγων, τῷ κρείττονι δὲ τὰ τῆς οἰκ-
 είας ζωῆς καὶ σωτηρίας χαλινὰ ἐπιτρέψας, ἄσμενος ἀσμένοις 10
 δείκνυται, τοῖς ποθοῦσι ὁ πανὺ ποθῶν, τοῖς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ κινηθεῖσι
 καὶ τὰ τῆς ζητήσεως ποιούμενοις ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγόμενος
 πνεύματος, ὁ διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖνο δαψιλὲς ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ πάντα ποιῶν
 292 καὶ πραγματευόμενος. Ἀκούομεν τῆς ἱερᾶς| καὶ θείας γραφῆς
 λεγούσης ὅτι καταβάντι τῷ προφήτῃ Μωσεῖ ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους 15
 γενομένης αὐτῷ θείας ὁμιλίας οὐκ ἦν ῥάδιον τῷ λαῷ εἰς τὸ πρόσ-
 ωπον αὐτοῦ ἀτενίζειν διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ
 προσώπου αὐτοῦ δόξαν. Εἰ δὲ ὁ ἡμέτερος προστάτης τε καὶ διδ-
 ἀσκαλος πνευματικοῦ ἡξιώθη χαρίσματος καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐφωτ-
 ίσθη καὶ ἀνδρασι συνεγένετο πλουσίῳν ἀπολαύσασι τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ 20
 πνεύματος χαρισμάτων, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐμύθη τὰ πολλοῖς ὕστερον
 χρόνοις αὐτῷ εἰς ἔργον ἐκβάντα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡδὺς ἦν, εὐέντευ-
 κτος, εὐπρόσιτος ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν, οὐδὲν ξένον ἐροῦμεν, οὐτ' ἀνάξιον
 τῶν περὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον γένος τοῦ Θεοῦ δωρεῶν. Ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ
 σκληροὶ καὶ ἀπερίτμητοι ταῖς καρδίαις ἦσαν καὶ μαῦρον σιδηροῦν 25
 ὁ τράχηλος αὐτῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τηλικαύτης δόξης οὐκ ἄξιοι
 ἐκρίθησαν θεαταὶ γενέσθαι· ἐνταῦθα δὲ πνευματικοὶ πνευματικοῖς

πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου τὸν ὅμοιον ἐπιγινώσκοντες, διὸ καὶ ἰδόντες τὸν οἰκεῖον εἰς ἀρετὴν ἀναβάσεις ἀναβασέων διὰ τῆς διαστάσεως προσλαβόντα, ἥσθησαν καὶ τῇ ἀπολήψει, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν μακάρισαν τῆς φυγῆς, αὐτοὺς δ' αὖ ἐπαινοῦντες οὐκ ἐπαύοντο τῆς οἰκονομίας δι' ἧς ὁ ζητούμενος τοῖς 5 ζητοῦσιν εὐρέθη καὶ ἐμφανῆς ἐγένετο τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐρωτῶσι καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν οὐκ ἀποκνήσασιν.

294 Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως ἀλλήλους ὦναιντο καὶ ἠΰφραναν, αὖθις ἀλλήλους ἀπέβλαυνον, οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῆς τοῦ γενναίου προθυμίας καὶ ὑπακοῆς, ὁ δ' αὖ τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων ἐναργεστάτης ἀγάπης ὑπὲρ τὴν κατὰ 10 χρόνον τιμὴν· ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐπὶ ἀρχικὴν λυχνίαν, ψυχῶν δηλαδὴ προστασίαν, ἀναβαίνειν ἄξιος κρίνεται καὶ φροντιστήριον ἐγχειρίζεται, ἥττον μὲν τῆς εἰρημένης μεγίστης ἐν ἣ τιμᾶται ὁ θεῖος καὶ μέγалаθλος Κυρίου μάρτυς Δημήτριος, τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν εἰς περιφάνειαν οὔμενοῦν ἀπολιπόμενον. Μονὴ αὕτῃ 15 ἦν ἣ τὸ μέγα πλουτεῖ τοῦ ἐν ἱεραρχαῖς παμμάκαρος ὄνομα Νικολάου, ἣ δὴ καὶ Πεινηδὸς παραρεῖ ποταμός, καὶ θάλασσα καὶ τὰ ἐκ ταύτης ἀγαθὰ δεξιούται· καὶ ἦν τὰ ταύτης ἐναντία καὶ δυσχερῇ, μικροῦ καὶ ἀοίκητον κατέστησεν, Ἀρσακιδῶν ἐχόντων αὐτὴν ὁπότε καὶ βούλοιντο ὀρμητήριον. Ταύτης τὴν προστασίαν ἐγχειρισθεῖς, 20 καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ἀρξάμενος ἐμφανίζειν θησαύρισμα, πόθον ἐντίθησι τοῖς προκεκτημένοις τοῦ προλαβόντος πλείονα καὶ θερμότερον, καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχικὴν λυχνίαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν τοῦτον θεάσασθαι. Καὶ γὰρ ἦν καὶ ὁ τῆς πνευματικῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν οἰάκων τούτων ἐπειλημμένος ἥδη τὴν ἡλικίαν προήκων 25 καὶ ἐκ πολυχρονίου ἀρρωστίας τῷ τοῦ βίου προσεγγίζων τέλει,

ὁ δὲ καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ γενέσθαι συνέβη. Τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὁ πάντων
 κηδεμῶν καλεῖ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, τῶν μακρῶν ἀπαλλάξας πόνων, προ-
 κρίνεται δὲ πολλῶν ἄλλ' εἰς προστασίαν τῆς μεγάλης μονῆς ὁ καὶ
 πολὺ προέχων εἰς ἀρετὴν, καὶ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ πνευματικῶς γεννησ-
 295 ἄσῃ ὡς υἱὸς πρωτότοκος ἀποδίδοται | φροντίσων αὐτῆς καὶ ἀνθεξ- 5
 ὁμενος τῶν πνευματικῶν παίδων, καὶ ἀντὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἀδελφοῦ πατὴρ
 χρηματίσων καὶ ὁδηγὸς καὶ προστάτης. Λαμβάνει τοίνυν τὴν ποι-
 μαντικὴν βακτηρίαν καὶ ποιμαίνει τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου λαόν, καὶ εἰς
 πόαν ἄγει ζωῆς καὶ ὕδωρ πνευματικῆς ἀναπαύσεως, συχνὸν οὖν
 χρόνον ἐν ταύτῃ διαγάγων καὶ πρὸς τῇ τῶν ἀρετῶν δόξῃ καὶ τὴν 10
 ἐκ τῆς περιφανείας τῆς προστασίας προσλαβόμενος.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ χρόνος ἱκανὸς ἐμέτρει τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Λαρισαίων
 τὴν τοῦ πνευματικοῦ ποιμένος στέρησιν, καὶ γὰρ καὶ τῆς βασιλ-
 ικῆς ἀρχῆς τὰ χαλινὰ ἐκ μακροῦ ἀπεσκευάσατο, τι οἰκονομεῖται
 παρὰ τῆς πάντα σοφῶς διεξαγαγούσης προνοίας. Παῖς ὑπελείφθη 15
 τοῖς τοπαρχαῖς, οἱ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν Ἀγγέλων εἶχον, τῆς οἰκείας
 ἀρχῆς κληρονόμος. Ἐκεῖνον τοίνυν ὁ πολὺς ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ
 μέγας ἐν πάσαις πράξεσι καὶ περιβόητος εἰς οἰκείου καρποῦ κῆδος
 λαμβάνει. Ἦν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους τὰ τῆς πρεσβείας
 ἐμπιστευθεὶς ὁ μέγας πατὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ προστάτης καὶ κηδεμῶν. 20
 Ἄνεισι τοίνυν κρίσει πάντων τῶν τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν πόλεων
 μεγίστην καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κεκτημένην μετὰ τῆς βασιλείας ὥραϊσμα,
 ἐμφανίζεται βασιλεῦσιν, εἰς λόγους ἔρχεται ἱεράρχαις, φίλτρον
 ἐντίθησι πᾶσι οὗ προϋπῆρχεν ἀπολαύων παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων πολλῶ
 κρεῖττον καὶ βεβαιότερον, ὅσῳ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐντεῦθεν κρίσεως πολὺ 25

296 τῶν ἄλλων εἰσὶν| ἀξιοπιστότερα. Εἴτα τί; δεῖ γὰρ τὰν μέσῳ
 διὰ τὴν συμμετρίαν παραδραμεῖν· τέρας λαμβάνει τὰ τῆς συγγεν-
 είας, προέρχεται κατὰ τάξιν τὰ τῆς ἱεραρχικῆς ψήφου καὶ τὰ
 τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐνεργείας τέλος λαμβάνει θαυμασιώτατον, ἀρετῇ καὶ
 τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ κηδεμονίᾳ κατάλληλον. 5
 Πάντων γὰρ εἰς μίαν συνεληλυθότων γνώμην ὥσπερ πρότερον τῶν
 τῆς ἐπαρχίας οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς συνόδου ἱεραρχῶν, τῷ ἱερῷ
 προσάγεται αὐθις ὁ ἀεὶ τῷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παριστάμενος βασιλεῖ, καὶ
 τῶν συνήθων ἱερῶν καὶ ῥόδων τελουμένων τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑποκλίνει τῷ
 μεγάλῳ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἀρχιερεῖ, καὶ ψήφῳ καὶ δοκιμασίᾳ 10
 καὶ γνώμῃ οὐ τῶν ἤδη παρόντων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τινὰ περίστασιν
 ἀπόντων τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐχένος| δέχεται εὐαγγέλια,
 ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχων τὰς τῶν συλλειτουργῶν χεῖρας ἐπικειμένας,
 ἀκούει τούτων ἐπιβωμένων τὴν χάριν τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος,
 καὶ δέχεται ταύτην δαψιλέστερον αὐθις ἐπιρρυεῖσαν καὶ πληρώσαν 15
 τὸν τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ ναόν, καὶ οὐδὲ τὰς ἐκτὸς αἰσθήσεις ἀλαμ-
 πεῖς καταλείψαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύταις μεταδοῦσαν τῆς ἐνδὸν θαλλερό-
 τητος, ὡς καὶ Σολομῶντι δοκεῖ. Οὕτω τοίνυν ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
 στηριχθεὶς ὕψει ὁ ταύτης τῇ προστασίᾳ προορισθεὶς, ἐδείχθη καὶ
 βασιλεῦσιν αἰδεσιμώτατος, ἐπεσπάσατο εἰς πόθον ἅπαντα πλείονα, 20
 μικρὸν τὸ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ τὰ τῷ καιρῷ πρόσφορα τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ δεδρα-
 κότων· ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἕτερος θεῖος ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀρετῇ προκείμενος σὺν
 297 αὐτῷ,| ὃς δὴ καὶ τῶν Νέων Πατρῶν ἐνεπιστεύθη μητρόπολιν, ἄλλων
 τε τὰ τῆς συγγενείας διενεργούντων· συντάσσεται τῷ τῆς μεγάλης
 ἐκκλησίας καὶ οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης πατριαρχοῦντι, ἀποδίδωσι τῷ 25

