

**SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND RELATIONS IN
FOURTEENTH CENTURY BYZANTIUM**

by

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A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman

and Modern Greek Studies

Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity

College of Arts and Law

University of Birmingham

March 2013

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ABSTRACT

Byzantine society was highly stratified in the fourteenth century. The main division was understood as one between rich and poor or the *archontes* and the *demos*, a division which represented both inequalities in the social status of an individual and in the distribution of material wealth and political power. Elements outside this division, namely the middle class, can be identified, yet they could not be introduced into the schema. Social inequality would be expressed through a number of gestures and the exhibition of deference towards a social superior, who in turn showed his snobbery.

Moreover, there existed social networks of different types. Most importantly, the patronage system of social relations, which dominated Byzantine society, seriously hindered the development of other horizontal social groups, including class divisions. This system is identified as having contributed to the lack of direction of late Byzantine society.

This picture of Byzantine society is collaborated by three case studies: a) a thorough analysis of the social structure and relations in a provincial society, Serres, b) the analysis of two social networks, the two factions of the second civil war, having as a main question the degree of class consciousness in Byzantine society, c) the analysis of the social structure and relations in the besieged Constantinople at the very end of the fourteenth century.

To my family

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work would have never been accomplished without the contribution of several people who helped me all these years. First of all and foremost, this work would never have been possible at all without the presence and the financial contribution of my family, my father, my mother and my brother. They have stood by me in most aspects of my life and I know they will continue to do so in the years to come. Without their belief in me and my desire to make them proud I would never have finished this study.

I would like moreover to devote special thanks to my supervisor Dr Ruth Macrides, who during my doctorate degree instructed me wisely by giving me the right directions, useful comments and information. But Dr Macrides was not only a praiseworthy supervisor to me; she proved my mentor by helping me in many aspects of my scholarly life, outside of her ‘strict’ duties as a supervisor.

The teachers of my master degree in the University of Crete, and mainly the Assisant Professor Marina Loukaki, the Lecturer Konstantinos Moustakas and even more the Assistant Professor Demetrios Kyritses, were my first instructors in Byzantine Studies and I owe largely to them my good level as a research student. I want also to thank my colleagues in Byzantine Studies, all the students of the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, and, outside of it, my colleagues and friends Giorgos Terezakis and Vangelis Charitopoulos, the conversations with whom and the exchange of knowledge among us contributed largely to this work. The CBOMGS was an excellent venue for a research student. The facilities, the high

research level of both the staff and the students, the environment and the activities (seminars, lectures etc.), were very helpful during my course of studies.

Although I thank each one individually in the thesis, I should reserve hereby special gratitude to all researchers of Byzantine Studies who have provided me with pieces of their still unpublished work; namely Ruth Macrides, Dimiter Angelov, Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, Giorgos Terezakis and Andreas Schminck. Last but not least, I would like to thank all my friends, who for all these years have proved really supportive in many aspects of my life.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Byzantium in the fourteenth century: state, society and culture

The problems of an empire

The subject of the present study is social structure and relations in the fourteenth century in the Byzantine Empire. First of all, it is necessary to further define the subject, set its limits and demarcate our interest areas. The Byzantine world at the start of the fourteenth century was comprised not only of the Byzantine Empire itself - which included Macedonia, Thrace, a part of Peloponnese and a part of western Asia Minor which soon will fall to Turkish raids – but also of populations which lived under the Latin dominion in Greece or Turkish dominion in Asia Minor or are under the three other ‘breakaway’ states: the states of Epirus and Thessaly and the empire of Trebizond. By the end of this century the Byzantine state had lost Asia Minor to the Turks (by 1337), Macedonia to the Serbians (by 1347), most of Thrace to the Ottomans (by 1371), Thessalonike and its area to the Ottomans (in 1387), while the short-lived conquest of Thessaly (1333-1348) and Epirus (1338-1348?) did not improve or alter the situation since both areas soon fell to the expanding Serbian state.

This study, however, will analyse the social structure and relations in the Byzantine state strictly speaking. In most of the other areas there were factors at work which influenced the social structure and produced a different picture (in the Turkish and Latin held provinces, with only a few exceptions, the Greek Orthodox population had an inferior status to the Latin or Muslim population), although of course there

were certain continuities as has been observed.¹ Certain aspects of continuity were present in the transition to Ottoman rule after the conquest, especially in the rural economy and society. Nonetheless again external factors — expatriation of most of the local elite and replacement by a new, different one — influenced the development of social relations and the alteration of the social structure.² Different factors, local centres of powers — not Constantinople — and remoteness, were also present in the

¹ The most important introductory study on continuity and change in the Latin occupied former Byzantine lands is still D. Jacoby, ‘From Byzantium to Latin Romania: continuity and change’, in B. Arbel – B. Hamilton – D. Jacoby (eds.), *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London 1989), 1-44, who has written also a number of other studies on more specific topics or areas. See also Ch. Gasparis, ‘The period of Venetian rule on Crete: breaks and continuities during the thirteenth century’, in A. Laiou (ed.), *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its consequences* (Paris 2005), 233-246.

² In 1982 a Symposium held in Dumbarton Oaks aimed at the presentation of the continuities between the Ottoman and Byzantine rules and a number of important case studies by A. Bryer, V. Dimitriades, J. Haldon, H. Lowry and others were presented. See especially the studies by V. Dimitriades, ‘Ottoman Chalkidiki: an area in transition’, in A. Bryer and H. Lowry (eds.), *Continuity and change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman society; papers given at a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1982* (Birmingham 1986), 39-50; H. Lowry, ‘The island of Limnos: a case study on the continuity of Byzantine forms under Ottoman rule’, in *Continuity and Change*, 235-259; idem, “‘From lesser wars to the mightiest war’: the Ottoman conquest and transformation of Byzantine urban centers in the fifteenth century”, in *Continuity and Change*, 323-338. See also K. Moustakas, *The transition from Late Byzantine to early Ottoman southeastern Macedonia (14th-15th Centuries): A socioeconomic and demographic study*, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Birmingham 2001); G. Terezakis, *Η θεσσαλική κοινωνία 12^{ος}-15^{ος} αι.: κοινωνικές και οικονομικές παράμετροι της σύνθεσης και διασποράς του πληθυσμού*, unpublished Phd dissertation (Ioannina 2013); N. Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge 2009). Nevertheless, all of these studies deal with continuity on economy, social life and administration. D. Kyritses, on the other side, has noted the significant damage brought by the Ottoman conquest of the empire on the high culture of the Byzantines: Kyritses, ‘Η άλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης και το τέλος του βυζαντινού πολιτισμού’, in A. Kiousopoulou (ed.), *1453: Η άλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης και η μετάβαση από τους μεσαιωνικούς στους νεότερους χρόνους* (Herakleion 2005), 161-172. Kyritses bases his claim on the threefold division of late Byzantine culture (high culture, ecclesiastical and popular culture), which quickly deteriorated, since after 1453 the Sultans were not keen to support a Greek culture at their court and neither were the remnants of the urban population.

other Greek-held provinces (Thessaly and Epirus), including part of the Peloponnese which was under the administration of the Byzantine state.³

The Byzantine state in the fourteenth century faced major political problems which exerted their influence on the social, cultural and economic life of the people. Asia Minor collapsed in the first decade of the century, an event that caused waves of immigration and famine crisis in the capital, with which the authorities and especially the patriarch Athanasios I tried to deal.⁴ But the Turkish raids introduced aristocratic families from the East who, having lost their properties in Asia Minor, were allocated to Europe. Soon though, the Turks shifted to Europe as well and with their ships started raiding the islands and the Thracian coasts, causing insecurity to rural areas. This caused the flight of a part of the population to the security of the cities and, in addition, an attempt by aristocratic families and the monasteries to obtain real estate property.⁵ The further progressive loss of the imperial lands brought many aristocratic families that did not cooperate with the conquerors (Turks and Serbians) to the

³ On Epirus and Thessaly see P. Magdalino, 'Between Romaniae: Thessaly and Epirus in the Later Middle Ages', in Arbel, *Latins and Greeks*, 87-110; D. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479: a contribution to the history of Greece in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge 2010). The different social and political realities of Mystra, with the existence of a powerful local aristocracy hostile to the despot and which controlled the castles and had significant duties on state machinery, and the presence other local centres occupied by the Franks, are narrated by D. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée; Tome second: vie et institutions* (Athens 1953), mainly in his third chapter on society: 211-226) and more recently by Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins* (in the ninth chapter).

⁴ See J.L. Boojamra, *Church reforms in the Late Byzantine Empire: a study of the patriarchate of Athanasios of Constantinople* (Thessaloniki 1982), 70-74.

⁵ Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*, 59-60, who notes the transfer of properties by aristocrats to the monasteries, since they had been occupied by foreign powers and the monasteries could more easily profit from them; T. Kiousopoulou, 'Η παρουσία μοναστηριών μέσα στις πόλεις κατά τους Παλαιολόγειους χρόνους', in N.G. Moschonas (ed.), *Money and markets in the Palaiologan era* (Athens 2003), 273-282, who refers specifically to the efforts of the monastery of St Prodromos in Serres to obtain real estate property and at the same time contrasts it with the behaviour of the Athonite monasteries in Thessalonike. This phenomenon had already been noted by A. Kazhdan, 'The Italian and Late Byzantine city', *DOP* 49 (1995), 1-22.

security of Constantinople, the vicinity of which remained Byzantine territory after 1370. The loss of their properties forced them to resort to other ways of extracting wealth. Many of them started being actively engaged in trade or banking activities. Other families disappear from the record, probably as a result of their social and economic decline, while other families, come to the fore, having been enriched by their activities.⁶

The two Greek states of Thessaly and Epirus were no longer a serious threat to the Byzantine dominion as they had been during the reign of Michael VIII (1259-1282) and eventually in the 1330s after three successive campaigns they were annexed to the empire. The Serbians, taking advantage of the second civil war and under the leadership of Stephan Dušan, conquered the whole of Macedonia (apart from Thessalonike), Thessaly and Epirus. It was only the death of Dušan in 1355 and the consequent breakdown of his kingdom that prevented further loss to the Byzantines. The defeat of the Serbian lords at the river Evros in 1371 and at Kosovo in 1389 by the Ottomans signified the rise of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans. By 1393 Bulgaria fell to the Turks in two stages.

⁶ The study of notarial evidence from Venice and Genoa and of the scanty Byzantine evidence has revealed the names of several Byzantines engaged in trade. The most comprehensive, full and detailed study for the entrepreneurial activities of the Byzantine aristocracy is now K.-P. Matschke and F. Tinnefeld, *Die Gessellschaft im späten Byzanz: Gruppen, Strukturen und Lebensformen* (Vienna 2001), 158-220. The problem had already been defined by him in earlier studies and he was followed by M. Balard, *La romaine genoise (XIIe – debut de XVe siècle)* (Rome and Genoa 1978), 269-277; A. Laiou-Thomadakis, ‘The Greek merchant at the Palaeologan period: a collective portrait’, *Πρακτικά Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 57 (1982), 96-132; N. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIIIe-XVe siècles)* (Montreal and Paris 1979), 114-128. The study of the fortunes and attitudes of individual families or of special economic networks proliferates now. See, for example, the studies of the families of Notaras and Goudeles: J. Harris, ‘The Goudelis family in Italy after the fall of Constantinople’, *BMGS* 33 (2009), 168-79; K.-P. Matschke, ‘The Notaras family and its Italian connections’, *DOP* 49 (1995), 59-72.

Another important factor in the fourteenth century was the place of Byzantium in the economic network of the Eastern Mediterranean. Byzantium and, more especially, Constantinople were centres of this network. Constantinople was a transit station of the trade between the Black Sea and Italy, conducted mostly by Genoa. Genoa, after the recapture of Constantinople in 1261 by the Byzantines, drove away Venice, who had been hostile to Byzantium, and established the routes of the Black Sea, thereafter preventing the establishment of non-Genoese elements. The Genoese founded a colony in Pera, opposite Constantinople, which soon grew in importance and became a *de facto* independent 'city-state', which intervened in Byzantine politics often. The Venetians were soon able to establish themselves in Constantinople by signing treaties with Byzantium. The hostility between Genoa and Venice became an important factor in Byzantine politics, but Byzantium in the end was unable to profit from it. The two Italian cities had acquired privileges: in addition to giving them administrative and judicial rights meant that they did not pay *commercium*, a tax of 10% normally applied to merchandise. This factor proved detrimental to the Byzantine merchant, who found himself in a less favourable position. As a matter of fact, many Byzantine merchants became business associates of the Italians; they did not work by themselves.

Another important phenomenon was the economic dependence of Byzantium in the last century of its existence. The loss of Thrace to the Turks created dependence on Black Sea grain, which was transported mainly by the Genoese. Cloth manufacture had also been dominated by Italian products and Venetians were importing wine from their colonies in the Aegean, thus hurting the local products and distributors (i.e. the Greek taverns). Moreover, cotton and grain were imported from Ottoman-occupied regions (mainly Thrace and Bithynia), thus making Byzantium's position precarious

in times of distress (e.g. the siege of Bayezid 1394-1402). Furthermore, the presence of Ottoman merchants is attested in Constantinople. Although the later Palaiologan emperors tried to limit Venetians privileges, the economic dependence of the empire was a reality. Also, the progressive devaluation of the *hyperpyron* throughout the fourteenth century until its final disappearance, made the use of Venetian and Ottoman coinage an important phenomenon.⁷

Besides, the period was not free of political strife. The grandson of Andronikos II (1282-1328), Andronikos III (1328-1341), declared war on his grandfather, starting thus the first civil war. A large number of aristocrats — especially the younger ones — and soldiers, all perhaps dissatisfied with the strict economic policy of Andronikos II and the failures in the political sphere, but, even more, claiming posts and offices that were not easily accessible to them, rebelled. Whereas I believe that political opportunism was the main criterion for the support of Andronikos III, we should not reject the possibility that simple soldiers and officers were dissatisfied with the strict economic policy of Andronikos II.⁸ The faction of

⁷ The latest survey comes from M. Balard, 'Le grand commerce', in A. Laiou and C. Morrisson (eds.), *Le monde byzantin. Tome 3: Byzance et ses voisins (1204-1453)* (Paris 2011), 117-127. See in more detail M. Balard, 'L'organisation des colonies étrangères dans l' Empire byzantine (XIIe-XVe siècle)', in V. Kravari, J. Lefort and C. Morrisson (eds.), *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantine* (Paris 1991), 261-276; A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis, 'The Byzantine economy in the Mediterranean trade system: thirteenth- fifteenth centuries,' *DOP* 34/35 (1980/1981), 177-222; A. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine economy* (Cambridge 2007), 182-230; K.-P. Matschke, 'The late Byzantine urban economy', in A. Laiou (ed.), *The economic history of Byzantium from seventh through the fifteenth century* (Washington 2002), 463-495 (here at 488). On the efforts of the government to restrict the Venetian privileges see idem, 'Commerce, trade, markets and money: thirteenth – fifteenth centuries', in *The economic history of Byzantium*, 771-806.

⁸ U.V. Bosch, *Kaiser Andronikos III. Versuch einer Darstellung der byzantinischen Geschichte in den Jahren 1321-1341* (Amsterdam 1965), 9-52; D. Kyritses, *The Byzantine aristocracy in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries*, unpublished Phd dissertation (University of Harvard 1997), 334-350, who, on the other hand, views the war as simply a fight between two opposing aristocratic factions that strove for power and offices; K.-P. Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion in Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert:*

Andronikos III eventually won in 1328 and his immediate associates came to power, but apart from the dismissal of the *mesazon* Theodoros Metochites and the confiscation of his property, there were no actual measures or confiscations against his opponents. Even the sons of Metochites quickly took up again significant posts.⁹

The first civil war initiated a new period for the internal history of the empire. More conspiracies are attested during Andronikos III's reign, the most significant of which was by Syrgiannes Palaiologos, who allied with the Serbians in an attempt to usurp the Byzantine throne. But the intensity and the duration of the second civil war, which started at the death of Andronikos III between his closest friend Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos and the members of the regency of the minor Ioannes V (the empress Anna of Savoy, the Patriarch Ioannes Kalekas and the *megas doux* Alexios Apokaukos), was not comparable. The last phase of the second civil war ended only in 1357 with the defeat of the son of Kantakouzenos, Matthaïos I (1353-1357), by Ioannes V (Kantakouzenos had abdicated in 1354). Although it seems that the opponents have been moved rather by political opportunism, historians have claimed

Konstantinopel in der Bürgerkriegsperiode von 1341 bis 1354 (Berlin 1971), 46-49, who thinks that this was a continuation of a similar opposition in late thirteenth century Asia Minor, culminating in the support of the rebellion of Alexios Philanthropenos; K. Kyrris, *To Byzάντιον κατά τον ΙΔ΄ αιώνα. Η πρώτη φάση του εμφυλίου πολέμου και η πρώτη συνδιαλλαγή των δύο Ανδρονίκων (20.IV – Φθινόπωρον 1321): εσωτερικά και εξωτερικά προβλήματα* (Nicosia 1982), 21 and 29-33. There were incidents such as the attempt by soldiers to mistreat Andronikos II's ambassadors who had come to ask for peace; the decisive intervention of Andronikos III prevented them (Kantakouzenos, I, 94-95). Besides, we learn that 'the soldiers' were those who did not want peace and compromise to come (Kantakouzenos, I, 107). But these incidents were most likely exaggerated by Kantakouzenos; the motif of the 'just man' who is forced to act by his more warm-blooded associates is continually repeated in his *History*.

⁹ Right after the end of the civil war Demetrios Metochites is attested as governor in Serres (Actes Prodromos (B), 222), his brother Alexios had large property in Macedonia and the third brother Nikephoros by 1355 had the office of *megas logothetes* and was considered worthy to take part in a most important crown council: Kantakouzenos, III, 295. It should be noted here that the mention 'at the house of the *megas logothetes*' should be linked to him and not to his father Theodoros, as the editors of PLP suggest, who had been deceased for more than 20 years and whose house had been burnt.

social factors influenced the allegiance of the supporters of the two parties. Therefore, I have decided to dedicate a special sub-chapter on the second civil war in order to further investigate in depth these possibilities.

Nevertheless, a third round of civil wars broke out between, on the one side, Ioannes V and his second son Manuel II and, on the other side, Ioannes V's first son Andronikos IV and the latter's son Ioannes VII, which started in 1373 and ended only in 1399 with the reconciliation between Ioannes VII, who was based in Selymbria, and the emperor Manuel II (1391-1425). Although this fight concerned the imperial succession, the 'enemies-allies' of Byzantium – the Ottomans, Genoa and Venice – energetically supported one of the sides. The choice of ally of each side was sometimes further defined by the social and political background of their supporters. Andronikos IV and his son Ioannes VII were supported by Genoa; therefore it was not uncommon to number in their ranks aristocrats (e.g. Goudeles), who had orientated themselves to commerce and were business associates with the Genoese.¹⁰

The inability of the Byzantines to stop the Turkish conquest of Thrace in the 1350s and 1360s forced them to turn to Western Europe. In 1366-1369 the emperor Ioannes V travelled around Western Europe in an attempt to find aid. The potential aid, though, demanded concessions on the part of the Byzantines. The pope demanded the Union of the Churches which caused hatred of Latin Christendom among the Byzantines. The hatred and the rejection of most Byzantines of the acknowledgment

¹⁰ Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*, 134-135 has made this connection. On the other side, it is obvious that social roots cannot be asserted. The support by both upper and lower classes is mentioned for both groups. The most important handbook of late Byzantine history remains D. Nicol, *The last centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453* (London 1972), but also for the second half of the century useful information can be deduced by J.W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425): a study in late Byzantine statesmanship* (New Brunswick 1969); P. Charanis, 'The strife among the Palaeologi and the Ottoman Turks, 1370-1402', *Byzantion* 16 (1942-1943), 286-314.

of papal supreme authority in the Church made the efforts for Union a difficult game for the Byzantine emperors. They were unable to find enough support in the Byzantine Church for their scheme. In fact only a small fraction of the scholars and of the Church and state officials were in favour of a Union of the Churches. The question was not, however, strictly one of political orientation. Deeper cultural aspects and identities were involved. The choice of the Unionists many times was connected with a greater appreciation of ancient wisdom and an identity that related to ancient Greece rather than a broader Orthodox community.¹¹

At the head of the Byzantine state remained the emperor who fully controlled the administration. He appointed all the central administration dignitaries (imperial chancery), the provincial governors, the tax officials, the judges, the Patriarch and gave his consent for the appointment of the five highest ecclesiastical dignitaries (the so-called *ἔξωκατάκλητοι*: the *oikonomos*, the *megas sakellarios*, the *megas chartophylax*, the *megas skeuophylax* and the *protekdikos*) and the metropolitans elected by the Patriarchal Synod. During the late period, the heads of the imperial chancery were the *mesazon* and the *megas logothetes*, while a *protonotarios* has been identified as the head of the imperial chancery. In fact, it was the *mesazon*, who was

¹¹ The scholarly literature for the Union of Churches is long. See H.-G. Beck, 'Byzanz und der Westen in Zeitalter des Konziliarismus', *Vorträge und Forschungen IX* (Constance 1965), 135-148; P. Gounaridis, 'Πολιτικές διαστάσεις της Συνόδου Φεράρας - Φλωρεντίας', *Θησαυρίσματα* 31 (2001), 107-129; D. Nicol, *Church and society in the last centuries of Byzantium: The Birkbeck lectures of 1977* (London 1979), 74-97 and 108-130; I. Ševčenko, 'Intellectual repercussions of the Council of Florence', *Church History* 24 (1955), 291-323. However, the controversy grew in importance following the years of the Council of Ferrara – Florence in 1438-1439 which declared the Union of Churches and is best represented by the opposition between Georgios Gemistos (Plethon) and the later patriarch Gennadios Scholarios. A. Kiousopoulou, *Βασιλεύς ή οικονόμος: Πολιτική εξουσία και ιδεολογία πριν την Άλωση* (Athens 2007), 58-77 and 183-186 associates the struggle against the Union of Churches with the dignitaries of the Patriarchate who were according to her in opposition to the secular *archontes*.

the second most influencing person in the administration, a position that we could compare with the office of prime minister in Early Modern Europe.¹²

In the middle Byzantine period the lists of precedence clearly distinguished between offices and honorific titles, the latter being subdivided into senatorial and imperial titles and titles reserved for eunuchs.¹³ But in the Palaiologan empire, already before the middle of the fourteenth century, all the remaining dignities that were simply honorific disappeared. On the other hand, in none of the lists of precedence do we see a distinction between offices and titles, while it is almost certain that many of the offices-titles did not correspond any longer to functions. At the same time, positions such as imperial secretary or of *mesazon*, are not enumerated in the list. Pseudo-Kodinos does indeed provide us with some insight into the duties of some officials of his list and, besides, the sources in general allude many times to the nature or the duties of some offices to which he did not attributed a duty. But regardless of the duties that each title-office may have had, it is clear from the documentary sources

¹² The Palaiologan empire is under-represented in the scholarly literature regarding the institutions of administration, in comparison at least with the volumes that have been written for the middle Byzantine period. The reason is perhaps the belief that Byzantium was in decline, so there is no 'ideal' administration system to be discussed. For the administration of the later empire see the old but still useful work by L.-P. Raybaud, *Le gouvernement et l'administration de l'empire byzantine sous les premiers Paléologues (1258-1354)* (Paris 1968), who still speaks of decomposition of the administration. For provincial administration see L. Maksimović, *The Byzantine provincial administration under the Palaiologoi* (Amsterdam 1988). For the *mesazon* and the imperial chancery see: H.-G. Beck, 'Der byzantinischen Ministerpräsident', *BZ* 48 (1955), 309-338; R. Loenertz, 'Le chancelier imperial à Byzance au XIVe et au XIIIe siècle', *OCP* 26 (1960), 275-300; N. Oikonomides, 'La chancellerie imperial de Byzance du 13e au 15e siècle', *REB* 43 (1985), 167-195; J. Verpeaux, 'Contribution à l'étude de l'administration byzantine: ὁ μεσάζων', *Byzantinoslavica* 16 (1955), 270-296. For the rights of the emperor in the domain of the election of metropolitans, institutionalised by the accord of 1380/2, see V. Laurent, 'Les droits de l'empereur en matière ecclésiastique. L'accord de 1380/82', *REB* 13 (1955), 5-20.

¹³ N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris 1972), with an edition of these lists and a subsequent critical discussion and analysis by Oikonomides on pp. 282-363.

that they were regarded as simple titles, since in the signatures of officials both posts and titles are commonly mentioned (e.g. the *kephale* of Serres and *megas chartoularios* Andronikos Kantakouzenos) and that they were accorded for a person's lifetime (or at least until the promotion to a higher title).¹⁴

The army of the empire in the late period was composed of two main groups: the mercenaries and the *pronoia*-holders (*pronoiaroi*). The *pronoiaroi* were usually native soldiers, who owned in the vicinity of their homes lands which produced a certain income which could vary. They could be both infantry and cavalry units, but usually the larger the *pronoia* was, the higher the social status of the *pronoia*-holder and the greater the following of soldiers he was expected to have.¹⁵

Since at least the eleventh century the concepts of individual privileges, accommodation and compromise dominated the Byzantine world. The culture of privilege is far from the modern western culture (although not completely alien), and

¹⁴ General remarks regarding late Byzantine titulature and office-holding have been made by R. Guiland, 'Observations sur la liste des dignitaires du Pseudo-Codinos', *REB* 12 (1954), 58-68, but unfortunately, there is still no systematic study of the titles/offices (apart from *mesazon*). Guiland has also written on individual posts, including prosopographic material, but his studies are old and need to be updated. Besides, problems are created by his treatment of these titles in the whole Byzantine era. He does not leave open the possibility for changes in their importance or in their duties at different periods. Further he divides honorific titles from offices (and further to titles reserved for eunuchs or not), which, as we mentioned, is not applicable to the Palaiologan period. These studies have been concentrated in R. Guiland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines* (Berlin 1967), I, 198-607 and II, 1-219 and subsequently in R. Guiland, *Titres et fonctions de l'empire byzantine*, Variorum reprints (London 1976) (with 26 more case studies).

¹⁵ For the army in Late Byzantine period see M. Bartusis, *The late Byzantine army: arms and society (1204-1453)* (Philadelphia 1992). For a more recent study see S. Kyriakides, *Warfare in Late Byzantium (1204-1453)* (Leiden and Boston 2011). The institution of *pronoia* has also a large volume of literature behind it, mainly because there was an attempt to connect and compare it with the western fief. Regardless of certain similarities, *pronoia* did not entail lordship and it was always clearly a fiscal revenue of the state taxes in return of military service, while the distribution and control, theoretically at least, belonged to the state. Besides, *pronoiai* could be distributed as compensation of the salary of state officials, without an expectation of military service.

it had serious consequences not only in the political but in the social sphere of the Byzantines as well. This culture derived from the prerogatives of imperial autocracy, and of the Christian concepts of philanthropy, benefaction and propitiousness. These prerogatives were all present since Late Antiquity but by the fourteenth century they had evolved from tools of imperial autocracy to shackles. In practice it meant that the emperor was not only above the law, but also that he could disregard it in order to make a provision.¹⁶ Legislation slowly ceased to be promulgated; even the earlier laws of Leo VI and of the Macedonian emperors had more of a symbolic function than a practical one. By the fourteenth century the emperor was not trying any longer to regulate society systemically, rather he was taking individual measures.¹⁷ Every individual could petition the emperor for a privilege, the donation of land or tax immunity on his property. His proximity to the emperor or his connections to people close to the emperor or his offer of political support would determine the success of an individual. This culture meant that the emperor had to be the benefactor and the protector of his subjects; thus he could not easily turn down requests for privileges, even when state income would be affected.¹⁸ This culture meant also that the emperor must act piously and forgive his subjects when they erred. As a consequence, severe

¹⁶ For the concept of *oikonomia* see H. Ahweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris 1975), 129-147. For its application in canon law see J.H. Erickson, 'Oikonomia in Byzantine canon law', in K. Pennington and R. Somerville (ed.), *Law, Church and Society: essays in honour of Stephan Kuttner* (Philadelphia 1977), 225-236.

¹⁷ M.Th. Fögen, 'Gesetz und Gesetzgebung in Byzanz. Versuch einer Funktionsanalyse', *Ius Commune* XIV (1987), 137-158; B. Stolte, 'The social function of law', in J. Haldon (ed.), *A social history of Byzantium* (Oxford 2009), 76-91 (here at 88-89).

¹⁸ For the culture of privilege and the generosity of the emperor see now D. Angelov, *Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium (1204-1330)* (Cambridge 2007), 134-145, and more specifically the example of the patriarch Gregorios Kyprios: A. Laiou, 'The correspondence of Gregorios Kyprios as a source for the history of social and political behaviour in Byzantium or, on government by rhetoric', in W. Seibt (ed.), *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit. Referate des Internationaler Symposions zu Ehren von Herbert Hunger (Wien 30. November bis 3. Dezember 1994)* (Vienna 1996), 91-108.

punishment ceased, even in serious crimes such as treason. The change is more obvious if one contrasts the treatment of traitors in Palaiologan times with that in the sixth to eighth centuries, when executions and amputations were the norm. The blinding of the rebel Alexios Philanthropenos was considered to be an extremely violent punishment and besides the emperor Andronikos II did not order it. The emperor not only forgave, but assigned the disloyal man to an important post once more. One reason for this development was the growing aristocratisation of Byzantine society and government and the evolution of new ethics.¹⁹ But, of course, not all of those forgiven were members of the extended imperial family or even aristocrats: an infamous sorceress was accorded an annual pension (*adelphaton*) in a Constantinopolitan monastery.²⁰ If western medieval men seem to have little regard for human life, the same cannot be said for the culture of Byzantium (at least from the eleventh century onwards).²¹

This culture of privilege was also connected with the spirit of the unchanging world, which had dominated Byzantium. The idea of progress and of innovation is a

¹⁹ For the aristocratisation of Byzantine society and the new social ethics emerging from late 11th century see A.P. Kazhdan, 'The aristocracy and the imperial ideal', in M. Angold (ed.), *The Byzantine aristocracy (IX to XIII centuries)* (Oxford 1984), 43-57; P. Magdalino, 'Honour among Romaioi: the framework of social values in the world of Digenes Akrites and Kekaumenos', *BMGS* 13 (1989), 183-218. For a greater aristocratisation of Byzantine society during the late period speaks also Matschke, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 18-32, but he dealt only with the social influence and the aristocrats' place in society and administration, not in culture. For an analogous occasion in the Roman world and the relatively unimportance of violence in inter-personal relations among high class peers see: G.G. Fagan, 'Violence in Roman social relations', in M. Peachin (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of social relations in the Roman world* (Oxford 2011), 467-495, who stresses that the contrary was the norm for social inferiors.

²⁰ PR III, no. 185.

²¹ For this regard of human life in medieval Europe see the remarks of M. Bloch, *Feudal society. Volume II: Social classes and political organization* (London 1962), 134-136. To be more precise, Gregoras seems to enjoy the massacre of Turks that had come to plunder Thrace (Gregoras, I, 540-541) but this is an exception and we should remember that they were Muslims and enemies.

post-Enlightenment story. The Byzantines (as did their Greek and Roman predecessors) believed rather in a past Golden Age and that Byzantine society needed to turn back to the archetype of this Age.²² Therefore, imitation of the antique authors has been identified as the main moving force of Byzantine literature. A Byzantine author should show that he was an expert in the ancient (and the Christian) literature and that he could cite the ancient authors appropriate to the context.²³ But this idea had further implications for Byzantine society and state.²⁴

Religion was an important (if not the most important) facet of the social life of a Byzantine man. Theological debates were the medieval form of philosophy. But the necessity of religious uniformity, which in its turn would limit social unrest in this domain, and of orthodoxy, which would ensure the afterlife to all subjects, made theological debates a field in which the emperor had a significant role. This was even more the case on account of his position as the protector and actual ‘head’ of the Christian Church. The major theological debates of the fourteenth century were the controversy concerning Hesychasm and the Union of the Churches. Both evolved into areas of significant struggle, with councils, imprisonments of opponents and popular unrest. They also stimulated the writing of a great number of theological works and refutations. As with the other dogmatic struggles in Byzantium (the Christological

²² See P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantine* (Paris 1977), 251, who notes though that ‘se représenter Byzance comme immuable pendant onze siècles serait tomber dans la piège qu’elle a elle-même tendu’.

²³ H. Hunger, ‘On the imitation (μίμησις) of antiquity in Byzantine literature’, *DOP* 23-24 (1969-1970), 17-38.

²⁴ See, for example, the argument of Nikephoros Gregoras presented to emperor Andronikos II regarding the reform of the calendar. Although he convinced the emperor it was not undertaken because it would cause a disturbance (Gregoras, I, 364-373). Eventually the reform was undertaken 200 years later by Pope Gregory XIII and in Greece only in 1927. Compare this phenomenon with the formation of a whole schismatic sect of ‘Old-Calendarists’ (Παλαισημερολογίτες) in Greece who refuse to accept the reform, as also have refused other Orthodox Churches.

debate of the fourth to sixth centuries, Iconoclasm etc.), so too these two disputes have been regarded as having broader cultural and social affiliations. Hesychasm had a long tradition in Byzantium since at least the tenth century and it was firmly connected with monastic life and asceticism. Gregorios Palamas further defined Hesychasm and taught that an individual through prayers, fasting etc., could actually see the divine light. Hesychasm has been seen as having application to the social values of the aristocracy,²⁵ or as corresponding to the spirit of individualism of Byzantine society²⁶ or representing the old struggle and ambivalence between ‘inner and outer’ wisdom (i.e. ancient Greek and Christian philosophy).²⁷

²⁵ K.-P. Matschke, ‘Orthodoxie, Häresie und Fall von Byzanz. Bemerkungen zur Niedergangsgeschichte einer mittelalterlichen Grossmacht’, in E. Werner (ed.), *Häresie und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter* (Berlin 1987), 34-51.

²⁶ Kazhdan, *People and Power*, 91-95.

²⁷ H.G. Beck, ‘Palamismus und Humanismus’, *XIIe Congrès international des études byzantines, Rapports III* (Belgrade and Ochrid 1961), 63-82, formulated the view that the controversy of Palamism in essence was a controversy between the humanist and anti-humanist tendencies in Byzantine culture. J. Meyendorff, ‘Society and culture in the fourteenth century: religious problems’, in *XIVe Congrès Internationale des Etudes Byzantines, Rapports I, Bucharest 6-12 Septembre 1971* (Bucharest 1974), 51-65, also alludes to the fact that Palamism was against secular wisdom, although he denies that this represented a continuation of a struggle earlier in the Palaiologan period (Arsenites, patriarch Athanasios etc.). He maintains that the victory of the Palamites meant that the development of an independent humanism was seriously hindered thereafter in Byzantium. See also his introductory study J. Meyendorff, *A study of Gregory Palamas* (London 1964). Nicol, *Church and society*, 31-65, on the other side, thinks that the opposition should not be taken at face-value and that the equilibrium between inner and outer wisdom was maintained by the Palamites, although after the second half of the fourteenth century, due to the burning issue of the Union of Churches and the preservation of Orthodoxy, the balance and all the energy of the authors turned decisively in favour of religious wisdom; yet, this was not because of hostility towards the secular wisdom. I am more inclined to accept Nicol’s argument, since, although certain analogies are visible between anti-Palamism and greater appreciation of ancient wisdom, in general the division is artificial and reflects more our own categorisation and effort to identify eternal problems and struggles in Byzantine civilisation. In fact, it does not correspond with Byzantine practice. See also P. Gounaridis, ‘Επιλογές μιας κοινωνικής ομάδας (14^{ος} αιώνας)’, in Chr. Angelidi (ed.), *Το Βυζάντιο ώριμο για αλλαγές: Επιλογές, ευαισθησίες*

The Byzantine Church in the fourteenth century suffered a severe blow from the fall of Asia Minor to the Turks. The conversion to Islam, the loss of revenues, the flight of the population and the obstruction of the service of Byzantine bishops in Turkish occupied lands were common.²⁸ Yet, the influence of the patriarchate of Constantinople far exceeded the territory of the empire, in spite of the creation of independent patriarchates in Serbia and Bulgaria. Eastern Europe was directly subordinated to the patriarchate. Despite the progress of Turkish conquests, the first half of the fourteenth century has been considered as a period of expansion of monastic and ecclesiastical property, through both imperial and private donations. The imperial donations were mainly directed at the great monastic centres (in this period the monasteries of Mt. Athos and the monasteries of Constantinople) or metropoleis, which had a greater ability to petition the emperor. However, this trend changed after the 1340s due to the financial constraints of the Byzantine state. Large confiscations took place which affected the properties of all the great monasteries.²⁹

The problematic of the study and the problematic of the sources

The terms social structure and social relations are wide in concept, thus it is important to further define our subject areas. The main focus in this dissertation will

και τρόποι έκφρασης από τον ενδέκατο στον δέκατο πέμπτο αιώνα (Byzantium matures: choices, sensitivities, and modes of expression (eleventh to fifteenth centuries) (Athens 2004), 177-185.

²⁸ S. Vryonis, Jr, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of islamization from the eleventh through the fifteenth century* (Los Angeles 1971).

²⁹ P. Charanis, 'The monastic properties and the state in the Byzantine Empire', *DOP* 4 (1948), 53-118; K. Smyrlis, *La fortune de grands monasteries byzantins (fin du Xe – milieu du XIVe siècle)* (Paris 2006); idem, 'The State, the land, and private property: confiscating monastic and Church properties in the Palaiologan period', in D. Angelov (ed.), *Church and society in Late Byzantium* (Kalamazoo 2009), 58-87.

be on social stratification, on how Byzantine society as a whole was structured; under the influence of what kind of ideas, beliefs and concepts and with what material realities among the members of this society; how can we divide society and how much are modern constructions or medieval counterpart models applicable to the Byzantine case? Apart from this vertical division it is also important to understand the horizontal groupings of a society and how much they contributed to the whole structure: how influential and how close were the members of a village or urban community, of the same social class or group? Moreover, we should analyse the two greater institutions of the time, the State and the Church, and define the influence they had on the social structure. This study cannot be a complete one of Byzantine society. Therefore, family structure and relations or patterns of inheritance, social life, religious beliefs and customs, are not going to be examined when they do not touch upon the construction of social order and relations.

Unlike Marx who defined social structure in terms of the economic relations of production (social class), Max Weber introduced the concept of social status which is not directly linked with social class. Social status, either ascribed or achieved, is the prestige that an individual may have in a community and which is determined not only by his economic power and his occupation, but also can be influenced by ideological or religious or ideological factors. Thus, social stratification can be determined not only by the relations of production and the membership in a social class but may also be dependent on factors of status, caste, occupation etc. Max Weber and his followers, without playing down the economic factor in determining social action, believed that the ideological factor was equally important to social

action and that it did not solely serve (together with the political factor) the successful functioning of the relations of production, as Marxist orientated scholars believed.³⁰

However, there comes then the question of how much the ideological structure of power relations is created by the upper class and imposed on the majority of the populace (i.e. the producers) in order to help the viability of the whole social structure. Social order and inequality, however, is not only a material reality; it is even more an imaginative construction. Therefore, vocabulary and ritual expressions of power, performance and ideology are important facets that help reconstruct a social world and find out how a set of social relationship works. Besides, the legitimization of any relationship of power should be based on and justified by a set of common beliefs between the social actors. The social actor, regardless of his 'real' or hidden motives, needs to justify his actions according to this set of social or political principles. The meaning of these ideas or principles cannot be changed to fit the purpose of the social actor and as a consequence these principles function as not only weapons to the social superior but also traps and constraints to social action.³¹ Thus, it is essential to study not only the material environment of social order, but also the principles and the ideas behind the construction of this social order.

Modern social anthropological studies have further moved away from this Marxist model of ideological hegemony on the relations of production. Scott studied

³⁰ See B. Barber, *Social stratification: a comparative analysis of structure and process* (New York 1957); R. Breen and D.B. Rottman, *Class stratification: a comparative perspective* (Hemel Hempstead 1995); M. Mann, *The sources of social power. Volume I: A history of power from the beginning to AD 1760* (Cambridge 1986). To put it simply, to the Marxist claim that a human is primarily motivated by the primitive instinct of survival, they answer that a human also needs to find the meaning of his existence in the world.

³¹ D. Beetham, *The legitimation of power* (Basingstoke 1991); M.J. Braddick and J. Walter, 'Introduction. Grids of power: order, hierarchy and subordination in early modern society', in M. J. Braddick and J. Walter (eds.), *Negotiating power in Early Modern society: order, hierarchy and subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge 2001), 8-16.

the primitive economy of some villages in Malaysia in the 1960s where the relations of production were structured around a local landowning elite and a producing population to which the land was rented. He compared the results of this case study with other analogous pre-modern social structures (i.e. around the social order and the relations between rich and poor). He argued firstly that, although the construction of social order is mainly the product of the politically dominant class, inferiors are not mere passive recipients of it but rather they actively participate in its construction. These relations, he argues, are not simply rules and principles which are followed, but the raw material which is constantly in change in daily human activity. Moreover, unlike the Marxist concept that social conflict would be limited if the upper class were able to persuade their inferiors to adopt their model of social structure, Scott successfully showed that the model is not only used by the upper classes to serve their interests but the lower classes also make use of this structure to promote their needs and demands.³² In an analogous situation in early modern England, after the institutionalisation of civil parish relief to the poor (and since this aid could not meet every demand), the poor, in order to carry conviction that they needed help, resorted to due deference to their superiors, rather than claim legal entitlement to poverty relief; they found this way more profitable.³³

In order to detect popular demands many modern researchers have turned to two fields of research: the study of popular literature and the study of social movements and revolutions. However, both fields are problematic. Popular culture was seen to be a representative of the culture of the lower strata of population. But

³² J.C. Scott, *Weapons of the weak: everyday forms of peasant resistance* (New Haven 1985); idem, *Domination and the arts of resistance: hidden transcripts* (New Haven 1990).

³³ S. Hindle, 'Exhortation and entitlement: negotiating inequality in English rural communities, 1550-1650', in Braddick (ed.), *Negotiating power in Early Modern society*, 102-122.

this division now seems artificial and the recognition of the common motifs and elements that both ‘high’ and ‘popular’ literature have, eventually led to a decrease in the study of popular literature as a source for the sentiments and beliefs solely of the lower classes.³⁴ Byzantinists have considered that the *Song of Belisarios*, written in demotic Greek, expresses the dissatisfaction of the lower classes towards the high aristocracy. The main character of the poem, the general Belisarios, who at the end of the song is blinded as a consequence of conspiracies by certain aristocratic families, has been seen as representing popular discontent towards the aristocracy, while at the same time there have been attempts to identify the song’s protagonist with the blinded rebel of Asia Minor, Alexios Philanthropenos, in the 1290s (who is said to have initiated a programme of redistribution of *pronoiai* to simple soldiers) or Alexios Apokaukos in the second civil war.³⁵ Although at the start of the poem there appears to be an underlying enmity towards the great families of the fourteenth century who work deceitfully against ‘Belisarios’, the main theme of the poem remains the skilful talent of Belisarios as a general and as a praiseworthy character, in an ‘ideal time’, the heyday of the empire, in contrast to the time of the author.

³⁴ P. Burke, *Popular culture in Early Modern Europe*, Wildwood 1978; B. Scribner, ‘Is a history of popular culture possible?’, *History of European Ideas* 10 (1989), 175-191; J. Storey, *Inventing popular culture. From folklore to globalization* (Oxford 2003). See also for the Byzantine case J. Baun, *Tales from another Byzantium; celestial journey and local community in the Medieval Greek apocrypha* (Cambridge 2007); C. Mango, ‘Discontinuity with the Classical past in Byzantium’, in M. Mullett and S. Roger (eds.), *Byzantium and the classical tradition: University of Birmingham, thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies 1979* (Birmingham 1981), 48-57, who asserts that ‘lowbrow’ literature had as recipient not only some monks, but in general every Byzantine.

³⁵ H.-G. Beck, ‘Belisar-Philanthropenos. Das Belisar-Lied der Palaiologenzeit,’ *Serta Monacensia (Fr. Babinger zum 15. Januar 1951 als Festgruss)* (Leiden 1952), 46-52; M. Fotina, *A critical edition of the medieval Greek poems on Belisarius*, unpublished Phd dissertation (London 1973), who identifies Belisarios with Alexios Apokaukos. The song has been edited by W.F. Bakker and A. F. van Gemert, *Ιστορία του Βελισσαρίου* (Athens 2007).

On the other hand, the study of social movements, riots and revolutions as the main expression of social inequality and resistance has also proved problematic. As Scott has revealed in his study, social order was not the outcome of episodic negotiations (i.e. riots, revolutions) but there were other more everyday forms of resistance to social power that did not take the form of open resistance. Behind the language of deference may lie an opposition; the conformity of the weak, at least in public, does not mean that they accept the order as 'just'. By using as their weapons the same language of social order and deference, they try to enhance their position and at the same time they avoid the risks of open resistance. As such, revolutions are only episodic events in the negotiation of power between powerful and weak classes and they do not represent the dichotomy between deference and opposition, as they have been seen in the past. Accordingly, riots and crowds should be examined carefully; as research has shown there were crowds not 'a crowd', the composition of which changed according to the causes and the object of action.³⁶

Therefore, in order to evaluate the framework of social structure, apart from the material standing of an individual and the economic exchanges between two social actors, it is also very important to examine the social interaction between these two actors, having as a main guide two important aspects: the language of the text used and the gestures described (since we are unable to see them and pose questions). Gestures have been an important element in western medieval studies the past decades under the influence of the School of *Annales*.³⁷ Gestures, even in our modern world,

³⁶ Braddick, 'Introduction', 7-8; T. Harris, *London crowds in the reign of Charles II: propaganda and politics from the restoration to the exclusion crisis* (Cambridge 1987).

³⁷ On the importance of gestures for Western medieval society and their juxtaposition to the written culture see Bloch, *Feudal society*, I, 113-116; J.-C. Schmitt, 'The rationale of gestures in the West: third to thirteenth centuries', in J. Bremmer and H. Roodenburg (eds.), *A cultural history of gesture*

are important to express deference, emotions and are closely linked to rituals. However, if we compare the Byzantine with the Western European tradition, we will find, I would suggest, a richer gesture tradition in the West, while gesture descriptions are fewer in Byzantine sources. Perhaps the main reason for this divergence is the lower literacy of the West before the fifteenth century and the importance of the oral tradition and gestures. The rituals of homage and oaths were not necessarily written down. On the contrary, in Byzantium, oaths, promises of good behaviour and even testimonies, as they have survived in patriarchal documents, were routinely written down. Although the demarcation of boundaries in fields was a significant ritual which involved cross processions, it was necessary at the same time to describe these boundaries in a document, a document that actually was the proof of the ownership of a property.³⁸

On the other hand, the language and vocabulary used in a document or a literary text should also be approached with caution. The Byzantine literary tradition is firmly connected with the classical tradition throughout its history. The language should, as much as possible, according to the principles of imitation, resemble the classical archetype. Common motifs are routinely repeated and in fact their successful use in the text is the aim of the author. One of the aims of Byzantine authors was to say the same things with different words each time or to use classical terms rather than actual contemporary ones (e.g. the Turks are commonly called ‘Persians’). It

from antiquity to the present (Oxford 1991), 59-70 and in the same volume K. Thomas, ‘Introduction’, 1-14 on the importance of gestures for historical societies.

³⁸ Actes Saint Panteleemon, 57-60. The study of gestures has come only very recently to the field of Byzantine studies. See L. Brubaker, ‘Gesture in Byzantium’, in M. Braddick (ed.), *The politics of gesture: historical perspectives* (Oxford 2009), 36-56; R. Macrides, ‘Expressions of hierarchy’, forthcoming in R. Macrides, J. Munitiz and D. Angelov, *Pseudo-Kodinos: The Constantinopolitan court offices and ceremonies* (Farnham 2013).

should be noted that motifs can be found not only in rhetorical passages but in historical narratives as well. For example in the twelfth century, in her account of the ‘heresy’ of the philosopher Ioannes Italos, the classically educated Anna Komnene denounces him, following the principles set by the ancient literary genre of *psogos*, as a barbarian, semi-educated and with other attributes, although we know that Italos was a subject of the emperor (albeit from Italy) and a highly educated man. Nevertheless, we can see that there are elements of truth in this *psogos*, even if certainly exaggerated. Italos was not a native Greek speaker and his accent was Italian influenced; he was not expert in rhetoric (the art of speech) and for the Byzantines, philosophy without rhetoric was imperfect. If we compare the *psogos* of Italos with another *psogos* in Komnene, such as the one on the senator Ioannes Solomon, we find that the latter does not include the standard motif of ‘barbarian origins’, since it could not be claimed for this particular man and would be completely false.³⁹ Therefore in any rhetorical account there is a basis in truth but we must be careful when we use Byzantine literary texts as sources for terminology and precise meaning.

The main contemporary literary works as sources for social structure and relations are the *Histories* of the emperor Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos and of Nikephoros Gregoras. The main advantage of the *History* of Kantakouzenos is that it is written by a person who was one of the leading persons of the government between 1320 and 1355, roughly the period covered by the account. Kantakouzenos is the protagonist of the work and he tries throughout the narrative to defend his actions. Although the work seems objective, in fact it has many deliberate omissions or perceptions of reality that differ from other authors’, which would better serve the purposes of the work and blacken his enemies. Whereas he tries to present his

³⁹ Anna Komnene, XII.V.3. She denounces him only for his semi-education and for his character.

character as wise and philanthropic and as that of one trying to govern by consent, in essence he betrays his reluctance and his lack of omnipotence. His characters are motivated either by magnanimity, piety, philanthropy, modesty or by vanity, avarice and greed and they are deceivers of the ‘good men’.⁴⁰ The *Roman History* of Gregoras begins with the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204 but becomes more detailed for the period between 1321 and 1359. Gregoras was a highly educated man and took part in the Hesychast controversy during the 1340s and 1350s. He was condemned by the Synod of 1351 and spent the rest of his life under house arrest. His characters are again motivated by the same principles, but they are presented in a less multifaceted way.⁴¹

In addition to the historical narratives of Kantakouzenos and Gregoras interesting insights on inter-personal relations are offered by the series of letters written by educated men. Among these we may include the letters of Demetrios Kydones, a native of Thessalonike and *mesazon* for several decades of two successive emperors: Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos (1347-1354) and Ioannes V Palaiologos (1356-1386). Like most of the authors of our period, Kydones was a member of a high born family; nevertheless at the same time we are told that his father had served Kantakouzenos. His letters are a valuable source of information both for political activities and intellectual pursuits in the second half of the fourteenth century.⁴² Rather different in tone are the letters of the patriarch Athanasios I (1289-1293 and

⁴⁰ H. Hunger, *Βυζαντινή λογοτεχνία: η λόγια κοσμική λογοτεχνία των ΒυζαντινώνΝ. Τόμος Β΄: ιστοριογραφία, φιλολογία, ποίηση* (Greek translation by T. Kolias, K. Synelli, G.Ch. Makris, I. Vassis) (Athens 2007), 312-326.

⁴¹ Hunger, *Βυζαντινή λογοτεχνία*, 297-312.

⁴² R.-J. Loenertz, ‘Démétrius Cydonès’, *OCP* 36 (1970), 47-72 and 37 (1971), 5-39. His letters have been edited again by R.-J. Loenertz (ed.), *Démétrius Cydonès correspondance* (Vatican City 1956-1960).

1303-1309) most of which are addressed to the emperor Andronikos II. Athanasios was an ascetic, rigid and conservative man, deeply concerned with moral integrity and care of the poor. Unlike the situation revealed by the letters of his predecessor Gregorios Kyprios (1283-1289), who similarly petitioned the emperor on several issues, Athanasios did not have the same large circle of ‘friends’ and supporters, especially in high literary circles and, as a consequence, he was despised by them (e.g. Gregoras) as semi-educated and ‘wild’. Therefore, his letters are important since they offer to us a different perspective and social attitude.⁴³ Different in content is the large collection of letters by Michael Gabras in the first third of the fourteenth century. Gabras, although a member of the intellectual circles of Constantinople, does not seem to have been economically well off. A large number of his letters are petitions for help to important members of the aristocracy, even for small matters like food for his horse; for this reason they reveal to us the attitude of a ‘lesser’ man.⁴⁴ Late in the same century the letters of the emperor Manouel II Palaiologos (1391-1425) and of the pro-Latin teacher Manouel Kalekas also offer to us valuable information regarding the intellectual circles of Constantinople and the political history of the empire. Byzantine epistolography is rarely informative; the letters by literati were considered ‘literature’ and are composed for this purpose. Consequently, they include a large number of conventions and motifs, and they flatter the recipient.⁴⁵

⁴³ A.-M. Maffry Talbot (ed.), *The correspondence of Athanasius I Patriarch of Constantinople* (Washington 1975), with an edition and English translation of his letters. See also Laiou, ‘Correspondence of Gregorios Kyprios’, 206-208.

⁴⁴ H. Hunger, *Βυζαντινή λογοτεχνία: η λόγια κοσμική λογοτεχνία των Βυζαντινών. Τόμος Α': φιλοσοφία, ρητορική, επιστολογραφία, γεωγραφία* (Greek translation by L.G. Benakis, I.V. Anastasiou, G.Ch. Makris) (Athens 2008), 346-348.

⁴⁵ For Byzantine epistolography and the conventions see M. Grünbart, *Forme der Anrede in byzantinischen Brief von 6. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert* (Vienna 2005); Hunger, *Βυζαντινή λογοτεχνία (τόμος Β')*, 301-357; G. Karlsson, *Idéologie et ceremonial dans l'épistolographie byzantine; texts du*

Homilies, religious sermons delivered (or simply composed), are an underrepresented source. Although they are full of spiritual advice and religious attitudes, homilies occasionally offer glimpses of social life and attitudes and sometimes they deal with questions of social balance and inequality.⁴⁶ Earlier *Lives* of saints have been used extensively in research concerning topics of social life, cultural values and religious attitudes. However, the fourteenth century does not see the production of new hagiographic material so much as the rewriting of older saints' Lives. The choice of the saint could be an important factor, if the saint's social background was important, but in fact the occasion of a feast, the construction of a new church or religious-political affiliations eventually determined the choice.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, there were also new saints' Lives in the fourteenth century, the analysis of which by R. Macrides and A. Laiou has produced valuable insights on social life in early Palaiologan period and on the background of the saints celebrated.⁴⁸

The fourteenth century was also an important period of codification, although not on the scale of the ninth to tenth centuries. The ceremonial treatise of Pseudo-Kodinos is an excellent example. The treatise describes the various court ceremonies, includes the lists of precedence of the officials and their dress. But the main field of codification was law. The codification of canon law by Matthaïos Blastares was the

Xe siècle analyses et commentés (Uppsala 1962) and now the introductory chapter by M. Mullett, 'Epistolography', in *The Oxford handbook of Byzantine studies* (eds. E. Jeffreys, J. Haldon, R. Cormack) (Oxford 2008), 882-893.

⁴⁶ On homilies see M. Cunningham, 'Homilies', in *Oxford Handbook*, 872-881.

⁴⁷ A.-M. Talbot, 'Old wine in new bottles: the rewriting of Saints' Lives in the Palaiologan Period', in S. Ćurčić and D. Mouriki (eds.), *The Twilight of Byzantium: aspects of cultural and religious history in the Late Byzantine Empire* (Princeton 1991), 15-26.

⁴⁸ A. Laiou-Thomadakis, 'Saints and society in the Late Byzantine Empire,' in A. Laiou-Thomadakis (ed.) *Charanis Studies: Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis* (New Brunswick 1980), 84-114; R. Macrides, 'Saints and sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period,' in S. Hackel (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint* (London 1981), 67-87.

first systematic work of this nature. In it he tried to reconcile canon and civil law. Around the same time Konstantinos Armenopoulos produced a simplified codification of civil law something that made the work quite popular in other Orthodox countries of Eastern Europe, while it survived in Greece as the civil law code until 1946. Perhaps these codifications can be connected with a general increasing interest in law and justice in the fourteenth century, starting with the last Byzantine law, the Novel of Andronikos II in 1306, a higher standard of law expertise (especially concerning the church court), the subsequent judicial reforms and more particularly the establishment of the *katholikai kritai of the Romaioi* (general judges) as the supreme court of the empire.⁴⁹

In addition to the literary sources there are the documentary sources. Byzantine documentary sources are not lacking but they cannot be compared with the rich material of Western Europe. Most of the archives we have, come from some monasteries that have survived to our day (the monastic communities of Mt Athos, Meteora, the monastery of Patmos and the monastery of St John Prodromos in Serres). These documents are concerned exclusively with the monastery's property or status. They are comprised of judicial acts (concerning the dispute over a piece of land), sale or donation documents, testaments, contracts, imperial documents (*χρυσόβουλλα*,

⁴⁹ Pitsakis claimed that Armenopoulos was not used during the late Byzantine period (K.G. Pitsakis, *Κωνσταντίνου Αρμενόπουλου Πρόχειρον Νόμων ή Εξάβιβλος* [Athens 1971]). The canon law chapters of Matthaios Blastares have been published in G.A. Ralles and M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα των θείων και ιερων κανόνων των τε αγίων και πανευφήμων αποστόλων, και των ιερων οικουμενικων και τοπικων συνόδων, και των κατα μέρος αγίων πατέρων* (Athens 1859). Schminck has established that both Armenopoulos and Blastares were used as sourcebooks for late Byzantine justice: A. Schminck, 'Wörtliche Zitate des weltlichen und kirchlichen Rechts im Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel', in E. Mitsiou, J. Preiser-Kapeller and Ch. Gastgeber (eds.), *The Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. A central source to the History and Church in Late Byzantium. Proceedings of the International Symposium* (Vienna 2012) in print. I thank him for kindly providing me his still unpublished lecture in Vienna in 2009.

προστάγματα etc.) and fiscal property inventories (*πρακτικά, κατάστιχα*) or of local state's administrators (e.g. *ἀπογραφεῖς*: tax assessors; *κεφαλαί*: local governors). The reason for the preservation of such a document is the constant ownership of the particular property by the monastery. Therefore, confiscations or future loss of a property seldom come to our notice. As a consequence, the documents are more numerous during the first half the fourteenth century, perhaps due to the continuous expansion of monastic properties. Afterwards they decrease, an indication of state confiscations.

The situation improves somewhat in the fourteenth century thanks to the increase of the Italian notarial acts from the maritime republics of Venice and Genoa, which are indispensable to the study of overseas and regional trade. They reveal the entrepreneurial activities of Italian merchants and their connections with their Byzantine associates or antagonists. Although these acts are strictly business transactions, they reveal names of Byzantine merchants and sometimes their level of wealth, information that is valuable for the present study.⁵⁰ The preservation of the acts of the patriarchal synod of the years 1315-1402 also contributes to the wealth of documentary sources. Unfortunately, these acts (749 documents) do not cover the full activity of the Synod, but only a small part of it and their distribution is uneven. Some years are not represented and a large number of the documents (177) come from the last two years of the register (December 1399 – January 1402) which coincides with the lengthy siege of Constantinople (1394-1402) by Sultan Bayezid.

Although our sources are relatively numerous, they have at the same time serious limitations. The profile of the authors of the literary works does not vary. The vast majority of them had relatively the same cultural concerns and belonged to the

⁵⁰ The edition of several of these documents can be found in M. Ballard, A. Laiou and C. Otten-Froux, *Les Italiens à Byzance. Édition et présentation de documents* (Paris 1987).

same closed literary circles of the empire. Regarding their social background, many of them were aristocrats, while the rest were of middle economic status, but they were not completely poor. The education they had received required financial assets, since education was private, usually provided by individual teachers. They resided primarily in the two largest cities of the empire, Constantinople and Thessalonike, although there were smaller centres of literary activity.⁵¹ Nevertheless, these sources allow remarks on the way Byzantine society functioned, at least on the high level, and how it was structured. Although any application of these remarks should be used with caution for the lower and middle strata of the population, we should remember, as we observed above, that the ideological system of social stratification is not simply imposed on the weak segment of the populace, but is negotiated and built with its consent. The documentary sources are not very helpful for the lower strata of society. As we mentioned, most of the monastic archives are of a purely economic content and since most of land had already been occupied by the wealthy classes since the twelfth century, it is extremely rare to encounter simple peasants or the poorer city inhabitants. The tax registers (*praktika*) may be very helpful for reconstructing patterns of inheritance and the peasant household, but they offer no real information on how the peasants constructed their social reality, how they actually lived, whether, despite the level of tax, they were relatively well-off or not, and how they (or even the landlord) himself viewed the social system of production.

⁵¹ The social profile of late Byzantine literati has been analysed by I. Ševčenko, 'Society and intellectual life in the fourteenth century', in *Actes du XIVe Congrès international des études byzantines, Bucarest 1971* (Bucharest 1974), 1: 69-92, and more recently and augmented by Matschke, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 221-385, who includes a large detailed list of Byzantine literati.

The problematic of the Byzantinists

In 1978 after approximately a century of Byzantine studies, Beck contemplated the absence of a social history of Byzantium.⁵² Thirty years later Haldon in the introduction to his collection of articles *A social history of Byzantium* still stigmatized the lack of a systematic study of the social history of Byzantium and mainly its theoretical aspect.⁵³ But the book itself, despite the promising theoretical introduction by Haldon, fails to reach its aim. Most of the articles are rather short and tend to summarize specific large topics of the social history of Byzantium.

However, the decades after World War II experienced an increase in all aspects of Byzantine history, and, more specifically, one of the main themes concerned the question of the integration of Byzantium into the scheme of Western feudalism. This attempt was directed by Marxist historians mainly in Communist Eastern Europe and its most important exponent was G. Ostrogorsky. According to this theory, there was a ‘Golden Age’ of Byzantium in the seventh to tenth centuries, when there was a predominance of free peasantry and the army was composed of peasant-soldiers. The period following the failure to restrain the development of great landownership was seen as a period of decline for Byzantium.⁵⁴ In addition,

⁵² H.-G. Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* (München 1978), 232.

⁵³ J. Haldon (ed.), *A social history of Byzantium* (Oxford 2009), 2.

⁵⁴ G. Ostrogorsky, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (Bruxelles 1954); G. Ostrogorsky, *Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine* (Bruxelles 1956). See also E. Bibicou-Antoniadi, ‘Προβλήματα της φεουδαρχίας στο Βυζάντιο’, *Επιστημονική Σκέψη* 1 (1981), 31-41; M. Sjuzjumov, ‘Некоторые проблемы исторического развития Византии и Запада’, *IV* 35 (1973), 3-18; Z. Udal’cova, ‘À propos de la genèse du féodalisme à Byzance (comment se pose le problème)’, *Recherches International à la lumière du marxisme* 79 (1974), 31-50; E. Werner, ‘Gesellschaft und Kultur im XIVen Jahrhundert: sozial-ökonomischen fragen’, in *Actes du XIVe Congrès international des études byzantines, Bucarest 1971* (Bucarest 1974), 1: 31-49. The bibliography for Byzantine feudalism would need a book to contain.

Ostrogorsky himself and other Marxist historians not only connected Byzantium with the economic aspects of feudalism as defined by Marxism (i.e. roughly, the producing population is tied to the land and pays rent to the landlord) but strove to stress the growth of ties of dependence among the aristocrats, the development of retinues. They focused on the tax and judicial immunity which the great landlords tried to receive from the state as evidence for the breakdown of central authority.⁵⁵

The theory had a great impact on Byzantine history. Nevertheless, already during the lifetime of Ostrogorsky serious opposition to the theory of feudalism was raised, mainly by P. Lemerle.⁵⁶ The last years of the 1970s and the first years of the 1980s can be considered to form a transitional period for Byzantine studies. H. Ahrweiler while studying the society of the eleventh century, was reluctant to use the term feudalism.⁵⁷ The change in approach is accomplished by the publication of Laiou's book on the peasant society of Macedonia, which made use for the first time

⁵⁵ G. Ostrogorsky, 'Some observations on Byzantine aristocracy', *DOP* 25 (1971), 1-33. See also J. Ferluga, 'La ligesse dans l' empire byzantin', *ZRVI* 7 (1961), 97-123; N. Oikonomides, 'Liens de vassalité dans un apanage byzantin du XIIe siècle', in I. Ševčenko and I. Hutter (ed.), *Aetos: studies in honour of Cyril Mango presented to him on April 14, 1998* (Leipzig 1998), 257-263. More recently E. Patlagean, *Un Moyen Âge grec: Byzance IXe – XVe siècle* (Paris 2007) has tried to return to the theory of Byzantine feudalism, by comparing it to the different types of feudalism present in Europe as identified by modern research. Her discussion of the matter however deteriorates into a rather large descriptive narrative of three developments in Byzantium: the rise of the importance of the nuclear family (83-162), the growth of ties of dependence (163-194) and the familiar subject of the breakdown of imperial authority and the emergence of aristocratic families (195-372). E. Patlagean, 'Τοδικόν. Note sur la propriété allodiale à Byzance', in A. Avramea, A. Laiou and E. Chrysos (eds.), *Byzantium: state and society; in memory of Nikos Oikonomides* (Athens 2003), 423-434 has written also against the notion of full private property in late Byzantium. She believes that even the term *γονικόν* refers to conditional landholding with the right of transmission and thus she returns to the old theory by A.P. Kazhdan, 'State, feudal and private economy in Byzantium', *DOP* 47 (1993), 83-100.

⁵⁶ P. Lemerle, *The agrarian history of Byzantium from the origins to the twelfth century. The sources and problems* (Galway 1979).

⁵⁷ H. Ahrweiler, 'Recherches sur la société byzantine au XIe siècle: nouvelles hiérarchies et nouvelles solidarités', *TM* 6 (1976), 99-124 (here at 118).

in Byzantine history of statistical data from the tax registries of the fourteenth century.⁵⁸ Likewise, Patlagean's book on poverty in early Byzantium was orientated towards a structuralist approach of history, by denying the application of modern concepts and categorisations and adhering rather to the terminology of the sources.⁵⁹ But more important is the contribution of Kazhdan's series of lectures which called for a new orientation of Byzantine history towards New History, an orientation which should be directed towards new questions of the sources and the use of neglected sources (e.g. Saints' Lives). He wanted to find what he called 'homo Byzantinus', how a Byzantine common man behaved, how he lived, what were his ideas on the world, society and literature. Traditional historical topics such as diplomacy, political history and institutions were to be examined in the light of these new questions.⁶⁰ Although many of his arguments in the book regarding 'homo byzantinus' were not followed by Byzantinists, his plea had serious repercussions for the research field. The study of the institution of family, gender studies, fashion or ecology are topics that appeared for the first time in Byzantine studies or at least it was after the appearance of *People and power* that they proliferated.⁶¹

⁵⁸ A. Laiou, *Peasant society in the late Byzantine Empire: a social and demographic study* (Princeton 1977).

⁵⁹ E. Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance 4e-7e siècles* (Paris 1977).

⁶⁰ Kazhdan, *People and power*, 15-18. The publication of this book and his appeal for a New History hid the importance of Beck's important contributions to various fields of cultural history and better understanding Byzantium and the 'homo byzantinus'. See the thematic studies in Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend*.

⁶¹ The first treatment of Byzantine women was in essence by A. Laiou, 'The role of women in Byzantine society', *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress*, Wien, 4-9 Oktober 1981, Akten I/1, (= *JÖB* 31/1) (Vienna 1981), 233-260, who still spoke of limited treatment of women. Since then the gap has been filled by a large volume of studies. Research has also been directed to family and the patterns of inheritance: see the introductory chapters by A. Laiou, 'Family structure and transmission of patrimony', in *A social history of Byzantium*, 51-75; R.J. Macrides, 'Family and kinship', *Oxford handbook*, 652-660.

The aristocracy has been the second favourite subject of Byzantinists in social history (after feudalism), perhaps the main reason being the nature of our sources. One of the main characteristics of Byzantine aristocracy, and the reason for the extensive literature on it, is the lack of a definition of aristocracy in Byzantium. Aristocracy is commonly confused with three other social constructions: the nobility, the elite and the dominant class. The dominant or the powerful social group is usually an economic-social definition referring to those layers of society which own the means of production, which are economically dominant and therefore share also political power. This distinction is usually from a Marxist perspective and has certain truth in it, since economic power is usually accompanied by political power as well. But on the other hand, in our time as well as in the pre-modern period there are examples of people without economic power, who in fact exercised political influence and vice versa.⁶² Although the distinction between dominant and subordinated classes can be useful in certain respects, it does not help to distinguish the different social and political power that different members or groups of the dominant or subordinated classes enjoyed. Close to the concept of dominant class is the concept of social elite. The theory of the elites in fact was created in opposition to the Marxist concept of ruling class, the connotations of which entails economic dominance by a certain group of people. The elite in sociology came in fact to designate those that rule. A smaller part of the elite, the governing or 'power elite', came to designate those of the elite who in fact took an active part in government.⁶³

⁶² In the case of Byzantium, one can mention the hermits or the *stylites* of Late Antiquity, who, although poor, exercised significant social influence and power.

⁶³ The theory of elites was first formulated by V. Pareto, *Treatise on General Sociology* (New York 1963), 1422-1424. See also T. Bottomore, *Élites and society* (London and New York 1993); E. Carlton, *The few and the many: a typology of elites* (Aldershot 1996), 1-32, who has also a chapter on elitism by

Nobility is more a legal social category. It implies a long tradition of generations of title and office holding and more or less legally (or at least customary) defined privileges over the other social categories. Therefore, after the abolition of the hereditary status of senator in the Roman Empire around the middle of the fifth century (when senatorial status was recognised solely for the rank of *illustris*, and which could only be accorded through office-holding or imperial grace), nobility in Europe declined. In fact, European nobility was created in the twelfth century, around the same time that feudalism was invented, and was then connected to fief holding.⁶⁴ In the case of Byzantium, researchers have identified the absence of nobility.⁶⁵

Last but not least, aristocracy is yet another concept. The concept is commonly connected to nobility, but in fact nobility, as we shall see, one of the characteristics of an aristocratic social group. Six main criteria have been identified for an aristocrat: distinction of ancestry; landed wealth; position in an official hierarchy; imperial or

selection, having as case study the Byzantine bureaucracy (p. 59-71); C. Wright Mills, *The power elite* (Oxford 1956).

⁶⁴ The evolution of European aristocracy to a juridically defined nobility by the Late Middle Ages has been described by Bloch, *Feudal society*, volume 2, see the chapter XXIV (p. 42 ff.); L. Genicot, 'La noblesse au Moyen Age dans l'ancienne "Francie": continuité, rupture ou evolution?', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5 (1962), 52-59, who also argues that there is direct continuity with the High Middle Ages, when 'noble' rights were defined by their right of immunity and lordship. See also his discussion of the rich debate on the topic: L. Genicot, 'La noblesse au Moyen Age dans l'ancienne 'Francie'', *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 17 (1962), 1-22. On the privileges of European nobility see M.L. Bush, *Noble privilege* (London 1983). On the contrary when someone studies a modern era like E. Wasson, *Aristocracy and the modern world* (London 2006), 9, can claim without knowledge of other nobilities and aristocracies before the modern world that 'aristocrats were noble'.

⁶⁵ An exception is R. Guiland, 'La noblesse byzantine. Remarques', *REB* 24 (1966), 40-57 and idem, 'La noblesse de race à Byzance', *Byzantinoslavica* 9 (1948), 307-314, identified as the senatorial class. Besides, modern research has clearly noted the sharp differentiation between the nobility and the knighthood in Western Europe: J. Flori, *L'essor de la chevalerie, XIe-XIIIe siècle* (Paris and Geneva 1987) and after him T. Evergates, 'Nobles and knights in twelfth-century France', in T.N. Bisson (ed.), *Cultures of power: lordship, status and process in twelfth-century Europe* (Cambridge 1995), 11-35.

royal favour; recognition by other political leaders; and lifestyle.⁶⁶ Not all the criteria are present in every aristocracy and in different periods or to the same degree. But there is one main criterion that is indispensable if we want to talk about aristocracy and not an elite or dominant class: continuity in terms of successive generations of office-holding and/or control and possession of sources of wealth (i.e. the criterion of ancestry).

Perhaps the best definition of Byzantine aristocracy is Haldon's definition of the Byzantine elite:

[those who] occupied a social and economic situation, which either reflected, or ensured access to, senior positions in state and church, social esteem from their peers, the ability to transmit their social, economic, and cultural capital to their offspring, and the ability to control resources in terms of land and its products, manpower and movable wealth.⁶⁷

Byzantinists have tried to identify the main criteria for the designation of the Byzantine aristocracy in the sources and have identified four of them: ancestry, office in the imperial or church hierarchy, wealth and merit.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ See C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Medieval Ages; Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford 2005), 153-155.

⁶⁷ Haldon, 'Social elites', 171.

⁶⁸ The first who did this analytical work was G. Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*, 5-8 and 54-60. A. Yannopoulos, *La société profane dans l'empire byzantine des VIIe, VIIIe et IXe siècles* (Louvain 1975), has also focused on the importance of each of the first three elements in his attempt to analyse the higher echelons of Byzantine society. Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend*, 249-253 questioned the use of the term 'aristocracy' and put weight on the significance of office holding rather than 'noble' descent. M. Angold, 'Introduction', in Angold, *The Byzantine aristocracy*, 1, has also noted the close connection between ruling class and aristocracy. A. Kazhdan and S. Ronchey, *L'aristocrazia bizantina dal principio dell' XI alla fine del XII secolo* (Palermo 1997), 67-93 has added the merit/value criterion and he was followed by Matschke. On the discussion see also I. Antonopoulou, 'La question de

Kazhdan's other important study was *The social composition of the Byzantine ruling class, 11th-12th centuries*, which first appeared in Russian and for this reason remained unknown to the general public for a long time, apart from a summary by I. Sorlin. Kazhdan's study was very important. Instead of presenting the usual theme of the expansion of great landownership (already a fact) and the relations between the state and the aristocracy, it focused on the thorough analysis of the Byzantine aristocracy, by trying to learn for the eleventh and twelfth centuries what elements defined membership to aristocracy. Secondly, he tried to divide this aristocracy on the basis of function (his main division being military – civil aristocracy) and thirdly, according to the importance of an office in the state hierarchy, he attributed points of eminence to all office-holding families (on a scale 1-5) in an attempt to define the continuity and the prominence of aristocratic families.⁶⁹ Around the same time a number of other studies focusing on the analysis of Byzantine aristocracy appeared. The analysis of Byzantine society and its division into groups and their role and place in Byzantine society between seventh to ninth centuries was undertaken by Yannopoulos⁷⁰ and Winkelmann's analysis of the Byzantine ruling class of the eighth to ninth centuries, somehow fill the gap.⁷¹

l'aristocratie byzantine: remarques sur l'ambivalence du terme 'aristocratie' dans la recherche historique contemporaine', *Symmeikta* 15 (2002), 257-264.

⁶⁹ A.P. Kazhdan, *Социальный состав господствующего класса Византии XI – XII вв.* (Moscow 1974), and the summary I. Sorlin, 'Bulletin Byzantino-slave: publications Sovietiques sur le XIe siecle', *TM* 6 (1976), 367-380 and the Italian translation Kazhdan, *L' aristocrazia bizantina*. See also the review by J.-C. Cheynet, 'The Byzantine aristocracy in the tenth – twelfth centuries: a review of the book by A.-P. Kazhdan and S. Ronchey', in J.-C. Cheynet, *The Byzantine Aristocracy and its military function* (Aldershot 2006), II: 1-28.

⁷⁰ Yannopoulos, *La société profane*.

⁷¹ F. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien zur herrschendern Klasse von Byzanz im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1987).

The direction of social history shifted to a discussion of the so-called opposition between the ‘πολιτικόν γένος’ (civil aristocracy) and the ‘στρατιωτικόν’ (military aristocracy), which had been identified by Ostrogorsky and had become classic for Byzantine history. The opposition was seen to represent not only the struggle for power of a party, but, even more, different cultural perspectives (military to civil court ethos), different areas of origin (the civil aristocracy from Constantinople and the military from the provinces) different sources of wealth (landed wealth for the military families and real estate or movable wealth for the civil aristocracy), and different perspectives of state organization (the military families opposed to the centralised tendencies that the court and civil families promoted). The civil aristocracy was seen as having dropped to second rank after the victory of Alexios I Komnenos, the exponent of military aristocracy. The same opposition was seen to take place in the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos between the rising civil bureaucratic families (Choumnos, Metochites, etc.) and the great landowning military families.⁷² Unfortunately, the evidence from the sources has many times been distorted in order to be made to fit in the picture. It was first Weiss, who tried on the basis of the evidence from Psellos to deny the clustering into these two categories of the aristocracy.⁷³ Cheynet, without denying the existence of these two groups, in his most important analysis of the revolts and movements in the eleventh-twelfth centuries, the opposing groups and their alliances, rejected the theory of a struggle between them. He reasoned that at that time the distinction between the aristocratic

⁷² Apart from Ostrogorsky for the development of this theory see S. Vryonis, ‘Byzantium: the social basis of decline in the eleventh century’, *GRBS* 2 (1959), 159-175. However, it is Kazhdan who analysed and elaborated the theory in Kazhdan, *Aristocrazia bizantina*, all his second chapter in passim. Also the analysis of Ahrweiler, ‘Recherches sur la société’, 102-108, who insists though on the fluidity of the two categories.

⁷³ G. Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (München 1973), 92-97.

families was blurred and there was intermarriage among them to the point that it is impossible to identify a family tradition for each one.⁷⁴ The question of this opposition will preoccupy the further analysis of my study.

In contrast to the middle Byzantine, the Palaiologan aristocracy has not received the attention and analysis it deserves. Although the question of the social aspects of the second civil war received two special monographs by Weiss and Matschke, with the monograph by Weiss examining in full analysis the internal structure of the party of Kantakouzenos and his retinue (*Gefolgschaftswesen*),⁷⁵ the first study specifically devoted to the late Byzantine aristocracy was an article by A. Laiou in 1973. Although its size is relatively small, its scope, i.e. the first synthesis and approach to Palaiologan aristocracy, is successful. Laiou defines the Byzantine aristocracy mainly economically: they were the *powerful*, those that were in ‘possession of [large amount] of land’. As such, she divides them into two groups: the great families and the families of the provincial aristocracy ‘up to the vicinity of revenues of eighty *hyperpyra* per year’, and then the small *pronoia*-holders ‘up to the minimum observed revenues of 12 *hyperpyra*’. The second conclusion of the synthesis by Laiou is that the Byzantine aristocracy was in fact the major factor in the decentralisation of the Byzantine Empire.⁷⁶ Research on Byzantine aristocracy thereafter focused on the entrepreneurial activities of the Byzantine aristocracy.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance* (Paris 1990), 191-198. His argument remained unchallenged thereafter. See also W.E. Kaegi, ‘The controversy about bureaucratic and military factions’, *BF* 19 (1993), 25-33. Nevertheless the categorisation, albeit not the opposition between the two parties, remained: see *ODB*, entry ‘Aristocracy’ (by M. Bartusis).

⁷⁵ Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*; Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*.

⁷⁶ A.E. Laiou, ‘The Byzantine aristocracy in the Palaeologan period: a story of arrested development’, *Viator* 4 (1973), 131-151.

⁷⁷ See above note 6.