μεγάλῃ βασιλεῖ τὰς ἐξιτηρίους εὐχάς, τῷ τῶν ἱεραρχούντων καὶ 1
 πάσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συστήματι τὰ προσήκοντα ἐπιλέγει, καὶ τέλος
 τὴν αὐτοῦ κληρονομίαν καταλαμβάνει, ἣν οὐκ ἀνθρώπινος αὐτῷ
 νόμος καὶ κλῆρος παραδέδωκεν, οὐδὲ οἰκεία σπουδή, ἀλλὰ θεία
 ἀληθῆς κηδεμονία τοῦ τοσούτου προνοουμένη χοροῦ, καὶ τοῦτον 5
 τῆς ὀρφανίας ἀνακαλουμένη καὶ πατέρα γνήσιον ἐφιστῶσα αὐτοῖς.

Καταλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ποῖμνιον, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν τὴν τοῦ ἀρχι-
 ποιμένος Χριστοῦ μεγίστην κληρονομίαν, οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὅσης
 ἡδονῆς αἴτιος γέγονε, εἰ καὶ ἔνι μόνῳ λύπης ἀφορήτου κατέστη 10
 πρόξενος. Τίνι δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ποίῳ; τῷ τῆς πονηρίας προστάτῃ
 καὶ ἀρχηγῷ καὶ τῷ ὑπ' αὐτὸν πονηρωτάτῳ σμήνει· ἐκείνῳ γὰρ διὰ
 πολλῆς ὑπῆρχε φροντίδος ἀποίμαντον εἰς τὸ διενεχὲς διαμένειν
 τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ὥς ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ κέρδους σμικροῦ
 περιγινομένου, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὕξησιν οἰκείαν κακοθελῶς ὑποπτεύει
 τὴν ἀνθρωπινὴν ἀπώλειαν, ἥς ἀντίπαλος ἰσχυρὸς ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίως- 15
 μοῦ καὶ τῆς πνευματικῆς διδασκαλίας προσγινομένη ὠφέλεια.
 Αἰὸ καὶ ἄρχεται τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πάλης καὶ πάντα λίθον τὸ τοῦ λόγου
 σπεύδει κινῆσαι ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ τῆς ἡδονῆς εἰς λύπην καὶ τὰ τῆς εὐφρ-
 οσύνης μεταβάλλειν εἰς κατήφειαν, καὶ τὸ ἐννόημα αὐτοῦ, εἰ καὶ
 σφόδρα τῶν πάνυ ἐπισφαλῶν, τῇ γὰρ αὐτοῦ πανουργίᾳ κατάλληλον 20
 ὃν οὐ μικρὸν τῷ σκοπῷ τῷ κακίστῳ συνέδραμε. Θανάτου γὰρ τομῇ
 τοῦ τὴν δεσποτείαν ἔχοντος, τῶν τῇδε τῆς ὥρας προαρπασθέντος,
 διαιρεῖται μὲν τὰ τῆς ἐπαρχίας εἰς διαφόρους ἀρχὰς, ἐπακολουθεῖ
 δὲ τῇ ταύτης διαιρέσει φθορὰ πραγμάτων, ἀφαιρέσεις βιῶν, δημ-
 εύσεις, ἐξορίαι, ἀπειλαί, θάνατοι, ἅπερ ἦσαν τρυφή τῷ ποιοῦντι, 25
 λύπη δὲ καὶ ὀδύνη οὐ τοῖς πασχοῦσι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὴν
 ψυχὴν τιθέναι καθ' ὥραν διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχοντι. Τοιούτοις ἐπιβατ-

ηρίοις ὁ κοινὸς πολέμιος δεξιῶσασθαι τὸν ἀναιρέτην αὐτοῦ παρα-
 σκευάσας, ὁ παντὶ χαίρων πονηρίας εἶδει ἐπεὶ ἑώρα πανταχόθεν
 ἑαυτὸν τῇ τοῦ γενναίου καρτερίᾳ ἠττώμενον καὶ γέλωτα ὄφλοντα,
 ἅτε δὴ τοῦ δικαίου τάκείνου μὴ ἀγνοοῦντος ἐπιτηδεύματα, τοῖς
 ἄλλοις ἐξαπορηθεὶς εἰς λαμπρὰν ἐξάπτεται μάχην, καὶ τισὶ τὴν
 αὐτοῦ κακίαν ῥαδίῳ προθυμότατα δέξασθαι ὑποβάλλει πράξεις 5
 ἀτόπους ἀσπάσασθαι καὶ τὴν τοῦ διδασκάλου διὰ τῶν τοιούτων
 ὀδυναῖς ὑποβάλλειν τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀγνοῶν ἐθελοκακῶς ὁ ἄθλιος ὅτι
 ὅσον αὐτὸς τὰ τῶν πειρασμῶν ἐπεγείρει κύματα, τοσοῦτον τὸ τοῦ
 δικαίου σκάφος στερεότερον γίνεσθαι παρασκευάζει. Οὐ γὰρ
 ἤκουσεν ὁ κωφὸς ἐξ ὧν ἐδρᾷ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅτι ὡς χρυσὸς ἐν χωνεῖᾳ 10
 οὕτω ἐν πειρασμοῖς δοκιμάζεται ἄνθρωπος, οὐδὲ τοῦτο τὸ προφη-
 299 ικὸν καὶ σολομόντειον, 'Υἱέ| μὴ ὀλιγώρει παιδείας Κυρίου, μηδὲ
 ἐκλύου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος· ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος παιδεύει, μασ-
 τιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν ὃν παραδέχεται'. Διὰ τοῦτο καῦσαι βουληθεῖς
 ἐκαύθη καὶ τραυματίσαι θελήσας ἐτραυματίσθη, καὶ τὰ Φαραῶ δικαι- 15
 ως πεπόνθει σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀναβάταις αὐτοῦ καὶ τριστάταις οὐ τῇ
 θαλάσῃ ἀλλὰ τῷ πυρὶ τῷ ἀσβέστῳ, διὰ τοῦ τῶν ἁγίων χοροῦ πρὸς
 Θεὸν ἀπαύστου ὀδυρουμένου καὶ λυπούμενου ἀφόρητα, ὧν εἷς ἔστι
 καὶ ὁ προτεθεὶς εἰς ὑπόθεσιν καταπατήσας αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν,
 καὶ τὴν πτέρναν τηρούμενος μὲν, μὴ τιτρωσκόμενος δέ. Μετὰ γὰρ 20
 τοὺς ἐκ τούτου ἀμυθήτους πειρασμούς, μετὰ τὰς ἐνέδρας, μετὰ
 τὰς φανερὰς ἐνστάσεις νικήσας νίκην καὶ πάλιν ἀναδεξάμενος
 τὴν ἄπονον αὐτῷ προξενούσαν ζωὴν καὶ ὄντως μακραίωνα. Τί γὰρ
 τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε; ἀγωνίζεται μὲν ὁ θεῖος Κυπριανὸς τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα,

τὸν δρόμον τελεῖ, τὴν πίστιν τηρεῖ, διὸ καὶ λαμβάνει τὸν τῆς
 δικαιοσύνης στέφανον ἀποκείμενον ὄντα αὐτῷ παρὰ τῷ ἀθλοθέτῃ
 Χριστῷ. Πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον; φέρει γενναίως τὰ παρὰ τῶν ὀρ-
 άτων ἐπερχόμενα ὑποβολαῖς τοῦ ἀφανοῦς πολεμίου, μεταβαίνει ἐξ
 οἰκείας εἰς οἰκείαν ὡς ἀλήτης τις καὶ ἄπολις καὶ ἄστεγος, συκο- 5
 φαντεῖται, ἐπιβουλεύεται· τέλος μία τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν περιγράφεται
 ἐπισκοπῶν, καὶ οὐδ' αὐτὸ τὸ πολλοστημόριον συγχωρεῖται εἰς ὀλό-
 κληρον δεσποτείαν κατέχειν. Χρόνους οὐκ ὀλίγους οὕτω διαθλῶν
 300 τὸν βίον ἀνύει· τέλος, βραχείᾳ τινὶ νόσῳ τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν τοῦ
 σαρκίου ταῖς ἀσκητικαῖς ἀγωγαῖς δαπανᾶται, καὶ οὕτω τῶν παρόν- 10
 των ἀπολύεται δυσχερῶν καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ διηνεκῇ καὶ αἰώνια
 ἀγαθὰ λαμβάνει. Εὐφροσύνης μὲν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ διαστάσει πλήρης
 ὑπάρχων καὶ ἡδονῆς εἰ καὶ νόμῳ φύσεως, οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν
 ἀπέταξε δάκρυα, ὡς τῶν περιόντων τινὲς τῇ ἐκείνου μεταστάσει
 παρόντες ἐσημειώσαντο καὶ ἡμῖν διετράνωσαν, χαίρουσι θείοις 15
 ἀγγέλοις ἐπὶ τοῦτο παρὰ Θεοῦ πεμφθεῖσι καθαρωτάτην ψυχὴν παρα-
 θεῖς, οὐκ εὐλογίαις μόνον, ὑποθήκαις, καὶ πνευματικαῖς διδασ-
 καλιαῖς καταρτήσας τὸ ποίμνιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χειροθεσίαις, καὶ
 προσαγορεύσεσι καὶ πνευματικαῖς ἐπιδόσεσι καταρτίσας αὐτό.
 Καὶ σύ μὲν ὦ θεία καὶ ἱερὰ κεφαλὴ τοιοῦτον ἔχων τὸν βίον οἶον 20
 οὐκ ἂν τις οὐδὲ τῶν περὶ λόγους μεγίστην δύναμιν ἐσχηκότων
 παραστήσασθαι δυνήσεται λογικαῖς ἀποδείξεσιν, ἡνέσχου καὶ τοῦ
 παρ' ἐμοῦ συντεθέντος, ὄντος κατὰ γε τοῦτο καὶ τ' ἄλλα πάντα οἶον
 μετὰ Θεὸν οἶδας σαφέστατα καὶ βεβαιότατα, ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν σκοπὸν
 εἰς ἕτερα βλέποντα ἔχων οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ σοὶ καὶ τοῦτο δοκοῦν ἔστι· 25