Nevertheless, systematic analysis of the late Byzantine aristocracy until recently was lacking. The doctoral thesis by Kyritses in 1997, although unpublished and difficult to access,⁷⁸ came to fill the void, up to ca. 1350, where his analysis stops. Kyritses followed Kazhdan by analysing Byzantine aristocracy in terms of office and title holding and divided it into two groups: the high military aristocracy (i.e. he identifies military as the leading segment of aristocracy) and the civil aristocracy, noting moreover that there is no evidence for opposition between the two groups.⁷⁹ The other significant argument of his thesis is the observation that Byzantine aristocracy was closedminded, did not develop any ‘class consciousness’ and each individual family promoted the interests of its narrow circle. A second important study for the late Byzantine aristocracy came from K.-P. Matschke integrated as one of the three main themes of his book *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*. Matschke also divides the aristocracy into military and civil (or bureaucracy as he calls it), but in accordance with his earlier writings, he recognises a competition for power between the two groups, the second one struggling to empower the state machine vis-à-vis the high aristocracy, which, in turn, struggled to obtain and enlarge its privileges.⁸⁰

More focused studies appeared later on, filling somehow the gap. Necipoğlu analysed the aristocracy of Thessalonike in the last century of the empire and she

⁷⁸ Kyritses, *Late Byzantine aristocracy*. Apart from the original kept in Harvard, there is only one other copy, that in the University of Birmingham’s Library. A second restriction is the non-treatment of ecclesiastical aristocracy, although in a sub-chapter he has examined the relation of church officials to the secular aristocracy.

⁷⁹ He adds a third category of ‘entrepreneurs’, i.e. the men who farmed out tax collection, but I cannot separate them from the civil aristocracy. He also tried to divide the offices into military and civil, but the evidence is not always conclusive, a problem that he mentions as well.

⁸⁰ Matschke, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 15-98. The second important aspect of his book is the almost exhaustive analysis of the engagement of the Byzantine aristocracy in trade.

includes a most useful table of all those mentioned as *archontes* in our sources.⁸¹ In another monograph she analysed the political attitude of the aristocracy (and, in general, of all the Byzantines) between ca. 1370-1460 in the face of the Ottoman and Latin expansion,⁸² while at the same time Kiousopoulou analysed the political and cultural identities and behaviour of the aristocracy in the fifteenth century.⁸³

Even though the aristocracy has been the favourite subject of the Byzantinists, little research has been directed at ascertaining what the Byzantines thought of their society and how they viewed it; what were the criteria according to which they divided it; under what concepts, mentalities did Byzantine society function in total; how did political ideology or cultural phenomena help in the function and formation of Byzantine society or, vice versa, how were they reflected through the prism of Byzantine society? It was perhaps Beck who first consistently tried to understand the Byzantines, to analyse their preoccupations, to search out how they thought and what was the effect of all these elements on Byzantine culture. Although his contribution to the knowledge of Byzantine culture is significant, he produced little work on social relations and structure. Nevertheless, it was he that stressed the openness of Byzantine society and who tried to interpret the theological debates not through the prism of social or political divisions but more as self-standing philosophical phenomena. It was he who first stressed the importance of followers and retinues, formations that were both vertically and horizontally structured, and he that regarded the literati of the empire as something akin to a self-standing 'cast'.⁸⁴ But Kazhdan was the first who undertook the task of consistently describing Byzantine society under a new

⁸¹ N. Necipoğlu, 'The aristocracy in Late Byzantine Thessalonike: a case study of the city's *archontes* (late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries), *DOP* 57 (2003), 133-151.

⁸² Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*.

⁸³ Kiousopoulou, *Basileus*.

⁸⁴ See his chapter on the Byzantine society: Beck, *Jahrtausend*, 232-256.

perspective, under certain traits that he identified. For Kazhdan, Byzantine society lacked social hierarchy (mainly he compared it with the Western case) and theoretically all people under the emperor were equal. He proceeded further by arguing that the main trait of Byzantine society was individualism, the lack of any developed social horizontal or vertical ties and, subsequently, of social groups apart from the nuclear family. Kazhdan integrated his argument with his explanation of many social and cultural phenomena of Byzantium.⁸⁵ His theory attracted more critics than acceptance; the evidence that he presented is criticised as being controversial or exaggerated.

In the Byzantine Congress of Vienna in 1981, Matschke presented an interesting paper on the importance of *mentalités* (*Geisteshaltungen*) for the study of Byzantine society and social structure. In this short article he mentions the problematic of the Byzantinists regarding the social structure of Byzantium; he stresses that Byzantium was not alien to the notion of hierarchy (answering to Kazhdan); he refers to the special characteristic of the openness of Byzantine society and to the principle of equality, which was seen as natural, although later on, after the twelfth century, inequality was seen also as a normal phenomenon; he stresses the importance of the poor-powerful model for the social division of Byzantium; and he analyses the emergence of aristocracy and the changing criteria of its definition.⁸⁶ Both Matschke and Kazhdan represent a first approach to the nature of Byzantine society but their efforts were not continued.

But are we allowed to use terms such as ‘society’, ‘social structure’, ‘class’ etc., for Byzantium, when it is a fact that the Byzantines did not have the notion of

⁸⁵ Kazhdan, *People and power in Byzantium*. He had already expressed some ideas, although not in a consistent way, while he was in Russia.

⁸⁶ K.-P. Matschke, ‘Sozialschichten und Geisteshaltungen’, *JÖB* 31/1 (1981), 198-212.

these terms? This is the approach of structuralism and it has received criticism on this point.⁸⁷ But these terms are not simple constructions that could be applied everywhere or change their meaning in order to overcome ambivalences in evidence. They should help us better to understand these societies. It is a fact; the Byzantines did not have a concept of class, but they did describe their ‘society’ in terms of economic dominance (see the first chapter). Conversely, take, for example, the concept of feudalism that has so many times been discussed in Byzantine studies and not only there. Even if we accept the so-called ‘tributary or feudal mode of production’ as the notion of feudalism and not the relations of dependence and hierarchy that developed in Western Europe, I do not believe that it helps us better to understand Byzantium and the complexities of the relations of production in such a monolithic manner. Besides, it is also a mistake to apply or change the connotations of a concept to fit something that we observe. We cannot simply apply the concept of Constitution to the constantly changing traditions of Byzantine political order or to the Byzantine political culture. This creates dangers of misunderstanding and anachronism.

In the first chapter of the dissertation - which follows - there will be an analysis of the system through which the Byzantines perceived and structured the social stratification of inequality in their society. Subsequently, in the second chapter we will examine the ideological infrastructure, the mechanisms and the concepts through which Byzantine society regulated and perceived this social stratification, and the possibilities of resistance to this social structure or of social ascent. In the third chapter there will be examined the horizontal divisions and groups persistent in Byzantine society and the influence they exerted on it. In the fourth chapter there are

⁸⁷ J. Haldon, ‘On the structuralist approach to the social history of Byzantium’, *Byzantinoslavica* 42 (1981), 203-211, specifically referring to the case of Patlagean.

discussed more specific matters which concerned the structuring of Byzantine society: the material means through which social inequality was realised, the relations that persisted in the countryside of Late Byzantium and the influence that the two great institutions of the time, the State and the Church, exerted on Byzantine society.

Because many aspects of these phenomena are only analysed briefly in the opening chapters, I have found it more productive to focus on specific case studies as a way of building up a complete picture of the Byzantine social structure in the fourteenth century. In the end, the thorough analysis of these case studies produced the most important theses of my work. The case studies focus on: a provincial society (Serres) in terms of identification and analysis of all social groups present in the area and the relations among them and the central authority; the landmark of the fourteenth century, the second civil war, and the social tendencies that it supposedly produced; and thirdly, the society at the centre of the empire, Constantinople, around 1400, at the end of the period analysed.

II. THE STRUCTURE OF LATE BYZANTINE SOCIETY

A. THE BYZANTINE SOCIAL ‘PYRAMID’

The rich and the poor, the archontes and the demos

The origins of the division between rich and poor (*πλούσιος* and *πένης* or *πτωχός*) can be traced back to Late Antiquity to the division of *honestiores* and *humiliores*. The components of this division could be expressed with different designations. In the middle Byzantine period the main division was between *δυνατός* and *πένητας*, where the *δυνατός* had become a legal term defined by the Novel of Romanos I Lekapenos.⁸⁸ According to Patlagean, who studied poverty in the fourth to seventh centuries, the term *πένητας* is technical, designating those who work but still have fiscal obligations, whereas the term *πτωχός* is usually used for those in need of charity.⁸⁹ An examination of the use of these terms in the fourteenth century would reveal that they are used interchangeably, although *πτωχός* might have a stronger connotation.⁹⁰ Moreover, the term *πτωχός* can be met perhaps more often than *πένης* in theological – homiletic works, while *πένης* is preferred in other literary genres. This division between rich and poor is in force in many works of the fourteenth century

⁸⁸ Zepos, I, 209. See also for discussion of this division by R. Morris, ‘The powerful and the poor in tenth-century Byzantium: law and reality’, *Past and Present* 73 (1976), 3-27.

⁸⁹ Patlagean, *Pauvreté*, 11-36.

⁹⁰ See for example in Theoktistos Stoudites, *Life of Patriarch Athanasios*, 43-44: a certain Christodoulos was ordered to deliver grain to ‘*penetes*’ while these are latter called ‘*ptochoi*’.

and has a special importance. Thus, when Patriarch Athanasios refers to ‘all the people’, he means ‘the kings, the rich and the poor’.⁹¹

More concrete information allows us to build up a portrait of the poor and the rich. The most important text providing information about the ‘πλούσιους and πένητες’ is the famous ‘Dialogue between a Rich man and a Poor man’ of Alexios Makrembolites edited by I. Ševčenko in 1960. The Poor man of Makrembolites was not a beggar. He was a manual labourer, a builder, an artisan who worked hard for a living. The Rich man is less easy to identify. He does not seem to work personally; his main worry is how to maintain the wealth he has amassed which is in danger because of thieves and of confiscations. He has servants, big houses, abundance of material goods and fields. The wealth of the Rich man is said to stem from trade (ἐμπορία), from powerful position (δυναστεία), from seizure (άρπαγή), from knowledge (ἐπιστήμη) and moderation (ἐγκράτεια). In addition, the Rich man claims that those who ‘belong to both extremes’ (ἄκρα), i.e. the very poor and the very rich men, are responsible for greed and for all mistreatments and not himself who belongs to the middle (μεσότης). Based on this claim, and the fact that trade is a source of his wealth, Ševčenko believes that he is none other than a *mesos*, a member of the rising urban middle class, the bourgeoisie.⁹² But, leaving aside for the moment the problem arising from the designation *mesos*, still it seems that we may not speak of the Rich man as belonging to the middle class. He owned fields and he could use his powerful position, i.e. his office,⁹³ characteristics that a middle class person was not normally

⁹¹ Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*, 118.

⁹² Ševčenko, ‘Dialogue’, 200-202. On the contrary L. Maksimović, ‘“Богаташи” Алексија Макремволита’ (with German translation in the end: ‘Die Reichen des Makrembolites’), *ZRVI* 20 (1981), 99-109 believes that the Rich man was a member of the high aristocracy.

⁹³ The term *δυναστεία* commonly means abuse by officials who have authority to act thus. See also E. Saradi, ‘On the “archontike” and “ekklestastike dynasteia” and “prostasia” in Byzantium with

supposed to have. Moreover, it is possible that the designation of *μεσότης* here could mean not the person of middle economic standing or the man belonging to the middle class, but simply the modest person, in accordance with the Aristotelian principle of *μεσότης* and *αὐτάρκεια* (autarky), in contrast to greed (*ἀπληστία*). To summarise, I do not believe that the Rich man is a person of a specific social group, i.e. a member of the aristocracy or the middle class. Makrembolites had probably targeted the wealthy people of the capital regardless of their source of wealth or their social position.

Thus, if we accept the division of ‘rich and poor’, as a continuation of the powerful and poor of the middle Byzantine period, we then come close to the Marxist division of social classes, those that own the means of production and those that must sell their labour.

Additional information allows us to review economic power as the main difference between the two groups. Poor is not always contrasted to rich. The patriarch Athanasios once juxtaposed a poor man to a notable (*ὀνομαστός*)⁹⁴ and Gregoras contrasts poverty with both wealth and glory.⁹⁵ Besides, a wealthy man is commonly connected not only to wealth, as we would expect, but also to glory, honours (titles and offices) and noble birth.⁹⁶ The three elements (wealth, noble birth and honours) are thus closely connected.

particular attention to the legal sources: a study in social history of Byzantium’, *Byzantion* 64 (1994), 69-117 and 314-351.

⁹⁴ Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*, 268.

⁹⁵ Gregoras, II, 807.

⁹⁶ Konstantinos Akropolites, *Life of St Theodosia*, col. 897B; Gregoras, I, 65, 175, 190, 428, 438, 548, 551; II, 585, 594, 613, 680, 765; III, 97-98, 111; Kantakouzenos, I, 134; II, 235. For the growth of the importance of good birth as a characteristic of the aristocracy in the late period see Angold, ‘Introduction’, 2-4; A.-P. Kazhdan, *Change in Byzantine culture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (London 1985), 102-110; Laiou, ‘Byzantine aristocracy’, 136-137; Matschke, ‘Sozialschichten und Geisteshaltungen’, 202-203.

This brings about one more criterion for the social division of society: political power. The sources of the fourteenth century are quite explicit in recognising a high layer of society not only in Constantinople but in the provincial cities as well, called the *archontes* or the *en telei* or the *aristoi* or, less often, the *dynatoi* (i.e. ‘those that rule’, ‘those on offices’, ‘the best’ or ‘the powerful’). The *archontes* are those that are usually summoned to make decisions; they are called as ‘worthy witnesses’ in a sale contract; they participate in important lay trials in the provinces beside the governor; they are the ones that have political power in their hands; they have titles and offices; they have large personal property and they own *pronoiai* for their military or administrative service.

The *archontes* then are the upper class of the empire. In order to classify them as an aristocracy, we should determine whether continuity of wealth and political power actually existed over generations. The connection of birth to wealth and honours is quite a significant element. Although social ascent was something still possible (see Chapter II.B), in general a survey of the people who occupied the titles and the posts in the Palaiologan period would reveal that there is a strong degree of family continuity in the occupation of the empire’s military, administrative, judicial, financial and ecclesiastical offices. Offices in their turn brought additional wealth to the occupant not only because they implied an income in the form of *pronoia* or of wage, but because there were also possibilities enriching oneself through the opportunities present in most offices (‘gifts’, plunder from a war, tax farming, proximity to the imperial or patriarchal (or metropolitan’s) court), which brought prospects for additional privileges or higher positions. Wealth also brought the opportunity for the acquisition of titles or greater connections to influential people. Besides, the families that occupied these posts and possessed this wealth used to

intermarry among themselves. Wealth alone made it possible for someone to contract a beneficial marriage (either for himself or for his immediate family) to an already established family and, thus, perpetuate the occupation of significant offices and sources of wealth.

At the same time, while good birth (i.e. nobility) was a condition ever more present in the sources, the aristocrats never evolved into a legal category defined by birth. But this was not a failure of the legal system of the empire. There were legal categories of people, namely priests, *paroikoi* and, less common in late Byzantium, slaves. Even the *archontes* were practically a legal category since they seem to have enjoyed special privileges. These privileges might not involve into the privileges of the Western medieval aristocracy: lordship, immunity and a special judicial status. Lordship and immunities were elements present in late Byzantium but were not connected to a specific social group. These were either a special privilege granted by the emperor to a specific individual or, in the case of lordship, included in the grant of an *oikonomia*, which was in principle again temporal. It is extremely rare for the government to concede in full its rights to an individual, even with respect to defense of an area.⁹⁷ Although it was specified that senators could only be judged by senators, it should be recalled that membership to the senate depended essentially on occupation of a higher office and that the senators themselves were subject to the judgment of the tribunal of the *katholikai kritai*, established after 1329.⁹⁸ Moreover

⁹⁷ The case of the *parakoimomenos* Manouel Sergopoulos is the only example I know of. The emperor (either Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos or Ioannes V) conceded to him the isle of Prokonnesos in Propontis. The concession involved all rights of the state: all the taxes from the island including the *kommerkion*; preemption rights on purchasing of products on the island; defence and military conscription on the island: P. Magdalino, 'An unpublished pronoia grant of the second half of the fourteenth century', *ZRVI* 18 (1978), 155-163 (the document at 156-157).

⁹⁸ E. Schilbach, 'Die Hypotyposis von der Καθολικὴ κριταὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων', *BZ* 61 (1968), 44-70 (here at 52); Zepos, I, 581-583.

none of the abovementioned ‘legal’ (or occupational) categories were defined by birth or heredity, but they were a status connected to the person or the occupation. Consequently, the failure to identify birth as the sole criterion for membership in a social category is not the failure of a different legal tradition but a failure of the social mentality.

The *archontes* should be distinguished from the simple soldiers. In fact there are other cases in which the soldiers are contrasted to both the *archontes* and the *demos*. Kantakouzenos clearly differentiates the two saying that during the first civil war the soldiers were concerned that ‘their own *archontes*’ would betray them.⁹⁹ In a chrysobull of Andronikos II, granting immunity to the properties of the monastery of Chilandar, he distinguishes the following groups: *προσγενεῖς ἄρχοντες* (*archontes* relatives of the emperor), *ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες* (other *archontes*), *στρατιῶται* (soldiers), *ἄλλοι πάντες κοσμικοί* (every other layman), *ἐκκλησιαστικοί* (church dignitaries) or *μοναστηριακοί* (monastic lords).¹⁰⁰ Then, soldiers are considered different than any *archon*.

These differences are not purely based on semantics. In Late Byzantium there were two types of soldiers: mercenaries and *pronoia*-holders. Unfortunately we have no evidence for the rate of the mercenaries’ wage in Byzantium, but it is possible that there was no great difference with its neighbours. Thus, the payment of a mercenary in Venetian Crete was established between 1.9 to 5.2 ducats per month (i.e. 4 to 10 *nomismata*) but a mercenary was not expected to serve all the time; he usually served for merely some months.¹⁰¹ The second type of soldiers, the *pronoia*-holders, did not have the same income. Demetrios Deblitzenos for example had an *oikonomia* of 400

⁹⁹ Kantakouzenos, I, 107.

¹⁰⁰ Actes Chilandar I, 269.

¹⁰¹ See Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 151-153.

hyperpyra;¹⁰² Nikolaos Maroules had an *oikonomia* of 72 *hyperpyra*;¹⁰³ Michael Sabentzes had an *oikonomia* of 70 *hyperpyra*;¹⁰⁴ Nikephoros Martinos had a *pronoia* of 30 *hyperpyra*;¹⁰⁵ the *mezas adnouiastes* Georgios Katzaras had a *pronoia* of 2400 *modioi* with a *posotes* of 48 *hyperpyra*.¹⁰⁶ All these were officers of the army and where probably expected to serve along with their retinues.

At the same time there were soldiers with minimal amount of *pronoiai*: Theodoros Mouzalon had an *oikonomia* of 1000 *modioi*,¹⁰⁷ Neokastrites only 600 *modioi*;¹⁰⁸ Euthymios Kardames and Demetrios Isauros in common held 900 *modioi*;¹⁰⁹ the Klazomenitai soldiers in Serres held *oikonomiai* of 10 and 12 *nomismata*¹¹⁰ and Berilas only 8 *hyperpyra*.¹¹¹ These incomes placed them hardly above the peasant-soldier of the tenth century. In fact in some cases they were in a worse position. A cavalry peasant soldier was expected in the tenth century to have a property of at least four to five litres of gold (i.e 288 to 360 *hyperpyra*) which would correspond to around 500-700 *modioi* of land.¹¹² Oikonomides supported the view that their payment must have been a combination of *pronoia* and mercenary payment, although there is no real evidence for this claim.¹¹³ It is also possible that they had

¹⁰² Actes Docheiariou, 186.

¹⁰³ Actes Xenophon, 143-144.

¹⁰⁴ Actes Xenophon, 139-140.

¹⁰⁵ Actes Prodromou (B), 402.

¹⁰⁶ Actes Docheiariou, 188.

¹⁰⁷ Actes Docheiariou, 193.

¹⁰⁸ Actes Docheiariou, 142.

¹⁰⁹ Actes Xenophon, 158.

¹¹⁰ Actes Kutlumus, 90-91.

¹¹¹ P. Schreiner, 'Zwei unedierte Praktika aus der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jh.', *JÖB* 19 (1970), 33-49 (here at 38 and 42-46).

¹¹² *De cerimoniis*, 695.

¹¹³ N. Oikonomides, 'À propos des armées des premiers Paléologues et des compagnies de soldats' *TM* 8 (1981), 353-371 (here at 368-369), followed by Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 174-175.

additional property and were not so poor. Whatever the case, they could still not compete in either political power or wealth with the officials of the army, who belonged to the aristocracy and potentially served with a retinue. Hence, it is probable that the Byzantine state awarded them with a small fixed income in order to ensure their service as an infantry or a single cavalry unit, when they would be summoned to perform their military service. The very fact that they were not dependent and they could have *paroikoi* placed them socially above the peasantry, even if the lesser of the soldiers had to cultivate personally their fields and were not wealthier than some well-off peasants.

There were also soldiers who served in the army without any connection to *pronoia* or mercenary payment. They were given tax immunity to certain plots of land, which they were expected to cultivate themselves or perhaps with some wage workers or land leasers. They were the smallholding soldiers or the survival of a form of ‘farmer-soldier’. This is the case for numerous units such as the Tzakonai (who served as city garrison), the Gasmuli (who served as marines), the Prosalentai (rowers in the ships) or the Thelematarioi (inhabitants of the vicinity of Constantinople, who had helped in recovering Constantinople from the Latins).¹¹⁴ The payment of some of these smallholding soldiers could have been ensured or at least supplemented by a grant of a specific tax. The *thelematarios* Katakalon received eight *hyperpyra* as tax (*epiteleia*) from the monastery of Psychosostria in Constantinople¹¹⁵ and a

¹¹⁴ See Bartusis, ‘Smallholding soldiers’, 13-19; Kyriakidis, *Warfare*, 93-96. Analogous was most probably the case of the Akritai in Asia Minor of the 13th century, who are not within the scope of this thesis (although Bartusis questions their status: p. 2-3).

¹¹⁵ Actes Vatopedi II, 236.

Preakotzelos in Serres also received seven *hyperpyra* for his payment from the monastery of Prodrimos.¹¹⁶

Moreover, *paroikoi* could be enrolled in the army in an emergency, or in other cases they could be accorded the status of a soldier on a permanent basis. This is the case of Michael, son of Daniel, who was taken from the possession of the monastery of Zographou and to whom was also assigned one *paroikos*.¹¹⁷ A second case was the confiscation of part (or the whole) village of Zablantia in Thessaly by Ioannes Angelos sometime between 1342 and 1348 and the conversion of its inhabitants into soldiers, an act which was annulled in 1348, when Dušan occupied Thessaly.¹¹⁸

The status of these soldiers has troubled Bartusis, who tried to draw a clear line between these ‘smallholding soldiers’ and the other two categories, the mercenaries and the *pronoiaroi*. Bartusis terms them as those soldiers whose military

¹¹⁶ Actes Prodromou (B), 416. For this practice of *epiteleia* see H. Ahrweiler, ‘L’ *épiteleia* dans le cartulaire de Lemviotissa’, *Byzantion* 24 (1954), 71-93.

¹¹⁷ Actes Zographou, 37-38. The document is dated only with indiction and its dating causes problems, while it has been questioned regarding its authenticity (Bartusis, ‘Smallholding soldiers’, 4-5; L. Mavrommatis, ‘Le pronoia d’Alexis Comnène Raoul à Previsa’, *Symmeikta* 13 (1999), 211). Whatever is the case, even a false document should reflect real practices. Bartusis also questions that the terms ‘*στρατεία*’ and ‘*στρατεύω*’ mean ‘military service’ and ‘enrolment in military service’, and believes that they reflect a fiscal obligation. He bases his hypothesis on Lemerle’s assumption from a document of the monastery of Patmos in 1089, i.e. even before the establishment of the institution of *pronoia* and when it is probable that the old custom of commuting military service to a monetary payment was still in force.

¹¹⁸ Soloviev, 162-166: ‘*Ἐπεὶ διωρίσατο ἡ βασιλεία μου, ἵνα ἐπιλάβηται ἡ σεβάσμια μονὴ Ζαβλαντίων, τὸ [...] χωρίον τὸ καὶ Ζαβλαντία λεγόμενον, ὅπερ ὁ σεβαστοκράτωρ ἐκεῖνος κῆρ Ἰωάννης ἀπέσπασε καὶ εἰς τάξιν στρατιωτῶν ἀπεκατέστησεν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ εὕρισκομένους παροῖκους [...], ἡ βασιλεία μου, δι’ οὗ προστάσει [...], ἵνα κατέχη ἡ τοιαύτη μονὴ Ζαβλαντίων, τὸ εἰρημένον χωρίον τῶν Ζαβλαντίων μετὰ πάσης τῆς νομῆς [...] καθὼς ἐκράτει καὶ ἐνέμετο αὐτὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἀποσπᾶσαι τοῦτο ὁ δηλωθεὶς σεβαστοκράτωρ ἐκεῖνος, ἤγουν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ εὕρισκομένων παροῖκους καὶ εἰς τάξιν στρατιωτῶν ἀποκαθισταμένους [names of ten peasant *staseis* plus seven abandoned ones]*’. Bartusis, ‘Smallholding soldiers’, 7, believed that the document meant that these peasants were not converted to soldiers but were assigned to soldiers (i.e. *pronoia*-holders) and he justifies his opinion by ‘the poor knowledge of Byzantine legal terminology’ of this provincial (or Serbian) scribe.

service is connected to a specific holding, rather small in size, and which is not bestowed upon them through a personal individual order of the emperor (and, as a matter of fact, making them automatically privileged).¹¹⁹ The difference lay, however, not so much in their status, but rather on their form of payment. The abovementioned Klazomenitai were not given *pronoiai* individually and their holdings were rather small. They could have been involved to the cultivation of their land.

Then there is the *demos*. *Demos* refers to the common people. What is clear, first of all, is that the peasants are not part of the *demos*. Albeit we never see a distinction between peasants – *demos*, there is likewise never an equation. According to the Greco-Roman tradition they are the common people of a city. Secondly, it is not always a reference to a specific social group; in some cases it might denote the whole populace of a town.¹²⁰ But most commonly it is used to denote the common people and there is a two-fold division between the *archontes* and the *demos*, analogous we could say with the division between rich and poor that we examined earlier. In an attempt to convince Arta to surrender after a long siege, Andronikos III says that this prolonged siege has harmed everyone, both the *dynatoi* who now have no incomes and the *demos* which is oppressed by hunger.¹²¹ This distinction is even more apparent in the narration of the second civil war. Kantakouzenos comments that the cities were divided in two: the *demos* moved against the *dynatoi* and the *archontes* and imprisoned them.¹²² Gregoras distinguishes the wealthy citizens of Thessalonike

¹¹⁹ Bartusis, ‘Smallholding soldiers’, 20-25.

¹²⁰ For example in Kantakouzenos, III, 278, meaning the whole populace of Kallipolis and Gregoras, I, 429 for Herakleia.

¹²¹ Kantakouzenos, I, 518.

¹²² Kantakouzenos, II, 180.

from the *demos*¹²³ and elsewhere differentiates the *demos* from those that have titles and high birth.¹²⁴

The *demos* is in all the cases considered different from the soldiers, as we noted above. But the *demos* is also one of the components of political power, albeit not usually comparable with the power of the *archontes*. In the trial for heresy of some Thessalonians, apart from senators, there participated abbots and ‘not a few of the worthiest citizens (*προκρίτων πολιτῶν*)’.¹²⁵ In many cases embassies for peace or councils for important matters took place and the *demos* was present with its representatives. In Berroia when the city was about to shift its allegiance to Kantakouzenos an embassy was sent to him comprised of three members, one representative of the *aristoi*, one of the church *archontes* and one of the *demos*.¹²⁶ The same happened in Peritheorion and Bizye.¹²⁷ Accordingly, Gregoras narrates that ten men were sent from Andronikos II to his grandson during the civil war as an envoy. Two came from the senate, two were bishops, two were church dignitaries and four were representatives of the *demos* (who according to the wish of Andronikos III should have been educated).¹²⁸ The common people took part in the theological debates of the time but they were often used as an element for pressure rather than actually consulted. They were present in the synod of 1341 which condemned the

¹²³ Kantakouzenos, II, 674-675.

¹²⁴ Gregoras, II, 981. For the term *demos* see the analysis of Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*, 70-78 and now with similar conclusions A. Kontogiannopoulou, ‘The notion of δῆμος and its role in Byzantium during the last centuries (13th-15th c.)’, *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα* 22 (2012), 101-124.

¹²⁵ PR II, 110.

¹²⁶ Kantakouzenos, II, 352.

¹²⁷ Kantakouzenos, II, 214 and 490 respectively.

¹²⁸ Gregoras, I, 397-398.

teachings of Barlaam;¹²⁹ in the synod of 1347 convened by the empress Anna, which deposed the patriarch Kalekas,¹³⁰ and again in the synod of 1351.

The rarity of the occasions on which we encounter representatives of the people, does not ultimately minimise their role. Certainly, the lower layers of the common people had little chance attaining political power. But the higher layers of the common people, their representatives, were treated as at least worthy giving advice. In the last decades of this century the rise of certain of them to aristocracy can be documented.¹³¹ A title which appears to have been bestowed on leaders of the common people is the *praitor of the demos*. Unlike the surnames of the preceding and the following offices, most of the surnames of the few attested holders of this office are not aristocratic.¹³²

The organisation of the people in the Byzantine cities cannot be clearly observed. The existence of *demarchoi* is documented for Constantinople. Among their tasks was possibly included the food provisioning of Constantinople¹³³ and the defense organisation of the people in cases of emergency.¹³⁴ In Thessalonike the office is less clearly documented. Heads of neighbourhoods (*γειτονιάρχαι*) are attested in eleventh century Thessalonike¹³⁵ and the city was still divided into neighbourhoods (*ἐνορίαι*) shortly after the Ottoman conquest.¹³⁶ Perhaps Andreas

¹²⁹ PR II, 132.

¹³⁰ PR II, 144.

¹³¹ See below in the chapter III.C.

¹³² See below table no. 15; the office is the 37th in rank.

¹³³ Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*, 25, refers to two *demarchoi* as responsible for the grain provision of Constantinople: Antiocheites and Ploummes.

¹³⁴ This was their role in the final siege of Constantinople in 1453: Sphrantzes, §35.7.

¹³⁵ Actes Lavra I, 277.

¹³⁶ H. W. Lowry, 'Portrait of a city: the population and topography of Ottoman Selânik (Thessaloniki) in the year 1478', *Diptycha* 2 (1980-1981), 254-293 (here at 264 ff.). Therefore, it is possible that during the Byzantine rule neighbourhoods already existed.

Palaiologos, the leader of the *παραθαλάσσιοι* ('people who dwell by the harbour of Thessalonike') during the second civil war, had a sort of *demarchos* or *geitoniarches* function, but certainly he was not a head of a supposed 'guild of the sailors'.¹³⁷

The *demarchoi* were not elected by the people; they were appointed by the government.¹³⁸ Their role was therefore more administrative and so they played a minor role in the independent political organisation of the people. When in the Synod of 1351 during the Hesychast controversy there were people protesting in favour of the anti-Palamites (according to an anti-Palamite source), Kantakouzenos threatened the *demos* with persecutions 'through the *demarchoi*'.¹³⁹ They must have played a significant role in the instigation of the people against the supporters of Kantakouzenos too (see below chapter III.B).

Dividing the Byzantine aristocracy

The Byzantine aristocracy was not a uniform social group; it had subdivisions. Neither is the Byzantine concept of their *archontes* uniform, nor the divisions offered by modern historiography. We have already referred to the two main

¹³⁷ There were suggestions that he was the head of a supposed guild of sailors: J.-L. Van Dieten, *Nikephoros Gregoras, Rhomaische Geschichte* (Stuttgart 1973-1987), III: 347; L. Maksimović, 'Charakter der sozial-wirtschaftlichen Struktur der spätbyzantinischen Stadt (13.-15. Jahrhundert)', *JÖB* 31/1 (1981), 149-188 (here at 161); M.I. Sjuzumov, 'К вопросу о характере выступления Зилотов в 1342-1349 гг.', *VV* 28 (1968), 15-37 (here at 26-27). For the fact that he was most probably a sort of *demarchos* see also K.-P. Matschke, 'Thessalonike und die Zeloten. Bemerkungen zu einem Schlüsselereignis der spätbyzantinischen Stadt- und Reichsgeschichte', *Byzantinoslavica* 55 (1994), 19-43 (here at 24-26) followed by Maniatis, 'Private guilds', 355-356.

¹³⁸ K.-P. Matschke, 'Rolle und Aufgaben der Demarchen in der spätbyzantinischen Hauptstadt. Ein Beitrag zur Rolle der Stadt und der städtischen Bevölkerung in Byzanz', *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 1 (1977), 211-231.

¹³⁹ Anonymous source see Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*, 134-135.

divisions of late Byzantine aristocracy: Laiou's classification of high and lesser aristocracy on terms of wealth and political power and Kyritses' and Matschke's categorisation of military and civil aristocracy on grounds of the family tradition with the civil aristocracy supporting efforts towards a more centralised state machine. Many questions arise. Do these divisions comply with Byzantine concepts or categorisations of their aristocracy? Is it possible only through political power, which may change with each generation, to structure categories such as these? Were these categories stable themselves?

The Byzantines did have their own perception of aristocratic groupings which, however, hardly complies with the conclusions of modern historiography. One division of Byzantine society can be found in a horoscope of 1336 from Trebizond. The horoscope exposes what is going to happen to every social group. It refers to the kings (*βασιλείς*), to the magnates (*μεγιστάνας καὶ ἄρχουσιν*), to the secretaries and the notaries (*γραμματικοί καὶ νοτάριοι*: the author was one of them), to the ecclesiastical *archontes* and the priests (*ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ κληροί*), to the military aristocracy (*ἄρχουσιν καὶ στρατιῶτες*), to the old notable and noble men (*ὀνομαστικοί καὶ εὐγενεῖς γέροντες*), to the eunuchs, to the notable women (*ἐνδόξων γυναικῶν*), to the merchants (*πραγματευτές καὶ ἔμποροι*), to the entertainers (*παιγνιῶτες*), and to the common people and the small traders (*κοινὸς λαὸς καὶ παζαριῶτες*).¹⁴⁰ The author of this horoscope clearly structures a functional division. If we exclude some elements such as the rather exalted status bestowed upon the author's own category (the secretaries) just below the magnates, and the strange mention to entertainers, the whole schema seems quite stratified: the emperor, a high aristocracy, the ecclesiastics, the military aristocracy, the merchants and the common people.

¹⁴⁰ S. Lampros, 'Τραπεζουντιακὸν ὠροσκόπιον τοῦ ἐτους 1336', *NE* 13 (1916), 33-50.

Among the *archontes* very often we hear about the *συγκλητικοὶ ἄρχοντες*, that is the *archontes* of the senate. The senate in the late period was comprised of the higher dignitaries, but it did not have any concrete and institutionalised role as a body. The members of the Senate served primarily at their individual posts and meanwhile a more closed group of a handful of high senators (many of them were members of the imperial family) became an unofficial council around the emperor, which convened at his request to discuss important matters.¹⁴¹

However, the composition of the senate is not clear at all. It certainly does not comprise the full number of *archontes*. In many cases there is a distinction between the *sygkletikoi* (members of the senate) and the rest of the officials.¹⁴² Sometimes it seems that the relatives of the emperor are not included;¹⁴³ in other cases not all the ‘nobles’ are included in the senate;¹⁴⁴ and last, not all of them are ‘fully noble’.¹⁴⁵ Raybaud believes that there is a distinction between the members of the senate and the senatorial class.¹⁴⁶ However, after the seventh century there is no evidence that there was a hereditary senatorial class. Furthermore, the Byzantines used different terms to

¹⁴¹ On senate see H.-G. Beck, ‘Senat und Volk von Konstantinopel’, in *Bayer. Akademie der Wissensch. Phil-Hist. Kl. Sitzungsberichte 1966*, 1-75 (reprinted in H.G. Beck, *Ideen und Realitäten in Byzanz* (London 1972), no. XII), which has little to contribute for the late period; P. Magdalino, ‘Court society and aristocracy’, in J. Haldon (ed.), *A social history of Byzantium* (Oxford 2009), 212-232 (here at 217-218. Especially for the later period see Raybaud, *Gouvernement et administration*, 112-139, but his distinction between senatorial order and senate members is problematic. More importantly see the exhaustive analysis of sources by E. Christophilopoulou, *Η σύγκλητος εις το Βυζαντινόν κράτος* (Athens 1949), 60-74, who argues that there was no distinction between senators and senate members. Kyritses, *The late Byzantine aristocracy*, 53-71, reaches also the same conclusion fully analysing the evidence from the Palaiologan period.

¹⁴² E.g. Kantakouzenos, I, 54, 100, 551.

¹⁴³ Kantakouzenos, I, 27.

¹⁴⁴ E.g. Kantakouzenos, I, 27; III, 260.

¹⁴⁵ Sphrantzes Palaiologos is considered as ‘not so noble’: Kantakouzenos, I, 451.

¹⁴⁶ Raybaud, *Le gouvernement*, 116-117.

designate the senate, which they employed randomly. Thus Hyrtakenos, in a rhetorical speech, addresses the following groups: the relatives of the emperor, the magnates, the members of the *sygkletos* (senate), the members of the council (τοὺς τῆς βουλῆς), the members of the senate (γερονσίαν; the Greek classical equivalent term of *senatus*), the Church, the Holy Synod and the citizens' commonwealth (πολιτείαν).¹⁴⁷

A list of the members of the senate from the year 1409 may shed some light, although it comes from a period when the empire was much reduced, which means that the senators might have been fewer than during the first half of the century. In this list nineteen names are included; all of them are descendants of known families of the empire that had held significant posts in the past and some are members of the same family. Although relatives of the emperor are included, members of the immediate imperial family (brothers etc.) are not present in the list. All non-relatives of the emperor are termed *oikeioi* but only two of them bear a title.¹⁴⁸ From the list of the senators it is evident that all the senators in the fourteenth century were high ranking officials; they certainly occupied the top half of all the offices.¹⁴⁹ Nevertheless, Kantakouzenos let us believe that their number was much higher. He says that many senators inhabited Berroia¹⁵⁰ and the same was true for Thessalonike.¹⁵¹ During the civil war Apokaukos had imprisoned or had placed on

¹⁴⁷ Hyrtakenos, *Monodia to the basilissa Eirene*, 290. This division is simply a rhetorical way of addressing 'everyone' and has no functional use. See also Christophilopoulou, *Σύγκλητος*, 11-33 for the terminology of the sources in the whole Byzantine period.

¹⁴⁸ V. Laurent, 'Le trisépiscopat du patriarche Matthieu Ier (1397-1410). Un grand procès canonique à Byzance au début du XVe siècle', *REB* 30 (1972), 5-166 (the list is at p. 134).

¹⁴⁹ Compare tables 14 and 15.

¹⁵⁰ Kantakouzenos, III, 120.

¹⁵¹ Kantakouzenos, I, 287 and 396.

house arrest most of the senators, yet there were still many that followed him on a campaign in 1344, and others who were supporters of Kantakouzenos.¹⁵²

The *sygkletikoi* are the *δυνατοί* (the powerful) and the *μεγιστάνες* (the equivalent of magnates or the Latin *magnus*) of our sources. These terms (*sygkletikoi*, *dynatoi* or *megistanes*) do not seem to apply to all the *archontes* in general. They are usually a sub-group of the *archontes*. Thus in Edessa the *dynatoi* at the time of the first civil war were namely only the three brothers called Angeloi Radiporoi and a Laskaris.¹⁵³ Presumably there were more than two families of *archontes* in one town. Nonetheless we should note that again the terminology of our sources is not always precise. The term *megistanas* as a designation of the high aristocracy is very common in Pachymeres at the start of the fourteenth century but it is very rare in all other texts of the fourteenth century with the exception of *Bellum Troianum*.¹⁵⁴ The absence of the term in authors after Pachymeres and especially its use by the historian Doukas to denote western European barons,¹⁵⁵ has led some scholars to think that the term fell out of use and that the collapse of the state and the loss of the vast estates of the aristocrats, contributed to making the aristocracy of the last century of Byzantium dissimilar to magnates.¹⁵⁶ However, as we just asserted, the term is rare to all other authors apart from Pachymeres. Even Kantakouzenos, who was certainly a magnate himself, according to our categorisation, does not mention the term ever. He prefers to use the term *sygkletikos* or *dynatos*.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² Kantakouzenos, II, 421.

¹⁵³ Kantakouzenos, I, 274.

¹⁵⁴ E.J. Jeffreys and Em. Papatomopoulos, *The war of Troy* (Athens 1996).

¹⁵⁵ E.g. Doukas, 13.8.

¹⁵⁶ Matschke, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 57.

¹⁵⁷ Besides, a semantic observation on the text of Pachymeres is that in the first part of his work he uses the term *megistanas* 29 times and only 8 times does he use the term *sygkletos*, while in the second part of his work (the reign of Andronikos II) he uses it only 14 times while at the same time the term

The TzAMPLAKON family in Macedonia can serve as an example of these *dynatoi*.¹⁵⁸ The first attested TzAMPLAKON was a *domestikos of the scholai*, a military officer, who was awarded a large estate in eastern Macedonia (Prinaron) by the emperor Ioannes III Batatzes.¹⁵⁹ One more TzAMPLAKON from Christoupolis, who could well be related to the first TzAMPLAKON is attested as elevated to *tatas tes aules* in 1272.¹⁶⁰ Several decades later, the son of this *domestikos of the scholai*, the *megas tzaousios* Alexios TzAMPLAKON was governor of Serres and Popolia (the area beneath Mt. Pangaion near Kavala) in 1326.¹⁶¹ The desperate efforts of Andronikos II to ensure the support of aristocrats during the first civil war was perhaps the main reason for the sudden rise of Alexios TzAMPLAKON by the next year to *megas papias* (he climbed fifteen places in the hierarchy). Nonetheless, Alexios two years later as *kephale* of Zichna joined the forces of Andronikos III who attacked Macedonia.¹⁶² By this act Alexios secured for himself a place in the elite, next to the emperor. In 1332, although now as the monk Antonios, he acts as witness in the treaty with Venice.¹⁶³

sygkletos/sygkletikos rises to 15. Secondly, he abstains from using the term *sygkletikos* and rather prefers to use generally *sygkletos*. He uses the term *sygkletikos* only for the *megas logothetes* Georgios Akropolites (Pachymeres, II, 493). Therefore a semantic relation between these two terms is possible.

¹⁵⁸ I have chosen the TzAMPLAKONES because, thanks to documentation, it is possible to identify most of its members throughout the 14th century, unlike the other aristocratic families (outside the imperial family). The family of TzAMPLAKONES has already been treated by G. Theocharides, ‘Οι Τζαμπλάκωνες’, *Μακεδονικά* 5 (1963), 125-183, who clarified the distinction between Alexios (monk Antonios) TzAMPLAKON and Arsenios TzAMPLAKON. Italian roots had been ascribed to the family, but the poem which identified a prince Benedetto (Zaccaria?) of Achaia as father of Demetrios TzAMPLAKON has been moved to the first half of the 15th century. He was in fact *sympentheros* to Benedetto through his daughter: see PLP, no. 27756.

¹⁵⁹ Actes Vatopedi II, 247.

¹⁶⁰ Pachymeres, II, 413.

¹⁶¹ Actes Philotheou (K), 290.

¹⁶² Kantakouzenos, I, 262.

¹⁶³ MM III, 111.

Alexios had three sons and one daughter: Arsenios, Asomatianos, Demetrios and the *parakoimomene* Tornikina. None of his sons bears a second surname but he probably assured for them noble marriages. His daughter was married to the family of Tornikes through the *parakoimomenos* Demetrios Tornikes. Arsenios Tzemplakon was probably connected to the Kaballarioi (his son bears this name, as do his grandchildren), another aristocratic family, while Demetrios Tzemplakon was married to Eudokia Palaiologina Tzemplakonissa, the daughter of Konstantinos Palaiologos, uncle of the emperor. Arsenios ‘inherited’ the title of his father, *mezas papias*, just one year after the last appearance in the sources of Alexios Tzemplakon. Arsenios and his brothers had remained in Macedonia and he proved once more a keen supporter of Andronikos III by unmasking the conspiracy of Syrgiannes.¹⁶⁴ A few years later, he chose to support Kantakouzenos during the second civil war and it was only right after the retirement of Kantakouzenos that he himself also retired and became a monk in the monastery of Vatopedi. He donated most of his property to this monastery. It included his houses in Thessalonike and two large estates by the river Galikos and in Prinarian.¹⁶⁵

Arsenios’ brother Asomatianos Tzemplakon, already dead at the time of this act, was *mezas doux* and naval commander of the Byzantine fleet in the anti-Genoese war of 1348.¹⁶⁶ Demetrios Tzemplakon had the military office of *mezas stratopedarches* and had tried to prevent the fall of Serres to the Serbians together with his father-in-law Konstantinos Palaiologos. However, he failed and was compelled to abandon the city. In 1362 we find him living with his wife in Constantinople. He donated his share of the estate in the river Galikos to the

¹⁶⁴ Kantakouzenos, I, 437 ff.

¹⁶⁵ Actes Vatopedi II, 247-249 and 255-256.

¹⁶⁶ Kantakouzenos, III, 74-77.

monastery of Vatopedi.¹⁶⁷ The family of TzAMPLAKON was engaged also in trade; the polity of Ragusa bought grain in 1344 and 1346 from a certain Zamblacus.¹⁶⁸

The son of Arsenios, the *oikeios* of the emperor Michael Kaballarios TzAMPLAKON and his sons, Alexios and Ioannes, donated the last share of the estate Prinarion to Vatopedi, as had been done by his nephews (or cousins?) the other members of the family of TzAMPLAKONES.¹⁶⁹ The son of Michael, Alexios Kaballarios TzAMPLAKON, lived most probably in Berroia, but probably due to the Turkish invasion of 1383 he was forced to depart. In this year he is already attested in Constantinople where twice he acted as *defensor*, and he was a member of the senate.¹⁷⁰ A *panypersebastos* TzAMPLAKON was arrested, along with other aristocrats, by Ioannes V in 1370, as he probably had taken part in a conspiracy against the throne in favour of his son Andronikos IV.¹⁷¹

It is possible therefore to recognise the existence of an elite group in the aristocracy placed above all the others. The elite were comprised of no more than ten to twenty extended families, i.e. no more than some hundred individuals, at any given time. They were the families of Palaiologos, Asanes, Kantakouzenos, Philanthropenos, Raoul, Tornikes, Tarchaneiotos, Synadenos, Laskaris, Metochites, Choumnos, TzAMPLAKON, Phakrases, Monomachos. All these families intermarried among themselves and monopolised almost all the higher offices and posts of the

¹⁶⁷ Actes Vatopedi II, 294-295.

¹⁶⁸ N. Bănescu, 'Peut-on identifier le Zamblacus des documents ragusains?', *Mélanges Charles Diehl* (Paris 1930), I: 31-35. But see B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik [Raguse] et le Levant au Moyen Âge* (The Hague 1961), 90 note 3, who questions this hypothesis.

¹⁶⁹ Actes Vatopedi II, 361-364.

¹⁷⁰ Actes Vatopedi II, 415-416 (attested in Berroia in 1376); MM II, 57 and 566 (as senate member); H. Hunger, 'Zu den restlichen Inedita des Konstantinopler Patriarchatsregister im Cod. Vindob. Hist. Gr. 48', *REB* 24 (1966), 58-58 (here at 65).

¹⁷¹ *Chronica Breviora*, 9: 94. Whether he can be identified to Demetrios TzAMPLAKON, who could have in the meantime attained a higher title, or to Michael Kaballarios TzAMPLAKON is uncertain.

empire.¹⁷² Table 15 in the appendix is indicative in this respect. Not only they did monopolise the higher offices, but there were few among them attested in the lower ones.

The degree of stability of these families is impressive. However, at the same time there was also a small degree of renewal. Success in the military or administrative sphere could provide an individual with entry to the elite. Subsequently it remained in the hands of this individual and his heirs to secure their position through intermarriages with other elite families or through imperial favour. Among these successful candidates was the family of Metochites. In the thirteenth century the family belonged to the lesser aristocracy; Georgios Metochites was an archdeacon of the imperial clergy and had intervened in the question of the Union of the Churches. His pro-Unionist stance though led to his disgrace after the advent of Andronikos II and the latter's stance against Union.¹⁷³ Soon though, the family found its way into the elite through the impressive figure of Theodoros Metochites. Metochites, already a celebrated scholar, climbed to the highest ranks of administration and by 1321 he became the *mesazon* and the closest associate of Andronikos II. He was perhaps married to a Laskarina, since two of his sons (Alexios and Nikephoros) bear this second surname. Despite the fact that Metochites' property was confiscated after the end of the first civil war, due to his governmental position, his children did not lose their place in the elite. Their fate is an indication that former service in the civil administration did not determine continuous service to it, after the family's entry into the high aristocracy.¹⁷⁴ Rather, his sons also enjoyed posts as governors and high

¹⁷² Statistically I mean roughly around 90% of the higher titles at any given time.

¹⁷³ See PLP, no. 17979.

¹⁷⁴ Alexios Laskaris Metochites was governor in Thessalonike during the last phase of the Zealot regime (see below) and by 1369 he was elevated to the office of *mezas domestikos* (Actes Vatopedi II,

titles. The last Metochites died in battle next to the emperor Konstantinos XI Palaiologos at the fall of Constantinople in 1453.¹⁷⁵

On the other hand, renewal meant that some families disappeared from the scene. The families of Akropolites and Philes, prominent in the thirteenth century, disappear already in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The families of Monomachos, Nestongos and Choumnos disappear around the middle of the century, as does the family of Tornikes during the last quarter of the century. For the TzAMPLAKON family it cannot be claimed that it belonged to the elite before the late reign of Andronikos II. At the same time, a number of new-comers like the families of Goudeles, Notaras, Sophianos and Leontares enter the scene actively in the second half of the fourteenth century.¹⁷⁶ For the first three of these families the means must have been their engagement in large scale trade, but the Leontares family first appears in the sources at the very end of the century as supporter of Ioannes VII.¹⁷⁷ Thus, his rise might have been a consequence of imperial favour rather than engagement in trade activities. There were still other persons who tried to become part of the elite but in the long term failed. This is the case of Alexios Apokaukos who failed because of the second civil war.

The second sub-division for the aristocracy that most primary sources acknowledge is the church aristocracy, the *ἐκκλησιαστικοί ἄρχοντες*. The church aristocracy is constantly present in the sources, involved not only in ecclesiastical

342); Demetrios Angelos Metochites: governor of Strumica in 1326 and of Serres in 1328/9 (Kantakouzenos I, 209); Michael Laskaris Metochites: governor of Melnik in 1326 (Kantakouzenos, I, 210); Nikephoros Laskaris Metochites was *megas logothetes* (Kantakouzenos, II, 554).

¹⁷⁵ Chalkokondyles, II, 161.

¹⁷⁶ See chapter III.C.

¹⁷⁷ MM II, 401 and 503-505. He was governor in Selymbria before the peace agreement between Manouel II and Ioannes VII in 1399, while he acted as agent of Ioannes VII to merchantile enterprises with the Genoese.

matters but in secular as well. They take part in embassies for peace. In Peritherion, in Berroia and in Bizye they send representatives to negotiate the surrender of their cities to Kantakouzenos along with representatives of the lay *archontes* and the *demos*.¹⁷⁸ They take part in important councils and trials, as was the case of a conspiracy during the reign of Andronikos III which aimed at placing the despot Demetrios Palaiologos on the throne.¹⁷⁹

Among their ranks a large number belonged to the literary circles of Constantinople or Thessalonike. According to an estimate, the bishops and the rest of the church dignitaries who were known as *literati* in the Palaiologan period comprised around one third of the total, without counting those that were monks.¹⁸⁰ The most important characteristic of the church dignitaries is family tradition. Most members of these families are constantly found in church administration. This is even more evident in smaller provincial societies, where the possibilities and chances of another career were more restricted.¹⁸¹ Among the great families of the church aristocracy we may enumerate Olobolos, Syropoulos, Eugenikos, Balsamon, Perdikes, Kabasilas.

The highest members of the church aristocracy, being mostly bishops and metropolitans, could have large incomes. The bishop of Bitzyne is said to have rented out the collection of incomes from his see (he resided in the capital) for 800 *hyperpyra* and the bishop of Sardis in addition to a pair of oxen, a vineyard, a garden and some workshops enjoyed the fruits of several *adelphata*.¹⁸² But, in general, the

¹⁷⁸ Kantakouzenos, II, 214, 352 and 490 respectively.

¹⁷⁹ Gregoras, I, 531-534.

¹⁸⁰ Matschke, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 235-239. Analogous is the estimation that Ševčenko had made earlier especially for the fourteenth century: Ševčenko, 'Society and intellectual life in the 14th century', 72.

¹⁸¹ See for example in the chapter III.A below for Serres (p. 212 f.), where they monopolised the church posts like a cast.

¹⁸² Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*, 56.

revenues of the ecclesiastical dignitaries were not usually comparable to those of the higher aristocrats. This is perhaps one of the reasons why the latter are not attested as church dignitaries, since in imperial service they could make much more money. While there were *oikonomiai* for most lay *archontes* granted by the state, there was nothing equivalent for church dignitaries. Apart from the wage (*ρόγα*) which they received, the rest of their wealth was personal.¹⁸³

The examination of one important family that produced in the Palaiologan period members of the church aristocracy is indicative in this respect. The family of Kabasilas¹⁸⁴ was prominent already from the eleventh century, when members of the family had served as governors. The support of Alexandros Kabasilas for Nikephoros III Botaneiates eventually led to the family's demotion after the victory of Alexios I Komnenos (1081).¹⁸⁵ By the second half of the thirteenth century the family had passed in to the ecclesiastical aristocracy. Konstantinos Kabasilas was archbishop of Ochrid in 1259,¹⁸⁶ and Georgios Kabasilas was *meγas oikonomos* of the metropolis of Thessalonike.¹⁸⁷

The family had different branches in the fourteenth century. One of these produced several ecclesiastics and literati. Neilos Kabasilas (+1363), a famous Palamite theologian, is enlisted among them. He was the teacher of Demetrios Kydones although later they ended up in opposition because of differing philosophical

¹⁸³ See also E. Papagianni, *Τα οικονομικά του έγγαμου κλήρου στο Βυζάντιο* (Athens 1986).

¹⁸⁴ An attempt to reconstruct the family with its different branches has been made by A. Angelopoulos, 'Το οικογενειακόν δένδρον της οικογένειας των Καβασιλών', *Μακεδονικά* 17 (1977), 367-396.

¹⁸⁵ Anna Komnene, IV.4.3. The demotion is apparent not only from the disappearance of the family from written sources, but also from the low titles of those attested from sigillographic evidence (a *nobellimos* and a *kandidatos*) in the 12th century: G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantine* (Paris 1884), 627.

¹⁸⁶ Georgios Akropolites, *History*, 166; cf. PLP, no. 10097.

¹⁸⁷ Actes Iviron III, 126; cf. PLP, no. 10077.

views. Neilos was elected metropolitan of Thessalonike in 1361 shortly before his death.¹⁸⁸ He had two more brothers who were equally archpriests, but unfortunately we lack further information about their identity.¹⁸⁹ Another relative of Neilos was his nephew and pupil, the celebrated scholar Nikolaos Chamaëtos Kabasilas. Nikolaos Kabasilas was a friend of Demetrios Kydones and Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos, whom he had supported during the civil war. Although he did not have any church post, he is referred to as one of the three candidates for the patriarchal throne in 1353.¹⁹⁰ Demetrios Kaniskes Kabasilas served in the metropolis of Thessalonike as an ecclesiastical dignitary. He is attested as *dikaiophylax* between 1327 and 1337,¹⁹¹ while in 1328 he was *sakellarios* of Thessalonike¹⁹² and by 1337 he was elevated to *oikonomos*.¹⁹³ Later he supported Kantakouzenos and was imprisoned around 1344. Kaniskes belonged to the literati of Thessalonike, as author of one homily and as a copyist of manuscripts.¹⁹⁴ One more Kabasilas, who was doctor in the court of Andronikos II, possessed property in the vicinity of Thessalonike in 1296.¹⁹⁵

Another branch seems to have its base in Constantinople. Michael Kabasilas was raised and educated by the metropolitan of Apros Ioseph whose niece he later

¹⁸⁸ Symeon of Thessalonike, *Dialogus contra haereses*, PG 155, 145A. Kydones became Catholic and defended the teaching of Thomas Aquinas to whom Neilos Kabasilas had attacked with a treatise: cf. PLP, no. 10102.

¹⁸⁹ Sphrantzes, 32.

¹⁹⁰ Kantakouzenos, II, 574; III, 102, 275. See for his biography A. Angelopoulos, *Νικόλαος Καβάσιλας Χαμαετός* (Thessaloniki 1970); I. Ševčenko, 'Nicolaus Cabasilas' Correspondence', *BZ* 47 (1954), 49-59; C.N. Tsirpanlis, 'The career and writings of Nicolas Cabasilas', *Byzantion* 49 (1979), 411-427 and recently by M.-H. Congourdeau and O. Delouis, 'La *Supplique à la très pieuse Augusta sur l'intérêt de Nicolas Cabasilas*', *TM* 16 (2010), 205-236 (here at 218-223).

¹⁹¹ Actes Chilandar (Petit), 235.

¹⁹² Actes Chilandar (Petit), 246.

¹⁹³ PR II, 106.

¹⁹⁴ See C.R. Kraus, *Kleriker im späten Byzanz* (Wiesbaden 2007), 172; PLP, no. 92225.

¹⁹⁵ Pachymeres, II, 665; Actes Chilandar (Petit), 30.

married. This relationship offered to him eventually a place in the clergy of the patriarchate where he served until at least 1355 as a *sakelliou* and archdeacon, despite the fact that he had been accused of bribery early in his career, because his patron, the metropolitan of Apros, had been condemned for bribery in 1337 as well. Kabasilas acted as ambassador of the empress Anna to Kantakouzenos twice during the civil war.¹⁹⁶ Demetrios Kabasilas served as an official at the imperial court for several decades until at least 1351. Although no work of his has been preserved, he helped both Gabras and Gregoras in scholarly matters, which is sufficient evidence to place him among the literati of Constantinople.¹⁹⁷ Gabras had at least two more Kabasilaioi familiars: Basileios Kabasilas¹⁹⁸ and Andronikos Kabasilas.¹⁹⁹ Theodoros Kabasilas was *megas dioiketes* until 1322 and later *logothetes tou stratiotikou* in 1327 when he tried to reconcile the two emperors Andronikos II and Andronikos III.²⁰⁰ Later, Konstantinos Kabasilas served as *protopapas* of Blachernai. However, the hostility of two other clerics led him to the patriarchal court where he was deposed in 1380 on grounds of several wrong-doings. Despite the fact that Konstantinos brought the emperor into the dispute, he was not able to regain his position.²⁰¹

There was also a branch of the family situated in the state of Epirus. The *epi tou stratou* Kabasilas was a large landowner in 1321 in northern Epirus where he

¹⁹⁶ PR II, 286; III, 176; Kantakouzenos, II, 445 and 609.

¹⁹⁷ Gabras, *Letters*, 526-527; Gregoras, *Letters*, the letters nos. 65, 66 and 148 are sent to him; cf. PLP, no. 92223. H.-V. Beyer, 'Demetrios Kabasilas, Freund und späterer Gegner des Gregoras', *JÖB* 39 (1989), 135-177.

¹⁹⁸ Gabras, *Letters*, 442-443 and 568. He is designated *protopostolarios* (first of the messengers?).

¹⁹⁹ Gabras, *Letters*, 615.

²⁰⁰ Kantakouzenos, I, 240; S. Kourouses, 'Ο μέγας διοικητής Θεόδωρος Καβάσιλας', *EEBS* 37 (1970), 408-428.

²⁰¹ MM II, 20 and 51-60.

possessed at least one village.²⁰² Alexios Kabasilas was another aristocrat from Epirus and although at the start he accepted Andronikos III's rule, he led a revolution in 1338; eventually was forced to submit.²⁰³ Perhaps it is from this branch that a Theodoros Kabasilas originates. In 1336 he succeeded his father as a feudal lord (Graf) in Epirus and in Corfu, a title that he maintained until around 1382.²⁰⁴ The family has survived until the present.²⁰⁵

Yet, there was a branch of the family situated in Thessalonike, which may have belonged to the military aristocracy. The *oikeioi* of the emperor Demetrios and Georgios Kabasilas were both large landowners in Macedonia and donated parts of their property to the monastery of Vatopedi in 1331.²⁰⁶ Perhaps it is the same Demetrios Kabasilas who in another document is referred to as married to the family of Kalamanos.²⁰⁷ The *megas papias* Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas, son of the above mentioned Georgios Kabasilas, supported Kantakouzenos during the civil war, was imprisoned for his allegiance and later was forced to abandon Thessalonike along with his family. As a consequence, after the victory of Kantakouzenos, he was awarded in 1347 a large *oikonomia* of 250 *nomismata* in Macedonia.²⁰⁸ He was perhaps married to another aristocratic family of Macedonia, through Anna

²⁰² 'Χρυσόβουλλον Ανδρονίκου Β' Παλαιολόγου υπέρ της εκκλησίας Ιωαννίνων', *NE* 12 (1915), 36-40 (no editor is apparent in the publication of the document).

²⁰³ Kantakouzenos, I, 509-522.

²⁰⁴ PLP, no. 92226.

²⁰⁵ See Angelopoulos, 'The family of Kabasilas', 385.

²⁰⁶ The relationship between them is uncertain, but the donation documents were placed together in the archives and moreover were drafted in the same period (May and June 1331): Actes Vatopedi II, 73-76. Demetrios Kabasilas probably owned an *oikonomia*, if we interpret thus his statement: 'From the estate which I have in Ermeleia through (*ἀπὸ*) the mercy of our emperor to me'.

²⁰⁷ Actes Zographou, 54-55. One of the Kalamanos brothers signs as *doulos* of the emperor.

²⁰⁸ Actes Dionysiou, 45-47. It is stated in the document that he was 'noble, brave and keen in military strategy'.

Laskarina.²⁰⁹ This branch of the family was continued until Manouel Kabasilas who is attested as landowner in the same area in 1409.²¹⁰

However, these two groups of the Byzantine aristocracy, the *sygkletikoi* and the ecclesiastical *archontes*, as presented by the Byzantine sources, are not representative. They are both valid as categories, but they divide the Byzantine aristocracy into two different groups, one based on function (ecclesiastical *archontes*) and one on political power (senators), at the same time excluding the largest part of Byzantine aristocracy. Secondly, as the survey of the family of Kabasilas showed, a family tradition of service to the Church alone was not the rule. Many of the families of the ecclesiastical *archontes* were serving in civil administration, whereas still

²⁰⁹ This is the hypothesis of G. Theocharides, ‘Δημήτριος Δούκας Καβάσιλας καὶ ἄλλα προσωπογραφικὰ ἐξ ἀνεκδότου χρυσοβούλλου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ’, *Ελληνικά* 17 (1962), 1-23, who bases this idea on the title *megale papiaina* of Anna Laskarina in a document of 1377 (Actes Dionysiou, 111), and the mention of the *megas archon* Kabasilas as son-in-law of the three Laskaris that sign this document (Konstantinos, Thomaïs and the *megale papiaina* Anna Laskarina). Already in 1369 a *megas archon* Kabasilas is referred to in a document from Thessalonike (Actes Zographou, 102). The identification of the *megas archon* Kabasilas and the *megas papias* Kabasilas was eventually accepted by the editors of PLP, no. 92224. I have four objections to this. First, Kabasilas could not be called the ‘*gambros*’ of all of them, since it is not mentioned that he was the husband of Anna in this document of 1377; he could be *gambros* of them as a brother of one of their spouses. Second, if indeed he is her husband and he had assumed the title of *megas archon*, why did Anna still have the old title *megale papiaina*? Third, the title *megas archon* attested in 1377 is inferior to the *megas papias* attested in 1347, unless there was a recent change on hierarchy which is unattested. Fourth, at the end of the aforementioned document of Zographou, Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas (without any title) signs and below him signs ‘the *megas papias*’ without a name. Given that often the title in the signatures was given at the end of the signature, I wonder whether here ‘the *megas papias*’ is again Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas and ‘the *megas archon*’ was simply another Kabasilas of Thessalonike (the documents of Zographou, along with other Athonite documents, were edited more than 100 years ago by Regel e.a., and unfortunately have many misreadings or misinterpretations as new editions come out (e.g. the edition of some documents of Philotheou by V. Kravari). A new edition is needed). We do happen to know that in 1341 there were two other Kabasilaiοi *oikeioi* of the emperor, Georgios and Ioannes, whose titles are still unknown (Actes Lavra III, 209; in the same document Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas is also present).

²¹⁰ Actes Dionysiou, 85.

others (Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas and his branch) were perhaps members of the elite of the empire, owned *oikonomiai* and military titles. The integration of the ecclesiastics into a larger group of ‘civil aristocracy’, as will be subsequently shown, is more functional and closer to reality.

The so-called civil aristocracy in the late Byzantine period functioned in the service of five main domains: Church, finance, justice, education and lower court administration (secretaries, notaries etc.). In the domain of finance, the names of several *apographeis* have been preserved thanks to the archives from monastic institutions. As their names reveal, they were very rarely members of the high or the military aristocracy.²¹¹ This proportion changes during the second half the fourteenth century, as the evidence of Demetrios Palaiologos, Manouel Bryennios Laskaris (both in Lemnos in 1355),²¹² Alexios Laskaris Metochites (in Macedonia in 1373)²¹³ and Arsenios Tzemplakon in 1349 suggests,²¹⁴ yet the civil aristocracy in larger part still holds the financial department.

The same lower origins can be ascribed to those who served in justice as *katholikai kritai*: Georgios Glabas, Nikolaos Matarangos, Konstantinos Armenopoulos, Demetrios Angelos Manikaïtes, Dermokaïtes, Oinaïotes, Chrysokephalos, Ioannes Syropoulos. Some of them were simultaneously literati (e.g. Armenopoulos) or ecclesiastics (e.g. Ioannes Syropoulos) or officials in

²¹¹ See partly the names of the *apographeis* attested in the area of Serres in Table 12. Only the *domestikos* Ioannes Tarchaneiotes in 1325/6 can be cited as a member of a non-civil aristocratic family: Actes Prodromou (A), 71 and 76, and not as an *apographeus* but as *epi tes demosiakas enoches* (‘in charge of the public interests’) with the task to observe the transfer of an *oikonomia* from Nikephoros Martinos to the monastery of Prodromos in Serres.

²¹² Actes Lavra III, 65-66.

²¹³ Actes Docheiariou, 234 and 240.

²¹⁴ Actes Vatopedi II, 234.

administration (Glabas was also *logothetes ton oikeiakon*).²¹⁵ Besides, only very few of the high or the military aristocracy have been attested as scholars, leaving this domain largely on the hands of the civil aristocracy.²¹⁶

The lower court administration was also filled from the ranks of the civil aristocracy: Theophylaktos Basilikos²¹⁷ and Phokas Choumnos²¹⁸ were notaries in the palace. Being a doctor in Byzantium implied more higher education than actual training, thus this was an occupation usually reserved for the civil aristocracy too. This is the case of the ‘philosophers’ Georgios Kydones Gabrielopoulos²¹⁹ and Ioannes Zacharias.²²⁰ There was also the office of the imperial doctor (*aktouarios*), such as the above-mentioned Kabasilas and Ioannes Zacharias.

Some of the civil aristocrats served as agents and curators in the estates of the high aristocracy. This is how Alexios Apokaukos started his career, as an agent of Andronikos Asanes.²²¹ As *oiketai* of Kantakouzenos were designated Demetrios Kassandrenos, sent as ambassador during the second civil war,²²² and Ioannes Gabalas who reached the office of *mezas logothetes*, thanks to his defection from Kantakouzenos and his support of the regency.²²³ The writer Alexios Makrembolites

²¹⁵ Actes Docheiariou, 170.

²¹⁶ See Matschke, *Die Gesellschaft*, 237-239. Among the scholars from the high aristocracy, it is possible to place Eirene Choumnaina, Theodoros Metochites, Nikephoros Choumnos or the emperors Manouel II Palaiologos and Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos.

²¹⁷ Mazaris, 32; MM III, 143 and 152.

²¹⁸ See PLP, no. 30964.

²¹⁹ See PLP, no. 3433. He was the personal doctor and relative of Demetrios Kydones, who addresses him as ‘Georgios the philosopher’ in his letters (e.g. at p. 63).

²²⁰ Gabras, *Letters*, 677.

²²¹ Kantakouzenos, II, 112.

²²² Kantakouzenos, II, 103 and 192. An earlier Kassandrenos was *logaristes tes aules* (a financial office): see PLP, no. 11315.

²²³ Kantakouzenos, II, 118-120, 138-139, 223, 437.

had served the rich tax official Theodoros Patrikiotes,²²⁴ and Michael Kabasilas served the metropolitan of Apros in his duties as *katholikos krites*.²²⁵

However, given the pragmatic restrictions in the provinces, outside Constantinople and Thessalonike, the main sphere of the activity of the provincial civil aristocracy remained solely the church service and adjacent services (mainly as notaries), as will be demonstrated in the chapter for Serres later. The posts of the provincial administration in the domains of finance and justice were commonly filled by Constantinopolitans, since their appointment was reserved to the central government.

A typical family of the civil aristocracy was that of Oinaiotēs. The family had representatives in all the domains of civil administration. Ioannes Oinaiotēs is attested as *apographeus* in 1321,²²⁶ as is attested a century later Konstantinos Palaiologos Oinaiotēs.²²⁷ Andronikos Oinaiotēs was *katholikos krites* in 1369²²⁸ as was also Georgios Oinaiotēs between 1400 and 1407.²²⁹ Another Oinaiotēs is attested as *lampadarios* of the imperial clergy in 1265.²³⁰ More famous was the scholar Georgios Oinaiotēs. He descended from the family of Pachymerēs and the historian Georgios Pachymerēs was possibly his grandfather. He was married to a family with an ecclesiastical tradition, the Syropouloi, while he was also related to the *aktouarios* Ioannes Zacharias. His spiritual teacher was the church dignitary and later

²²⁴ See Ševčenko, 'Dialogue of Rich and Poor', 190-191. Yet especially for Makrembolites, due to insufficient evidence, it is not certain whether we should place him in the lower strata of aristocracy or the middle class.

²²⁵ PR II, 286.

²²⁶ Actes Lavra II, 288.

²²⁷ Actes Dionysiou, 121.

²²⁸ Kydones, *Letters*, p. 37; R.-J. Loenertz, 'Lettre de Démétrius Cydonès à Andronic Oenéote, grand juge des Romains (1369-1371)', *REB* 29 (1971), 303-308, cf. PLP, no. 21124.

²²⁹ MM II, 424 (1400); Actes Lavra III, 153 (1407); cf. PLP, nos. 21020 and 21025.

²³⁰ Pachymerēs, II, 377.

metropolitan of Ephesos Matthaios Gabalas. Oinaïotes was connected with other famous literati of his time such as Georgios Galesiotes and Theodoros Metochites whom he served and by whom he was protected.²³¹ Thus, the family had representatives in all the domains of the civil aristocracy.

Again it is possible to find connections among them. The *protasekretis* (head of the judges) Leo Bardales was probably a nephew of Theodoros Metochites.²³², while we referred above to the family connections of Georgios Oinaïotes. Although it is possible to find families throughout the Byzantine period which were constantly in the service of the state for many generations, their stability is less compared to the stability achieved by the elite. Few families can be traced throughout the Palaiologan period (Balsamon, Oinaïotes, Syropoulos). No other family members of the same family for several *apographeis* or imperial notaries can be documented.

However, it is imperative to stress that there was no real struggle or clash of interests with the elite of the empire or the military aristocracy. The little evidence that we have for the members of the civil aristocracy suggests that they also were dependent largely on landed and real estate property in the city as much as were the elite and the military aristocracy. Leo Bardales was landowner in Serres,²³³ the brother of the scholar Maximos Planoudes was landowner;²³⁴ the *logariastes tes aules* Kassandrenos is attested as large landowner during the first quarter of the fourteenth century in Strymon and in Thessalonike,²³⁵ as is the ‘businessman’ Kassandrenos in

²³¹ See PLP, 21026 and *ODB*, entry Georgios Oinaïotes. His letters remain largely unpublished.

²³² PLP, no. 2183.

²³³ See below note 608.

²³⁴ Maximos Planoudes, *Letters*, 46 ff.

²³⁵ PLP, no. 11313.

Thessalonike in the middle of the century.²³⁶ The picture is similar for the provincial civil aristocracy.²³⁷ With the exception of two or three individuals (Ioannes Batatzes, Alexios Apokaukos, Theodoros Patrikiotes) we do not know other people who enriched themselves thanks to service in the administration. Besides, Ioannes Batatzes and Alexios Apokaukos turned soon to military offices, while they both had landed property. Apokaukos built a fortress for himself as some other Byzantine aristocrats had done.²³⁸ Consequently, it is difficult to think that the members of the civil aristocracy were trying to initiate policies against the large landholding of the ‘military aristocracy’, attempting at the same time a ‘larger’ and stronger state apparatus, since this policy was at odds with their own financial basis. A second observation, which tightens the two layers, is that on many occasions they cannot be easily categorised into military or civil aristocracy. For example, if we identify as relatives the three main attested branches of the family of Kabasilas, then one of them was certainly orientated to military service.

The high aristocracy, then, comprised members of both functional categories. Its members could simultaneously occupy places in the highest ranks of the administration (as *mesazontes* or the heads of the imperial secretary services) or the highest places in the provincial administration and in the command of the army. But the lower aristocracy was divided into two functional categories: the civil aristocracy and the military aristocracy. The members of the military aristocracy are mostly attested in the provinces, yet soldiers, and not only mercenaries, were stationed in

²³⁶ P. Schreiner, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Bibliotheca Vaticana* (Vatican City 1991), 84 and the explanation of Schreiner at p. 101.

²³⁷ See below p. 216-218.

²³⁸ For more on the social origins and the place of Ioannes Batatzes and Alexios Apokaukos see below chapter III.B (p. 265 ff.).

Constantinople as well.²³⁹ They had *pronoiai* in return for military service and they held military titles (*megas tzaousios*, *protoierakarios*, *protallagator*, *etaireiarches* etc.) and posts like the *kastrophylax* (head of the garrison of the town and the fortifications) or governors in *katepanikia* (sub-divisions of themes), such as the *protokynegos* Kontophres in Mesothynia (part of Bithynia).²⁴⁰ Although many of them are known, lack of information allows little insight into this group or any conclusions on their continuity and stability rate. Nonetheless, it was also possible for them to achieve entry into the elite thanks to their military services or their connections. Leon Kalothetos, a local *archon* of Chios, already a family friend of Kantakouzenos, cooperated in the Byzantine recapture of the island in 1329.²⁴¹ Thereafter, he received significant titles and posts: he was governor in Chios until 1341 and later in Palaia Phokaia between 1348 and 1363, while Ioannes V conferred the high title of *panypersebastos* on him.²⁴²

One family that may serve as an example is that of the Deblitzenoi in Thessalonike. The family probably had Serbian roots, since both the Slavic origin of the surname itself and a document called ‘Σέρβος’ a certain Deblitzenos Lykopoulos of the fourteenth century.²⁴³ In the beginning of this century there are two Deblitzenoi: the first, Philippos Deblitzenos, is attested as *oikeios* of the emperor around the turn of the century, when he received through an imperial donation the

²³⁹ Kantakouzenos, I, 342; II, 69.

²⁴⁰ Kantakouzenos, II, 341.

²⁴¹ Kantakouzenos, I, 371-379.

²⁴² Kantakouzenos, III, 84 and 320-322. The surname of Kalothetos is quite common both in Thessalonike and in Constantinople. Already since the second half of the thirteenth century, it is attested for monks, scholars or other high aristocrats (the *panypersebastos* Stephanos Kalothetos in Xantheia in 1366: Actes Vatopedi II, 317-321; or the senator Ioannes Komnenos Kalothetos in 1390: MM III, 143).

²⁴³ Schreiner, ‘Praktika’, 34.

ownership of two *metochia*, which eventually belonged to the monastery of Zographou.²⁴⁴ The second, the *sebastos* and *tzaousios* Manouel Deblitzenos, was a proprietor in Chalkidike and probably the recipient of an *oikonomia* of 33 *hyperpyra*.²⁴⁵ Among his children or relatives we might include the *oikeios* of Andronikos III in 1339 Theodoros Deblitzenos,²⁴⁶ and the *oikeios* of the emperor in 1341 Konstantinos Deblitzenos.²⁴⁷ A Deblitzenos is also attested as married to the Thessalonican military aristocratic family of Sarantenos through Anna (Doukaina) Intanina Sarantene.²⁴⁸

On account of the succession of names and the localisation of their properties, it is possible to identify, as Oikonomides has suggested, the *oikeios* of Kantakouzenos Demetrios Deblitzenos in 1349, as the son of the first Manouel Deblitzenos. For his support in the second civil war he received a large *oikonomia* of 400 *hyperpyra*.²⁴⁹ It is uncertain though whether he can be the same as a certain soldier (*βασιλικὸς*

²⁴⁴ Actes Zographou, 52-53 (cf. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2194, for the date 1296 or 1311; the editor Regel places it in 1326).

²⁴⁵ Actes Ivion III, 175 and 234 (as deceased with children); Actes Zographou, 62.

²⁴⁶ Actes Chilandar (Petit), 272.

²⁴⁷ A. Lauriotès, 'Αθωϊτικὸ Στοιχεῖον', *VV* 9 (1902), 122-137 (here at 133).

²⁴⁸ PR II, 412, perhaps daughter of the *pronoia*-holder and *protokynegos* Indanes Sarantenos: Actes Lavra II, 85. For other Sarantenoi see Philes, *Carmina I*, 247 and Philes, *Carmina III*, 653 (the general of the end of the 13th century Angelos Doukas Komnenos Sarantenos); Actes Vatopedi I, 335-336 and 353-361 (the *oikeios of the emperor* and *skouterios* Theodoros Sarantenos in 1324 married to Athanasios Soultanos; he was quite wealthy as his testament testifies); Actes Vatopedi I, 356 (Ioannes Sarantenos killed in battle); Actes Vatopedi I, 360 (the *mezas etaireiarches* Georgios Sarantenos and nephew of the *skouterios* Theodoros Sarantenos); Kantakouzenos, III, 135 (the governor of north-eastern Thessaly in 1350 Nikephoros Sarantenos).

²⁴⁹ Actes Docheiariou, 185-186; cf. N. Oikonomides, 'The properties of the Deblitzenoi in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', A. Laiou (ed.), *Charanis Studies* (New Brunswick 1980), 185.

στρατιώτης), Demetrios Deblitzenos, attested much earlier in 1311.²⁵⁰ The son of the first mentioned Demetrios was the *oikeios* of the emperor Manouel Deblitzenos.²⁵¹ Manouel's fortune was really large: four estates around the area of Thessalonike, the surface of which surpassed 5272 *modioi*. His wife's dowry consisted of real estate, a vineyard, movable goods and money, the total value of which was estimated at 1584 *hyperpyra*.²⁵² Manouel was a soldier and before he leaves for the war he assured three *adelphata* for himself and his wife. He was killed in the battle of Chortaites against the Turks in 1384, and as a result his wife Maria Deblitzene received the three *adelphata*.²⁵³ The daughter of Deblitzenos was married to another family of the Thessalonican military aristocracy through Bartholomaios Komes.²⁵⁴ Neither a Deblitzenos nor a Komes are attested in the list of the 59 'nobles' of Thessalonike, who received payment from Venice in 1425 for the defense of the city against the Turks,²⁵⁵ something that could suggest the extinction or at least the decrease of the importance of the family.

²⁵⁰ Actes Docheiariou, 119 (suggested by Oikonomides). Given that in this document he signs as a witness, he must have been at least 25 years old in 1311, something that would make him at least 63 years old in 1349. It is unlike that Kantakouzenos would give such a large *pronoia* to an old man.

²⁵¹ Actes Docheiariou, 256. His father was the deceased by then Daniel (monk name) Deblitzenos; both Demetrios and Daniel had their estates in the same area, something that can make possible the identification of Demetrios to monk Daniel.

²⁵² Actes Docheiariou, 263-265.

²⁵³ Actes Docheiariou, 255-257, 263, 266, 295 (for his death at that battle).

²⁵⁴ Actes Docheiariou, 268, 296 (attested in 1404 and in 1419). For other Kometai see Actes Docheiariou, 170 (*protoierakarios* Demetrios Komes: 1344); Actes Docheiariou, 266 (*megas droungarios tes biglas*: 1366); Actes Docheiariou, 269 (*oikeios* of the emperor Georgios Komes: 1404).

²⁵⁵ K.D. Mertzios, *Μνημεία Μακεδονικής Ιστορίας* (Thessaloniki 1947), 48.

The middle classes and their urban economic activities

Problems arise when the clear categorisation of the *demos* and the *archontes* is disturbed by the addition of other elements. Apart from the common soldiers, an element which someone can easily disregard in the larger schema, sometimes there are introduced other urban social groups based on profession and which may be differentiated from the *demos*. Thus, Kantakouzenos says that there was a rivalry over who would better cater for the miserable Catalans who had taken refuge in Constantinople in the winter of 1352 during the raging Genoese war. There took part ‘not only the *dynatoi*, the monasteries and the hostels... but many of the *demos* and of the artisans and the craftsmen (*καὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίοις καὶ τέχνας προσεχόντων*), simply everyone competed for them’.²⁵⁶ In a most striking case in 1347 Kantakouzenos summoned something like a ‘General Assembly of the Estates’ in order to gather support for extra taxation for the building and maintenance of a strong fleet. In this assembly took part merchants, craftsmen, abbots, *ktetors* of churches and ‘not a few of the *demos*’.²⁵⁷ Again Kantakouzenos seems to differentiate what we would call middle urban classes or ‘bourgeoisie’ from the lower urban classes which he designates as *demos*. This lack of precision is understandable. Byzantium still lacked a concept which would allow a stratification that did not correspond to the two main divisions: the economic division of rich and poor and the political of *archontes* – church *archontes* – soldiers – *demos* (or simply the two-fold *archontes* – *demos*)

²⁵⁶ Kantakouzenos, III, 227.

²⁵⁷ Kantakouzenos, III, 34. He designates it as a ‘*καὶ κοινὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκ πάσης ιδέας βίου συναθροίσεως ἐκ τῶν Βυζαντίου πολιτῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἔμπορος ὑπελείπετο, οὔτε στρατιώτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ χειροτέχναι παρήσαν, καὶ τοῦ δήμου οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν φροντιστηρίων οἱ ἐξηγούμενοι καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οἱ προστάται*’.

which originates from the three components of the classic Byzantine ‘constitution’: Senate, Army, People with the addition of the Church.

The term *mesoi* and its derivative *mesotes* (middle status) appear during the fourteenth century in our sources. In fact we only have a handful of references and many of these are not all clear. Thus, Kantakouzenos says that during the occupation of the City Walls in 1328 by Andronikos III, the latter ordered that the first to climb the walls should not be nobles, so that they would not boast to their social inferiors, or German mercenaries. Rather they should be ‘*Romaioi* of the middle (status)’.²⁵⁸ As a result, twelve of them climbed the walls. But here the reference probably is to common soldiers in contrast to the noble. I would be surprised if Andronikos III entrusted the important task of occupying the walls to anyone who was not a soldier.

In another passage, Kantakouzenos says that the Zealots obliged the *mesoi* of the citizens to cooperate with them ‘taking into consideration their prudence and clemency’, which these *mesoi* supposedly had, as a mask for their allegiance; otherwise they would be considered as supporters of Kantakouzenos.²⁵⁹ Nevertheless, again here we may not have a reference to the middle classes but rather to citizens who were indifferent or neutral in their support in the second civil war. Analogous is another passage in which Kantakouzenos says that ‘there was nothing that the most clement people (*ἐπιεικέστεροι*) did not suffer (during the civil war). The *aristoi*, on the one hand, were killed or arrested immediately, either on account of their previous support of Kantakouzenos, or because they did not wage war immediately on him. The *mesoi* of the citizens, on the other hand, were attacked because they were not as cruel as the insurgents (i.e. the supporters of the regency).²⁶⁰ Here the reference to

²⁵⁸ Kantakouzenos, I, 301.

²⁵⁹ Kantakouzenos, II, 235.

²⁶⁰ Kantakouzenos, II, 179.

mesoi is more explicit; clemency seems to be ascribed to both *aristoi* and *mesoi*. Equally explicit is the passage about Adrianople during the second civil war. Kantakouzenos says that it was possible for the army (obviously it includes simple soldiers and noble officers), thanks to the pillage of the surrounding countryside, to assure its subsistence, and the same was true for the artisans and all labourers, who were able to make their living by selling their labour. But, he adds, that the *mesoi* had virtually no income and they were hard pressed. As it seems, Kantakouzenos must have meant all non-farmers and non-artisans of the city populace and these must have been merchants and ecclesiastical dignitaries.²⁶¹ Lastly, the designation of *mesos* is ascribed to one of the supporters of Kantakouzenos in Thessalonike by the name of Gabalas, who was murdered by the Zealots.²⁶² But unfortunately we do not know anything else about him.

The term is extremely rare in other authors. The patriarch Georgios Kyprios claims that, although his family was noble and rich, after the coming of the Italians their wealth decreased and his parents were then of modest wealth (*μέτρια ἔχοντες*); they were neither among the ‘πένητες, the ‘many’ and the inglorious, nor the very rich men’.²⁶³ Manouel Kalekas says that the father of one of his pupils belonged to the *mesotes*, because he was neither poor and oppressed by need of the basics, nor rich and envied by others.²⁶⁴ Yet in both these two references, the authors seem to speak of an intermediate financial status between wealth and poverty and not of a specific social group. In fact what they do is to give nuance to the classical notion of *αὐτάρκεια* (self-sufficiency). We also noted above the usage of the term in

²⁶¹ Kantakouzenos, II, 334.

²⁶² Kantakouzenos, I, 393.

²⁶³ Gregorios Kyprios, *Autobiography* (*Διηγήσεως μερικῆς λόγος τὰ καθ’ ἑνατὸν περιέχων*), PG 142, 20.

²⁶⁴ Manouel Kalekas, Letter 10.

Makrembolites as a reference to the Rich man, and we expressed doubts as to whether it is a reference to the *mesoi*. But even if the Rich man of Makrembolites did turn out to be a *mesos*, we still do not learn his profession and his function in society. His wealth was supposed to come from trade, from fields and from his office. The Rich man of Makrembolites could be nothing more than simply a rich person.

There has been a large debate over the identity of the *mesoi*, also because of their supposed ‘disappearance’ from the sources after the middle of the fourteenth century. Scholars have targeted specific professional groups. Oikonomides placed the *mesoi* among the upper middle class, the bourgeois. They were, according to him, large-scale merchants, owners of industries, ship-owners, bankers etc.²⁶⁵ Matschke identifies the *mesoi* with all the people active in urban economical activities, regardless of their economic standing. Interestingly, he identified a layer of these *mesoi* occupied with the financial service to the state or the high aristocracy: they were collecting the taxes or they were stewards of the aristocrats’ properties.²⁶⁶ Beck, in his analysis of the whole of Byzantine society, placed the *mesoi* a little below; he included the literati and ecclesiastical dignitaries, the middle-sized farmers and in general the artisans and the merchants. The wealthier of them would be introduced to the state hierarchy.²⁶⁷ In fact, Beck speaks of a middle class and not of a specific group and his conclusions are more interesting. It is difficult to try to define the *mesoi*

²⁶⁵ Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires*, 114-115.

²⁶⁶ Matschke, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 99-138, with an extensive discussion on the problematic over the *mesoi*. Yet, he does not provide a definition of the *mesoi*; we can ascertain it indirectly, in his enumeration of their economic activities. P. Schreiner, *Byzanz* (München 1994), 38, has also accepted that *mesoi* were comprised of literati and low officials and clerics, but most especially they included merchants and artisans of every sort; yet he declined to intergrate the (middle) landowners with them.

²⁶⁷ Beck, *Jahrtausend*, 253-255; Van der Velden, *L'elite byzantine*, 58-60 has placed the metropolitans also among the *mesoi*, but probably misunderstood the lower church officials about whom Beck speaks.

of our sources as a specific group of people. As we saw, there are only a handful of references and most of them are in the *History* of Kantakouzenos. Moreover, if we take seriously the conclusions of Hunger who noted the debt of Kantakouzenos to Thucydides and the latter's use of *mesoi* as meaning those neutral in the civil war in Corfu during the Peloponnesian War, then the range of our knowledge for the *mesoi*, or even their very existence as a consistent group (i.e. a group of people inbetween the aristocracy and the common people, which also has a specific function in society and exercises certain professions) is seriously diminished.²⁶⁸ Nonetheless, if we consider that Kantakouzenos, despite his debt to Thucydides, and other Byzantine authors had in mind a specific group of people too, it is still difficult to ascertain who exactly these are. Many of the references agree that the *mesoi* are of a middle financial status. One of Kantakouzenos' passages links them with soldiers and another one probably with merchants and church dignitaries. According to my view, the *mesoi* was more a descriptive term than a structural one. It meant simply those of middle financial status, whatever their professional or social background. Thus, a concept of a middle class in Byzantium should not only incorporate the people of middle economic standing in the cities, but should also include independent peasants and the soldiers, about whom we spoke earlier.

One of the most significant fields of the financial activity of the middle urban classes was the domain of trade. Since the twelfth century the presence of the Italian maritime republics had stimulated a rise in trade and merchant entrepreneurial activities. Sometimes the agricultural production was directed through larger scale

²⁶⁸ H. Hunger, 'Thucydides bei Johannes Kantakouzenos. Beobachtungen zur Mimesis', *JÖB* 25 (1976), 181-193, and also for the debt of Kantakouzenos in the description of the Black Death that hit Byzantium in 1347 to the plague of Thucydides in Athens cf. T.S. Miller, 'The plague in John VI Cantacuzenus and Thucydides', *GRBS* 17 (1976), 385-395.

merchant activities.²⁶⁹ But from the thirteenth century the Venetians and the Genoese came to dominate the large scale trade. The routes from Byzantium to Italy were mostly blocked for the Byzantine merchants, while the Genoese tried to block or minimise Byzantine trade in Black Sea. Large scale artisanal activity, and the trade connected with it, was also concentrated in the Aegean colonies of Venice. Venetians were importing goods into Constantinople from their colonies.²⁷⁰

Although often the Italians were undertaking commercial enterprises in the interior of the empire, and even though they imported goods into Constantinople, in general small scale trade remained in Byzantine hands. The Byzantine traders undertook the responsibility of selling these goods in the Byzantine market. They were importing grain and other commodities from the countryside or other smaller towns. Moreover, many of them were acting as collaborators in entrepreneurial activities with Italians. Because of the nature of our sources much of the evidence regarding Byzantine merchants originates from partnerships which have left traces in the notarial acts of the Italian republics. Byzantine middle class merchants rarely undertook large scale enterprises, comparable to those of the Italians or at least to the Byzantine aristocrats. When they did, it was usually through *syntrophiai* of many merchants or with capital provided by more wealthy people. They were hindered even more by the fact that they often had to rent or use another's ship, since they rarely owned ships themselves. We hear for example that a Genoese ship-owner transported a number of Byzantine merchants from Alexandria to Constantinople along with their

²⁶⁹ M. Gerolymatou, 'L'aristocratie et le commerce (IXe-XIIe siècles)', *Symmeikta* 15 (2002), 77-89; P. Lemerle, '“Roga” et rente d'état aux Xe-XIe siècles', *REB* 25 (1967), 77-100. See also J.-C. Cheynet, 'Le rôle de la «bourgeoisie» constantinopolitaine (xie-xiie siècle)', *ZRVI* 46 (2009), 89-106, who speaks of infiltration of the ranks of civil officials by the upper strata of artisans and merchants of Constantinople.

²⁷⁰ See above p. 5-6.

merchandise. The charge for the use of the ship amounted to 500 *nomismata*.²⁷¹ Only with very expensive products on the market or at least with a large quantity of them, would they be able to profit from such an enterprise.

It is actually only from the 1340s that the Byzantines reappear more actively in the field of trade, thanks to the last minute measures of the government. Just before the death of Andronikos III the Byzantine fleet was recreated in an attempt to prevent the constant Turkish raids in Thrace - it had been dissolved at the start of the reign of Andronikos II. Moreover, after 1348, the reduction from 10% to 2% of the commercial tax that the merchants had to pay for their merchandise when they arrived in Byzantine ports, induced many Byzantines to build ships and actively engage in commerce in the Black Sea. It is from this period that reports of Byzantine merchants active in trade around the Black Sea increase. The number of attested Byzantine merchants doubles during the second half of the fourteenth century.²⁷² We learn, for example, from a patriarchal document of 1356 that two brothers named Agapetoi were often travelling for business purposes to Tana.²⁷³ The example of Theodoros Sebasteianos is an indication of the scope of Byzantine merchants around the middle of the century. He sold 832 *metra* of wine for 565 *hyperpyra*, which he himself had bought from Asia Minor, to a Venetian merchant from Crete.²⁷⁴ Although most of these merchants originated in Constantinople (more than 2/3 of the total), two of the most active merchants were the partners from Adrianople, Ioannes Basilikos and Ioannes Phrangopoulos. In 1360-1361 they are attested in Chilia in the Black Sea

²⁷¹ See Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 2:756.

²⁷² Laiou, 'Greek merchant', 106.

²⁷³ MM I, 358.

²⁷⁴ A. Laiou, 'Un notaire Vénitien à Constantinople: Antonio Bresciano et le commerce international en 1350', in *Les Italiens à Byzance*, 79-151 (here at 122). This is an amount of around 13-13.5 tons of wine.

investing at least 1814 *hyperpyra* and 10 *sommi* and 20 *saggi* of silver.²⁷⁵ Another trader of oil and candles from Thessalonike named Chalkeopoulos is attested. But the only thing that we know about him is that he additionally owned a mill and that his father-in-law was a door-keeper.²⁷⁶

Some were not lucky. We hear that a certain Sideriotes had a failed business trip to the Genoese colony of Caffa just before 1348.²⁷⁷ This might be related to the growing antagonism of the Genoese, shortly before the outbreak of the war of 1348. Moreover, now the Byzantine traders had to compete with Byzantine aristocrats too, who actively enter the scene in the fourteenth century and especially after the middle of that century. The middle classes never disappear from the scene of trade, continuing to operate even during the eight-year siege of Constantinople at the end of the fourteenth century, albeit with serious difficulties and drawbacks. Some of them even had significant property.²⁷⁸

Banking was one more activity in which the middle class people were often engaged in Byzantine cities. There is evidence both for Constantinople and for Thessalonike. However, the middle class again competed with the aristocracy since much of these banking and loan activities were also undertaken by members of the aristocracy or the monasteries, already early on. The names of some bankers have been preserved. One case is a Xenos Agapetos who had loaned money to the Patriarch

²⁷⁵ Laiou, 'Greek merchant', 107.

²⁷⁶ Actes Chilandar, 204.

²⁷⁷ PR II, 402 (November 1348). The successive deaths of almost all the members of the families involved in the case, points to Black Death and a date for the trip between 1346 (siege of Caffa by the Mongols) and 1348 (Genoese hostility to the Byzantines).

²⁷⁸ See a more detailed analysis below in chapter III.C.

Isidoros.²⁷⁹ It is important to remember that other Agapetoi in the same period were merchants in Tana, as we said above. A number of otherwise unknown people (i.e. probably non-aristocrats) sold in total twenty bankers stalls to the monastery of Lavra in 1342.²⁸⁰ In other cities only rarely can we find mentions of people engaged in banking activities and for some of them it is hard to distinguish between the upper urban milieu and the aristocracy. This is the case of the *megalodoxotatos* Georgios Rammatas in Thessalonike, who is designated as *χρυσεπιλέκτης*.²⁸¹

Some middle men were agents of the aristocrats. The activities of one of them, named Phrangopoulos, are narrated by Nikephoros Choumnos. Phrangopoulos was a curator of the rural property of Choumnos but he took advantage of his position in order to obtain profit for himself. He reassigned plots of land with rent contracts to peasants gaining for himself any additional profit; he withheld part of the production in demesne land; he was selling the demesne horses and he compelled the peasants to pay more tax than the normal, which he also withheld.²⁸² Despite the fact that Choumnos had been orally informed of these abuses, he was unable to do anything until there was a formal complaint of some monks (?) from the area (*θεοφιλεῖς ἄνδρες*). He then petitioned the emperor asking him to dispense justice. Thus, Phrangopoulos was not an *oiketes* of Choumnos. He must have been a private man who had a sort of agreement with Choumnos, similar to the way that the state

²⁷⁹ PR II, 442. There is no specific term to denote a banker in Byzantium. Usual designations are *καταλλάκτης*, *χρυσεπιλέκτης*, *ἀργυραμοιβός*, while their shops were often designated as ‘money-changing tables’, *καταλλακτικὰ τραπέζια*.

²⁸⁰ Actes Lavra III, 17 (Kalomiseides, Langidas, Zomes, Lavrentis, Chandrene, Romanos, Boilas, Manganes, Kalos, Photiates).

²⁸¹ Actes Chilandar, 181, 219 and elsewhere he signed as witness.

²⁸² Smaller plots to more tenants or better agreements mean more profit for the lodger.

functionaries acted.²⁸³ Accordingly, we learn that the brother of Maximos Planoudes had also a curator of his properties in Nikomedeia, a private man (*ιδιώτης*) not ‘at all connected with public affairs’, whom Maximos tried to protect from abuses of state officials with a petition to the high tax official Ioannes Bardales.²⁸⁴

Artisanal activities were one more field of activity exercised by the middle urban classes. There were two main hindrances for their development: the importation of foreign products from Italy by the Venetians and Genoese and the fact that the aristocracy and the monasteries owned most of the urban space including the shops, thus leaving the artisans to be mere workers. In addition, it is possible to find some of the middle class people as *protomaïstores* of builders’ teams or other team works. Thus, in Thessalonike Georgios Marmaras was a *protomaïstor* of the builders in 1322,²⁸⁵ while Theodoros Brachnos was designated as *exarchos* of the perfumers (*μυρροψοί*).²⁸⁶ Although artisanal activity is attested in many cities of the empire, and even more for Constantinople, we cannot trace the social position for most of these artisans. Some of them received children as apprentices. From the few cases preserved, the entry into apprenticeship seems to have had a status of contract with the father of the child. The artisan agreed to have the child at his work for a specified period of five to ten years, to teach him the craft (and presumably he was undertaken also the child’s living costs) and sometimes, after the end of the contract, to provide him with a starting capital consisting of a little money or of crafting tools.²⁸⁷

²⁸³ Nikephoros Choumnos, *Letters*, 25-27. For this explanation see Matschke, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 129-133.

²⁸⁴ Maximos Planoudes, *Letters*, 37-38.

²⁸⁵ Actes Chilandar (Petit), 180.

²⁸⁶ Actes Iviron III, 253.

²⁸⁷ Registro Vaticano, 264-266 (in total six cases).

A number of real estate owners are attested in Constantinople and in other cities who cannot be classified as aristocrats. This conclusion can be reached on the basis of their otherwise unknown surname and on the fact that they do not bear a distinguishing epithet or title or, perhaps, from their evident middle economic status. A certain Ioannes Kanaboutzes, although simply designated as ‘porter’ (*βασταγάρης*), agreed to give a dowry of 155 *hyperpyra*.²⁸⁸ This sum may be considered modest compared to the hundreds or thousands *hyperpyra* of the dowries of the aristocrats, but impressive compared to the 34 *hyperpyra* of the dowry of a certain Theodoros.²⁸⁹ Some of the middle class people were in possession of more than one house or shop. Thus, a certain Aspietes (*ἐκ τινὸς λεγομένου Ασπιέτου*) sold three butcher shops to the monastery of Lavra.²⁹⁰ That these middle class real estate owners did not rent the houses they sold can be inferred from two facts: there is no statement to this effect in the document, and the sale price itself would have been lower. This is, for example, the case of a Theodora Gorgaina in Thessalonike, who sold to a certain Ioannes Papadopoulos her house in Thessalonike, which was built on land of the church of St Asomatos to which a rent of 3 *kokkia* (1/4 of a *nomisma*) was owed. The house was sold for only 7 *nomismata* (the lowest attested for a house) and a 10% charge was paid to the clergy of St Asomatos.²⁹¹

There were also free independent landholders who lived in the city but had their fields and vineyards outside the walls. Moreover, a number of the lower ecclesiastical dignitaries or priests in the towns had too low a status in order to be placed in the civil aristocracy. This is also evident from the wide range of individuals

²⁸⁸ Registro Vaticano, 266.

²⁸⁹ Registro Vaticano, 265.

²⁹⁰ Actes Lavra III, 25.

²⁹¹ Actes Xenophon, 104. See, for other two similar cases, Registro Vaticano, 265.

who occupied these posts, but whose surnames were otherwise unattested in the sources.

Consequently, it is possible to speak of a wide range of urban activities in which the middle urban classes were engaged: they were traders, merchants (large scale trade), bankers, agents of aristocrats and lower state officials in the domain of finance, artisans, priests, lower ecclesiastical officials, real estate holders, and small landholders. The lower urban layers would consequently be comprised of people who were completely dependent on the aristocracy or the middle classes, either as apprentices or wage workers in their shops or in other places, as in town fields or in masonry activities, while they would have to rent out their houses. This is a significant different social status sandwiched between the middle and the lower social layers, as much as is in the countryside the difference between a *paroikos* and a small independent peasant, even when in some cases, this social status was not accompanied by a significant difference in economic stature.

I understand that this category of middle class is formed from people with very diverse occupations and activities. But, at the same time, in many cases it is hard to differentiate between these occupations, since most people were engaged in more than one. There were some who combined priesthood, for example, with an artisanal activity: the priest Antonios was also a shoe-maker.²⁹² This element of the diverse activities of the middle class, which is firmly connected with the absence of guilds in Late Byzantium, seriously prevented the development of a group consciousness on the part of these middle social layers.²⁹³

It is not before the reign of Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos that the middle class actively appear in the scene through their participation in the General Council of the

²⁹² Registro Vaticano, 264.

²⁹³ For the absence of the guilds in Late Byzantium see below p. 138-139.

Estates that this emperor summoned in order to assure support for the raising of taxes. Kantakouzenos accuses the bankers of having sabotaged the collection of these taxes by not paying their share and exhorting others to act similarly.²⁹⁴ Nevertheless, aside from this refusal to pay the tax, they never seem to have pursued collectively a policy that would favour their social position and they never collectively exercised pressure on the state and its dignitaries to pursue a policy that at least would favour their financial welfare. During the two anti-Genoese wars of the reign of Kantakouzenos, it is true that the middle social layers engaged actively against the Genoese not only by arming ships and defending the City Walls but also by constructing merchant ships and trying to undertake trips and establish trade routes in the Black Sea.²⁹⁵ However, this war and this antagonism were not abstract and enduring struggles in which the middle classes found the opportunity to regain their position from the Genoese. This war concerned them immediately. The Genoese, who had a greater perception of the increase of Byzantine sea power and the negative effects that this might have in the future for them, were those that first reacted by attacking Byzantine merchant ships. Besides, this was not only a project of the middle classes. It is clear from the accounts of Kantakouzenos, Gregoras and Makrembolites that all the social groups of Constantinople (including the aristocrats) were engaged in this fight. It was a matter of prestige for the Byzantines to avenge the ‘hated’ Genoese, who for so many years were ‘stealing the *Roman* wealth’.²⁹⁶

With the end of the anti-Genoese wars and their defeat, the Byzantines lost an opportunity to attain a prominent position in the trade of the Black Sea. Although the

²⁹⁴ Kantakouzenos, III, 40-42.

²⁹⁵ Kantakouzenos, III, 69 and 81.

²⁹⁶ This line of thought is conveyed by both Gregoras and Makrembolites. See Makrembolites, *Historical Discourse*, 144-150 and 146 for the ‘stealing’.

middle classes continued to engage in trade activities in the Black Sea, they were overshadowed by the aristocracy who proved capable of adapting to the changing circumstances, and as a result, the middle classes could not profit socially from the transformation of Byzantium into a sort of 'city-state'. Nonetheless, some of the bourgeoisie, the upper middle class, were able again to profit not only financially but also socially. They were able to conclude marriages with members of the lower aristocracy. A Xanthopoulina, from a civil aristocratic family, whose brothers had the titles of *orphanotrophos* and *stratopedarches*, was married to the merchant Sideriotes already in the 1340s.²⁹⁷ Another man named Kalomiseides, was married into the family of Strongylos through a certain Maria, whose brother was a then *protoïerakarios*.²⁹⁸ It is worth remembering that one of those who had sold 'banking tables' to the monastery of Lavra a few years earlier was also named Kalomiseides.²⁹⁹

In conclusion, the main scheme that the Byzantine sources offer to us is the categorisation of rich - poor which can be equated with the division *archontes* - *demos*. Nevertheless, the same sources provide a number of other divisions or subdivisions which are not always in agreement and are based on a number of variables (function, profession, political power, nobility or wealth). Thus it remains for the scholar of Byzantium to represent, on the basis of the evidence, the social structure of Byzantium by combining the elements that brought social power. It is possible to accept the two-fold division of aristocracy - people, which is based on possession of wealth and political power, however this scheme does not incorporate all the complex

²⁹⁷ PR II, 402-404.

²⁹⁸ PR II, 392.

²⁹⁹ Actes Lavra III, 24. The identification is not certain, though it is an indication that Kalomiseides could have been the same or could have had a similar occupation.

relations inherent within these two groups. It is clear therefore that at the top of the ‘social pyramid’ were placed a small number of people, the elite or high aristocracy, the *sygkletikoi* or the magnates of our sources, who had a large degree of stability and continuity throughout the period, monopolised the higher titles and the most significant posts in the army and in the provincial administration. Below the elite there lay the lesser aristocracy, who also had considerable wealth and exercised power either in a local provincial context or in the domains of justice, finance and church administration, albeit to a much lesser degree. It is possible to divide this lower aristocracy into two groups based on function. On the one side was the military aristocracy which comprised the army officials and who exercised local power in the provinces as the lay *archontes*. On the other side, was the civil aristocracy which maintained posts and power either locally in the church administration or on the basic level in the domains of finance and justice. In this last group were also included, in the two largest cities of the empire, the scholars and the higher layers of church administration. It was through a successful career in the lower aristocracy that someone exceptionally could be accepted in the elite of the empire. At the bottom of the pyramid there lay the lower classes: in the countryside, the peasants who have the dependent status of *paroikoi*, work the land and have a number of fiscal and social obligations to their lords,³⁰⁰ and in the towns the urban proletariat, the workers and the artisans who rent their houses and shops from the *archontes* and as such are *de facto* dependent on them. The possibilities for social ascent are at best minimal for them. However, between the lower aristocracy and the people, there lay a number of different social layers which cannot be classified in either of the two categories. They are the simple soldiers who are either paid as mercenaries in an irregular mode or as

³⁰⁰ The social relations in the countryside are analysed separately here below in chapter II.D.

small *pronoia*-holders; they are the independent farmers either based in the countryside or in towns, who do not have the obligations of the *paroikoi*, cultivate their land alone or with some help of wage workers and pay their taxes to the state; they are the artisans and the traders, who in an analogous way to the independent peasants own their houses and shops; and they are the bourgeoisie, the bankers, the merchants and the heads of craft teams, who in favourable conditions could attain wealth and entry to the lower aristocracy. These middle social layers officially had no political power, but the bourgeoisie and the soldiers may be called occasionally to participate in decision-making, albeit in an inferior position.

B. CONCEPTUALISING LATE BYZANTINE SOCIETY

The order (taxis) of the empire: hierarchy, ceremony and protocol

In order to understand the structure of a society it is necessary to capture the essence of its existence and the concepts that governed the relations between the various social groups. It has been claimed that Byzantine society lacked the concept of hierarchy and that vertical ties were underdeveloped in Byzantium.³⁰¹ However, Byzantine society had a very clear concept of hierarchy at least in respect of the court protocol and the titles. The fact that at least by the middle fourteenth century this court hierarchy was still applicable can be realised by the treatise for court ceremony by Pseudo-Kodinos compiled shortly after the middle of the century.³⁰²

In this treatise apart from the hierarchy of the titles, Pseudo-Kodinos deals shortly with the duties for each office (mainly ceremonial duties, not actual) he describes in detail the ceremonies for the promotion of several officials, and he spends a lot of space on the protocol of dress, because it revealed status and hierarchy. The changes brought from time to time to the rank of each office prove the importance of hierarchy. Kantakouzenos after the second civil war seems to have initiated alterations in the hierarchy degrading offices that had been occupied by his opponents.³⁰³ It was an old tactic (with most efficiency used by Alexios I Komnenos)

³⁰¹ Kazhdan, *People and power*, 24-25 and 30-31.

³⁰² Unlike the 'encyclopaedic' compilation of Konstantinos VII Porphyrogenetos in the tenth century (*De cerimoniis*) which lacked coherence, the work of Pseudo-Kodinos shows a more systematic effort. The treatise had a strong impact and was copied and read during the fifteenth century. For Pseudo-Kodinos now see R. Macrides, J. Munitiz and D. Angelov, *Pseudo-Kodinos: The Constantinopolitan court offices and ceremonies* (Farnham 2013) (in press) including an English translation.

³⁰³ D. Angelov, 'The hierarchy of court titles', forthcoming in Macrides, *Pseudo-Kodinos*.

since in Byzantium it was impossible to both degrade a person and to dissolve a title. When a subject was guilty of a terrible act (e.g. conspiracy or treason) he was imprisoned and his property was confiscated. Whenever he was guilty of a lesser evil, he was forgiven or he simply fell into disfavour and was prohibited from undertaking important duties. Even if a person was ill or old, and as such unable to fulfil his duties, he did not lose his titles and power.³⁰⁴

Physical gestures were another source of information about the importance of hierarchy. Being seated denoted a higher position. The emperor greeted his officials enthroned.³⁰⁵ Another important means through which hierarchy was established was wearing specific clothes and hats appropriate to the office of each individual. Pseudo-Kodinos spends a lot of space analysing the protocol of dress. The figure of the emperor seated was placed on the back of the *skaranikon* hat for the upper title holders and on the front of the lower title holders.³⁰⁶ Besides, those that were allowed to wear this *skaranikon* (up to the title of *eparchos*) had also specific rights; they were allowed to sit in front of a judge in a tribunal.³⁰⁷

However, hierarchy is not visible only in the domain of the court and church protocol. Hierarchy is also present in everyday life. There were specific principles that governed the way that the witnesses would sign as guarantors in an act of sale for example. First of all, the vendor and all his family members involved would sign.

³⁰⁴ Kantakouzenos, I, 67. For example, Nikephoros Choumnos suffering of gout, abstained from his office duties, but he kept his titles and moreover he is mentioned as having taken part in an important trial directed against Andronikos III by his grandfather Andronikos II in 1320. More probably, though, Nikephoros Choumnos had resented the elevation of his rival Theodoros Metochites and had decided not to appear at court: see I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Brusselles 1962), 157-161.

³⁰⁵ Pseudo-Kodinos, 275. See Macrides, 'Expressions of hierarchy', she analyses vividly the details of sitting and standing positions for the court ceremonies.

³⁰⁶ Pseudo-Kodinos, 151-166.

³⁰⁷ Zepos, I, 583.

The last person that would sign was usually the scribe or the person who directed the case (any judge, notary, official) just after the scribe: ‘τὸ παρὸν ἐγγράφη διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ (name of the scribe)... ἐκ προτροπῆς τοῦ (name of the head notary)’. After these standard principles, the rest of the witnesses signed according to the rank of their office in the hierarchy, with all the churchmen ranking above every single layman.

Thus, in a document of 1344 from Thessalonike the first signature was that of the city governor who was *protovestiarites* and then, in order, a *megas chartouliarios*, a *megas droungarios*, a *megas tzaousios*, a *skouterios*, a *protoierakarios* and on the reverse of the document the *dikaiophylax*.³⁰⁸ The order observed in the document was similar to the hierarchy presented by the Treatise of Pseudo-Kodinos.³⁰⁹ Ecclesiastical dignitaries accordingly sign in their hierarchical order.³¹⁰

During the reign of Konstantinos IX Monomachos (1042-1055) there was a great dispute over the great number of servants that the abbots of the monasteries of Mt Athos used to have. The abbots complained that because of their ‘old age’ they

³⁰⁸ Actes Docheiariou, 170.

³⁰⁹ See below at the Table 15.

³¹⁰ See for example Actes Lavra III, 112. There sign in order after the donor Konstantinos Laskaris:

The metropolitan of Serres

The bishop of Spelaion

The *megas oikonomos* of Serres

The *sakellarios* of Serres

The *skeuophylax* of Serres

The *chartophylax* of Serres

The *sakelliou* of Serres

The *protekdikos* of Serres

The *protonotarios* of Serres

The *kanstrisios* of Serres

The *epi ton gonaton* of Serres.

There followed two laymen. One signed as ‘*doulos* of the emperor’ and the second without any title.

needed servants. As a result a compromise was made: the abbot of Lavra (the most important by far monastery at that time) could have six servants, the abbots of Iveron and Vatopedi from four servants each, the *protos* three servants and the rest of the abbots only one each.³¹¹ The abbot of Lavra must have been the eldest! Either this or, obviously, the servants were allocated according to the importance of each monastery and abbot. Besides, in the decisions of the council of the monasteries of Mt Athos each abbot signed according to the importance of the monastery. Even the ex-abbots of the large monasteries actually signed before the abbots of the smaller monasteries.³¹² The fact that they did not exercise their office anymore was irrelevant. They had a place in hierarchy, which was not affected by their retirement.

Hierarchy is also a demonstration of power and authority. As Philotheos Kokkinos puts the argument forward in his refutation of Gregoras, accusing the latter that he has no authority in producing theology: ‘everyone who speaks should remain in his accorded place, even if he is worthy of a better place’.³¹³ Soon after the death of Andronikos III an important council took place to decide whether there would be war with Bulgaria. Kantakouzenos felt extremely offended at the start of the council session, since while the rest of the members remained silent waiting for him to speak first, Georgios Choumnos spoke first and ‘with impudence’ he suggested that if the ‘lesser ones’ have something wise to suggest, then, ‘the First’ (implying Kantakouzenos) ought to consent. Choumnos was not an ordinary man; he belonged to the elite of the empire, being a member of a leading family of the empire and uncle

³¹¹ Actes Protaton, 136-154.

³¹² Actes Vatopedi I, 273-275.

³¹³ Philotheos Kokkinos, *Contra Gregoram*, 1: 36. ‘ἕκαστος λέγων, ἐν ἧ ἐκλήθη τάξει μενέτω, κἂν ἡ τῆς κρείττονος ἄξιος, ἐν ᾧ στέργει τὴν παροῦσαν πλέον εὐδοκιμῶν, ἢ ἐν τῷ ζητεῖν ἦν οὐκ ἔλαβεν’. The whole section of the speech refers to the obligation of everyone to remain at his accorded, by God, place.

to the minor Ioannes V. Although officially there was no ‘First’, there was a hierarchy which was known and everyone was supposed to act according to it. Kantakouzenos did not show that he was offended, but Demetrios Tornikes defended him saying: ‘What now? Should we turn the Roman empire into a democracy, so that everyone has the right to speak and decide whatever he wants, both for great and lesser matters and the ‘better sort’ should agree to what has been decided? What could be worse than this irrationality!’³¹⁴

Sessions of the Patriarchal Synod were likewise ordered by hierarchy. From the few processes of decision-making recorded in the Patriarchal Register it is clear that each metropolitan was speaking according to the rank of his see. Thus in May 1401, ‘according to the custom’ (*κατὰ τὸ ἔθος*), the four metropolitans expressed their view, in turn according to the hierarchy of their see.³¹⁵ The ranking of an individual metropolitan could prove crucial for the outcome of the decision. In a session of 1361, examining a case of a priest’s misdemeanour, the metropolitans expressed their view according to the rank of each see. First spoke the metropolitan of Herakleia, who asked that the Patriarch should punish all the sins of the priests and that the priest Machtetarios should be forgiven. The metropolitan of Kyzikos spoke second and whilst he agreed that Machtetarios should be forgiven, he asked that the punishment for the wrong-doing should be carried out by the emperor. The rest of the

³¹⁴ Kantakouzenos, II, 20-21: ‘*γέγραπται [...] ἐὰν τῶ ἐσχάτῳ ἀποκαλυφθῆ, σιγάτω ὁ πρῶτος. ἂν οὖν καὶ ἡμῶν τινι τῶν δοκούντων ἐσχάτων εἶναι βέλτιόν τι περὶ ὧν νυνὶ βουλευόμεθα εἰπεῖν ἐξῆ, ἀνάγκη τὸν πρῶτον στέργειν*’ and the answer of Demetrios Tornikes: ‘*τί οὖν; [...] δημοκρατίαν χρὴ ποιεῖν τὴν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείαν, ἵν’ ἐξῆ παντί τῳ βουλευέσθαι καὶ λέγειν, ἅττα ἂν δοκῆ, καὶ περὶ μειζόνων καὶ ἐλαττόνων πραγμάτων, καὶ ἀνάγκη προσιθέειν τοῖς βελτίοσι στέργειν τὰ ἐψηφισμένα. καὶ ποίαν ἀτοπίας ἂν ὑπερβολὴν ἐλλίποισι τὸ τοιοῦτον;*’.

³¹⁵ MM, II, 489-490.

metropolitans simply agreed with the view expressed by the metropolitan of Herakleia.³¹⁶

Tάξις, meaning ‘order’, was sacred for the Byzantines. Not only was *taxis* compared to the divine order as expressed by pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite,³¹⁷ but was essential to maintaining the very political existence of the empire. A change of fashion commented on Gregoras is sufficient to show the importance of the maintenance of *taxis*. He notes with sadness the growth of a fashion amongst the Byzantines of his time to wear different kinds of hats, not only in the palace but also in the fields or the market. Thus, he says, there was no distinction anymore and the wearing of a specific hat was not observed. Some ‘prudent’ men then thought that this novelty may lead to ‘the fall of the kingship and the end of its order’.³¹⁸

The defiance of order and hierarchy could have serious implications. The old aunt of the emperor Andronikos II and niece of Ioannes III Batatzes, Strategopoulina, was present in the palace at a feast day celebration. While she was seated outside a room waiting for the reception by the empress, the woman who was second to the empress in state hierarchy, Eirene Palaiologina Raoulaina, the wife of the *porphyrogenetos* Konstantinos Palaiologos, arrived. Pachymeres narrates that her coming was illustrious and pompous, preceded and surrounded by followers. Raoulaina demanded that Strategopoulina, who was not only an old woman but her aunt as well, should give up the seat to her. Strategopoulina declined on grounds of her old age. Raoulaina was stricken by this refusal and started crying, all the more

³¹⁶ PR III, no. 257: ‘Στοιχῶ κατὰ πάντα ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ Ἡρακλείας’. The metropolitans of Bizye, Brysis and Medeia said the same things simply by changing their phrases, while the rest simply said: ‘I agree’.

³¹⁷ See H. Maguire, ‘The heavenly court’, in H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine court culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington 1997), 247-258; C. Mango, *The empire of New Rome* (London 1980), 15.

³¹⁸ Gregoras, I, 567-568. I translated here ‘ἐθῶν καὶ πραγμάτων’ as ‘order’, which is what implied.

wounded since Strategopoulina's husband, Konstantinos Strategopoulos, had no title during his lifetime, having been blinded by Theodoros II Laskaris in 1254. She demanded revenge. Her husband then, being unable to harm personally 'such a noble woman', arrested her lover, stripped him of his clothes and paraded him around the market beating him.³¹⁹

A second incident is narrated by Kantakouzenos. During the first civil war Andronikos III had approached the city walls asking for his grandfather's entry and forgiveness. However, a certain Markos Kaballarios swore at him. Kaballarios was not an ordinary man but an *oikeios* of Andronikos II, son of Bardas Kaballarios a close associate of Andronikos II. In the aftermath of Andronikos III's victory, Kaballarios, who had been hiding underground for much time, was brought to him. He fell to the ground crying and in fear. Everyone present expected that he would meet with his death and Kantakouzenos adds that everyone was bearing in mind not only the earthly punishment but the divine as well, in the afterlife, for this serious offense. To the astonishment of all people present and to Kaballarios himself, Andronikos III forgave him, explaining that the fear that had dominated him was an adequate punishment and moreover Kaballarios would now be an example to all those who 'swear so easily and especially towards people who are *superior and worthy of honour*'.³²⁰ The *taxis* of the empire had been affected by the *hubris* of Kaballarios.

Hierarchy, protocol and ceremony go together. They all symbolise the terrestrial order as a reflection of the celestial order. Kantakouzenos conveys to us the importance of this protocol very often. When there was a senate council the old emperor Andronikos II did not grant permission to Andronikos III to sit. The rest of

³¹⁹ Pachymeres, III, 171-177.

³²⁰ Kantakouzenos, II, 257 and 313-316.

the members of the senate in their turn felt uncomfortable and that it was improper to sit (after Andronikos II had allowed them), while Andronikos III was still standing.³²¹ Besides, according to protocol, the despots, the *sebastokratores* and the *kaisares* are not allowed to participate in the ceremony of the promotion of a patriarch; the patriarch would be seated, while they had to be standing for a promotion and this obviously would be a confusion of the hierarchy.³²² Gregoras, in his turn, is critical of Andronikos III because he says the latter abstained constantly from taking part in the great feasts and from the *order* and the beneficial distributions of money and offices that used to take place. He added that the traditions of royal order were in danger of being forgotten.³²³

The lengthy accounts of Kantakouzenos, describing in detail different ceremonies, betray their importance. Taking advantage of the coronation of Andronikos III, Kantakouzenos provides us with a full description of the ceremony of imperial coronation and all its traditions.³²⁴ In addition, he describes the marriage of his daughter to the Ottoman emir Orchan and then his own coronation in Adrianople in 1346 by the patriarch of Jerusalem. He adds that everything was done according to custom.³²⁵ A few months after his victory and entry in Constantinople Kantakouzenos felt the need to be crowned again, this time by the patriarch of Constantinople. The reason, as he says, was that for many ‘troublemakers’ the coronation in Adrianople was not proper, as it was not done by the Ecumenical Patriarch nor in

³²¹ Kantakouzenos, I, 40-41.

³²² Pseudo-Kodinos, 279.

³²³ Gregoras, I, 565-566.

³²⁴ Kantakouzenos, I, 196-204.

³²⁵ Kantakouzenos, II, 587-589.

Constantinople.³²⁶ Thus, a new coronation was necessary so that proper order was ensured.

The dialectics of deference

Deference to a social superior was pivotal. It could be displayed either verbally or visually or physically through gestures. Riding on horseback was considered a privileged position. In the palace it was only the emperor and his sons that were allowed to ride on horseback according to the courtyard protocol.³²⁷ On at least three occasions in his *History* Kantakouzenos presents himself taking advantage of this important privilege. In the autumn of 1341 just before the civil war breaks out, three important governors of Macedonia, Ioannes Angelos, Konstantinos Palaiologos and Arsenios TzAMPLAKON, came to meet Kantakouzenos in Didymoteichon. They requested a meeting with Kantakouzenos outside his residence, having as their intention to pay homage to him by descending from their horses. Kantakouzenos, having suspected their intentions, declined and demanded that they should come to his house so that they would be unable to perform the gesture. However when they reached his residence, they descended from the horses and entered the courtyard on foot, showing thus their deference. Kantakouzenos, for his part, says that he checked them for this ‘novelty’.³²⁸ In accordance, when he returned to Constantinople a few days later, some members of the senate came to pay homage to him by descending from their horses. Later that day, while Kantakouzenos was at the palace, some soldiers and ‘young nobles’ protested just outside the palace courtyard demanding

³²⁶ Kantakouzenos, III, 29.

³²⁷ Pseudo-Kodinos, 169.

³²⁸ Kantakouzenos, II, 78-79.

that Kantakouzenos should be allowed to enter the palace on horseback (like an emperor) and not simply on foot.³²⁹ After Kantakouzenos was acclaimed emperor, his attitude changed somewhat. The army and the aristocrats who fled from Thessalonike together with the former city governor Theodoros Synadenos, when the pro-regency party in the city came to power in summer 1342, met Kantakouzenos. Kantakouzenos remained on horseback greeting each one of the fugitives, who in their turn kissed his feet. However, he bent down to kiss back only Synadenos.³³⁰ Though not commoners, the other fugitives were far less distinguished than Synadenos, who was a member of the elite of the empire, a personal old friend to Kantakouzenos and a high state official; he was thus close to equal to Kantakouzenos and he deserved a special treatment.

The younger of the emperors was considered inferior, but not so inferior as to descend from the horse in front of the older emperor. According to the ritual, when two emperors were about to meet, those that accompanied them descended from their horses, while the two emperors met, both on horseback. Then the younger emperor kissed the hand of the older emperor and the older emperor subsequently kissed the younger emperor on his face. Any change on this ritual was considered very important. When the two Andronikoi during the first civil war reached a truce they arranged to meet each other in person. But during the meeting, the younger emperor, in order to show more respect, descended from his horse. Andronikos II, on observing this, tried to turn back to avoid this 'novelty', but as Andronikos III continued on foot, he stopped and let the latter pay the homage. He kissed his grandfather's feet and Andronikos II subsequently kissed him on the face.³³¹ In fact,

³²⁹ Kantakouzenos, II, 82-87.

³³⁰ Kantakouzenos, II, 236.

³³¹ Kantakouzenos, II, 167-168.

kissing the feet of someone was a gesture of servitude. The emperor kissed back only his relatives or at least those that were close hierarchically with him, like the patriarch.³³²

Yet these incidents involved members of the aristocracy. The gap between aristocracy and common people was too large to be signified by these kinds of gestures. One of the best examples of servile status is offered by the promise of good behaviour on behalf of the inhabitants of Semaltos to the monastery of Vatopedi. The affair is unclear but it involved disobedience to the *oikonomos* of the monastery:

‘We the notables of Semaltos [...] declare to our lord and father the great *oikonomos* kyr Gabriel that we do not know who decided this impudence and wickedness inflicted on him neither did we decide this. But if sometime it is found out that we took part in this incident, may we be considered as faithless to God and to the emperor. Moreover, we promise to be servants (*douloi*) and obedient to our servile obligations; even if the great *oikonomos* sends the most contemptible man for our servile obligations, we ought to perceive that man as the *oikonomos* and we should fulfil with eagerness and servile attitude whatever he says to us. If we are not so servile and eager in our servile tasks set by our lord, the great *oikonomos*, may we be considered as vicious men and provocateurs and they can have the right to destroy us’.³³³

³³² Pseudo-Kodinos, 197.

³³³ Actes Vatopedi II, 229: ‘Ἡμεῖς οἱ γέροντες οἱ ἀπὸ τὴν Σαμαλτόν [12 names] ποιούμεν τὸ παρὸν μας γράμμα εἰς τὸν ἀθέντην καὶ πατέρα μας τὸν μέγαν οἰκονόμον κύρ Γαβριήλ, ὅτι οὐδὲν γινώσκομεν ἵνα βουλευσώμεθα εἰς τὴν ἀναισχυντίαν καὶ τὸ κακὸν ὅπου ἐγένετο εἰς αὐτόν, οὐδὲ κατεφήσαμεν καὶ εἴπαμεν ἵνα γένηται τοῦτο. Εἰ δὲ εὐρεθῆ ποτὲ τῶν καιρῶν νὰ ἐλεχθῶμεν ὅτι μετείχαμεν εἰς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, νὰ κατακρινώμεθα ὡς ἄπιστοι τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως. Ὡσαύτως ὑποσχόμεθα νὰ ἤμεθεν δοῦλοι καὶ ἐπειθεῖς εἰς τὰς δουλείας τὰς ἀθηντικὰς μας· καὶ τὸν μικρότερον ἄνθρωπον ἐὰν ἀποστείλῃ ὁ μέγας οἰκονόμος διὰ δουλείαν ἀθηντικὴν μας, νὰ τὸν ἐβλέπουμεν ὡς αὐτόν· νὰ ἐκκληροῦμεν μετὰ προθυμίας καὶ δουλωσύνης ὅσον μας εἶπη. Ἐὰν οὐδὲν ἤμεθον τέτιοι δουλωτικοὶ καὶ πρόθυμοι εἰς τὴν ἀποστολὴν καὶ

Deference is exhibited through gestures which are close to the *proskynesis*.³³⁴ The above-mentioned Kaballarios had fallen to the ground unable to gaze at the emperor. Another man named Syrmpanos, a Vlach nomad from the Rodope area, acted similarly even though he had nothing to fear. Syrmpanos had remained loyal to Andronikos III despite the wounds and the tortures he had received from the *meGas stratopedarches* Andronikos Palaiologos who was a supporter of Andronikos II. Nevertheless, he came before the emperor to ask him not to mistreat the *meGas stratopedarches*. Kantakouzenos describes how Syrmpanos fell to the ground apologising for daring to speak to the emperor and asking this favour, since he himself is a ‘barbarian and a rustic man’. Andronikos III, praising the kindness of Syrmpanos, fulfilled his wish. Thereupon, Syrmpanos kissed the ground where the emperor was standing and left.³³⁵ Thus, the permission to kiss the emperor’s feet was a privilege accorded to an official, to a man of a certain stature. But an ‘insignificant man’ would not even touch or gaze at the emperor, but would rather kiss the ground and remain there during his petition.³³⁶

Closely connected to the gesture of petition is the gesture of self-humiliation. A monk had been driven out of his monastery and was excommunicated by the

δουλείαν τοῦ ἀυθέντου μας τοῦ μεγάλου οἰκονόμου, νὰ κρινώμεθεν ὡς κακοὶ καὶ ἐντάλται καὶ νὰ μας ἀφανίζωσι. The word *ἐντάλτης*, unattested earlier, comes from the verb *ἐντέλλω* which means ‘give an order’. Thus, the noun means ‘these who have given the orders’ and in this context means those that have provoked this misbehaviour.

³³⁴ See R. Guiland, ‘Autour du livre des cérémonies de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète: La cérémonie de la προσκύνησις’, *Revue des études grecques* 59-60 (1946-1947), 251-259. Pseudo-Kodinos does not analyse the ceremony of *proskynesis* but he refers to it: Pseudo-Kodinos, 209. Yet he mentions a ‘kiss ceremony’ on Easter Sunday (Pseudo-Kodinos, 228-229) which resembles the *proskynesis* ceremony: cf. Macrides, ‘Expressions of hierarchy’.

³³⁵ Kantakouzenos, I, 146-149.

³³⁶ For the ritual of petition see R.J. Macrides, ‘The ritual of petition’, in D. Yatromanolakis and P. Roilos, *Greek ritual poetics* (London 2004), 356-370.

patriarch because he owned a vineyard and refused to give it to the monastery. The man, not tolerating the excommunication for long, asked his abbot to allow him to re-enter the monastery. But the abbot refused unless the man gave the vineyard and declare his submission to the abbot before the patriarch, an act that the man actually performed.³³⁷ In another case, a priest called Beniamen approached the Patriarch and fell at his feet. After being allowed to stand up, he confessed his ‘crimes’.³³⁸

Deference is expressed also verbally. There are only two authors, Theodoros Hyrtakenos and Michael Gabras, whose letters have been preserved, and whose social and political backgrounds far differed from those of their recipients (they were not friends, such as, for example, the case with Demetrios Kydones’s letters to emperors). The petition letters form a large part of their collection; more than one third of Gabras’ letters are petitions.³³⁹ Both authors in their petition letters stressed the magnanimity of the powerful man they addressed and their inferiority.³⁴⁰ On the contrary, much different was the structure of a letter to a friend or relative or to a social inferior, even when they asked for favours. They then praised the recipient’s character or they emphasise their friendship between each other.³⁴¹ Notorious is the letter of Hyrtakenos to his student, asking him for money. Hyrtakenos in a very short

³³⁷ MM II, no. 602.

³³⁸ MM II, 438.

³³⁹ G. Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras (ca. 1290- nach 1350)* (Vienna 1973); F. La Porte du Theil (ed.), ‘Επιστολαί Θεοδώρου Υρτακηνού’, in *Notices et extraits* 5 (1798), 709-744 and 6 (1800), 1-48.

³⁴⁰ See for example: Gabras, *Letters*, 396-397 or 633-635. See also Nikephoros Choumnos, *Letters*, 30, in a report to the emperor where he speaks of the greatness of Ioannes Palaiologos, who had done injustice to Choumnos, but states that he should not brag.

³⁴¹ See for example the letter of Gabras to one of his best friends Philippos Logaras asking him for help in reducing the tax which he paid on his vineyard: Gabras, *Letters*, 458-459.

Accordingly, when he asked for some salt from the two brothers Chrysoloras (*ibid*, 695-696), who had only a lower financial office, as administrators on the imperial salt pans, he praised the philanthropy of the emperor and not of the addressees; he simply praised them for their prudence.

and brusque letter, more or less says to his student: ‘if you do not give me money, I and my horse will die. And you do not want this to happen’.³⁴² As Gabras notes in the margin of his letters collection, someone should not write down later (in the collection of his own letters) the name of the *dynatos* to whom the letter is addressed, if he did not fulfill the request of the petition; so, the *dynatos*’ name would be preserved from shame and accusations in the future generations.³⁴³

One of the chief concepts for the maintenance of social order in Byzantine society was the Christian concept of philanthropy and benevolence. Performing philanthropy and benevolence was the key for a better treatment in the afterlife. On account of ‘his benevolence’ the emperor distributed to worthy people land, offices and titles. On account of his ‘philanthropy’ the emperor forgave faults and crimes.³⁴⁴

However, these concepts were not solely elements of imperial ideology. They were integrated into social ideology. Since no redistribution of wealth was expected, social inferiors should receive part of the excess wealth of their superiors through philanthropy. The traditional accusations of greed and of profiteering are found in many texts of the fourteenth century. Nikolaos Kabasilas produced at least two treatises against usury, recognising at the same time the just profit.³⁴⁵ The most remarkable example is the patriarch Athanasios at the very start of the fourteenth century. In many of his letters to the emperor he expresses his affection for the poor. He declares that he does not recognise any differences between friend and stranger or

³⁴² Hyrtakenos, *Letters*, 733. I paraphrased the letter.

³⁴³ Gabras, *Letters*, 15.

³⁴⁴ H. Hunger, *Prooimion; Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden* (Vienna 1964), 143-153; Patlagean, *Pauvreté*, 181-196.

³⁴⁵ Nikolaos Kabasilas, ‘On usury to the empress’, ed. M.-H. Congourdeau and Delouis O., ‘La Supplique à la très pieuse Augusta sur l’intérêt de Nicolas Cabasilas’, *TM* 16 (2010), 224-233.

rich and poor;³⁴⁶ he considers the labour of a poor man in building a church as equal to the money that a rich person offers for building one, adding that although there are differences between rich and poor in many things, differences do not exist in piety;³⁴⁷ he expresses constantly his sympathy for the poor and urges the emperor to take action in favour of them, especially during a famine that hit the capital.³⁴⁸ His encomiast, Theoktistos Stoudites, claims that during his patriarchate Athanasios cared for the souls of the poor men, whilst he left uncared the ‘sinful souls of the greedy rich men’.³⁴⁹ But unfortunately these are among the very few true laments for the poor in the fourteenth century and this is more obvious from the other encomiast of Athanasios, Ioseph Kalothetos. In the *Life of Athanasios* by Kalothetos, the philanthropy of that patriarch is one more (and rather rare) of his virtues, while there is no hostility expressed towards wealthy people.³⁵⁰ But, Athanasios was not a social reformer.³⁵¹ He did not question the very foundations of society. Once, he was called by the emperor to reflect, according to the Holy Scriptures, on a matter concerning the insult of a notable person by a poor man. Athanasios then pointed out in a letter that unless someone truly regrets, his sin cannot be forgiven.³⁵²

Even if this concept of philanthropy did not involve the distribution of wealth to poor people, it could extend to other domains. Theodoros Hyrtakenos says that all the beneficiaries of Nikephoros Choumnos would now mourn his death. Hyrtakenos

³⁴⁶ Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*, 136.

³⁴⁷ Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*, 152-154.

³⁴⁸ Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*, e.g. 106, 160, 178-186.

³⁴⁹ Theoktistos Stoudites, *Encomion to St Patriarch Athanasios*, 118-119.

³⁵⁰ Ioseph Kalothetos, *Life of St Athanasios*, 453-502.

³⁵¹ That is how Athanasios has been presented by J. Booramra, ‘Social thought and reforms of Athanasios of Constantinople (1289-1293; 1303-1309)’, *Byzantion* 55 (1985), 332-382.

³⁵² Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*, 268. I assume that the comment refers to the poor man and not to the notable, since there is no hint in the text of any sin of the notable person.

actually means the *archontes*, who had helped as a patron.³⁵³ In fact, the lives of aristocrats were not as pleasant as they might seem, if we consider the volume of petitions they must have been constantly receiving. Michael Gabras asked for a horse from Atzymes, the *domestikos* of the eastern *themata*, and when the latter did fulfil the petition, Gabras, in his letter of thanks, audaciously asked for food to feed that horse!³⁵⁴ The aristocrats, just like the emperor, could not so lightly turn down these petitions, if they wanted to maintain their circle of supporters.

A basic feature of Byzantine literature since the Komnenian era was the ‘rhetoric of poverty’, professional scholars who frequented the houses of the Komnenian aristocrats, thereby satisfying the aristocrats’ pride and assuring for themselves a wage or a favour.³⁵⁵ In the Palaiologan period this ‘rhetoric of poverty’ is continued although to a much lesser degree and its features are rather different. None of the two authors, whom it is possible to cite, Theodoros Hyrtakenos and Michael Gabras, seems to have a direct relationship of dependence with an aristocratic *oikos* and neither were they so ‘poor’. Theodoros Hyrtakenos was a teacher and Michael Gabras owned at least a vineyard and a servant, while he had a place as an imperial secretary and his brother was an ecclesiastical official.³⁵⁶ Gabras could ask small favours such as the granting of a horse or some wine or some grain or even the reduction of the tax he paid on his vineyard. But, he also petitioned certain people to intervene for him with the emperor.

³⁵³ Hyrtakenos, *Monodia to the basilissa Eirene*, 291. He had addressed them just before.

³⁵⁴ Gabras, *Letters*, 80-81 and 124.

³⁵⁵ R. Beaton, ‘The rhetoric of poverty: the lives and opinions of Theodore Prodromos’, *BMGS* 11 (1987), 1-28; P. Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge 1993), 346-352.

³⁵⁶ Gabras, *Letters*, 323, 457-459, 625; cf. Fatouros, in Gabras, *Letters*, 22-24. He also claims that his father was a true supporter of the emperor Andronikos II, which probably means that his father was either in military or administrative service: Gabras, *Letters*, 340.

However one of the most striking features of the rhetoric of both authors is that they do not focus so much on their ‘economic misery’, like Ptochoprodromos had done in the twelfth century.³⁵⁷ Rather they both focus on the obligation of the *dynatos* to help them. They praise his philanthropy and expect him to act on the basis of it. In some cases, it is obvious, either from the unanswered petitions or the complaints of the author, that the *dynatos* delayed or did not fulfil the request. On this occasion, the author became more aggressive, demanding the fulfilment of the petition, even if on a calm and polite note. Sometimes though, making a rhetorical play, the authors would accuse the *dynatos* of unkindness. So Hyrtakenos, when he went to visit the patriarch Ioannes Glykys, whom he claims was an old friend before his elevation to the patriarchate, and was left waiting outside the room for the whole day, notes: ‘But is it possible that my patriarch and lord considered this? But who would believe something like this? Because there is no one who does not know that a patriarch is benevolent’.³⁵⁸

Thus, the weak make use of the very ideological system, which accentuates social difference and entrenches deference and praise, but making it serve their own purpose: none other than the acquisition of a share in the surplus enjoyed by the *dynatos*. Crucial to the achievement of their goal was the deployment of the concept of philanthropy; as we have already said, a social action has to be justified according to a set of beliefs common to the two social actors; therefore the weak can remind the *dynatos* of his obligations to the social system.

Alexios Makrembolites structures his ‘Dialogue between Rich and Poor’ in more ‘revolutionary’ mode. The dialogue is constructed in opposition to the dialectics of deference, as they were set out by Michael Gabras and Theodoros Hyrtakenos. On

³⁵⁷ H. Eideneier (ed.), *Ptochoprodromos* (Köln 1991).

³⁵⁸ Hyrtakenos, *Letters*, 726.

the contrary, the Poor man speaks to the Rich man as an equal. There is no hint that he respects him; he accuses him of heartlessness, greed and indifference to the misfortunes of the poor.³⁵⁹ Moreover, the Poor man counters the argument of the Rich man that the misfortunes that had befallen to poor were caused by natural order,³⁶⁰ by claiming that if the Rich man does not give money, he will go to Hell.³⁶¹ When the Rich man asserts that there are poor people, who are not in need of help but who still continue to ask greedily for mercy, the Poor man defends them saying that they would not do it if the rich were prepared to be merciful, and, turning to his advantage the dominant ideology, reproves him with the words ‘you are not supposed to have these petty thoughts, but you should be ready to show mercy to anyone without discrimination’.³⁶² Besides, the Poor man asserts that God bestowed on the rich wealth, only so that they can give it to the poor showing their mercy.³⁶³

But there are certain elements which go against the official ideology. The Poor man actually claims ‘nobility’ for the poor as well, albeit in terms of equality of

³⁵⁹ Makrembolites, ‘Dialogue of Rich and Poor’, 203-205: ‘Μέχρι τίνος ἀνεξόμεθα τῆς πλεονεξίας ὑμῶν... μέχρι τίνος οὐκ ὀργισθήσεται καὶ κλονήσει τὴν γῆν, ὀρῶν μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπ’ ἐνδείας ἀθλίως ψυχορραγοῦντας, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν χρεῖαν κεκτημένους καὶ εἰς γῆν αὐτὰ κατορύττοντας;’ and see also the whole introductory speech of the Poor.

³⁶⁰ Ibid, 206.16 ff: ‘ΠΛΟΥΣΙΟΙ: Οὕτως ὄρισται, ἵν’ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀεὶ κακοπραγήτε καὶ τὰ πάνδεινα πάσχητε, ἡμῶν δὲ πανταχόθεν κατὰ ῥοῦν τὰ πράγματα φέρηται.

ΠΕΝΗΤΕΣ: Ἀλλὰ τοῦτ’ ἀμφίβολον, ὃ σοφώτατοι· ἐπεὶ περ ἔδει πάντας πλουσίους ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ ἔχοντας τὸ πλουτεῖν, καὶ πάντας πένητας πονηροὺς, ὡς ἐρήμους ὄντας θεοῦ. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο, οὐκ ἔστι’.

³⁶¹ Ibid, 215.11 ff: ‘Καὶ τίς ἢ τιμὴ, βέλτιστοι, τῶν κροκοδείλου δακρῶν, ἢ τῶν τάφων καὶ τῶν γαιῶν, τῶν διαδεξομένων ὑμῶν τὰ ὀνόματα, ἀντὶ σκηνῶν αἰώνιων, ὅταν τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν θλίψις αἰώνιος καὶ κόλασις διαδέξῃται;’ cf. also 211.15 ff.

³⁶² Ibid, 212.10 ff.: ‘Ἀλλ’ οὐ τοιαῦτ’ ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ζωῆς ἐπενόησαν, εἰ πρόχειροι ὑμεῖς ἦτε εἰς εὐποιᾶν· ἀπείργει δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐντολὴ τοὺς κατὰ μίμησιν θεοῦ ἐλεοῦντας τοιαῦτα λογιζέσθαι καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀγαπᾶν ὡς ἑαυτοῦς ἐπιτρέπει’.

³⁶³ Ibid, 214.6-8: ‘ἐπεὶ περ ἡμῶν χάριν ὁ δεσπότης ταῦτα ὑμῶν ἐνεχείρισε. διὸ καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν θυσίαν ἀπαναιόμενος, τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπαραιτήτως ἀπαιτεῖ ἔλεον’.

people's souls.³⁶⁴ Moreover for a moment, he dreams of a world with no poverty, when he asks from the rich to marry their children to poor families.³⁶⁵ To the Rich man this would sound like *hybris*, since marriage in Byzantium was concluded on the basis of equality of social status and wealth. But the Poor man is not a dreamer, he is a realist. He recognises that poverty existed and will always exist;³⁶⁶ he ascribes the origins of wealth to trade, abstinence, depredation, inheritance or abuse of power;³⁶⁷ more importantly, he stresses that the poor used to praise the rich, pray for them, kneel in front of them and treat them as gods, not asking, but *demanding* what is rightfully theirs from their own labour.³⁶⁸

The dialogue of Makrembolites is imaginary. It is difficult to imagine anyone speaking openly these words. The poor man who had insulted the 'notable' in Athanasios' letters may have had the same fate as Kaballarios who was forgiven by Andronikos III but one should bear in mind that insult was not tolerated. Certainly, cases of disobedience did occur, but they did not evolve generally into open resistance. One of the few cases of resistance of poor people to the demands of their

³⁶⁴ Ibid, 208.27 ff.: 'πλὴν οὐκ ἐξ ὕλης μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἀυλίας, ὡς οἴδατε, συνετέθημεν, ἐν ἧ τὴν εὐγένειαν ἐπίσης ἅπαντες ἔχομεν'.

³⁶⁵ Ibid, 208.3 ff.: 'Διὰ τί δὲ καὶ τῶ γάμῳ οὐ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀγιασμοῦ χρώμεθα [...]; δέον τὴν μηδὲν ἔχουσαν κόρην τῶ πλουσίῳ νυμφίῳ συνέρχεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν· καὶ οὕτως ἂν ἐκ μέσου ἢ πενία ἐγένετο, ἦτις, ὡς οἶμαι, τῶ βίῳ οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπιπολάζει ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ τὸ τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς ὁμοίοις συνέρχεσθαι, τῶν δ' ἐναντίων ἢ μίξις, τὰς ἀκρότητας τούτων ἀποφυγοῦσα, τὴν σφύζουσαν μεσότητα παραδόξως ἐποίησεν'.

³⁶⁶ Ibid, 213.24 ff.: 'Ἦσαν οὖν, ἦσαν καὶ τότε πένητες, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοσοῦτοι, καὶ πάντοτε ἔσονται, ὡς πού Χριστός, ἢ αὐτοαλήθεια, ἀπεφίνατο, καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐκλείψουσιν'.

³⁶⁷ Ibid, 206.26 ff.: 'πρόδηλος γὰρ ἄρα ἡ αἰτία τῆς τῶν χρημάτων κτήσεως τῶ νοῦν ἔχοντι· ἢ γὰρ ἐξ ἐπιστήμης ἐπλούτησέ τις ἢ ἐξ ἐμπορίας, ἄλλοι δ' ἐξ ἐγκρατείας, καὶ ἐξ ἀρπαγμάτων ἕτεροι, καὶ ἐκ δυναστείας πολλοί, ἢ καὶ ἐκ πατρῶου κλήρου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων. ἐπτώχευσαν δ' αὐθις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἕτεροι'.

³⁶⁸ Ibid, 214.3 ff.: 'Καὶ γὰρ ἴστε ὡς οὐ προῖκα τὰς ὑμῶν εὐεργεσίας λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ' εὐθέως ἐχαριστίας ἀντιδιδόαμεν, εὐχάς, ἐπαίνους, προσκυνήσεις, ἐγκώμια, ὑποχωρήσεις, καὶ ὡς θεοῦ σχεδὸν ὑμᾶς λιτανεύομεν, καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ αἰτοῦντες, ἀλλ' ἀπαιτοῦντες ὑμᾶς τὰ ἡμέτερα'.

lord was in 1358 in the village Agios Mamas in Chalkidike. That year the Serbians occupied this former Byzantine area and gave Agios Mamas to the monastery of Vatopedi. The *paroikoi* of the village had helped a few years earlier in the construction of a fort for protection against enemy incursions, inside of which they had built their houses. The *paroikoi* profited from this change of lord and refused to pay the tax on the houses unless it was reduced. The monastery proved unable to force them and petitioned the governor of Thessalonike for a hearing; he proceeded to a settlement of dispute. Actually the winners were the monks, since they increased their claims demanding in addition ‘the customary corvées’. The *paroikoi* conceded to payment of the full sum and the monks agreed that they would not ask for these corvées.³⁶⁹

Snobbery and the maintenance of social order

Byzantine society was then highly stratified and this stratification was considered ‘holy’. Deference to a social superior was expected but the ‘weak’ might, on rare occasions, exhibit resistance. However, were there opportunities for vertical mobility? How ‘open’ was Byzantine society in the late period? How did the socially superior preserve dividing lines and were there mechanisms for maintaining the social order? The impression left by the scholarly literature is that in the last centuries, Byzantium was becoming a more closed society where the social stratification allowed little space for social ascent. Snobbery and the demand of deference from a

³⁶⁹ Actes Vatopedi II, 275.

‘social inferior’ is a safe mean, not only of exhibiting social differences but also of maintaining social order.³⁷⁰

As has been noted by several scholars, since the collapse of the senatorial aristocracy in the seventh century Byzantine society lacked a clearly defined top layer of society, as was the case in Western Europe. But this is only half the truth. In fact already since the middle Byzantine period criteria had slowly emerged that would help define a more or less clear upper strata of society.

The first criterion for snobbery and discrimination was titles and epithets. A quite common honorary epithet was the *κύρ* (*κυράν* for women). The epithet was already present in the middle Byzantine period but during the Palaiologan time it became quite common. It is usually ascribed to members of the higher social layers and is very often met in the archival sources. The person never calls or signs himself using this epithet; only others call him *kyr*. It is used only in conjunction with the first name and not with the surname or the person’s office and title.³⁷¹ The analysis of the people to whom the epithet is ascribed is useful but can produce few concrete conclusions. It is never ascribed to *paroikoi*, peasants and it is extremely rare to find for commoners.³⁷² It is more easily ascribed to monks and other church dignitaries who had achieved a certain social status. It seems to extend also to the upper middle layers of the society. On many occasions people without any title or office and with

³⁷⁰ P. Magdalino, ‘Byzantine snobbery’, in M. Angold (ed.), *The Byzantine aristocracy, IX to XIII centuries* (Oxford 1984), 58-78 (here at 58-59).

³⁷¹ Actes d’ Iviron III, 188: ‘*παρουσία τῶν ὑπογραψάντων μαρτύρων καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ Χαλαζῆ κυροῦ Θεοδώρου, τοῦ Κανονάρχου κυροῦ Μανουήλ καὶ τοῦ Καμπαναροπούλου κυροῦ Μανουήλ*’. It is only extremely rare to encounter it as an accompaniment of the surname: Actes Prodromos B, 416: ‘*Πανσέβαστε σεβαστὲ οἰκεῖε τῆ βασιλείᾳ μου δομέστικε τῶν θεμάτων κύρ Μακρηνέ*’.

³⁷² See, for example, the sales in Actes Vatopedi I, 244-257. None of the notables of Hierissos that act as witnesses is called *kyr*, but the officials of the monastery of Vatopedi who act as its agents are always called *kyr*.

surnames otherwise unknown to us are called *kyr*. A *protomaistor* of the builders (i.e. head of a builders' association, contractor) is also called for example *kyr*.³⁷³ Finally, the imperial secretary is sometimes reluctant in ascribing it even to notable persons.³⁷⁴ In sum, the title certainly denotes a high social status, but it should be used with caution when examining the status of the one ascribed this epithet and it should not be exclusively associated with the aristocracy.³⁷⁵

Less often we meet the designation *αὐθέντης*, when this is not a reference to the emperor himself. Usually it designates a large gap of social status between the two sides, a status of servitude. The first type of reference for the term is connected with spiritual authority; a monk may very often call his abbot *authentēs* or a faithful layman his bishop.³⁷⁶ The second type may be found in family relations between a son and his father³⁷⁷ or a wife and her husband.³⁷⁸ The third type is the most interesting but is less common; it is addressed to individuals other than the emperor. This person could be the despot; we know, for example, that Manouel Palaiologos in Thessalonike was often called *authentēs* by his subjects, who signed documents referring to

³⁷³ Actes Chilandar (Petit), 178; Georgios Marmaras.

³⁷⁴ See, for example, an order of Andronikos II in Actes Prodromos B, 387: 'τῶν κτημάτων τῶν περιπόθητων υἱῶν τῆς βασιλείας μου τῶν ἀθθεντοπούλων σου Κωνσταντίνε Κουνάλη ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν παιδοπούλων τοῦ ἐρασιμωτάτου υἱοῦ τῆς βασιλείας μου τοῦ ἀθθέντου σου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ Μαδαρίτης Συμεών'. Nevertheless it is not connected with a lower social status of the recipients. In other imperial documents people with roughly the same status (*apographeis* or soldiers) are commonly called *kyr*.

³⁷⁵ It is equivalent to the English 'Sir' in its more strict sense. For a more detailed study with analogous conclusions see now: A. Kontogiannopoulou, 'Ἡ προσηγορία *κυρ* στη Βυζαντινὴ κοινωνία', *Byzantina* 32 (2012), 209-226.

³⁷⁶ An *oikeios* of the emperor and large landowner Manouel Deblitzenos called *authentēs* the metropolitan of Thessalonike Isidoros (Actes Docheiariou, 256).

³⁷⁷ E.g. Ioannes Kaloethes to his father Demetrios Trikanas (Actes Docheiariou, 215).

³⁷⁸ E.g. Anna Tornikina calls *authentēs* her husband the *pinkernes* Demetrios Tornikes (Actes St Panteleemon, 104).

Manouel and not the emperor as their *authentēs*.³⁷⁹ But it is also used for other officials and again it designates a large gap in the social status of the two persons.³⁸⁰ The notables of some villages called *authentai* the rulers of Kabala, the *megas primmikerios* Ioannes and the *megas stratopedarches* Alexios.³⁸¹ A *paroikos* would call his lord *authentēs*: the deacon Manouel Souroungeres donated a field that he owned to his lord (‘*κυρὸν καὶ ἀθέντην μου*’) Phokopoulos.³⁸²

Next to epithets, titles (*ἀξία*) were an important way of differentiating. The praise of an individual usually is accompanied by the honours and titles he has received. So when Kantakouzenos speaks about the origins of Theodoros Synadenos, he mentions that Synadenos’ father, by changing his allegiance to Michael VIII, gained significant honours and an imperial bride.³⁸³ The very fact that in our sources there is a constant discussion about the changes in office of an individual is an indication of the value of hierarchy and titles. Sometimes people were better known by their titles, without the mention even of their surname. Kantakouzenos consistently refers to himself simply with the title of *megas domestikos* and, he refers accordingly, to other individuals with their titles, adjusting to any change in the hierarchy. This phenomenon is not only observed in the narrative sources but in archival sources too. Leon Bardales was so well known by his office of *protasekretis* which he held for

³⁷⁹ The most striking example is a document from the archives of Vatopedi of the year 1373 (no. 41). Two officials, Ioannes Katzaras and Laskaris Metochites, sign as *douloi* of their ‘*authentēs* the despot’, and two others, Georgios Doukas Tzykandeles and Laskaris Kephalas, sign as *douloi* of their ‘*authentēs* the emperor’.

³⁸⁰ For example the governor of Melnik is called *authentēs* by one of his sub-officials (Actes Vatopedi I, 221-222). The *kephale* of Thessalonike Nikephoros Choumnos is also called *authentēs* (Actes Chilandar I, 161) by a notary of Hierissos who recorded a sale between the monasteries of Xeropotamou and Chilandar.

³⁸¹ Actes Zographou, 96.

³⁸² Actes Prodromos (B), 98-99.

³⁸³ Kantakouzenos, I, 37.

more than twenty years that there is no mention even of his name in many documents.³⁸⁴

The first type of titles was the purely honorary: *sebastos*, *megalodoxotatos*, *megalohyperochos*, *megalepiphanestatos*. An analysis shows that they are absent from higher officials. Moreover, their importance seems to fade away with the passing of time. Gradually, and starting from the lowest, one by one they disappear. In the fourteenth century the *megalodoxotatos* is only very rarely met and the *pansebastos* is also gradually reduced and probably disappears during the first half of the fourteenth century.³⁸⁵

The offices of the main court hierarchy were far more important. They continued to exist for all the period examined. It has been claimed that each office could only be held by one individual at a time and that each individual could only have one title at a particular moment.³⁸⁶ Regarding the first remark, it should be noted that there are cases, and still more come to the fore, where two or more individuals held the same office at the same time. The most obvious examples in the documentation are the two *protallagatores* in Thessalonike in a document of 1344³⁸⁷

³⁸⁴ Compare document no. 124 of Actes Prodromos B, 207, where the 'protasekretis Bardales' appears to have donated a bath to the monastery of Prodromos with the acts no. 126 (p. 210), no. 127 (p. 212) and no. 146 (p. 251 and again in p. 253) where he is only mentioned with his title. In the document no. 126 he himself also signs as 'doulos of the mighty and holy emperor, the protasekretis' without the name (p. 211). See also the case above in note 381 with Nikephoros Choumnos. He is designated only by his title and post.

³⁸⁵ There is a sole exception in *megalohyperochos* which is ascribed to Manouel Kollourakes from Thessalonike in a document of 1356 (Actes Vatopedi II, 251). But it can be objected that this title had disappeared since the end of the thirteenth century and that Kollourakes himself does not use it in his own signature in the next document (although we do not have the original document but a copy of it). There are two hypotheses: either he is one of the last survivors of the *megalohyperochoi*, or the title was attributed but it had little importance anymore.

³⁸⁶ Kyritses, *Byzantine aristocracy*, 33-37.

³⁸⁷ Actes Docheiariou, 170.

and the two *megaloi domestikoi* (Demetrios Palaiologos, Alexios Atouemes) in the treaty with Venice in 1357.³⁸⁸ Kantakouzenos says that Andronikos Palaiologos and Georgios Choumnos were promoted simultaneously to *megas stratopedarches*;³⁸⁹ Demetrios Tzamlakon is attested as *megas stratopedarches* between 1345 and 1362,³⁹⁰ as is attested Georgios Synadenos Astras between 1355 and 1366,³⁹¹ as is also Alexios from Bithynia in Kavala between June 1357 and 1363.³⁹² The common element in these offices is their military nature. It is thus possible that they were assigned to different persons at the same time in order to cover the military requirements.

The second main criterion for discrimination in Byzantine society was nobility. There are many instances of *γένος* being considered the pivotal characteristic of a ‘good man’. Philes in a poem addressed to Kantakouzenos praises him for the pureness of his ‘blood’, being ‘able to stand comparison with even the imperial light (of nobility)’.³⁹³ Gregoras says of Michael Strategopoulos that he was famed for his high birth, wealth and his strategic capability.³⁹⁴ Likewise, Kantakouzenos says that Syrgiannes was an illustrious man in terms of his nobility, since his mother was from the imperial family and his father a most noble Cuman who had joined Ioannes III Batatzes in the Nicaean Empire.³⁹⁵ The patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos, a man himself

³⁸⁸ MM III, 126.