διὸ καὶ τὴν μὲν χεῖρα τοῦ γραφεῖν συστέλλω, δέησιν δὲ προσάγω
καὶ ἔντευξιν θερμωτάτην μὴ τῶν ἐλπίδων κατόπιν ἐλθεῖν μηδ'
ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ καὶ δι' ἐμὲ τὰς τοῦ ποιμνίου ἐλπίδας,
ἀλλὰ προσδεχθῆναι μὲν τὴν τοῦ ἔργου σκιάν, ἀντιδοθῆναι δὲ τῶν
ᾧ ἀπολαύεις βραχύ τι καὶ τοῦ σοῦ λάχους ἐπανόρθωσιν θεασάμενον 5
301 καὶ βελτίονος| ἐπειλημμένον ζωῆς, μετὰ ἀφέσεως τῶν πεπλημμελη-
μένων ἀφάτων ὄντων, πρὸς τὰ ἐκεῖσε μεταχωρῆσαι καὶ σοῦ τὴν προσ-
τασίαν ἐπιτυχεῖν κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως ἡμέραν.

Εἶχε μὲν οὕτω τέλους ὁ μέγας Κυπριανός, καὶ τῷ νόμῳ τῆς
φύσεως εἴξας, καὶ τὸν δικαίοις ὀφειλόμενον ὕπνον ὑπνώσας, ὥς 10
εἴρηται, τοῖς κόλποις ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν παρεδόθη τῆς γῆς,
καὶ εἶδον αὐτοὶ σκυθρωποτάτας ἡμέρας, τοῦ θάλποντος αὐτοῦ καὶ
ζωογονοῦντος ταῖς δυσμαῖς τοῦ τέλους συνδύναντος, καὶ ὧ τοῦ
πάθους καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ζωὴν ἐκάστου οὐκ ἀμείνονα τελευτῆς προσ-
δοκήσαντος. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὕτω καὶ τοιαῦτα διανοοῦντο καὶ 15
οὕτως ἔξειν εἰς τοῦπιὸν προσεδόκων· τί δέ; ἄρα ὁ πνευματικὸς
θησαυρός, ὁ Πλοῦτος ὁ ἄσυλος, ὁ πολυειδὴς μετὰ θεὸν τῶν εἰς
αὐτὸν ἡλπικότων προμηθεύς τε καὶ κηδεμών, ἄρ' ἐπελάθετο τούτων
καὶ ἡμνημόνησε τοῦ λάχους; ἤρκεσθη ταῖς θείαις ἀγαλλιᾶσεσιν ᾧ
ἐν μεθέξει κατέστη τοῦ ἐφορκίου λυθείς, καὶ τῷ μόνῳ αὐτῷ καὶ 20
ὄντως ἀπαθεῖ καὶ ἀοράτῳ παραστάς καὶ τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου <*****>
δεχόμενος [παρ' ἐκείνου]; οὐμενοῦν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπο-
δημίαν τὰ τῶν φροντίδων ἀκόπως ἐπὶ ἔβησε, καὶ ᾧ ἀπέλαυσε ἀγαθῶν
τοῦ συνοίκου διαιρεθεὶς καὶ τῷ ὑπ' αὐτῷ φιλοχρίστῳ ποιμνίῳ μετέ-
δωκε, μᾶλλον δ' αἰεὶ μεταδίδωσι, καὶ τὸν δεδοκότα δοξάζει, καὶ 25
302 παρ' αὐτοῦ πλουσίως ἀντιδοξάζεται. Καταλέλοιπε γὰρ| τὸ πολύπονον
σκῆνος οὐκ ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ θεοῦ αὐτῷ μνηστευθείσῃ πνευματικῶς· ἔτι

τῇ παιδείᾳ δουλεύουσα ἀοίκητος ἦν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων ἰχνῶν ἔρημος,
 τοῖς θηρίοις τοῦ καλάμου καὶ τοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πετεινοῖς μόνοις
 παραδέδωκε καταπατεῖσθαι, εἰ καὶ τῇ τούτου μικρὸν ὕστερον πρὸς
 ὃν μεταβέβηκε παρρησίᾳ καὶ φρουρίῳ τετείχιστο, ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβοῦς
 διότι πλειστῆς φροντίδος ποιησαμένου καὶ εἰς τέλος ἀγαγόντος τὸ 5
 βούλημα, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατ'ἐλπίδας ἀπέβη, πομῇ καὶ αὐτοῦ θανάτου
 τὴν ζωὴν ταχύτατα καταλύσαντος. Οὐ ταύτῃ τοίνυν ὡς λέλεκται
 τὸ πολύτιμον καταλέλοιπε χρῆμα, ἀλλ' ἐν μία τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἱερω-
 τάτων ἐκκλησιῶν, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου ζῶν διε-
 τέλεσε, καὶ πόνοις καὶ διαφόροις καμάτοις τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν εἰς ἐπί- 10
 δοσιν ἤγαγε. Τρίκκη ἦν αὕτη, ἥ καὶ ἡμᾶς τὴν φαινομένην ἐκείνου
 διαδοχὴν δέξασθαι Θεὸς οἷς ἐπίσταται λόγοις ἐπέταξε καὶ τὸ
 πλῆθος τῶν ἀριθμῶν τῶν θαυμάτων ἀκούειν καὶ ὁρᾶν παρεσκεύασεν.
 Οὗ δὴ μέρους καὶ σκοπὸν ὁ λόγος προυβάλλετο, καὶ μὴ ζημιῶσαι
 τοὺς μετέπειτα τῆς τηλικαύτης προενόησεν ὠφελείας - οὐ γὰρ 15
 ἐγκωμιαστικῶς ὡς εἴρηται ὁ λόγος προήχθη, μηδαμόθεν ἡμῖν ὑπαρ-
 χούσης δυνάμεως τοιούτων μεγίστων ὑπόθεσιν ἀνυποστόλως μετα-
 χειρίζειν, ὅτι μηδὲ τοσοῦτον ἀγνοοῦμεν τὸ ἑαυτῶν κατὰ πάντα
 ἐλλιπὲς καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπαρασκεύαστον - ἀλλ' ἵνα κατὰ δύναμιν
 303 ἡμετέραν εἰς μνήμην| ἀφίκηται τοῖς μετέπειτα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ 20
 τούτου πατρὸς καὶ διδασκάλου κοῖνοῦ βρύοντα θαύματα. Ἐν τοίνυν
 τῇ Τρικκαέων ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ πλούτου ἤγουν τοῦ ἱεροῦ σκήνους τὴν
 κατάθεσιν ἔχοντος καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς σοφοῦ τῶν θαυμάτων ἀεὶ πηγ-
 ἀζόντων καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀρυόμεθα καθ' ἐκάστην, καὶ ἅπερ ἀκοῦμεν καὶ
 ὁρῶμεν κρύπτειν οὐκ ὅσιον κρίνομεν· ἐκεῖνον μέντοι τοὺς τῷ 25
 τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐντευξαμένους ἀξιοῦναι χειρῶν μηδεμίαν ἔχειν περὶ
 τὰ Θεοῦ παρέχοντος δύναμιν ῥηθειςόμενα ἀμφισβήτησιν. Οὐ γὰρ
 χοόνοις ἀποκέκλεισται τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ δῶρα, οὔτε μὴν ὥραις καὶ καιρ-
 ῶν καταστάσεσιν· ἐπιρρεῖ δ' αὖ καὶ τοὺς ὀχετοὺς ὑπερβαίνει πάν-

των τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραχθέντων ποταμῶν τε καὶ θαλασσίων κυμάτων,
 δι' ὧν καὶ τρία ἐνεργεῖται τὰ κάλλιστα· δοξολογία πρὸς Θεὸν
 ὀφειλομένη, ἀνακήρυξις τῶν εἰς τοῦτο φθασάντων τὸ μέτρον, καὶ
 ὠφέλεια τῶν ἀκροάσεως τοιούτων ἀξιουμένων παρὰ τῶν τῆς αὐτῆς
 ὄντων φύσεως καὶ εἰς ἀναχθέντων τοσοῦτον ὥς καὶ θαύματα ἐκτε- 5
 λεῖν, μόνοις ἀπίστοις ὡς καὶ ψυχαῖς ἀπαράδεκτα. Ἀρκτέον μοι
 τοιγαροῦν ἐντεῦθεν τῆς τῶν θαυμάτων διηγήσεως, ἀληθείας παντα-
 χοῦ προοδοποιούσης, καὶ ψεύδους παντὸς καὶ πλάσματος τῷ ταύτης
 διασκεδαζομένης φωτὶ καὶ χωρούσης πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὄν, καὶ μηδεμίαν
 ἐχούσης πάροδον ἐπὶ τῆς προκειμένης πνευματικῆς διηγήσεως. 10

304 Ἔστω τοίνυν πρῶτον τῶν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου παραχθέντων
 κοίμησιν ὁ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφόπαιδα τετέλεσται | τὸν οἰκεῖον, τῶν
 ἔτι τῷ βίῳ περιόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀριθμὸν ὑπερβαινόντων σχεδόν·
 ἔχει δὲ οὕτω· τοῦ τοπαρχοῦντος ἐκ σειρᾶς τῶν Ἀγγέλων τὴν ἐπω-
 νυμίαν κληρωσαμένου τοῦ βίου, εἰς μέρη τὰ τῆς ἐπαρχίας διηρέθη, 15
 καὶ τῇ διαιρέσει φθοραὶ ἐπηκολούθησαν μεγίσται οὐ πραγμάτων
 μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνθρώπων. Ἐνὶ τοίνυν
 τούτων ἐφ' οὗ καὶ λύπαις οὐ φορήταις ὁ ἱερὸς καθυπεβλήθη ἀνὴρ
 οὐκ ἄρεστα πράττειν δοξάσ ..., ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἐκείνου θυμὸν
 εἵλκυσεν. Ἐκακώθη τοίνυν παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐταπεινώθη καὶ πᾶν 20
 χαλεπὸν πείσεσθαι προσεδόκησε παρ' αὐτοῦ. Ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε μοι τὴν
 πρὸς Θεὸν τοῦ διδασκάλου παρησίαν, ὁρᾶτε τὴν πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς
 πατρικὴν κηδεμονίαν, οὐ σαρκικὴν οὖσαν ἀλλὰ πνευματικὴν. Ἐπεὶ
 γὰρ ὁ εἰρημένος τὰ μεγάλα προσέκρουσε τῷ τῆς ἐκκλη-
 σίας προστάτῃ, ἠλέγχετο δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἀμύνασθαι τοῦτον οὐ 25

5 φύσεων. 12-13 τὸν περιόντι ὑπερβαινόντι.

δεδύνηται. Τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ δρᾶσαι κώνωψ πρὸς ἐλέφαντα δύναίτο;
 ἢ πρὸς λέοντα μῦς; ἢ κορώνη πρὸς ἀετὸν; ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο τῶν ἀδυν-
 ᾶτοις ἐπιχειρούντων λεγόμενον; Ἐπ' ἐκείνον ἔτρεψε τὴν ὀργὴν
 ἐξ ἐκείνου, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου φυλαττομένων καὶ σκεπομένων,
 ὥς ἔοικε διὰ φροντίδος ἐχόμενος ἀρχὴν ποιήσασθαι κακώσεως ἥγουν 5
 τὸ μετριότερον παραλυτήσεως. Εἶδε τοίνυν οὐκ ἀγαθοῖς ὄμμασι τὸν
 εἰρημένον τοῦ ἁγίου ἀνεψιόν, ἐλύπησεν οὐ μικρῶς ὥς δ' ἐγὼ τινος
 305 ἤκουσα, καὶ καθεῖρξε, καὶ μεγάλως ἦν κατ' αὐτοῦ | φλεγμαίνων.
 Οὕτω τοίνυν αὐτοῦ τῇ κακίᾳ δεδουλομένου ὑπνοῦντι τε τῷ σώματι
 ἀναπαύοντι ἐφίσταται φοβερὸς ὁ μέγας βλοσυρὸν βλέπων καὶ τὰ 10
 εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἡματημένα δι' ὀνειδούς ποιοῦμένος, "οὐκ ἦρκει σοί",
 λέγων, " ἂ εἰς ἐμὲ δέδρακας χαλεπά, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ θάνατον τοῖς
 ὁμοίοις ἐπιχειρεῖς, διὰ τῶν τοιούτων λυπεῖν με σπεύδων; Ἀπόστηθι
 ἀνεψίου τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἢ οὐκ εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἀποβήσεται σοι τὸ ἐπιχείρημα.
 Θεὸν γὰρ ἔξεις τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ συμμαχόμενον, ἐμοῦ τοῦτον ἐπὶ σοὶ 15
 κινουῦντος καὶ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν ἐπισπεύδοντος". Ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ τῷ
 ἀνδρὶ φόβον ἐνέσεισε μέγαν, ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ τοῦ ὕπνου ταχέως ἀνέστη
 καὶ τοῦ μὴ καλῶς ἔχοντος ἀπέστη καὶ ἐπὶ λογισμῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔστη,
 καὶ ἔργοις ἔδειξε φρονήσει συζῶν, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλὰ γε
 τῆς τοιαύτης παιδείας, τὸ δέον συνιδεῖν οὐκ ἀδόκιμος. Ἐλυσε 20
 γὰρ τὴν ὀργὴν, εὐμενείας ἡξίωσεν, ἔδειξε τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις καὶ
 φιλτάτοις [ὑπαρ] ἅπερ ὄναρ αὐτὸς ἐθεάσατο, τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἐξήγαγεν
 ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἀφελόμενος ἦν, δοθῆναι ἐπέταξε τοῖς αὐτῷ ὑπηρετουμέ-
 νοις, ἐξ ἐκείνου τι τὸ εὐμενὲς πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐτήρει καὶ τὸ προμηθεὺς
 ἐπεδείκνυ· καὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἦν, καὶ πρόσθεν εἴρηται, πᾶσι τοῖς τε 25
 ὑπηρετησαμένοις τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ταύτῃ τῇδε
 λέγω τῇ τῶν Γρικκαέων ἀξιοτάτῃ ἐπισκοπῇ, ἐν ᾗ τιμᾶται μὲν ὁ

306 μέγας ἐν ἄσωμάτοις Μιχαήλ, τὸ δὲ ἐκείνου ἱερὸν ἀποκεῖται σῶμα,
οὐ κατὰ τὸ πρόσθεν βαρὺς ἦν καὶ δυσέντευκτος καὶ τὴν ζωὴν|
κατοδυνῶν, ἵν' εἰπῶ τούτοις τὸ τῆς γραφῆς.

Ἄλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως, ἕτερον δ' ἔτι καὶ αὖ τοῦτο ἀκόλουθον
ἄλλο ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου ζωῇ τελευθὲν εἰρήσεται· ποθεῖ γὰρ ὁ λόγος 5
καὶ κατὰ τὸν παρόντα βίον ἔτι τούτου τελοῦντος τελεσθέντα τινὰ
εἰς μέσον ἀχθῆναι, καὶ ἀκοαῖς φιλοθέοις τοῖς τῷ παρόντι ἐντευξ-
ομένοις καὶ τρυφὴν παραχθῆναι, καὶ πνευματικὴν συνεργῆσαι σαφῶς
ἀγαλλίασιν. Τοῦ προρρηθέντος τοπαρχοῦντος καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
ἐν στενῷ κομιδῇ καταστήσαντος, ἦσαν μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ὑπηρετούντων 10
τὰ ὅμοια δρῶντες, ἐπειδὴ καὶ φιλεῖ συνεξομοιοῦσθαι ὡς τὰ πολλὰ
τῷ ἄρχοντι τὸ ὑπήκοον, εἷς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν οὐκ ἐξ ἀρετῶν ἀλλὰ τοῦ
ἐναντίου τῆς κακίας ὄνομα κεκτῆσθαι σπουδὴν ποιούμενος ἡ Μιλιαρᾶς
ἦν τάνδρῃ τὸ ἐπώνυμον· οὗτος προσέκρουσε τῷ μεγάλῳ γῆς ἔνεκα τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ διαφερούσης Τρικκάλων ἀμετόχως ἀντιποιούμενος, ὃν ἐπει- 15
δὴ πολλὰ καὶ πολλάκις παραινέσας τοῦ μακροθύμου δεσπότου οὐκ
ἔπεισε μαθητής, ἔργῳ τὸ δέον μαθεῖν παρασκεύασεν. Ἠπείλησε γὰρ
τῇ αὐτοῦ συζύγῳ οὕτω διαμηνυσάμενος ἀριδηλότατα καὶ σαφέστατα,
τὸν γὰρ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑπηρετούμενον παῖδα καὶ τὰ τοῦ νεοκόρου
πληροῦντα πεπομφῶς νεανίαν οὕτως ἐκέλευσεν, "Εὐτρέπισον σινδόνα 20
τῷ σῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τᾶλλα ὅποσα πρὸς ταφὴν ἐπιτήδεια". οὕτως ἔφη ὁ
παῖς ἐν Τρικκάλοις οὔση τῇ συνεύνῳ τοῦ δηλωθέντος. Τοῦ ἐκείνου
δὲ φρούριον τὸ Φανάριον διεξαγαγόντος, οὐ τὸ| ἐπίταγμα ἡ κοινω-
νὸς τοῦ βίου πρὸς παραίνεσιν καὶ μεταβολὴν διὰ τινὸς τῶν αὐτῆς
θεραπόντων ἐκπέμπει· ἦν γὰρ ὡς ἔοικε τὴν γνώμην ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ καλῶς 25
πραχθέντι στερέμνιος. Δέχεται δὲ ἀγγελίαν τὴν σφοδροτάτην

μηνύουσαν νόσον καὶ ταῖς τοῦ θανάτου παραπέμπουσαν μύλαις.

Εἴτε γὰρ ἐκείνη τὰ πρὸς ταφὴν ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιφερομένη τὸν ἄνδρα κατέλαβεν, εἴτ' ἐκεῖθεν χερσὶν ἐτέρων φερόμενον, τὰ τῇδε βεβαίως μὴ ἐπιστάμενος γραφῇ παραδοῦναι αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶν κρίνω ἓνα, τοῦτο ἔγνων αὐτοῦ διηγησαμένου καλῶς, ὅτι πυρετῷ σφοδροτάτῳ καὶ θαν- 5 ατοφόρῳ, λησθεὶς ἀπέλιπε τὸ βιώσιμον, ἢ ἐκεῖνον μᾶλλον αὐτὸ διαφυγὸν τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου πρὸς Θεὸν ὥχετο παρρησίᾳ.