³⁸⁹ Kantakouzenos, II, 218.

³⁹⁰ Kantakouzenos, II, 535 (1345); Actes Vatopedi II, 255 (May 1356), 295 (August 1362).

³⁹¹ Demetrios Kydones, *Letters*, 92 (1355); MM III, 126 (October 1357); Actes Vatopedi II, 283 (July 1359), 290 (July 1362); Demetrios Kydones, *Letters*, 135 and 137 (1365/66); Actes Dionysiou, 49 (August 1366): as deceased.

³⁹² Actes Pantokrator, 78 (April 1357: *megas primmikerios*). Actes Lavra III, 71 (June 1357); Actes Saint-Panteleemon, 105 (August 1358); Actes Pantokrator, 84 (July 1363).

³⁹³ Philes, I, 170.

³⁹⁴ Gregoras, I, 190.

³⁹⁵ Kantakouzenos, I, 18.

of lower origins, says that those Constantinopolitans who ‘excelled in terms of *genos*, wealth and offices’ acted piously by providing money for the redemption of the prisoners captured by the Genoese in Herakleia in 1352, but also that ‘the lesser ones’ (*οἱ κάτω*) acted as best as they could.³⁹⁶

A phenomenon apparent in the Palaiologan period and which is firmly connected with nobility is the use of multiple surnames by the aristocrats. They assumed not only their paternal surname but often they included their maternal, and even their ancestors’ surnames. It was a characteristic that developed in the imperial family from the twelfth century but in the Palaiologan empire it assumes greater importance. This phenomenon is even more apparent in the signatures. An inscription from the Peloponnese bears the name of ‘Ioannes Tornikes Doukas Angelos Palaiologos Raoul Laskaris Asanes’.³⁹⁷ The reason for the development of such a tradition is simply the desire to mark the high status of a person by denoting his ancestry. If an individual is ‘less noble’ on one side he carefully plays down this surname. Thus, in a document of 1344, Ioannes, the son of Alexios Apokaukos, simply signed as Ioannes Doukas without using the surname Apokaukos, even when other people referred to him with his main surname.³⁹⁸ Although this tradition is present throughout the Palaiologan period, it fades away during the last quarter of the fourteenth century, when people are rarely known with more than one or two surnames.

On the contrary, people who had no noble birth were considered as inferior, even if their deeds and merit were laudable, as becomes apparent from comments

³⁹⁶ Philotheos Kokkinos, *Historical Discourse*, 199.

³⁹⁷ G. Soteriou, ‘Ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ Παλαιολόγου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Μεγάλου Σπηλαίου’, *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 4 (1918), 31.

³⁹⁸ Actes Docheiariou, 170. The full name of Alexios Apokaukos was Alexios Doukas Disypatos Apokaukos. Kantakouzenos calls both of them only Apokaukos.

made by Kantakouzenos about Alexios Apokaukos and Manouel Tagaris. Apokaukos, he says, was of low birth (*φάυλον γένος*: literally ‘bad birth – origins’) but he was prudent.³⁹⁹ Low birth can be alleviated by a marriage with the imperial family. Thus, Kantakouzenos says of the *meGas stratopedarches* Manouel Tagaris that he had low origins but thanks to his valour in battles he gained honours and was awarded with marriage to the emperor’s niece.⁴⁰⁰ Manouel’s grandson, Paulos Palaiologos Tagaris, could boast about his parents’ noble birth.⁴⁰¹

The third most important characteristic for snobbery and social discrimination was education and prudence (*φρόνηση*). As we would expect, an educated literatus would use this criterion to express snobbery to a larger degree than usual. Gregoras is a very good example. He never abstains from praising an educated man. However, the lack of proper education, in combination with Gregoras’ hostility to that person, creates the most vivid negative descriptions in his works. In his account of the outbreak of the civil war Gregoras says that it was then that the empire was divided in two parts: on the one side were the prudent, the wealthy, the honourable and the educated, while on the other side were the imprudent, the poor and the uneducated.⁴⁰² He says that the Palamite bishops who were summoned to the Synod of 1351 were either illiterate and manual labourers (*τῶν ἐξ ἀρότρου καὶ σκαπάνης ὑπήρχον*) or they were sacrilegious, spending time in brothels.⁴⁰³ Of course these bishops could not be mere farmers or manual labourers. They were certainly educated, but they did not agree with the ‘most wise’ Gregoras and as such, according to the rules of *psogos*, they were labelled as mostly uneducated.

³⁹⁹ Kantakouzenos, I, 25.

⁴⁰⁰ Kantakouzenos, I, 91.

⁴⁰¹ MM II, 225.

⁴⁰² Gregoras, I, 13.

⁴⁰³ Gregoras, II, 883-884.

Gregoras narrates another interesting incident. To the synod of summer 1341, which anathematised Barlaam, were summoned bishops and other wise men, but there also gathered a large group of the common mob. On observing this, the emperor did not wish the ‘holy mysteries of theology’ to be heard by the ‘evil ears of the *demos*’ and postponed the discussion to another day.⁴⁰⁴ So, education and knowledge was not a privilege that could be granted to everyone. Only appropriate and trained men could have it. Education was accessible to those who had some financial means. Waged instructors were engaged in teaching; at least a modest financial background was indispensable. Therefore, it is not at all strange that education is commonly a component of discrimination towards the socially inferior common people.

In Byzantine sources there are often negative comments about the mob because it seems to react imprudently. During the massacre of June 1345, the *demos* of Constantinople, with an ‘unrestrained and furious’ rush, massacred the political prisoners that had murdered Apokaukos.⁴⁰⁵ The *demos* of Thessalonike in the massacres of the *archontes* the same year, was moved to these actions ‘by wine and anger’.⁴⁰⁶ When in 1354 the two emperors Ioannes V and Ioannes Kantakouzenos reached a compromise, the *demos* ‘as usual acting with imprudence and irrational rush’, caused a commotion and was ready to do anything.⁴⁰⁷

The inferior position of the common people is also apparent. The authors’ expressions of contempt is made stronger in the texts by the fact that commonly the word *demos* is synonymous with *ἀγοραῖος*, *ὄχλος*, *πλήθος*, terms with negative connotations. Kantakouzenos prompted Andronikos III to act, just before the outbreak

⁴⁰⁴ Gregoras, I, 557-558.

⁴⁰⁵ Kantakouzenos, II, 545.

⁴⁰⁶ Kantakouzenos, II, 580.

⁴⁰⁷ Kantakouzenos, III. 304.

of the first civil war; otherwise he would become equal to ‘one of the *agoraioi* and the *demos*’, from his place as an honoured emperor that he was then.⁴⁰⁸

Wealth remained praiseworthy. As Konstantinos Akropolites writes regarding the parents of St Theodosia: ‘[They were] most pious and God-loving, and wardens of God’s law. What more need I say? I will just say that they were full of riches and glory; in short I can say that they were worthy of such an offspring’.⁴⁰⁹ Saints did not come from poor backgrounds. Until the twelfth century poverty and low origins might have been ascribed to saints in Byzantium, but progressively the high social status and the wealth of the saint deemed praiseworthy.⁴¹⁰ Ioseph Kalothetos stresses these features for the patriarch Athanasios, whereas even for the ascetic monk St Romylos we learn that ‘his parents were not wealthy, but they had sufficient money (*αὐτάρκεια*) for their necessities and for distribution to the poor’.⁴¹¹ Poverty had started to become a negative attribute. The reason is that, supposedly, it could easily lead to greed and excess. The poor wretched men whom Apokaukos had gathered around him ‘would dare the most terrible acts because of their poverty’.⁴¹² The Zealots are called by Gregoras ‘poor who seek out wealth and glory’.⁴¹³ As with the lack of education, poverty can be said to diminish the quality of a man; it can be used as an element of

⁴⁰⁸ Kantakouzenos, I, 21.

⁴⁰⁹ Konstantinos Akropolites, *Life of St Theodosia*, in J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia cursus completus. Series graeca* (Paris 1857-1866), 140: 897B: ‘Εὐσεβέστατοι, καὶ φιλόθεοι, καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀκριβεῖς φύλακες. Τί δεῖ πολλά λέγειν; Ἐὼ γὰρ ὡς ἐκόμων πλούτῳ καὶ δόξης ἀπήλανον · ἐν βραχεῖ δέ φημι, γεννήτορες τοιούτου τῶ ὄντι γεννήματος ἀξιοχρεῶ’.

⁴¹⁰ See E. Patlagean, ‘Sainteté et pouvoir’, in S. Hackel (ed.), *The Byzantine saint: University of Birmingham Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* (London 1981), 88-105; R. Morris, ‘The political saint of the eleventh century’, in Hackel, *The Byzantine saint*, 43-50; P. Magdalino, ‘The Byzantine holy man in the twelfth century’, in Hackel, *The Byzantine saint*, 51-66.

⁴¹¹ F. Halkin, ‘Un ermite des Balkans au XIVe siècle: La vie grecque inédite de St. Romylos’, *Byzantion* 31 (1961), 116.

⁴¹² Kantakouzenos, I, 137.

⁴¹³ Gregoras, II, 674.

psogos. So Gregoras says that Apokaukos was raised in poverty and he used to ‘wander from master to master begging for money’.⁴¹⁴ Likewise, for the *nomophylax* Symeon, hated by Gregoras for his Palamite allegiance and the help that he had provided to the ‘friends’ of Palamas, he says that Symeon was poor and lived in hunger and it was by flattering the honoured men that he assured the necessities of life.⁴¹⁵ It is necessary to note that *nomophylax* was a high ecclesiastical post that required a high level of education that could not be achieved unless Symeon actually had the financial means.

Poverty was a bad condition since, as Gregoras advances the argument putting it in the mouth of Kantakouzenos: ‘the character of a man is shown more by his authority, wealth and autonomous power, than by poverty or dependency’.⁴¹⁶ But this is not a unique aspect of these two authors. In his *Political Discourse* Thomas Magistros advises that the guardians of a city should not come from the ranks of poor men, but rather they should have ‘fields and houses in the city and ancestral tombs’.⁴¹⁷ An author like Alexios Makrembolites, who felt actual sympathy for the poor, wrote that the rich considered them as ill-born because of their poverty.⁴¹⁸ Manouel Philes also connects ill-birth, malice (*δυσγένεια* and *φαυλότητα*) and uselessness with poverty.⁴¹⁹ In a letter addressed to Demetrios Kydones, the emperor Manouel II, citing

⁴¹⁴ Gregoras, I, 577.

⁴¹⁵ Gregoras, III, 111.

⁴¹⁶ Gregoras, II, 594.

⁴¹⁷ Magistros Thomas, *Political discourse (Λόγος περί πολιτείας)*, in J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia cursus completus. Series graeca* (Paris 1857-1866), 145: 521. The ‘ancestral graves’ can be interpreted as an element of high birth in connection to the wealth that the ‘houses and fields’ symbolize (see ODB, entry *Thomas Magistros*).

⁴¹⁸ Makrembolites, ‘Dialogue’, 210: ‘Πλὴν εἰ καὶ δυσγενεῖς διὰ τὴν ἀϋλίαν δοκοῦμεν ὑμῖν [τοῖς πλουσίοις]’).

⁴¹⁹ Philes, *Carmina*, I, 98.51-53: ‘Κἂν μὲν νομίση δυσγενῆς, φαῦλος, πένης/ ἄδοξος, ἄφρων, εἰς ἀπόστροφον τύχην,/ καὶ μηδαμοῦ χρήσιμος εἰς λειτουργίαν’.

the ancient Greek author Theognis, states that he feels very content with the fact that he has not been struck by the worst evil of the world: poverty.⁴²⁰ Lastly, a soldier named Demetrios Phatmeris ‘son of Kaisaras Doukas’ buried in a church in Ochrid, declares in his epitaph: ‘I have been deprived of my wealth and glory and my *people* (*δῆμος*) and my house. Now I am laid in a dirty tomb, a naked poor man (*πένητα*)’.⁴²¹

Besides, there was an effort by some leading churchmen to stress that wealth is not bad or sinful; greed is bad, from which even poor people could suffer. They also stressed that the famous beatitude: ‘*Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*’, was not related to ‘physical poverty’ but rather to a spiritual virtue.⁴²²

On the other hand, it is possible to trace many examples of social ascent during the Palaiologan era. The main means remained mostly state service and imperial favour. Theodoros Metochites and Nikephoros Choumnos gained a place in the elite of the empire thanks to their service in state government and thanks to imperial favour they were able to conclude prestigious marriages. Their status among the elite was established permanently. Ioannes Vatatzes, Alexios Apokaukos, Theodoros Patrikiotes became wealthy through their service in the state machine and they were able to climb higher in the hierarchy by assuming higher offices and positions in the government. Ioannes Kalekas and Apelmene through their association with Ioannes Kantakouzenos were able to gain significant positions, the first reaching the patriarchal throne. However, most of them were not completely ‘new men’ and their rise is not so sharp and sudden. Metochites and Choumnos already belonged to the civil aristocracy; the surnames of Vatatzes, Kalekas and Apokaukos betray that

⁴²⁰ Manouel Palaiologos, *Letters*, 21-23.

⁴²¹ Byzantinische Epigramme, 101.

⁴²² Gregorios Palamas, *Homilies*, 31.7-8; Philotheos Kokkinos, *Homilies*, 6.101 ff.

they belonged to families that probably had a social standing in the past and, I stress again, a certain level of financial security that would allow them to achieve an education. Since Apelmene and Patrikiotes stemmed from a lower background, their social ascent was restricted to service in the state machine. After the middle of the century another means of social ascent is revealed and this is trade. The examples of the families of Notaras, Goudeles, Sophianos and Argyropoulos are indicative in this respect.⁴²³ In fact, for an individual to gain a high position he needed to acquire a wealthy status, a social network and imperial favour.

Thus, Byzantine society in the Palaiologan period is more closed than it had been in the past. Snobbery had developed in Byzantium since the twelfth century, but in the fourteenth century it became more articulated. However after a certain point, this attitude stops being mere snobbery. It is snobbery to boast about your nobility by adding your titles and your surnames in the signature; it is snobbery to despise uneducated or less educated people. But this was an attitude towards people that belonged roughly to the same social strata. It was an effort to establish social status, since the hierarchy of office alone was not obviously considered enough to establish a social hierarchy. However, the contempt towards common people, the imprudence and the irrational behaviour with which they were stigmatised, the negative attribute of poverty and the fact that Andronikos III considered the common people unworthy to listen to the 'holy mysteries of theology', are all indicative of a society that had built solid walls against social mobility.

⁴²³ See more detailed in the chapter below for the besieged Constantinople (III.C).

C. HORIZONTAL SOCIAL GROUPS AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

Horizontal social groups

Horizontal social ties connect people of roughly the same status. Social groups of this type that were present in Byzantium were the family, the urban community, the village community, a military contingent (*ἐταιρεία*), confraternities or guilds. All of them are present in the fourteenth century. However, it is essential to examine what the impact of each group was for the social structure of late Byzantium.

One of the most basic and significant social groups in most human societies is the family. The nuclear family (i.e. the parents and the children) has been identified as the most important social group in Byzantium.⁴²⁴ After the collapse of ancient civic life, the end of the military barracks (where the soldiers lived in common), the end of the slave-based production of the large estates of the late Roman nobility and even the end of the religious ceremonies of late Antiquity, society proceeded to simpler and more individual structures. The peasant household (*οἶκος*) became the basic unit of production, both in the domains of agriculture and manufacture. The soldiers were expected to live in the provincial cities and the countryside along with their families and would be summoned when they were needed.

The head of the Byzantine family was not a *pater familias* as in the Roman period; the wife had significant rights over her dowry and in general she was

⁴²⁴ Kazhdan, *People and power*, 26-36; P. Magdalino, 'The Byzantine aristocratic oikos', in M. Angold (ed.), *The Byzantine aristocracy (IX to XIII centuries)* (Oxford 1984), 92-111; L. Neville, *Authority in Byzantine provincial society, 950-1100* (Cambridge 2004), 66-98.

protected by the law in this respect. Several decisions of both lay and, more often, ecclesiastical courts provide examples for this. Occasionally, it was possible for the wife to transmit her own surname to her children and often, as widow, she was the head of the productive unit, the *oikos*. This was true not only for the aristocratic family but also for the lower strata of society. Thus, the sons of the priest Nikolaos Chresimos were named Georgios Moschopoulos and Gabras, the mother of the latter being a Gabraina; neither of his two sons inherited the paternal surname.⁴²⁵ The Byzantine family was in general a nuclear one, although a high proportion of extended families can be observed. A vertically extended family is a mark of low financial status; usually it coincides with the period of the adulthood and marriage of the children and before the parents pass away. Horizontally extended families are more commonly found in villages of Macedonia among the Slavic-speaking peasants. Thus, neither type can be considered the rule, but a deviation from it. Even though the transmission of property is not always clearly observed, it is equally well known that it was not based on primogeniture; there was a principle of equal division among heirs.

All families are not the same. The aristocratic families differed significantly from families of lower social background. Although the same legislation and traditions governed the basic principles of aristocratic families (equal inheritance of heirs, protection of dowry, the creation of a new nuclear family with each marriage and generation), at the same time there appeared more complex forms of social ties with the development, already since the middle Byzantine period, of large households with dependent servants and slaves.⁴²⁶ The Byzantine family is one of the most useful

⁴²⁵ MM II, 391-392.

⁴²⁶ For the Byzantine family see J.-C. Cheynet, 'Aristocratie et héritage (XIe-XIIIe siècles)', in G. Dagron and J. Beaucamp (eds.), *La transmission du patrimoine. Byzance et l'aire méditerranéenne*

analytical categories for Byzantine society. It can be used to describe the social relations that govern many occasions of Byzantine life and the structure of other social groups. The Byzantine monastery can be seen as a single *oikos*. The emperor is the ‘father’ and his subjects are the ‘children’.⁴²⁷

The importance of the family as both a social and an economically self-sufficient unit can be contrasted with the low coherence of the village community. In the middle Byzantine period (seventh-eleventh centuries) the village was a chief element of society. It was a legal entity in court through its representatives (usually the village superiors - the *πρωτόγεροι*). The state certainly contributed to this development by attributing to the village community an independent fiscal apparatus. It had fixed boundaries and the taxes were due collectively from the community, even though each tax unit paid its share. Whenever an *oikos* was unable to pay its share, fellow co-villagers had to pay the difference (*ἀλληλέγγυον*). The community seems to have possessed also common pasture land for the village herds.⁴²⁸

(Paris 1998), 53-80; Laiou, *Peasant society*, 72-107; Laiou, ‘Family structure’, 51-75; R.J. Macrides, ‘Dowry and inheritance in the Late period: some cases from the Patriarchal Register’, in D. Simon (ed.), *Eherecht und Familiengut in Antike und Mittelalter* (Oldenbourg 1992), 89-98; N.P. Matses, *To οικογενειακόν δίκαιον κατά την νομολογίαν του Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως των ετών 1315-1401* (Athens 1962); Patlagean, *Moyen Âge*, 83-162.

⁴²⁷ For the family as an essential micro-group that influenced the structure of Byzantine society see: K.-P. Matschke, ‘Bemerkungen zu den Mikro- und Makrostrukturen des spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft’, in *Acts XVIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies Moscow 1991. Selected papers: Main and Communications. Volume I: History* (Shepherdstown 1996), 394-424. For the monastery as an *oikos* see A.-M. Talbot, ‘A monastic world’, in J. Haldon (ed.), *A social history of Byzantium* (Oxford 2009), 257-278.

⁴²⁸ M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle; propriété et exploitation du sol* (Paris 1992), 185-218; A.P. Kazhdan, ‘La ville et le village à Byzance aux XIe-XIIe siècles’, in *La féodalisme à Byzance: problèmes du mode de production de l’empire byzantin: Recherches internationales à la lumière du marxisme* 79 (1974), 75-89; Kazhdan, *People and Power*, 31; J. Lefort, ‘Économie et sociétés rurales’, in J.-C. Cheynet (ed.), *Le monde byzantin. Tome 2: L’empire byzantin (641-1204)* (Paris 2006), 221-247 (here at 235-239); G. Lemerle, *The agrarian history of Byzantium*.

The emergence of the large landholding estates during the ninth-twelfth centuries drastically affected the essence of the community. The vast majority of the peasants now become dependent *paroikoi*. The common pasture lands (and/or the fishing, beehives, hunting and woodcut rights) belong to the landlord to whom the special tax is paid. The village itself in many cases is divided among various landlords, to whom the *paroikoi* owe their taxes, rents and corvées. Even in cases where the whole village belonged to a single landlord there was little room left for common solidarity. Any abandoned lands reverted to the landlord and not to the neighbouring *oikoi* or the village community.

The few field lists from villages where peasants owned their private land reveal a great degree of land fragmentation. The peasant holding of even 20-50 *modioi* of land was commonly divided into numerous smaller parcels of land.⁴²⁹ Although we do not know details about the exploitation of the demesne land by the *paroikoi* through wage/ rented/ corvée labour, the landlord must have assigned his *paroikoi* individual plots of land, depending on their possession of oxen, rather than relying on the common labour of all his *paroikoi*. There must have been some cooperation between peasants in field exploitation, due to the frequent divergence between land and oxen possession, but it did not result in oxen being held in common.

Nevertheless, in the tax registers (*praktika*) there were usually additional taxes (e.g. *aer*) the total amount of which is assessed separately from the main peasant

From the origins to the twelfth century: The sources and the problems (Galway 1979), 37-48; G. Ostrogorsky, 'La commune rurale byzantine', *Byzantion* 32 (1962), 139-166; M.I. Sjuzumov, 'Le village et la ville à Byzance aux IXe-Xe siècles', in *La féodalisme à Byzance: problèmes du mode de production de l'empire byzantin: Recherches internationales à la lumière du marxisme* 79 (1974), 65-74.

⁴²⁹ See below p. 227-228.

tax.⁴³⁰ However, it is unlikely that there was a collective tax responsibility. Rather the total amount would be collected individually from each family. Sometimes these taxes were not even listed in the *praktika*, something that implies that they were added to the total tax of each individual household. This phenomenon can be observed in the village of Doxompo in Lower Strymon area. Most peasants owned some ships and had fishing rights on the lake of Achinos. In the enumeration of each fiscal unit and the tax it owes it is common to see for example: ‘Konstantinos Modenos has.... a house, one ox, two pigs, one ship, eight fishing nets and a vineyard of 5.5 *modioi*; tax 2 *hyperpyra* without the fishing rights’. This last phrase was not added for peasants who had no ships or fishing nets; at the end of the *praktikon* we learn that these fishing rights amassed 300 *hyperpyra*, which obviously were allocated to the peasants according to their fishing material (ships and fishing nets). Other tax dues in this village must have been allocated in the same way, such as the sales tax (*κομμέρκιον*) and the storage tax (*καταγώγιον*).⁴³¹

The village still had its financial rights in the late period in the eyes of the fisc; it still represented an entity which was marked by boundaries and which included peasants, lands and other economic rights (fishing etc.) but this was actually all that was left to a collective notion of the village. Besides, the stability and coherence of the village community was negatively affected by two more factors. Firstly, the right of the landlord to introduce into his estate new peasants not listed in other tax registries. This meant that it was even possible to create new villages, such as Politzos and Lakkoi in the vicinity of Serres. The second important factor was the

⁴³⁰ P. Charanis, ‘On the social structure and economic organization of the Byzantine empire in the thirteenth century and later’, *Byzantinoslavica* 12 (1951), 119-134; Laiou, *Peasant society*, 23-66; J. Lefort, ‘Économie et société rurales’, in Laiou and Morrisson, *Le monde byzantin*, 79-93; G. Ostrogorsky, *Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine* (Brussels 1956), 41-74.

⁴³¹ Actes Lavra II, 163-171.

geographical mobility of the peasants. The geographical mobility among the villages was an important factor affecting both the coherence and the demographic traits of a village. As has been remarked, in many Macedonian villages, for which sufficient evidence exists, with each new tax survey (every fifteen years or so) a large proportion of the rural populace was registered for the first time.⁴³²

Analogous to the village community is the urban community. The pioneering study of Pirenne created the basis for our view of the western medieval city. Pirenne connected the rise of the city to large scale trade and identified it as a hostile element to the feudal economy and the relations of dependence, while identifying the urban upper class as a mercantile patriciate.⁴³³ During the past decades, a number of studies have questioned this oversimplistic schema. Certainly, there were areas as in Flanders, where the extension of the boundaries of the city's jurisdiction and the refuge it offered to the serfs who sought shelter in it, almost led to the extinction of serfdom by as early as the thirteenth century.⁴³⁴ Yet it seems that urban society was not so sharply differentiated. In many towns the feudal lords resided and owned a significant part of the city space, while the mercantile urban class peacefully coexisted with the feudal nobility.⁴³⁵ Although in both East and West it was possible to find orchards and gardens within the city walls, the proportion must have been larger in some Byzantine cities that retained their ancient walls (and surface) like Thessalonike or Constantinople. Already before the Black Death, only 1/3 of the total surface of

⁴³² Laiou, *Peasant society*, 247-266.

⁴³³ H. Pirenne, *Les villes et les institutions urbaines* (Paris 1939).

⁴³⁴ E. E. Ennen, *The medieval town* (New York 1979), 95-126; D. Nicholas, *The Later Medieval city* (New York 1997), especially 87-107.

⁴³⁵ R.H. Hilton, *English and French towns in feudal society* (Cambridge 1992).

Constantinople was inhabited. The rest was planted with vineyards, orchards, gardens and fields.⁴³⁶

A second aspect that we have to bear in mind regarding the late Byzantine city is its population size. There were two large cities in the empire Thessalonike and Constantinople which may have numbered as many as 100,000 and 150,000 inhabitants respectively, before the effects of the Black Death and the enemy incursions after 1341. Both cities declined and fell below the figure of 50,000 in the fifteenth century. It is very unlikely that any other city of the empire exceeded the figure of 10,000 people.⁴³⁷ The smaller the town was, the closer was the relation between town and countryside. Many of a town's inhabitants had agriculture as their main occupation with their fields situated just outside the city. There were even towns in which the majority of the population consisted of peasants. This is the example of Bera in Thrace the population of which according to Kantakouzenos was made up of monks of the monastery of Kosmosoteira and of farmers.⁴³⁸

A significant particularity of the Byzantine city, compared with its counterpart in Western Europe, was its administrative function and its larger composition of consumers than producers. Almost every local Byzantine town, or castle, or city functioned as a centre of civil and church administration. The members of the aristocracy (who actually filled these posts) had their permanent residence in the city, even in cases where they owned private towers or manors in the countryside. In Melnik, according to Akropolites, all the notables of the city – the officials, the army

⁴³⁶ C. Bouras, 'Aspects of the Byzantine city: eighth to fifteenth centuries', in Laiou, *The economic history of Byzantium*, 497-528 (here at 520).

⁴³⁷ A. Laiou, 'Constantinople sous les Paléologues', in Laiou and Morrisson, *Le monde byzantin*, 131-143 (here at 139); K.-P. Matschke, 'Late urban economy, thirteenth-fifteenth centuries', in Laiou, *The economic history of Byzantium*, 463-496 (population figures at 465).

⁴³⁸ Kantakouzenos, II, 196.

garrison and all other prominent citizens – numbered more than 500. Even if we allow a certain degree of exaggeration the number is not out of range, since it must have comprised the officials of both church and civil administration, all the army of the surrounding theme and perhaps representatives of the people.⁴³⁹ As a result, the aristocracy was interested in the city's economy and it seems that, along with the monastic institutions, it owned the majority of the city space and buildings which were subsequently rented out.

The fourth factor that affected the development of the urban community was trade. In the Late Byzantine period the long distance trade was dominated by the Italian merchants. Food commodities and raw materials were exported from the ports of the Black Sea and the Aegean to Western Europe and manufactured goods such as clothes were imported from Italy. In the last decades of the century, when the empire had virtually diminished to the vicinity of Constantinople, the large scale trade of grain from North Black Sea ports to Constantinople was the most important sector of the economy. However, the inland cities and provinces were only to a limited extent affected by these trade routes. It is true that Venetian products reached as far as Melnik along the upper reaches of river Strymon and that merchants from Constantinople used to buy their products from inner Thrace, but these activities were of a minor nature and as such they affected only a little the development of local urban communities outside the two large cities of the empire. Even the trade of Thessalonike was of limited geographical nature. The Italians never dominated the

⁴³⁹ Akropolites, 44. Multiplying this number by 4 for their families, they represent 2000 people. So the city may have numbered as many as 10000 inhabitants and the aristocracy represented more than 20% of the total population. That this figure is not an exaggeration may be showed by the information of Kantakouzenos that a century later the army of the theme of Stenimachos - Tzepaina (which probably included Melnik) numbered 1000 men (II, 405). As such it is not an exaggeration to suppose that 300 or 400 soldiers were stationed in the *katapanikion* of Melnik and resided in the city.

city markets and neither the Byzantine merchants nor products from Thessalonike reached outside the Aegean Sea.⁴⁴⁰

The relatively small size of the Byzantine town (outside Constantinople and Thessalonike), its strong agricultural aspect, its limited role in trade and manufactures and the presence of the local aristocracy had negative consequences on the development of a civic community, at least outside of Constantinople. If the Byzantine city had less civic aspects than many cities of the western Europe, it had certainly experienced changes during the previous centuries. It had grown larger and its economical and political independence from the centre had increased. There were efforts for self-government by some cities; nevertheless they were the effect of a weakening state machine rather than the consequence of any inclination or striving for autonomy on the part of the urban communities. The local councils of which we hear did not meet regularly but only for important matters, and the aristocracy was the group that directed most decisions. In sum, the urban community had a limited role in shaping Byzantine society.

There were other social horizontal microstructures. The question of the impact of confraternities in Byzantium is still unanswered. There were lay charitable

⁴⁴⁰ On the Byzantine city see M. Angold, 'The shaping of the medieval Byzantine city', *BF* 10 (1985), 1-38; Bouras, 'Byzantine city', 523; A. Bryer, 'The structure of the Late Byzantine town: dioikismos and mesoi', in A. Bryer and H. Lowry (eds.), *Continuity and change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman society* (Birmingham 1986), 263-280; E. Françes, 'La féodalité et les villes byzantines au XIIIe et au XIVE siècle', in *La féodalisme à Byzance: problèmes du mode de production de l'empire byzantin: Recherches internationales à la lumière du marxisme* 79, 107-124; V. Hrochova, 'Les villes byzantines au 11e-13e siècles: phénomène centrifuge ou centripète?', in *XV Congrès International des études byzantines: Rapports* (Athens 1976), 3-14; A.-P. Kazhdan, 'La ville et le village à Byzance au XIe-XIIe siècles', in *XIIIe Congrès International des études byzantines: Rapport collectif, Ochrid 1961* (Belgrade 1964), 31-54; A.-P. Kazhdan, 'The Italian and Late Byzantine city', *DOP* 49 (1995), 1-22; E. Kirsten, 'Die byzantinische Stadt', in *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongress* (Munich 1958), 1-48; Matschke, 'Late urban economy'.

institutions in early Byzantium and there is some evidence for middle Byzantium. In the letters of Theodoros Stoudites, for example, we learn about a pious organisation that had as its prime object the burying of dead people.⁴⁴¹ Most importantly there has been preserved the charter of one provincial brotherhood in Thebes attested in the twelfth century.⁴⁴²

However there is very little evidence for the continuous existence of confraternities in the Palaiologan period. There are two indications. The first is a reference by Nikephoros Choumnos to some pious ‘*Ἀβραμιαίους ἄνδρες*’, who practiced charity in the city. Nikephoros Choumnos in his ‘Advisory speech to the Thessalonians’ first proceeds to an encomium of the city layout, its products and wealth, its churches, then praises the monks and the clergy of the city and lastly he speaks of ‘the remaining jewel of the city, this demure *senate* (*γερονσίαν*), the *Abramiaioi* men (i.e. of Abraham: means either ‘patriarchal’ men, i.e. the imposing figure of these men or, more probably, hospitable)’ who are prudent, benevolent, hospitable and should be a model of praiseworthy behaviour to the rest of the citizens.⁴⁴³ However, I think these *Abramiaioi* men are not a confraternity, as is thought, but rather the city archons or the local council.

⁴⁴¹ Theodoros Stoudites, *Letters (Επιστολαί)*, in J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia cursus completus. Series graeca* (Paris 1857-1866), 99: 952-956 cf. also G. Dagrón, ‘«Ainsi rien n’échappera à la réglementation». État, Église, corporations, confréries: à propos des inhumations à Constantinople (IVe-Xe siècle)’, in V. Kravari, J. Lefort, and C. Morrisson (eds.), *Hommes et richesses dans l’empire byzantin. Volume II: VIIIe–XVe siècle* (Paris 1991), 155-182 (here at 162-165).

⁴⁴² J. Nesbitt and J. Wiitta, ‘A confraternity of the Comnenian era’, *BZ* 68 (1975), 360-384.

⁴⁴³ Nikephoros Choumnos, *Advisory speech to Thessalonicaeans*, 146-148; cf. J. Baun, *Tales from another Byzantium: celestial journey and local community in the Medieval Greek apocrypha* (Cambridge 2007), 373, who says that this is a reference to a confraternity; P. Horden, ‘The confraternities in Byzantium’, in W.J. Shields and D. Wood (eds.), *Voluntary Religion* (London 1986), 25-45 (here at 37-39).

The second indication is coming from Constantinople and concerns the icon of Holy Mother *Odegetria*. According to the sources the icon was displayed every Tuesday in the market area after a litany where a large crowd of people and clergy was coming to pay tribute to the miraculous icon. But the existence of a confraternity has been based on meagre evidence.⁴⁴⁴ Besides, miraculous icons had become objects not only of worship but of exploitation as well and people were keen to have them under their protection. An example for this comes from the patriarchal documents. At least three successive generations had held the icon of Holy Mother *Koubouklarea* the possession of which was passed on as a family inheritance.⁴⁴⁵ It is possible that the case of *Odegetria* was analogous. Since confraternities are attested in the centuries before, it is possible that these were present in Late Byzantium as well, although there is no evidence. Whatever is the case, the scanty evidence for them points to their low significance for the social structure of Byzantine society.

The guilds were an important factor in medieval Western European cities. These organisations, formed around the profession of the artisans, promoted the collective interests of the group. They articulated price and production, they restricted the practice of a craft in the town only to members of the guild, they protected their members and soon they assumed political power and demanded their share in civic

⁴⁴⁴ The evidence is collected and translated in N.P. Ševčenko, ‘“Servants of the holy icon”’, *Byzantine East, Latin West: art-historical studies in honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton 1995), 547-556. The evidence includes: the account of Stephen of Novgorod (1348/49) who describes a procession of the holy icon every Tuesday; the account of the Spanish pilgrim Clavijo (ca. 1403-1406) who adds that the icon could be lifted in the procession by members of a certain family (or confraternity?); the account of Pedro Tafur who adds that around ‘twenty people in long red linen draperies’ gathered every Tuesday in the church and took the icon for the litany; the last piece of evidence, an icon from Arta (Ševčenko, Figure 1), depicts a group of people in white clothes participating in the procession (but they are depicted far from the icon, so it is less probable that they have an immediate relation to it; the common people are depicted closer to it).

⁴⁴⁵ MM II, 513-514. N. Oikonomides, ‘The holy icon as an asset’, *DOP* 45 (1991), 35-44.

government. For Byzantium, if we accept that the *Book of the Eparch* of the tenth century reflects the reality and not an ideal system of organization that was never actually achieved, then the guilds that had helped to control and regulate urban economic activities and production in middle Byzantine Constantinople, have significantly decreased in the fourteenth century.⁴⁴⁶ In fact, we do have some references to the system in the Palaiologan period. There are some mentions of heads of artisans. But the *πρωτομαϊστορες* (head of builders) that we meet in our sources or the *πρωταλικάριοι* (head of salt workers) are probably not heads of supposed guilds but rather the heads of team workers.⁴⁴⁷ In Thessalonike Theodoros Brachnos is attested in 1320 as *exarchos* of the perfume-makers (*ἔξαρχος τῶν μυρεψῶν*) but it is unlikely that an organised system, or even a guild, existed; he must have been the spokesman of an association of some perfume-makers.⁴⁴⁸ This is all the information we actually have. In Late Byzantium there was little or no price control either individually by the artisans and merchants or by the state. Therefore, a guild system was inexistent and irrelevant for the development of Late Byzantine urban society.

Evidence for the existence of military contingents (*ἐταιρεία*) in the late empire is little but not insignificant, especially when the foreign military companies (e.g. Catalans, Alans) are left out of argument. In Serres there were the Klazomenitai

⁴⁴⁶ Most researchers agree that guilds disappeared in the late period: Charanis, 'Economic organisation', 150-152; E. Françes, 'La disparition des corporations byzantines', in *Actes du XIIIe Congrès International d' Études Byzantines, 1961* (Belgrade 1964), II: 97; G. Maniatis, 'The domain of private guilds in the Byzantine economy, tenth to fifteenth centuries', *DOP* 55 (2002), 339-366; Matschke, 'Late Urban economy', 493-494. Yet there is still the view that the guilds continued to exist but without any central control, having been influenced by the western-type guilds: Angold, 'Medieval Byzantine city', 31-34; Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires*, 108-114;

⁴⁴⁷ This hypothesis may be confirmed by the very fact that we meet two *protomaïstores* of the builders in the same document: *Actes Chilandar* (Petit), 178.

⁴⁴⁸ See Maniatis, as above, for this explanation. See also above p. 55-56 on the supposed 'guild of sailors' in Thessalonike.

soldiers who each owned an *oikonomia* of 10 or 12 *nomismata*;⁴⁴⁹ in Thessalonike there were the Barbarenoi soldiers;⁴⁵⁰ Ioannes Batatzes was in command of the regiment of Achyraïtes;⁴⁵¹ in Zichna a few months after the establishment of Serbian rule there are documented some *archontopoula* jointly owning a *pronoia*;⁴⁵² Euthymios Kardames and Demetrios Isauros from Thessalonike also owned collectively an *oikonomia* of 900 *modioi*.⁴⁵³ Perhaps the main reason for the low frequency of companies of men-at-arms in our sources is the fact that officials of the army and holders of larger military *pronoiai* were expected to serve along with their followers. The mercenaries, the officers and the holders of larger *pronoiai* (with their servants) were the bulk of late Byzantine army and thus the companies of men-at-arms were of minor significance.

A society of circles and social networks

Up to this point most traditional horizontal group organisations, especially at the macrostructure level (e.g. urban and village community) seem to have had little impact on the structure of late Byzantine society. This conclusion seems to strengthen the theory of Kazhdan concerning the individuality of Byzantine society. But horizontal social ties were not completely underdeveloped. Every society consists of individual social networks and an analysis of the relations that govern these networks illuminates the functioning of a given society.

⁴⁴⁹ Actes Kutlumis, 90-91.

⁴⁵⁰ Actes Docheiariou, 142.

⁴⁵¹ Kantakouzenos, II, 180. But it is not clarified in the passage whether this is a company of men or just an army division.

⁴⁵² Actes Philotheou (K), 301-302.

⁴⁵³ Actes Xenophon, 158.

There were short-lived and less stable political and social network groups, which usually are designated as ‘*φατρία*’, ‘*σύστημα*’, ‘*ὄμιλος*’, ‘*ἐταιρεία*’ etc. (all of them mean essentially faction). These associations were not insignificant for the structure of late Byzantine society. Philotheos Kokkinos assesses a relationship with an *etaireia* as one similar to a family association, when he thanks the citizens of Constantinople for their hospitality, saying that they treated him as one of ‘their faction or of their family’.⁴⁵⁴

The political *φατρία* had primarily political aims, usually by supporting a certain powerful man to attain political power. One of the best known *φατρίες* in the fourteenth century was the one that developed around the young Andronikos III just before the start of the first civil war. The main persons that formed it were Ioannes Kantakouzenos, Syrgiannes Palaiologos, Theodoros Synadenos, Alexios Apokaukos and three noble Genoese from Galata, Federico Spinola, Raffo de Mari and Rapho Doria. All of them were young and were connected already by friendship. It is unclear whether the ‘friendship’ of Andronikos III with the three Genoese meant also financial transactions (i.e. banking and trade activities); Gregoras says that the friendship with the Genoese resulted in loans and mortgages. The organisation of all these men in a faction for the support of Andronikos III against the old emperor Andronikos II would mean higher titles and wealth for them. The association was bound by oaths which would ensure loyalty.⁴⁵⁵

Another *φατρία* was formed around Syrgiannes during the reign of Andronikos III. The professed reason was the creation of a strong following that would oppose the power of Kantakouzenos and prevent Syrgiannes from falling into disfavour, since Kantakouzenos, who enjoyed a strong influence over the emperor, had recently shown

⁴⁵⁴ Philotheos Kokkinos, *Homilies*, 197: ‘καθ’ ἐταιρείαν ἢ κοινωνίαν τοῦ γένους’.

⁴⁵⁵ Gregoras, I, 284 and 299-301; Kantakouzenos, I, 38-39.

hostility towards Syrgiannes. People who did not belong to this *φατρία*, among them Arsenios Tzamlakon, found nothing objectionable about its formation. They simply thought that Syrgiannes was keen to establish a following ‘out of vanity’. But Tzamlakon reported these actions to the emperor Andronikos III as soon as he learned that Syrgiannes had the members of the faction vow that they would help each other and should the emperor die, they would only obey the commands of Syrgiannes.⁴⁵⁶ In this case we again have a *φατρία* the members of which had vowed allegiance to a leader, but its creation in the first place was not the desire to serve a particular object as with the *φατρία* of Andronikos III in the first civil war. It was rather a durable political association, probably created with the aim of exercising political pressure, counterbalancing and undermining the authority of Kantakouzenos and eventually the emperor himself. It seems that Syrgiannes had ‘friends’ close to the emperor even earlier than this incident. We learn that ‘some people’, who were present at a meeting between Andronikos III and Kantakouzenos, informed Syrgiannes that Andronikos III intended to annul his appointment as governor of the western part of the empire, a suggestion made by Kantakouzenos.⁴⁵⁷

As the analysis of Beyer has shown, the anonymous pamphlet edited in 1969 by Hunger and dated by him to ca. 1332, refers to a sort of *φατρία*, or ‘mafia’ as both these scholars named it, which was formed in Adrianople between 1350 and 1352 by members of the aristocracy, who mostly had supported Kantakouzenos during the second civil war. According to the pamphlet, written perhaps by Demetrios Kydones, the members of this ‘mafia’ used terrorist methods in order to achieve their goals. Their main target was a *pinkernes* (probably Demetrios Tornikes), who would meet with death, according to the pamphlet, unless he accepted the decisions of the ‘mafia

⁴⁵⁶ Kantakouzenos, I, 436-438.

⁴⁵⁷ Kantakouzenos, I, 412.

council'. The *φατρία* seems to be without a leader, but although it is not specifically stated, the leader must have been the son of Kantakouzenos, Matthaïos, who was now based in Adrianople and was awarded with an appanage-type administration of Thrace. His rival Ioannes V Palaiologos had just received from Kantakouzenos part of Matthaïos' appanage, and, as Kantakouzenos conveys to us, many of those that had supported him during the second civil war now incited Matthaïos to start war with Ioannes V. It is thus possible that the pamphlet was directed against them (and not openly against Matthaïos).⁴⁵⁸

Many other *φατρίες* were created for political reasons. We know for example that at the very start of the fourteenth century Ioannes Drimys, who was pretending to be the son of the blinded Ioannes IV Laskaris, had created a *συμμορία* (gang) and had tried to usurp the throne. In this 'gang' was also enlisted a metropolitan from Asia Minor. However, the plans of Drimys were revealed and he was excommunicated.⁴⁵⁹ The Patriarch Ioannes Kalekas after the death of Andronikos III is said to have started gathering around him an *ἐταιρεία* of senators.⁴⁶⁰

Hence, the first step towards the acquisition of political power was the establishment of a social network which would help achieve the goals that had been set. It is possible to see the history of the empire being formed around the struggle between opposing factions. The circle that formed around Gregorios Palamas is one of

⁴⁵⁸ Kantakouzenos, III, 238-242; H.-V. Beyer, 'Personale Ermittlungen zu einem spätbyzantinischen Pamphlet', in W. Höradner (ed.), *Byzantios: Festschrift für Herbert Hunger zum 70. Geburtstag*, 13-26. H. Hunger, 'Anonymes Pamphlet gegen eine byzantinische „Mafia“', *RESEE* 7 (1969), 95-107: he associated this 'mafia' with the abovementioned conspiracy of the *pinkernes* Syrgiannes, to whom it targeted. Unfortunately, the text does not target anybody by name; the author prefers to refer to the participants with nicknames. For both dates (1332 or 1352) there are problems in identifying and ascertaining the names, yet the date 1352 seems more plausible.

⁴⁵⁹ Pachymeres, IV, 653; Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*, 202-210.

⁴⁶⁰ Kantakouzenos, II, 19.

these growing factions. The support that he obtained later from Kantakouzenos was the major key for his victory in the Hesychast controversy. Preiser-Kapeller has recently worked on the social networks in the Patriarchal Synod as they are presented through the sessions recorded in the Patriarchal Register. He used statistical analysis and complex network models borrowed from sociology. The results of this research (he analyses especially the years 1379-1387) have shown that there is a strong correlation between the outcome of the Synod's decisions and the participants. Ioseph of Herakleia, although he is recorded in many fewer sessions (12 out of 26) than others, even though his see is less than two days journey from Constantinople, had a larger influence on the outcome than Chariton of *Houngrovlachia* who attended more sessions than any other (20 out of 26) after the Patriarch himself. Ioseph participated in sessions with a larger number of metropolitans in order to attain the greatest impact.⁴⁶¹

In order to better understand these networks it is imperative that the concept of hierarchy be introduced. Every *φαρρία* was usually composed of a powerful person whose political aims it served. Although, for example, we do not know the origins of the abovementioned Ioseph of Herakleia, in the hierarchy he was the first after the patriarch and this gave him significant power; he expressed his view first. Consequently, these *φαρρίες* are closer to the ancient Roman patronage system. The patron expected support in order to attain his aims, while his 'friends' expected rewards in return, which in the case of Byzantium meant additional revenues in the form of *oikonomia* or immunity and higher offices and titles. The stability and the allegiance of the members of these *φαρρίες* were not always so high. Syrgiannes

⁴⁶¹ J. Preiser-Kapeller, 'Calculating the Synod? A network analysis of the synod and the episcopacy in the Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the years 1379–1390', see the online version: http://www.oeaw.ac.at/byzanz/repository/Preiser_WorkingPapers_Calculating_II.pdf.

during the first civil war very soon changed his side from Andronikos III to Andronikos II. Kantakouzenos was unable to keep his friend Theodoros Synadenos, who in the face of the setbacks of the former, made an agreement with Apokaukos. Apokaukos himself had an even less stable *φατρία*, but perhaps the reason was that there was no clarity over who the actual leader of the regency's faction was at the time of its formation (the patriarch or Apokaukos, or Andronikos Asanes or the empress).⁴⁶²

The literary circles have similar traits to a political *φατρία*. Every individual had his correspondents whom he could use not only as 'literary friends' but as political ones as well. The polemic between two prominent literati, Theodoros Metochites and Nikephoros Choumnos, of the early fourteenth century has been analysed extensively by Ševčenko and he concluded that it is not possible to discern in this polemic any social, political or deeper cultural motivation; rather the hostility between two scholars ended in political rivalry.⁴⁶³ Gregorios Akindynos tried hard with his letters to maintain his circle of supporters during the years of the Palamite controversy and to convince others to join his cause. We have already referred to how literati like Michael Gabras or Theodoros Hyrtakenos used their contacts to achieve help on a financial level. Hyrtakenos used the fact that he was teacher of the son of Theodoros Metochites in order to ask for help. Gabras, accordingly, was keen to enter into a correspondence with Theodoros Metochites. Yet his letters to the latter hint at the purpose; while praising the literary virtues of Metochites, he asks for his help.⁴⁶⁴

The teachers expected help and support from their students. Gregoras claims that the Palamites in the Synod of 1351 were jealous of the great number of the

⁴⁶² The two opposing factions have been separately analysed below. See chapter III.B.

⁴⁶³ Ševčenko, *Études polémique*.

⁴⁶⁴ Gabras, *Letters*, 135-136.

students that surrounded and helped him. Right after the synod they were threatened with imprisonment and property confiscations and, as a result, most of them were forced to abandon him.⁴⁶⁵ It is not mere chance that the students of Demetrios Kydones (Maximos Chrysoberges, Manouel Chrysoloras) followed him when he turned to the Roman Church, nor that he served as *mesazon* to the emperor Manouel II, who was one of his students, while another of his students, Radenos, served Manouel II.⁴⁶⁶ Although, the bonds between teacher and student were strong,⁴⁶⁷ one can easily find exceptions. Kydones himself was a student of the future patriarch Isidoros I and of Neilos Kabasilas; but they were both exponents of Palamism of which Kydones was a sworn opponent. The metropolitan of Philadelpheia Theoleptos was teacher of both the anti-Palamite Eirene Choumnaina and of Gregorios Palamas himself.

The aristocratic oikos and the Gefolgschaftswesen

Although all these *φαιρίες* were rather short-lived, in fact most of their foundations already relied on another similar but more stable system based on the individual *oikos* – family. Every *oikos* of the higher strata of society had a more or less complex system of relations tied either vertically or horizontally. This type of relation has been called *Gefolgschaftswesen* in the German literature. To the horizontal ties belonged people that were connected in terms of family relations or friendship with the household, whereas people that were dependent or were of service

⁴⁶⁵ Gregoras II, 994-995 and 1012.

⁴⁶⁶ PLP, no. 23986.

⁴⁶⁷ See also Matschke, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 291-300, with a detailed list of all known teachers and their students.

to the household belonged to the vertical ties. Many times it is very difficult to clearly differentiate between these two types.⁴⁶⁸

The most complete analysis of a *Gefolgschaftswesen* has been done by Weiss in his study on Kantakouzenos. Weiss distinguished two types of *Gefolgschaftswesen*: the political one that he considered as less stable and the *Dienerschaft*, which consisted of men that in one way or another (mainly economically) were dependent on a certain powerful man. Although it is true that the political *Gefolgschaftswesen* was less stable than the dependent *Gefolgschaftswesen*, in neither of the two are included the relatives and the close friends, who, generally speaking, proved to be much more loyal than the economically dependent followers or the political friends.

The analysis of the *Gefolgschaftswesen* of Kantakouzenos, perhaps the most detailed *Gefolgschaftswesen*, can show very interesting results. The members of his family proved to be his most loyal supporters. Apart from the family bonds, a shared past strengthened the bonds of loyalty with his peers. Kantakouzenos vividly recalls his youth, when along with his cousin Syrgiannes he was educated in war by his uncle the *megas stratopedarches* Senachereim Angelos and when he and his cousin fought their first battle together against the Turks.⁴⁶⁹ Through his high position in the government of the empire during the reign of Andronikos III Kantakouzenos took the opportunity to build up his *Gefolgschaftswesen* by helping people to ascend the hierarchy and occupy significant posts. Among them was the later patriarch Ioannes Kalekas. According to Kantakouzenos, Kalekas, who was until then a priest in the palace, became his *oikeios* and Kantakouzenos proved the decisive factor that enabled the elevation of Kalekas to the patriarchal throne, although he had not been proposed

⁴⁶⁸ See Magdalino, 'Aristocratic oikos', 92-94 and 96-98, also for earlier examples of the importance of such factions around an aristocratic household.

⁴⁶⁹ Kantakouzenos, I, 334.

by the Synod itself.⁴⁷⁰ Kalekas may not have proved loyal in the long run but we can imagine that others would be ready to help him when they were needed. The number of followers and supporters which a high aristocrat could summon is impressive. Just before the first civil war, i.e. before the actual involvement of Kantakouzenos in government, he summoned within a few hours 100 men in Constantinople, ready to fight for the protection of Andronikos III; their number, he claimed, could even amount to 300 after a while.⁴⁷¹ This number can be compared to the *oikeioi* and the followers of Phakeolatos, who facilitated the entry of Kantakouzenos in Constantinople in 1347 with more than 100 of his *oikeioi*.⁴⁷²

Kantakouzenos was surrounded by a large number of *oiketai* (servants), most of whom exhibited similar or even more zealous support for Kantakouzenos. Many of them were not of as low a social background as we might have expected. Some were certainly educated and may originate from well-off families. Among his *oiketai* were Iakobos Broulas, Demetrios Sgouropoulos, Demetrios Kasandrenos and a certain Potamiates. All of them were considered very trusted men and Kantakouzenos assigned to them important tasks. Another category of his *oiketai* was constituted by military men, perhaps the military assistants who were in the following of every military official as warriors. Among them was Theodoros Pepagomenos, the governor of the fortress Platamon near Berroia, whose affection for Kantakouzenos was so great that he preferred to die than to insult Kantakouzenos in public, as Apokaukos wanted when he arrested him.⁴⁷³ Another *oiketes* named Lantzaretos gave his horse to Kantakouzenos to allow his escape when the battle was lost, while he himself

⁴⁷⁰ Kantakouzenos, I, 431-432.

⁴⁷¹ Kantakouzenos, II, 61 and 64. Yet the number probably comprised the *oikeioi* of Andronikos III and of Theodoros Synadenos.

⁴⁷² Gregoras, II, 774.

⁴⁷³ Kantakouzenos, II, 382.

remained on the battlefield in danger.⁴⁷⁴ The only known *oiketes* who abandoned Kantakouzenos was a certain Apelmene. Kantakouzenos expresses bitterness for this defection. He says that he had undertaken to raise Apelmene since he was a child. He provided him with a literary and military education, with wealth and with honours making him the most close of his *oiketes*.⁴⁷⁵ But, Kantakouzenos never assigned important offices and titles to his *oiketai* and the reason is that he considered them socially inferior. Important titles and offices should be assigned to his relatives and other *archontes*, as he himself states in his *History*.⁴⁷⁶

But the bond between *oiketes* and lord was not always that strong. Kantakouzenos was rather lucky with his *oiketai*. Tzyrakes, an *oiketes* of the empress, observing the coming victory of Kantakouzenos, approached some other men, decided to cooperate with Phakeolatos and betray the regency by opening the gates of Constantinople to Kantakouzenos.⁴⁷⁷ Apokaukos usually had around him a following of many *oiketai*, but when in the summer of 1341 Kantakouzenos dismissed him from office, we hear that only one *oiketes* named Spalokotos remained in his following on that day.⁴⁷⁸ But Apokaukos was generally unable to inspire loyalty even in his own family: two of his sons joined Kantakouzenos. A truly loyal *oiketes* of Apokaukos was one named Geoffrey (*Tζεppαι*), who after the murder of Apokaukos in June 1345 at the hands of political prisoners, induced and armed the sailors of Constantinople to avenge the murder by massacring all the political prisoners.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁴ Kantakouzenos, II, 430-431.

⁴⁷⁵ Kantakouzenos, II, 247.

⁴⁷⁶ As above. Apelmene was disappointed that he did not have any important military or administrative job.

⁴⁷⁷ Kantakouzenos, II, 598-599.

⁴⁷⁸ Kantakouzenos, II, 101-102.

⁴⁷⁹ Kantakouzenos, II, 544.

Followers were used also to make an impression; Eirene Palaiologina Raoulaina would appear in public with a large following around her.⁴⁸⁰ It is not always easy to distinguish between a dependent *oiketes* and a man simply in the temporary service of an aristocrat. Yet it seems for the Byzantines this distinction was unimportant. Working for someone meant that you were dependent on him, you were in his service. This relationship was officially recognised by the state. There is at least one known case where the relationship was constituted by an imperial order (*ὄρισμός*). It is stated that by imperial order Michael Kabasilas was subordinated to the service of the metropolitan of Apros. He happened to have been raised and educated by the metropolitan and later he became a relative by marriage by marrying the metropolitan's niece.⁴⁸¹ Even if he was supposed to be in the employ of the metropolitan and *katholikos krites*, the state accorded to Kabasilas the status of a servant.

The establishment of the bond of *oiketes* at an early age was common. This was the case of Apelmene. The *oiketes* would receive the benevolence of his lord and would potentially be loyal. In the case of Kabasilas, the metropolitan of Apros gave him in marriage to his own niece, thus making the bond and the loyalty more durable. Kabasilas pursued an ecclesiastical career and this made his social position closer to the metropolitan's, something that actually allowed such a marriage. But the higher aristocrats would not permit a marriage with someone so much inferior socially. Another possible case of an officially recognised bond is that of a priest named Gabras who, according to the document, had the senator Phakrases Kantakouzenos as his owner (*κτήτωρ*), lord (*δεσπότης*) and everlasting custodian (*οἰωνεὶ κηδεμόνας*). Gabras was accused of allowing an illegal marriage in the family of Phakrases

⁴⁸⁰ Pachymeres, III, 171.

⁴⁸¹ MM I, 226.

Kantakouzenos, but eventually the bond with the latter served in court as mitigation and allowed the priest's forgiveness.⁴⁸²

The emperor was also connected by *oiketes* – lord relations. But unlike the common aristocrats, it is hard here to distinguish and understand the difference between the three designations that we meet in the sources: *οἰκεῖος*, *δοῦλος* and *οἰκέτης*. We learn for example that three of the *oiketai* of the *deceased* Andronikos III had been placed in important provincial governor posts during the second civil war (Ierax, Paraspondylos, Magkaphas). Goudeles an *oinochoos* (cup-bearer) of the empress Anna was governor in Polystylon in Thrace.⁴⁸³ On the other hand, the epithet *oikeios* seems to be ascribed to anyone holding a military or administrative office of the state hierarchy and was not simultaneously a relative (*προσγενῆς*) of the emperor.⁴⁸⁴ In documentary sources, we meet the designation *oikeios* rather than *oiketes*. Although the distinction between *oiketes* and *oikeios* is not clear, the distinction between an *oikeios* of the emperor and a *doulos* of the emperor is clear enough. A careful analysis of the signatures in documents will reveal that the designation *doulos of the emperor* was ascribed by the persons themselves in their signatures, whereas the *oikeios* would be attributed to them by others including the

⁴⁸² MM II, 489. Gabras was accused of an illegal marriage and eventually the bond with Phakrases Kantakouzenos served as mitigation at court allowing his forgiveness.

⁴⁸³ Kantakouzenos, II, 277, 394 ff.

⁴⁸⁴ A relative of the emperor would sign as ‘the uncle of our holy and mighty emperor...’, for example. See also Angelov, ‘Hierarchy of court titles’, but there is no evidence for an official record to have been kept. For the older view seeing the *oikeioi* as strictly a circle of trusted men of the emperor see J. Verpeaux, ‘Les oikeioi. Notes d’histoire institutionnelle et sociale’, *REB* 23 (1965), 89-92.

emperor himself.⁴⁸⁵ Neither the emperor nor anyone else would ever call an official his *doulos*.

The *oiketai* of the emperor, whom we meet only in the narrative sources, are somehow connected with the *paidopoula* (pages) of the emperor. *Paidopoula* seems to have denoted simple servants in the palace.⁴⁸⁶ But among the *paidopoula* are also important figures. Among them Ioannes Laskaris Kalopheros, who was a *paidopoulon* of Ioannes V, carried out fiscal duties in Thessalonike;⁴⁸⁷ the *paidopoulon* of Michael IX Symeon Madarites was a large landowner in the area of Serres;⁴⁸⁸ the *paidopoulon* of Andronikos II Petros Doukopoulos was a large landowner in Thessalonike.⁴⁸⁹ The evidence is too meager though to allow any safe conclusion on the matter.

In conclusion, Byzantine society was underdeveloped regarding the traditional set of horizontal social groups outside the family. Civic and village community, professional groups, institutions of social welfare (confraternities), based on common interests, meant little to the Byzantines. Nevertheless, at the same time the Byzantines maintained a complex set of relations through the formation of social networks in the form either of a faction or of a patronage system and lord – servant relations. However, in none of these social networks was the concept of equality and common

⁴⁸⁵ See for example PR II, 112, where the scribe of the document calls Georgios Angelos and *oikeios* of the emperor and a few lines below Angelos signs as a *doulos* of the emperor. There are numerous examples of this phenomenon.

⁴⁸⁶ Pseudo-Kodinos, 172 and 191 (*paidopoulo* of the *bestiarion*), 176 (*paidopoula* of the imperial chamber, headed by the *parakoimomenos of sphendone*) and elsewhere in passim.

⁴⁸⁷ Actes Lavra III, 49.

⁴⁸⁸ Actes Prodromou (B), 387.

⁴⁸⁹ I. Iberites, ‘Αφιερωτηρίον Πέτρου σεβαστού Δουκόπουλου’, *Palamas* 1 (1917), 789-791; Actes Chilandar (Petit), 209 and 237.

interest present. They were channels through which individuals asserted or strove to protect their position. The political factions very rarely had a specific policy or orientation as their motivation force. The anti-Palamites seem to have had a specific aim, but after their decisive defeat at the Synod of 1351, they turned into a closed circle of literati, without pursuing any systematic policy.

Kazhdan's theory of individuality does not fully describe Byzantine society. It was a society full of social networks that complemented the nuclear family in its strictest sense. Nevertheless, these networks were 'individual' in themselves, by the mere fact that they were mostly a means to individual political power or social ascent through service to or patronage of an influential person. As a result these networks proved a serious impediment to the creation of a collective sense of belonging to a social group and common solidarity, either in the form of a horizontal social group or a social class. Strengthening this phenomenon still further was the concept of a hierarchical society which dominated Byzantium. The concept of hierarchy simply means that there is no equality; no one is equal to someone else. There is a line of individual inequality from top to bottom.

Byzantium was a typical society in which patron-client relations proliferated.⁴⁹⁰ Societies of these types existed in different forms throughout the history of the Mediterranean. Patron-clients relations are solid and involve a large degree of personal honour and obligation and a spiritual attachment between the two actors; these bonds are structured vertically, they are not legal and are voluntary in essence. More importantly, patronage links undermine to a large degree the horizontal solidarity of the lower groups of society, including social organisation based on class,

⁴⁹⁰ The first step towards the recognition of the importance of these relations was made by Weiss, *Kantakuzenos*, 138-155, who likened them to those found in the ancient Roman patronage system, denying their western European origin.

strata, community or country, although it is possible to identify an analogous trend in the upper strata (i.e. the patrons) as well. In these societies there are not significant differences between centre and periphery and only few links exist between them. These links – taxation, administration of law, keeping the peace, cultural and religious links – are maintained through existing local kinships and through patrimonial-like bureaucracies. Moreover, many of these societies, as happens with the Byzantine, are characterised by the existence of different highly elaborated hierarchies of ranks and positions.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁹¹ S.N. Eisenstadt and L. Roniger, 'Patron-client relations as a model of structuring social exchange', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (1980), 42-77, who includes an exhaustive worldwide comparative scholarly literature on the topic of patron-client relations.

D. ANALYSING BYZANTINE SOCIETY

The bases for power and wealth

Apart from forming social networks and extended households the Byzantine aristocracy maintained its position by two other means: wealth and political power. Neither of these was a prerequisite for achieving the other, but the two usually were interconnected. It was difficult to achieve and maintain political power for the next generation without a strong material basis and strong material basis was an easy means attaining political power.

Political power was realised throughout this period by the assumption of titles and offices, which in turn maintained one's status in society as high as possible. Nevertheless, titles and offices were not only a means to political power but also to wealth. The assumption of an office or a high title did not only mean high prestige for the individual. It assured a large wage, which in cases could exceed the income of his own territorial basis.⁴⁹² He now had authority which he could exercise for his own benefit. Moreover, the governor had certain rights on his administrative district from which he assured his own proper wage. He could for example buy grain at favourable prices (the privilege of *μιτάτον*).⁴⁹³ Even more lucrative proved to be the tax

⁴⁹² J.-C. Cheynet, 'Fortune et puissance de l'aristocratie (Xe–XIIe siècle)', in V. Kravari, J. Lefort, and C. Morisson (eds.), *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin. Volume II: VIIIe–XVe siècle* (Paris 1991), 199-214; Haldon, 'Social élites', 193-195; Lemerle, 'Roga'; N. Oikonomides, 'Title and income at the Byzantine court', in H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine court culture: from 829 to 1204*, (Washington 1997), 199-215.

⁴⁹³ See also K.-P. Matschke, 'Notes on the economic establishment and social order of the late Byzantine kephalai', *BF* 19 (1993), 139-143 for the 'benefits' of a governor. The rights of the *kephale* on the *mitaton* are specifically referred in the chrysobull of Andronikos II for Ioannina in 1319: MM V, 83.

assessors' posts in late Byzantium. We learn that some were able to enrich themselves. These are the cases of Theodoros Patrikiotes, Ioannes Batatzes and Alexios Apokaukos. It is perhaps not a mere coincidence that we find governors holding properties in their former provinces. Thus Nikephoros Choumnos who served as governor of Thessalonike in 1309/10 later reports that he owned some houses in the city, which in turn he tried to protect from the abuses of the new governor of the city Ioannes Palaiologos.⁴⁹⁴ Consequently, it is obvious that some were ready to buy a *kephalatikion* (the administrative unit headed by the *kephale*). Syrgiannes and Kantakouzenos bought the administration of areas in Thrace,⁴⁹⁵ as Ioannes Batatzes did for Thessalonike.⁴⁹⁶ The purchase of a *kephalatikion* did not always prove profitable. Ioannes Batatzes was soon replaced by the son of Alexios Apokaukos and he was unable to refund the full sum of the money he had paid. Still later, shortly before 1400, a certain Palaiologos had bought the *kephalatikion* of an unspecified city, but made a loss and was in danger of imprisonment for his debts to the emperor.⁴⁹⁷

In second place, power had two sides to it in the political system of Byzantium: on the one side, the aristocrat strove to defend his position through the assurance of offices and on the other side the emperor strove to achieve political allegiance through the granting of immunities and incomes which were usually translated into an *oikonomia*, a donation of the revenues from a certain source, usually land and taxes from *paroikoi*. There are occasional reports of salaries of some lower

⁴⁹⁴ Nikephoros Choumnos, *Letters*, 29-32.

⁴⁹⁵ Gregoras, I, 302.

⁴⁹⁶ Gregoras, II, 741.

⁴⁹⁷ MM II, 362.

court and administrative employees,⁴⁹⁸ yet these reports do not cover the annual salary (*ρόγα*) that a title-holder would normally expect. It is highly probable that the officials were salaried with the granting of an *oikonomia*, which would correspond to their title, as happened during the Komnenian era.⁴⁹⁹ Kantakouzenos indicates this possibility when he says that Sphrantzes Palaiologos was awarded the title of *meGas stratopedarches* and ‘the *corresponding* annual revenues from villages’.⁵⁰⁰ Therefore, the value of these *oikonomiai* could vary from a few *nomismata* to hundreds. The village of Prevista held by the *meGas domestikos* Alexios Komnenos Raoul allegedly had a *posotes* of 293 *nomismata*. But Alexios Komnenos Raoul was not an ordinary aristocrat; he was son-in-law of the emperor Andronikos II.⁵⁰¹ Other *oikonomiai*, especially those held by lesser soldiers, could yield as few as 10 *nomismata* as we discussed above, but these people did not even belong to the aristocracy.

The *posotes* of an *oikonomia* represented only a fraction of its real income. This *posotes* included the sum of the taxes from the properties of certain *paroikoi* (land and animals), additional supplementary charges and taxes on the *paroikoi* and the *supposed* tax on the demesne land, that is the tax that this property would have to pay to the state before its donation. The revenue of the latter corresponded to a much larger sum than the tax, as is evident, since it would be rented out to peasants or

⁴⁹⁸ Pseudo-Kodinos, 186-187. Their salary was paid by the *meGas logariastes*.

⁴⁹⁹ N. Oikonomides, ‘Title and income’, 210-213.

⁵⁰⁰ Kantakouzenos, I, 457.

⁵⁰¹ Mavromatis, ‘Pronoia d’Alexis Raoul’. For the institution of *pronoia* see now M. Bartusis, *Land and privilege in Byzantium: the institution of pronoia* (Cambridge 2012). Yet Bartusis does not discuss the possibility that the title-holders were awarded with *pronoiai* as a payment of their *roga*. Evidence is meager but it is a curious possibility, in view of the absence of references to a *roga* in the late period. See Angelov, ‘Hierarchy of court titles’ for a similar view. The divergence between the *oikonomiai* of soldiers and the high aristocrats, which Bartusis attributed to the high social status and connections or membership to the imperial family of the high aristocrats, might be caused by the possession of a higher court title, which subsequently would require a higher *roga*.

exploited through *corvées*. Revenues from rented land amounted to around four times more than the actual tax on it. In villages, then, where peasants owned minimal land, the revenues of the landlord would be proportionally much higher than the supposed *posotes*.⁵⁰² Thus, for example in the village of Prevista the *posotes* amounted to 293 *nomismata* but the total income would be:

Base taxes of <i>paroikoi</i> :	179.32	42.13%
Additional taxes on <i>paroikoi</i> :	44.33	10.41%
Domanial land income:	202	47.46%
TOTAL	425.65	<i>nomismata</i>

And Prevista is a village where the peasants owned proportionally much private land (53% of the total land surface) in comparison to most other villages.

In its initial form the *oikonomia* was a special donation to a recipient after whose death it reverted to the state. However, it seems that during the Palaiologan period most of the *oikonomiai* were transmissible to the heir. Thus, in a chrysobull granting immunity to Ioannes Orestes Sgouros from Melnik for his personal property, the emperor states that he has the right to dispose of his personal property as he wishes, but that the *oikonomia*, which he also holds, he can transmit to his son only. If he dies without a son, it will be transmitted to his wife after whose death it will revert to the state.⁵⁰³ The situation is not at all clear, but what is certain is that the state retained some of its authority on the re-distribution of *oikonomiai*, even in cases where there was no confiscation on grounds of an aristocrat falling into disfavour. The new recipient obviously had a better patron. Thus, despite the constant protests and the refusal to give up his *oikonomia* in Monospeton, the soldier Nikephoros Martinos in Serres was eventually awarded with the *oikonomia* of another soldier, the deceased

⁵⁰² See Laiou, 'Agrarian economy', 348-350.

⁵⁰³ Actes Vatopedi I, 325.

Romaïos'.⁵⁰⁴ The cases of confiscation of *oikonomiai* are not an insignificant variable regardless of the status of the affected: a high aristocrat, a monastery or a soldier.

Apart from the single award of an *oikonomia* an aristocrat had three other ways of assuring himself of wealth from the imperial power: the granting of immunity on his personal property, the increase of his *oikonomia* or, most commonly, the transformation of a part or the whole of his *oikonomia* into personal property. In order to achieve this, the aristocrat had either to have access to the imperial court (personally or through his social network) or to take advantage of possible political upsets. The abbot of Vatopedi asked the *megas stratopedarches* Georgios Synadenos Astras, who was then *apographeus* in Lemnos, to petition the emperor for the cancellation of a tax of 10 *nomismata* that the monastery paid, in exchange for 'multiple benevolences in this life and the afterlife (by God)'.⁵⁰⁵ The granting of these privileges was even more apparent during the civil wars. In Serres the former wife of the metropolitan of the city had received before 1321 a plot of land of 500 *modioi* with tax immunity. A few months after the beginning of the civil war her sons seem to have supported the old emperor. As a consequence their father, the metropolitan of Serres, asked and received immunity for all the possessions of his sons as well.⁵⁰⁶ The *oikeios* of Ioannes V, Ioannes Margarites, received during the second civil war immunity for his property.⁵⁰⁷ Ioannes V during his stay at Thessalonike (1350-1352), awarded a number of *oikonomiai* not only to members of

⁵⁰⁴ Actes Prodromos B, 404-405.

⁵⁰⁵ Actes Vatopedi II, 283.

⁵⁰⁶ Actes Kutlumus, 59-60.

⁵⁰⁷ Actes Prodromos B, 400-401.

the local aristocracy but also to the monasteries, perhaps in an attempt to build up support for his future plans to rule alone.⁵⁰⁸

The material basis of the aristocrats consisted also of their personal property which could include land in the countryside, domestic animals and herds, houses and shops in cities and material wealth. It was in the interest of the aristocrat to maintain a large personal property in order to avoid future setbacks for his heirs. Nevertheless, given the restriction of our sources, it is difficult to establish the relation between these forms of wealth and the proportion that each contributed to the material basis of the aristocrat. Kyritses has asserted that while the bulk of the wealth of the high aristocracy consisted of *oikonomiai* granted by the emperor, the provincial aristocracy had a greater proportion of land acquired personally either as inheritance or through sale.⁵⁰⁹

There are few aristocrats in the fourteenth century details of whose personal property are preserved in the archives. But for none of them do we have the amount of their *oikonomia*. The *archontopoulon* Ioannes Sgouros Orestes is attested as owning an *oikonomia* in Melnik. In 1321 together with his brothers he assured the subtraction of a *posotes* of six *nomismata* from their *oikonomia* which would be transformed into personal property. Two years later the full personal property of Ioannes Orestes is registered: four *paroikoi* in the city of Melnik, all of whom live in houses that he personally owns; in the village Radobisdin a large residence (*καθέδραν*) with a yard and adjacent houses, fields of 130 *modioi* and two other *paroikoi*; 282 other *modioi* of land and two vineyards of 25 *modioi*. Nevertheless, all this property produced only a

⁵⁰⁸ See for example the case of Georgios Katzaras: Actes Docheiariou, 188 and for the monastery of Lavra a land of 1000 *modioi*: Actes Lavra III, 49.

⁵⁰⁹ D. Kyritses, 'Κράτος και αριστοκρατία την εποχή του Ανδρονίκου Β': το αδιέξοδο της στασιμότητας', K. Nikolaou (ed.), *Ο Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος και η εποχή του* (Athens 1999), 171-194.

small income. With the exception of the houses and of the 130 *modioi* (out of the 412 *modioi* that he held in total), all the rest had been subtracted from his *oikonomia* and represented a *posotes* of just six *nomismata*. Thus, Orestes must have relied heavily on his *oikonomia* which had been donated by the emperor and not on his personal property, the full amount of which is unknown; since however, he is called *archontopoulon* it could not be insignificant.⁵¹⁰ Perhaps this was the case with the other Orestes' brothers and this is perhaps the reason for their effort to establish a larger share of personal property, which would give them a larger degree of future security.⁵¹¹

Different is the case of Kosmas Pagkalos. He claims that he had acquired his property as a result of his own effort and the gratitude of the emperor. However, all the property that he lists in his testament was acquired through sale. Since he had no heir, any *oikonomia* that he might have had would revert to the state and thus it is highly possible that it is not stated in the will for this reason. The list of his property is interesting: he has no *paroikoi*, yet he owns land of 1050 *modioi*; vineyards with a total surface area of 14 *modioi*; three shops and two taverns; a large yard which includes a well and two house complexes (each one incorporating two smaller houses); one house with wine press (*λινόσ*); nine more houses around Serres and one large house in the nearby village Kosna; a church which he built and to which he dedicated ten other houses, two orchards and a vineyard that he planted. Apart from

⁵¹⁰ The rare designation *archontopoulon* seems in this period to mean simply a lesser *archon*; only rarely can have the meaning of the 'son of an archon' (e.g. Pseudo-Kodinos, 271) as in Anna Komnene, VII.7.1.

⁵¹¹ Actes Vatopedi I, nos. 52 and 60.

the properties attached to the church, the total value of all this property was 703 *hyperpyra*.⁵¹²

Kosmas Pagkalos is not the only aristocrat who, although he had no immediate reason (i.e. an heir), strove to increase the revenues from his property by making improvements. Among these one may note the construction of mills, watermills, walls and towers for the protection of the produce and the producers, contracts of planting (*emphyteusis*) mainly vineyards etc. Others strove to increase their property through the acquisition of lands. The mother of Kantakouzenos, Theodora, in the winter of 1337-8 bought a large number of small plots of land, all neighbouring each other, in order to create a large estate.⁵¹³ A larger estate was of course easier to administer. For many aristocrats like Kantakouzenos herds and other domestic animals were a considerable source of wealth. The enumeration of his animals that were confiscated during the civil war has become a cliché for Byzantinists; he probably exaggerated: 5000 cows and oxen (as herd animals), 500 pairs of oxen (used for plowing), 2500 mares, 200 camels, 300 mules, 500 donkeys, 50000 pigs and 70000 sheep.⁵¹⁴

Theodoros Karabas, who made his testament in 1314, claims that he owns 11 houses in Thessalonike, 61 *modioi* of vineyards in different places near Thessalonike, only one field of 10 *modioi* and some minor movable property. He had received dowry from each of his two wives. The second wife's dowry was spent while the first's had been already allocated to their children. Karabas does not appear to own any title and he is illiterate (he signed with a cross). In this year two other vineyards were sold in Thessalonike for 14 ½ *nomismata* per *modios*, thus making the vineyards of Karabas more or less worth 900 *nomismata*, without counting the prices of the 11

⁵¹² Actes Kutlumus, 51-53.

⁵¹³ Actes Vatopedi II, 99-148.

⁵¹⁴ Kantakouzenos, II, 185.

houses, but if a median of 50 *nomismata* is established then we have another 550 *nomismata*.⁵¹⁵ This is considerable property for Karabas even for a middle class person, but, in view of the unusually high proportion of vineyard possession, Karabas must have had some connection to the wine trade or at least was in possession of taverns in the city.

Material wealth came in the form of gold coins, clothing, books, jewellery. This form of wealth should not be underestimated. A single belt could be as expensive as 300 *nomismata*, a fortune in itself.⁵¹⁶ Jewellery and clothing remained as always in human history a statement of wealth and an individual derived social prestige from external appearance. The amount of gold that a person could possess in some cases could be extremely high. The rich tax official Patrikiotes was able to donate to the public treasury 100,000 *nomismata* and another 40,000 *nomismata* in mobile wealth (jewellery and furniture).⁵¹⁷ Large quantities of gold were deposited in the houses of Kantakouzenos⁵¹⁸ and of Theodoros Metochites.⁵¹⁹

From early on members of the Byzantine aristocracy were engaged in trade. The activities of Kasandrenos are recorded in his account book from the years 1355-1357 in Thessalonike. Kasandrenos, a member of a Thessalonican civil aristocratic family, is active in money-lending⁵²⁰ and especially in trade activities. He was selling grain, barley, wine, resin, textiles and cotton, all of which he was buying either from other merchants or from local producers, either peasants or large landowners.⁵²¹ He

⁵¹⁵ Actes Chilandar I, 215-219.

⁵¹⁶ Actes Vatopedi II, 318.

⁵¹⁷ Kantakouzenos, II, 62.

⁵¹⁸ Kantakouzenos, II, 165.

⁵¹⁹ Gregoras, I, 425-426.

⁵²⁰ Schreiner, *Texte*, 82.

⁵²¹ Schreiner, *Texte*, 86.

had also formed a partnership with his brother Kasandrenos and another man named Doukopoulos. Doukopoulos for his part was a member of a family from the military aristocracy of Thessalonike. He was also a kind of public contractor. He says that he spent 150 *hyperpyra* on ‘jobs for the *archontes*’ and he received back payment in kind and that later he spent other money on a building construction.⁵²²

It is possible to find a traditional connection with trade activities in the city-port of Monembasia. Throughout the Palaiologan period members of the local aristocracy, like Sophianos, Notaras, Mamonas and Eudaimonoïoannes were engaged in trade activities. Some of them like Notaras and Sophianos, found their way into Constantinople. By the end of the century many more members of the aristocracy, including the emperor himself were active in trade.⁵²³

Social relations in the countryside

The economic and social relations in the countryside are complex and have been a matter of debate among the scholars for many decades.⁵²⁴ There were many types of landowning in Byzantium in its last centuries.