Καὶ τοῦτο ἀκόλουθον ἂν ῥηθείη, τὴν ἐκ Θεοῦ δύναμιν αὐτὸ παριστῶν τοῦ θείου Κυπριανοῦ· γυναῖον τι τὴν ἡλικίαν οὐ γηραιόν, τὸν τρόπον οὐκ ἐπαίνετον, παρῶκει τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν ἣ τὴν διαγωγὴν 10 ἐποιεῖτο ὁ ταύτης προστάτης καὶ τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ προβάτων ἀπλανέστατος ὁδηγός (αὐτὴ ἦν ἡ οὐχ ἅπαξ ῥηθεῖσα Τρίκκης ἐπισκοπή). ταύτην βλέπων ὁ μέγας κίνδυνον ἐσομένην ψυχῶν καὶ ἀθάνατον θάνατον, ἐπειδὴ παραινῶν οὐκ ὠφέλησεν, τὴν τῆς κακίας χύσιν τέχνη σοφωτάτῃ καὶ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἀνεχαίτισεν ὥς μὴ καὶ πλείους λυμήνασθαι. 15 Μίας γοῦν θεασάμενος καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁ τούτων ἀεὶ κρατῶν καὶ ἄγων ὅπηπερ οἱ ἔνδοθεν βούλοιντο, οἰκονομικῶς ὥς 308 ἐγῶμαι, καὶ ἰδὼν πῦρ πνέουσας, πῦρ ἀκολάστην | ὀρῶσαν, διαφλέγεται τὰ ἔνδον, θείῳ ζήλῳ πυρπολεῖται ὥς ἥλιον, φινέας ἄλλος ὀρᾶται καὶ οὐ ξιφιδίῳ χρῆται τῷ ἐκ σιδήρου, εὐχῇ δὲ πεπαρρησιασμένη καὶ 20 καθαρᾷ. Παρ' αὐτὴν γὰρ τὴν θείαν ἵστας εἰκόνα τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ἡμετέρου φύλακος στηλοῦται κατὰ Σαμουὴλ τὸ σῶμα, αἶρει κατὰ Μωσέα τὰς χεῖρας, κινεῖ τὰ χεῖλη πρὸς ὑμνωδίαν θείαν, "Ανναν τὴν πάλαι μιμούμενος, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εἰς τὰ ὄρη ἄρας, τὰς ἀπεριγράπτους δηλαδὴ θρόνον τὸν θεῖον περιεπούσας δυνάμεις, 25 καὶ ἔξω τῶν παρόντων ὅλως γενόμενος μετ' οὐκ ὀλίγην παραδρομὴν ὥρῳ διαστήματος συστέλλει τὰς χεῖρας, κλίνει τὸ γόνυ, φησὶ

λαμπρῶ καὶ ἑξακούσῳ φωνῇ, "Εὐχαριστῶ σοί, εὐχαριστῶ σοί, ὅτι ἤκουσάς μου". Ἀναχωρήσαντος τοίνυν τῆς στάσεως τοῦ μεγάλου, ἡ θεόθεν ἐπεχωρίασεν, ἵν'εἰπῶ τι καινότερον, ἀπόφασις, καὶ λάβρος μὲν πυρετὸς τῇ γυναικὶ ἐπεισπίπτει, ἀκολουθῶς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ πῦρ τῆς τὸν θάνατον ἐπαγούσης τομῆς, καὶ δείκνυται μετ'ὀλίγον 5 νεκρὰ ἢ πολλοὺς ἴσως τοῦ εὖ ζῆν εἰ μὴ τοῦτο πεπόνθει ἀποστερήσουσα. Ταῦτα ὁ ἰδὼν πραχθέντα μοι διηγήσατο, τῷ τῶν μοναχῶν καταλεγείς τάγματι καὶ ἱερωσύνη τοῦτο κοσμήσας καὶ καλῶς ζήσας καὶ ὁμοίως τὸν βίον ἀπολιπών, Δανιὴλ ὄνομα, τὸ ἐπώνυμον Λογγίνος.

Ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἀληθῆ τὰ ῥηθέντα καὶ ἀναμφίσβητα - οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλων 10 τὴν παράστασιν ἔξει τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ῥηθησομένων -- ἀλλὰ μηδεὶς τῶν τοιαῦτα διερχομένων καὶ | ἀκουόντων ἀπήνειαν ἢ σκληρότητα τῷ ἀγίῳ ἐπεγκαλεῖν τολμάτῳ, ζῆλον δὲ μᾶλλον ἄκακον, καὶ κρίσιν ἀρρεπῇ, καὶ ὀρθωτάτην ἀπόφασιν. Ἐνθα γὰρ μὴ ἐνεργεῖ λογικὴ παρ- 15 αίνεσις, ἀνάγκη τὴν διὰ πραγμάτων παιδείαν ἐπάγεσθαι. Εἰ δέ τις τοιούτῳ ἀλοίη πάθει, ὅπερ μηδέποτε γένοιτο, ἐπὶ νοῦν Πέτρον λαμβανέτω τὸν μέγαν ἢ καὶ Σπυρίδονα τὸν ἐν θαύμασι περιβόητον. Ἐκάτερος γὰρ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐκδικῶν θάνατον τὴν δίκην ἐπήγαγεν, ὁ μὲν γυναιῖκα ψευδομένην κατὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὥς εἴη ἐξ αὐτοῦ συλλαβοῦσα 20 μῆνας ἀποδημοῦντος τὸν τόκον ὑπερβαινόντας, ὁ δὲ Πέτρος τὸ μέγας δοῦλος καὶ Χριστοῦ κορυφαῖος τῶν ἀποστόλων μαθητῆς Ἀνανίαν καὶ Σαφεῖραν τὰ οἰκεῖα νοσφισαμένους, ἃ πρότερον τῷ Θεῷ δι' αὐτοῦ καθιέρωσαν· καὶ γὰρ πρὸς κανόνα καὶ τύπον αὐτοῦς καὶ ὁ μέγας ὁρῶν, ἑκατέροις δεόντως ἐχρήσατο.

Ἐκ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἔτι τῷ σκῆναι συνόντος πεπραγμένων οὐκ
 ὀλίγων οὐδ' ὀλιγάκις πραχθέντων τὰ ῥηθέντα τῷ λόγῳ ἐντέτακται,
 ἰτέον δ' αὖθις λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἀποβίωσιν τελεσθέντα διὰ
 τὴν συμμετρίαν, ἃ προφητικῶς ἔδειξε καὶ μετὰ τὴν κοίμησιν ἐτε-
 λέσθη καταλειφθεῖσι, περὶ τε τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ἀλλοιώσεως τῶν 5
 πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς τυρρανίδος ἀπαλλαγῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν
 ἐλευθερίας. Ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ προείρητο τῷ μεγάλῳ, καὶ εἰς ἔργον
 ἀπέβη τὰ τῶν προρρήσεων, βασιλέως ἐπιδημήσαντος τῷ τόπῳ, καὶ
 ὅσον τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐλευθερίαν ἐπαναγαγόντος τὰ
 310 τῇδε - οὐ ταῦτα| δὲ μόνον ἀλλ' ὑπερόριον τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐκτείνοντος 10
 ἀγαθόν, ἑτέρα ἐπαρχία τῇ ὑπὸ Ναύπακτον δηλαδὴ τοῦ τοιούτου μετα-
 δόντος - εἰ καὶ φθόνῳ ἀφήρηται, τούτου θανάτῳ βασιλικῷ τὴν ζημίαν
 ἐπενεγκόντος καὶ τῇ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπάσῃ τὴν διαίρεσίν τε καὶ
 σύγχυσιν ἀνίατον ἀποδείξαντος. Μία μὲν γὰρ χελιδὼν ἑὰρ ἀποτε-
 λεῖν οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο, ἐνὸς δὲ θάνατος βασιλέως τοσοῦτον αἴτιος 15
 τῇ ὑπηκόῳ συμφορᾷ πρόξενος ἔφθη γενόμενος, ὅση δ' ὁ τοσοῦτος
 χρόνος μεταβαλεῖν ἢ ὅπως οὖν θεραπεῦσαι δεδύνητο. Ἐξ ἐκείνου
 δὲ ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο ἐνὸς καὶ εἴκοσι παραρυσέντων ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ αὐτὸ
 τὸ βραχύτατον τμήμα τὸ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαϊκῆς διεξαγόμενον δεξιᾷ μυρίαις
 καθυποβεβλημμένον ὑπάρχει κακώσεσι, μαστίζεται γὰρ ποικίλως 20
 καὶ τυρρανεῖται καὶ εἰς αἰχμαλωσίας πολυτρόπους ἀπάγεται.

Ἀφείσθω τὰ νῦν, τοῦ λόγου πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον ὀδεύειν
 ἐπείγομένου· τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν ἢ ἐκ τοσαύτης τῶν θαυμάτων πληθύος τοῦ
 θεοῦ Κυπριανοῦ ῥανὶς ἢ κοτύλη τὸ τῶν χαρίτων ἡδὺ τοῖς μετέπειτα
 παραπέμπουσα. Οἱ γὰρ ἔτι τῷ βίῳ περιόντες, αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, καὶ τῶν 25
 καρπῶν τρυγῶσι, καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐμφοροῦντες καὶ τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν

εἴπερ τινές εἰσι κήρυκες καὶ τῶν θαυμάτων διδάσκαλοι δείκνυνται,
 τὴν κηδεμονίαν ἀναβοῶντες, τὸ προμηθεὺς μεγαλύνοντες, τὴν ἐν
 311 πᾶσι καὶ διὰ| πάντων τοῦ διδασκάλου ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρὸς Χριστὸν
 ἀδιᾶλειπτον ὁμολογοῦντες προσεδρεΐαν καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων ἐξάνυ-
 σιν. Οὐ γὰρ ἰατρὶ μόνον χαλεπώτατα καὶ ἄλγη ποῦλειδῇ καὶ θαν- 5
 ᾶτῳ πολυημέρῳ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὁμοίως κατεχομένους δαπανῶντα,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου συντελούντων εὐμάρειαν διαφόρως
 προνοεῖται, καὶ μὲ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω τῶν ἐντευξαμένων τῷ λόγῳ,
 ὅσοι δηλαδὴ διὰ τῆς πείρας τὴν δωρεὰν οὐκ εἰληφότες εἴσιν,
 ἐπαίρειν βουλόμενον διὰ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων τὰ προσόντα τῷ μεγάλῳ 10
 ἐπαύξειν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνον τοιούτοις ἐπίσταμαι χαίροντα, ἀλλὰ
 μηδ' ἐμοὶ γένοιτο ποτὲ τοιούτοις γενέσθαι ὑπήκοον λογισμοῖς,
 ὥς διὰ ῥημάτων ψευδηγορίας ἐθελῆσαι τιμᾶν τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας
 καὶ ὑπενεγκόντα. Ὅπηνίκα δὲ καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ἐκάλει
 καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς τὴν ἀλήθειαν παραχαράττοντας ἐνστασις· ἀλλ' ἵνα 15
 ἐπιδείξαιμι οἷων διδασκάλων γενόμενος ὁπαδός, ὅπως αὐτῶν ἔσπευσε
 καὶ τοῖς ἴχνεσιν ἐπακολουθῆσαι καὶ διὰ πάντων τὸ πρὸς ἀρετὴν
 ἐπιδείξασθαι γνήσιον, χόρτου μόρος οὐ τὸ βραχύτατον,
 Ἰωάννης ὁ μέγας ἐν εὐαγγελισταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις ὀφειλὴν λύων
 δι' ἣν ἐθανάτα τῶν εὐσεβῶν τις καὶ δηλητηρίῳ ἀσμενέστατὰ προσή- 20
 312 κατο φάρμακον εὐχῇ| καὶ εὐλογίᾳ μετεποίησεν εἰς χρυσόν, Ἑβραϊ-
 ον τε τοῦτο κεράσαντα εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπίγνωσιν ἐπεσπεύ-
 σατο καὶ τῷ λαβόντι τὸν ἐκ χόρτου χρυσόν τῆς βιαίας ἀπήγαγε
 τελευτῆς· Σπυρίδων τε ὁ μέγας τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον ὅφιν εἰς χρυσόν
 μετέβαλε, καὶ πενίαν ἐσχάτην ὑπάρχουσαν τῶν κακῶν τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτὴν 25
 κρατηθέντος ἀπώσατο. Ὁ δὲ διδάσκαλος ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐν ἀφορίᾳ γῆς,
 ἐν αὐχμῷ, ἐν τροπαῖς καὶ ἀλλοιώσεσι καὶ φθοραῖς τῶν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν

συντελούντων τὸ κηδεμονικὸν ἐπιδείκνυται, ὁξώδεις καὶ ἐκτετρα- 1
 μμένους οἶνους καὶ ἄλλως, ὥς ἂν εἴποι τις, δυσσοδοῦντας ἐπικλ-
 ῆσει καὶ χοῶς ἀγιασμῷ τῷ ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας σοροῦ ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον
 μετάγων, καὶ πλουσίους ἐκ πενήτων τοὺς κεκτημένους δεικνύς,
 καὶ εἰς δόξαν διεγείρεσθαι παρασκευάζων τοῦ κτίσαντος, ὥστε
 καὶ αὐτοὺς προσφορώτατα δύνασαι λέγειν· αὐτὴ ἡ ἀλλοίωσις τῆς 5
 δεξιᾶς τοῦ Ὑψίστου, ὃς τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν ἐν ἐσχάτοις χρόνοις καὶ
 συμφοραῖς παρέσχετο τῶν καλῶν πάντων πρῦτανιν, τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀκέν-
 ωτον θησαυρόν, τῶν λυπηρῶν ἀπαλλαγὴν θαυμάσιάν τε καὶ ἐξαίρετον,
 ὧν εἰ καὶ τὸ πολλοστὸν διελθεῖν πειρασόμεθα ἐπιλείψει ἡμᾶς ὁ
 χρόνος. Καὶ ταῦτα διήλθομεν οὐ προσθήκην τῇ ἐκείνου δόξῃ ἐπι- 10
 313 νοοῦντες| - οὐδέ τινος τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπιδεῆς, τῷ ὑπερτελεῖ καὶ
 ὑπερπλήρει καταξιωθείς δι' ἀρετῶν πλοῦτον παρίστασθαι, καὶ τῆς
 ἐντεῦθεν ἐπαπολαύειν αἴγλης καὶ ἀκραιφνοῦς φωτοχυσίας - ἀλλ'
 ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἀχαρίστοις δικαιοτάτως συγκατακριθῶμεν ὥς τὸ δεδό-
 μενον τῇ γῇ κατακρύψαντες τάλαντον καὶ τῇ ἴσῃ ὑπόδικοι τιμωρίᾳ 15
 ὀφθῶμεν, ὃ δὴ καὶ τὸ μνησθῆναι μόνον φοβερώτατον καὶ φρίκωδέσ-
 τατον.

Τούτοις οὖν προσκείσθω καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν θεῖον ναὸν μέγα
 θαῦμα, τῶν τῆς οἰκεᾶς χορείας πρωτοστατούντων καὶ τάξεως·
 γένοιτο γέρας, οὐδὲ τοῦτο μικρὸν, εἰς θυμηδίαν καὶ 20
 τοῖς τῶν καλῶν ἐρασταῖς, ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς δεδύνηκα καὶ τοῦ
 εὐφημουμένου δόξαν καὶ τοῦ αὐτὸν δοξάσαντος αἴνεσιν. Οὗτος
 οὖν ὁ περίπυστος οἶκος, περιφλέκτου γινομένης τῆς τῶν Τρικκα-
 ῶν πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὅμοια πέπονθε. Τοῦτο δὲ ἄρα προέγνων
 θεόθεν ὁ μέγας οἷς ἐθάρρει προηγορεύσεσιν κωλῦσαι οὐ δεδύνηται 25
 κρίμασιν οἷς οἶδεν, οὐ ἄβυσσος ταύτη πολλή. Τοιαύτην οὖν ἰδὼν

ὁ θεῖος ἀνὴρ παιδείαν καὶ συμφορὰν ἀπαραμύθητον - καὶ γὰρ δὴ
καὶ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς συμφορᾶς γεγόνασι παρ-
ανάλωμα - ἤλγει τὴν καρδίαν, ὡς ἁμαρτημάτων ἔκτισιν τοῦ ποιμνίου
κρίνων τὴν συμφορὰν. Ἐφρόντιζε γὰρ περὶ τοῦ καθόλου μελέτην,
ἀκατάπαυστον εἶχε τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τεμένους ἀνόρθωσιν || ἀλλ' οὐκ 5
εἶχε καὶ τὰ πρὸς τηλικαύτην ἐνέργειαν συναιρόμενα, τῶν τῆς
ἐκκλησίας εἰς στενὸν κομιδὴ περιστάντων||. Ἀπέβλεψε τοίνυν
πρὸς τὸν πάντα δυνάμενον, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς ἐπικουρείας ἐζητεῖ.
314 Εὔρε τοιγαροῦν ὡς ἐζητεῖ, καὶ κρούοντι ἡ θύρα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐλέους
διήνοικται· ἐδόθη γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῦ δύναμις πρὸς τέλειον ἀπαρτισμὸν 10
τοῦ τέλειον ἀφανισμὸν μικροῦ δ' ὑποστάντος ἱερωτάτου καὶ θαυμασ-
τοῦ τῶν ἀρχαγγελικῶν τάξεων οἴκου, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ὀροφὴ τῇ αὐτοῦ δυν-
άμει καὶ τῷ καιρῷ σύμμετρος ἐπετέθη, καὶ τὸ πάντων μέγιστόν τε
καὶ κυριώτατον, καθιέρωσις ἀξία τοῦ δεδωκότος τὴν χάριν τοῦ
πνεύματος παρὰ ταύτην ἀξίως ἱεουργήσαντος καὶ τελειώσαντος. 15
Βραχὺς οὖν ὁ ἐν μέσῳ χρόνος καὶ τὸ θεῖον πεμφθὲν καὶ ἀπαραίτη-
τον πρόσταγμα τὴν τοῦ προσκαίρου βίου ἐπήγαγε τελευτήν, ἀρχὴν
δὲ βίου ἑτέρου καὶ ζωῆς ἀθανάτου πύλην ἀνέφξεν αὐτῷ τῷ κοινῷ
πάντων προστάτῃ καὶ κηδεμονίας τῆς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀκραιφνεστέρας,
ἰδιαιτάτως τῆς διαφερόντως ἐκείνῳ καὶ στεργομένης καὶ ποθου- 20
μένης ποιμνης|

315 | ἵνα τ' ἄλλα παραλιπῶ, τῆς μητροπολινῆς ἐκηρύχθην προστάτης,
 ἀοίκητον εὖρον, καὶ θηροῖ καὶ πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ψαλμικῶς
 εἶπεῖν, φωλεόν, καὶ τὸν θεῖον καὶ φωτοειδῆ ναόν, ἐν ᾧ τῆς οἰκ-
 ουμένης κῦδος, ὁ ἐν θαύμασι περιβόητος μέγας Ἀχιλλεῖος,
 ἡμῖν καὶ πρόσθεν εἴρηται, ληστῶν ὀρμητήριον· τῷ γὰρ ἐκείνου 5
 μετεώρῳ καὶ ἀσφαλεῖ οἱ τῶν κακῶν ἐργάται προσχρώμενοι καὶ τοῖς
 περιοῦσι κακὸν ἅμαχον καὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς οὐκ ὄναρ ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἐφί-
 στανται. Οὕτω τοίνυν ἀκλεῶς καὶ ἀθλίως τῆς πάλαι παραδόξου
 διακειμένης καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ τῶν Τρικκαέων κατήχθην καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν
 ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς κατοικίας ἐπηξάμην. Καὶ οὕτω μὲν θησαυρῶν τῶν 10
 θεῶν τοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς λάρνακος Ἀχιλλεῖου ἀναδιδομένων ἀπεστέ-
 ρηται, εἶχον δὲ παραμυθίαν μεγίστην ἐκεῖνον τοῦ θρόνον διαδόχον
 - θαρρῶ δὲ βεβαίως εἶπεῖν - καὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς εὐσεβείας, τῆς
 καρτερίας, τῆς πραότητος, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, δι' ἃ καὶ τῶν ἴσων
 ἡξίωται γέρων παρὰ τοῦ τὰ πάντα παραγάγοντος καὶ ζυγῷ καὶ μέτρῳ 15
 διεξάγοντός τε καὶ διευθύνοντος, ἀρύωμαι καὶ ὀσημέραι τρυγῶ καὶ
 καρποῦμαι τὴν ἐκ τῶν τεραστίων ἀναδιδομένην καρποδοσίαν. Ἐν
 γοῦν τῇ τοιαύτῃ πόλει καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἔφην κατασκηνώσας, ἰδὼν τε
 ταύτην τὴν ὄντως πόλιν, τὸ θεῖον τῶν μεγίστων Ταξιάρχων τέμενος,
 ἐπιμελείας μεγίστης δεόμενον, ἦν μὲν πρόθυμος περὶ τὴν ταύτης 20
 τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἐνέργειαν, καὶ ὀροφῆς γὰρ προσηκούσης ἔτ' ἦν ἐν-
 δεής, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπημαύρωτο τῷ παμφάγῳ πυρὶ ἐκ τρίτου
 ταύτην καταφλέξαντι· ἐπεῖχον δ' ἑμαυτὸν αὐτῷ τῷ κοινῷ προστάτῃ
 μηδὲ

Iv. 57I, 5.