⁵²² Schreiner, *Texte*, 88.

⁵²³ See below in the chapter III.C.

⁵²⁴ For the analysis of what follows see: Laiou, *Peasant society*, 142-222; Laiou, ‘Agrarian economy’; J. Lefort, ‘Fiscalité médiévale et informatique: Recherche sur les barèmes pour l’imposition des paysans byzantins au XIVe siècle’, *Revue historique* 512 (1974), 315-354; J. Lefort, ‘Radolibos: population et paysage’, *TM* 9 (1985), 195-234; J. Lefort, ‘Rural economy and social Relations in the countryside’, *DOP* 47 (1993), 101-113; Lefort, ‘Économie et société rurales’, in Laiou and Morriison, *Le monde byzantin*, 79-93; N. Oikonomides, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance, IXe–XIe s.* (Athens 1996); N. Oikonomides, ‘Η «Πείρα» περί παροίκων’, in *Αφιέρωμα στο Νίκο Σβορώνο* (Rethymno 1986), 232-241; N. Oikonomides, ‘Αγροτικό περίσσευμα και ο ρόλος του κράτους γύρω στο 1300’, in *Manuel Panselinos*, 195-205; Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie*; K. Smyrlis, ‘“Our Lord and Father”: peasants and monks in mid-fourteenth-century Macedonia’, *TM* 16 (2010), 779-791.

a) Leased property: an individual exploits a field and gives the agreed rent to the landlord; this type of property cannot be transmitted to someone else without the consent of the landlord; the landlord can annul the contract if the tenant does not fulfill his obligations. However, the latter cannot be driven out of his property, if he does normally fulfil his obligations.

b) Full ownership (*διὰ γονικότητος*): an individual owns a field, exploits it through personal or paid labour. He keeps for himself the income, or he pays the stipulated tax to the state or to someone else that the state has designated; this type of property can be transmitted to heirs, sold, donated or exchanged.

c) Conditional landowning (*οἰκονομία, γῆ διὰ προστάγματος* or *χρυσοβούλλου*): the most complicated type of landholding; it is usually acquired thanks to a *prostagma* or a chrysobull of the emperor. It includes most often *staseis* of peasants, who now become *paroikoi* and pay their tax to the landlord, and other lands which would be rented out to *paroikoi* or exploited through paid labour or corveés of these *paroikoi*. This type of property can easily be confiscated or given to someone else; sometimes it requires military service, in the form of *pronoia*. This type of property can be transmitted in the fourteenth century and even sold or donated with imperial consent. After the imperial consent has been given it can also be transformed into land held in full ownership, a privilege not rare, at least for the first half of the fourteenth century, if we are to judge from documentary evidence.

d) *Emphyteusis*: Some land is given to an individual, who clears it, making it productive, or he changes the designated field to another type of cultivation, mainly an orchard or a vineyard, which makes more profit. Thereafter, the land belongs to the individual who can transmit it to his heirs. He should pay a designated *telos* (tax) to

the lord of the land, which is not a share of the production. *Emphyteusis* is common in rural society. The landlord often ceded some uncultivated land to peasants and they turned it into vineyards. Thus the lord, who had no profit from that land before, now receives at least a small *telos*. *Emphyteusis* is possible for real estate as well: an individual assumes the responsibility to build houses on a designated terrain in a town and subsequently he will pay an *emphyteutikon telos*.

During the late period the dominant form of rural exploitation of land is the nuclear family-*oikos*. A family exploits its private or rented land and pays tax or rent for it. This form of exploitation is in contrast with the dominant form of landowning. Most of the land belongs to the great landlords either as private land, or as an *oikonomia*. The vast majority of the peasants are *paroikoi*; they live in villages, which are owned mostly by monastic institutions or the aristocracy, to whom they pay their taxes and other dues. In many villages peasants could own some land in full ownership, but usually this was either not sufficient or all the land in the village was monopolised by the landlord. Thus they were forced to rent out land or exploit it through wage labour. Peasants can own personally domestic animals, oxen, cows, pigs, goats, sheep, horses mulls or beehives. Although they do not pay tax at all for most types of animals, they usually have to pay an *ennomion*, a tax on pasture rights, which can even apply to pigs (the *χοιροενομόμιον*). Smaller domestic animals, like chickens or ducks or turkeys are not usually listed in the *praktika*, but the peasants must have owned some. The peasants can also have fishing or hunting rights for which again they have to pay a certain special tax. Every peasant should also pay a base tax, the *aer* (between 1/6 and 1/2 of a *hyperpyron*). The tax exploitation of the peasant is completed by some other special taxes like the *σιτόρκια* (a special

proportional tax imposed by Andronikos II), or the *φονικὸν* (tax on murder) or the *παρθενοφθορία* (tax on the abuse of a virgin girl).

The subordinate status of the *paroikos* vis-à-vis the landlord is confirmed by two main considerations: a) if a *paroikos* dies without a direct heir, his private land is declared as *exalleimatike* (escheat) and reverts to the landlord who can give it to another peasant for cultivation (under conditional landholding not full ownership) or keep it as personal land, and b) a *paroikos* owes to the landlord not only taxes but also corveés (certain days per year which could vary from 12 to 52) and three *kaniskia*, baskets with a certain amount of goods delivered to the landlord on three specified days.

There are two more important traits that have been suggested as applying to *paroikoi* and that restrict their freedom. It has been claimed that they are attached to their land and cannot abandon it. Occasionally we do find stipulations in documents stating that a monastery can claim back *paroikoi*, who for some special reason (usually an enemy invasion) have fled the village.⁵²⁵ But, as has been mentioned earlier, there was a large degree of mobility among villages and only a fraction of the population is usually attested in the same village some years or decades later. This mobility was not connected only with special disturbances, such as an enemy invasion or a natural disaster, but it is also attested in periods of stability. This means that it was possible for some of them to move outside the village or marry someone from another village. Besides, perhaps the status of *paroikos* was not hereditary, or at least it was not applied to all the children of a household.

Secondly, it has been claimed that the *paroikoi* do not fully own their private property: they are restricted by the landlord in selling or donating it to someone

⁵²⁵ Actes Ivion IV, 94.

outside the lord's domain. First of all, the right of pre-emption of a neighbour in buying the land limits significantly the options of the vendor. The first person, outside the family of a *paroikos*, who had the right to buy the piece of land, was none other than the landlord. If he wanted to restrict a sale of land, the landlord could base his claims on the pre-emption right. The only actual evidence in support of the view that the landlord should give his consent for the transmission of a piece of property comes from the Athonite archives, when two *paroikoi* sold some land to the monastery of Esphigmenou. In the document it is stated that the sale was made with 'the will and acceptance of the lord Alexios Amnon'.⁵²⁶ However, as is stated in the document, this piece of land was not an inherited (*gonike*) property of these *paroikoi*. It consisted of a deserted holding (*exalleimatike stasis*) and was given to them by Alexios Amnon. They needed his consent just as much as a holder of an *oikonomia* needed the consent of the emperor to sell or donate part of his *oikonomia*.

Besides, there is no evidence that the landlord exercised any kind of judicial privileges over his *paroikoi*. Again there is a document from Smyrne in the mid-thirteenth century where the landlord Syrgaris seems to have judged a case that involved some of his *paroikoi*. But in fact those *paroikoi* had appealed to (*ήνεγκλήτευσαν*) Syrgaris, who moreover passed the case on to the *oikodespotai* (the notables in a village) of his *pronoia*.⁵²⁷

In order to draw a comparison with the fortune of a landlord, in the above analysed village Prevista, a peasant would own on average 36.72 *modioi* of land and would need additionally to rent other 32.85 *modioi* of domanial land on average.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁶ Actes Esphigmenou, 79-80 (1301).

⁵²⁷ MM IV, 80-84. The term *oikodespotai* usually means the notables of a village.

⁵²⁸ 2300 *modioi* of demesne land divided into the 70 *staseis* of *paroikoi*.

On the basis of the calculations of Lefort,⁵²⁹ the income of this *paroikos* after the payment of taxes (on average 2.6 *nomismata*) would be less than 6 *nomismata*.⁵³⁰ Given the fact that the cereal consumption has been calculated at 5.6 *nomismata*, around half of the village *paroikoi* would have achieved self-sufficiency. Fortunately, the possession of a lot of cows, sheep and goats and of some vineyards must have contributed to a satisfactory self-sufficiency level in this village. It is impossible to calculate the income (beyond family consumption) generated by these animals, but the fact that sheep and goats were largely unequally distributed (Gini index: 51% and 83%) did not help the majority of the (rather poor) peasants.⁵³¹

These findings should be combined with the low integration of the village community. Land was greatly scattered, not only between landlords, but also the peasant fields were fragmented in different locations. The inequality among the peasant holdings was large. At the same time, the existence of an independent peasantry is attested, but it is hard to trace. A large number of these independent

⁵²⁹ Lefort, 'Rural economy', 299-303.

⁵³⁰ The revenues of the private part of land would be 6.66 *nomismata* and of the rented land 2.01. The sum (after tax is paid) is around 6.1 *nomismata*, but I have not counted that some land would be exploited through *corvées* (thus the rented land would have been much less than the 32.85 *modioi*) and I have assumed that the peasants do not rent land in other villages and they do not do wage labour. It is striking that the 70 families of the village had the same income as the landlord (the total would be 420 *nomismata* (6 *nomismata* X 70 *staseis*) compared to the 425.65 *nomismata* of the landlord).

⁵³¹ For Gini index please see more below note no. 787.

One sheep could cost as much as 1 *modios* of land: cf. C. Morrisson and J.-C. Cheynet, 'Prices and wages in the Byzantine world', in A. Laiou (ed.), *The economic history of Byzantium from seventh through the fifteenth century* (Washington 2002), 815-878 (here at 839-840). Therefore, if we hypothesize that 1 sheep produces as much income as 1 *modios* of land, only very large flocks would produce a noticeable income. Therefore, the wealthiest peasants of the village (nos. 34 and 38) could have an income of as much as 49 *nomismata*, close to the income of a common soldier: if all the 600 *modioi* of the *oikonomia* of Neokastrites (see above p. 50) were rented out he could have an income of up to 48 *nomismata*. The poorest *paroikoi* of Prevista would rent out all their land and their income would be less than 6 *nomismata*. The Gini index of the incomes of the peasants falls then significantly to around 25%. See also the breakdown for the incomes in Table 3b.

peasants was living in the towns. The table drawn up by Laiou, of references to lay proprietors in Macedonia during the Palaiologan period (with documentary material published up to 1979) reveals that, although many of these lay proprietors were aristocrats, some, on the basis of surnames, cannot be classified as such (e.g. Alexios Eurippiotes).⁵³²

Yet the status of *paroikos* of the Byzantine peasantry was a fact and this enabled an easier transition into the Ottoman system. The Ottomans, though, simplified the taxation system, and actually reduced the financial obligations of the *paroikoi*.⁵³³ But serfdom, the status of a dependent peasant tied to the land which he cultivates and which is not owned by him, but is given by the landlord, is an imposition which occurred during the Ottoman period. The Byzantine *paroikos* did own some land, albeit usually not sufficient, and was free to enter into a lease contract.

State, Church, and society

There were two main institutions that influenced and regulated life and relations among people in Byzantine society: the State and the Church. It is not, though, our object to identify the importance of the Christian religion in the everyday life of the Byzantines. The state was also encountered in everyday life: taxes, courts, oaths in the name of the emperor. Rather, we will try to answer how much these two institutions interacted with and influenced the structure of late Byzantine society.

⁵³² Laiou, *Peasant society*, 300-304.

⁵³³ N. Oikonomides, 'Ottoman influence on Late Byzantine fiscal practice', *Südost-Forschungen* 45 (1986), 1-24.

First of all, we should answer whether there was a (one) Byzantine Church in the late Byzantine times and what do we mean by this. If we mean the Byzantine rite and the Orthodox doctrine, there can be no doubt of its unification and uniformity. But in terms of organisation the situation is quite different. The Church in Byzantium was organised into bishoprics and metropoleis. Every town normally had its own bishop, which was subordinated to and elected by the metropolitan of the province. Every issue, except differences between a bishop and a metropolitan or charges against a metropolitan, was expected to be resolved locally. The metropolitans themselves were elected by the Patriarchal Synod in Constantinople.

This seems to be an organised system. In fact, there are many discrepancies. Every see had its own property which was supposed to provide sufficient income for its proper functioning. But most individual churches were also supposed to have their own property, which would ensure their continuous use. The monasteries in the provinces could be under the immediate jurisdiction of the patriarch or the emperor or they could be completely independent.⁵³⁴ More importantly, there seems to have been a lack of cooperation among the monasteries themselves. A large number of the documents which have been preserved involve land disputes between two monasteries, which could result in serious fights between them.⁵³⁵ I am not aware of any cooperation between two monasteries to reclaim their properties (or augment them) from the depredations of the state or a lay *archon*. A monastery would try to

⁵³⁴ J. Preisler-Kapeller, 'Die hauptstädtische Synode von Konstantinopel (*Synodos Endemusa*): zur Geschichte und Funktion einer zentralen Institution der spätbyzantinischen Kirche', *Historicum* (spring-summer 2007), 20-31 (here at 27-28); J. Thomas - A. Constantinides Hero, *Byzantine monastic Foundation documents* (Washington 2000), 1295-1302 and 1483-1494.

⁵³⁵ See for example Actes Esphigmenou, 189-195.

reclaim its property not only by resorting to a higher ecclesiastical authority, but also in many cases to a lay authority, such as the emperor or the local governor.⁵³⁶

Priests in Byzantium never evolved into an estate, in the way that they can be considered in the western Europe. There the priests, after the Gregorian reform, were essentially subordinated to the Pope, regardless of the lord or the king of the province, and they could not be serfs.⁵³⁷ In the Byzantine countryside, priests were firmly integrated into the peasant society. They too might have the status of *paroikoi*, they owned and cultivated land or animals and paid taxes, although since the time of the Komnenoi they were exempted from corvées.⁵³⁸ Nonetheless, village priests were usually included among the ‘notables of a village’, who represented the village itself in the outside world. Although the canons forbade it, priests commonly had an occupation; they could be artisans.⁵³⁹ Priests could actually be members of the senate: we know that the teacher of the Gospel, the priest Ioannes Adeniates, was a senator in 1393 and had refused to go on trial before the Patriarchal Synod.⁵⁴⁰ Priests in the Orthodox Church do not practice celibacy as in the Catholic Church; they can marry. Moreover, they were not the only educated and literate men, as was the case during the High Middle Ages in the West, nor was, more significantly, theology an area exclusively reserved for ecclesiastics. Laymen could regularly practice it and even participate in Church Synods, as for example the case of Nikephoros Gregoras testifies.

⁵³⁶ E.g. Actes Docheiariou, 169-171.

⁵³⁷ G. Duby, *The three orders: feudal society imagined* (trans. A. Goldhammer) (Chicago and London 1980), 129-180.

⁵³⁸ Zepos I, 366.

⁵³⁹ See D.J. Constantelos, ‘Clerics and secular professions in the Byzantine Church’, *Byzantina* 13 (1985), 373-390; A. Laiou, ‘Priests and bishops in the Byzantine countryside, thirteenth to fourteenth centuries’, in D. Angelov (ed.), *Church and society in Late Byzantium* (Kalamazoo 2009), 43-57.

⁵⁴⁰ MM II, 174.

Church therefore was far from a unified institution. There was no concept such as the ‘policy of the Church’. The term ‘Church’ itself is very rarely met in our sources to signify the institution. Usually this word signifies either a specific church (the building) or literally the ‘Christ’s Church’. The Byzantine Church was the sum of different local churches and monasteries. The ecclesiastical *archontes* constituted a fairly well defined group. Yet, as with most other social groups in Byzantium, their social collectivity was underdeveloped. The reasons are not hard to find. It was not only that ecclesiastical politics were dominated by factional rivalry, it was also that many leading ecclesiastics preferred to promote their interests for personal benefit at the expense of the central ecclesiastical authority. At the same time, ecclesiastical officials maintained an understanding with other aristocrats and the emperor, both for the welfare of their monasteries and for their personal benefit.

The relations between the emperor and the patriarch were not always in harmony. It has been claimed that the Late Byzantine Church and the patriarchate rose in prestige and power vis-à-vis the emperor.⁵⁴¹ Several arguments have been brought forward. But, did the patriarchs or other leading churchmen envisage a change in the balance of power between state and church? This is what the Arsenites were supposed to be seeking.⁵⁴² The Arsenite schism, as well as the first Union of the Churches at Lyon in 1274, falls outside the scope of this thesis, unlike the patriarchate of Athanasios I, who has been viewed as an energetic patriarch who wanted to promote

⁵⁴¹ See Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 351-352; D. Angelov, ‘The Donation of Constantine and the Church in Late Byzantium’, in Angelov, *Church and society*, 91-157 (here at 105-117); M. Angold, *Church and society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261* (Cambridge 1995), 530 ff. (especially 560-563); J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine empire* (Oxford 1986), 286-294; A. Laiou, ‘The Palaiologoi and the world around them (1261–1400)’, in J. Shepard (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the Byzantine Empire (c. 500–1492)* (Cambridge 2008), 803-833 (here at 831); Nicol, *Church and society*, 17-20;

⁵⁴² Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 374-387; Nicol, *Church and society*, 7-9.

the ‘liberty of the Church’.⁵⁴³ But Athanasios in general supported what he saw as righteous behaviour in every field of political and social life and it is a fact that on several occasions, despite protests, he tried to fulfil his vision. He never contested the right of the emperor’s intervention in church affairs. In fact, Athanasios often asked for Andronikos II’s help to intervene; a constant theme in his letters is the request that the dissident metropolitans should be forced by the emperor to return to their sees. Besides, his letters to the emperor express his inferior place and exhibit his due deference.⁵⁴⁴

The emperor was always the strongest authority. Not only could he and did he in fact depose patriarchs who were disobedient or had fallen from his favour, he continued to appoint them, even when there was significant opposition, as happened with the appointment of the patriarch Ioannes Kalekas in 1334, affected by Ioannes Kantakouzenos.⁵⁴⁵ Kalekas himself, one of the supposedly most powerful patriarchs of the Palaiologan era, was deposed by a not-all-powerful empress amidst the second civil war without any dissident.⁵⁴⁶ Patriarch Esaias was deposed and imprisoned, when he declined to cease commemoration of Andronikos III during the first civil war.⁵⁴⁷ Kantakouzenos, as the narration of Gregoras proves, was the man who decisively turned the tide in favour of the Palamites after 1347.⁵⁴⁸ Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos, in order to return again to the patriarchal throne in 1364 was obliged by the

⁵⁴³ Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 393-414; J. Booramra, *Church reform in the Late Byzantine empire: a study in the patriarchate of Athanasios of Constantinople* (Thessaloniki 1982); V. Laurent, ‘Le serment de l’empereur Andronic II Paléologue au patriarche Athanase Ier lors de son seconde accession au trône oecuménique (Sept. 1303)’, *REB* 23 (1965), 124-139.

⁵⁴⁴ See for example Athanasios, *Letters*, 270-278 and 142 for the traditional title of *ἐπιστημονάρχης* (meaning protector of Church) of the Byzantine emperor.

⁵⁴⁵ Kantakouzenos, I, 431-435.

⁵⁴⁶ Gregoras II, 780-782 ; Kantakouzenos, II, 603-604; PR II, 364-366.

⁵⁴⁷ Kantakouzenos, I, 248 ff.

⁵⁴⁸ Gregoras, II, 787 ff.

emperor Ioannes V to take an oath stating that he will remain loyal to the emperor and that he will not persecute the anti-Palamites during his patriarchate.⁵⁴⁹ During the struggle between, on the one side, Andronikos IV and Ioannes VII and, on the other side, Ioannes V and Manouel II, there were frequent changes of ruler, accompanied on each occasion by the deposition of the old patriarch and by the election of a new one, loyal to the new emperor.⁵⁵⁰ Patriarch Matthaïos I (1397-1402 and 1403-1410) was deposed by a synod of metropolitans on canonical grounds, but, as soon as the emperor returned from the West, no new synod was convened. Manouel II simply placed him back on the throne.⁵⁵¹

The date 1380/2 is very important for the evolution of church-state relations. The emperor forced the Synod and the newly elected patriarch Neilos (1380-1388) to accept and institutionalise his privileges in the domain of the election of metropolitans. Any of the candidates for a metropolis should be loyal to and approved by the emperor as well; the same approval should be granted for the *exokatakoiloi* of the Great Church; not only did the emperor retain the right of defining the boundaries of a see and promoting a bishopric to a metropolis, but he also received the privilege of actually transferring one bishop to another see and even promoting this man to metropolitan status, if he wished; restrictions were imposed on the ability of the patriarch to excommunicate lay *archontes* or state officials, without imperial

⁵⁴⁹ Kydones, *Letters*, I, 165; MM I, 348-349.

⁵⁵⁰ Philotheos Kokkinos was deposed in 1376/1377 and replaced by the protectee of Andronikos IV Makarios. Makarios was replaced by Ioannes V with the newly elected Neilos (1380-1388) and subsequently by Antonios who was deposed in 1390, as soon as Ioannes VII gained for some months the throne, who placed Makarios back to the throne. Antonios was restored in March 1391 after the victory of Ioannes V.

⁵⁵¹ Laurent, 'Trisepiscopat', 118-122.

consent.⁵⁵² Thus, the emperor seems to have gained rather than lost authority in the fourteenth century, by controlling in large part the politics of the Church.

It has been claimed, based on the increase of the volume of lay cases in the patriarchal court, whose activity can be seen in the Patriarchal Register (it contains document for the years 1315-1402), that the Church expanded its justice jurisdiction as the state mechanisms were declining.⁵⁵³ In fact, cases regarding civil law formed a large percentage before 1330, when the *katholikai kritai* were established, and again only for the last two years of the register, which is a reflection of other problems of this specific period. They are almost absent during the interval. Most of the cases heard by the patriarchal court involved disputes connected to the rights of a minor, or the rights of the woman's dowry, or the plaintiff who for some reason resorted specifically to the ecclesiastical court (see Appendix 5, Tables 9-10).⁵⁵⁴ In Byzantium, there was no strict jurisdiction over a case, although criminal cases were never reserved for an ecclesiastical court. Since the Late Antiquity the plaintiff had a plurality of courts to choose from and usually chose the one that he thought would

⁵⁵² V. Laurent, 'Les droits de l'empereur en matière ecclésiastique. L'accord de 1380/82', *REB* 13 (1955), 5-20, but Laurent sees this accord as 'humiliation of the secular power' (cf. p. 8). On the contrary, efforts of Byzantine emperors to regulate the elections of metropolitans had been seriously opposed in the past centuries: cf. J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford 1990), 319-320.

⁵⁵³ Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 354; P. Lemerle, 'Recherches sur les institutions judiciaires à l'époque des Paléologues I: le tribunal impérial', in *Pankarpeia. Mélanges Henri Gregoire* (Brussels 1949), 369-384; P. Lemerle, 'Recherches sur les institutions judiciaires à l'époque des Paléologues II: Le tribunal du patriarcat ou tribunal synodal', *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 (1950), 318-333.

⁵⁵⁴ For example someone who was unable to pay off a loan would resort to the patriarchal court in the hope of receiving a reduction, something which was a policy of the Church: see MM II, 380-382.

support him more.⁵⁵⁵ The cases in which the plaintiff, having lost the trial, resorted to another authority or court are common in our documentary evidence.⁵⁵⁶

Despite restrictions, a very common practice in Byzantium was the possession and transmission of monasteries. The monasteries themselves strove to find a powerful patron and *ktetor*, who would actually help in the augmentation or at least the preservation of the monastery's wealth. There is in fact some evidence suggesting that the Patriarch and the church authorities tried to protect ecclesiastical property against lay intervention. The *ktetor* Sophianos of St Mamas had bought a certain field from Raoul. Raoul subsequently claimed it back and Sophianos went to patriarchal court in order to clarify the issue. He offered to give back the field and receive the price but the court declined such a settlement; the monastery should keep the field.⁵⁵⁷

But apart from these few exceptions, there is no further evidence. The emperor could almost arbitrarily confiscate ecclesiastic or monastic property and he did it

⁵⁵⁵ J. Harries, *Law and empire in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge 2004), 172-211; C. Humfress, 'Thinking through legal pluralism: 'Forum shopping' in the Later Roman empire', in J. Duindam, J. Harries, C. Humfress and N. Hurvitz (eds.), *Law and Empire* (Leiden 2013); C. Rapp, *Holy bishops in Late Antiquity: the Nature of Christian leadership in a time of transition* (Los Angeles 2005), 242-252.

⁵⁵⁶ For example see PR I, no. 101: Laskaris claimed part of the dowry of his sister-in-law, Theodoros Padyates' wife. Padyates resorted twice to the Synod for his legal protection against Laskaris and won the case. Laskaris subsequently went to the imperial court where he lost the case twice as well, once in the presence of senate members. Laskaris then armed some men, plundered the estate and killed the Padyates' curator and thereafter with audacity claimed again the estate before the first established *katholikai kritai*. But the case was identified as a case for the church's court and after an imperial decision the process began all over again, now in front of the Synod. Laskaris lost again and a threat of excommunication was declared to whom-so-ever dared to judge this case again.

D. Kyritses, 'Some remarks about imperial courts of justice in Late Byzantium', in *Κλητόριον εις μνήμην Νίκου Οικονομίδη* (Athens and Thessaloniki 2005), 303-325, has analysed the cases in which imperial justice was involved between 1204 and 1337 and has concluded that there was no regular system of justice in Late Byzantium. Even the tribunal of the *katholikai kritai* could be bypassed by the emperor's authority. Although Kyritses says that the emperor kept for himself the domain of justice, he believes that there was in this domain a process of feudalisation, meaning the need for consent.

⁵⁵⁷ MM II, 304-312.

often.⁵⁵⁸ The only recorded case of a protest by the Synod was in October 1367, when the emperor tried to confiscate two villages belonging to the Great Church. The Synod politely declined.⁵⁵⁹ But, we should bear in mind that the Patriarchate was in this case, and unlike every other case, directly affected by this proposed confiscation. The sole treatise against the confiscation of ecclesiastical property comes from a non-ecclesiastic: Nikolaos Kabasilas. Besides, this treatise was not only targeted against confiscation by the lay *archontes*, but also against the confiscations realised by a metropolitan at the expense of his suffragan bishops or priests.⁵⁶⁰

Certainly there were trends towards a more centrally organised Church, around the patriarch and the Synod of Constantinople, a trend visible since the eleventh century.⁵⁶¹ The establishment of exarchs in Constantinople, one in each neighbourhood, to supervise the behaviour of the priests, and the appointment of *pneumatikoi* to whom alone people could confess, are certainly measures in this direction, even if the institution was short-lived.⁵⁶² Moreover, it has been shown that the judicial praxis of the patriarchal court became more elaborate in the course of the fourteenth century.⁵⁶³ However, it is still possible to observe in a trial process of the patriarchal court or in its verdicts elements which do not strictly derive from Roman law; on the other hand, in its counterpart, the imperial tribunal, the trial process may be considered more ‘objective’ and strictly legal.

⁵⁵⁸ K. Smyrlis, ‘The State, the land, and private property confiscating monastic and Church properties in the Palaiologan period’, in D. Angelov (ed.), *Church and society in Late Byzantium* (Kalamazoo 2009), 58-87. For a different approach see P. Charanis, ‘The monastic properties and the state in the Byzantine empire’, *DOP* 4 (1948), 51-118.

⁵⁵⁹ MM I, 507-508.

⁵⁶⁰ I. Ševčenko, ‘Nicolas Cabasilas’ ‘anti-Zealot’ discourse, *DOP* 11 (1957), 81-171.

⁵⁶¹ Angold, ‘Church and society’, 20 ff.

⁵⁶² PR III, nos. 180-183 and 239.

⁵⁶³ Lemerle, ‘Tribunal patriarchal’, 325-326 ; E. Papagianni, ‘Un témoin de la réalité juridique byzantine: la jurisprudence patriarchale au XIVe siècle’, *Fontes Minores* XI (2005), 216.

The Patriarch exercised his power and his 'supreme authority' only where he was able to. The most illustrious statements of patriarchal authority do not come from a Byzantine milieu, but they were included in letters sent to Orthodox people of Eastern Europe. One of these is the famous defence of the Byzantine emperor and imperial universal authority sent to the Russian prince by the patriarch Antonios.⁵⁶⁴ Another declaration of patriarchal authority, this time regarding the relations between a metropolitan and a patriarch, was included in a letter to the metropolitan Isidoros of Thessalonike, who happened to be in bad terms with the Patriarch.⁵⁶⁵

But did the state in the late centuries lose its hold on society? It is an old thesis that the aristocrats were trying to cut themselves from the state and become more independent.⁵⁶⁶ But again we should ask ourselves, who is the state? The state is the emperor, the officials working in central administration, the local governor sent by the emperor and the tax officials. The question then arises, whether these people represented a social or political group, which would defend the central power in order to protect their continuation in office. First of all, this implies articulate thinking in the long term and a sense of solidarity among these people, for which there is no evidence. Moreover, real power was not reserved for the people in the lower ranks of state service. Certainly tax officials could profit greatly from their service. But, real power was reserved for the great aristocrats, who as the central administrators and as local governors, could personally survive even within a reduced state. Therefore, the Byzantine state was in fact left to the personal patriotism of the Byzantines.

⁵⁶⁴ MM II, 188-192.

⁵⁶⁵ MM II, 39-42. Isidoros was shortly after deposed: see R.-J. Loenertz, 'Isidore Glabas', *REB* 6 (1948), 181-187.

⁵⁶⁶ G. Ostrogorsky, *Pour la histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (Brussels 1954), passim.

I believe that the state was still powerful enough at least in the first half the fourteenth century. The state income in 1321 is comparable to those of the two largest monarchies of western Europe, France and England, which actually had more than double the population of Byzantium.⁵⁶⁷ There were certain mistakes made by the government. There was a belief that a soldier supplied with a good income would fight better.⁵⁶⁸ Although with the granting of *pronoiai* the state ensured defence at a local level and the constant flow of payment for the soldiers, simultaneously, however, these soldiers became more independent economically from the state and became identifiable with local society. Furthermore, the state favoured with larger *oikonomiai* and titles prominent local families (e.g. TzAMPLAKONES or LASKARIDES in Eastern Macedonia), thus avoiding the mistake of the Komnenian regime, which had restricted these privileges to the Constantinopolitan elite, leaving room for the growth of local *dynastai*. But the preferential treatment accorded to the high aristocracy by the state alienated the lesser local military aristocracy. As the chapter on Serres will suggest later, this was most probably the reason for the painless establishment of the Turks and the Serbians in Byzantine lands; the local military aristocracy, when the possibility was presented, chose to change its allegiance to the new lords.

With only very few exceptions (like the case of the ambitious Syrgiannes) the Byzantine high aristocracy remained loyal to the emperor up to the end of the fourteenth century. But the emperor failed during the second half of this century to keep his immediate family equally quiet. The son of Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos, Matthaïos, the son-in-law of Kantakouzenos Ioannes V, Ioannes V's sons Andronikos

⁵⁶⁷ See J. Preiser-Kapeller, 'Complex historical dynamics of crisis: the case of Byzantium', in *Krise und Transformation: Beiträge des internationalen Symposiums von 22. bis 23. November 2010 an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna 2012), 69-127 (here at 100 and 126-127).

⁵⁶⁸ See for example Thomas Magistros, *On kingship*, col. 461.

IV and Manouel and finally Ioannes VII, strove for a share in government. The solution put forward by the empress Xene to Andronikos II to divide the empire in equal shares for her children was rejected then as incompatible with Byzantine tradition,⁵⁶⁹ but Kantakouzenos, unable to achieve consent and unable to employ coercion, introduced the ‘appanage system’, a norm which was adopted by Ioannes V. In the fourteenth century the ‘appanage’ solution was enforced to achieve consent and avoid additional political problems, but by the fifteenth century it becomes an almost natural division of Byzantine territory among the members of the immediate imperial family.⁵⁷⁰

Decentralised tendencies were a phenomenon in Byzantium since the eleventh century. At the start, it concerned peripheral provinces but in the late twelfth century these tendencies were apparent in the core provinces, an example of the dissatisfaction of the provinces at the pre-eminence of Constantinople.⁵⁷¹ The privileges acquired by cities during the late period have been considered also as a sign of decentralisation. It has been moreover claimed that they were an expression of the local aristocracy’s tendency to dissociate from the state.⁵⁷² Kyritses, having studied these privileges,

⁵⁶⁹ Gregoras, I, 233-236.

⁵⁷⁰ See for the appanages: J. Barker, ‘The problem of appanages in Byzantium’, *Byzantina* 3 (1971), 105-122.

⁵⁷¹ M. Angold, ‘Archons and dynasts: local aristocracies and the cities in Later Byzantine empire’, in Angold, *The Byzantine aristocracy*, 236-253; C.M. Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West, 1180-1204* (Cambridge 1968); J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963-1210)* (Paris 1990); Magdalino, *Manuel Komnenos*, 150-160; N. Oikonomides, ‘La décomposition de l’empire byzantin à la veille de 1204 et les origines de l’empire de Nicée: à propos de la *Partitio Romaniae*’, in *XVe Congrès International d’Études Byzantines. Rapports et co-rapports*, (Athens 1976), I: 3-28 (reprinted in N.Oikonomides, *Byzantium from the ninth century to the Fourth Crusade. Studies, texts, monuments* (Aldershot 1992), Study XX).

⁵⁷² For this thesis see Z. Pljakov, ‘Le statut de la ville byzantine balkanique aux XIIIe-XIVe siècles’, *Études Balkaniques* 3 (1985), 73-96. Earlier G.L. Brătianu, *Privilèges et franchises dans l’empire byzantin* (Paris 1936) had claimed that these privileges show the resurgence of urban institutions. The

concluded that they originated in the Byzantine recapture of these areas (Kroïa, Thessalonike, Ioannina, Monemvasia) on the part of the Laskarids in the 1240s and where acquired thanks to those cities' change of allegiance to the empire of Nikaia. They were directed at the middle and upper social strata of these cities; besides, cities such as Ioannina and Monemvasia were accorded privileges that also protected trade. Kyritses considers that these privileges constituted a form of protection from confiscation, although in fact an individual privilege, acquired personally from the emperor, would guarantee a greater form of protection.⁵⁷³

Even more interesting is his viewpoint that the late Byzantine aristocracy was always in a precarious position regarding its property.⁵⁷⁴ The emperor could arbitrarily, just as with ecclesiastical property, proceed to large scale confiscations. Although Kyritses concludes by considering that the notion of private property had been eroded in late Byzantium, a standpoint which I cannot argue with, his comment

chrysobulls granting these privileges have been edited. For Kroïa: Soloviev, 316-317; Ioannina: MM V, 77-84; Monembasia: MM V, 154-155 and see also a *prostagma* of Andronikos III specifically for their privileges in other towns of the empire: P. Schreiner, 'Ein Prostagma Andronikos' III für die Monemvasioten in Pegai (1328) und das gefälschte chrysobull Andronikos' II für die Monemvasioten im byzantinischen Reich', *JÖB* 27 (1978), 204-228. The chrysobull of Thessalonike have not survived but there are references to it: e.g. Lemerle, 'Praktikon inédit', 285. A chrysobull for the small town Rentina in northern Chalkidike is also mentioned: Actes Esphigmenou, 125 and 129 and for Berroia: Actes Vatopedi I, 336. A promissory letter of the local ruler of Phanarion (in Thessaly) Michael Gabrielpoulos in 1342 has been preserved in which he guaranteed to preserve the rights of the town's inhabitants: D. Sophianos, 'Το ορκωμοτικόν γράμμα (Ιούν. 1342) του Μιχαήλ Γαβρηλοπούλου προς τους Φαναριώτες της Καρδίτσας', in *Πρακτικά Α' Συνεδρίου για την Καρδίτσα και την περιοχή της* (Karditsa 1996), 29-47. A.V. Soloviev, 'Θεσσαλίησκιε архонты в XIV Вѣкѣ (черты феодализма в византийско-сервском строе)' (French summary in p. 172-174: 'Les archontes de Thessalie au XIVe siècle'), *Byzantinoslavica* 4 (1932), 159-174, believed that the chrysobull is an indication of the existence of feudal social relations of dependence and the recipients of this chrysobull are only the aristocrats of the town.

⁵⁷³ D. Kyritses, 'The "Common chrysobulls" of cities and the pattern of ownership in Late Byzantium', *Σύμμεικτα* 13 (1999), 229-245.

⁵⁷⁴ Kyritses, 'Κράτος και αριστοκρατία', 171-194.

deserves serious attention. The Byzantine emperor had tied the hands of the aristocracy having reserved for himself the transmission of the most important source of wealth, the institution of *oikonomia*. He had also reserved for himself the transmission of titles a source of prestige and wealth, since a higher title was supposed to have a larger income. He had reserved for himself the bestowal of the most important posts in government and in central and provincial administration. Lastly, by dissolving the rest of the judicial forums, he identified the highest judicial authority, the *katholikai kritai*, with imperial justice. The *katholikai kritai* soon functioned in the *basilikon sekreton*, the imperial tribunal.

Yet, Byzantium collapsed after 1341 and the reason was not solely military failures. It seems to me that Late Byzantium experienced a growth in government by consent. An imperial act could no longer be legitimated solely by imperial authority; the emperor needed often to negotiate his authority and achieve general consent. In 1320 Andronikos III had fallen into disfavour and he was no longer considered heir to the throne. Yet Andronikos II needed to set up a high tribunal which would judge his grandson and confirm the disgrace. In the end, Andronikos II was compelled to reach an agreement.⁵⁷⁵ The most obvious example of an emperor's need for consent is in 1347, when Kantakouzenos was forced to call for a general council of all social – professional groups of the capital in order to achieve consent for the rise in taxation.⁵⁷⁶ In 1367 the emperor asked for the consent of the Synod to implement confiscation of an estate of the patriarchate. Government by consent and the growth of

⁵⁷⁵ Kantakouzenos, I, 56 ff. Certainly a counter overt conspiracy set by Andronikos III contributed to the agreement, but the importance of the need of a legitimation through a trial is still evident.

⁵⁷⁶ See A. Laiou, 'Le débat sur les droits du fisc et les droits régaliens au début du 14e siècle', *REB* 58 (2000), 97-122, arguing for the need of the emperor to achieve consent and justify a raise in taxation.

the politics of individual privileges bring Byzantium closer to Western society of the time in terms of political culture.⁵⁷⁷

One of the most important limitations of state power was the restriction of the provincial governor's authority. Important trials judged by the authorities (and I count ecclesiastical authorities in this) came to be dominated by local elements of power, even in many important cases such as heresy or treason.⁵⁷⁸ This involvement is evident in several texts of the fourteenth century. After a lapse of several centuries, works such as the oration of Nikephoros Choumnos to the Thessalonicaeans on justice or the *Political Discourse* of Thomas Magistros, are addressed to the citizens of provincial cities, setting forth their obligations regarding the city administration. More especially, the discourse of Magistros is structured in a setting without any reference to the central government or the emperor.⁵⁷⁹ Nikolaos Kabasilas accordingly speaks of a council, the administrators of the 'common cases', who hide from the governor of the city the mistreatments of the poor and the weak people.⁵⁸⁰

As long as there were no problems in the central authority, though, everything worked almost in harmony. Minor cases of treason or rebellion or disobedience could be dealt with successfully. But the Palaiologan system, albeit in certain respects centralised, at the same moment was based on a fragile balance, a balance based on the assumption that the state has the ability to award *pronoiai* and titles to its supporters. During the second civil war this balance broke down. Centralised empires facing a dynastic or a political crisis at the centre often collapse and this had happened

⁵⁷⁷ For government by consent as the essence of the medieval political culture see S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (Oxford 1984).

⁵⁷⁸ For example the trial regarding the charges of Chionios against certain Thessalonians on grounds of heresy: PR II, 106-116.

⁵⁷⁹ Thomas Magistros, *Political discourse*, 496-548.

⁵⁸⁰ Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Fragment*, 197-198.

several times in Byzantium. The political crisis broke the precarious balance which had been achieved under the first Palaiologoi. With the main armies of the two parties stationed in Didymoteichon and in Constantinople and with a great number of military officials kept imprisoned, little support could be expected from the central government and little coercion could be exerted on the provinces. The local elements of power, which had been growing in strength up to this time, when faced with a crisis, were left with the potential to govern themselves and choose where they would place their allegiance. It is no coincidence that during the civil war we learn constantly about city councils. The local authorities had now assumed enough power to bypass even the governor and promote their interests. As had happened in the late twelfth century military leaders or local *archontes* strove to achieve autonomy.⁵⁸¹ After the end of the civil war, in the 1350s-1360s, the state was faced with a major Turkish incursion in Thrace, the last Byzantine province, and in addition was a bankrupt state with a devastated countryside. And a bankrupt state has limited authority and autonomy of action. Without the ability and perhaps the volition too, to proceed to *major* changes of landownership or taxation, with which it could finance an army, the emperor Ioannes V stood and watched the collapse.

⁵⁸¹ N. Oikonomides, 'Pour une typologie des villes "séparées" sous les Paléologues', in Seibt, *Geschichte und Kultur*, 169-175; E.A. Zachariadou, 'Εφήμερες απόπειρες για αυτοδιοίκηση στις ελληνικές πόλεις κατά τον ΙΔ΄ και ΙΕ΄ αιώνα', *Αριάδνη* 5 (1989), 345-351.

III. CASE STUDIES

A. SOCIAL GROUPS AND RELATIONS IN SERRES IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Serres in eastern Macedonia in the valley of the river Strymon is a most fertile area, although unhealthy due to the surrounding marshes.⁵⁸² The examination of Serranian society is going to include all the hinterland of Serres, the valley of Strymon and the nearby towns, the most significant of which was the town of Zichna. The aim is to identify the social groups that constitute the social fabric of Serres; the subgroupings of aristocracy and their economic power in the area; their political and social attitudes not only towards the other social groups but also towards the state and the major political issues that come to the fore.

Most evidence regarding the society of Serres is of a documentary nature. The recent publication of the Codex B of the monastery of Prodromos on Mt. Menoikeion near Serres, which was thought to be lost, provides us with valuable information about the local society of Serres. The Codex comprises 218 documents, the vast majority of which was composed in the first half of the fourteenth century (the Codex stops effectively in 1356). Many of the documents have dating problems and, unfortunately, the edition of Bénou has not proved helpful in determining dates. The weaknesses of her transcription and, more particularly, of her chronology of the documents are

⁵⁸² It should be recalled that in 1342 a Serbian army besieging Serres was annihilated by these diseases: Katakouzenos, II, 292-293. The nearby lake of Achinos, the cause of many epidemics, was only drained in the past century.

seriously problematic. Underlying weaknesses of her edition and serious errors of chronology can be traced back to the fact that she, following Guillou, assumed that the monk Ioannikios was the actual founder of the monastery around 1287.⁵⁸³ In fact he was only its *refounder*, and its origins on the basis of documentary evidence can be traced back to the late twelfth century.⁵⁸⁴ Codex B from the monastery of Prodromos is complemented by the documentary evidence of the Athonite monasteries, most of which owned land in the Strymon valley, but also real estate property in Serres and Zichna.

Nevertheless, the society of Serres has not received the treatment it deserves, mostly because until the recent appearance of Codex B, our knowledge remained limited. The sole special study was in 1996 by A. Laiou but her work was published before the Codex B.⁵⁸⁵ Laiou divided the aristocracy of Serres into two groups: those that had property in the area but did not reside there, and the local aristocracy. Laiou's division is important in certain respects and, as further research will show, it is also reflected in the share of political power and influence. But under the light of new evidence, local society can further be divided into two more groups: one following a military and the other a civil (ecclesiastical) tradition. Apart from the study of Laiou, past research has focused on the rural relations in Macedonia through the Athonite

⁵⁸³ A. Guillou, in *Actes Prodromou* (A), 5-8.

⁵⁸⁴ See Smyrlis, *La fortune*, 85 (note 439), who refers to the results of a series of seminars in 1999-2001 EHESS in Paris under the direction of J. Lefort, V. Kravari and M. Verdure. See also O. Kresten and M. Schaller, 'Diplomatische, chronologische und textkritische Beobachtungen zu Urkunden des Chartulars B des Ioannes Prodromos-Klosters bei Serrhai', in C. Gastgeber und O. Kresten (eds.), *Sylloge diplomatico-palaeographica; I: Studien zur byzantinischen Diplomatie und Paläographie* (Vienna 2009), 179-232, who includes a commentary and corrections on the first 18 documents from the Codex B. A new critical edition and commentary is a desideratum.

⁵⁸⁵ Laiou, 'Serres'. A similar distinction between local and Constantinopolitan landowners is made by Moustakas, *Transition of Southeastern Macedonia*, 13 ff.

documents.⁵⁸⁶ Recently, K. Smyrlis has given attention to the study of the monastic properties on the area.⁵⁸⁷

Serres was a middle-sized city but its importance grew in the course of the fourteenth century. The population of Serres in the mid-fifteenth century was probably more than 7000 inhabitants, while the nearby town of Zichna had roughly half of that.⁵⁸⁸ As an inland and middle-sized city it was not a major commercial centre, nonetheless there are attested trade activities.⁵⁸⁹ In addition, Serres was an administrative centre, the capital of the theme of Serres and Strymon and subdivided into the *katepanikia* of Serres, Zichna and Zabaltia (or Parastrymon). Occasionally, the administration was combined with the *katepanikia* of Christoupolis (modern Kavala) and Popolia (the region south of mountain Pangaion and east of the Strymon delta).⁵⁹⁰

In the first civil war Serres and Zichna remained on the side of Andronikos II until 1327 when the governor of Zichna, Alexios Tzamplakon, with the consent of the town's populace, defected to Andronikos III, and Serres, where an army of Andronikos II was stationed, fell soon after.⁵⁹¹ In the second civil war Serres

⁵⁸⁶ Laiou, *Peasant society*; See also especially the study Lefort, 'Radolibos', a large village situated in southern Serres, with abundant documentary material since the eleventh century.

⁵⁸⁷ Smyrlis, *La fortune*.

⁵⁸⁸ P.S. Nasturel and N. Beldiceanu, 'Les églises byzantines et la situation économique de Drama, Serrés et Zichna aux XIVe et XVe siècles', *JÖB* 27 (1978), 269-285. A more accurate estimation is made by Moustakas, *Transition of Southeastern Macedonia*, 252 ff., stressing that this number may moreover reflect the city's populace after a recent epidemic due to the unusual high number of widow households.

⁵⁸⁹ See Laiou, 'Serres', 204-207.

⁵⁹⁰ See G. Theocharides, *Κατεπανίκια της Μακεδονίας: συμβολή εις την διοικητικήν ιστορίαν και γεωγραφίαν της Μακεδονίας κατά τους μετά την Φραγκοκρατίαν χρόνους* (Thessaloniki 1954), 37-65. We should not be confused also with the *katepanikion* of Strymon, which belonged to the theme of Thessalonike and included the region on the western bank of river Strymon.

⁵⁹¹ Kantakouzenos, I, 262.

remained on the side of Ioannes V, despite the two sieges in 1342 and 1343 by Kantakouzenos. Only in 1344 the strong Serbian pressure forced the governor and the city's authorities to surrender the city to Kantakouzenos. Nevertheless, Serbian pressure did not cease and a year later the Serbian-friendly party of the city succeeded in delivering Serres to Dušan. Zichna had already fallen at least one year before. After the death of Dušan in December 1355, Serres became the capital of the Serbian empire, under his widow Elena and the despot Ioan Uglješa, until 1371 when the defeat of the Serbians at Maritsa allowed the Byzantine despot of Thessalonike Manouel Palaiologos to regain and hold it until the Turkish conquest of 1383.

The elite of the empire in Serres and non-local forces of economic and social influence

A number of the elite of the aristocracy appear to have held large amounts of property in the periphery of Serres, but at the same time it is evident that they never resided there. Among the most notable who owned land but did not reside in Serres was the son-in-law of the emperor Andronikos II Alexios Komnenos Raoul to whom had been given as *pronoia* the village of Prevista (modern Palaiokomi),⁵⁹² the total annual revenue (*posotes*) of which was 300 hyperpyra.⁵⁹³ Later, in 1325, the recipient of the village was another aristocrat: the niece of the emperor the *megale doukaina*

⁵⁹² The *praktikon* of 1297 or 1312 mentioned him as the recipient of the *oikonomia*: Mavrommatis, 'Prevista', 213.

⁵⁹³ Actes Zographou, 49, while its value was set at 3000 *hyperpyra*, when it was bought by the Bulgarian king in order to donate it subsequently to the monastery of Zographou: Actes Zographou, 48-50 (1325).

Theodora Palaiologina and her husband Ferran Ximenes de Arenos, a baron who had defected from the Catalan Company to the empire in 1308.⁵⁹⁴

The family of Kantakouzenos is attested as a significant landowner in the area. In 1338 the mother of the later emperor Ioannes VI, Theodora Kantakouzene, donated to the monastery of Kutlumus some of her property in the city of Serres and its suburbs. She had striven to increase her possessions in Serres by creating a new *zeugelateion*. During the winter of 1337-1338, through 110 individual sales, she alone bought a total 1400 *modioi* of land by uniting small neighbouring parcels of land that local small and large landowners owned in the area.⁵⁹⁵ We learn that in 1342 during the civil war the *kephale* of Serres Sir Guy de Lusignan confiscated vast amounts of Kantakouzenos' belongings in the surrounding area,⁵⁹⁶ and among these was a large *zeugelateion* called *of Tzernes*.⁵⁹⁷ Kantakouzenos was not the only one who endeavoured to acquire property in Serres. Before his downfall in 1328, the *mezas logothetes* Theodoros Metochites was interested in the area and not only obtained

⁵⁹⁴ Gregoras, I, 23.

⁵⁹⁵ Actes Vatopedi II, 99-148. It is also reported that an 'Angelina Kantakouzene, aunt of the emperor Ioannes Kantakouzenos', bought several fields in Serres in 1338: S. Eustratiades, 'Αγιορείτικων κωδικῶν σημειώματα', *Palamas* 2 (1918), 90. The editors of PLP (no. 10931) connected her with Ioannes Angelos, the first cousin of Kantakouzenos. However, this reference to Angelina Kantakouzene was made by a scholar in 1918 and he did not publish the documents themselves but only took down notes having studied the archives of the monasteries of Mt Athos. He reports that these documents come from the year 1338, are preserved in the archives of the monastery of Vatopedi, mentions several sales signed all by the '*protodikos*' (sic.: the correct is *protekdikos*) of Serres named Sergios Synadenos and in the end names as recipient the aunt of the emperor Angelina Kantakouzene. He might be mistaken in noting Kantakouzenos as the nephew, since all this information fits perfectly with the above documents (Actes Vatopedi II, 99-148) and she must have been the aunt of Andronikos III not Ioannes Kantakouzenos.

⁵⁹⁶ Kantakouzenos, II, 185 and 191-192.

⁵⁹⁷ Actes Philotheou (K), 297. Half of it was given to Georgios Margarites and the other half to the monastery of Philotheou. Moreover, Kantakouzenos or Alexios Doukas Raoul must have been the *mezas domestikos* who is referred to as the neighbour of the monastery of Prodromou in Trilision (shortly before 1337): Actes Prodromou (B), 203-204.

through an imperial donation 4400 *modioi* of land,⁵⁹⁸ but he proceeded also to make land purchases.⁵⁹⁹ Konstantinos Palaiologos, who in fear of confiscation of his property in Serres defected from Kantakouzenos in 1342,⁶⁰⁰ and his brother the *protobestiarios* Andronikos Palaiologos, also owned land. Perhaps it is this Andronikos Palaiologos that we may connect with the later attested Alexios Palaiologos and Theodora Palaiologina Philanthropene who were in possession of a village in the area.⁶⁰¹ Another important landowner in Serres was Eirene Choumnaina Palaiologina, an educated woman and daughter of the *mesazon* Nikephoros Choumnos. Choumnaina resided at Constantinople but shortly before her death she moved to Serres, where she donated a *zeugelateion* near Zichna to the monastery of Prodromos in 1355 in exchange for two *adelphata* of the monastery (one for her and one for whomsoever she wishes).⁶⁰² The *eparchos* Michael Monomachos,⁶⁰³ the

⁵⁹⁸ Actes Prodromou (B), 379. An imperial donation is implied by the term *ἀνεδέξατο καὶ κατεῖχεν* used in the document to describe the way he had acquired his land.

⁵⁹⁹ Two individual sellers are recorded: Actes Prodromou (B), 80-82 and 86.

⁶⁰⁰ Kantakouzenos, II, 196.

⁶⁰¹ Actes Philotheou (K), 321-323. She says that the domain belonged to her from immemorable times after a donation of her ancestor (*πάππος*) the emperor himself, who happened to be a *ktetor* of Philotheou as well. We know that the *protobestiarios* Andronikos Palaiologos, who died in 1328 during the first civil war as supporter of Andronikos II, was a *ktetor* of Philotheou and a grandson of Michael VIII through his mother Anna Palaiologina.

⁶⁰² Actes Prodromou (B), 307-316. She had already sold part of it to the monastery a few months before but her final illness right after forced her to donate the rest. Her residency at Serres is confirmed by a clause in the donation document stating that ‘in case she moves to Constantinople’ the one *adelphaton* would replace a repartition of 50 ounces of ducats (= 50 *hyperpyra*). I wonder whether her move to Serres can be connected with the persecution of notable anti-Palamites in the capital especially after the Synod of 1351.

⁶⁰³ Actes Zographou, 68-71: in 1333 a part of 50 *nomismata* of his *oikonomia* in Strymon (Chandax, Choudena, Neboliane) was transformed into hereditary possession. Notably, in the end of the process, the revenue of the land delivered to him by the *apographeus* Ioannes Batatzes was actually double that, perhaps a case of misappropriation of state revenue and cooperation between the landed aristocracy and the state’s financial authorities.

protostrator Theodoros Doukas Synadenos⁶⁰⁴ and the *protasekretis* Leon Bardales are all attested as landlords in Serres.⁶⁰⁵

After the defeat of Andronikos II in the first civil war the property of Metochites in Serres was confiscated and was given to the monastery of Prodromos. The reason behind the conveyance of the property to the monastery is not hard to find. The abbot of the monastery was Ioakeim, the bishop of Zichna and he had supported Andronikos III during the civil war. Thus, after the war he was not only able to elevate his see from a bishopric to a metropolis in 1329 but he enriched also his monastery with additional imperial donations. The links with the central authority were maintained and after the death of Ioakeim in 1333, the trusted friend of Andronikos III, the *mezas domestikos* Ioannes Kantakouzenos, undertook the *ephoreia* of the monastery. It was not the only monastic foundation the *ephoreia* of which Kantakouzenos had taken in the area. A few years earlier in 1329, he had donated the *metochion* of St Demetrius near Serres, which he owned, to the Athonite monastery of Vatopedi.⁶⁰⁶

It seems that there is a strong connection between landholding and previous service of a state official. The *mezas logariastes* Kassandrenos from Thessalonike had appropriated the income from a fishing tax in Strymon which belonged to the

Monomachos seems to have resided in Edessa, since we learn that his wife was arrested there in 1327 when the town reverted to Andronikos III: Kantakouzenos, I, 274.

⁶⁰⁴ He sold to the monastery of Chilandar a mill and 50 *modioi* of land in 1333: Actes Chilandar (Petit), 256-258.

⁶⁰⁵ Actes Prodromou (B), 207 (he donated a bath in Zichna to the monastery of Prodromos). He seems to have had property in Kato Ouska as well (as neighbour of the monastery of Prodromos) just before 1339-1341: Actes Prodromou (B), 251 and 253. The reference is made simply to a *protasekretis*, but it is known that Bardales held this title between at least 1320 and 1342 and besides is mentioned in two judicial disputes and signs simply as '*protasekretis*', without a name: Actes Prodromou (B), 210-211; also see p. 212 in a judicial document of 1319 without a reference to the surname of Bardales.

⁶⁰⁶ Actes Vatopedi I, 55-59.

eparchos Monomachos.⁶⁰⁷ Kassandrenos owned at least two more *oikonomiai* (one amounting to 40 *hyperpyra*) in the area of Strymon which were confiscated in 1319.⁶⁰⁸ Similarly, Ioannes Panaretos, who served as *apographeus* in 1297 or 1312, managed to transform 30 *hyperpyra* from his *oikonomia* into a hereditary possession.⁶⁰⁹ The *megas primmikerios* Nikephoros Basilikos had served as governor of Melnik in 1328 and refused to join Andronikos III, but soon after the latter's victory he came to peaceful terms with him and remained as governor. Perhaps as a consequence, shortly after, an *oikonomia* of 100 *hyperpyra* belonging to the monastery of Prodromos was confiscated in favour of him.⁶¹⁰

In addition to Choumnaina another aristocrat who had resided in Serres temporarily was the *sebastos* Konstantinos Pagkalos. Pagkalos obtained his property through imperial donation and personal purchases from individuals, but nothing from hereditary possession, which probably implies that he did not come from Serres. Besides, he became a monk in the monastery of Pantokrator in Constantinople and the

⁶⁰⁷ Actes Zographou, 71.

⁶⁰⁸ Actes Chilandar (Petit), 107 and 115. Kassandrenos is not known to have served in the region. But his office implies service in the financial departments and the appropriation must have originated from this function. The reasons for the confiscation are not known. He might have fallen into disgrace. At any rate his fall into disgrace might have led him to support Andronikos III in the coming civil war between grandfather and grandson: PR I, 422.

⁶⁰⁹ Actes Prodromou (A), 49.

⁶¹⁰ Actes Prodromos (A), 96. The monastery would receive other land as substitution. The document is dated between 1328 and 1333. The *domestikos of the themata* Konstantinos Makrenos appears for the first time in 1333, so it is most possible that the date is close to 1333. Around the same date there appears to be a *megas primmikerios* neighbour of the *metochion* of Trilission (northern Serres and relatively close to Melnik): Actes Prodromos (B), 203. This could be Basilikos.

The document also refers to other two aristocrat neighbours: a *megas domestikos* and a *megas tzaousios*. The *megas domestikos* most probably is Kantakouzenos (or Alexios Doukas Raoul a native of Zichna) but I cannot further identify the *megas tzaousios* since the previous holder of the office Alexios Tzamlakon had been promoted to *megas papias* already in 1327 (the next attested holder is Theodoros Koteanitzes in 1344 in Thessalonike).

donation document was drafted in Ainos.⁶¹¹ The story of Pagkalos also reveals that there was room for large investments in Serres in the first half of the fourteenth century. Many of the houses that he owned had been built by him, while he also had planted some of the vineyards and orchards.

It is not an easy task to trace the relations between the high aristocracy and the local aristocracy and the influence that the central authority and the high aristocratic families exercised in the area. As can be observed from the list of the tax officials and the governors of the area before the Serbian occupation, all the state officials were coming from the ranks of the high aristocracy or, in the case of tax officials, from the civil aristocracy of Constantinople or Thessalonike.⁶¹² Besides, they owned large amounts of property and these two elements were significant for the control of both local resources and the exercise of influence. It is known, for example, that Leon Bardales, who had donated a bath in the nearby town of Zichna to the monastery of Prodomos, seems to have intervened at least twice to help the monastery in judicial disputes.⁶¹³

Perhaps the most influential high aristocrat in Serres was none other than Manouel Asanes, the third son of king John III Mytzes of Bulgaria (1279-1280) who was forced to retire to Byzantium. But Manouel Asanes, unlike his brothers in Constantinople, must have resided in Serres, where in 1338 he is attested as owning at least some houses.⁶¹⁴ Following the city's defection to Kantakouzenos in 1344, Asanes was the alleged leader of the pro-Serbian party in Serres, and eventually, in spite of the efforts of Konstantinos Palaiologos and Demetrios TzAMPLAKON,

⁶¹¹ Actes Kutlumis, 51-53. For a list of his properties see above p. 161-162.

⁶¹² See table no. 12 in Appendix 6. There is one exception: Michael Papylas Gogos.

⁶¹³ Actes Prodomou (B), 210-213.

⁶¹⁴ Actes Prodomou (B), 64. Perhaps it is the same Asanes who is neighbour to some fields of the monastery of Prodomos in ca. 1341 (ibid, 242).

succeeded in handing over the city to Stephan Dušan.⁶¹⁵ Two other members of the Asanes family are attested shortly after, in 1348, the siblings Alexios and Maria Asanina, owners of a shop in Serres which they sold to the monastery of Prodromos.⁶¹⁶ Alexios is probably identical to an Alexios Asanes, the cousin and *oikeios* of the empress Helena in Serres in 1365.⁶¹⁷ It is not improbable that they were offspring of Manouel Asanes.⁶¹⁸ If this is the case then Manouel Asanes not only did reside in Serres but was married into the local aristocracy. The mother of the two children was a Senacherina and their maternal grandmother a Doukaina Troulene: a Georgios Doukas Troulenos was a large landowner in Serres and *oikeios* of the emperor around the first quarter of the fourteenth century.⁶¹⁹

Once the Serbians were established in Serres the scene changed drastically. The high aristocracy lost its vast properties in the area to confiscation by Stephan Dušan. Thus, for example, the *pinkernes* Demetrios Tornikes and Anna Tornikina, who owned a certain estate in Zabaltia which fell into the dominion of the Serbians, had to move to Constantinople. There in 1358 they stipulated that in case that Alexios and Ioannes, the ‘appanage-holders’ of Christoupolis, managed to recover the area from the Serbians, half of the estate would revert to the Athonite monastery of the

⁶¹⁵ Katakouzenos, II, 535.

⁶¹⁶ Actes Prodromou (B), 128.

⁶¹⁷ Actes Esphigmenou, 162-163.

⁶¹⁸ First of all, it is still too early for the surname of Asanes to have diffused outside the main line of the family (until the 1340s there is only the first and second generation of the family: i.e. the children and grandchildren of the Bulgarian king) and secondly this identification would explain the reference of Alexios as cousin of the empress, through Manouel Asanes who was an uncle of Ioannes V.

⁶¹⁹ Actes Prodromou (A), 52-53 (without the surname Doukas); Actes Prodromou (B), 278 (where he himself signs as Georgios Doukas Troulenos). Bénou thinks that Alexios might be the brother of Manouel Asanes, but he is certainly not, since their mother is named in the document as a Senacherina, whereas Manouel Asanes’ mother was Eirene Palaiologina, the daughter of Michael VIII.

Pantokrator which had recently been founded by Alexios and Ioannes.⁶²⁰ Most probably they returned again to the area after the reestablishment of the Byzantine rule, since Tornikes is attested there in 1378.⁶²¹ Another case of confiscation might be this of a certain Raoulaina, whose *oikonomia* went to a company of men-at-arms.⁶²²

The TzAMPLAKONES was another family affected by the establishment of the rule of Serbians. They most probably originated from the nearby town of Drama,⁶²³ and owned large properties around central and eastern Macedonia which fell to the Serbian dominion. They were compelled then, as other aristocrats did, to donate them to Athonite monastic establishments, since these monasteries, being under the dominion of the Serbians too, could profit. Demetrios TzAMPLAKON, who was son-in-law of the above-mentioned Konstantinos Palaiologos, tried along with the latter to

⁶²⁰ Actes Saint-Panteleemon, 104-105. She has three children but none of them bears a surname in the document. Anna says that the field was given to her as dowry from her father ‘the *parakoimomenos*’. Since, one of her sons bears the surname Kantakouzenos and not Tornikes, it is logical to suppose that she was a Kantakouzene and then probably daughter of the *parakoimomenos* Andronikos Kantakouzenos in 1320 (Kantakouzenos, I, 17). If this Andronikos Kantakouzenos can be identified with the homonymous *meGas chartouarios* Andronikos Kantakouzenos governor of the Strymon area in 1322 and *protobestiarites* and *sympentheros* of Andronikos II in 1324, then we have one more case of an official who had obtained for himself lands in the area that he was administering: Actes Prodromou (B), 220-221 and 222; MM III, 104. The main problem with this identification is that the title of *parakoimomenos* is higher than both the *meGas chartouarios* and *protobestiarites* which are attested in 1322 and 1324. Kantakouzenos may have made a mistake, using a latter title for him. Nicol, *The family of Kantakouzenos*, 155, identified as her father the *parakoimomenos* Andronikos Palaiologos Tornikes in 1324-1327, but has no actual explanation for the surname Kantakouzenos. For these identifications see Lemerle in Actes Saint-Panteleemon, 103 and G. Schmalzbauer, ‘Die Tornikioti in der Palaiologenzeit’, *JÖB* 18 (1969), 115-135 (here at 129-130).

⁶²¹ Actes Chilandar (Petit), 331.

⁶²² Actes, Philotheou (K), 301 (‘*καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δικαίοις καὶ προνομίοις ἧς ἐνέμετο τὸ μέρος τῆς Παλένης*’). The editor V. Kravari assumes that this is not a confiscation but that she has just died.

⁶²³ Hunger, ‘Pamphlet’, 96, where there is the reference from a TzAMPLAKON coming from Drama.

prevent the reversion of the city to the Serbians but failed and was compelled to leave the city for Christoupolis, where he wrote his testament.⁶²⁴

The family of Laskaris which was attested in Asia Minor before the end of the thirteenth century seems now to be centred on Serres. A ‘most-noble’ Georgios Komnenos Laskaris is attested in Serres buying land in 1334.⁶²⁵ The family probably suffered from the establishment of the Serbians in the area. The 650 *modioi* land of the *epi tes trapezes* Laskaris near Chrysopoulis were confiscated by Dušan in favour of Vatopedi.⁶²⁶ This Laskaris is known to have left the area and was killed in Didymoteichon perhaps fighting for Matthaios Kantakouzenos.⁶²⁷

In 1377 Konstantinos Laskaris and his sisters were active in Serres claiming some buildings and an orchard from the monastery of Lavra. According to the document their mother ‘many years ago’ had donated them to Lavra. Even though it is probable that they all resided in Serres when the donation had taken place, it is equally possible that, as with other aristocratic families, they too sought to sell or donate to an Athonite monastery unused property under the dominion of the Serbians.⁶²⁸ Yet another Nikephoros Laskaris, resident of Christoupolis during the

⁶²⁴ G. Theocharides, ‘Eine Vermächtnisurkunde des Groß-Stratopedarchen Demetrios Tzambakon’, in Wirth (ed.), *Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag* (Heidelberg 1966), 486-495 (here at 490). All the Tzambakon brothers donated their shares to Vatopedi between 1355 and 1370: Actes Vatopedi II, 247-249 and 361-364.

⁶²⁵ Actes Prodromou (B), 97-98.

⁶²⁶ Actes Vatopedi II, 215.

⁶²⁷ I. Sakkelion, ‘Συνοδικαὶ διαγνώσεις’, *Δελτίον Ἱστορικήσ και Ἐθνολογικήσ Ἐταιρείας* 3 (1889), 273 ff. and 413-427 (here at 274).

⁶²⁸ Actes Lavra III, 111-112. It is uncertain whether these Laskaris can be identified to another Konstantinos Palaiologos Laskaris, who along with his two brothers (Leon Koteaanitzes Laskaris and Georgios Laskaris) were large landowners in Strumica (Actes Chilandar (Petit), 327-329 as the editors of PLP assume: PLP, no. 14543).

Serbian occupation of Serres, was married to a daughter of Demetrios Tzemplakon.⁶²⁹ The family of Laskaris later cooperated, however, with the Turks. Makarios (monastic name) Bryennios and his relative the ‘most noble’ Demetrios Bryennios Laskaris, were assigned the village of Achinos by the Turks, probably under the terms of *timar*.⁶³⁰

The local military aristocracy of Serres

It is possible to identify a number of important local families in Serres. Their property consists mostly of substantial land and real estate holdings. One of these families is the *oikos* of Synadenoi, but even though Theodoros Synadenos has been identified as landowner in the area, it cannot be established that the local family of Synadenoi had any connection with this elite family; all the more because the name Synadenos is attested even among peasants in the countryside of Serres. Thus, Nikolaos Doukas Synadenos, an *oikeios* of the emperor Andronikos III (attested in 1329 and 1341), obviously had financial difficulties. He sold his half share of a mill to the monastery of Prodromos and later the houses and some land in the city which were included in the dowry of his wife Theodora Angelina. The last transaction was annulled afterwards, since Theodora went to the *katholikoi kritai* in Constantinople and she was vindicated. After the annulment of the transaction, it was stipulated that he would give the money back to the monks. But obviously he was unable to refund them fully for a house that they had built on site and he let the monastery receive the

⁶²⁹ Theocharides, ‘Vermächtsurkunde’, 490.

⁶³⁰ Actes Esphigmenou, 170-177. See K. Moustakas, ‘Early evidence on the introduction of *timar* in the Balkans and its use as a means of incorporation. The *pronoia* of Laskaris’, *Südost-Forschungen* 68 (2009), 63-95 on the *timar* affair.

rent for the house until he was able to buy it.⁶³¹ The second family branch around the same period is that of Michael Synadenos. Michael was a landowner in the area of Serres; he is also attested buying a woman's house and some land from three other individual aristocrats.⁶³² Perhaps he can be identified with a homonymous governor of Zichna in 1349.⁶³³ A third family branch, about which later, is connected with the ecclesiastical administration.

There were many families tracing their lineage to the noble royal *oikos* of the Komnenoi in Serres but probably none of them can actually be connected to noble royal lineage. One of these families is the Komnenoi Patrikioi. The first Komnenos Patrikios, probably in late thirteenth century, and, subsequently, his sons donated property to the monastery of Prodomos, made up of 880 *modioi* of land and 20 *modioi* of vineyards.⁶³⁴ Around the same period (in 1313) a '*paneugenestatos*' (i.e. 'most noble') Georgios Komnenos Patrikios is attested buying a small plot of land of 3 *stremmata*.⁶³⁵ However, we are unable to state his exact relationship with other Patrikioi. The third generation of Patrikioi was made of the *oikeioi* of the emperor Leon and Stephanos Patrikios in 1330.⁶³⁶

The local family of Kardames had allied to the Komnenoi. At least one of the sons of Eirene Komnene Kardamina, the widow of Theodoros Kardames, eventually

⁶³¹ Actes Prodromou (B), 46-47 and 144-145 the full reading of the name on p. 46-47 is Nikolaos Doukas Synadenos, not simply Doukas Synadenos, as Bénou read: Kresten, 'Beobachtungen zu Chartular B', 210-211.

⁶³² Actes Prodromou (B), 116-118.

⁶³³ Actes Prodromou (B), 307.

⁶³⁴ Actes Prodromou (B), 73-75.

⁶³⁵ Actes Prodromou (B), 95-96. *Stremma* is equivalent to *modios*.

⁶³⁶ Actes Prodromou (B), 77.

adopted only the surname Komnenos.⁶³⁷ Three more members of the family are attested: the *megas tzaousios* Kardames in 1365 a member of the ‘senate’ of Serres,⁶³⁸ Ioannes Kardames in 1310⁶³⁹ and Nikolaos Kardames who along with his son-in-law Konstantinos Atouemes, both *oikeioi* of the emperor, are attested as selling some houses in Serres to Michael Synadenos in 1334.⁶⁴⁰

Another important family in the area was Batatzes. There are at least four individuals with this surname, but unfortunately there is not enough evidence to argue that they formed a single branch of the family. The first is the *paneugenestatos* Georgios Komnenos Batatzes who in 1313 is attested buying a small field near his possessions in Libobiston.⁶⁴¹ The second was the *oikeios* of Stephan Dušan Georgios Batatzes Phokopoulos and the third is Ioannes Batatzes, the son-in-law (probably) of Ioannes Modenos, son of the *protopapas* and *sakellarios* Modenos. His wife’s property amounted 1000 *modioi* of land as dowry from Ioannes Modenos. They sold it to the monastery of Chilandar for 260 *nomismata*, but half of the money would go to

⁶³⁷ Actes Prodromou (B), 138 (1340); he signs simply as Komnenos; also on p. 140 for the reference to her already deceased husband Theodoros Kardames in 1333.

⁶³⁸ Actes Esphigmenou, 162. The evidence of a senate in Serres can only be connected to the adoption of Byzantine practices in the court of the queen Elena. On these adoptions of Byzantine practices see L. Maksimović, ‘Порески систем у Грчким областима Српског Царства (with French summary: ‘Le système fiscal dans les provinces grecques de l’empire serbe)’, *ZRVI* 17 (1976), 101-125; G. Ostrogorsky, ‘Problèmes des relations byzantine-serbes au XIVe siècle’, in *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford 5-10 September 1966* (London 1967), 41-55; G. Soulis, ‘Byzantino-serbian relations’, in *ibid*, 57-61.

⁶³⁹ Actes Prodromou (B), 134. Bénou lists him in the Index as *primmikerios of the chrysoboulatoi* because the title appears before him in the document: ‘παρρησία τῶν εὐρισκομένων ἀξιόδεκτων μαρτύρων, τοῦ τε πριμμικηρίου τῶν χρυσοβουλάτων κὲρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καρδάμη, τοῦ Γλαβάτου κὲρ Μιχαήλ καὶ κὲρ τοῦ Ζαμπλούμου...’. He could not be though since in the very same document there is the reference to the purchaser Andronikos Lypenares as *primmikerios of the chrysoboulatoi*. As we see there is no *καὶ* after the next name (Michael Glabatos), so the title might refer to Lypenares again, that *he* also was present during the transaction, and the writer simply omitted again the *καὶ*.

⁶⁴⁰ Actes Prodromou (B), 116-117.

⁶⁴¹ Actes Prodromou (B), 93-95.

his grandson on reaching maturity.⁶⁴² The last person was Konstantinos Batatzes a goldsmith,⁶⁴³ but he rather belongs to the middle class.

Although most of the local aristocracy is attested with the designation of *oikeios of the emperor*, they must have had some sort of title, even if this cannot be testified. As we noted above, the higher offices in Serres were reserved for the families of Constantinople. The local society usually had to confine itself to lower offices of minor importance. Thus, Michael Maurophoros is attested as an *oikeios* of Andronikos III and *krites tou phossatou* (military judge) in Serres between 1327 and 1335.⁶⁴⁴ The same office was held earlier in 1307 by the *oikeios* of Andronikos II Alexios Diplobatatzes. Alexios was able to obtain the privilege of transforming 1000 *modioi* of land from his *oikonomia* into hereditary land.⁶⁴⁵ The second office usually reserved for the local aristocracy was that of *kastrophylax*, although its most probably pure military nature (i.e. command of the town garrison) leaves open to doubt whether a *kastrophylax* had any administrative task or the chance to attain political power. In the Byzantine period there are attested as *kastrophylax* of Serres Leon Azanites in 1339⁶⁴⁶ and Demetrios Arethas in 1375,⁶⁴⁷ and in Zichna in 1327 a certain Alexios Angelos,⁶⁴⁸ in 1349 Ioannes Konstomoiros⁶⁴⁹ and in 1321 Konstantinos Achiraïtes.⁶⁵⁰ Achiraïtes also bears the title or post of *prokathemenos* in 1335, the nature of which is unclear after the introduction and the extension of the post of *kephale* in all the cities

⁶⁴² Actes Chilandar (Petit), 247 ff.

⁶⁴³ Actes Prodromou (B), 139 (1340).

⁶⁴⁴ Actes Prodromou (B), 63, 69, 169, 211.

⁶⁴⁵ Actes Prodromou (A), 41. The post is also attested in Thessalonike occupied by a certain Senachereim around the same time: PR II, 114.

⁶⁴⁶ Actes Prodromou (B), 285.

⁶⁴⁷ Actes Kutlumis, 130.

⁶⁴⁸ Actes Prodromou (B), 168.

⁶⁴⁹ Actes Prodromou (B), 305.

⁶⁵⁰ Actes Prodromou (B), 133.

of the empire.⁶⁵¹ Another office of probably military origin was the *primikerios of the chrysoboulatoi* attested only in Serres for two individuals: Michael Kaphoures in 1322 and Andronikos Lypenares in 1310,⁶⁵² son of a local family.

As had happened in the late twelfth century with the disintegration of state authority and the expansion of the power of local *archontes (dynastai)*, the crisis of the second civil war brought forth the dissatisfaction of the local aristocracy. In Serres this did not result in a request for autonomy, but the arrival of the Serbians in the area in 1344 defined the nature of opposition. Most of the local society, if it did not cooperate with the Serbians, at least accepted the new Serbian rule eagerly and was incorporated with it. Certainly, there were those that did not compromise with Serbian rule. In one case the property of the *protallagator* Basilikos, who left for Constantinople, was appropriated by Gogos on the basis of a *prostagma* of Dušan, on grounds of Basilikos' treason. Nevertheless we learn that Stephan Dušan had confirmed by a *prostagma* all the properties of the inhabitants of Zichna. Accordingly, Basilikos' wife, who had remained there, was able to receive the property back in 1349.⁶⁵³

Among those integrated into the Serbian regime is Michael Maurophoros. During the civil war he had supported Kantakouzenos and as a result his property was

⁶⁵¹ Actes Prodromou (B), 64. Regarding the office see Maksimović, *Provincial administration*, 168-174. A *prokathemenos* had probably some administrative tasks in a certain town and was subordinate to the *kephale*. There is also a distinction in the list of Pseudo-Kodinos between the posts of *prokathemenos* and *kastrophylax*: Pseudo Kodinos, 188.

⁶⁵² Actes Prodromou (B), 232 and 236. The office literary means 'head of those having a chrysobull' and, if it not an euphemism or in fact a subordinate of the *megas tzaousios* it can be stipulated that he was in charge of the *pronoiaroi* of Serres.

⁶⁵³ Actes Prodromou (B), 307. About Dušan's confirmation of the properties of the inhabitants of Zichna there is no document specifically mentioned, but it is stated that Basilike 'ἔλαβεν πρόσταγμα ἵνα ἔχη τὴν ὑπόστασιν αὐτῆς, καθὼς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ζιχνιδῶται'. I translate 'πρὸ χρόνων ἐξέφυγε εἰς τὴν πόλιν' as that Basilikos had left for the City (i.e. Constantinople).

confiscated. However, after the coming of Stephan Dušan not only did he regain his possessions, but he was restored as *krites tou phosatou* and received an imperial donation of an additional estate (which Maurophoros subsequently donated to Vatopedi in 1348).⁶⁵⁴ Two more aristocrats attested in the Byzantine period received additional privileges from Dušan. Ioannes Margarites supported the regency during the civil war and as a result obtained confiscated land in various parts and other privileges like the removal in 1342 of the tax of 9 *nomismata* which he paid for lands that he held.⁶⁵⁵ He joined Stephan Dušan and by 1348 he was a *mezas etaireiarches*; he was then attested with more property in many villages (Kato Ouska, Rachoba, Dratzoba, Mikra Neboliane, Kaisaropolis), land near Chrysoupolis and a church and a house in this town.⁶⁵⁶ Georgios Batatzes Phokopoulos, married to Anna Angelina, donated his property (probably his entire property) in 1353 to the monastery of Prodromos. It consisted of two estates, a vineyard, two watermills, and some houses and shops in Serres, many of which he had bought during the past thirty years. He is designated as *oikeios* of the emperor and later we learn that Dušan granted to him tax immunity.⁶⁵⁷

The *mezas domestikos* Alexios Doukas Raoul, a native of Zichna, is called by Andronikos III as his ‘beloved *oikeios*’ while confirming the donation Raoul had made to the monastery of Prodromos in 1337.⁶⁵⁸ In 1355 while holding the same title,

⁶⁵⁴ Actes Philotheou, 23; Actes Vatopedi II, 215.

⁶⁵⁵ Actes Prodromou (B), 400-401.

⁶⁵⁶ Actes Vatopedi II, 215.

⁶⁵⁷ Actes Prodromou (B), 91-104 and 288-290.

⁶⁵⁸ Actes Prodromou (B), 205-206 and 420. See also her Introduction, 5-6 where Bénou rejects the possibility that the two acts were drawn during the Serbian regime as L. Mavrommatis, ‘Sur le grand domestique Alexis Raoul’, *ZRVI* 34 (1995), 157-162 stipulated. Besides he is then called *oikeios* and not *uncle of the emperor* as is the case with Dušan.

he is now *kephale* of Zichna and signs as ‘uncle of Stephan Dušan’.⁶⁵⁹ The high rank in Serbian hierarchy did not prevent Raoul from concluding a marriage alliance with a Byzantine high official: he married his daughter with Angelos, the son of the *panypersebastos* Stephanos Kalothetos from Xantheia in Byzantine-held Thrace. After the death of Angelos and while Kalothetos had become monk in Vatopedi, Alexios claimed his property (i.e. his daughter’s dowry?) estimated at a value of more than 2100 hyperpyra of movable goods. In spite of the initial support of Vatopedi for Kalothetos, Raoul, with the help of a *prostagma* of the Serbian empress Elena, successfully claimed back his property.⁶⁶⁰ We have to remember that Mt Athos was then under Serbian rule.

Alexios Raoul was not the only Byzantine governor designated in the area. Unlike other areas (e.g. Chalkidike), in Serres we have cases of at least four individuals of the local aristocracy who served as *kephalai*. The first of them is Michael Abrampakes who is attested as *kephale* of Serres in 1346.⁶⁶¹ The other governor was Michael Komnenos Synadenos who presided over the return of the property of the above-mentioned Basilike in Zichna in 1349; this probably means that he was the *kephale* of the town. Moreover, it should be stressed that Synadenos signed the document in Serbian and not in Greek.⁶⁶² In 1354 the *kephale* of Serres was

⁶⁵⁹ Actes Philotheou (K), 313. In the same document signs also a Demetrios Palaiologos Raoul as a ‘*doulos* and son of our *authentēs*’; he could be a son of Alexios (note also that he does not say ‘of our *authentēs the basileus*’ as is normally the form; could he mean instead Alexios?).

⁶⁶⁰ Actes Vatopedi II, 317-321.

⁶⁶¹ Actes Prodromou (B), 102. The family owned real estate property: his mother had sold a large shop in Serres (worth 50 *nomismata*) to the monastery of Prodromos: Actes Prodromou (B), 141-143 (at the start of the document she signs as Eugenia Abrampakina Tatadena and then signs Michael Abrampakes. However, in the document her ‘son Komnenos Abrampakes’ is referred to as owning a nearby shop. But Michael Abrampakes had never signed as ‘Michael Komnenos Abrampakes’, so it cannot be certain whether this Komnenos Abrampakes is Michael or another man).

⁶⁶² Actes Prodromou (B), 307.

Georgios Doukas Nestongos. Nestongos in 1353 was still a *logothetes*, but by 1355 he was elevated to *megas papias*. The elevation may be connected with his service as *kephale*, but also as ambassador to Pope Innocent VI in Avignon that same year. In 1360 he signed as a *doulos* of the empress Elena.⁶⁶³ The last known *kephale* of Serres of Byzantine origin is Demetrios Komnenos Eudaimonoïoannes who signed in a judicial document in 1360 as *kephale* of Serres and *doulos* of the empress Elena.⁶⁶⁴ Whereas in 1360 Eudaimonoïoannes had been chosen by the metropolitan of Serres as a judge for the previous case, in 1366 he holds the judicial office of *katholikos krites*.⁶⁶⁵ Actually, the only known *kephale* of Serres of Serbian origin is a certain Radosthlabos in 1365.⁶⁶⁶ The office of *kastrophylax* was continuously held by Byzantines during the Serbian regime: Ioannes Konstomoiros was *kastrophylax* of Zichna in 1349⁶⁶⁷ and perhaps this was the office of the *epi tou stratou* Orestes in 1368.⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶³ Actes Prodromou (B), 124-127; Actes Chilandar (Petit), 310; A.V. Soloviev, 'Греческие архонты в Сербском царствѣ XIV вѣка (French summary: 'Les archontes grecs dans l'empire serbe'), *Byzantinoslavica* 2 (1930), 275-287 (here at 282).

⁶⁶⁴ Actes Chilandar (Petit), 310; Soloviev, 'Archontes grecs', 282.

⁶⁶⁵ Actes Chilandar (Petit), 318 and 320; Actes Esphigmenou, 164.

⁶⁶⁶ Actes Esphigmenou, 162.

⁶⁶⁷ Actes Prodromou (B), 305.

⁶⁶⁸ Actes Chilandar (Petit), 318 and 320. The document reads *epi tou kastrou* but previously in the same document he is referred to as *epi tou stratou*, a title in official hierarchy. I wonder whether the lecture of both *epi tou stratou* or *epi tou kastrou* is correct and in fact he holds only one title. Orestes is elsewhere attested as *epi tou stratou* but not as *epi tou kastrou*: Actes Esphigmenou, 162 (1365). A new edition of the Chilandar document still waits. Besides, Orestes is attested in the building of a tower in Serres: N. Bees, 'Οι κτίσται εν Σέρραις πύργου της αγωγούστης Ελένης', *VV* 20 (1914), 302-319 and G. Soulis, 'Notes on the history of the city of Serres under the Serbs (1341-1371), in *Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη* (Thessaloniki 1960), 373-379.

Orestes could be related to the three *archontopoula* Orestes in the nearby Melnik in 1323: Actes Vatopedi I, 302; both cities were now in the Serbian dominion.

In the list of the Byzantines that held important offices during the Serbian regime we may number the *oikeios* of Dušan, Georgios Phokopoulos, who in 1346 received immunity for his property in Serres and who was active earlier under the Byzantine rule as *oikeios* of Andronikos III;⁶⁶⁹ Doukas Koreses an *oikeios* of Dušan in 1355;⁶⁷⁰ the *megas tzaousios* Kardames in Serres in 1365, who along with Palaiologos Makrodoukas and Michael Schoules are mentioned as members of the ‘senate’ of Serres;⁶⁷¹ the *endoxotatos* Michael Papyllas Gogos who obtained the property of the above-mentioned Basilikos after the conquest of Dušan;⁶⁷² Markos Angelos an *oikeios* of Dušan in 1348 who donated churches, houses, vineyards and fields from his patrimonial property to the monastery of Vatopedi;⁶⁷³ Demetrios Bastralites, who in 1342 had signed as a *doulos* of the emperor, in 1353 he called Dušan ‘supreme king’ (*μέγιστος βασιλεύς*), while donating the land he had in a village to the monastery of Prodromos;⁶⁷⁴ the *protallagator* Konstantinos Trypommates in 1349, who owned significant land and real estate in the city of Serres part of which he donated to the monastery of Prodromos in exchange for an *adelphaton*.⁶⁷⁵ Around sixteen individuals

⁶⁶⁹ Actes Prodromou (A), 139.

⁶⁷⁰ Actes Chilandar (Petit), 308. This man has been connected to a certain Koreses (D. Κοράς, ‘Кир Дукас Коресис – дворани цара Стефана (english summary: ‘Кур Doukas Koresis – emperor Stephan’s courtier’), *ZRVI* 30 (1991), 213-219), who had appropriated an orchard belonging to the monastery of Kutlumus and despite the fact that he lost the trial before the *katholikos krites* Matarangos in 1341, taking advantage of the Serbian dominion, he seized the orchard again. He was not driven out of its possession until 1375 and a new court verdict after the Byzantine recapture of Serres: Actes Kutlumus, 89 and 128-130. If this identification is correct then we have one more case of an individual who profited from Serbian rule to appropriate property.

⁶⁷¹ Actes Esphigmenou, 162.

⁶⁷² Actes Prodromou (B), 64 (*endoxotatos* and witness in a trial); 236 (*apographeus*); 307 (for the appropriation of the property of Basilikos).

⁶⁷³ Actes Vatopedi II, 215.

⁶⁷⁴ Actes Prodromou (B), 245-248.

⁶⁷⁵ Actes Prodromou (B), 155-156.

in Zichna, belonging probably to a company of men-at-arms, received from Dušan an estate in 1344.⁶⁷⁶ An early connection with the Serbians might be inferred from one more case. Manouel Garianos was awarded in 1318 the transformation of his *pronoia* into a hereditary possession, after the intervention of the monk Kallinikos, who was emissary of the Serbian court to the Byzantine emperor, but simultaneously was also in the latter's service.⁶⁷⁷

In sum, the local aristocracy not only was not hurt by the Serbian occupation, but positively benefited, receiving the confiscated properties of the high aristocrats in Serres and the posts that were normally reserved for the latter.⁶⁷⁸ As soon as the Byzantines reoccupied the area, the situation returned as before: in 1375 Manouel Doukas Tarchaneiotēs, a member of the elite, not connected with Serres, is attested as *kephale* of Serres.⁶⁷⁹ Moreover, the emperor ordered the restitution of the properties of those who had lost them during the Serbian regime, even if this did always not prove fruitful.⁶⁸⁰

⁶⁷⁶ Actes Philotheou (K), 301-302.

⁶⁷⁷ Actes Chilandar I, 246 ('ἀποσταλείς ἀποκρισάριος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν μου παρὰ τοῦ [...] κράλη Σερβείας, καὶ διὸ εὐρίσκεται ἐπιμελούμενος καὶ ἐνεργῶν εἰς τὰς δουλείας τῆς βασιλείας μου'). Both the Serbian and Bulgarian kings along with the diplomatic negotiations usually asked for the accordance of privileges or new property to some monasteries of Mt Athos. Kallinikos might supervise these requests (a few months earlier the monastery of Chilandar 'after a request of the Serbian king' had his properties confirmed: Actes Chilandar I, 235-238). Obviously, our evidence is biased in favour of the Athonite monasteries. It can be supposed that the Serbian king could ask for more privileges for other monasteries or for individuals.

⁶⁷⁸ This trend had already been noted by Soloviev, 'Archontes grecs', 277 answering to Florinskij; also Ostrogorsky, 'Relations byzantine-serbes', 48-49.

⁶⁷⁹ Actes Kutlumus, 130.

⁶⁸⁰ Actes Saint-Panteleemon, 117. In this case Alexios Palaiologos, whose property had been donated by the Serbians to the monastery of Saint-Panteleemon, recognised the rights of the monastery, since he had lost his documents, because of his captivity by the Turks.

The military nature of the local aristocracy can be inferred from the holding of *pronoiai*, offices of military nature, or the specific designation of someone as a soldier. The designation of someone as a soldier is indeed very rarely met. Manouel Garianos is mentioned as a soldier (*ἀπὸ τοῦ Σερριωτικοῦ μεγάλου ἀλλαγίου*) and also a certain Niketas Xiphias (*στρατιώτης*).⁶⁸¹ The soldier *pansebastos sebastos* Nikephoros Martinos received 50 *hyperpyra* from the *oikonomia* of 80 *hyperpyra* which had belonged to the *sebastos* Ioannes Sarakenos and after the latter's death (soon after 1321) had passed over to his wife and her new husband.⁶⁸² Ameras (of Turkish origin?) had a *pronoia* in the vicinity of Serres, which his son-in-law Batatzes inherited. The *pronoia* was given thereafter by the emperor to Georgios Doukas Troulenos who signs as *oikeios of the empress* (Eirene-Yolanda).⁶⁸³ Andronikos Lypenares, the 'ἀνδρικώτατος' (i.e. most-brave) *primmikerios of the chrysoboullatoi* was also probably a military official.⁶⁸⁴

Unfortunately not all the names of the sixteen *archontopoula* in Zichna are legible: Ioannes Rizenos, Ioannes Koubaras, Andronikos Mesopotamites, Ioannes Manikaïtes, Smoleanites, Manouel Antiocheites, Leon Gobenos, Niketas Archontitzes, Mamenos, Kladon, Ioannes Katabolenos (and?) Aaron. At least for three of them an identification with members of the local society during the Byzantine rule is possible: Leon Gobenos is attested in 1329 when selling to the monastery of

⁶⁸¹ Actes Prodromou (B), 51. He also signs as *doulos* of the emperor. The second-rate profile of Xiphias can be inferred by the small surface of the donated field and by the fact that he asked for the half price (he received 8 *nomismata*: given the medium rate at no more than 0.3-0.5 *hyperpyron* to *modios* of land it should be around 30-50 *modioi*).

⁶⁸² As we said before Martinos' *pronoia* was confiscated after an intervention of the *kralaina* of Serbia in favour of the monastery of Prodromos: Actes Prodromou (B), 189 (1317). The confiscation of Sarakenos' *oikonomia* was decided in 1325: Actes Prodromou (B), 402-403. Martinos is specifically elsewhere designated as soldier: Actes Prodromou (B), 337 and 347.

⁶⁸³ Actes Prodromou (B), 278.

⁶⁸⁴ Actes Prodromou (B), 133.

Prodromos his share of the house of his son-in-law Alexios Angelos, the *kastrophylax* of Zichna.⁶⁸⁵ Andronikos Mesopotamites could be connected to the *kaballarios* Manouel Mesopotamites, a partisan of Ioannes V and landowner in the nearby village of Drachoba,⁶⁸⁶ and to a *sebastos* Mesopotamites who is attested as landowner in Zichna in 1342.⁶⁸⁷ A certain Ioannes Rizenos is attested as *oikeios of the emperor* in 1335 while trying to annul a donation of his uncle to the monastery of Prodromos which had been made some decades earlier.⁶⁸⁸ It should be noted though that the uncle of Rizenos was Symeon Madarites, a large landowner in Serres (he had at least two *zeugelateia* and a mill in his possession) and a *paidopoulo* of Michael IX. Madarites, for his part, had a son-in-law named Mamenos who was also a soldier.⁶⁸⁹ It is obvious then that this was a family of soldiers. It is not the only family for which we can claim a military status. Therefore, there is some continuity in military status for at least some members of the local aristocracy. Another member of the previous company of men-at-arms is named Kladon; it should be recalled that some decades earlier in 1301 a Germanos Kladon donated to the monastery of Prodromos some land that had been given to him by the emperor; presumably he held it as an *oikonomia*.⁶⁹⁰

In addition to the *archontopoula* of Zichna, there is mention in 1348 of *archontopoula* in Serres too, who tried to appropriate some *paroikoi* of the Athonite monastery of Alypiou, but the ecclesiastical court of Serres gave sentence against

⁶⁸⁵ Actes Prodromou (B), 169.

⁶⁸⁶ Actes Chilandar (Petit), 276. Perhaps partisan of Ioannes V because the date of the privilege is 1343 and coincides with the second civil war.

⁶⁸⁷ Lemerle, 'Praktikon inédit', 282. Either of the two could well be the same person to the *sebastos* Mesopotamites.

⁶⁸⁸ Actes Prodromou (B), 62-64.

⁶⁸⁹ Actes Prodromou (B), 66. When Mamenos was summoned for war, he borrowed (or bought) the armour from his father-in-law for 7 *hyperpyra*. Can this mean that he was under his service as well?

⁶⁹⁰ Actes Prodromou (B), 53-54.

them. In the same document sign an *etaireiarches* Ioannes Gabras, a Kaballarios and other lay *archontes*, who could well be these *archontopoula*.⁶⁹¹ The full name of Kaballarios is illegible but we may be able to connect him with a family of Kaballarioi in Serres of Latin origin. Guillaume de Calabria ('Goulielmonas Kaballarios Ntekalabrias') who died before 1330 was probably the founder of the family. His son (?) Theodoros Kaballarios Ntekalabrias and his grandson Ioannes whom we meet later have Greek names.⁶⁹² Given the Latin origin of Guillaume, his activity in an inland province and not in a commercial city, and his second surname (Kaballarios) we may suppose that he had entered the service of the Byzantine emperor as a soldier and had received land.

The evidence for the local aristocracy in Serres can be completed by some additional information about persons that for whom, though, we do not have any information about holding state offices or *oikonomiai*, we possess details concerning their property. This is the case of Phillipos Arabantenos, whose testament has been preserved in the archives of the monastery of Prodromos, where he became a monk shortly before his death. Arabantenos had in his possession some houses, a *zeugelateion*, three small vineyards of a total surface of 5 *modioi*, a pair of oxen, a horse, a mule, some jewellery as dowry of his wife (the rest of the dowry, being of a value of 260 *nomismata*, was spent) and he had a debt of 10 *nomismata*. We know that his sister had at least one *paroikos* in her service and that his nephew was *kyr* Ioannes Doukas Melissenos.⁶⁹³ Although we do not know the exact size of the

⁶⁹¹ Actes Kutlumus, 92-93. They could have signed guaranteeing that they would respect the court verdict.

⁶⁹² Actes Prodromou (B), 176 (Guillaume mentioned as deceased), 185 (donation to the monastery of Prodromos of Guillaume), 265 (sale document of 1343 to the monastery of Prodromos by Theodoros Kaballarios Ntekalabrias and his son Ioannes).

⁶⁹³ Actes Prodromou (B), 123-125 (1334).

zeugelateion, certainly his property cannot be considered as substantial, especially since almost all his wife's dowry was spent and he had debts. Nonetheless, it is much above the level of a well-off independent peasant.

In another case a certain Krokas donated land of 700 *modioi* and an enclosed field (*esothyrin*) of 45 *modioi* to the monastery of Prodromos before 1339.⁶⁹⁴ The family of (the deceased?) Krokas, consisting of Anna Krokaina and her five children, sold to the monastery of Prodromos land of a total value of 149 *nomismata* in 1320 and again shortly after 1339.⁶⁹⁵ This also is not on a scale of a wealthy aristocrat family but the family must have had additional property. The two *esothyria* which they sold and donated had belonged to Theodoros Metochites and probably were granted to Krokas when the confiscations of 1328 took place; if Krokas had been a commoner this change of property status would probably not have occurred.

The civil (ecclesiastical) aristocracy of Serres

Tables 13a and 13b present the most common church posts and the attested dignitaries that held them in the course of the fourteenth century in Serres and in Zichna. The number and chronological range of the acts from the two sees, preserved both in the Athonite archives but mostly in Codex B of the monastery of Prodromos, allows to a certain degree the observation of the career of some dignitaries and other

⁶⁹⁴ Actes Prodromou (B), 339.

⁶⁹⁵ Actes Prodromou (B), 82-85 and 87. These two acts of sale are different from the one above, testified in a *praktikon* of 1339, since they are acts of sale, while the former are specifically designated as donations. Moreover they were parts of two different locations, the first around the monastery itself and Monospeton, while the second near Gastilengous, to the *metochion* of which it belonged. As with Arabantenos, so with Krokas, their surnames are not attested elsewhere, with an exception of a spiritual father Athanasios Krokas in Mt Athos in the middle of the fourteenth century: PLP, no. 13818.

trends like the family tradition or the influence of political changes. The tables reveal, first of all, that these dignitaries usually had long-term tenure. The tenures of Manouel Koubaras as *oikonomos* of Serres (1323-1360), of Ioseph as *oikonomos* of Zichna (1320-1340), of Theodosios Cheilas as *sakellarios* of Zichna (1305-1329), of the *chartophylakai* of Zichna Georgios Kallomenos (1321-1343) and Ioannes Zacharias (1353-1378) and the *skeuophylax* Theodoros Keramotos of Zichna (1311-1339) are indicative in this respect. Even when one individual seems to have served for a short period of time, the chronological gap between the previous and the next holder are large enough to suppose that he held it longer than can be documented.⁶⁹⁶ Usually it was with the death of an individual dignitary that major changes took place. Thus, when the *sakellarios* of Serres Georgios Mourmouras (1313-1333) died sometime between 1333 and 1336, he was succeeded by Ioannes Modenos (1339-1354). The office of Modenos as *skeuophylax* was then occupied by Theodoros Tzemtzeas and Tzemtzeas' office as *sakelliou* was occupied by Michael Kallorizos (1339-1349). Michael Kallorizos himself until then was *protekdikos* and he was succeeded by Sergios Synadenos who was *logothetes*.

The second significant trend that we can identify is the family tradition of the office holders. In Serres, apart from the *oikonomos* Manouel Koubaras (1323-1360), there was also the *chartophylax* Theodoros Koubaras (1365-1378) and Nikolaos Koubaras *protonotarios* (1328-1349) and *protekdikos* (1353). In addition to the *chartophylax* Alexios Lyzikos (1299-1311) there was the *sakellarios* Manouel Lyzikos (1365-1366). In Zichna, beside the *chartophylax* Georgios Kallomenos

⁶⁹⁶ Thus for example Theodoros Symeon is attested as *protekdikos* of Zichna only in 1310 and then as *sakelliou* only in 1329. However, the previous *protekdikos* was Theodoros Keramotos in 1310, and who in the subsequent year, in 1311, was promoted to *skeuophylax*. The next *protekdikos* Ioannes Kallomenos is only attested in 1343. It is thus logical to suppose that Theodoros Symeon served in the office of *protekdikos* for many more years than he is attested for.

(1321-1343) there was Ioannes Kallomenos *sakelliou* (1343-1355) and *sakellarios* (1356) and (probably another?) Georgios Kallomenos attested as *ypomnematographos* in 1356.⁶⁹⁷ What is more, the family names of the dignitaries of the two *metropoleis* (Serres and Zichna) are totally different, in spite of the short distance, a few kilometres, separating them. There is some evidence for marriage alliances: the man that succeeded Georgios Mourmouras, Ioannes Modenos, was his son-in-law.⁶⁹⁸ Nevertheless, in many lower offices family names only once met are very frequent. This might be due to the equally low frequency of these offices in our record. Whereas in almost every document the *primmikerios of the taboullarioi* or an *exokatakoilos* would certainly sign, some of other officials appear only in some documents and as additional witnesses in trials or in contracts. This lack of continuity is also connected to the perhaps lower social status of these people. These dignitaries would presumably receive a smaller wage and it is not improbable that they were originating from the middle class of the area.

Nonetheless despite the family tradition there appears to be a periodic renewal of the families in post around every thirty years. In Serres there are three almost contemporary Disypatoi holding office: Konstantinos Disypatos in 1356 *diepon ta dikaia of the metropolis* (in charge of the rights of metropolis),⁶⁹⁹ Ioannes Disypatos *skeuophylax* and Manouel Disypatos *archon of the monasteries* in 1365.⁷⁰⁰ The family had not previously appeared in our records. The 1360s and 1370s see the rise to high

⁶⁹⁷ The office of *ypomnematographos* is significantly inferior to the office of *chartophylax* which Georgios Kallomenos held between 1321 and 1343 and downgrading is almost absent in Byzantium, so most probably this was a second Georgios Kallomenos and not the same.

⁶⁹⁸ The wife of Georgios Mourmouras says that she has a daughter the “*sakelaraia Modene*”. Given that by then the *sakellarios* was Ioannes Modenos, most probably she was married with him.

⁶⁹⁹ Actes Prodromou (B), 310.

⁷⁰⁰ Actes Lavra III, 92.

posts of individuals, who did not have a previous tradition of ecclesiastical service. Except the family of Disypatoi we may number the *sakellarios* of Serres Theodoros Dokeianos (1375-1388), the *sakelliou* of Serres Theodoros Melaghrinos, the *protekdikos* Theodoros Melissenos in 1366, the *protekdikos* of Zichna Demetrios Skleros and the *sakelliou* Manouel Melitas in 1362. Nevertheless, long attested families like those of Koubaras, Lyzikos and Zacharias continue to be met without any interruption.

It appears that the political troubles of the time did not affect the ecclesiastical dignitaries. In Serres all the attested officials continued to serve during the first and second civil wars and well after the advent of the Serbians: Ioannes Modenos remained a *sakellarios* (1339-1354) after the Serbian occupation. In this case we happen to know that the bishop of Zichna Ioakeim actively supported Andronikos III, perhaps with the backing of the dignitaries of his Church. The same is true for the only two cases that we have for the Byzantine recapture of the area: Theodoros Koubaras remained *chartophylax* (1365-1378) and also Ioannes Zacharias in Zichna (1353-1378).

The last observation that we may draw from the tables is that, with the exception of the family of Synadenos that produced at least four individuals during the fourteenth century,⁷⁰¹ no other dignitary belonged to the high or the local military aristocracy. Even the family of Synadenos does not necessarily belong to the aristocratic family lineage of the Synadenoï, not even to the Serraian branch of Doukas Synadenos to which reference has already been made above. This observation

⁷⁰¹ Sergios Synadenos *logothetes* (1329-1334), *protekdikos* (1337-1348) and *skeuophylax* (1354); Ioannes Synadenos *ieromnemon* around 1319 and *archon of the churches* in 1323; Ioannes Synadenos *primmikerios of the taboullarioi* and *protonotarios* (1357-1360); Theodoros Synadenos *kanstrisios* in 1377.

can be confirmed by the situation both in Constantinople and Thessalonike. Very rarely did church dignitaries belong to the high or to the military aristocracy. Yet there are exceptions. The son of Theodoros Mourmouras, Xenos, was not a priest, neither were the sons of the *protopapas* (and probably *sakellarios*) Modenos. Almost one century after Konstantinos Azanites was attested as *chartophylax* and *protonotarios* in Serres, Leon Azanites figures as *kastrophylax* of Serres in 1339.⁷⁰² The family of Konstomoiros, apart from the four individuals who are attested as church officials in Zichna during the fourteenth century, includes in its ranks the *kastrophylax* of Zichna in 1349 Ioannes Konstomoiros.⁷⁰³

The origin of the wealth and financial situation of these dignitaries is unclear. They would certainly receive a wage from the bishopric/metropolis, the amount of which cannot be estimated. But the fact that they also had judicial functions must have provided them with considerable additional income from customary ‘gifts’ they received for drawing up a document or work of a similar nature. For example, it was common for ‘gifts’ to be included in testaments. Iakobos Mpalaes in his testament left one *hyperpyron* for each of the six church dignitaries (*chartophylax*, *sakelliou*, *protekdikos*, *nomophylax*, *logothetes*, *sakellarios*) and two other *hyperpyra* for the metropolitan of Zichna.⁷⁰⁴

But it seems that this civil aristocracy did not differ from the military aristocracy at least in respect of their origin of wealth. Many of them appear to have landed property. Ioannes Kallomenos was a neighbouring landowner of the *metochion* of St Anastasia,⁷⁰⁵ Ioannes and Manouel Disypatos sold 200 *modioi* of their land to

⁷⁰² Actes Prodromou (B), 285.

⁷⁰³ Actes Prodromou (B), 305.

⁷⁰⁴ Actes Prodromou (B), 277.

⁷⁰⁵ Actes Prodromou (B), 259.

the monastery of Lavra in 1365;⁷⁰⁶ the *chartophylax* of Serres Nikolaos Abalantes sold (or donated) 100 *modioi* of land to the monastery of Prodromos;⁷⁰⁷ the *protopsaltes* Ioannes Adam sold land near Serres to Chilandar⁷⁰⁸ and to Prodromos.⁷⁰⁹ The parents of the *logothetes* of Zichna Demetrios Bardas had donated some fields in Zdrabikion in exchange for an *adelphaton*.⁷¹⁰ The *protekdikos* Theodoros Zerbos is known to have owned a house in Serres.⁷¹¹

The *protopapas* Modenos possessed around 3000 *modioi* of land in the village Zdrabikion for which he had obtained before 1281 a chrysobull from the emperor granting him tax immunity. Modenos died long before 1320 when two of his sons, Michael and Ioannes, are referred to as deceased as well. The exact value of his land is unclear. Five hundred *modioi* were sold for 222 *nomismata*, some cloth fabric and an *adelphaton* in the monastery of Chilandar, whereas the third son's share of 1000 *modioi* was sold for 260 *nomismata*.⁷¹² Laiou thinks that Modenos was a village priest, an independent landowner,⁷¹³ but this is improbable. Three thousand *modioi* is a large quantity of land; several pairs of oxen and workers were needed for the cultivation. One should also remember that there was an unnamed *sakellarios* Modenos in 1298/1299 who before that date simply signed as 'priest and *klerikos*' (which simply means cleric) and that another Ioannes Modenos served later as an

⁷⁰⁶ Actes Lavra III, 92.

⁷⁰⁷ Actes Prodromou (B), 292.

⁷⁰⁸ Actes Chilandar (Petit), 199 (1323).

⁷⁰⁹ Actes Prodromou (B), 49-50 (1299).

⁷¹⁰ Actes Chilandar (Petit), 310. The document uses the word *kybernesis*, since it was reserved for their child and not them as monks.

⁷¹¹ Actes Prodromou (B), 135.

⁷¹² Actes Chilandar I, 197-200 (see also in the Corrigenda, 304 attributing the date to before 1281); Actes Chilandar (Petit), 128-131, 139-141, 155-158 and 246-250.

⁷¹³ Laiou, 'Priests and bishops', 44-45; her assumption is based on the fact that in the act Modenos is described as free from any duty of a *paroikos* and free of any tax.

ecclesiastical dignitary.⁷¹⁴ Certainly the evidence is too scarce to either identify the *sakellarios* Modenos with this *protopapas*, but the fact that a member of the Modenos family was one of ecclesiastical dignitaries should make us suspicious regarding the designation of the *protopapas* Modenos as a village priest and an independent landowner.

Iakobos Mpalaes, *protonotarios* of Kaisaropolis in 1329,⁷¹⁵ was awarded in 1328 by the emperor Andronikos III the *ktetorship* of the small monastery of St Anastasia near Zichna, in gratitude to Mpalaes' support in the first civil war. Mpalaes took care to augment the property of St Anastasia by purchasing additional land. In 1353 he drew up his testament having previously transformed the monastery into a *metochion* of St Prodromos. The property that was left to Mpalaes after the donation of the convent still consisted mostly of land, large quantities of stored crop seeds (wheat, millet, rye and cotton), beehives and oxen. Apart from one house (in a non-stated place) there is no other urban property mentioned.⁷¹⁶

The last dignitary about whose property we have enough evidence is the *sakellarios* Georgios Mourmouras (1313-1333). At some point Mourmouras founded the small monastery of St George Kryonerites, which, after his death, his wife donated to the monastery of Prodromos. The property of the monastery, enumerated by his wife in a list drawn up when the donation took place, mostly consisted of land, in total more than 500 *modioi*, a tiny part of which was purchased or donated by other people. Most of the property thus must have been the personal property of Mourmouras. Besides, his wife claims that all their property, apart from the dowry of their children,

⁷¹⁴ See the table 10a. Ioannes was also the name of one of the three sons of the priest Modenos.

However, he is referred to as deceased in 1320 so it could not be the *sakellarios* Ioannes Modenos who died shortly after 1360.

⁷¹⁵ Actes Chilandar (Petit), 248. Kaisaropolis was one of the suffragan bishoprics of Serres.

⁷¹⁶ Actes Prodromou (B), 275-277.

was given to the monastery (in addition she necessarily stipulated an annual *adelphaton* for her sustenance) and therefore Mourmouras' property was primarily a landed too.⁷¹⁷

The monasteries and the local society

The monasteries and the churches played a major role in local society and economy. They owned a significant part of the countryside and their success in extracting privileges and tax immunity from the state was making their position even more powerful. The major monastic complexes (in the fourteenth century these are the Athonite monasteries and the large monasteries of Thessalonike and Constantinople) managed to increase greatly their property until the middle of the fourteenth century. These monastic complexes were also in a far more privileged position enabling them to absorb smaller local monasteries and transform them into *metochia*. The significance of the *metochia* is that while remaining a local institution, they were protected by the power of the larger monasteries, and, secondly, they exerted influence on the local society.

This is the case of the monastery of Latomou founded by Lypenares, which was attached to Kutlumus already during the lifetime of the founder, becoming one of its *metochia*. Around 1287, Manouel Komnenos Pelargos sold his orchard in Serres to Latomou for a low price (20 *nomismata*) on behalf of his soul.⁷¹⁸ Later, problems arose and a man named Koreses appropriated the said orchard on grounds that it was given to his mother as compensation for her spent dowry. The field was returned to the monastery of Kutlumus in 1341 by a decision of the *katholikos krites*

⁷¹⁷ Actes Prodromou (B), 284-285 and 287-288.

⁷¹⁸ Actes Kutlumus, 43.

Matarangos,⁷¹⁹ but seems to have suffered again at the hands of Koreses. Many decades later, in 1375, the grandson Palaiologos Lypenares, being a monk of Kutlumus, was sent to Serres to support the monastery in this affair. As such, the ties between the family and the monastery of Kutlumus were continued and Kutlumus expected help in a local affair from a member of the local society.⁷²⁰

Theodosios Melissenos founded the monastery of St Nikolaos in Kamenikeia near Serres which soon became a *metochion* of Chilandar,⁷²¹ while the property of the *protopapas* Modenos was acquired from his inheritors by the monastery of Chilandar.⁷²² However most of Chilandar's land in the Strymon area had been acquired by imperial donation or from members of the high aristocracy of the empire and the Serbians. Among them, the village Kastrin was donated in 1277 from the despot Ioannes Palaiologos and again in 1300 from the Serbian king Milutin;⁷²³ the *metochion* of Mountzianis;⁷²⁴ the village of Malouka;⁷²⁵ the villages of Eunouchou and Leipsochorion⁷²⁶ and land in the villages of Zdrabikion, Koutzin and Georgilas.⁷²⁷ Similar is the situation for the monastery of Lavra which also obtained large property in Serres. The villages of Doxompo, Besaina and Dimyilia near Zichna are attested in a chrysobull of 1329.⁷²⁸ But from individual members of the local society Lavra made only two acquisitions: the 200 *modioi* of land sold by the two brothers Disypatoi in

⁷¹⁹ Actes Kutlumus, 89.

⁷²⁰ Actes Kutlumus, 128.

⁷²¹ Actes Chilandar (Petit), 150.

⁷²² Actes Chilandar (Petit), 128-131, 139-141, 155-158 and 246-250.

⁷²³ Actes Chilandar I, 127-128 and 177-180.

⁷²⁴ Actes Chilandar I, 171.

⁷²⁵ Actes Chilandar I, 252.

⁷²⁶ Actes Chilandar I, 256-257.

⁷²⁷ Actes Chilandar (Petit), 293.

⁷²⁸ Actes Lavra III, 6.

Bernarou⁷²⁹ and some buildings and orchards from the mother of Konstantinos Laskaris⁷³⁰. The monastery of Vatopedi found some benefactors in the local aristocracy (Maurophoros, Dryinos, Phokopoulos), but again the elite and the emperor proved the major factor.⁷³¹

The largest local monastery was undoubtedly the monastery of St Prodromos. Its landed property has been calculated by Smyrlis to much more than 27.577 *modioi* of land (see the property list in Appendix 1).⁷³² The monastery's possessions before 1320s were rather modest, but the patronage of the Serbian king and especially of the bishop of Zichna, ensured several acquisitions for the monastery. The Serbian royal family, as with other Athonite monasteries (e.g. Chilandar), took care to ask the Byzantine emperor for the confirmation of the monastery's immunity and property. At times they asked him to add more property, such as in 1317 when the estate of Monospeton was taken from the soldier Martinos and was given to the monastery of Prodromos.⁷³³ In 1329 the support given by the bishop of Zichna to Andronikos III during the civil war resulted to the addition of significant property to the monastery: the estate of Gastilengos of 4400 *modioi* was given to the monastery and in 1332-1333 two low taxes that the monastery paid were cancelled.⁷³⁴ But the *ktetorship* of the *mezas domestikos* Ioannes Kantakouzenos did not yield any recorded acquisition.

The stability, prosperity and continuity of the monastery of Prodromos were not owed to the powerful patrons but rather to its connections with local society. A

⁷²⁹ Actes de Lavra III, 91-92. Lavra owned a significant part of the village of Bernarou: Actes Lavra III, 89-90 (1365). The village was divided between the fisc, the monastery of Docheiariou and the monastery of Prodromos: see Actes de Lavra IV, 120 note 403.

⁷³⁰ Actes de Lavra III, 111 (long before 1377).

⁷³¹ See the chrysobull of 1356: Actes Vatopedi II, 261-262.

⁷³² Smyrlis, *La fortune*, 91-95.

⁷³³ Actes Prodromou (B), 372-373.

⁷³⁴ Actes Prodromou (B), 383 and 416.

great number of the local aristocracy donated part of their properties for the purchase of *adelphata*, or for the commemoration or the salvation of their souls. In general, properties donated for commemoration of the soul did not involve large plots of land, especially when the donor was not a wealthy aristocrat. Thus, Dermokaïtes, having fallen ill, gave 24 *modioi* of his land and a mill to the monastery of Prodromos, for the commemoration of himself, his brother and parents.⁷³⁵ The catalogue of the fields of the *metochion* Asomatos of the monastery of Prodromos reveals several of these acquisitions; donations could be as small as three *modioi* of land.⁷³⁶ Special deals could be struck: Ioannes Adam donated a field of 130 *modioi* to the monastery of Prodromos for the salvation of his soul, his parents' and his wife's and received only 7 *nomismata* for half of it.⁷³⁷

Although these donations contributed little by little to the augmentation of the monastery's property, it was the donations of the local aristocracy which ensured the prosperity of the monastery. Among the benefactors of the monastery we may include the *kastrophylax* of Zichna, Alexios Angelos, who donated a house in 1329;⁷³⁸ Kakodikis who donated some houses worth much more than 40 *hyperpyra*;⁷³⁹ Alexios Raoul who donated an estate;⁷⁴⁰ Alexios Asanes and Maria Asanina who donated their house in Serres.⁷⁴¹

⁷³⁵ Actes Prodromou (B), 79.

⁷³⁶ Actes Prodromou (B), 201. See Table 4 in the Appendix 2 for this list.

⁷³⁷ Actes Prodromou (B), 49-50.

⁷³⁸ Actes Prodromou (B), 168-169.

⁷³⁹ Actes Prodromou (B), 151-153. His son tried to appropriate the houses and actually sold some of them; he regretted it and the monks gave him a non-representative price of 40 *hyperpyra* to help him buy back those he had sold.

⁷⁴⁰ Actes Prodromou (B), 207-208. We do not know the exact surface of the estate but since it included abandoned lands from *paroikoi* it must have been sizeable.

⁷⁴¹ Actes Prodromou (B), 128.

Occasionally, relations between monastery and local society were reciprocal. We learn that shortly before 1305 the *apographeus* Kounales had seized the *zeugelateion* of Esphagmenou from Madarites, but the intervention of the monastery in favour of Madarites ended in a reconfirmation of his rights on the land.⁷⁴² Symeon Madarites subsequently donated 200 *modioi* of land for the care of his soul and another 400 *modioi* of land and a mill in exchange for two *adelphata* in the monastery. A few years later he sold most of his estate of Esphagmenou for 200 *nomismata* to the monastery.⁷⁴³

As was the case with Lypenares and Kutlumus, so in the case of the monastery of Prodromos, there were families that traditionally maintained links with it such as the Patrikioi. The first Patrikios donated 300 *modioi* of land to be allowed to be buried in the monastery. Later his sons exchanged this plot of land for another and in addition transformed their monastery of Theotokos Eleousa into a *metochion* of St Prodromos. One of their sons, Stephanos Patrikios, gave his own share of the estate in Ptelea in exchange for an *adelphaton* in the monastery.⁷⁴⁴

One of the most significant roles of the monastery in the Byzantine society was as refuge to old people, a medieval form of an old age home. Nevertheless, monasteries could not accept individuals easily, allowing them to be a burden on the monastery's resources. Therefore, the tradition of the *adelphaton* was established. Every individual who felt the need to assure his future old age or was about to enter the monastic life would donate some resources (mostly land) and in exchange he would receive certain fixed amounts of food and other necessities (e.g. firewood) as a

⁷⁴² Actes Prodromou (B), 60 (reference to the help of the monastery to Madarites) and 387-388 (the imperial *prostagma* confirming his possessions).

⁷⁴³ Actes Prodromou (B), 60-61.

⁷⁴⁴ Actes Prodromou (B), 73-77.

living allowance for the rest of his life. Even people with modest financial status were keen to secure for themselves an *adelphaton* for their old age. The *adelphaton* was commonly heritable and sometimes even purchasable and did not always require the actual commitment of the recipient to the monastic life. This is obvious in the case of Eirene Choumnaina Palaiologina. She donated land of 1249 *modioi* for two *adelphata*, one for her and one for a person that she would designate. As a woman, she could never enter the monastery of Prodromos, but still she would normally receive the *adelphaton* for herself, and a clause stipulated that in case she departed for Constantinople, the other designated person would continue to receive his own.⁷⁴⁵

The urban economic activities and the middle class

The evidence for the existence of a middle class in the city of Serres is meagre and not uncontroversial. Serres, an inland city, did not have access to the main trade routes of the Late Middle Ages in the Mediterranean. Still, though, its size and its situation in a large valley of agricultural production must have allowed for a degree of artisanal activity and trade. The uncle of Kassandrenos, Manouel Prebezianos, traded wool from Serres to Thessaloniki around the middle of the fourteenth century.⁷⁴⁶

In nearby Zichna, there was a Jewish community made up of around 40-50 *oikoi*. Their taxes were granted to the monastery of Prodromos by Andronikos III and

⁷⁴⁵ Actes Prodromou (B), 311-316. See also the list in Appendix 7 with all the mentioned *adelphata* in Serres, along with the quantities of good offered (when we learn about them) and the donated properties.

For the institution of the *adelphaton* see: N. Oikonomides, in Actes *Dionysiou*, 59; A.M. Talbot, 'Old age in Byzantium', *BZ* 77 (1984), 267-279 (here at 275-278); M. Živojinović, 'Аделфати у Византији и средњовековној Србији and medieval Serbia', *ZRVI* 11 (1968), 241-270 (English translation: 'The *adelphata* in Byzantium and medieval Serbia' in p. 267-270).

⁷⁴⁶ Schreiner, *Texte*, 3: 84-85.

the list of the tax payers has been preserved, even if it is incomplete. The economic condition of the Jews was weak; the average tax is almost half a *hyperpyron*, comparable only to the lowest tax rate paid by agricultural communities. Only half of the Jews owned a shop but all of them had a house. Besides, around half of them owned small vineyards (of 2-5 *modioi*).⁷⁴⁷ Given these facts, their presence in the city does not rule out the possibility that they were occupied with agriculture and not only with trade or artisanal activities. Thus, the case of Zichna raises the question whether all the attested Jewish communities, could only be connected with the urban economy and trade, as happened in Western Europe.⁷⁴⁸

Perhaps the greatest part of the city space was occupied by the monasteries and the aristocracy who rented the houses and shops to the common people. In a property inventory drafted around 1353-1355 the monastery of Prodromos owned in the city of Serres two taverns, fourteen other shops and more than five houses and house complexes, two of which included a bakery, while Kutlumus owned more than four houses and three shops around the market of the city.⁷⁴⁹ Even some aristocrats were compelled by the situation to build their houses on monastic soil and pay an annual rent.⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁷ Actes Prodromou (B), 208-209. The number of the Jewish *oikoi* is a rough estimation of mine, since the list is incomplete and has many lacunae. There are enlisted 13 *oikoi* with a total tax of around 6 nomismata. Given the fact that their total tax is known to be 20 hyperpyra, we should more than triple the number of the *oikoi*.

⁷⁴⁸ S. Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium 1204-1453* (Alabama 1985); P. Charanis, 'The Jews in the Byzantine Empire under the First Palaeologi', *Speculum* 22 (1947), 75-77; D. Jacoby, 'The Jews in the Byzantine economy', in R. Bonfil, O. Irshai, G.G. Stroumsa and R. Talgan (eds.), *Jews in Byzantium: dialectics of minority and majority cultures* (Leiden and Boston 2012), 219-257, who has stressed the importance of agriculture for the Jewish communities in the Balkans.

⁷⁴⁹ Actes Kutlumus, 86.

⁷⁵⁰ This is the case of the *oikeios* of the emperor Georgios Phokas and of the *protallagator* Konstantinos Trypommatas: Actes Prodromou (B), 145-146 and 155-156.

Although we have some evidence of existing artisanal activity in Serres we are unable to define its nature and degree, since the attribution of occupations in documents is rare. There is, thus, one reference to a Konstantinos Batatzes as goldsmith⁷⁵¹. Among the shops mentioned we find some bakeries, some taverns and some hostels which every single town would normally have, but no other reference to a specific shop.⁷⁵²

Nevertheless, many of the surnames of the shop owners, cannot be categorised among the aristocracy, but may denote a middle class community in Serres. Among these we may categorise Boïlas Kardames. In 1347 Boïlas and his wife decided to become monks and therefore they separated their property into two equal parts in exchange for two *adelphata*. The first part consisted of immovable property: a big house complex which included a yard and an arch, a bakery and another two-floored house. The second part was made up of movable property (*πράγματα ἕτερα*).⁷⁵³ Maria

⁷⁵¹ Actes Prodromou (B), 139 (*χρυσοχόος*). Just before him is mentioned as witness the *skeuophylax* of Serres as witness and Bénou, I think wrongly, identifies the *skeuophylax* with Konstantinos Batatzes. But Batatzes is never mentioned elsewhere as *skeuophylax*, Theodoros Tzemtzeas had just been promoted the year before as *skeuophylax* and I doubt if a *skeuophylax* could also be a goldsmith (*ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἐντιμώτατου σκευοφύλακος τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀγιωτάτης μητροπόλεως Σερρῶν κὺρ Κωνσταντίνου χρυσοχόου τοῦ Βατάτζη καὶ ἑτέρων*’; a comma is needed after *Σερρῶν*). In other occasions where it is more obvious and known for whom there is reference in the document, it is easier to add a comma: *παρουσία καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα εὕρισκομένων τιμιωτάτων, τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ θεοφιλέστατου ἐπισκόπου Ζιχνῶν τοῦ καὶ κτήτορος τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς, τοῦ Ραματᾶ κὺρ Ἰωάννου...*’ (Actes Prodromou (B), 60); the comma here was added necessarily; Ioannes Ramatas was not the bishop of Zichna of course.

⁷⁵² The monastery of Prodromos also owned an oil press (*τζυμιλαρεῖον*) which it demolished and instead built some houses to rent: Actes Prodromou (B), 295. Nevertheless, the Ottoman registers of mid-fifteenth century, which are more precise, suggest for Serres a picture of a city with high diversity in profession and increased artisanal activity with 113 different professions, the most common being priests (36 individuals), weavers (17 individuals), tailors (28 individuals), veil makers/sellers (34 individuals) and shoe makers (19 individuals): see Table VII in Moustakas, ‘Transition of Southeastern Macedonia’, 320-323.

⁷⁵³ Actes Prodromou (B), 149-151.

Mabelina and her son-in-law Ioannes Thryses owned at least two shops, which they sold for 60 ounces of ducats (=60 *hyperpyra*) and 34 *hyperpyra* respectively, and a vineyard of 1 *stremma* worth 6 *nomismata*.⁷⁵⁴ Other shop owners were Alexios Xiphias,⁷⁵⁵ Leon Ramboula,⁷⁵⁶ Toxaras, Alexios Kouperes, Krikelas, Ierakitzes, Glykeus.⁷⁵⁷ There were people in the city that owned their houses, as, for example, Konstantinos Georgilas and his brother Athanasios until they sold it to the monastery of Prodromos for 65 *nomismata* (see Table 17 in Appendix 7 with all the attested real estate owners in Serres).⁷⁵⁸ Certainly these cases are not proof of the existence of a middle class in Serres and Zichna, but it may be indicative.

The case of Serres strengthens the view of the Byzantine town as firmly connected with the countryside. We know, for example that in the nearby village of Monospeton some inhabitants of Serres rented vineyards from the Prodromos monastery.⁷⁵⁹ But the Byzantine city did not serve as a refuge for those of servile, as happened in many areas of western Europe. In fact, some of the *paroikoi* of the monastery of Prodromos resided in the town of Zichna. In 1339 at least two inhabitants of Zichna are listed as *paroikoi* of the monastery. They both own vineyards and one of them own additionally some trees and two other *paroikoi* listed in two nearby villages had houses within the town's walls. Two more *paroikoi* of the monastery are listed in Serres. The one had only a vineyard of 4 *modioi* in his possession and the other owned one vineyard and three houses.⁷⁶⁰ There is another list

⁷⁵⁴ Actes Prodromou (B), 131-132 (1330) and 135-136 (1314).

⁷⁵⁵ Actes Prodromou (B), 137-138 (1343). Nonetheless there is a *stratiotes* Niketas Xiphias in 1303 but we cannot establish any connection between them.

⁷⁵⁶ Actes Prodromou (B), 133-134 (1310).

⁷⁵⁷ Actes Prodromou (B), 292-294.

⁷⁵⁸ Actes Prodromou (B), 129-130.

⁷⁵⁹ Actes Prodromou (B), 345.

⁷⁶⁰ Actes Prodromou (B), 352-353.

of eleven *paroikoi* of the monastery, probably from Zichna. The *paroikoi* here own not only large vineyards but also some domestic animals (oxen, mules), houses (one of which is described to include a yard and another as built from the *paroikos* itself) and one of them actually owns a field of 10 *modioi*.⁷⁶¹

Social relations in the countryside of the lower Strymon

The evidence from the countryside of Serres suggests a picture similar to the rest of the empire. The local aristocracy and the monasteries own land that they have acquired through sales or donations or imperial gifts. Most of the peasants are *paroikoi* of either the monasteries or the great landlords. One of the most striking factors is the fragmentation of land. The cases of mixed ownership villages are perhaps even more numerous than those where villages are exclusively owned by a single landlord. In addition to the large unified estates of even hundreds or thousands of *modioi* of land, there is extremely fragmented land. The evidence for the land of the *metochion* Asomatos is astonishing. It was made up of 90 different plots of land in a total surface of 1580 *modioi*. If we exclude an estate of 900 *modioi*, the average surface of the fields is around 8 *modioi*.⁷⁶² The evidence from the few detailed descriptions of peasants' *staseis* of the *metochion* of Trilission is not different; 7 different peasants had fields of a total surface of 227 *modioi*, i.e. an average of around 32 *modioi* for each one. These 227 *modioi* of land were made up of 32 different fields, the largest of which was 20 *modioi*, thus making an average of around 7 *modioi* for

⁷⁶¹ Actes Prodromou (B), 296. Smyrlis gives the hypothesis that it concerns Zichna with some uncertainty: see his table in p. 266.

⁷⁶² Actes Prodromou (B), 86. See Table 1 in Appendix 1.

each field.⁷⁶³ Occasionally, the reverse can be observed: the unification of small neighbour plots of land into a large estate. This is the case of Theodora Kantakouzene in the winter of 1337-1338: she bought 110 neighbouring plots of land of a total surface of 1366 *modioi*; excluding a field of 700 *modioi*, the average surface of the rest was around 6 *modioi*.⁷⁶⁴

There are several communities around the area of Strymon for which we have enough evidence for the financial situation of the peasants. The picture they give us is far from a unified one; the financial situation and the property type of the peasants vary. The factors which contributed to these divergences could well be the location of the village (on a mountain or on a plain), but also on other factors such as the means of the village acquisition from the landlord.

Starting with the village community of Kato Ouska,⁷⁶⁵ we will observe that before 1341 there are attested at least five large proprietors in the village: the

⁷⁶³ Actes Prodromou (B), 239-240. The list of Trilision (no. 141) is problematic; none of the 7 mentioned *staseis* can be identified with the *praktikon* of 1341, except perhaps the *stasis* of Georgios Kophitas (there is one Georgios Kouphotas in the *praktikon*) and even so there is significant diversity between the two acts (in the *praktikon* he has 58 *modioi* of land and a mill but in the list only 42 *modioi* of land). In addition, none of the neighbours of the 7 *staseis* is identifiable with anyone in the *praktikon*. The list is not a fragment though and it is included in the folio of the *metochion* Trilision; it may concern a different community belonging to the *metochion*. Besides, also the act before (no.140) which is a list of the private fields of the monasteries includes a total of 270 *modioi*, whereas in the *praktikon* 450 *modioi* of private land of the monastery plus a pasture land (*πλανήνην*) are mentioned. The *metochion* of Trilision had *paroikoi* not only in the homonymous village but also in the village of Oxea (p. 235). Whereas the *praktikon* is safely dated to May 1341, the two lists of the fields are undated; yet Bénou assumes that both lists accompanied the *praktikon*. This could be true but they cannot concern the community of Trilision.

⁷⁶⁴ Actes Vatopedi II, 99-148.

⁷⁶⁵ For all the villages mentioned here see the detailed Tables in Appendix 2 (Tables 2a-2k and 3). The tables include the properties of the *paroikoi* in all attested *praktika* (apart from Radolibos which has been examined by Lefort) from the area under analysis.

etaireiarches (Ioannes Margarites), the *protasekretis* (probably Leon Bardales),⁷⁶⁶ Zarides (who owned some *staseis* in Kato Ouska),⁷⁶⁷ the monastery of St Prodomos and the *oikeios* of Dušan Demetrios Bastralites, who in 1353 donated to the monastery all his land in Kato Ouska.⁷⁶⁸ In the *praktikon* drafted after 1342 from Kato Ouska there are enumerated 23 *staseis* of *paroikoi*, 6 of which have been declared abandoned. The total tax is 43.65 *hyperpyra* (an average of 2 *hyperpyra* for each peasant), the *paroikoi* own land of 1306 *modioi* (i.e. an average of around 58 *modioi*), vineyards of 48.33 *modioi* (i.e. an average of more than 2 *modioi* each), 10 pairs of oxen, 19 cows, 5 mules and 26 pigs.⁷⁶⁹

Somewhat different is the situation in Monospeton. In contrast to Kato Ouska the peasants here own significantly less land (an average of around 22 *modioi*) but this

⁷⁶⁶ Attested as neighbour in some peasants' fields: Actes Prodromou (B), 251 and 253.

⁷⁶⁷ Actes Prodromou (B), 245. His *staseis* were given to Ioannes Margarites after his death. Margarites donated them, apart from one, to the monastery of Prodomos.

⁷⁶⁸ Actes Prodromou (B), 245-246.

⁷⁶⁹ There are 4 lists and *praktika* for Kato Ouska. The first list (the newest) no.142 is drafted after 1345 since it mentions the purchase of 7 *staseis* (the *staseis* of Basileios Mauros, Paloukes, Tzazaris, Mountounis, Aphratis, his brother Petrokatalytes and of the widow Katzibelia) and the donation of others by the then monk Ioannes (Joasaph) Margarites; Margarites was granted in 1342 the right to transmit and sell his property by Ioannes V (p. 400-401) but he did not become monk before 1345. The second is a *praktikon* of the *paroikoi* of Kato Ouska (no. 186) drafted before the purchase of the 7 *staseis* (since none of them is encountered) but certainly not long before 1339-1341, when the third act (no. 181), a *praktikon*, was drafted and includes only 6 from the 23 *staseis* (or the 18 if we exclude the 5 abandoned) of the *praktikon* no. 186 (all 6 *paroikoi* own almost identical property between the two *praktika* and so the act no.181 cannot be very old). The fourth act (no.146) poses some problems; it is a list of the fields of the monastery's *paroikoi* of Kato Ouska and of the monastery's private fields but it is not dated. It must be the oldest of all, yet not too old. It includes 15 *staseis* of *paroikoi*, 9 of whom can be identified with the *praktikon* no. 181. However, the *stasis* of Pyros is not mentioned here as *exalleimatike*, unlike the *praktikon* no. 181 and the list no.142; the *stasis* of Tzagarina is enlisted in the *praktikon* no.181 under her son-in-law Rosos. Nonetheless, on the other hand, there is mention of the abandoned *stasis* of Katzibelia, which (if it is identical) was donated after 1342 by Margarites. It cannot have been drafted after the act no.142, because none of the *staseis* purchased by Margarites are mentioned.

is counterbalanced by a significant increase of the vineyards (three times more than in Kato Ouska), by the possession of 187 goats and 44 beehives and of three times more cows than Kato Ouska. These differences must be related to the different position of Monospeton, on the mountains slopes. As such the peasants needed fewer oxen to cultivate their fields: they own only 8 oxen (in contrast to 18 in Kato Ouska), whereas at the same moment they could profit from some trees and orchards.⁷⁷⁰ The economy is even more dependent on livestock in Politzos/Topoltzos. The 17 *staseis* of peasants pay in total only 14.66 *hyperpyra* (less than 1 *hyperpyron* average tax to each stasis). The *paroikoi* own no land and even less oxen; but this is counterbalanced to an extent by the possession of 260 sheep (the largest flock being 80 sheep).⁷⁷¹ The village of Doxompo by the lake of Achinos was a very rich village. The 3000 *modioi* demesne land (the peasants own no land apart from vineyards) was not sufficient for the 117 families (i.e around 25 *modioi* for each one), but they profited from the fishing in the lake. As a result, most of the peasants own some fishing ships (*καράβια*) and nets (*βιβάρια*) and more than half of the income of the monastery of Lavra derived from taxes on fishing and trade (350 *hyperpyra* from the total 662).⁷⁷²

The village communities of Lakkoi and Geranitza are included in the limits (*περιορισμός*) of the monastery of St Prodomos itself. The peculiarity of these villages is that the peasants are designated as ‘poor’ and they are without land both in the *praktikon* of 1341⁷⁷³ and in the older chrysobull of 1309.⁷⁷⁴ Most of the villagers

⁷⁷⁰ Monospeton can perhaps be identified to modern Agio Pneuma, 12km east of Serres. There are three lists of the peasants in Monospeton. The first was drafted by the *protokynegos* Ioannes Batatzes in 1339 (p. 337-339). The other two are identical between them (p. 343-345 and 348-350) and were drafted shortly afterwards since the differences are minimal with the *praktikon* of Batatzes.

⁷⁷¹ I have included the sole *stasis* from the village community of Maurobounion, since it is included in the *praktikon* and might be neighbour to Politzos.

⁷⁷² Actes Lavra II, 163-171.

⁷⁷³ Actes Prodromou (B), 340-341.

own no property and when they do, this is limited to a few animals and small vineyards. As a result the largest tax recorded is 1 *nomisma* and in fact the average is below 0.5 *nomisma*, since most of them pay around 0.33.⁷⁷⁵ Thus the difference on the peasants' properties was not an effect of the location of the village but rather in the way it was created through the settlement of some poor newcomers.

In the village of Eunouchou, despite the fact that the village was situated in a fertile plateau, the peasants owned no land. The reason is the means by which Chilandar acquired the village: it was donated with all its land and inhabitants. Therefore the peasants' land (if they had any before) was taken by the monastery as monastic land and the peasants would cultivate it with leased or paid work, even if before they actually owned some land in the village. The vineyards and gardens that they appear to own in the *praktikon* must have been acquired through *emphyteusis* contract. This did not prevent them from owning oxen and in fact Eunouchou has the highest attested rate of oxen possession in comparison to all other villages.⁷⁷⁶ Elsewhere the landlord attributed land to the peasants. Thus in Chotolibos the monastery had provided to some peasants with land which is specifically described as land from attribution (*παράδοσις*). Seven *oikoi* had this land the total surface of which was 150 *modioi* and they were not taxed on it: they all pay proportionally less tax than the other villagers.⁷⁷⁷ Presumably they must have rented it out from the monastery or there was some kind other of contract.

⁷⁷⁴ Actes Prodromou (B), 370.

⁷⁷⁵ Actes Prodromou (B), 355-357. It has, however, many lacunae and is perhaps incomplete. Nonetheless most *staseis* are recorded since we also have a list of their names in the *praktikon* no.181 (p. 341) of 1341 (again with some lacunae).

⁷⁷⁶ Actes Chilandar I, 257-258.

⁷⁷⁷ See also Lefort in Actes Vatopedi I, 62, who says that this attributed land must have been abandoned before.

The village of Semaltos has also some peculiarities which are not connected either with the way the monastery acquired the village or its localisation but rather with local family customs. There are enumerated eighteen *staseis* (plus one *stasis* missing) but most of them are united between two or even three related *oikoi*.⁷⁷⁸ If we divide the possessions according to the number of the taxpaying units, which are only nine, then we arrive at a much larger average *oikos*: 45 *modioi* of land, 6.33 *modioi* of vineyard, 3 oxen and something more than 1.5 cows, paying in average 2.72 *hyperpyra*. However, since the number of the members of each taxpaying unit is almost double, then the results compared to the other villages, would show a rather modest if not poor village.⁷⁷⁹

The situation in Serres differs from that in Chalkidike, where the *praktika* of the Athonite monasteries in the vast majority of the villages preserve no land for the peasants.⁷⁸⁰ In general here, in most villages, the peasants own some land which could be even larger (in total) than the land possessed by the landlord, as in Kato Ouska. The prosperity of a peasant can only be a matter of speculation. We cannot know how

⁷⁷⁸ For example one entry goes: 'Tomprikas the son of Theodoros has wife Anna, mother Theodora, sisters Maria and Zoe, 1 ox, 2 cows; together with him, his brother Basileios has wife Zoe, sister Maria, a house, 1 ox, together with them, Michael Tzagkares the son-in-law of the widow Kyrismia has wife Maria, son Xenos, house, and all (?) of them have the 2/3 from their paternal *stasis*: vineyard of 6.5 *modioi* and land of 55 *modioi*, tax 3 *hyperpyra*'. Not only are there brothers, parents, sisters included, but also another former (?) *oikos* has been included. For this phenomenon see J. Lefort, 'La transmission des biens en milieu paysan dans la première moitié du XIVE siècle en Macedoine', in G. Dagron and J. Beaucamp (eds.), *La transmission du patrimoine. Byzance et l'aire méditerranéenne* (Paris 1998), 161-177 (here at 163-165).

⁷⁷⁹ Actes Vatopedi II, 66.

⁷⁸⁰ From the 32 village communities analysed by Laiou only in nine is there peasants' land and it is always much less than the private land of the landlord (mostly the Athonite monasteries); from these nine communities one is situated in Thrace (Mamitzon) and other three are in the area of Strymon (Laiou, *Peasant society*, see the table in 39-41). Since then many other *praktika* have been published that were not available to her (Doxompo, Semaltos, Zabarnikeia, Chotolibos etc.).

a peasant of these times lived and neither can we draw a comparison to other pre-modern societies. Tax is not a safe guide since it is definite that not all the peasants' property was taxed and in each village there might be a different tax rate. For example, in Politzos the standard tax was only 1/6 of *hyperpyron* (see the *staseis* nos. 6-8 and 13-16) whereas in Prevista 0,5 of a *hyperpyron* (see the *staseis* nos. 8, 54, 61, 70). Lefort has calculated that in Radolibos, apart from a standard tax only land and vineyards were taxed.⁷⁸¹ But in Politzos it is certain that sheep are taxed and perhaps cows and mules (see nos. 11 and 17 which include no other property). Moreover, the tax is not levied at the same rate; unknown factors might play a role. For example, we cannot know why in Prevista *stasis* no.4 pays the same tax as *stasis* no.5, although its property is significantly less (0,66 to 6,5 *modioi* vineyards, 50 to 100 *modioi* land, 3 to 8 goats and 15 to 25 sheep).

A family which owned two (usually untaxed) cows or five to six goats would be assured of its half daily nutrition (milk and cheese). But, for most of them, land was not sufficient. Lefort has calculated that a peasant with 80 *modioi* of land and one pair of oxen would have a surplus of 4.6 *hyperpyra*, enough to buy sufficient other commodities (cloth, wine, meat etc.) for his family.⁷⁸² But this size of holding is rarely observable in Serres. Most of the peasants would have to rent out land from the landlord or work for a wage in the fields. There are indeed some who far exceeded this minimum. In Prevista, for example, at least 10 of the 70 *staseis* exceed Lefort's figure.⁷⁸³ But Prevista, along with Kato Ouska and Monospeton, are exceptional in

⁷⁸¹ Lefort in Actes Vatopedi II, 152. See also Laiou, *Peasant society*, 176-181.

⁷⁸² Lefort, 'Rural economy', 299-303. This figure is for land half-first half-second quality and after tax, the grain consumption for the family and, at the same time, assuming that only 5/8 of the total land was cultivated and that a part of the the harvest was reserved as next year's seed.

⁷⁸³ Including of course all other property they have: goats, sheep, cows, oxen and vineyards which increase their income.

terms of a peasant's property. In all other villages the peasant property is rather modest.

This wealth is not evenly distributed among the peasants. The peasant's holdings often are very diverse. The density of this phenomenon can be numerically observed via the so-called Gini coefficient (the lower is the figure the less inequality exists).⁷⁸⁴ Usually the vineyards are relatively evenly distributed (an average of 41% inequality) but the distribution of fields and animals is more unequal. The coefficient grows especially in the possession of sheep and goats (78%). However, it decreases again in the tax of the *staseis* (39%), which is a correlation of the aforementioned discrepancies in tax rates, but also of the modesty of a peasant's holding. These figures would appear more significant when we consider that within the confines of a village the population has the same social status (*paroikoi*). If the landlord is introduced into the calculation then the distribution at least for land would grow significantly. In Previsa, for example, where half of the village's land is owned by the landlord the inequality index (Gini index) among peasants would grow from 42 to 68%.⁷⁸⁵

⁷⁸⁴ See C. Gini, 'Concentration and dependency ratios', *Rivista di Politica Economica* 87 (1997), 769-789 (English translation). The Gini index measures the degree of the unequal distribution of wealth. It ranges between 0 and 1 but it can also be represented with a percentage, as I did here. The two extremes cannot be met in real economy. A Gini coefficient of 0 would mean that the wealth is distributed equally to all the population (e.g. each of 10 families own one of the total 10 cows) and a Gini coefficient of 1 would mean that the whole wealth is owned by a single person (one family owns all the cows).

The Gini coefficient is still in use today for the measurement of wealth inequality. It has been used for late Byzantine Macedonia by A. Laiou, *Peasant society*, 164-175, who drafted a visual representation of it, the so-called 'Lorenz curve'. The Lorenz curve, which has not been used here, can visualise not only inequality, but also the trend and the intensity of the inequality (especially in large populations), something that cannot be observed simply with a Gini coefficient.

⁷⁸⁵ See also above p. 168-169 my hypothetical calculations that the landlord in Previsa has as much income as all the 70 *staseis* of *paroikoi* together.

The area of Strymon contains some evidence regarding the right of the *paroikoi* to sell their fields freely. In Kato Ouska we have the advantage of knowing exactly who the *paroikoi* of the monastery were and who they were not at a particular time. The field list of the *paroikoi*, drafted some time before 1341, includes 15 *staseis* of *paroikoi*, most of whom are identifiable with the *praktikon* of post 1342. In many *staseis* the fraction that had been acquired through purchase from the peasant forms a significant part: in Momtzilas' *stasis* out of the 222 *modioi*, 86 were acquired by sale (1.1-13). The main observation though is that most of the vendors are never attested as *paroikoi* of the monastery.⁷⁸⁶ More specifically, some *paroikoi* had bought land from *staseis* that the monastery acquired much later, when Margarites sold them to the monastery; so they were still Margarites' *paroikoi*. Momtzilas had bought land from Aphratas (1.2) and Niketas Schoinas held a vineyard of 1.5 *modios* as dowry again from a certain Mauros: again Aphratas and Mauros are not included in the *paroikoi* of Margarites.⁷⁸⁷

It is improbable that the landlord could sufficiently observe each of the transactions of his *paroikoi* and provide his consent, especially since here we are dealing only with a small fraction of the total transactions. Dowry was a most common way of transmitting property between the *paroikoi* of different landlords, especially when the village as a whole was not in the possession of a single landlord, as in Kato Ouska. Even though the whole village of Radolibos had belonged to the

In order to understand these coefficients it should be mentioned that the lowest Gini coefficient for the distribution of wealth today (data for 2005) can be observed for Sweden (20.1%), while in Brazil it is 56.4%, United Kingdom 34% and in Greece 33%.

⁷⁸⁶ Actes Prodromou (B), 250-255: Tourkos (1.4), Nikoulitzas (1.4), Marinos (1.5), Sympinos (1.6,9,11), Rousinos (1.9,22), Diakos (1.11), the 'paroikos Amnon' (or the 'paroikos of Amnon') (1.10), Stephanitzes (1.48), Kokkinos (1.51).

⁷⁸⁷ Actes Prodromou (B), 363 (1.16).

monastery of Iviron since the eleventh century, a *paroikos* named Ioannes Makres from Semaltos had a vineyard in Radolibos for which he was now paying the tax to Vatopedi.⁷⁸⁸ The two monasteries may have had an agreement, but could they closely control each transaction, especially in villages of mixed landlord ownership, like for example in Maurobounion, where the monastery of Prodromos owned a single *paroikos*?

There was free peasantry in Strymon too. In the village of Gastilengos in 1333 Manouel Maroules sold his 500 *modioi* of land, all the land which he owned, to the monastery of Prodromos. Its value was estimated at 107 *nomismata* and it is too large to belong to a simple *paroikos*.⁷⁸⁹ Theodoros Berroiotes sold some fallow land to Georgios Komnenos Patrikios. The lower social status of Berroiotes can be confirmed by the fact that he calls Patrikios ‘most noble’ (*πανευγενέστατος*). Patrikios, however, is not the lord of Berroiotes; he is just a neighbouring landowner (*πλησιαστής*) among others (Amasianos, Kontobrakes and Stephanos the *paroikos* of Komnenos Laskaris).⁷⁹⁰ It would have been stressed in the document, if the purchase was made from a *paroikos* of another lord. Thus, when Philippos Arabantenos drafted his testament he stated that he had bought a certain vineyard ‘from his sister and from one of her *paroikoi*’.⁷⁹¹ This means either that he paid money to both for the vineyard or his sister simply gave her consent for this sale.

⁷⁸⁸ Actes Vatopedi II, 66 (1.62-63). For much more similar cases see for example the case of the village Sarantarea in Chalkidike, owned by the monastery of Chilandar, in which many of the *paroikoi* owned vineyards, either through dowry or through purchases, and were paying tax to other lords: Actes Lavra II, 223-276, while the *paroikoi* of the monastery had sold to ‘certain Thessaloniceans’, some of their vineyards; these Thessaloniceans would know pay the *paroikiko telos*, i.e. the tax of a *paroikos*.

⁷⁸⁹ Actes Prodromou (B), 78-79.

⁷⁹⁰ Actes Prodromou (B), 95-97.

⁷⁹¹ Actes Prodromou (B), 124.

In March 1340 Makarios Kozeakos, shortly before his death, drafted his testament converting the small monastery that he had founded in the vicinity of Zichna into a *metochion* of the monastery of St Anastasia of Iakobos Mpalaes. The property that he gave to the monastery consisted of 2/3 of a vineyard that he had planted with his brother (the other 1/3 was left to his brother) and a field that he bought from a man named Solaris. The only other property that he had at the time of his testament were three beehives, his house and 20 *modioi* of seeds which he left to his wife. What happened next is of particular importance. As soon as Theodoros Kaballarios Ntekalabrias learned about the act, he claimed a right on the vineyard. He objected that he had given to Kozeakos the surrounding fields in order to build the monastery. Mpalaes, the abbot of St Anastasia, tried to convince him to give back the vineyard. In the end, Ntekalabrias reached an agreement and let the brother of Kozeakos have the one third, donated the other third to St Anastasia and sold the last third to the same monastery.⁷⁹² It is possible that Kozeakos, given his modest means, was a *paroikos* of Ntekalabrias and as such the latter had the right to annul his testament. But most probably here we have to do with a leased contract (*emphyteusis*) of the vineyard and on this contract Ntekalabrias bases his claims. Consequently, most likely Kozeakos was a free peasant.⁷⁹³

He is not the only one who owned land and was possibly free. We are in a position to identify other free small-holders who sell their fields and do not appear to be *paroikoi*. Laiou claims that most of the peasants that appear to sell plots of land, even though they claim to hold the land by heredity and in full possession, and

⁷⁹² Actes Prodromou (B), 262-265.

⁷⁹³ Even if he is a *paroikos* of Ntekalabrias, it is interesting the fact that he had the right to buy land from Solaris, who was not in turn, a *paroikos* of Ntekalabrias (since Ntekalabrias did not claim this field).

although it is never stated whether the vendor is a *paroikos* or not, in the end turned out to be *paroikoi* of the monastery.⁷⁹⁴ Nevertheless this cannot always be so and in fact we have some evidence to the contrary. For example, the case of Leon Tzagkaropoulos: in 1298, when the Prodomos monastery's landed property was limited to a few lands and owned only some poor *paroikoi* near the monastery,⁷⁹⁵ Leon Tzagkaropoulos donated his field of 40 *modioi* for the care of his own, his parents' and his wife's souls. The field was owned by him through hereditary possession and was situated between the state land and the land of Pelargos. In fact, however, Leon received 9 *nomismata* for half of the field 'because he was poor'.⁷⁹⁶

In 1321 the monastery of Prodomos acquired the *metochion* of St Michael Asomatos near the village Zelichova. According to the detailed *chrysobull* of 1321 the *metochion* owned only three mills and another church there. It is difficult thus to suppose that it actually had *paroikoi* in the village. Within a few years (1321-1332) the monastery acquired through sales and donations a large area of land (more than 1391 *modioi*). In the field list we possess it seems to have acquired its fields through small individual sales and donations from landowners.⁷⁹⁷ Some of them belonged to the aristocracy, like the *sebastos* (Konstantinos) Achyraïtes. But most of them are completely unknown to us. Some *may* actually be *paroikoi* of other landlords of the area but equally they *may* be free landowners. More obviously, in some cases when

⁷⁹⁴ Laiou, *Peasant society*, 183-184.

⁷⁹⁵ In the *chrysobull* of 1309 (Actes Prodomou (B), 369-371) it owns the *paroikoi* of Lakkoi and Geranitza, 7 mills, 3 shops, 30 *modioi* of vineyards, 2 *modioi* orchard and another 2 *modioi* garden in and around Serres, 1400 *modioi* of land in Kosna, Neochorion and Kisterna and some churches here and there. The list seems very detailed and no other estates are mentioned.

⁷⁹⁶ Actes Prodomou (B), 48-49.

⁷⁹⁷ See the names in Table 1 in the Appendix 1.

the donation was made by a landlord, it was specifically stated that the field came from the ‘*stasis* of N/A’.⁷⁹⁸

Society in Serres, thus, does not differ greatly from the rest of the empire, even though special trends can be identified. In the countryside the analysis of social relations makes it possible to observe traits common with the rest of the empire, like the fact that the majority of the peasants had the status of *paroikoi* and most land was owned by the great landowners. Nevertheless, the publication of more *praktika* and the comparison with different or even neighbouring villages showed that the situation was far from uniform. In many villages peasants do own some land and some of them are prosperous, at least compared to the majority of the *paroikoi*: they possess land of more than 100 *modioi*. But wealth inequality is also apparent in these small village societies, even if the peasants share the status of a *paroikos*. Moreover, peasant society was not made only of *paroikoi*, but a small segment of the population was free peasantry.

There were three categories of aristocracy present in the area: the high aristocracy of the empire, which owned its estates in the area but usually did not reside there; the local military aristocracy which also owned large estates but whose land possessions cannot be compared with those of the elite in terms of size; and lastly, the local civil aristocracy, which in essence was an ecclesiastical aristocracy.

⁷⁹⁸ A fraction of these sale acts have been preserved in the archives of the Codex B of the monastery of Prodromos (p. 157-189), the vast majority comes from the year 1329. The list of the fields of Asomatos is reproduced in Actes Prodromou (B), 190-194 and was drafted probably shortly before 1329, since it does not include some of the fields of the former 35 sale and donation documents.

The lay local aristocracy does not seem to have come in conflict with the state authority. As such, local society was not involved much in the play of power in the empire nor did it have significant titles and posts. But it evolved differently from the state and this is also reflected in the evolution of the power and the property of a large provincial monastery like the monastery of Prodromos, the growth of which was not so much due to imperial intervention (as in the case of the Athonite monasteries), but rather thanks to the support of local society. When the time for choice came in 1345, it was easy for the local aristocracy to reject Byzantine authority and instead go over to the Serbians. The failure of the state to understand this evolution, the decentralisation process, a social and, not only, a political game, was the fatal blow to the empire. Nevertheless, it was not a failure for local society. The incorporation came with ease and local society actually profited from it, occupying governmental posts that only seldom were attributed to them by the Byzantine emperor. Serres is only an example but perhaps the situation was the same in most of the empire. The different religion of the Turks who were established in the area in the 1380s made things more complex, but still the incorporation was mostly successful, as the example of the *timar*-holder Laskaris, shortly after the Ottoman conquest shows.⁷⁹⁹

⁷⁹⁹ Moustakas, 'Pronoia of Laskaris'.

B. THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE SECOND CIVIL WAR (1341-1356)

The second civil war presents a unique case both for the analysis of ‘circles’ of followers and for the question whether there existed in late Byzantium a kind of class conscience. After World War II a large volume of scholarly literature developed for the second civil war. The origins can be traced back to O. Tafrali and his treatment of the Zealot revolt. With his vivid account and the translation of selected passages from a then unpublished treatise of Nikolaos Kabasilas, he built up the picture of a social revolt.⁸⁰⁰ The culmination of this theory came from K.-P. Matschke in 1971, who was writing in East Berlin, in his book *Fortschritt und Reaktion in Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert*, a ‘marxistische Arbeit’.⁸⁰¹ In this theory Kantakouzenos’ party represented the high aristocracy, the magnates and a sizeable portion of the army. His policy both during his reign and during the war was directed in favour of them. On the other side, the regency was not so homogenous, but embraced many different social layers. The leading faction of the regency party consisted of an aristocratic clique of members of the bureaucracy of low birth. Their supporters came from a small fraction of the army, i.e. the lower soldiers not the officials, the middle classes of the cities and especially the lower layers of society. The regency is, thus, supposed to have initiated a policy favourable to these social layers and especially to the middle classes: it orientated Byzantium to the sea, clashed with the Genoese, confiscated the property of

⁸⁰⁰ O. Tafrali, *Thessalonique au quatorzième siècle* (Paris 1913), 225-272 (see also the comments in the Preface by Ch. Diehl).

⁸⁰¹ What follows is a summary of Matschke and of the Marxist school.

the high aristocracy and gave it to 'new' men. As soon as the common people of the cities learned that Kantakouzenos was proclaimed emperor in Didymoteichon, they 'spontaneously' revolted, first in Thrace and afterwards in Macedonia, against the aristocrat supporters of Kantakouzenos, confiscated their properties and drove them out of the cities. In Thessalonike the movement, led by the Zealot party and the seamen, radicalised soon afterwards in 1345, when they expelled most of the remaining aristocracy and took over the government of the city independently from the central government. The regency after the death of Apokaukos in 1345 seems to have been 'democratised' by admitting more people to the leading clique of the officials. But they do not seem to have been as keen as Apokaukos for radical changes and soon they lost contact with the lower classes. As a result, most cities accepted Kantakouzenos back, since the populace remained passive. The alliance of Kantakouzenos with the Turks proved decisive to his victory. Only some cities on the coasts of Thrace, being trade ports and having a larger element of middle classes, maintained their support for the regency even after the victory of Kantakouzenos, unlike the cities of inner Thrace. Additionally it seems that even the rural populace fought in some cases against Kantakouzenos. Kantakouzenos adopted Hesychasm as his ideological weapon, by presenting it as a patriotic movement, against the Western and more 'popular' movement of anti-Palamism.⁸⁰²

⁸⁰² Despite the voluminous literature there is no detailed account of the events of the second civil war, apart from narrations integrated in general surveys of Byzantine history (Nicol, Ostrogorsky etc.). The first Marxist treatise of the second civil war was by the Soviet M.V. Levchenko, *Byzance: dès origines à 1453* (French translation by P. Mabille) (Paris 1949), 276-283; Ostrogorsky, *History*, 455-463. Of more specific nature, but at the same time producing a coherent picture of a Marxist historian: E. Françes, 'Народные движения осенью 1354 г. в Константинополе и отречение Иоанна Кантакузина', *ВВ* 25 (1964), 142-147. The most interesting topic for the Marxists was the Zealot revolt, for the literature of which see in the Appendix 4.