49 τοιούτων ἐλπίδων ἐξάψας· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἑμαυτὸν ἐώρων
 ἰσχύοντα, πῶς γὰρ νηωστὶ ἐπιδεδημηκῶς μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου
 μετástασιν καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁμοιοτρόπως εὖρων διεσπασ-
 μένα καὶ παρ' ἄλλων κατεχόμενα, εἰ καὶ ταῖς ἐκείνου πρὸς τὸ
 κρεῖττον ἐντεύξεσιν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον 5
 ἔσχον ἐπιδοσιν. Ἄλλ' ὁρᾶτε κ' ἐνταῦθα πῶς τὰ τῆς ἀπορίας
 εἰς εὐπορίαν παραδόξως μεθίσταται, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐνεργείας
 αὐτοῦ φανερῶς ἀποδείκνυται τοῦ ἡμετέρου πατρὸς συνήθη
 εὐεργετήματα, μὴ τῇ ἡμῶν ἐπόμενα διαγνώσει, ἀλλὰ τὴν εὐθὺ
 ἡμῖν πρυταμεύοντα ἰσχὺν καὶ ἐνέργειαν. Χρόνοι τῶν δέκα καὶ 10
 πρὸς πέντε γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις παρατρέχουσι, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐπιθυμ-
 ίας τῆς ζωγραφίας ἐν μόνη διανοίᾳ ὑπῆρχεν ἐμοὶ ζωγραφούμενα,
 καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκβαλλόμεν ὀξυτάτῳ βέλει τὴν καρδίαν, ἀθύμως
 αἶρων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εἰς τὰ ὄρη τοῦ ἱερωτάτου τεμένους καὶ
 οἴκου κοινοῦ, μηδὲν ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦτο νομίζων πλὴν τῆς ἁγιασ- 15
 τικῆς ἐργασίας, τῷ ἀκαλλεῖ καὶ σκοτωδεῖ καὶ ζοφωδεῖ καὶ
 ἀλαμπεῖ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡδονὴν ἀφαιρουμένης. Ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖτε
 πῶς ἡῦρα τὰ τῆς ὀδύνης ἵνα καὶ τὰ τῆς ἡδονῆς καθ' ὑπερβολὴν
 μεθ' ὑπερβολῆς ἐλθόντα παρὰ τοῦ ἱατροῦ δειχθῇ. Κινήσας
 πλῆθος πειρασμῶν ἐξ ἀσθενείας ἦν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπ' ἐμοί, καὶ ὁ 20
 οὐκ ἂν τις φήθῃ, οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς Θεὸν παρησίαν ἐχόντων,
 ἀκίνδυνον παραδραμεῖν· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἐξορία, τῆς ἀρχῆς
 μεταπεσούσης εἰς ἄλλην τῶν Τριβαλλῶν, ἐπιβουλαὶ κατὰ τὴν
 ὁδὸν θανάτου πολυειδοῦς ὁμοίαν καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἐν θαλαττοπορείᾳ,

ἃ δὴ καὶ ὡς ἀράχνης διαλύεις ἱστόν. Ὁ τῆς ζωῆς ἀπάσης φύλακα
 παρεχόμενος ἐκ Θεοῦ τὸν μέγιστον ἀρχιστράτηγον θεῖος Κυπρια-
 νὸς ταῖς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ προσαγομέναις δεήσεσι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ διέγει-
 ρε, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἐλαττωμάτων, ἣν τό γε ἀληθέστερον εἶπεῖν, τὸν
 πληθύνοντα παραπτωμάτων παρεσκεύασεν ἀποκαθιστῆναι κακῶν 5
 ἀπαθῆ, καὶ τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ περιφανεστάτῃ τῶν πόλεων Θεσσαλονίκη
 δὲ ἦν διασωθείς. Ὅσης δὲ ἐνταῦθα τῆς ἀσφαλείας καὶ προμηθεί-
 ας ἠξίωσεν, οὐκ ὀλίγων ἐπιφυέντων τῶν λυπῆσαι, μὴ ἀδύνατον ἀλλ'
 οὐ ῥᾶδιον διελθεῖν, καὶ ἄλλως οὐδὲ τῇ συμμετρίᾳ τοῦ λόγου
 πρόσφορον. Ἐπὶ γοῦν τὰ καιριώτατα ὁ λόγος χωρεῖ, <.....> 10
 τε σύνεργον εἶχον αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν θαυμάτων ἐργάτην καὶ (τοῦ
 λέγειν αὐτοῦ) μετὰ τὸ κρεῖττον εὐμήχανον χορηγόν, χρόνοι
 παρῆλθον οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῆς ἐν τῇ λεχθείσῃ πόλει ἡμετέρας διατρι-
 βῆς· ἡ δὲ ἐπαρχία ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν ὑπὸ τῶν πρόσθεν εἰρημέν-
 ων κατεχομένη Τριβαλλῶν καὶ πάσχουσα οἷα πάσχειν εἰκὸς τοὺς 15
 παιδείας σοφωτάτης θεῖα παραδιδομένους προμηθεῖα - ἀλλὰ τὰ
 ἐπὶ τούτου ἐγγυὲς ὄντα πρόσωπα θυμηδίας πληρωθῆτε. Ὁ γὰρ
 τὸν μέγαν ἐν ἱεράρχαις καὶ θαυματουργὸν Ἀχίλλειον τοῦ βίου
 παντὸς κηδεμόνα κτησάμενος θεῖος Κυπριανὸς οὐκ ἀπεῖχεν αὐτὸν
 διεγείρειν ὑπὲρ τῶν οἰκείων ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ προβάτων πνευματι- 20
 κῶν, ἕως οὗ εἰς τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἔκαμψε συμπαθείας εἰς καὶ
 πάντας αὐτῷ τοὺς συνδρομοῦντας τῆς ἀρετῆς εἰς τοῦτο παραλαβεῖν,
 καὶ κινεῖ θεόθεν τὴν τοῦ δικαίου λαοῦ τῶν πιεζόντων ἀπαλλαγὴν,
 καὶ τελείας ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῖς μνηστεύσασθαι. ὃ δὴ καὶ ἔλαβε
 τέλος, τῆς τῶν Λαρισαίων πόλεως πρώτης τῆς τυραννίδος ἀπαλλα- 25
 γείσης ὡς καὶ πρώτης οὔσης καθέδρας αὐτῶν, εἶτα καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν

καὶ τελευταίας τῆς τῶν Τρικκαέων τῆς θησαυρὸν ἐχούσης τὸ
 ἱερώτατον σκήνος τοῦ θείου Κυπριανοῦ, καθάπερ τῆς τῶν Λαρι-
 σαίων Ἀχιλλείου τοῦ μεγαλοφρόνος, τοῦ ἀνεξαντλήτου τῶν θαυ-
 μάτων πηγῆς. Ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπανήλθομεν, καὶ τοὺς
 ἱεροὺς καὶ θείους αὐτῶν ἡσπασάμεθα τάφους, διαγαγόντες οὐ
 πλείους μηνῶν τριῶν - ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν ὑπερορία, οὐ δόγματος
 ἔνεκα σφαλμένου καὶ τεχνασμένου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρ' ἡμῶν μνησ-
 τευθέντος ὡς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντος περὶ τὰ εὐσεβῆ καὶ Θεῷ ἄριστα,
 50 ἀλλ' ὡς | λεχθέντος ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἑαυτοὺς πεπονηρωμένοις τὰ τῆς
 ἀρετῆς ἔλκοντα (ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο τῇ τῶν ἱεραρχῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ) - 10
 ἀκερδῶς ἦωθεν γενόμενοι. Ἡ γὰρ θαυμάσια ἐν πόλεσι καὶ αὖθις
 δεξαμένη μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὸ πρόσθεν περὶ ἡμᾶς διετέθη. ἦν γὰρ
 ἐν ταύτῃ διάγουσα καὶ ἄριστα διεξάγουσα ἢ τῶν βασιλίδων ἀρίστη,
 ἢ εὐσεβεῖα καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ βίου λαμπρότητι κοσμοῦσα τὸ τῆς βασι-
 λείας ἀξίωμα ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀξιώματος κοσμουμένη. Αὐτὴ γὰρ τὸ ταύ- 15
 της συμβασίλισσα †.....† βασιλεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ
 πεπληρωμένην ἔχοντι τὴν ψυχὴν φιλοφρόνως με ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ
 τιμῶν ἀξιῶσα τὰ ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ τῆς ἀρμοζούσης μετέδωκε προμηθείας.
 καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἔτι πιεζομένη ἢ τὸν μεγαλομάρτυρα πλουτοῦσα καὶ
 προστάτην καὶ φύλακα, τὸν μυροχεύμονα θεῖον Δημήτριον, ταῖς 20
 Τριβαλλικαῖς ἐφόδοις εἰ καὶ μὴ πολυειδέσιν ἐπιθέσεσι καὶ πολι-
 ορκίαις, τοῦ πρωτοστατεύοντος τῶν τοιούτων ἐκ μέσου γενομένου
 καὶ χρησαμένου τῷ τέλει τῆς βιοτῆς. Βραχὺν οὖν ἐν ταύτῃ
 χρόνον διαγάγων καὶ τῆς περὶ τοῦ ποιμνίου φροντίδος ἀπαλλαγείς,
 †ἐπισινῆ† τὴν θεῖαν τὴν ἐντεῦθεν κρίνας μετὰβασιν, πόλιν ἐτέραν 25
 ἐσκόπουν καταλαβεῖν ἥς τὴν στέρησιν καὶ ἄκων ὑπέστην καὶ οὐκ
 ἀπαθῶς ἔστερξα. οὗτη γὰρ μοι τῶν πολυειδῶν πειρασμῶν αἰτία

κατέστη. Ποῖα τοίνυν ἡ πολλῆς καὶ ἀφάτου ἐπιθυμίας πόλις; τὸ ὄρος
 τὸ θεῖον, καὶ ἡ τοῦτο ὡς ἥλιος μέγας καταφαιδρύνουσα, Ἀθανασίου
 τοῦ Ἱεροῦ μεγίστη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος καὶ ἀρετῆς διδάσκαλος πάσης
 Λαῦρα. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ μόνῃς ἐπιθυμίας τ<οι>αύτης κινήσεως
 εἶχον ἐδείκνυτο· ἕτερον δ' ἔτι, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν καὶ ὅπως, θεόθεν ὥκο- 5
 νομεῖτο. Ὁ γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν λαὸς τὸ ἀποιμάντως δυσχερῶς ἔχειν
 διακείμενος καὶ καταβοῶν, τοῦ ἐπιστατεύοντος τοῖς πράγμασιν ἰκέτευον
 φανερῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ λοιδορίαις καὶ ὀνόμασιν ἔβαλλον, ἕως οὗ καὶ εἰς
 τοῦτο προθύμως ἀγαγεῖν ἠδυνήθειεν, ὥστε αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τὴν ἐ<....>
 καὶ μετακλήσεως αὐτουργὸν καὶ θερμότατον ἥπερ αὐτοὶ περὶ τὴν πρὸς 10
 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετάκλησιν. Οὗ δὴ καὶ τὸ πέρας λαβόντος καὶ ἡμῶν
 τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαν καταλαβόντων, τοσοῦτος ἐφάνη| τὴν περὶ
 ἡμᾶς διάθεσιν καὶ τοσοῦτος, ὡς ἐδέησαν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐκστρατείαν κινη-
 θῆναι καὶ ἐπαρχίαν ἑτέραν καταλαβεῖν, ἡμῖν πᾶσαν τὴν καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν
 κοσμικῶν πραγμάτων ὧν ἦρχεν, εἴπερ ἡμῖν προθέσεως, τὴν διοίκησιν 15
 ἐμπιστεῦσαι. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὕτω περὶ ἡμᾶς διετέθη, ἐν βραχεῖ δὲ
 τὸν βίον μεθίσταται. Διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς περιουσίας καὶ
 προστασίας ὁ καὶ ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ ἐκείνου γαμβρός, ἀνὴρ πατρόθεν ὁμοῦ καὶ
 μητρόθεν τὰ τῆς εὐγενείας ἔχων περιφανέστατος, δόξη τε τῇ ἐντεῦθεν
 λαμπροτάτῃ περιβεβλημένος καὶ μεγάλου ἡξιωμένος ὀνόματος. Τοῦ 20
 τοίνυν καλλωπισμοῦ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἱεροῦ ναοῦ τοῦ δι᾿ ἐκονικῆς ἐκτυπώ-
 σεως αὐτὸς ἐκ μακροῦ πόθον τρέφων διὰ παντὸς ἀναπτόμενον ὡς ἐπι-
 τήδειον τὸ μακρὸν εὐρηκῶς - εἰρήνη γὰρ ἐβραβεύθη τοῖς πράγμασιν -
 ἔργου ᾗψασθαι καθ' ἑμαυτὸν ἐβουλευόμην. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς ὀροφῆς
 ὑπῆρχεν ἡμιτελῆ, περὶ αὐτὴν πρότερον τὴν ἐνέργειαν δεῖν ὥμην 25

ένδειξασθαι, ὡς άνεπισφαλῶς καὶ τὰ τῆς λοιπῆς προχωροίη μελέτης, καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον θεάρεστον ἔργον ἀπανταχοῦ ἔχοι τὸ τέλειον.

Ἄλλὰ τίς ἱκανὸς διηγήσασθαι σου, Θεέ βασιλεύ, τὴν πρὸς πᾶν αἴτημα τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ θείου Κυπριανοῦ ὀξυτάτην ἐξάνυσιν; 5
 μεγίστη με τῆς τιτανείας ἐπῖεζεν ἔνδεια, ὡς οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ῥάστου ταύτης εἰς ἐνέργειαν ἐλθεῖν δυναμένης πολλῶν ἔνεκα· οἱ τε γὰρ ταύτην δημιουργοῦντες οὐχ ἱκανοί, καὶ ὕλη δὲ ὥς τι τῶν μεγάλων δυσεύρυτος. Γί γούν; ἐγὼ μὲν ἰκέτευον, ὁ δὲ οἴκοθεν κινούμε- 10
 νος καὶ πατρικοῖς καμπόμενος σπλάγχνοις τὰ τῆς ἐνδείας ταχύ- 10
 τατα θεραπεύθη, καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἄγει τινὰ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ μοι καταγγέλει παρὰ τινὶ τῶν συγκληρικῶν:
 "δεῖ γὰρ καθαρῶς τοῦτο δηλῶσαι· ἄσβεστον ἐν βοθύνῃ κεκρυμμένην τηρεῖσθαι ἦτε καὶ λίθον τὴν εἰς τοῦτο μεταβληθῆναι τὸ εἶδος 15
 ῥαδίως ἔχουσαν, καὶ οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως σύνεγγυς χώρου 15
 ὅσῃν οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ ὄντες πόρρῳ ταύτης εὐρεῖν ἠλπίσαμεν. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ δι' ὅφεως ἐμοὶ δεικνύει σαφέστατα, ὥα τε παρὰ τῷ τάφῳ ἐπικείμενα δεδωκῶς ἃ καὶ φαγεῖν ἐνετείλατο, ἡλίου τὰ 20
 51 †.....† τους σάκ|κους, δι' ὧν τὸ καταρχὰς ἐκομίσθη ἡ τίτα- 20
 νις παρὰ τοῦ τούτῳ κατειλεγμένου". Ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων βεβαιωθείς 20
 ἐκεῖνον προνοούμενον ἔχειν ἔργου παντὸς εἰς ἐπίδοσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁρῶντος, ἐπέβαλον τῇ ἐργασίᾳ θαρρούντως, καὶ σὺν οὐδενὶ τῷ προΐσταμένῳ τὸ μελετώμενον ἅπαν ἐξήνυσα. Ἀπέλαβε γὰρ τὸν ἄνωθεν κόσμον τὸ ἱερώτατον τέμενος, καὶ εἴκοσιν οὐκ 25
 ὀλίγαις ὡς ἐν βραχεῖ κεκαλλώπιστα, καὶ ἐστὶν ἄδουσα τῷ μεγα- 25
 λοδώρῳ δεσπότη τὰς εὐχαρίστους φωνάς, τοῖς τε τῶν θείων ταξι-
 ἀρχων κορυφαίοις ἀνακηρύττουσα, καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον προστάτην ἐκθειάζουσα τε καὶ καταγγέλουσα διὰ πάντα Κυπριανόν. Καὶ

ταῦτα διήλθον οὐκ ἐκείνου τὰ τῆς δόξης ἐπαύξων - τί γὰρ ἂν 1
 συντελέσῃ τῶν τοιούτων τῷ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις παρισταμένῳ, παρὰ
 πάσης τῆς ἀνωτάτῳ φύσεως τῷ δοξαζομένῳ; - ἀλλὰ ἵνα φανερόν
 ἅπασι γένηται τὸ περὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προφητικώτατόν τε καὶ προ-
 μηθέστατον. Ἔχει γὰρ ταύτην ἀεὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ προΐσταται ταύτης, 5
 διέπει τε καὶ διεξάγει, μὴ καὶ ὅπως ἄποινόν ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ διειργό-
 μενος πλημμελοῦντος.

Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ μᾶλλον ὥς οἶον τε τὴν ἐπιτεταγμένῳ ἀλλοίωσιν
 παρὰ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐξαπτάμενον, τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐν προσ<τι>θὲν 10
 τῷ λόγῳ σφραγὶς ἔστω, ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ τῶν θαυμάτων ἐνεργείᾳ· αὕτη
 γὰρ μέχρι τοῦ παντός ὁρωμένου τῆς τελευτῆς τὸ ἀκίνητον ἔξει,
 τὴν τε καὶ τὰ θαύματα ἐνεργεῖν παράσχοντα ἰσχύν. Εἰρήσθω
 τοιγαροῦν καὶ ὁ προέφην εἰς ἀπαρτισμὸν τοῦ ἐπιχειρήματος τέλ-
 ειόν τε καὶ ὁλόκληρον.

Τῆς τῶν Νέων Πατρῶν πόλεως κατακράτος ὑπὸ βαρβάρων ἀλούσης 15
 τῶν ἐσπερίων, τῶν τις τῆς μητροπόλεως ἱερεὺς ἅμα γυναικὶ καὶ
 τέκνοις τὰς τῇδε καταλαβῶν, παῖδα ἄρρενα ἔχων τὴν ἡλικίαν
 ἐπάγοντα νέαν καὶ γράμματα τῶν ἀρχαϊκῶν, ὥς ἂν φαίη τις, οὐκ
 ἄπειρον ὄντα, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνέθετο τῇ τῶν θείων καὶ μεγίστων
 ταξιάρχῶν. Τὴν γοῦν ταύτης προσμονὴν καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν παρ' ἡμῶν 20
 ἐνταλθεὶς διέπειν, σπουδαίως καὶ εὐλαβῶς τὸ ἔργον μετεΐη,
 καὶ προκοπῆς ἐπέβαινε γνωρίσματα οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ ἐπιδόσεως,
 καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας δὲ αὐξομένης, συνεπέδιδον καὶ τὰ τῆς παιδείας
 καὶ προαιρέσεως· ὅθεν καὶ εἰς ὥραν ἦκων συναφείας, ἄγει εἰς
 πέρας τὸ βουλευθέν, προβιβάζεται τε καὶ ἱερᾶται, καὶ παίδων 25
 χρηματίζῃ πατὴρ. Τί τοίνυν ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ θαύματος;

ἀποβάλλει μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν κυηθέντων τῇ αὐτοῦ συμβιοτεύσει
 θανάτῳ, ὁρᾷ δὲ εἰς φῶς ἄλλο προελθὼν ἐν ᾧ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐσάλευ-
 σεν, ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου καὶ μακροθύμου καὶ συμπαθεστάτου
 μιμητῆς οὐ τὸν παῖδα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν θανάτου
 ῥύεται, καὶ ζωὴν ἐλευθέραν παντὸς τοῦ λυποῦντος τῷ εἰρημένῳ 5
 χαρίζεται· καὶ ταῦτα χοὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ διεπράξατο <τάφου> καὶ
 ἐλαίου ἐπαλοΐφη καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος μόνη ἐπίκλησις. Ὅς δὲ καὶ
 ᾄδει καὶ ἐπικροτεῖ τὰ θαύματα πρώτοις ἡμῖν, ὥσπερ τὰ τῆς ὁδύ-
 νης, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἡδονῆς καταγγέλια. Ὅπου δ' ἔτι καὶ
 κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀνώμαλόν τι καὶ ἐργῶδες συμβαίη, οἷα δὴ τὰ πολλὰ 10
 τῆς πολυτρόπου ζωῆς, οὐ πόρρω το ἱατρεῖον, οὐδὲ πολὺ ἐλικτὸς
 ἢ τοῦ λυποῦντος δήλωσις, ἀλλ' ὀνόματος μόνον τοῦ ἱερωτάτου
 ἐπίκλησις, καὶ χοός, καὶ ταχύτερα τοῦ ἀνιῶντος
 ἐλευθερία, τὰ τῆς ἱκετείας τοῦ θερμοῦ προστάτου τοῦ καθ' αὐτὸν
 προδιαμαχήσαντος συμπαθεστάτῳ καὶ φιланθρώπῳ..... 15

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