Non-marxist Byzantinists, like Charanis, Beck, Kyrris and Bosl have noted the increase of the power of the people in the Byzantine Empire of the fourteenth century; people seemed then to count as political force, as in the early Byzantine period.⁸⁰³ Charanis recognised the existence of popular movements in the cities during the civil war but preferred to explain them in terms of the ‘constitutional rights of the people’, who retained their right to elect the emperor and not as class struggle. He did not deny that the supporters of Kantakouzenos came mostly from the ranks of the aristocracy and that the ‘deplorable living conditions’ of the populace contributed to the strife.⁸⁰⁴ In fact, there were many popular movements in Europe in the course of the fourteenth century and, especially, a contemporary movement in Genoa, which expelled the patriciate of the city from the government for a few years.⁸⁰⁵ However, this line of thought was criticised by Ševčenko. It seems that the Genoese were not involved directly with the Zealot revolt, since their very presence at that time was probably extremely limited.⁸⁰⁶

In 1969 Weiss published his study of Ioannes Kantakouzenos. It is not a biography but rather a socio-political study. He tried to set up the persons that belonged to each opposing party (Kantakouzenists – anti-Kantakouzenists and Palamites – anti-Palamites) and to present Kantakouzenos in the context of Byzantine society: the vertical social ties that had developed around an aristocrat (the

⁸⁰³ Beck, ‘Senat und Volk’, 22 ff.; K. Bosl, ‘Wünsche der Mediävistik an die Byzantinistik’, *BF* 1 (1966), 30-48; K.P. Kyrris, ‘The political organisation of the Byzantine urban classes between 1204 and 1341’, *Liber memorialis Antonio Era. Études présentées à la Commission Internationale pour l’Histoire des Assemblées d’Etats XXVI* (Brussels 1963), 21-31.

⁸⁰⁴ P. Charanis, ‘Internal strife at Byzantium in the fourteenth century’, *Byzantion* 15 (1941), 208-230. Following Tafrali, Charanis also attributes an influence of Western Europe on the revolts due to trade.

⁸⁰⁵ First Tafrali, *Thessalonique*, 256, attributed influence of the Zealots from Genoa.

⁸⁰⁶ I. Ševčenko, ‘The Zealot revolution and the supposed Genoese colony in Thessalonica’, in *Προσφορά εις Στίλπωνα Κυριακίδη* (Thessaloniki 1953), 603-617.

Gefolgschaftswesen), the *people* and Kantakouzenos and his ties with the Hesychasts. Whereas he asserts that the regency had no political program, and he is doubtful of an identification of the aristocracy with the Kantakouzenists, he believes that the allegiance of the common people to a large degree was determined by the identification of Kantakouzenos as an aristocrat.⁸⁰⁷ Although the results of Weiss are significant, especially for the internal structure of the two parties, his analysis is along traditional lines in identifying social roots in the popular movements in the cities; this is not the case, as will be argued here. Since then, the treatment of the second civil war by modern scholars has remained along the main lines set by Matschke: the high landowning aristocracy against the civil aristocracy and the ‘new men’ and the people against the aristocracy. The policy of the regency represented an abortive effort towards a state orientated to trade and not to land.⁸⁰⁸

⁸⁰⁷ Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*, 83-85: ‘Es gab kein soziales Program der Palaiologenpartei. [...] Vor allem aber war [for the people] der Kantakouzenos der Exponent einer Oberschicht, die im Gegensatz zum Volk stand’.

⁸⁰⁸ See, for example, Barker, ‘Late Byzantine Thessalonike’, 16 and 19-20: ‘The notables (aristocratic or otherwise) and powerful (*δυνατοί*) tended generally (if not totally) to support the aristocrat Kantakouzenos and the populace (*δημος*) generally supported the legitimate Palaiologan dynast [...] The Zealots *might* indeed have had radical ideas: they *may* have sought to alter the society and institutions of their age with some degree of drastic, conscious, and radical character. But our sources are simply insufficient to prove such totally conjectural portrayals [...] The Zealots presumably hated Kantakouzenos for his identification with and support of the wealthy classes’.

A. Kazhdan– A.M. Talbot, in ODB, entry *Zealots*: ‘The revolts of the Zealots should be seen rather as an event within the framework of the Civil war, with the Zealots supporting the ‘bureaucratic’ regime of Alexios Apokaukos against the ‘feudal’ supporters of Kantakouzenos’.

Laiou, ‘The Palaiologoi’, 822-823: ‘The aristocracy, of which Kantakouzenos was the richest and most powerful representative, rallied to his side, while in Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Didymoteichon, Adrianople and elsewhere the merchants, perhaps the bankers, certainly the sailors and, to a varying degree, the *mesoi* generally opposed Kantakouzenos, confiscated or destroyed his supporters’ property, and imprisoned many among them [...]. The civil war was, among other things, an abortive effort to create a state quite different from what had existed in Byzantium, one where the interests of the

Centrifugal tendencies and the 'social program' of the contestants

For Sjujumov as well as for Matschke, who follows him up to a point, there is also one more point in the program of the regency and the Zealots: an effort towards a centralised state monarchy. Against the aristocracy's decentralisation (sic: 'feudal') forces, the palace bureaucracy and the middle classes, who would profit from a centralised stable state, sought to achieve more centralised forms of government, as was happening in contemporary Western Europe.⁸⁰⁹

First we should determine whether there were centrifugal tendencies in the empire around the time of the second civil war and, if this is the case, what their nature was, and secondly define whether the regency or Kantakouzenos in fact initiated a policy in favour of a social group or towards centralisation. The separatist trends that were growing more and more in Thessalonike have been stressed in a

commercial element would be paramount, while the resources of the landed aristocracy and the church would be used for the needs of defence'.

Nicol, *The late centuries*, 197-199: 'Cantacuzene represented the interests of the landowning nobility who used their wealth and influence to lord it over the urban population in the cities of Thrace and Macedonia. Bitter experience had taught the people to distrust the claim of the landed aristocracy to know what was best for the empire [...]. Apokaukos contrived to stir the enthusiasm and secure the loyalty of the poor and underprivileged. But the manifestations of revolt in provincial cities were spontaneous in origin'.

Also see E. De Vries-Van der Velden, *L'élite byzantine devant l'avance turque à l'époque de la guerre civile de 1341 à 1354* (Amsterdam 1989), 51-77; V. Nerantzi-Varmazi, 'The Zealot revolution', in *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine studies, Sofia 22-27 August 2011. Volume II: Abstracts of Round Table Communications* (Sofia 2011), 231.

⁸⁰⁹ M.J. Sjujumov, 'Борба за рути развития феодальных отношении в Византии', *Византийские очерки* (Moscow 1961), 34-62 and idem, 'К вопросу', 15-37; cf. Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*, 42-46, 128-133 and 156-164. Also A.P. Kazhdan, *Аграрные отношения в Византии XIII-XIV вв.* (Moscow 1952), 183-197.

study by Barker ⁸¹⁰ and the acknowledgement of these is essential before we proceed to any discussion of social ‘class struggle’ theories. Thessalonike had been the seat of a Latin principality for a few decades and then the capital of the despots of Epirus until its capitulation to the Nicaean Empire in 1246. The separatist trends continued well into the second half of the fourteenth century. The empress-mother Anna resided in 1351 in Thessalonike and remained there until her death, ruling almost independently. Manouel Palaiologos, son of Ioannes V, also ruled independently and was forced after a prolonged siege by the Turks to abandon Thessalonike, faced with the indifference of the citizens to the war. Thessalonike, due to the capitulation to the Turks, might have attained a semi-autonomous status and even the restoration of Byzantine rule in 1403 does not seem to have been accepted with general joy by the inhabitants. ⁸¹¹

A second more peculiar case is that of Momcil, because we are not dealing with a city, but with a mountainous area in Western Thrace. Matschke believes that Momcil’s case shows the resistance of the rural population to Kantakouzenos. ⁸¹² But

⁸¹⁰ P. Barker, ‘Late Byzantine Thessalonike: a second city's challenges and responses’, *DOP* 57 (2003), 5-33. See also G. I. Brătianu, *Privilèges et franchises municipales dans l'Empire byzantin* (Bucharest and Paris 1936), 108-109, 115-122 ; Maksimovič, *Provincial administration*, 249-256; E. Patlagean, ‘L’immunité des Thessaloniens’, in *EYΨYXIA. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler* (Paris 1998) II: 591-601; Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*, 86-87.

⁸¹¹ Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*, the third chapter but especially in p. 43-48.

⁸¹² Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*, 239-240. A proper state has been attributed to Momčil: S. Kyriakides, ‘Ο Μόμτζιλος και το κράτος του’, *Makedonika* 2 (1941-1942), 332-345. For the belief that the struggle involved also peasants against aristocracy see I. Ševčenko, ‘An important contribution to the social history of Byzantium’, *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. II* 4 (1952), 449-458; Sjuzjumov, ‘К вопрocy’, 30, an assumption based mainly in the interpretation of a literary schema by Demetrios Kydones on his lament essay for the murders in 1345 in Thessalonike: Demetrios Kydones, *Monodia*, col. 648: ‘ένταύθα δοῦλος μὲν τὸν δεσπότην ὦθει · τὸν δὲ πριάμενον, τὸ ἀνδράποδον · τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν, ὁ ἀγροῖκος · καὶ τὸν στρατιώτην ὁ γεωργός’.

we ought to be more cautious. Firstly, Kantakouzenos himself says that the nomads living in the mountains of Rodope were his friends already before the civil war and joined him voluntarily as soon as he reached the area in 1343.⁸¹³ Secondly, Momcil was nothing more than just another adventurer. He was a Bulgarian who chose to come to the Byzantine Empire. Andronikos III used him for raids against the Bulgarian borders. But Momcil seems not to have respected the periods of peace between the two states and soon after he had problems with Andronikos he decided to join the Serbians. As Kantakouzenos reached Rodope again in 1343 with his Turkish allies, Momcil joined him and subsequently he was appointed governor in Rodope. Soon the empress came to terms with Momcil and won his support. Yet a little later he chose to become independent until his defeat by Kantakouzenos.⁸¹⁴ Thus, his case is not one of a peasant resistance to Kantakouzenos, but rather is an example of adventurism that grew as the civil war was prolonged.

Another case of defection is the case of Christoupolis (referred to as Eion or Anaktoroupolis in the account of Kantakouzenos) on the eastern coast of Macedonia.⁸¹⁵ There the governor was Alexios from Bithynia, who was a naval commander of small ships and under the flag of the regency carried out raids. When Apokaukos died, he became independent and tried to seize control of other surrounding places like Thasos, Lemnos, Chrysoupolis. Kantakouzenos destroyed his navy in 1349 but failed to capture Christoupolis itself. Already in 1357 Alexios is a

⁸¹³ Kantakouzenos, II, 402.

⁸¹⁴ Kantakouzenos, II, 402-403, 421, 428-433, 436-437, 530-534.

⁸¹⁵ A. Dunn, 'Byzantine and Ottoman maritime traffic in the estuary of the Strymon: between environment, state, and market', in J. Bintliff and H. Stöger (eds.), *Medieval and Post-medieval Greece. The Corfu Papers* (B.A.R. 2009), 15-31 has decisively argued (on archaeological grounds) that Eion was not yet another town of the area, but rather a classicising term of Kantakouzenos for Christoupolis (modern Kavala). Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*, 142 and 198-199, has considered it as the opposition of a typical port town, which evidently must have had a sort of middle class.

megas stratopedarches, and he is a *sympentheros* of the emperor Ioannes V since his brother the *megas primmikerios* Ioannes, has been married to a bride from the imperial family. Their tenure of Thasos, Kavala and Chrysopoulis for life was officially recognised.⁸¹⁶ Again we are not dealing with a case of resistance against the aristocracy or of separatism by aristocrats (they were not aristocrats; they do not even bear surnames), but rather opportunism, due to the circumstances of the civil war and the subsequent weakness of the state to deal with it. Separatist tensions were directed not only against Kantakouzenos' rule. Tenedos, during the second phase of the civil war in 1352, was under the rule of Ioannes V. But after his initial defeat, a local *archon* called Pergamenos who had been a close supporter of Ioannes V led a defection of the island which did not revert to Kantakouzenos, but became autonomous.⁸¹⁷

Kantakouzenos says that the local lords of Thessaly called on him to assume their government and he appointed his cousin Ioannes Angelos as governor of Thessaly. In fact Angelos was going to be a semi-independent ruler, who had the obligation to serve Kantakouzenos with an army when he was asked so. Ioannes Angelos was allowed to appoint local governors and would have every other authority. We can see here the transitional phase towards the creation of an appanage. We also learn that Kantakouzenos considered it an option to send Nikephoros Doukas Angelos, the son of the last despot of Epirus Giovanni Orsini, to rule in his patrimony,

⁸¹⁶ Actes Lavra III, 71 (for the holding of these places on hereditary status); Actes Pantocrator, 78, 90, 93-94. The agreement might have taken place earlier, after a suggestion of Kantakouzenos or as a result of the failed attempt to capture the city. The *megas primmikerios* Ioannes continued to govern these places after Alexios's death around 1369 and at least until 1384 when he drafted his testament: Actes Pantocrator, 99-102. Nevertheless there was cooperation between the two authorities and certainly not a clash: see Actes Zographou, 94-95.

⁸¹⁷ Kantakouzenos, III, 276. As soon as Ioannes V learned of the movement against him, he led a naval force to the island, forcing the inhabitants to arrest Pergamenos and join his rule again.

in case that Epirus also was won over.⁸¹⁸ Thessaly and Epirus were conquered in 1348 by the Serbian emperor Stephan Dušan, but after his death in 1356, Nikephoros grasped the chance to arm an expedition and reclaim his patrimonial land independently from the central government.⁸¹⁹ But Thessaly and Epirus are a special case because of their independent tradition after 1204; bearing in mind that the Byzantine authority had only been re-established in the 1330s, centrifugal tendencies were more likely to occur. That is perhaps the reason why Kantakouzenos preferred to appoint his cousin as a semi-independent ruler, but did not do the same in Berroia for his son, whom he appointed as governor of the city. While it has been claimed that the lords of Thessaly were omnipotent in their province and preferred to ally with Kantakouzenos,⁸²⁰ I believe that they actually found in the civil war a chance to seek autonomy; the appointment of Ioannes Angelos was the consequence of these negotiations.

After 1347 the solution of the appanage becomes the norm. Kantakouzenos, when his own son Matthaios Kantakouzenos rebelled against him in 1347, appointed the latter as semi-independent ruler in Adrianople. When the dissatisfaction of Ioannes V a few years later renewed the hostilities between the two parties, Kantakouzenos in the beginning allowed him to have an independent appanage in southern Thrace and when Ioannes V seized power alone in 1355, he allowed Matthaios Kantakouzenos to continue to rule in Adrianople. Besides, it is Ioannes

⁸¹⁸ Kantakouzenos, II, 312-322.

⁸¹⁹ Kantakouzenos, III, 315-319.

⁸²⁰ Maksimovič, *Provincial administration*, 135; L. Mavrommatis, *Οι πρότοι Παλαιολόγοι: προβλήματα πολιτικής πρακτικής και ιδεολογίας* (Athens 1983), 107-110; Soloviev, 'Les archontes de Thessalie', 159-174, who all speak about a feudal contract between Kantakouzenos and Ioannes Angelos.

Kantakouzenos that upgraded Mystras to a despotate, sending his second son Manouel Kantakouzenos to rule there semi-independently.⁸²¹

The main argument regarding the efforts of the regency towards centralisation is the reduction of the immunities and privileges of aristocracy and confiscations of their properties, especially of those that supported Kantakouzenos. According to Kantakouzenos his property was confiscated and the money was used for the funding of the navy that Apokaukos built up right then. The villages from which Kantakouzenos received income were supposedly given to ‘vulgar people who were disparaging about Kantakouzenos’.⁸²² Perhaps one of these ‘vulgar people’ that Gregoras is talking about was the great landowner in Serres the *meGas etaireiarches* Ioannes Margarites who added to his possessions fields belonging to Ioannes Kantakouzenos and other estates of his relatives and supporters.⁸²³

In addition, already from the start of the civil war, the regency confiscated the properties of Kantakouzenos’ friends and supporters.⁸²⁴ We know that in cities where a revolt against Kantakouzenos took place (e.g. Thessaloniki and Adrianople), the properties of his supporters were seized and plundered. Among the affected was his close friend Demetrios Kydones.⁸²⁵ After 1344 in an effort to find more funds, Apokaukos enforced more confiscations, targeting not only the supporters of Kantakouzenos but even the supporters of the regency that he distrusted. Among them we may number Ioannes Gabalas, Theodoros Synadenos and others. Kantakouzenos

⁸²¹ Kantakouzenos, III, 85.

⁸²² Gregoras, II, 609-610; Kantakouzenos, II, 143, 164, 223 ff.

⁸²³ Lemerle, ‘Praktikon inédit’, 281. For Margarites as a large landowner in Serres already before the second civil war and not a new man, see Actes Prodromou (B), 400-401.

⁸²⁴ Kantakouzenos, II, 165.

⁸²⁵ Thessalonike: Kantakouzenos, II, 234; Adrianople: Kantakouzenos, II, 176-177. For Demetrios Kydones, *Oratio ad Ioannem Cantacuzenum I*, 5.

claims that most members of the Senate were either in prison or under house arrest and all of their property was confiscated.⁸²⁶ But the confiscated properties seem to have reverted to aristocrats supporting the regency. The fields near Zichna of Maurophoros, a supporter of Kantakouzenos, were confiscated and given to the *stratopedarches of the monokaballoi* Ioannes Choumnos as a reward for his services.⁸²⁷ Similarly the fields of Nikephoros Kantakouzenos and Demetrios Pharmakes were confiscated in favour of Georgios Margarites.⁸²⁸ However, the confiscation of the properties of political opponents was common in Byzantium.⁸²⁹ They do not imply an anti-aristocratic policy.

Unfortunately our documentary sources are not so complete as to allow a measure of certainty, but they do give us some indications that social and economic life continued normally without serious changes of ownership. The monastery of Lavra greatly enlarged its possessions in Constantinople⁸³⁰ and in Lemnos in 1344.⁸³¹ But also the monastery of Vatopedi continued normally its business in Zealot Thessalonike.⁸³² The monastery of Saints-Anargyroi in Constantinople received

⁸²⁶ Kantakouzenos, II, 537. Apokaukos and the empress in another desperate attempt to find funds for the war pawned the crown jewels to Venice for 30 thousand ducats in 1343.

⁸²⁷ Actes Philotheou, 22-23.

⁸²⁸ Actes Philotheou (K), 297-298. The first editor (Regel) had wrongly read 'Kantakouzenos' as the emperor who signed the document. However 'Palaiologos' is correct. See Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2884. The language of the document is very offensive against Nikephoros Kantakouzenos, calling him a traitor and unfaithful.

⁸²⁹ For example, the plundering and the distribution of Syrgiannes' property by Andronikos III after the first's failed conspiracy: Gregoras, I, 363-364.

⁸³⁰ Actes Lavra III, 23-26.

⁸³¹ Actes Lavra III, 34-35. Perhaps the monastery of Lavra is a special case since its abbot Makarios, who was right afterwards appointed metropolitan of Thessalonike, chose to support the regency from the very start of the war: Kantakouzenos, II, 212.

⁸³² A list dated September 1344 giving the wages of workers for the monastery in Thessalonike has been preserved: Actes Vatopedi II, 192. Elsewhere, Vatopedi offered a field in Thessalonike to a certain Theodoros Repanas so that he could replant it as a vineyard: Actes Vatopedi II, 194.

confirmation of its possessions in late 1342.⁸³³ In July 1349 in Zealot-held Thessalonike no other disturbance is mentioned apart from the raids of the Serbians. A certain Philippa Asanina gave at that time her property to the monastery of Xeropotamou.⁸³⁴ The main evidence for monastic and aristocratic confiscations used to be the homily of Nikolaos Kabasilas to which we referred earlier. Since Ševčenko refuted the claim that the dialogue is addressed to the Zealots of Thessaloniki we are left with no evidence for a systematic program of confiscations and redistribution of wealth,⁸³⁵ apart from the confiscations that affected the supporters of Kantakouzenos

⁸³³ E. Lappa-Zizikas, 'Un chrysobulle inconnue en faveur du monastère des Saints-Anargyres de Kosmidion', *TM* 8 (1981), 253-268. The date attributed to the document by the editor is between autumn 1342 to autumn 1344. Nonetheless, it should be restricted to before December 1342 because Patrikiotes is not mentioned as deceased (p. 268; cf. Kantakouzenos, II, 298) or at least during the first half of 1343, because Ioannes Batatzes is designated still as *meġas chartoularios* and *oikeios of the emperor*, something that would not happen since later that year he rejoined Kantakouzenos. The date of death of Patrikiotes has been wrongly given as spring 1342 on the basis of Kantakouzenos who mentions it in the context of Lent. But this could be a reference to the Lent before Christmas; the passage is in connection with the failed siege of Serres in the autumn of 1342 and the subsequent public feasts for Christmas. See also Ševčenko, 'Dialogue between the Rich and Poor', 190-191.

⁸³⁴ Actes Xeropotamou, 193-196. For individual aristocrats we have no other archival material for confiscations, but we do know for example that the *oikonomia* of 380 *modioi* of the deceased Alexios Soultanos Palaiologos was transmitted normally to his sons and wife in 1344: Actes Vatopedi II, 190. There is one piece of evidence about confiscations during the civil war on behalf of the state. In a judicial act drawn up in Thessalonike in 1344 (Actes Docheiariou, 169-171) the monastery of Docheiariou complained to the governor of the city Ioannes Doukas Apokaukos that the tax censor Chageres had illegitimately removed a significant part of a domain of Docheiariou. A court was set up and in the end Chageres proved wrong and the field was restored to Docheiariou. However, we should be cautious about recognising a conscious policy by the state against great landownership. The state very often had the ability to take over land from the Church or lay properties and give them elsewhere. The same domain that Docheiariou was fighting for had been given for a brief period as *oikonomia* to some soldiers previously by the emperor Andronikos III: Actes Docheiariou, 142-143 and 161.

⁸³⁵ Kydones speaks of confiscations and misappropriation of money, but nothing implies that this was systematic and, in fact, he may be speaking of the confiscations of supporters of Kantakouzenos: Demetrios Kydones, *Oratio ad Cantacuzenum II*, 79.

and which were then distributed to the supporters of the regency and not to ‘new men’.

Another argument that has been presented for the anti-aristocratic policy of the regency is the navy that Apokaukos built. Matschke believes that by constructing the navy Apokaukos was trying to approach and involve in the struggle the middle and lower classes that were supporting the regency.⁸³⁶ The sailors came from these social layers, but the reasons behind the building of the navy can only be supposed. It should be recalled that the rebuilding of a standing naval force was a project already under discussion during the late reign of Andronikos III and it was Apokaukos himself who raised the matter.⁸³⁷ Kantakouzenos during his reign used the navy and strengthened it in the face of wars against Genoa. The empire needed a navy: the Turks were constantly raiding the coastal territories of the empire and Genoa’s power was growing; the great loss of the territories of the empire in combination with the maritime trade routes had gradually moved the Byzantine economy towards the sea.⁸³⁸ Apart from the confiscations and the creation of the navy we have no other evidence that the regency implemented a policy in favour of the middle and lower social classes. On the contrary, the financial restrictions forced Apokaukos to consider a tax on trading ships from the Black Sea. Customs would be established at Ieron, a key

⁸³⁶ Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*, 157-160.

⁸³⁷ Kantakouzenos, I, 535-541.

⁸³⁸ Both H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer: la marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VIIe – XVe siècles* (Paris 1966), 385, followed by Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*, 203, argue that Kantakouzenos did not show any concern during the first year of his regime, despite the General Council that he had convened, to build up and sustain the navy. But, as Kantakouzenos claims, the effort to collect money was hindered by certain groups of people.

position at the mouth of Bosphorus. This measure was certainly not in favour of traders.⁸³⁹

But did Kantakouzenos consciously implement a pro-aristocratic policy? He did not intentionally act in favour of aristocrats or against middle and lower classes. His main effort both during the civil war and his reign was the creation of consent, a consent which of course reveals his own weakness. He called three popular assemblies during his reign in order to gain support for his policies. The first in spring 1347 was summoned in order to call for the voluntary donation of funds to construct a navy. There participated representatives of the officials and aristocrats, of the church and monasteries, of merchants, bankers and artisans, of the army and of the common people. It was not a general *ekklesia tou demou* as has been claimed,⁸⁴⁰ but Kantakouzenos leave us with the impression that there participated many representatives of the various social – professional categories. The next two councils are connected with the Genoese war. They too involved the participation of a general audience but again we may not speak of an *ekklesia tou demou* and we should not be misled by the use of the word *ekklesia*, which simply means a council. They seem to be even more restricted than the great council summoned by Kantakouzenos.⁸⁴¹

⁸³⁹ Kantakouzenos, II, 522-523. Similarly, the occasional imposition of *commercium* on the Venetians by the tax officials and the non-payment of the Byzantine debts to them (F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie* (Paris and The Hague 1958-1961), nos. 156-157, 164, 171, 174 (at p. 52-56) cannot be considered as evidence for the protection of Byzantine trade. In all Byzantine treaties with Venice, the debts of individuals or the abuses of tax officials are randomly mentioned, as is also the total sum that the Byzantine state owes to Venice.

⁸⁴⁰ Kantakouzenos, III, 33-40.

⁸⁴¹ Gregoras, II, 846 and 854-855. Another important council in a similarly critical situation was held in 1354 shortly before the resignation of Kantakouzenos. The council was held at the house of Nikephoros Laskaris Metochites to discuss the actions that must be taken concerning the occupation of Kallipolis by the Ottomans shortly before. In the council, the two emperors participated as did the senators and other aristocrats; however it is still called an *ekklesia*: Kantakouzenos, III, 294 ff.

Although these councils did not bring to the fore the common people, it is evident that Kantakouzenos considered their representatives' advice worthwhile. On the other side, there is no evidence for the political representation of the common people during the regency.

Kantakouzenos did not take revenge on any of his opponents, with the exception of the leaders of the Zealots and the patriarch Kalekas who was exiled in Didymoteichon and died soon after.⁸⁴² Some of the closest supporters of the regency continued to function normally under the new regime. Among them was the *mystikos* Kinnamos, the *sakelliou* Michael Kabasilas, his father-in-law Andronikos Asanes and Manouel Kantakouzenos Strategopoulos.⁸⁴³ Even though there were voices of dissatisfaction from his former supporters that Kantakouzenos did not treat them as they deserved,⁸⁴⁴ it is known that he actually awarded many of them with additional incomes and posts.⁸⁴⁵

Kantakouzenos' most famous measure in economic policy was the new taxation system. He introduced a tax of ½ gold coin per *medimnos* (*modios*) on all imported food commodities in Constantinople; he introduced a special tax of 1 gold coin per 50 *choai* of wine for the producer and 2 gold coins for the wine merchant; finally, he reduced the *kommerkion* paid at the customs of Constantinople from 10% to 2%.⁸⁴⁶ Although it has been claimed that this policy protected the aristocracy,⁸⁴⁷

⁸⁴² Kantakouzenos, III, 24-25.

⁸⁴³ See later on for each one of them.

⁸⁴⁴ The movement of Matthaïos Kantakouzenos against his father seems to have originated from the dissatisfaction of supporters of Kantakouzenos: Kantakouzenos, III, 43-48.

⁸⁴⁵ See below as for example Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas.

⁸⁴⁶ Kantakouzenos, III, 80-81. The *choai* is the classicizing term for the Byzantine *metron* of wine (= 6.833 litres): E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (München 1970), 114-115.

⁸⁴⁷ Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*, 207-208; Frances, 'Volksbewegung', 146. Matschke believes that these measures were taken for the protection of his aristocrat subjects who were keen to find

both Kantakouzenos and Gregoras connect these reforms with the Genoese threat and the depleted funds of the state treasury.⁸⁴⁸ Both our authors agree that these measures were positive ones for the middle classes who saw it as an opportunity to construct vessels and start trading goods, whereas, on the other side, the Genoese were alarmed. Furthermore, the tax on all imported food commodities first of all affected the Genoese, who imported grain from the Black Sea. Kantakouzenos also hoped that in the short term the discriminatory effects of the *kommerkion* on Byzantine traders would be reversed and that would benefit the state treasury.⁸⁴⁹

The second civil war also coincided with one more debate: the Palamite controversy. Kantakouzenos supported whole-heartedly Palamas and, as Gregoras narrates, it was Kantakouzenos' interference in the Synod of 1351 – personal presence, summoning of selected prelates, hindrances and pressure on others, threats against the *demos* in case it interfered in favour of the anti-Palamites – that eventually

competitive prices for their products; imported grain from Crimea reduced in general the price of grain. Thus, an increase in the price of imported food commodities would mean that the domestic products would find their way to the markets more easily. This was supposed to be the main reason behind the reduction of the *kommerkion*. The tax on wine, which targeted an increase in the state funds, was more directed against the middle class traders, since they would pay a double tariff.

⁸⁴⁸ Gregoras, II, 842-843. See also Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*, 83.

⁸⁴⁹ At first sight the special tax on wine does not seem to be directed against the Genoese. We happen to know that Italian wine and wine from the Venetian occupied Aegean area was being imported into Constantinople, but we also know that wine was a commodity of an increasing importance for the late Byzantine economy and especially for the monasteries. In the treaty of 1390 between Byzantium and Venice the emperor Ioannes V sought to limit to fifteen the taverns owned by Venetians in Constantinople, because the state treasury was negatively affected; there was a large wine consumption in their taverns (the wine was cheaper there as the Venetians had tax immunity): MM III, 137. It is known that also the regency tried to prevent Venetians from selling wine, but this measure was not finally implemented: Thiriet, *Régestes*, no. 164 (p. 54). We do not know whether the Genoese were buying Byzantine wine at this time and then redirecting it to Constantinople, but no doubt this measure increased the price of Byzantine wine and helped the state treasury. Also we must note that the double tariff paid by the merchants certainly illustrates the class prejudices of a conservative aristocrat, but we cannot conclude that the measure was simply taken targeting the middle men.

determined the favourable outcome and the condemnation of the anti-Palamites, including himself.⁸⁵⁰ On the other side, the patriarch Ioannes Kalekas, even though he had signed the first *Synodal Tomos* in July 1341 condemning the teachings of Barlaam and his objections to Palamas, after the outbreak of the civil war, turned to the anti-Palamite circles and supported their exponent Gregorios Akindynos. It has been claimed therefore that Kantakouzenos adopted Palamism as his ideological weapon against the regency, that Palamism favoured the maintenance of social order and the right of preservation of monastic property (which supposedly were affected by the regency's confiscations) and that it was a conservative and 'patriotic' element (against the 'foreign' imported ideas of Barlaam) which Kantakouzenos used for his propaganda.⁸⁵¹

Although, as will be argued, the civil war did not display any coherent aspects of social conflict, little can be said about the ideology of anti-Palamites (apart from a closer relation to humanism).⁸⁵² Secondly, the camps often do not coincide with the lines of the two parties of the civil war. Certainly, a number of prominent Palamites and the majority of the Palamites were Kantakouzenists as well (like the later Patriarch Isidoros, St Sabbas or Lazaros the patriarch of Jerusalem). But the camp of the anti-Palamites numbered in its ranks supporters of Kantakouzenos too: Demetrios Kydones, Nikephoros Gregoras, Nikephoros Laskaris Metochites. Even Apokaukos

⁸⁵⁰ Gregoras, II, 819-835 and 869 ff. He was confined under house arrest until his death. Another anti-Palamite (and yet unpublished) source that describes the Synod speaks of the significance of Kantakouzenos' intervention and the threats against the *demos*: see the transcription from a microfilm by Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*, 134-135.

⁸⁵¹ Matschke, 'Häresie', 43-46. He is in agreement with other Marxist historians (D. Angelov, B.T. Gorjanov, E. Werner).

⁸⁵² Meyendorff, *Palamas*, 324-325, who maintains that the anti-Palamites at start were not closer to the West than their Palamite adversaries, but their proximity to the West and Barlaam evolved in the second half of the 14th century, after the Synod of 1351. It should be remembered that Gregoras had never Latin sympathies and was a critic of Barlaam. See also Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*, 131 and note 869.

may have adopted a neutral rather than a Palamite stance.⁸⁵³ The metropolitan of Thessalonike Makarios (1342-1344?) was a Palamite and a supporter of the regency, without counting those who changed their minds during the progress of the war, or for whom we know their sympathies only later and not during the civil war.⁸⁵⁴ Besides, a synod of Palamite, but pro-regency, metropolitans deposed Kalekas.⁸⁵⁵ Thirdly, attempts to connect the two parties with different social backgrounds have equally failed. The Palamites were supported by monks, by aristocrats, church or state officials as much as the anti-Palamites.⁸⁵⁶

The inner structure of the two opposing parties of the war

In order to better understand the social basis of each party of the civil war a prosopography is necessary. Who were the main supporters of each side and what

⁸⁵³ Akindynos expressed his expectation for Apokaukos' support (Akindynos, *Letters*, 80), but the latter had opposed the ordination of Akindynos (Akindynos had been condemned in the Synod of 1341): Ioseph Kalothetos, Letter 1, 366; PR II, 360. See also Meyendorff, *Palamas*, 113. The empress Anna had also expressed her reservations about the ordination of Akindynos. It is not certain what her stance was regarding Palamism. She may have approached the Palamites towards the end of the war in a desperate attempt to find support (compare Gregoras, II, 785 ff. who says that the Palamites had approached both the empress and Kantakouzenos and worked towards treason in favour of the latter), but at the same time both Kantakouzenos and the *Synodal Tomos* of 1347 say that she believed that the prosecution of Palamites in the capital by the Patriarch was related to their political allegiance to Kantakouzenos (Kantakouzenos, II, 604; PR II, 358 and 362).

⁸⁵⁴ For example Georgios Isaris in Thessalonike.

⁸⁵⁵ Kantakouzenos, II, 603-604; PR II, 364-366. Both sources clearly distinguish between the report to the empress of the Kantakouzenist Palamites, who were actually under house arrest (*ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις κελλίοις σχολάζοντες ἱερώτατοι μητροπολίται*), regarding the 'crimes' of Kalekas (*Memorandum to the empress* 151: 767-770), and the synod of metropolitans and the senate convened by the empress Anna and which deposed Kalekas.

⁸⁵⁶ Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*, 103-137, which is perhaps the most exhaustive analysis of the social and cultural backgrounds and an analysis of the members of each party. See also the list of prominent anti-Palamites found in a manuscript and reproduced in Mercati, 'Notizie', 222-223.

were their motives for their choice? What was their degree of affinity to Kantakouzenos (i.e. how loyal were they or how much did he trust them)? In the front line of the supporters of Kantakouzenos were the members of his immediate family.⁸⁵⁷ First was his cousin Ioannes Angelos, who became governor in Thessaly, when it reverted to Kantakouzenos' side. Ioannes Angelos was one of the confidants of Kantakouzenos and repeatedly served as a general of his army.⁸⁵⁸ Analogous was the support of his uncle Nikephoros Kantakouzenos, who remained on the side of Matthaios Kantakouzenos in his war against Ioannes V.⁸⁵⁹

The two brothers of Kantakouzenos' wife Eirene, Manouel and Ioannes Asanes, were held in Thrace as prisoners due to a conspiracy in which they had taken part against Andronikos III. They both were allowed the option of going to Constantinople and to join their father Andronikos Asanes, who was one of the main instigators of the conspiracy of Apokaukos, but on the advice of their sister, they chose to stay with Kantakouzenos.⁸⁶⁰ Both brothers enjoyed a privileged position with Kantakouzenos. After the resignation of Ioannes VI they chose to support Matthaios Kantakouzenos in his struggle against Ioannes V.⁸⁶¹ Nikephoros Angelos Orsini, son

⁸⁵⁷ For the aristocratic status of Kantakouzenos and his fortune see: Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*, 5-22.

Nevertheless, Weiss believes (p. 34-35) that his relations with his family were not the best but can cite only the example of his father-in-law (see below).

See Tables 4-7 in Appendix 3, with all known by name Kantakouzenists and anti-Kantakouzenists.

⁸⁵⁸ Gregoras, II, 621, 628, 656-657; Kantakouzenos, II, 175, 181, 187-188, 195, 254, 312-322, 355, 394; III, 147.

⁸⁵⁹ Kantakouzenos, II, 139; III, 242 and 310.

⁸⁶⁰ Gregoras, I, 533-534; II, 624-625. The same allegiance was exhibited by the younger son of Manouel, Andronikos Asanes, who had been raised by Kantakouzenos himself: Kantakouzenos, II, 248-249; III, 293-294.

⁸⁶¹ Gregoras, III, 510-511. Kantakouzenos, II, 195, 491; III, 196, 211, 320. Ioannes Asanes received amnesty soon after the defeat of Matthaios Kantakouzenos. He married a daughter of Apokaukos after 1347, but this did not change his allegiance. Besides we learn that the wife of Apokaukos, being afraid that Ioannes will drive her out from the private fortress in Epibatai that Apokaukos had built, offered to

of the last ruler of Epirus Giovanni Orsini was taken to Byzantium into the care of Kantakouzenos who married one of his daughters to him; he maintained his allegiance later to Kantakouzenos' son, Matthaios.⁸⁶² Yet another army commander and relative to Kantakouzenos was Manouel Kourtikes Tarchaneiotes.⁸⁶³

One of the main supporters of Kantakouzenos was Leon Kalothetos, member of the local aristocracy in Chios. Kantakouzenos designates him as a family friend of many generations. After Kantakouzenos' victory he was awarded the governorship of Old Phokaia. Relations with Ioannes V later were not friendly and Kalothetos strove to rule independently.⁸⁶⁴ Friend, rather than servant, of Kantakouzenos was the scholar and statesman Demetrios Kydones. Kydones was struck by the 1345 revolt in Thessalonike. He barely escaped death by leaving the city, while his mother was only able to save herself from death by jumping from the window of her plundered house. Kantakouzenos rewarded Kydones for his services by appointing him *mesazon* until

Asanes another fortress near Traianoupolis, where Kantakouzenos had also already provided some lands for him: Kantakouzenos, II, 275 and 404; Gregoras, II, 797.

⁸⁶² At least at the start. When he observed that the tide of war was in the direction of Ioannes V and after the latter arrived with a strong navy at Ainos (where he was governor), Nikephoros changed his allegiance. But a few months later and as Stephan Dušan had died and the Serbian empire was collapsing, Nikephoros left Ainos, armed an expedition and reclaimed his patrimonial despotate in Thessaly and Epiros. He was successful to begin with, until his death at the hands of the Albanians in Spercheios in 1359: Kantakouzenos, III, 315-319.

⁸⁶³ Gregoras, II, 652-653; Kantakouzenos, II, 71, 195, 322, 430. We do not know exactly what the relationship is with Kantakouzenos but we should remember that another Manouel Tarchaneiotes, nephew of Kantakouzenos, was killed in the battle of Philokrene in 1329 (Kantakouzenos, I, 329).

⁸⁶⁴ Kantakouzenos, I, 375-379; II, 553; III, 84 and 320-322. We learn that in a raid Kalothetos conducted he was able to capture Orchan's son. Although a deal between Ioannes V and Orchan had as a clause the liberation of the latter's son, Kalothetos opposed the deal, compelling Ioannes to besiege Old Phokaia and come into terms. There is a slight evidence that Kalothetos still governed Old Phokaia independently in 1363 (MM I, 447).

his abdication in late 1354. This did not change much for Kydones: he became one of the main associates of Ioannes V for many more decades.⁸⁶⁵

Apart from his relatives, Kantakouzenos had a large number of *oiketai*. Although they proved in general very loyal to him, he did not reserve for them military leadership, but rather embassies and negotiations or other important assignments. Among them we should number Demetrios Sgouropoulos who was sent to the empress on an embassy by Kantakouzenos, but he was arrested and paraded in shame in the market place, while the second member of the embassy, Ioannes Pothos, an *oiketes* of Ioannes Angelos, was fortunately spared.⁸⁶⁶ Other *oiketai* of Kantakouzenos included Theodoros Pepagomenos,⁸⁶⁷ a certain Potamiates,⁸⁶⁸ and Iakobos Broulas who is described as very close to Kantakouzenos, and who was also arrested when he served as ambassador to the regency.⁸⁶⁹

It is interesting that in general the allegiance to a party was defined as a family matter and all the family members followed it. One of these families was the aristocratic Macedonian family of TzAMPLAKONAI. As Alexios TzAMPLAKON had supported Andronikos III during the first civil war, now his son the *megas papias* Arsenios TzAMPLAKON supported Kantakouzenos. Kantakouzenos took care and enforced the allegiance of this important family with a marriage strategy since by 1352 Arsenios is designated as *sympentheros* of Kantakouzenos. After the fall of Kantakouzenos he chose to leave politics and became a monk in the Athonite

⁸⁶⁵ Although Demetrios Kydones, *Oratio ad Cantacuzenum*, 2-3, claims that already his father was serving Kantakouzenos and he was so close to Kantakouzenos and trusted by him that he used to provide other people from the belongings of Kantakouzenos without bothering to ask him.

⁸⁶⁶ Kantakouzenos, II, 183.

⁸⁶⁷ Kantakouzenos, II, 382.

⁸⁶⁸ Kantakouzenos, II, 597.

⁸⁶⁹ Kantakouzenos, II, 76-77, 395, 398. Later, he was killed in the uprising of June 1345.

monastery of Vatopedi.⁸⁷⁰ The other two brothers of Arsenios, Asomatianos and Demetrios, also remained at the side of Kantakouzenos, who entrusted them with military posts or city administrations.⁸⁷¹ Another family that chose to support Kantakouzenos was the family of Kabasilas. Both attested members (Nikolaos Kabasilas Chamaëtos and Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas) were forced to abandon the city of Thessalonike after the Zealot revolt of 1345.⁸⁷² Kantakouzenos rewarded this loyalty by awarding to Demetrios a large *oikonomia* of 250 *hyperpyra* in Thessalonike after his victory.⁸⁷³

There were other members of the Byzantine elite that followed Kantakouzenos to the end. Among them was the *protostrator* Georgios Phakrases, one of the main

⁸⁷⁰ Actes Vatopedi II, 256; Kantakouzenos, II, 256-257; III, 237.

⁸⁷¹ Kantakouzenos, II, 535 (Demetrios Tzamlakon was governor in Serres in 1345); III, 74 (Asomatianos was commander of the Byzantine navy in 1348). It is worth mentioning that their sister had married a Tornikes: Actes Vatopedi II, 255, which could be the *parakoimomenos* Andronikos Tornikes, the only known Tornikes with this title: Kantakouzenos, I, 195). The Tornikaioi were, in their turn, already related to the Kantakouzenoi (the *parakoimomenos* Andronikos Kantakouzenos had married his daughter to the *pinkernes* Demetrios Tornikes: Actes Saint-Panteleemon, 104; Kantakouzenos, I, 17.). These family alliances are perhaps a hint for the choice of the allegiance of Tzamlakones.

⁸⁷² Kantakouzenos, II, 574; Demetrios Kydones, *Letters*, 120. Recently, M.-H. Congourdeau has argued that Kabasilas at least at the beginning of the second civil war was in the camp of the regency and only around 1345 changed his allegiance (as did other pro-regency people) and participated in the embassy for Kantakouzenos: Congourdeau and Delouis, 'La Supplique', 218-223. This assumption is based on his and his father's presumed affiliation to the empress (he praises her in a letter written in Constantinople just before the second civil war and later addressed to her this treatise). His father is assumed to be a certain Ioannes Chamaëtos (because he was the only one Chamaëtos we know) who was *kastrophylax* in Thessalonike during the residency there of empress Anna of Savoy: J.M. Spieser, 'Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance: I. Les inscriptions de Thessalonique', *TM* 5 (1973), 145-180 (here at 176).

⁸⁷³ Actes Dionysiou, 46.

army commanders of Kantakouzenos,⁸⁷⁴ the *skouterios* Georgios Glabas,⁸⁷⁵ Michael Bryennios⁸⁷⁶, Theodoros Kaballarios⁸⁷⁷, the rich tax official Patrikiotes,⁸⁷⁸ Nikephoros Laskaris Metochites (the son of Theodoros Metochites),⁸⁷⁹ another Laskaris⁸⁸⁰ and a certain Alousianos from the local aristocracy of Thessalonike.⁸⁸¹ From the Palaiologos family we know only two members that supported him: the *primmikerios tes aules* Ioannes Palaiologos and the *protosebastos* Konstantinos Palaiologos.⁸⁸² Kantakouzenos had many more supporters. By the summer of 1345 the number of political prisoners in Constantinople had reached 200. At that time, they revolted and killed Apokaukos. The names of three of the killers have been preserved; a nephew of Apokaukos, Alexios Doukas;⁸⁸³ a certain Raoul and a certain Palaiologos.⁸⁸⁴

⁸⁷⁴ Kantakouzenos, II, 195, 585; III, 196. It is worth mentioning that a branch of the Phakrases family was related to the Kantakouzenoi; one of its members was the senator Manouel Kantakouzenos Phakrases (1370 and 1409): Actes Vatopedi II, 361; Laurent, 'Le trisépiscopat', 134.

⁸⁷⁵ Kantakouzenos, II, 195, 401, 426. Glabas was admired by Kantakouzenos for his devotion. Glabas was one of the commanders of cavalry in Didymoteichon in early 1342. Having fallen seriously ill, he asked permission to visit and see Kantakouzenos (who at the time was besieging a city in Thrace), fearing that he will die without having seen him again. Indeed a few weeks later he died. He must not be confused with the *mezas dioiketes* Glabas who was *katholikos krites* during the civil war and served in Thessalonike in 1344.

⁸⁷⁶ Kantakouzenos, II, 343-344, 431.

⁸⁷⁷ Kantakouzenos, II, 493.

⁸⁷⁸ Kantakouzenos, II, 59 ff.

⁸⁷⁹ Kantakouzenos, II, 554-555.

⁸⁸⁰ Kantakouzenos, II, 192.

⁸⁸¹ Kantakouzenos, II, 377.

⁸⁸² Kantakouzenos, II, 195.

⁸⁸³ Kantakouzenos, II, 543. He is designated as *Alexios the doux*. *Doux* in this period was only a governor of a small province. But apart from the fact that people were not designated usually by their posts (and certainly not when they had no post, as Alexios who was a prisoner), Doukas is one of the surnames of Alexios Doukas Disypatos Apokaukos (Disypatos coming from his first wife), while his brother Ioannes signed a document in Thessalonike simply as Ioannes Doukas. Besides, even Nikephoros Doukas Angelos Orsini is called *doux* (probably by taking the surname Doukas from his full name). The historian Doukas claims that this killer was his ancestor: Doukas, V.5.

⁸⁸⁴ Gregoras, II, 732 and 733 respectively.

The main observation from this brief survey so far is that, on the whole, the supporters of Ioannes Kantakouzenos originated from the ranks of his extended *oikos* and his close political friends. They could not expect anything from the side of Apokaukos. Regarding the non-relatives and *oikeioi* of Kantakouzenos, their common thing is that they were all members of the aristocracy,⁸⁸⁵ but there does not seem to be a direct connection of dependence on Kantakouzenos. However, Kantakouzenos chose his main army commanders and his ambassadors from none other than his aforementioned relatives and trusted *oiketai* and not from them. His supporters were not only members of the landed aristocracy but also of the civil aristocracy like Patrikiotes, Demetrios Kydones and Nikolaos Kabasilas. The soliarity of Kantakouzenos' faction can be seen in their later continuous support during the next two phases of the war.

The second category that we will discuss is composed of all those who at the start were supporters of Kantakouzenos but later shifted to the regency. The reasons behind their desertion and the social status of each will be our guide. The first main desertion took place already in the autumn of 1341. Just after the revolt of the people in Adrianople and while Kantakouzenos was campaigning against the Bulgarian king Alexander who had arrived to aid the rebels, many senators and soldiers left Didymoteichon. Among them was the *protokynegos* Ioannes Batatzes. The origins and the social status of Batatzes are a matter of debate. According to Gregoras, even though he was of low birth, he was able to enrich himself thanks to the tax farming.⁸⁸⁶

⁸⁸⁵ Of course we cannot expect to see simple soldiers or citizens mentioned by name in his *History* and, moreover, that they were entrusted with the command of troops or cities.

⁸⁸⁶ Gregoras, II, 741. His service as *apographeus* (and tax collector) is confirmed by documentary evidence: Actes Zographou, 71; Actes Iviron IV, 77. The sale of taxes was a common phenomenon in late Byzantium. In order for the state to ensure the continuous flow of taxes, it sells to individuals the right to collect taxes from a given area. Regardless of what the tax collector did, he was responsible to

For Matschke the case of Batatzes is the typical case of a ‘new man’, like that of Apokaukos, who was able to achieve social ascent and wealth thanks to the sale of taxes and state service.⁸⁸⁷ Nevertheless we see that Batatzes did not occupy himself only with tax collection. In 1341 he was an army officer. He was leading the battalion of *Achyraiton* when he deserted Kantakouzenos. By siding with the regency he acquired a greater title and he became one of the main generals of the regency.⁸⁸⁸ Batatzes concluded marriage alliances with Patriarch Kalekas through his son and Kalekas’ daughter and with Apokaukos through his daughter and Apokaukos’ son. Kantakouzenos in 1343 had managed to occupy most of the Rodope area and many other Thracian and Macedonian cities. At exactly this point Batatzes chose to revert again to Kantakouzenos. In fact, apart from the obvious rise of Kantakouzenos, he had reasons to rejoin his ranks. He wanted to take revenge on Apokaukos, because Batatzes had bought the *kephalatikion* of Thessalonike and before he could recoup his money, Apokaukos appointed his own son to the post. The whole *oikos* of Batatzes joined Kantakouzenos and especially his relatives who governed cities in Thrace. Batatzes was made *mezas stratopedarches* and served Kantakouzenos for the next two years again as an army general. But after the death of Apokaukos in June 1345, the regency in Constantinople tried to win him over again by promising more titles and wealth. Batatzes deserted Kantakouzenos again and called his other son-in-law, the emir of Karasi to aid him. After a misunderstanding the Turks killed him.⁸⁸⁹ Batatzes, along with the aforementioned Momcil, are simply clear cases of

for the full sum to the state treasury. However, the phenomenon was relatively common, since due to the complexities of the law and changes of ownership status they were able to collect more and actually keep some for themselves.

⁸⁸⁷ Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*, 233.

⁸⁸⁸ Kantakouzenos, II, 197 and 213.

⁸⁸⁹ Gregoras, II, 741-743; Kantakouzenos, II, 475-476 and 552-556.

opportunism. They were both able to achieve wealth and social ascent by shifting sides when they thought it was necessary. No social or even political motives can be attached to them.

Perhaps the most significant deserter for Kantakouzenos was the *protostrator* Theodoros Synadenos. The family of Synadenos was one of the most important among the Byzantine elite. He was one of the main partisans of Andronikos III in the first civil war and as such an old friend of Kantakouzenos. When the second civil war started, Synadenos was *kephale* in Thessalonike but he was reluctant to openly side with Kantakouzenos. When he decided, a revolt of anti-Kantakouzenists forced him and all Kantakouzenos' supporters, about a thousand in number, out of Thessalonike. Meanwhile Apokaukos arrived in Thessalonike bringing with him the navy and promised amnesty and titles to everyone from the army of Kantakouzenos who joined him while he threatened those who would not join him. The army of Kantakouzenos was under pressure. A few days later a hundred men under a certain Koteanitzes abandoned Kantakouzenos when the latter decided for a campaign to Edessa. Synadenos soon after asked Apokaukos personally and he assured for him more wealth, honours and titles. This was enough for the indecisive Synadenos to make up his mind and join Apokaukos. His choice proved decisive for most of the rest of the army which deserted as well.⁸⁹⁰ At the outset, Synadenos gained higher titles, but probably Apokaukos never fully trusted him; he was put under house arrest and his property was confiscated; he died soon after in an impoverished state.⁸⁹¹

⁸⁹⁰ Kantakouzenos, II, 227, 233-249. According to Gregoras and a short chronicle, Apokaukos had plotted with Synadenos to arrest Kantakouzenos but the plot failed; we cannot know if there is truth in this story: *Chronica Breviora*, 8: 82; Gregoras, II, 635.

⁸⁹¹ Kantakouzenos, II, 491. L. Maksimović, 'Последње године протостратора Теодора Синадина (. 'The last years of the protostrator Theodore Synadenus')', *ZRVI* 10 (1967), 177-185 (with English

Among those that abandoned Kantakouzenos along with Synadenos was a certain Apelmene. Kantakouzenos claims that Apelmene was one of his closest *oikeioi* and that he was Apelmene's benefactor providing him with wealth and literary and military education. Apelmene, except for the general tensions at that time and the apparent dissolution of the army, had reasons to be angry with Kantakouzenos. Kantakouzenos gave the army and city commands to his relatives and not to Apelmene. However even so, the hesitation of Apelmene and his sense of shame in his decision to desert Kantakouzenos, shows the strong personal bond between an aristocrat and his followers: he chose to abandon him secretly.⁸⁹²

The last case is that of Konstantinos Palaiologos, son of the despot of Thessaly, Michael Doukas Angelos Koutroules (1278-1304), and of Anna Komnene Palaiologina, the daughter of Michael VIII. When Kantakouzenos set out in March 1342 on campaign for Macedonia, he sent before him Konstantinos Palaiologos to prepare the ground for Kantakouzenos' coming. But Konstantinos Palaiologos deserted to the governor of Serres Sir Guy de Lusignan. He was living in Serres and his property was in the vicinity. Thus, his desertion must have been motivated not only by the recent revolts in the cities and the defection of senators and soldiers, but also by the fear that his belongings might be confiscated. Besides, in terms of family connections he certainly belonged to the imperial family, from which almost no member supported Kantakouzenos. Konstantinos Palaiologos proved a true supporter of the regency. By the end of the same year he had become a close friend and

summary, 184-185), who however ignores the comments by Kantakouzenos and supposes that Synadenos died at his estates in the countryside of Serres in 1343-1346.

⁸⁹² Kantakouzenos, II, 247-248.

colleague of Apokaukos; he was governor in Serres and he had married his son, the *protostrator* Andronikos Palaiologos, to a daughter of Apokaukos.⁸⁹³

The next category is those that deserted the regency to join Kantakouzenos. One of the first along with Ioannes Batatzes that joined the side of Kantakouzenos as he reached Thrace in 1343 was Kontostephanos, the governor of Garella.⁸⁹⁴ The other three city governors were all, according to Kantakouzenos, *oiketai* of the emperor Andronikos III: Paraspondylos and Magkaphas in Adrianople and Ierax in Tzernomianou. They all deserted to Kantakouzenos in 1345.⁸⁹⁵ Among the leading supporters of the regency after the murder of Alexios Apokaukos belonged Phakeolatos. He was an energetic admiral of the regency, but he was despised by the Genoese of Pera who wanted to kill him. He did not know for how long the empress would protect him. Eventually, thanks to Phakeolatos' *oikeioi* and relatives, early in the morning of 2 February 1347, Kantakouzenos was able to enter Constantinople. As a consequence, Phakeolatos kept his high position during the reign of Kantakouzenos and he stayed by the side of Kantakouzenos until the very last moment.⁸⁹⁶

But the case of the two sons of Apokaukos is peculiar because of the very fact that they were sons of the *de facto* leader of the regency. The first, Manouel

⁸⁹³ Ibid, II, 196, 329.

⁸⁹⁴ Ibid, II, 474. Unfortunately we do not know anything else for Kontostephanos but we do know that the Kontostephanaioi were an aristocratic family.

⁸⁹⁵ Ibid, II, 526, 529. Ierax proved deceitful since he planned soon after to murder Kantakouzenos, but failed and fled to Constantinople (ibid, 559-563).

⁸⁹⁶ Gregoras, II, 766-767; 773-774; Kantakouzenos, II, 584, 599-602; III, 63, 74-77, 195, 290. The Genoese hated him because, when in 1346 they invaded and captured Chios, he had raided a Genoese merchant ship that he found on his way to protect the island.

Phakeolatos has been identified with the Genoese family of Fazzolatti. Although his surname is not Greek, we should not assume that he was of direct Genoese birth. None of our sources allude to this, even though it would be something noteworthy to mention, since Phakeolatos (of supposed Genoese ancestry) became an enemy of his own 'people'. Moreover we happen to know that already during the reign of Andronikos II some Phakeolatoi were state officials (Gabras, *Letters*, 616).

Apokaukos, governor of Adrianople in 1344, being unable to act in favour of Kantakouzenos in Adrianople (since all his supporters were either expelled from the city or imprisoned), left the city and joined Kantakouzenos' army.⁸⁹⁷ The other son of Alexios, Ioannes Doukas Apokaukos, was governor in Thessalonike between 1343 and 1345. He was reluctant to declare his preference for Kantakouzenos and did it openly only after the death of his father.⁸⁹⁸ Alexios' sons could not have been dissatisfied with their treatment by their father. They both governed the two most important cities of the empire outside the capital, Thessalonike and Andrianople. It is not that the family of Apokaukos was not close: Alexios' brother, Ioannes Apokaukos, remained loyal to the regency even after the death of his brother.⁸⁹⁹ Furthermore, Alexios was aware of the importance of marriage alliances having pursued them to the greatest possible extent for his sons and daughters. The reasons for their defection must have been pure opportunism as were the motives of all these people in the last two categories. They did not choose their loyalty according to their 'social position' but rather it depended on who was offering them more or who was winning at the time. They did not want to find themselves on the side of the loser.

⁸⁹⁷ Kantakouzenos, II, 485-487. Kantakouzenos also says that two of Apokaukos' sons had already before the murder of the latter defected to him. I am not sure whether the second son is Ioannes the governor of Thessalonike, since he had not yet defected (Ibid, II, 541) and only did after the murder of his father. So it is possible to speak of yet a third son of Alexios Apokaukos who joined Kantakouzenos.

⁸⁹⁸ Kantakouzenos, II, 568-582.

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid, II, 556. Another one, a certain Georgios Doukas Apokaukos was *droungarios* and he had signed the treaty with Venice in 1342, but we do not know his relation with Alexios Apokaukos: MM III, 114. Perhaps the fact that he was *droungarios* (i.e. one of the vice-commanders of the navy under the *meGas doux*) may help us relate him with Alexios Apokaukos.

Apokaukos has been seen as a man of low origins.⁹⁰⁰ That is how Kantakouzenos designates him: ‘ἄνδρα γένους ἀφανούς ὄντα’⁹⁰¹. Such a phrase in the mouth of a high aristocrat, may reveal a small degree of snobbery, but it is also repeated by Gregoras.⁹⁰² Elsewhere though, Alexios figures as ‘εἷς τῶν Ἀποκαύκων, καὶ κρείττων κατὰ γένος, ἀνὴρ πλούτῳ τε κομῶν καὶ δόξῃ’.⁹⁰³ It is true that the family of Apokaukos did not belong to the elite of the empire, although its fortunes were not as obscure as has been assumed. In the eleventh-twelfth centuries Apokaukoι served as generals and church officials and we only need to remember the metropolitan of Naupaktos in the early thirteenth century, Ioannes Apokaukos. Even though the origins of Alexios are indeed obscure, we happen to know that in 1277 an Ioannes Apokaukos was *sebastopanyperatos* and he was considered so important as to sign as witness the treaty of Michael VIII with Venice.⁹⁰⁴

Alexios was born in Bithynia at the end of the thirteenth century and occupied himself with tax collection. At the beginning, he was just a lower tax officer, acting more as a secretary, serving for a period of time Andronikos Asanes, the father-in-law of Kantakouzenos. But later he worked independently and was able to enrich himself through this occupation. During the reign of Andronikos III he served as treasurer and

⁹⁰⁰ R. Guiland, ‘Alexios Apokaukos’, in *Revue de Lyonnais* 1921, 523-541; Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*, 133-140; Weiss, *Kantakuzenos*, 25-26.

⁹⁰¹ Kantakouzenos, I, 25.

⁹⁰² Gregoras, II, 577 and 585.

⁹⁰³ P. Magdalino, ‘Byzantine churches of Selymbria’, *DOP* 32 (1978), 309-318 (here at 311). The passage is part of a homily-encomium to saint Agathonikos. Towards the end of the homily the author praises all those that renovated the church, among them Apokaukos. But the author, it should be mentioned, the Hesychast metropolitan Philotheos of Selymbria, was writing long after the death of Apokaukos (as late as 1381). See also the discussion regarding the origins of Apokaukos in Magdalino, ‘Byzantine snobbery’, 60-61.

⁹⁰⁴ MM III, 96.

as *mesazon*.⁹⁰⁵ As a member of the Byzantine elite then, Apokaukos owned lands and he was the *ktetor* of at least one church in Selymbria.⁹⁰⁶ Therefore, he was probably not low-born and moreover his attitude conformed to the social behaviour of the aristocracy. He pursued several marriage alliances with the aristocracy for his children, he flaunted his wealth, assumed titles and offices, led military expeditions, became *ktetor* of churches, owned landed estates and actually built an impregnable fortress near Constantinople, which was able to withstand any siege.

Apokaukos was an ambitious man and had in the past been involved in other plots.⁹⁰⁷ He was suspicious of almost everyone. He had created a circle of political supporters but most of them one by one fell into disfavour. According to Gregoras, he wanted the throne. This may be true but Gregoras repeats the same for Syrgiannes during the reign of Andronikos III.⁹⁰⁸ It is probable that just before his death, Apokaukos proposed the marriage of one of his daughters to Ioannes V.⁹⁰⁹

The second leader of the coup was the patriarch Ioannes Kalekas. He came from the town of Apros in Thrace and according to Kantakouzenos he did not have an illustrious family background. He was not a monk as were most of his predecessors, but he belonged to the ordinary clerics and he had a family. Kantakouzenos enrolled him in the clergy of the palace and in 1334, despite the strong opposition of the Synod, Kantakouzenos managed to elevate Kalekas to the patriarchal throne.⁹¹⁰ The relations between Kantakouzenos and Kalekas were disturbed right after the death of

⁹⁰⁵ Kantakouzenos, II, 87-102.

⁹⁰⁶ S. Eyice, 'Alexis Apocauque et l'église de Sélymbria', *Byzantion* 34 (1964), 79-124 (here at 89-93). Magdalino, 'Byzantine churches', 313-314, has assumed that a second church might also have been renovated by Apokaukos.

⁹⁰⁷ Gregoras, II, 577-578 and 599-605; Kantakouzenos, II, 70-74 and 91-95.

⁹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 602.

⁹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 578.

⁹¹⁰ Kantakouzenos, I, 432-435; Gregoras, I, 496 and II, 813-814.

Andronikos III, when Kalekas opposed Kantakouzenos' right of regency. We learn that Kalekas was creating a circle of senators around him.⁹¹¹ Therefore, although Kantakouzenos puts into the mouth of Apokaukos 'the lie' that he was considering the elevation of Palamas to the patriarchal throne, in order to convince the patriarch Kalekas to take part in the plot against Kantakouzenos,⁹¹² it would not be far from the truth to claim that this was in fact the intention of Kantakouzenos.

In addition to the leaders of the regency, other prominent members of the aristocracy were allied. Among them was the *epi tes trapezes* Georgios Choumnos, member of a family that had been elevated to the status of the elite a few decades earlier. He must have been an early opponent of Kantakouzenos. In a council convened just after the death of Andronikos III, Choumnos had spoken with irony to Kantakouzenos. Apokaukos strengthened the alliance with Choumnos by marrying his niece to him, but soon after Choumnos was put under house arrest because he denounced Apokaukos to the empress.⁹¹³

One of the first that took part in the plot was the father-in-law of Kantakouzenos, the *sebastokrator* Andronikos Asanes.⁹¹⁴ In the family of Asanes we may observe the first division of a family between the two parties, already from the

⁹¹¹ Kantakouzenos, II, 19 (*ἑταιρεία συγκλητικῶν*).

⁹¹² Kantakouzenos, II, 106-108. It has been proposed by Sjuzjumov that Kalekas was the actual leader of the coup, since the Synodal Tome of 1347 refers only to him and not to Apokaukos or the empress. Yet a Synodal Tome should focus on an ecclesiastic, especially because of Kalekas' opposition to Palamas): PR II, 356. Moreover, even Kalekas was powerless before the empress, who after a short procedure arrested and deposed him. We should not underestimate the power of the empress, although Kantakouzenos chose not to blame her (as his *sympenthera*). In Gregoras, though, the empress figures as the main leader of the regency, who actually rejected any possibility of peace.

⁹¹³ Kantakouzenos, II, 120-123, 218, 325-326 and 336. Another member of the family, the *stratopedarches of the monokaballoi* was Ioannes Choumnos (see above note 830).

⁹¹⁴ PLP, no.1489. The title *sebastokrator* is not assigned by the editors of the PLP but it is implied by the text of Gregoras (I, 363).

start of the struggle, since the two sons of Andronikos supported Kantakouzenos. Apokaukos took advantage of the envy of Andronikos Asanes for Kantakouzenos (who still kept Andronikos' sons prisoners) and won him over to the plot, promising to him the second place in the empire.⁹¹⁵ However soon, for unknown reasons, he was imprisoned in the palace along with his brother Konstantinos Asanes and the latter's son Michael Asanes.⁹¹⁶ Together with Andronikos Asanes his brothers allied with the regency as well. Isaakios Asanes, after the murder of Apokaukos, became *mesazon* and remained as such until the fall of the regency. He must have fallen into disfavour after the victory of Kantakouzenos.⁹¹⁷ The last brother, Manouel Asanes, was living in Serres. After the city was won by Kantakouzenos, he became the leader of the Serbian-friendly party and managed to deliver the city in 1345 to Stephan Dušan.⁹¹⁸

The other important person of the first plot was the *megas droungarios* Ioannes Gabalas. Gabalas did not come from a renowned family, even though we do know of a *sebastos* Gabalas in the early Palaiologan period.⁹¹⁹ Gabalas in fact

⁹¹⁵ Kantakouzenos, II, 111-116. Nevertheless, Andronikos Asanes was envious not only of Kantakouzenos, but also of Andronikos III, by whom he had been expelled from the administration of the Peloponnesos: Gregoras, I, 362-364. He was then approached by Syrgiannes to take part in a conspiracy but he did not cooperate and in fact betrayed him.

⁹¹⁶ Kantakouzenos, II, 336, 421 and 613. Although it might seem as if Apokaukos again took measures against an aristocrat, it should be noted that Andronikos was not freed even after the death of Apokaukos and despite the fact that his brother Isaakios was in the new regency. The empress must have had reasons for his imprisonment then as well. The reasons are unknown but Kantakouzenos seems to connect his imprisonment with the downfall of Choumnos. As Kantakouzenos does so often, he hides facts and reasoning that might blacken the memory of his relatives, even when they did not have good relations with him (his *sympenthera* the empress Anna fell victim to the tricks of Apokaukos etc.); so it is possible that they might have taken part in a conspiracy.

⁹¹⁷ Ibid, III, 89. Unlike Andronikos Asanes, who, after Kantakouzenos set him free from prison, served him loyally and tried to prevent a plot by Ioannes V (Ibid, III, 160 and 202-204).

⁹¹⁸ Kantakouzenos, II, 535.

⁹¹⁹ M. Karamesini-Oikonomidou, 'Νομισματική συλλογή Αθηνών', *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 27(1976), 9.

belonged to the circle of the declared friends of Kantakouzenos but Apokaukos managed to win him over.⁹²⁰ He initially received great honours but after some time he fell into disgrace, because he proposed peace and was imprisoned.⁹²¹ The last important leading member of the regency was the *mystikos* Manouel Kinnamos, who served as treasurer. He does not seem to have been affected by the change in government: in 1349 he is attested as a witness in the treaty with Venice, still bearing his dignity.⁹²²

Most members of the extended family of Palaiologoi seem to have allied with the regency. Among them was Sir Guy de Lusignan (the ‘Syrges’ of Byzantine sources). He became one of the staunchest enemies of Kantakouzenos by confiscating Kantakouzenos’ property in Serres and imprisoning the ambassadors that Kantakouzenos had sent to him.⁹²³ Among other members of the Palaiologan *oikos* we may number Konstantinos Palaiologos and his son Andronikos Palaiologos, who married a daughter of Apokaukos,⁹²⁴ and two other generals of the regency, Thomas⁹²⁵ and Georgios Palaiologos.⁹²⁶ Other aristocratic supporters of the regency included the *megas logothetes* Ioannes Palaiologos Raoul, head of the imperial chancery,⁹²⁷ the

⁹²⁰ Kantakouzenos, II, 118-120, 126, 138-139.

⁹²¹ Gregoras, II, 696, 701, 710, 726; Kantakouzenos, II, 223, 437, 441, 493-498.

⁹²² Kantakouzenos, II, 223 and 549; MM III, 119.

⁹²³ Kantakouzenos, II, 191-193, 236, 277, 290, 292; Gregoras, II, 623 and 634. He left soon after for Armenia where he became a king.

⁹²⁴ Kantakouzenos, II, 218, 225, 236, 305, 333-335, 435; Gregoras II, 710.

⁹²⁵ Kantakouzenos, II, 225; MM III, 119.

⁹²⁶ Kantakouzenos, II, 490.

⁹²⁷ First time attested as *protosebastos* in Actes Kutlumus, 91 (November 1342) and for the last time in November 1344 as *megas logothetes* in Actes Philotheou, 23. An earlier identification of him with Ioannes Gabalas who bears simultaneously the same titles has been rejected: J. Raymond and O.P. Loenertz, ‘Dix-huit lettres de Grégoire Acindyne analyses et dates’, *OCP* 23 (1957), 114-144 (here at 128-129) and contra S. Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine family of Raoul-Ral(l)es* (Athens 1973), 46-47.

eparchos Michael Senachereim Monomachos,⁹²⁸ the governor of Lemnos Georgios Doukas Philanthropenos,⁹²⁹ another Monomachos in Constantinople,⁹³⁰ married to a niece of the *megas stratopedarches* Georgios Tagaris, who also remained loyal to the regency;⁹³¹ Manouel Kantakouzenos Strategopoulos who was the only member of the Kantakouzenos *oikos* who remained on the side of the regency, since he chose the side of his father-in-law Georgios Choumnos;⁹³² a general Sphrantzes;⁹³³ Aplesphares;⁹³⁴ and the family of Margarites in Thessalonike which had taken advantage of confiscations affecting Kantakouzenos' supporters. Finally, the *oiketai* of the leading members of the regency are also an important factor. Among them the *oinochoos* (cup-bearer) of the empress Goudeles⁹³⁵ and Ioannes Katabolenos who was arrested by Kantakouzenos in Garella in 1343 and sent to Constantinople to ask for peace.⁹³⁶

As we may observe from this prosopographic analysis, people who supported the regency were not, as is often said, the bureaucrats and the 'new men'. There were people from this background, like Gabalas and Kinnamos, but at the same time many belonged to the high aristocracy, like Asanes and Andronikos Palaiologos, or to the local landed aristocracy like Margarites or Monomachos. They were not bureaucrats of the capital but many of them were keen generals on the battlefield. The reasons for taking the side of the regency were either purely personal (e.g. Apokaukos, Kalekas)

⁹²⁸ Kantakouzenos, II, 190, 228, 236, 254, 356, 368-372, 380-382.

⁹²⁹ Actes Lavra III, 32.

⁹³⁰ Kantakouzenos, II, 597-598.

⁹³¹ Ibid, II, 591-592.

⁹³² Ibid, II, 126 and III, 451.

⁹³³ Ibid, II, 405.

⁹³⁴ Ibid, II, 552.

⁹³⁵ Ibid, II, 277, 394 ff.

⁹³⁶ Ibid, II, 474. It is possible to identify him (or another member of his family) with an *archontopoulo* attested in 1344 in Zichna: Actes Philotheou (K), 301.

or again, as in the case of Kantakouzenos, family strategy (e.g. the Margarites, Palaiologos families); there were certainly not social reasons.

If we compare the members of the two parties, we can observe that it is not possible to categorise them as two parties of different social background. Their backgrounds and their allegiance were in essence determined by their family alliances or by their personal political choices. The main advantage of Kantakouzenos at the start of the war was the control of the assembled army at Didymoteichon, and not the support of the aristocracy. During the first year of the war, as soon as Kantakouzenos was faced with difficulties, he was abandoned both by the rank and file and by those aristocrats with whom he had ties neither of family nor of clientage, leaving him with a handful of supporters.⁹³⁷ It was only the return of Kantakouzenos with a stronger Turkish allied army that forced or, rather, allowed them to redefine their political allegiance on the basis of a better political future, i.e. the pending victory of Kantakouzenos.

The role and the attitude of the people in the war

One of the most curious and interesting issues during the second civil war is the participation and the role played by the middle and lower social classes. There is much evidence; Kantakouzenos, Gregoras and other sources confirm that the common

⁹³⁷ Kantakouzenos, II, 246-247, claims that he was left after the abandonment of Theodoros Synadenos, apart from the garrison in Didymoteichon, with 2000 men (which, as it is suggested in the passage, was only a small portion of the former army, since most of the men had left) and some months later with only 500 men, who were comprised of his *oikeioi* and the *oikeioi* of his relatives (p. 295-296). At start the army must have been much more than 10,000 men since Kantakouzenos says that he left in Didymoteichon 1000 horsemen (p. 195-196) and Gregoras (II, 610) says that the total army of Kantakouzenos was comprised of 2000 horsemen and about 4000 other men .

people (the *demoi*) of many cities of the empire moved against Kantakouzenos' supporters (the *aristoi*) sometimes violently.⁹³⁸ We cannot simply disregard this evidence or claim that it is an exaggeration. Until now the explanation given for these outbreaks of violence has been that the common people used the usurpation of Kantakouzenos as an excuse, and that the violence was directed against the aristocracy of each town; Kantakouzenos was for them the representative of the aristocracy.⁹³⁹ These outbreaks of violence are going to be examined here in order to determine whether they were incited by supporters of the regency and whether the anti-aristocratic feelings of the common people were the main reason for their persistence in supporting the regency.

The first popular movement took place in Adrianople in October 1341. Kantakouzenos had sent letters to various cities saying that he had been proclaimed emperor in Didymoteichon, asking to be accepted by them. In Adrianople the letters were read in public at the city council (*ἐκκλησία*) consisting of the people and the *archontes*. The *archontes* accepted Kantakouzenos' claim; however there were heard voices among the people to the contrary, but the *archontes* discouraged them aggressively. As a result, that same night three men named Branos, Frangopoulos and Mougdouphe, went around the city calling the people to rise up against the powerful. By the morning, all the powerful citizens of Adrianople had been arrested apart from some who managed to escape. The names of the three leaders of this popular

⁹³⁸ Gregoras, II, 614: 'καὶ ἅμα πᾶν τό τε δημοτικὸν ἐρεθίζοντα κατὰ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ τὸν βάνανσον ὄχλον κατὰ τῶν δόξῃ καὶ γένει προύχόντων'; Kantakouzenos, II, 178: 'ἐστασίαζον οὖν αἱ πόλεις πᾶσαι κοινῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους'.

⁹³⁹ Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*, 144-146 and 234-238; Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*, 84-85. Apart from Charanis, as has been noted in the introduction of this chapter.

movement are otherwise unknown and only about Branos do we know from Kantakouzenos that he was a common labourer.⁹⁴⁰

At first glance, the movement seems spontaneous with no provocation from Constantinople. However, additional evidence from Kantakouzenos allows us to correct the notion of a ‘spontaneous popular revolt’. Despite the fact that ‘all the powerful citizens’ of Adrianople had been expelled, a few weeks later Kantakouzenos was able to have correspondence with ‘some *archontes*’ in Adrianople, who agree to deliver the city to him by opening a gate.⁹⁴¹ Adrianople did not fall for another three years, during which Manouel Apokaukos and Branos remained governors. Still Kantakouzenos had supporters in the city with whom he was in correspondence. They planned to open a gate and let the army of Kantakouzenos enter the city. When their plan was revealed, they decided to attack the supporters of the regency before

⁹⁴⁰ Kantakouzenos, II, 175-177. It is quite tempting to think of the noble family of Branos originating from Adrianople (the name Branos is of Slavic origin and its initial form is Branos: see *ODB*, entry Branos). The lord (*ἡγεμόνευεν*) Theodoros Branos had become there autonomous ruler in 1206 after a pact with the Latins in Constantinople (Niketas Choniates, 500 and 629; cf. the document: G.L. Tafel Fr. and G.M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, (Vienna 1856), II, 17-19).

Matschke places Frangopoulos in the middle class, since we know of an Ioannes Frangopoulos who was a merchant in Kilia in the Black Sea in 1362 and who came from Adrianople (he cites: O. Iliescu, ‘Notes sur l’apport roumain au ravitaillement de Byzance d’après une source inédite du XIV^e siècle’, *Nouvelles études d’histoire publiées à l’occasion du XIII^e Congrès des Sciences historiques, Vienne 1965* (Bucarest 1965), 105-116 (here at 106 and 108). But the surname Frangopoulos (etymologically means ‘son of a Frank, i.e. Latin in common language’) is quite diffused (PLP, nos. 30077-30104 and 30131-30139). Among them we can find a branch of priests, literati and a metropolitan of Nicaea (PLP, no. 30091), a branch of landowners in Constantinople or members of the military aristocracy (e.g. PLP, no. 30090), a branch of military aristocracy in Peloponnesos (e.g. the *protostrator* Manouel Frangopoulos in Morea in 1429: PLP, no. 30139), landowners in Macedonia and in Thessalonike. For Mougoudouphes we do not know anything apart from one Mougoudouphes who was *kastrophylox* and landowner in Lemnos towards the end of the 14th century: *Actes Philotheou* (K.), 331.

⁹⁴¹ Gregoras, II, 620-622; Kantakouzenos, II, 187-188. The attempt failed because the frozen river Evros prevented the army from crossing while subsequently a regency army arrived and took over the administration of the city.

Kantakouzenos' army comes. At first they were lucky, because the people of Adrianople (the same people that three years earlier had revolted against the 'powerful') helped to overcome the supporters of the regency. Nevertheless they resorted to drinking and the supporters of the regency effectively struck back: the supporters of Kantakouzenos were either arrested or killed or expelled from the city.⁹⁴² Yet, a few months later and with no reaction from the people or the supporters of the regency the new governor of the city Paraspondylos delivered the city voluntarily to Kantakouzenos.⁹⁴³

The revolt of Adrianople was not an exception. At the same time as Kantakouzenos was sending letters to the cities asking for their support, there were some cities that declined to accept Kantakouzenos or were compelled to accept him due to the fear of his army. After the revolt of Adrianople and the coming of the Bulgarians, the cities that had accepted him found the chance to revolt.⁹⁴⁴ Let us take for example of the city of Pamphilon in Thrace. The presence of a strong garrison commanded by Ioannes Angelos was perhaps the main reason that a revolt did not break out the winter of 1341-2. But when most of the garrison left the city to help Kantakouzenos in a campaign, the people found the chance to revolt and drove the remaining garrison out of the city.⁹⁴⁵

In Bera in southern Thrace the citizens, composed of monks and farmers, arrested the governor and the garrison of the city and sent them to Constantinople. Yet, we have no evidence that any of the powerful of the town were arrested. Next

⁹⁴² Kantakouzenos II, 484-487. Among the plundered houses was the house of Branos. Perhaps Branos was not a simple labourer or at least he made a fortune in the meantime and had a new house. It is unlikely that the hut of a labourer would be plundered.

⁹⁴³ Ibid, II, 525.

⁹⁴⁴ Ibid, II, 179-181.

⁹⁴⁵ Ibid, II, 187-188.

spring Kantakouzenos tried to capture Bera but he failed.⁹⁴⁶ After the failure in Bera, Kantakouzenos besieged Peritheorion, near modern Xanthi, but he failed, as he also failed again in 1343 despite his Turkish allies. Peritheorion was within the lands absorbed by Momcil, but during the final battle of 1344, observing the strong army composed of Byzantines and Turks that Kantakouzenos was bringing against Momcil, the city stayed neutral and declined to let Momcil enter the city. Momcil fought and died before the walls of the city and the inhabitants let no one enter despite the massacre of Momcil's army. Even though Kantakouzenos does not mention it, most probably Peritheorion was forced to recognise his rule then, along with the rest of the lands ruled by Momcil. Both cities were under the rule of Matthaïos Kantakouzenos during the second phase of the civil war (1352-1354) and they both fell to the rule of Ioannes V by treason. However, in this case the inhabitants of the city had nothing to do with the delivery of their cities. Both were delivered by decision of their garrison and governor.⁹⁴⁷ In Gratianoupolis in western Thrace a certain Angelitzes, who is said to have been enriched thanks to the discovery of a treasure, arrested the 'friends' of Kantakouzenos and imprisoned them in the citadel. Thereafter he was made city governor. The city reverted to Kantakouzenos only when he was besieging it in 1344 and the prisoners revolted, allowing Kantakouzenos' army to enter from the side of the citadel.⁹⁴⁸ Not even Didymoteichon, the base of Kantakouzenos, escaped revolt. When it became known that Kantakouzenos had been defeated in Macedonia and had left for Serbia, and whilst the regency's army was stationed near Didymoteichon and raided the suburbs, the citizens of the outer city revolted and tried to besiege the inner

⁹⁴⁶ Ibid, II, 196-197.

⁹⁴⁷ Ibid, III, 310-311.

⁹⁴⁸ Ibid, II, 422, 425-426.

city of Didymoteichon. However, the garrison was too strong and easily defeated the rebels.⁹⁴⁹

In fact it seems that except for the coming of the Bulgarians and the military failures of Kantakouzenos, the regency also proved a factor in instigating the people to revolt. It is reported that Apokaukos and Kalekas sent letters to all the cities calling the people to revolt against the 'powerful', while Kantakouzenos and those that supported him were excommunicated.⁹⁵⁰ We know of one city in Thrace during this first period that supported Kantakouzenos: Abdera/ Polystylon. It should be noted that it had actually been re-built by Kantakouzenos a few years earlier. As a result, it remained on his side until 1342 when the navy Apokaukos moored outside the city and forced it to change sides. The leading citizens were arrested and transferred to Constantinople. However, a year later Kantakouzenos returned to the area and the citizens delivered their city voluntarily to Kantakouzenos, arresting the regency's governor.⁹⁵¹

In many other cities no turbulence is reported because there was no fear that they would side with Kantakouzenos.⁹⁵² That is for example the case in Serres, where Sir Guy de Lusignan was very eager to imprison friends of Kantakouzenos and confiscate their properties. Serres declined to revert to Kantakouzenos even when he besieged the city with a Serbian army in late 1342, in spite of the raiding of the suburbs.⁹⁵³ They only decided to deliver their city to Kantakouzenos much later in 1344 while Dušan was besieging it. Soon there was created a pro-Serbian party, with

⁹⁴⁹ Ibid, II, 287-289.

⁹⁵⁰ Ibid, II, 297-298; Gregoras, II, 613-614; *Chronica Breviora*, 8: 82. We should not underestimate the weight of excommunication.

⁹⁵¹ Kantakouzenos, II, 226, 277, 394.

⁹⁵² A fact already recognised by Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*, 79.

⁹⁵³ Kantakouzenos, II, 328-331.

which many former supporters of the regency sided, having as their leader Michael Asanes. Eventually the city surrendered to Stephan Dušan by the summer of 1345.⁹⁵⁴

No great revolts took place in Macedonia (apart from Thessalonike) and some cities reverted easily to the side of Kantakouzenos. Melnik was easily taken by Kantakouzenos when his friends in the city delivered the city to him early in 1342.⁹⁵⁵ Rentina, a fortress near Thessalonike, reverted to Kantakouzenos when he reached the area, probably on account of his still great army. But after the defection of Theodoros Synadenos and the escape of Kantakouzenos to Serbia, the inhabitants of the fortress with the help of Sir Guy de Lusignan, who was outside the fortress, attacked the small garrison of two hundred men and delivered the city to the regency.⁹⁵⁶ Berroia was the first city that Kantakouzenos gained in early 1343 after an uncertain period. He called it to support him and then a city council of the powerful, the *demos* and the church authorities was convened and accepted the proposal. The final decision was influenced by the raids of the Serbians in the area, already before the start of the civil war.⁹⁵⁷

The reversion to the side of Kantakouzenos after 1343 by many cities was not however usually such an easy task. Kantakouzenos had to fight hard to win over most of them, although help from the regency was minimal or inexistent. A minor incident is suggestive: a small town had resisted, but it was hit by earthquake and its walls were demolished. Kantakouzenos voluntarily rebuilt the fortifications, but, as soon as the works were finished, the inhabitants revolted and drove away his garrison.⁹⁵⁸ The

⁹⁵⁴ Kantakouzenos, II, 468-469, 473, 535-536, 551.

⁹⁵⁵ Kantakouzenos, II, 228, 232.

⁹⁵⁶ Kantakouzenos, II, 236 and 277.

⁹⁵⁷ Gregoras, I, 654-655; Kantakouzenos, II, 352-355. They were afraid that the city might be taken over by the Serbians; besides Edessa had just fallen to them.

⁹⁵⁸ Kantakouzenos, II, 474-478.

force exerted by Kantakouzenos compelled most of the cities to surrender. The important inland city of Bizye resisted at the start and declined politely the offer to submit to Kantakouzenos rule. Kantakouzenos then raided the countryside of Bizye and a few weeks later, prior to yet another raid, he repeated the offer. The city council decided to side with Kantakouzenos and expel from the city the hostile governor and the metropolitan.⁹⁵⁹ Later, Kantakouzenos was able to capture most of the cities and fortresses around Constantinople and the cities of the Black Sea, thanks to an alliance with Orchan.⁹⁶⁰

In another case Ioannes Dobrotica, the son of the ruler of modern Dobrucha in Romania, arrived in 1346 to help the regency. He forced the Thracian cities by the Black Sea to defect to the regency. He was then appointed governor in Medeia, which after the defeat of the empress he refused to give up. On the contrary, he started raiding the surrounding lands until Kantakouzenos campaigned against him with a strong army and navy, and compelled him to come to terms.⁹⁶¹ In this case, however, we are dealing more with a case of centrifugal tendency of a foreigner who recently came to Byzantium than with a case of a continuous city resistance.

Besides, there are some cases in which Kantakouzenos had an easy conquest. Most of the mountainous area of Rodope reverted quickly to him in 1343, without battles.⁹⁶² The conflict was renewed there when Momcil sided with the regency. After

⁹⁵⁹ Kantakouzenos, II, 487-491.

⁹⁶⁰ Kantakouzenos, II, 476-481. Sozopolis officially reverted to Kantakouzenos only after his victory. When, though, the second war with Genoa began, Kantakouzenos, fearing that coastal cities would be a target of raids by the Genoese navy, sent an additional garrison. But in Sozopolis the citizens refused the army offered. As a result Sozopolis being unprepared fell to a Genoese attack and was plundered: Kantakouzenos, II, 497; III, 214-216. For Matschke this is an evidence for the continuous resistance of a city with a trade class, as is the case below for Medeia: Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*, 197-199.

⁹⁶¹ Kantakouzenos, II, 584-585; III, 62-63.

⁹⁶² Kantakouzenos, II, 402-404 and 415.

his death however no city or fortress withstood Kantakouzenos.⁹⁶³ But in most other cases the task of Kantakouzenos proved lighter, when the governors of the cities defected to him, like Ioannes Batatzes.

The case of the Zealots in Thessalonike is one which deserves special attention and for this reason a more detailed analysis can be found in the Appendix. The Zealots were thought to represent a social revolution of the middle and lower layers of society against the aristocracy, which was directed by the political party of the Zealots and had a clear socio-political programme of changing the *status quo*. This would entail a redistribution of wealth and perhaps another political model of government, more ‘democratic’, with the participation of social groups other than the landed aristocracy. However, to begin with, there is no evidence to support the view for a political programme of the Zealots, especially since Ševčenko showed that the dialogue of Kabasilas does not refer to the Zealots. Secondly, the influence of the Zealots on the people is questionable: the people were not always on their side. Finally, the leaders of the Zealots themselves were aristocrats.

In Constantinople we have the first case of the people moving against the supporters of Kantakouzenos. Apokaukos, using some ‘vicious’ men attached to him, or using the *demarchoi* according to Gregoras, prompted the people of Constantinople to plunder the houses of Kantakouzenos.⁹⁶⁴ Certainly in this case we have an explicit reference about an incited movement of the common people. Apokaukos, during his regime, did everything he could to fan hatred of the people towards Kantakouzenos. Public feasts were set to celebrate the supposed final defeat of Kantakouzenos in Christmas 1342; the people were incited to scream insults against Kantakouzenos in

⁹⁶³ Kantakouzenos, II, 534.

⁹⁶⁴ Gregoras, II, 608; Kantakouzenos, II, 137-138.

public.⁹⁶⁵ But the accordance of the people with the regency was not something certain or firm. We learn that Apokaukos in 1345 was afraid of a movement of the people against him.⁹⁶⁶ The next movement of the populace against the supporters of Kantakouzenos came in 1345 after the murder of Apokaukos. We are told that either the wife of Alexios Apokaukos (Gregoras) or his trusted servant Tzefrai (i.e. Geoffrey) (Kantakouzenos) armed and paid the common people and especially the sailors to attack the two hundred prisoners, who one day before had murdered Apokaukos and still remained within the prison's walls.⁹⁶⁷ On 3rd February 1347 Phakeolatos opened the Golden Gate and let Kantakouzenos and more than a thousand men of his troops enter Constantinople. The army was not great but proved sufficient. No resistance from the people or the garrison of Constantinople seems to have taken place; instead the *demos* acclaimed Kantakouzenos as he entered. The empress with her guard and her *oikeioi* sheltered in the palace of Blachernai, refusing to submit. She sent messengers to call the people to rise up and to the Genoese of Pera to send help. The people did not rise up, but the Genoese sent some ships either to help the empress or take her with them. But their endeavour failed since both Kantakouzenos' soldiers and some of the people prevented them from landing. In the end, the empress was forced to come to a peaceful agreement.⁹⁶⁸

At the beginning of his reign, Kantakouzenos does not seem to have any problem with the people. The problems started again when Ioannes V resumed the offensive in 1352 against Matthaios Kantakouzenos in Thrace. Ioannes V campaigned with a small army to Adrianople, where the people willingly opened the gates for him

⁹⁶⁵ Gregoras, II, 618 (for Epiphany 1342); Kantakouzenos, II, 189 and 296-298.

⁹⁶⁶ Gregoras, II, 730.

⁹⁶⁷ Gregoras, II, 734-739; Kantakouzenos, II, 544-545.

⁹⁶⁸ Kantakouzenos, II, 604-613. The joy of the inhabitants is repeated by Demetrios Kydones, *Oratio ad Cantacuzenum II*, 82, who composed his speech right after Kantakouzenos' victory.

and forced Matthaios to retreat to the citadel. A number of other cities also voluntarily submitted to Ioannes V. Ioannes Kantakouzenos hastened to help his son. He was able to defeat Ioannes V's army arrayed in front of the walls of Adrianople, but the people continued fighting on the walls and, after they were repulsed, desperately in the city itself.⁹⁶⁹ Kantakouzenos captured accordingly all the cities that had defected to the side of Ioannes V.

Ioannes V retreated to the island of Tenedos, but in the knowledge that the people of all the cities opted for him, he did not stop fighting. Rather he attempted to land at Constantinople with some ships. His plan however was discovered and the empress Eirene Kantakouzene prepared the resistance. She sent messengers around the city to warn the citizens not to rebel and prepared the soldiers: Ioannes V's landing failed.⁹⁷⁰ He proved luckier on his second landing a few months later on 29 November 1354, although he landed with only one ship. Once his landing became known the citizens rose up to help him. Kantakouzenos, probably tired of the prolonged civil war, refused to deploy his forces against Ioannes V and to start a fighting in Constantinople. On the third day Ioannes V, from a point of advantage now, offered peace on reasonable terms and Kantakouzenos accepted it at once. Kantakouzenos would remain emperor but the rule would be exercised by Ioannes V. This state of affairs did not last for long. The uprising of the people had not yet settled down. Ten days later while Kantakouzenos was in the house that Ioannes V stayed at temporarily, the people, learning of his presence, attacked to *oikeioi* of Kantakouzenos,

⁹⁶⁹ Kantakouzenos, III, 242-246. The same resistance by the people was met in the other cities that Ioannes V had captured and which subsequently Kantakouzenos recaptured with force.

⁹⁷⁰ Kantakouzenos, III, 255-256.

who were waiting outside the house and ceased their attack only after the intervention of Ioannes V. The next day Kantakouzenos abdicated from the throne.⁹⁷¹

Kantakouzenos, Gregoras and Demetrios Kydones strove to present this war as a binary division, a common but rough schema. On the one side stood the well-born, the rich, the educated, the calm and wise men, whereas on the other side were the ill-born, the poor, the uneducated, the greedy and furious men or the mob.⁹⁷² But as the analysis has shown, there was no such division. The aristocracy was divided into two opposing parties and the share of the regency was most probably larger. The people of

⁹⁷¹ Kantakouzenos, III, 284-294 and 304-307. Kantakouzenos of course claims that he had already arrived at this decision.

⁹⁷² Gregoras, II, 613: 'Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν εἰς δύο μοῖρας σχισθὲν τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων γένος ἅπαν κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ χώραν· εἷς τε τὸ συνετὸν καὶ ἀσύνετον· εἷς τε τὸ πλούτω καὶ δόξῃ διαφέρον καὶ τὸ ἐνδεές· εἷς τε τὸ παιδείας εὐγενοῦς τρόφιμον καὶ τὸ πάσης παιδείας παντελῶς ὑπερόριον· εἷς τε τὸ ἔμφρον καὶ τεταγμένον καὶ τὸ ἄφρον καὶ στασιῶδες καὶ αἰμοχαρές'. If we are to take at face value the opposition rich-poor, we should also accept the opposition educated-uneducated and prudent-imprudent.

Kantakouzenos, II, 177-178: 'τῶν μὲν ἑκασταχοῦ δῆμων τὸν βασιλέα Παλαιολόγον δεῖν οἰομένων ἑαυτοῖς δεσπότην ἐπιφημίζειν, τῶν ἀρίστων δὲ ἢ τῆ ἀληθείᾳ τῷ Καντακουζηνῷ προσκειμένων βασιλεῖ, ἢ τῶν ἀπόρων καὶ νεωτερίζειν βουλομένων τὴν ἴσῃν αἰτίαν ἐπαγόντων οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἐλέγχου. ῥᾶσται δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐγίνοντο αἱ ἐπαγωγαὶ χρήματά τε ἔχουσιν, ἃ ἔδει τοὺς ἀπόρους διαρπάζειν, καὶ μὴ βουλομένοις τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως συνασχημονεῖν. καὶ οἱ τε δῆμοι καὶ πρότερον πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐκ τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν ἄγεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι ἐν τῆς εἰρήνης τοῖς καιροῖς πολλὴν ἔχοντες ἀπέχθειαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ διαρπάζειν τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἐλπίζοντες πολλὰς οὐσας, ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν πρὸς τὰς στάσεις καὶ ἐξ ἐλαχίστης προφάσεως καὶ τὰ δεινότερα ἐτόλμων. οἱ τε στασιασταὶ ὡς ἐπιπολὺ τῶν ἀπορωτάτων καὶ λωποδυτῶν καὶ τοιχωρῶν ὄντες, αὐτοῖ τε ὑπὸ τῆς πενίας ἀναγκάζομενοι οὐδὲν εἴασαν ἀτόλμητον, καὶ τοὺς δῆμους ἐνήγον πρὸς τὰ ἴσα, τὴν πρὸς βασιλέα τὸν Παλαιολόγον εὐνοίαν ὑποκρινόμενοι [...]. ἐστασίαζον οὖν αἱ πόλεις πᾶσαι κοινῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους, καὶ οἱ ὑστερίζοντες που πύσσει τῶν προγεγενημένων πολλὴν ἐπεδείκνυντο ὑπερβολὴν [...] καὶ ἦ, τε ἀλόγιστος ὀρμὴ ἀνδρία ἐνομίσθη καὶ ἡ ἀναληγσία πρὸς τὸ συγγενές καὶ ἀσυμπάθεια βεβαία πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πίστις· καὶ ὁ μὲν πρὸς βασιλέα τὸν Καντακουζηνὸν χαλεπαίνων καὶ πρὸς ὕβρεις ἐξαγόμενος αἰσχρὰς καὶ χαλεπὰς, πιστὸς ἐδόκει, ὁ σωφρονῶν δὲ καὶ γλώσσης κρατῶν καὶ τὸ προσῆκον ἦθος διασώζων ὑποπτος ἦν εὐθύς'.

Demetrios Kydones, *Oratio ad Cantacuzenum II*, 79, in 1347 first presents this viewpoint. Also see above in note. 812 the literary schema in the *Monodia* of Demetrios Kydones.

the cities however remained adherents of Ioannes V. When they truly had the option to choose and were not compelled by the situation, most frequently they chose to support the regency. It was not because of a policy favourable to the lower and middle classes, since we saw that there was no social programme, but rather because of loyalty to the minor Ioannes V. It is doubtful whether the common people (unlike some members of the aristocracy) could know that in fact Kantakouzenos was a close friend of Andronikos III, entrusted with state affairs, almost as co-ruler. But it cannot be utterly denied that the plundering of property and the fierce reaction of the mob in Thessalonike or in Adrianople could have been motivated by a desire to acquire a portion of the wealth of those rich men who supported the 'usurper' Kantakouzenos. However, the same could happen against the supporters of the regency. The propaganda of the regency must have played a significant part in instigating the people to revolt, perhaps mixed with a feeling of loyalty to the minor Ioannes V. In many cases the city revolts, where we are able to cross-check, were short-lived. As soon as the Kantakouzenists of the city were arrested, the city returned to its peaceful life. Sometimes the allegiance was mixed with feelings of decentralisation mostly by powerful men who were taking advantage of the weaknesses of the state and the decentralising tendencies. It would be wrong to attribute the allegiance of a city to its social profile, when we see that a powerful man assumed authority in the area.

All this does not mean that there were no social differences in the Byzantine empire which resulted in social tensions. These differences are also revealed by the contemporary 'Dialogue between Rich and Poor' of Alexios Makrembolites.⁹⁷³ The social tensions in Thessalonike seem to have continued well into the next century; leading members of the community inveighed against injustice done to the poorer

⁹⁷³ Alexios Makrembolites, 'Dialogue'.

segments of society.⁹⁷⁴ The growth of the Byzantine cities and the expansion of trade brought also the expansion and the rise in significance of the Byzantine middle class. But the common people remained excluded from politics. It is very tempting to see the violent plundering of the properties of rich aristocrat supporters of Kantakouzenos in Thessalonike and Adrianople by the lower classes as an outburst after years of social and economic misery. Even so, most probably there was incitement to this outburst by the authorities friendly to the regency. We should be cautious moreover in attributing a feeling for actual social reform either to the leaders of the regency or to the people themselves and in assuming that there was clear collective social class awareness in a pre-modern society like the Byzantine one.

The second civil war thus is one more case that strengthens the view that in Byzantium the ties of social class were weak. But, at the same time, the alliances of the second civil war, based mainly on family and personal dependence, strengthens the significance of the social 'circles' for the structure of late Byzantine society. All other alliances that were not based on these two elements often proved too weak to maintain. The people in this last category were motivated by self-interest. A third element that comes out from this research is that the civil war pushed to the fore and tested the feeling for political autonomy in the cities. Factions moved by desire for political autonomy pushed some cities in the direction of partial autonomy from the central authority or of defection to other regimes (e.g. Serres to the Serbians). Besides,

⁹⁷⁴ Demetrios Kydonēs, *Letters*, 217-218; Gregorios Palamas, *Letter to his folk*, in A. Philippidis-Braat, 'La captivité de Palamas chez les Turcs: dossier et commentaire', *TM* 7 (1979), 109-221 (here at 164); Isidoros Glabas, *Homilies* (Tsirpanlis), 567-570; Symeon of Thessalonike, *Homily on St Demetrius*, 47. Nonetheless, these sources never refer to something specific and it is possible (especially with regard to the homiletic works of the three churchmen) that they are only rhetorical in nature, that these complaints represent a common motif along with other causes for the failures and the miserable situation.

the very fact that these factions were made of 'circles' of political alliances, and not of social or even professional groups (e.g. merchants, guilds) contributed to the lack of a coherent political choice which would guide the city in any one direction.

C. SOCIAL RELATIONS IN CONSTANTINOPLE DURING THE SIEGE OF BAYEZID I (1394-1402)

Introduction: The economic and social life in Constantinople during the siege

The prolonged siege of Constantinople by Bayezid, which lasted for eight years, is a unique case for the evolution of social relations in Constantinople. First of all, we happen to possess sufficient documentary evidence because of the increase of the number of documents from the Patriarchal register. Secondly, relations with the outer world were interrupted to a large degree and the economic situation was harsh; therefore it is possible to detect how certain social groups were affected and responded to such a period of crisis. Thirdly, it is possible to check the evolution of social relations and structure at the very end of the period under survey and how this evolution was affected by the political fortunes of the empire.

Is it possible that the increase of the documents for the two years between December 1399 and January 1402 is a mere coincidence? The quantitative differences are represented in Tables 10a-b and they are even more striking in the cases brought by lay persons. The rise of the number of documents preserved could perhaps be explained by the fact that the register ends then, in the first Patriarchate of Matthaios I (1397- spring 1402),⁹⁷⁵ but this cannot explain the rise in lay cases. The canons stipulated that a dispute between ecclesiastics should come before an ecclesiastical court and not to a lay one. Besides, cases regarding marriage and ‘the soul’ had been assigned by the emperor Alexios I Komnenos in 1085, to church courts.⁹⁷⁶ But it is

⁹⁷⁵ i.e. the copyist might have included more cases from the time of Matthaios’ patriarchate.

⁹⁷⁶ Zepos, I, 312.

also noticeable that cases of dowry, which were in the majority before 1399, now fall significantly, while at the same time there is the emergence of cases dealing with commercial law disputes or simply property (see Table 10b). The lay court did not cease to judge disputes, and we do know that it judged cases of dowry, inheritance and differences among ecclesiastics.⁹⁷⁷ Is it possible, as has been claimed, that people realised that the Byzantine state was collapsing and turned to the patriarchal court as a more stable institution or that the Patriarchate itself was assuming state functions, anticipating slowly the development of the late fifteenth - early nineteenth century when Church will run as an administrative and judicial institution for the Orthodox *millet* under the Ottoman regime?⁹⁷⁸

This interpretation is possible, although, as has already been mentioned, I do not believe that the Church realised a growth vis-à-vis the state in terms of power in the late period. In order to answer the question of the increase of the documentation, we must examine the situation in this period. Constantinople was under siege; the emperor Manouel II has just left for the West leaving, after a peace agreement, his former rival Ioannes VII in charge; right after the emperor's departure, the increase in the documents of the Patriarchal Register begins. Therefore, it is possible that people sought in the person of the Patriarch a more authoritative source of justice, perhaps fearing that upon the return of emperor Manouel, he might annul some of the verdicts. Besides, problems in state justice were created by the absence of *katholikoi kritai* for

⁹⁷⁷ For example in MM II, 458-460. See also above p. 177.

⁹⁷⁸ H. Hunger, 'Das Testament des Patriarchen Matthaios I. (1397-1410)', *BZ* 51 (1958), 288-309 (here at 290-291), who ascribes the number of cases to the energetic nature of Matthaios; Laiou, 'The Palaiologoi', 811-812; Nicol, *Church and society*, 28-29. See also Papagianni, 'La jurisprudence patriarchale', 215-216; for a more moderate explanation.

sometime between 1397 and April 1400.⁹⁷⁹ Moreover the emperor Ioannes VII himself had left for some time Constantinople during the winter 1401 and this slowed down the judicial process of cases that were brought to him.⁹⁸⁰

These circumstances must have caused disturbances and many people would have preferred the patriarchal court. There is no register for the years after 1402 to serve as a comparison. But, it should be remembered that in Byzantium there was no strict court jurisdiction. As a matter of fact people tended to prefer the court at which they thought they would receive better treatment. That is the case, for example, of Iakobina, the daughter of Philippos Doukas Aprenos. Aprenos had mortgaged to Anna Laskarina Tagarina his right for one *adelphaton* in a monastery in exchange for some money. But since he was unable to pay back the money that he owed, Tagarina went to the lay court, which found in her favour and gave her the said *adelphaton*. However, Aprenos' daughter, Iakobina, after the lay court's verdict, resorted to the patriarchal court in hope that she would achieve better treatment, although she did not win the case in the end.⁹⁸¹ There are cases in which people went to both courts and sometimes the decisions of the two courts were contradictory; but usually there were political or social factors behind these contradictory verdicts.⁹⁸²

⁹⁷⁹ For their existence in 1397 see MM II, 424. They were Thomas Doukas Alousianos: PLP, no. 696; (Konstantinos) Kaballaropoulos: PLP, no. 10049 and 10054; and the metropolitan of Nikomedeia. For the problem that this created and the date of restoration see MM II, 380-381. The new *katholikai kritai* were Chrysokephalos: PLP, no. 31135; Georgios Oinaiotes: PLP, no. 21020 and 21025 and the *megas skeuophylax* of the patriarchate, Ioannes Syropoulos: PLP, no. 27210.

⁹⁸⁰ See this particular case MM II, 459-460. He was already absent in January 1401 and we do not know when he returned. Perhaps he had left for a military enterprise against the Turks.

⁹⁸¹ MM II, 424-426.

⁹⁸² As in the case of the debt of Panopoulos to Kalokyres: see below p. 321. It is stressed in the document that it was the right of poor men to ask for the 'usual help' of the Church in order to cut the interest on their debts.

The economic situation of the besieged Constantinople has been dealt with in separate studies.⁹⁸³ It has been established that the harsh economic conditions affected social life in Constantinople. Both literary and documentary sources confirm the poverty and the famine that had befallen the City.⁹⁸⁴ One of the causes, but at the same time an effect, of the poverty was the rise in food prices. The normal price of wheat per *politikos modios* (i.e. about 324 kg) in Constantinople in the mid-fourteenth century was about 5-6 *hyperpyra*.⁹⁸⁵ During the siege the prices went up significantly. In 1400 a *modios* costs 22.5 *hyperpyra*,⁹⁸⁶ and in 1401 the *oikeios* of the emperor Georgios Goudeles sold one *modios* for 31 *hyperpyra*, clearly a ‘black market’ price.⁹⁸⁷ In contrast, at the same time in Caffa, wheat cost about 5 *hyperpyra* per *modios*, a normal price, and only a few months after the siege wheat in Constantinople returned almost to its normal price again, as we see it at about 7-8 *hyperpyra* per *modios*. This will remain the normal price until the very fall of Constantinople.⁹⁸⁸

With such prices the poverty of the populace was almost a certain outcome. People asked for a reduction on the rents that they paid,⁹⁸⁹ and they had problems repaying their debts.⁹⁹⁰ Besides, one of the effects of the siege was the rise of the

⁹⁸³ Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*, 149-180; in a separate study idem, ‘Economic conditions in Constantinople during the siege of Bayezid I (1394-1402)’, in C. Mango and G. Dagron (ed.), *Constantinople and its hinterland* (Aldeshot 1995), 157-167; E. Papagianni, ‘Εμπορικές επιχειρήσεις Κωνσταντινοπολιτών κατά τα έτη 1399-1401’, in *Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani. Ενθύμια Αλκη Αργυριάδη* (Athens 1996), II: 735-745.; idem, ‘Η αγορά των ακινήτων στην Κωνσταντινούπολη σύμφωνα με τις αποφάσεις του πατριάρχη Ματθαίου Α’’, in N.G. Moschonas (ed.), *Money and markets in the Palaeologan era* (Athens 2003), 145-155.

⁹⁸⁴ Among the literary sources see: Manouel Kalekas, *Letters*, 190, 197, 226-227 and 235.

⁹⁸⁵ Morrison and Cheynet, ‘Prices and Wages’, 826-827.

⁹⁸⁶ MM II, 474 and 482.

⁹⁸⁷ See Balard, *La romaine genoise*, 758.

⁹⁸⁸ See Morrison and Cheynet, ‘Prices and Wages’, 827-828.

⁹⁸⁹ MM II, 301-303 and 370.

⁹⁹⁰ MM II, 313-314, 341 and 412-413.

interests on loans. In the law book, the *Hexabiblos* of Armenopoulos, interests were set at 6% per year for personal loans, 8% for business loans and 12% for maritime loans.⁹⁹¹ But, during the siege the two cases that we have suggest an interest rate of 15% for a business loan⁹⁹² and 26.67% for a personal loan.⁹⁹³

There is evidence for the selling of houses in order to purchase the necessities of life.⁹⁹⁴ Nikolaos Exotrochos, for example, was completely poor, ‘not even able to provide for himself the next day’s food’, and despite the fact that he was not legally yet an adult, the patriarchal court in view of his misery, allowed him to sell his paternal houses for 250 *hyperpyra*. But no one was found to give this price except for his own cousin Theodora Beropolitissa, who eventually bought them for 240 *hyperpyra*.⁹⁹⁵ In fact, as we observe from this case the siege had a negative effect on the price of the houses. The most straightforward comment comes from a certain merchant Prokopios, who had bought a house from a woman named Chrysokephalina, but he was unable to pay the full sum at that moment. Therefore, he promised to pay the rest, as soon as he returned from his trade trip a few months later, but he stated that he was afraid that after the end of the siege the price of the house might rise.⁹⁹⁶ Indeed, there were many houses that were left unattended and were almost ruined. One house, abandoned by its inhabitants, was demolished by orders of the patriarchal court.⁹⁹⁷ People preferred to plant the land rather than to have or maintain unused

⁹⁹¹ Armenopoulos, 199-204.

⁹⁹² MM II, 380. 45 *hyperpyra* for a 300 *hyperpyra* capital.

⁹⁹³ MM II, 313. Although the document states that the interest of 3 *hyperpyra* for 5 months was on the 27 *hyperpyra* that Manouel Katzas still owed, if the interest was in fact applied to the first capital of 45 *hyperpyra* (and not the remaining 27) it would again be high, on the scale of 16%.

⁹⁹⁴ See the table by Morrison and Cheynet, ‘Prices and Wages’, 828.

⁹⁹⁵ MM II, 447-448.

⁹⁹⁶ MM II, 461-462.

⁹⁹⁷ MM II, 321.

houses. So, the monk Makarios when he bought the land and some houses from the *kathisma* of Theologites demolished the houses and planted instead a vineyard.⁹⁹⁸

The drop in house prices is directly related to the reduction in Constantinopolitan population. There is a great deal of evidence for the abandonment of Constantinople and the flight of the people. Although we do not possess exact numerical data the flight must have been great. Manouel Kalekas talks about an almost empty Constantinople.⁹⁹⁹ A whole neighbourhood, the area around the Hippodrome, has been documented as completely deserted.¹⁰⁰⁰ But the flight of the populace was not a phenomenon reserved only for the lower social groups; we hear about many aristocrats that had deserted or planned to desert Constantinople.¹⁰⁰¹

But if house prices were dropping, the prices of fields and vineyards were on the rise. The same rise can be observed for the price of vineyards and fields within the City's walls. The normal price of a vineyard in the provinces did not usually exceed 16 *hyperpyra* per *modios*.¹⁰⁰² However, in the besieged City the two examples that we have exceeded these prices by far. One vineyard reached the price of 30 *hyperpyra* per *modios*.¹⁰⁰³ In another case the price was even higher: 40 *hyperpyra* per *modios*.¹⁰⁰⁴ The same rise was experienced by fields in Constantinople and, perhaps, even by a far greater scale. There is almost no attested price per *modios* of arable land that exceeded

⁹⁹⁸ MM II, 551.

⁹⁹⁹ Manouel Kalekas, *Letters*, 190. Kalekas himself had abandoned Constantinople for Pera (for politico-religious reasons) and then left for Crete.

¹⁰⁰⁰ MM II, 496.

¹⁰⁰¹ For more cases see MM II, 257, 341, 392, 421, 443-444, 497, 513-515 and 563-564.

¹⁰⁰² See the list in Morrison and Cheynet, 'Prices and Wages', 832.

¹⁰⁰³ MM II, 349. The full surface of the vineyard was 16 and 2/3 *modioi* and was sold for 500 *hyperpyra*. Perhaps the favourable location near the cistern of St John Prodromos might partly explain the high evaluation of the price by the specialists.

¹⁰⁰⁴ MM II, 558.

1.5 *hyperpyron* in the empire.¹⁰⁰⁵ During the siege the two cases that we have at our disposal suggest a price of 20 *hyperpyra* per *modios* of arable land. The first is a case of a small field of 8 *modioi* and the other a larger one of 44 *modioi* which was evaluated at 800 *hyperpyra*.¹⁰⁰⁶

The routes of commerce which supplied Constantinople with commodities were still open, since the Turks did not have domination of the sea. Nonetheless, relatively few were those that were able to profit from it. Alexios Koumouses, we learn, lost 300 *hyperpyra* in a trading trip that he had made.¹⁰⁰⁷ Konstantinos Angelos, who had received money from various people to trade goods, although travelling with an armed ship, was captured by the Turks and the whole venture failed.¹⁰⁰⁸ But some aristocrats proved more successful. Ioannes Goudeles was the man that had sold the wheat at the inflated price of 31 *hyperpyra*, while he had undertaken another partnership with a certain Theodora Palaiologina which proved fruitful as well.¹⁰⁰⁹ The family of Goudeles had at least two more active members in trade: Ioannes' father Georgios and his brother Philippos Goudeles. However, not even aristocrats were able to avoid the risk of failure. In a partnership between Koreses and Georgios Goudeles with a large capital (3600 *hyperpyra*), Koreses, who had been trading the goods in the Black Sea, failed and lost much of the capital.¹⁰¹⁰ Perhaps the most successful entrepreneur in trade was none other than the emperor Ioannes VII himself.

¹⁰⁰⁵ See Morrison and Cheynet, 'Prices and Wages', 818-820.

¹⁰⁰⁶ MM II, 558 and 304 respectively. In the second case we should note that the field was actually sold to the monastery of St Mamas (so it was not a mere evaluation) and the evaluation was made specialists that both sides (Manouel Palaiologos Raoul and the monks) had put and also an official of the patriarchate was involved.

¹⁰⁰⁷ MM II, 377-378.

¹⁰⁰⁸ MM II, 560-561.

¹⁰⁰⁹ MM II, 511. Theodora Palaiologina had also mortgaged a year before 400 *hyperpyra* from her daughter's dowry in another commercial enterprise. See MM II, 399.

¹⁰¹⁰ MM II, 546-550.

Having as his agent a certain Leontarios, he cooperated with two other Genoese merchants, bought grain in Pera and resold it in Constantinople at an evidently much higher price. They all made a huge profit of 11000 *hyperpyra*.¹⁰¹¹

There is little evidence for investments in Constantinople and these investments mostly concerned the plantation of new vineyards or orchards or their improvement.¹⁰¹² The patriarchate recognised the indispensable need for new plantations that would eventually help the provisioning of the City and the general economic situation. Thus, in a case concerning the church of Theotokos *Amolyntos*, which was jointly held by Eirene Palaiologina, her brother Andronikos Palaiologos and her uncle David Palaiologos as *ktetors*, David had planted vines around the church, which prevented entrance to it. The court decided that a new entrance should be built so as not to destroy the plantations.¹⁰¹³

The fortunes of the high and the 'military' aristocracy

The designation 'military' may seem problematic. The aristocracy, restricted now to Constantinople, cannot be considered military at face value, even though it is probable that the aristocrats were responsible for fighting. I use the designation to distinguish the non-civil (secretaries, judges, finance officials) aristocracy from the rest of the aristocracy. Their identification cannot therefore be certain. Some of them

¹⁰¹¹ Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 758; Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*, 160. Leontarios is identified by Necipoğlu as either Bryennios Leontares, governor in Selymbria, or more probably with Demetrios Laskaris Leontares, advisor of Ioannes VII after 1403 in Thessalonike.

¹⁰¹² See for example MM II, 499-501: two brothers undertook the renovation and the cultivation of a vineyard, which belonged to the monastery of Holy Mother *Pausolytes*, under an *emphyteusis* contract (they would receive half of the income). The vineyard provided previously to the nuns an annual income of 20 *hyperpyra*, but they managed to increase it to 100 *hyperpyra*.

¹⁰¹³ MM II, 455-458. For a similar case see also at p. 395-399.

might have had a function that we do not know. Indications in the documents of the Patriarchal Register that can help are: designations of offices and titles (mainly *oikeios* of the emperor); the surname and, therefore, the family tradition; the designation of *kyr* (although it was not always consistently applied); and large amount of property (although due to the siege this tends to be rather difficult).

The siege did not leave unaffected this segment of Byzantine society. These families must have had property outside the walls but the occupation of these lands by Bayezid would have proved a large problem to them. There are many indications from documentary evidence that they had been negatively affected. We learn that a certain Palaiologos, whose wife Anna Asanina Palaiologina was aunt to the emperor, due to his financial difficulties had sold his entire wife's dowry. She tried to reclaim a vineyard, which had been legally sold to her brother Goudeles, but she failed.¹⁰¹⁴ Another Theodora Palaiologina was not in a position to fulfil her obligation of a 400 *hyperpyra* dowry to her son-in-law Trichas and had to ask her brother to mortgage his vineyard for the debt. One year later we learn that Trichas himself and his wife had left Constantinople leaving his children to his mother-in-law. Trychadaina (the mother of Trichas), who was to receive the children after a period of time, refused, since obviously she could not cope with the expenses of their upbringing.¹⁰¹⁵

The family of Komnenos Branas and the *aunt of the emperor* Anna Palaiologina were political supporters of Andronikos IV and had followed him to his appanage in Selymbria after the pact of 1391. These movements caused major misfortunes and disharmony to the family. Documents, among them Anna's marriage contract, were lost and probably a great part of the family's wealth (Anna's dowry

¹⁰¹⁴ MM II, 361-366.

¹⁰¹⁵ MM II, 399-400, 511-512 and 550-551. Theodora Palaiologina had been active in trade twice. The second time we learn that she made a profit.

initially amounting to 3000 *hyperpyra*). The only property that remained in their hands were some houses and three vineyards in the area of Constantinople, one of which measured only 4 *mouzouria* (i.e. 4 *modioi*). All of them were given to their son-in-law Michael Synadenos Astras, so that he might look after them, since they had left for Selymbria. Sometime before 1399 Komnenos Branas died and Anna, who wanted to marry her other daughter, was in a state of economic misery. Then, it was Ioannes VII and his wife Eirene who dowered their cousin, acting both as patrons of their political supporters and as co-members of the extended family. The only things that Anna could contribute to her daughter's dowry were the aforementioned houses and vineyards. This act, however, caused more disharmony in family relations. As soon as Ioannes VII returned as co-emperor in Constantinople in 1399, Anna Palaiologina was ready to give the promised property to her daughter. But her three sons were thus apparently left stripped of patrimonial property and she resorted to the patriarchal court with the intention of forcing them to allow the property be given as a dowry. The court decided in favour of her and the three Palaiologoi were left with nothing.¹⁰¹⁶

Another branch of the Palaiologoi, which included the sons of a *syr* Perios Lampadenos, experienced economical difficulties as well. His sons, Michael Raoul, Gabriel Palaiologos and Ioannes Palaiologos, all *oikeioi* of the emperor, decided to divide the three buildings, two houses and a shop (evaluated at 330 *hyperpyra*) which they owned jointly as patrimonial inheritance, with the intention of selling some of them to pay off their debts.¹⁰¹⁷ This Michael Raoul must have been identical with a

¹⁰¹⁶ MM II, 329-333. Regarding the fact that the patriarchal court usually upheld and protected the woman's dowry see: R.J. Macrides, 'The transmission of property in the Patriarchal Register', in J. Beaucamp and G. Dagrón, *La transmission du patrimoine: Byzance et l'aire méditerranéenne* (Paris 1998), 179-188, where the legal aspects of the case are also discussed.

¹⁰¹⁷ MM II, 355-358.

certain Michael Palaiologos,¹⁰¹⁸ who was also experiencing severe need of cash and in November 1401 wanted to sell a vineyard to facilitate the basic provisions for his wife and child. The patriarchal court took precautions that the lost dowry of his wife first be reconstituted (the lost part of the dowry amounted to 250 *hyperpyra*), before he could sell the vineyard. When his brother, Gabriel Palaiologos, heard about the intended sale, he hurried to be the one who would buy the vineyard, lest someone else outside the family buy it. But, as was the case in general in the besieged Constantinople, he was also short of cash and had to mortgage part of his own wife's dowry.¹⁰¹⁹

Another member of the aristocracy affected by the harsh economic situation was Manouel Palaiologos Raoul, *oikeios of the emperor* and married to the daughter of Makrodoukas. He was planning to abandon Constantinople and for that reason he wanted to sell the field of 44 *modioi* that he owned. Eventually, he sold it for 800 *hyperpyra* to the monastery of St. Mamas, the *ephoros* of which was *kyr* Nikolaos Sophianos. However, the emperor learned about his plans and prevented Manouel from leaving the capital. After this turn of events, Manouel tried to take back the field and return the money, but Sophianos declined. The emperor intervened once more and

¹⁰¹⁸ The editors of PLP do not identify Michael with the aforementioned Michael Raoul (PLP nos. 24135 and 21531; sic: two entries by mistake) but with another Michael Palaiologos, an *archontopoulo* (MM II, 382-384; PLP no. 21523). The similarities between the *archontopoulo* and the second Michael Palaiologos are many: the *archontopoulo* had financial problems also, he owed money and he did not have enough to sustain his family, he was married with an under-aged wife, he owned a vineyard and part of his wife dowry was spent. But there is no mention of a Gabriel Palaiologos as a brother of the *archontopoulo*, he was under-aged (whereas the first Michael Palaiologos was not under-aged) and he had already sold in April 1400 his own vineyard to his creditor. Besides, I do not know how many Gabriel Palaiologoi, *oikeioi* of the emperor, would have a Michael Raoul (Palaiologos) as a brother during the years 1400-1 in Constantinople. This identification brings to consideration another matter: the fluent nature of the attribution of surnames, about which we have to be cautious.

¹⁰¹⁹ MM II, 557-559.

ordered that the money should stay with Makrodoukas, his father-in-law, and the latter should provide Manouel with a monthly amount to sustain him and his family.¹⁰²⁰ It is clear that the emperor effectively tried to restrain the constant outflow from Constantinople, especially by high members of society like Manouel.

Demetrios Palaiologos Kallistos, whose father had foundation rights in the monastery of *Euergetis tes Sebastokratorisses*, tried to claim an *adelphaton*, which his mother had sold back to the nuns of the monastery. But he did not have sufficient evidence of his rights to it. Nonetheless, we learn that as a concession to his poor financial status, the Patriarch decided that he could receive three *measures* of wine from that monastery.¹⁰²¹ The last case is that of the *oikeios* of the emperor Manouel Bouzenos who was married to a Theodora Philanthropene. He had fallen in such a state of misery that he had sold all of his property and only the further sale of his wife's dowry (some houses worth 270 *hyperpyra*) would help him to avoid destitution.¹⁰²²

Not all aristocratic families experienced problems. The family of Goudeles seems not to have been affected by the siege; it may have profited from it. Georgios Goudeles was able to invest 2600 *hyperpyra* in a partnership (*syntrofia*) that he made with a certain Koreses. Although this trip did not prove successful, his son Ioannes undertook at least two successful trade trips and he was the one that sold the wheat at the black market price of 31 *hyperpyra*. But the most successful of all aristocratic entrepreneurs was certainly Nikolaos Notaras. He was involved as an imperial agent around 1390 in a major commercial grain enterprise with the Genoese. From 1391 onwards he invested his money in banking activities. He loaned several sums of

¹⁰²⁰ MM II, 304-312.

¹⁰²¹ MM II, 430-431, i.e. ca. 31 liters of wine (enough for three months).

¹⁰²² MM II, 492-494.

money to the Genoese state and to many prominent families of Genoa. Much of his money was deposited in the newly founded bank of St Giorgio in Genoa after 1408. As the Genoese register reveals, his capital in 1391 (when we have the first record), was still about 1302 *livres*, but by 1420 this had risen to 27600 *livres*.¹⁰²³ One more example of a noble Genoese family of Pera will show the differences and the gap between the rich Genoese and the Byzantines. According to the testament of Giovanni Demerode two of his four children received 20000 *hyperpyra*.¹⁰²⁴

The financial problems of the aristocracy perhaps correspond to the changing nature of its profile. One change is in its source of wealth. Before the last quarter of the fourteenth century, *pronoiai* and estates had mainly been the aristocrats' sources of wealth, now we mostly learn about real estate property, movable goods and gold. Vineyards became an important source of wealth as well. Apart from the financial difficulties, another striking phenomenon is the relatively few properties that the aristocrats had. Whereas in the first half the fourteenth century, their fortunes could be counted in thousands of *hyperpyra*, now most had properties worth hundreds of *hyperpyra*. For some the siege was the catalyst for their reduced circumstances – as for example Anna Asanina Palaiologina –, but we cannot say the same for everyone. Thus, Philanthropene's dowry consisted only of some houses worth 270 *hyperpyra*. Manouel Palaiologos Raoul's property consisted only of a field estimated at a value of 800 *hyperpyra* and this price was only due to the increase in field prices during the siege. Theodora Palaiologina provided only 400 *hyperpyra* as dowry to her daughter. Certainly, apart from Anna Palaiologina and Goudeles we cannot estimate the fortune

¹⁰²³ See, for these, Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 337 and 347-349.

¹⁰²⁴ M. Balard, 'Péra au XIVe siècle: Documents notariés des Archives de Gênes', in M. Balard, A. Laiou and C. Otten-Froux (eds.), *Les Italiens à Byzance. Édition et présentation de documents* (Paris 1987), 9-78 (here at 40-42).

of other members of the Byzantine elite. The results are obvious: the families had seriously been affected.¹⁰²⁵

One of the most striking evolutions is the disappearance of old titles and posts. If the disappearance of old posts can be related to the shrinkage of the state apparatus, the same cannot be said for the titles. Up to the 1380s one continues to meet the old titles, as for example in the case of the *megas primmikerios* Andronikos Palaiologos Asanes in 1383.¹⁰²⁶ But thereafter and except for some sporadic references in the fifteenth century, they seem to have been discarded. They were certainly distributed until the end of the empire and they still played an important role, as the evidence of Sphrantzes testifies. He held in high regard the possession of a title and he implies that other aristocrats also did.¹⁰²⁷ But even he rarely names people with titles.

The rarity with which titles were distributed is even more striking in the list of the senators in 1409, where from the twenty present ('almost all the senate' according to the document) only one (a certain *megas primmikerios* Kantakouzenos) is designated with a title.¹⁰²⁸ It could be assumed that the aristocracy scorned the imperial titles. But the preceding example of Sphrantzes does not seem to justify such a conclusion. Sphrantzes adds that Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites would get

¹⁰²⁵ There are also a number of other families with analogous fortunes but solely their surname does not allow a safe inclusion to any of our social categories.

¹⁰²⁶ MM II, 51.

¹⁰²⁷ Sphrantzes, 90-92. He asked for a title that 'no one already has and is not going to be attributed to anyone else during my lifetime'. Yet the passage itself reveals that there were several unoccupied high-ranking titles in 1451, which confirms our results. Besides it seems that some titles must have disappeared or had been significantly demoted. The list of the seven first titles as presented by Sphrantzes is: *megas doux*, *megas domestikos* (?), *protostrator*, *megas logothetes*, *megas stratopedarches*, *megas primmikerios*, *megas konostaulos*. There is no reference to a *kaisar*, a *panypersebastos* or a *protobestiarios*; they are not attested during the fifteenth century either, so the titles might have been discarded. The titles of *megas logothetes* and *megas konostaulos* were unoccupied at that moment.

¹⁰²⁸ Laurent, 'Trisepiscopat', 132-134.

angry, if Sphrantzes would eventually rank above him. On the other hand, we can observe that the title of *oikeios* of the emperor has become even more common, while the relationship of a man to the emperor (son-in-law, uncle, aunt of the emperor etc.) is a common designation. We could then hypothesise that due to financial restrictions the state reduced the number of title-holders (a title implied a *roga* as well) or that as with the honorary titles (*pansebastos* etc.) people ceased to be designated with them, adopting only *oikeios* of the emperor, which obviously seemed enough as proof of high status.

The sources allow us to reconstruct at least one circle of aristocrats all interconnected (see the diagram in p. 415). Most of them were supporters of Ioannes VII and had followed him to Selymbria. For many of them it is obvious that they had special commercial relations with Pera and the Genoese. Thus Bryennios Leontares, who had served as *kephale* of Selymbria in 1399,¹⁰²⁹ was the agent of Ioannes VII in his above-mentioned commercial enterprises with the Genoese. It should be noted that the patrician family of the de Draperiis in Pera was related to Palaiologoi. Luchino de Draperiis had married a certain Jhera (Eirene?) Palaiologina, daughter of Ioannes Leontares, and had received a dowry worth 2500 *hyperpyra*. The fortune of Luchino's son, Jane, was considerable, since he owed a ship worth 7000 *hyperpyra* and on one occasion he was able to lend 34838 *livres* to the Genoese state. He was engaged in the administration of the Genoese colony and in 1390 he served as the colony's ambassador to Bayezid I, with whom he concluded a treaty.¹⁰³⁰ One of the partners of the de Draperiis was Ioannes Goudeles who was also related to the Palaiologoi in two ways, through his sister Anna Asanina Palaiologina, who had married a certain

¹⁰²⁹ MM II, 401.

¹⁰³⁰ Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 342; idem, 'Pera au XIVe siècle', 33-36.

Palaiologos¹⁰³¹ and through his own wife, whose brother Trichas had married a daughter of Theodora Palaiologina.¹⁰³² The Trichas family is otherwise unknown and we cannot be certain why two aristocratic and (at least for Goudeles) wealthy families would have concluded a marriage with them. But, since both Theodora Palaiologina and the family of Goudeles were engaged in trade, it is possible that the Trichas family was also engaged in commercial activities.¹⁰³³

Now, Theodora Palaiologina's brother Petros Palaiologos was married to Anna (Aspietissa) Palaiologina, whose uncle was Michael Synadenos Astras.¹⁰³⁴ Astras, son of the *megas stratopedarches* Georgios Synadenos Astras,¹⁰³⁵ was married to the daughter of Anna Palaiologina, an aunt of the emperor Ioannes VII. As we mentioned above, Anna Palaiologina had moved to Selymbria with her husband and it was the emperor himself that helped to dower her second daughter married to Philippos Tzykandeles.¹⁰³⁶ The family of Tzykandeles cannot be considered illustrious: a Manouel Tzykandeles is known to have been a scribe and secretary of

¹⁰³¹ PLP nos. 1526 (Anna Asanina Palaiologina) and 21404 (Palaiologos); MM II, 361-363. It is not certain that he was her brother. The reference it is possible that had been made in a Christian context (all are brothers) and it is striking that the middle name of Anna (i.e. Asanina) is completely different from that of Georgios Goudeles. Unfortunately, we do not know the parents of either person. Anyhow, most probably they were indeed brother and sister, since Anna refers to Goudeles as her *authentēs* (i.e. lord), which implies an inferior position that could only be achieved if he actually was her brother. Probably thus, Asanina took both her husbands' surnames and the full surname of her husband would be Asanes Palaiologos.

¹⁰³² MM II, 399.

¹⁰³³ Besides we learn that Trychadaina, the mother of Trichas, had agreed to mortgage dowry items for the second commercial trip in which Theodora Palaiologina invested money (MM II, 511). We learn only for a Trichas *apographeus* in Lemnos (already deceased) some time before 1387 (Actes Philotheou (K), 311).

¹⁰³⁴ MM II, 399-400. Aspietissa because her brother was Alexios Aspietes.

¹⁰³⁵ PLP, no. 1598. He had served as governor in Ainos, Lemnos, Thessalonike and had been friends with Demetrios Kydones.

¹⁰³⁶ MM II, 329.

Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos.¹⁰³⁷ A curious connection is the fact that a certain Niketas Tzykandeles, who perhaps worked in the palace though, had been a pro-Unionist in the reign of Michael VIII,¹⁰³⁸ Manouel Tzykandeles had copied the translations of Thomas Aquinas for Demetrios Kydones,¹⁰³⁹ and we learn that Philippos Tzykandeles had accompanied the emperor Ioannes V to Rome in 1369,¹⁰⁴⁰ when this emperor made his declaration of Catholic faith, and that he had served Ioannes VII for the few months in 1390 when he was an emperor.¹⁰⁴¹ Perhaps this connection to Ioannes VII and the financial difficulties of Anna Palaiologina, assured him a marriage to the extended imperial family. All these elements show that Byzantine society continued to function as before. Economic cooperation, social ascent, marriage and political allegiance were all interconnected and produced the continuous functioning of the Byzantine aristocratic tradition, while each element usually resulted from or was the outcome of the other factors.

What is also evident is the emergence of new families or rather their social ascent. The family of Goudeles is perhaps the most noteworthy. Before the siege we know only a certain Goudeles who was the cup-bearer (*oinochoos*) of the empress Anna Palaiologina and during the civil war was given the governorship of Polystylon in Thrace.¹⁰⁴² One cause of the social ascent of the family was certainly the above-mentioned marriage alliances, but these were probably a consequence of the economic

¹⁰³⁷ PLP, no. 28129.

¹⁰³⁸ PLP, no. 28130 (Niketas Tzykandeles): ‘ὁ τοῦ παλατίου ἐλάχιστος’.

¹⁰³⁹ See O. Halecki, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome* (London 1972), 193. Halecki identifies him as Philippos Tzykandeles but this is not the case as the editors of PLP note: no. 28129 (Manouel Tzykandeles).

¹⁰⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 193 and 196.

¹⁰⁴¹ He translated into Latin the treaty of Ioannes VII with Venice where he is designated as his *oikeios*: MM III, 143.

¹⁰⁴² Kantakouzenos, II, 277.

standing of the family: commercial enterprises and money-lending.¹⁰⁴³ Thereafter the fortune of the family rises; a Demetrios Palaiologos Goudeles was cousin of the emperor Manuel II and uncle of the emperor Ioannes VIII (1425-1448), served as a *mesazon* about 1416 and was a member of the senate.¹⁰⁴⁴ The family continued to be prominent and active even after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, when some of its members moved to Italy.¹⁰⁴⁵

The second family which must have owed its rise to commerce and appears during the siege is that of Sophianoï. Its first recorded member was Michael Kaballarios Sophianos, *oikeios* of the emperor and *krites* in Peloponnesos in 1321 who owed 4207 *hyperpyra* to the Venetian noble man Tomaso de Medio.¹⁰⁴⁶ During the siege, the *oikeios* of the emperor Ioannes Sophianos also undertook trade ventures and he acted as *defensor* at court.¹⁰⁴⁷ He had got married twice. Neither of his wives, though, appears to come from a high aristocratic family. His first wife was from a family called Pepagomenos,¹⁰⁴⁸ while his other wife was the daughter of a Theodora Archontissa,¹⁰⁴⁹ who seems to have been well-off economically.¹⁰⁵⁰ Ioannes' relative,

¹⁰⁴³ We know that Georgios Goudeles had lent money to the wife of a certain Aramonites: MM II, 400-401.

¹⁰⁴⁴ He could well have been the son of the aforementioned Anna Asanina Palaiologina and the anonymous Palaiologos. Demetrios Palaiologos Goudeles must have had the same connections with Latin merchants since along with Georgios Goudeles, he attended as a witness the verification of the commercial privileges that the Latins regularly obtained from the Byzantine emperor: MM III, 152-153, 162 and 172.

¹⁰⁴⁵ J. Harris, 'The Goudelis family in Italy after the fall of Constantinople', *BMGS* 33 (2009), 168-179.

¹⁰⁴⁶ MM III, 102-103.

¹⁰⁴⁷ MM II, 385-386 and 421.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Many Pepagomenoi held church posts during the 14th and early 15th centuries and we know of some writers and doctors, while another was the treasury's cashier (*ταμίας τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων*) and an *oikeios* of the emperor: MM II, 385-386; PLP, no. 22358 (Georgios Pepagomenos).

¹⁰⁴⁹ Her second name could well be her surname and not an honorary epithet, as Darrouzès argues. We know of a Michael Archon, official of the patriarchate in July 1401: MM II, 529.

Nikolaos Sophianos is attested as member of the senate in 1409, had the *ephoreia* of the monastery of St Mamas in Constantinople and invested in real estate property, having bought certain shops for the sum of 200 *hyperpyra*.¹⁰⁵¹

Another important family whose ascent can be dated in the same period is that of Notaras. Like the Sophianoï, the family of Notaras probably hailed from Peloponnesos, where members of the family were active in trade with Crete but, and this was a common phenomenon, acted as pirates as well, in the service of Michael VIII.¹⁰⁵² Analogous with Goudeles' was the career of his contemporary, the trader and banker Nikolaos Notaras. He took the Genoese citizenship soon after 1390 and from then on resided in Pera. He was involved in the colony's administration, since he took under his care the tax register of Pera. Nikolaos was *oikeios* of the emperor Manouel II and served as *megas diermeneutes* (an interpreter) between 1397 and 1418. He was sent as an emissary to the West in 1397-1398 and it was then that he also gained the Venetian citizenship.¹⁰⁵³ Nikolaos' younger brother, Andreas Notaras, was engaged in a trade trip to Caffa in 1398, along with another Byzantine partner whose name was Andreas Sebasteianos.¹⁰⁵⁴ Nikolaos Notaras was the father of the last *mesazon* of the empire, who served also as *diermeneutes*, as had his grandfather Georgios Notaras. However, this does not mean that the fortunes of the family were linked only with trade activities and administration. Nikolaos' other son, the *epi tes trapezes* Ioannes Notaras, was killed in the battle against the Turks in 1411/12.¹⁰⁵⁵

¹⁰⁵⁰ Her other daughter's dowry, married to a certain Demetrios Skoutariotes, was much more than 830 *hyperpyra*: MM II, 437-438.

¹⁰⁵¹ MM II, 304-312, 358-359 and 463.

¹⁰⁵² Ch. Maltezos, *Βενετική παρουσία στα Κύθηρα* (Athens 1991), 205-217; Matschke, 'The Notaras family', 59-72; Matschke, *Die Gessellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 181-183.

¹⁰⁵³ MM III, 162; PLP, no. 20733; Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 337 and 347-349.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Matschke, 'Notaras', 63; Matschke, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 176.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Doukas, 129; PLP, no. 20730.

The family of Argyropouloi is one more family that slowly emerges in this period. During the siege, Andreas Argyropoulos, an *oikeios* of the emperor and *archon tes politeias*, is an active merchant in the Danube area trading furs. He had created partnerships with Constantinopolitan (Ioannes Memales) and other local merchants. In addition, we know that he was also a singer (*aoidos*).¹⁰⁵⁶ His occupation was in fact common in his family tradition. We know of at least four Argyropouloi as *melographoi* (composers)¹⁰⁵⁷ and one of the Argyropouloi was the famous humanist Ioannes Argyropoulos, attested as senator during the reign of Ioannes VIII Palaiologos.¹⁰⁵⁸

Beside these families we should place the family of Eudaimonoïoannes from Monembasia. Michael Eudaimonoïoannes ('Micali de Monoioani') was a very active merchant. In an effort to support the threatened Genoese colonies in Crimea by the Tatars in 1389, he transported grain and millet from Pera to Caffa on a Genoese ship and then to Tana on the emperor's ship.¹⁰⁵⁹ The family was connected with marriage with the imperial house since we learn that Nikolaos Eudaimonoïoannes was a *sympentheros* to the emperor Manouel II.¹⁰⁶⁰

But if the rise of new families is a well attested phenomenon we cannot say the same for the older families. Certainly a number of families continued functioning as before, holding titles and offices and large fortunes. But since the environment had changed, those which proved unable to adapt, or at least did not have strong connections with the imperial family became impoverished and subsequently disappeared. Although we do meet some Tarchaneiotai in the fifteenth century their

¹⁰⁵⁶ Mazaris, 38 and 50.

¹⁰⁵⁷ PLP, nos. 1259, 1264, 1265, 1270.

¹⁰⁵⁸ PLP, no. 1267.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Balard, 'Pera au XIVe siècle', 39-40; Matschke, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 176.

¹⁰⁶⁰ PLP, nos. 6222 and 6223; Matschke, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 172-176.

prominence has diminished, as they had lost their estates in Macedonia to the Serbs and the Turks, as did the TzAMPLAKONES and the Tornikioi.¹⁰⁶¹ The only attested Angelos in our archival material, Konstantinos Angelos, was a middling merchant, whose business capital consisted of contributions from many people, while he travelled in a ship that he did not own. Certainly, he belongs to the middle class and not to the aristocracy.

The civil aristocracy

The Patriarchal Register offers a rich insight into the families and the careers of the ecclesiastical officials.¹⁰⁶² One of the most significant families of the ecclesiastical aristocracy is that of Balsamon. Since Theodoros Balsamon in the twelfth century, many Balsamones occupied civil administration posts.¹⁰⁶³ From the middle of the fourteenth century they appear again in church posts with Michael Balsamon. He served as one of the exarchs in 1357 for the supervision of the appropriate behaviour of the Constantinopolitan priests,¹⁰⁶⁴ and in 1380, as *megas chartophylax*, was sent as an envoy to Russia.¹⁰⁶⁵ During the siege the family is represented by three members: Demetrios Balsamon who climbed up to the office of *megas sakellarios*, which he held until his death on April 1400;¹⁰⁶⁶ Michael Balsamon

¹⁰⁶¹ The two Tarchaneiotai in Constantinople in the 15th century were learned monks or church officials: PLP, nos. 27483, 27489 and 27506.

¹⁰⁶² See Table 12 in Appendix 6 for all the attested ecclesiastical officials of the patriarchate attested during the siege of Constantinople.

¹⁰⁶³ See for example MM VI, 246-247 and 254-255.

¹⁰⁶⁴ PR III, 284 and 398.

¹⁰⁶⁵ MM II, 16.

¹⁰⁶⁶ MM II, 272, 291, 327, 348, 354, 363, 369, 375, 377, 383, 458.

who reached the office of *megas chartophylax*¹⁰⁶⁷ was called a *rhetor* and taught in the Patriarchal School;¹⁰⁶⁸ and Manouel Balsamon who was a *protonotarios*.¹⁰⁶⁹ The family continued in church service until the end of the empire with the then anti-Unionist *megas chartophylax* Michael Balsamon.¹⁰⁷⁰

A family of administrative and ecclesiastical tradition was the family of Syropoulos. Ioannes Syropoulos, who reached the office of *megas skeuophylax*, served, in addition, as a *katholikos krites*.¹⁰⁷¹ Ioannes Syropoulos may well be related to Silvestros Syropoulos, who served as *katholikos krites* during the reign of Ioannes VIII, participated in the Union Council of 1439 and wrote his *Memoirs* on that trip to the West and, after the fall of Constantinople, became patriarch (1463-1464).¹⁰⁷²

Sometimes these posts were the prelude to a bishopric or even to the patriarchal throne. This is the case of Ioannes Olobolos. Ioannes started his career as a patriarchal notary (by 1369) and he had been promoted to *megas chartophylax* by 1389, a position he would remain in until 1399 when he was elected metropolitan of Gotthia until his death in 1403.¹⁰⁷³ At the same time, a doctor Manouel Olobolos served in 1395-1399 as vice-secretary at the imperial court and accompanied emperor

¹⁰⁶⁷ MM II, 206, 275, 327, 369, 376, 383, 385, 391, 396, 409, 438, 453, 485, 498, 512, 557. There is a bit of confusion over the post of *megas chartophylax* during the summer of 1400, because while Michael Balsamon appears already to be a *megas chartophylax*, in one document of August 1400 Ioannes Syropoulos appears to hold the post (no. 597) and in another document on June 1400 it is Georgios Eugenikos who holds the post (no. 654). This is probably a mistake of the copyist.

¹⁰⁶⁸ MM II, 142-147; cf. PLP, no. 91429.

¹⁰⁶⁹ MM II, 355, 385, 403, 456, 503.

¹⁰⁷⁰ PLP, no. 2119.

¹⁰⁷¹ MM II, 272, 292, 348, 354, 358, 367, 424, 428, 485.

¹⁰⁷² PLP, no. 27217. See also <http://www.syropoulos.co.uk/> by the students of the Center for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham.

¹⁰⁷³ MM II, 132, 292, 304, 327, 348, 377; PLP, no. 21044.

Manouel II on his trip to the West. He will remain in this position until 1409.¹⁰⁷⁴ Later we find the family of Olobolos connected to another family of ecclesiastical and administrative tradition, the Chrysokephaloi.¹⁰⁷⁵ During the siege a Chrysokephalos assumed the office of *katholikos krites* around 1400.¹⁰⁷⁶ The continuity of family tradition is again striking, since the metropolitan of Philadelpheia Makarios Chrysokephalos (served 1336-1382) had also been a *katholikos krites*.¹⁰⁷⁷ This is exactly the case with the *katholikos krites* Georgios Oinaïotes during the siege and his predecessor Andronikos Oinaïotes attested in 1369.¹⁰⁷⁸ Andronikos Oinaïotes was sent by the emperor Ioannes V to Venice on a diplomatic mission in 1362 and was the recipient of a letter by Demetrios Kydones.¹⁰⁷⁹ Moreover, the family of Oinaïotai was related to that of Syropouloi earlier in fourteenth century since the author Georgios Oinaïotes was married to the daughter of a Syropoulos.¹⁰⁸⁰ Other Oinaïotai had served in the administration, like Konstantinos Palaiologos Oinaïotes who served as *apographeus* in the *thema* of Thessalonike between 1418 and 1421.¹⁰⁸¹ Konstantinos, by holding the Palaiologos surname, reveals to us the bonds and the marriage connections that people from these family backgrounds could achieve with high aristocracy. However, this is an exceptional case and perhaps an effect of the changing environment.

¹⁰⁷⁴ PLP, no. 21046.

¹⁰⁷⁵ An Ioannes Olobolos Chrysokephalos was *hypomnematographos*: PLP, no. 31137.

¹⁰⁷⁶ MM II, 424.

¹⁰⁷⁷ PLP, no. 31138.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Kydones, *Letters*, 37 ; R.-J. Loenertz, 'Lettre de Cydonès à Oenéote', 303-308.

¹⁰⁷⁹ PLP, no. 21024.

¹⁰⁸⁰ PLP, no. 21026 (Georgios Oinaïotes) and 27194 (Syropoulos).

¹⁰⁸¹ Actes Dionysiou, 121.

The family of Eugenikos is new in the sources and it is Georgios Eugenikos who is the first attested ecclesiastical official from this family.¹⁰⁸² Both his sons Ioannes Eugenikos and Markos Eugenikos held ecclesiastical positions and were celebrated scholars of the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁸³ There were other families of ecclesiastical officials which are represented by the officials in the list: Akindynos Perdikes,¹⁰⁸⁴ Georgios Kallistos,¹⁰⁸⁵ Manouel Chrysokokkes¹⁰⁸⁶ and Nikolaos Kinnamos.¹⁰⁸⁷

Another family of this civil aristocracy was the Chrysolorades. Two brothers Chrysolorades were administrators of the imperial salt pans,¹⁰⁸⁸ while one other Chrysoloras was *praitor of the demos* in 1347.¹⁰⁸⁹ During the siege Manouel Chrysoloras was active as professor of Greek in Italy and as ambassador of Byzantium in the West. Manouel was friend of Demetrios Kydones, pro-Unionist and soon a Catholic.¹⁰⁹⁰ Similar was the career of his nephew Ioannes Chrysoloras.¹⁰⁹¹ It is

¹⁰⁸² MM II, 326, 385, 388, 427, 429, 440, 453, 456, 463, 485, 507, 512, 528, 534, 553, 557; PLP, no. 6188.

¹⁰⁸³ PLP, nos. 6193 and 6189 respectively.

¹⁰⁸⁴ MM II, 224, 358, 361, 409, 425. PLP, no. 22437. During the third quarter of the 14th century three more (Georgios, Theodoros and Nikolaos Perdikes) were involved in priestly offices: PLP, nos. 22438-22440.

¹⁰⁸⁵ MM II, 151. He personally signed the document but with many mistakes. Other Kallistoi included a priest Ioannes Kallistos during the siege (MM II, 299) and Andronikos Kallistos, who after the fall of Constantinople taught Greek in Florence and Bologna and died in London (PLP, no. 10484).

¹⁰⁸⁶ MM II, 385, 388, 533; PLP, no. 31144. MM II, 544. He was actually at the beginning of his career; many years later, during the 1430s, an old man by then, he will be a *megas sakellarios*, he will take part at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438-1439 and he will sign the decree of the Union. For other members of the family see PLP, nos. 31141-31145.

¹⁰⁸⁷ MM II, 341, 356. A Konstantinos Kinnamos was a priest at this time (MM II, 299) and an Ioannes Kinnamos was bishop in Cyprus in 1387 (PLP, no. 11720).

¹⁰⁸⁸ Gabras, *Letters*, 695.

¹⁰⁸⁹ PLP, no. 31163.

¹⁰⁹⁰ PLP, no. 31165.

¹⁰⁹¹ PLP, no. 31160.

possible to connect them with the *logothetes tou genikou* Ioannes Chrysoloras, who was anti-Palamite and died shortly after 1367 in Venice. This family intermarried with another civil aristocratic family, the family of Philes Palaiologos.¹⁰⁹² Yet another Demetrios Chrysoloras (we do not know whether he was actually related to the former) is attested as senator in 1409 and had served as *mesazon* of Ioannes VII in Thessalonike, when he later assumed its administration after the treaty with the Turks in 1402. Demetrios was anti-Unionist and an opponent of Demetrios Kydones.¹⁰⁹³ This later case can serve as an example of the complexity around family connections and the cultural affiliations of the different family members.

As all these examples have shown, there are certain continuities and analogies with the previous decades. As scholars, the members of the civil aristocracy, were often chosen for embassies in the West, and it is not strange that it is among them that we can find many connections with pro-Unionist circles. But, a pro-Unionist stance was not only a political choice or one of family tradition (as was the case for the Tzykandeles family); it is more a choice of cultural background and the cases of Manouel Kalekas and Demetrios Kydones are revealing in this respect.¹⁰⁹⁴

These families which had served previously in the civil administration and in the Church or were scholars survived until the end of the fourteenth century. They had ensured their relatives as their successors, as the family occupation of judicial posts

¹⁰⁹² PLP, no. 31161. See L. Perria, 'Due documenti del XIV secolo in un codice della biblioteca Vaticana (VAT. GR. 1335)', *JÖB* 30 (1981), 259-297 (here at 292-296). The identification is strengthened by the fact that Manouel Chrysoloras had an uncle named Ioannes Chrysoloras.

It was Michael, the brother of the above-mentioned Ioannes Chrysoloras who married the Palaiologina.

¹⁰⁹³ PLP, no. 31156.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Kydones composed three treatises defending his and his brother Prochoros' choice to become a Catholic: Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia*, 359-437. See also F. Kianka, 'The apology of Demetrios Kydones', *Byzantine Studies* 7 (1980), 57-71; idem, 'Demetrios Kydones and Italy', *DOP* 49 (1995), 99-110.

with simultaneous church service of the Balsamones showed. At the same time, they intermarried among themselves (Olobolos – Chrysokephalos, Oinaïotes – Syropoulos, Chrysoloras – Philes Palaiologos). But the crisis cannot have left them unaffected. Many financial and administrative posts were lost because of the shrinkage of the imperial territory and, subsequently, of the state apparatus. As a consequence, some of these families turned decisively to church administration, as it is evident from the case of the Balsamon family.

However, as Table 12 can show, and in comparison to the situation in Serres, the church officials here usually have a shorter term of office. Although the death of Demetrios Balsamon in April 1400 was one cause for major rearrangements in the posts and promotions, this cannot fully explain the other instances.¹⁰⁹⁵ Perhaps, one reason could be the greater antagonism, since the ambitions of many families that used to serve in the state machine now were now confined to the church domain. A second reason for the short terms of these officials might have been the two centres of power from which their positions depended: the patriarch and the emperor.

Traditional civil aristocratic families that had served in high administration posts earlier in the fourteenth century, have now evidently shrunk. For example the Apokaukoi, who declined after Alexios Apokaukos. We still can see Georgios Apokaukos who served as *doux* in Thessalonike between 1369 and 1373,¹⁰⁹⁶ and Eustathios Apokaukos, who during Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos' reign served as *meγas skeuophylax* of the patriarchate,¹⁰⁹⁷ but later we find two Apokaukoi as simple priests

¹⁰⁹⁵ Of course there are exceptions, such as the case of Theodoros Melitiniotes who served 33 years as *meγas sakellarios*.

¹⁰⁹⁶ However he might be identical with a Georgios Doukas Apokaukos, *meγas droungarios* in 1342: MM III, 114; PLP, nos. 1182-1183.

¹⁰⁹⁷ PLP, no. 1185.

only.¹⁰⁹⁸ Another striking absence is the family of Choumnos. During the siege we can attest only the priest Michael Doukas (*'Doux'*) Choumnos, who yet was wealthy enough to provide his daughter with a dowry of 600 *hyperpyra* when he married her to a certain Zarachounes from Selymbria.¹⁰⁹⁹

However, the little evidence that we have at our disposal is not sufficient to make a comparison of the economic status of the families that had remained and whether they were affected economically by the siege or the territorial losses. Their service in the administration must have provided them some standard revenues which did not diminish as did the landed property that the aristocracy used to have in the provinces. They must have had real estate in the area of Constantinople but they did not seem to have profited from other economic activities as some higher aristocrats had done. Thus, even though the economic power of the high aristocracy was reduced during late fourteenth century, the 'civil aristocracy' did not profit socially. They remained in the second rank of the social scale until the very fall of the empire. Nonetheless, they were able to hold these positions and their place in society, something that enabled them to survive after the fall of Constantinople both in the West as scholars and in the Ottoman Empire by serving in administrative positions at the Ottoman court and the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

The middle class of Constantinople

The task of the identification of the middle class in Constantinople is not easy. Whereas in the early Palaeologan era, trade and manufacture was their main field of

¹⁰⁹⁸ MM II, 21. The second one, during the siege, was wealthy enough to buy a house: MM II, 391-393 and 487-488.

¹⁰⁹⁹ MM II, 401-404.

activity, now the diminishing power of the Byzantine aristocracy created another competitor in their activities. Nevertheless, if the aristocracy is identifiable through its titles and epithets and perhaps its level of wealth, this is not true for the middle class. A member of the middle class, as I understand it, in these times would own at least his house and his shop, and would pursue his art or trade with the help of some additional workers and apprentices. We cannot exclude the possibilities of enrichment of some of them and this in its turn raises questions over their classification. Yet, since we have set as our criteria not only wealth, but political power and authority as well, the lack of a title or the absence of an epithet (*kyr*) in combination with a non-aristocratic surname, would indicate with high probability a member of the middle class.

As we saw in the earlier period, the title of the *praitor of the demos* was reserved for persons of lower origins, who even so had access to the senate. This title, rarely attested earlier, is lost from the sources after the middle of the fourteenth century. We might ask then the question whether the common people still had opportunities for political power. The term *politikos archon* or *archon tes politeias* is attested only in the Patriarchal Register and for three persons: *kyr* Andreas Argyropoulos, *kyr* Thomas Kalokyres and *kyr* Ioannes Melidones. The term *politeia* could mean a polity (the polity of the Romans) but it could also derive from *polites*, the citizen. Sometimes it used as a designation of the representatives of the simple citizens, the *demos* (τὸ ἔκκριτον τῆς πολιτείας).¹¹⁰⁰ The term denotes something different than the members of the senate (*ἀρχοντες τῆς συγκλήτου*), a designation also present in the Patriarchal Register. On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility that in the Register it simply designates the non-ecclesiastic *archontes* as

¹¹⁰⁰ For example Pachymeres, II, 188 and 195; Gregoras, 408. See more clearly later in Georgios Scholarios, *Memorandum to the anti-Unionist ecclesiastical archontes*, 169, where he speaks about the three estates of the citizens: ‘αἱ τρεῖς τάξεις τῶν πολιτῶν, ἡ σύγκλητος, ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ ἡ πολιτεία’.

opposed to the church *archontes* (ἐκκλησιαστικοί ἄρχοντες) or that it designates the officials who are not senate members. Yet, the names and the activities of the three holders reveal perhaps something different than aristocrats.

Kalokyres family name is a rather unknown one. We know of one priest Kalokyres in Constantinople in 1357,¹¹⁰¹ and of one forger in 1372, who was an orphan.¹¹⁰² For Thomas Kalokyres we know that he had created a partnership with a certain Konstantinos Perdikares, who had a coppersmith's workshop. Kalokyres had invested 500 *hyperpyra* in the shop's capital, whereas Perdikares contributed his labour.¹¹⁰³ Kalokyres invested his money in real estate, as we see him buying for 270 *hyperpyra* the house of the poor *oikeios of the emperor* Manouel Bouzenos.¹¹⁰⁴ In addition he was a money-lender: he loaned 300 *hyperpyra* to Panopoulos with an interest 15% per year (i.e. 45 *hyperpyra* interest). When, a year later, the deadline for the repayment had come, Panopoulos went to the patriarchal court in order to ask for the cut of the interest which was 'usually' granted to poor people. But Kalokyres avoided the patriarchal court and went instead to the imperial court, which confiscated Panopoulos' house and gave it to Kalokyres. The patriarchal court, however, having decided to protect Panopoulos, forced Kalokyres, under the threat of excommunication, to return the house of Panopoulos and accept only the 300 *hyperpyra* that Panopoulos owed and had actually the means to pay.¹¹⁰⁵

The other *archon tes politeias* was Ioannes Melidones. We learn that he undertook the cost for the restoration of a monastery and its main source of wealth, an abandoned neighbourhood behind the Hippodrome, which he would transform into

¹¹⁰¹ PR III, 310.

¹¹⁰² Registro Vaticano, 366.

¹¹⁰³ MM II, 326-328 and 372-374.

¹¹⁰⁴ MM II, 492-494.

¹¹⁰⁵ MM II, 380-382.

productive fields.¹¹⁰⁶ Again the family of Melidones is rarely mentioned: a priest appears in 1357¹¹⁰⁷ while another Melidones who died in 1398 was friend to the scholar Manouel Kalekas.¹¹⁰⁸

It is possible to identify other members of this social category that would best today be described as upper middle class. This is the case with the cloth merchant Koumouses, who had a fortune of 7030 *hyperpyra* of movable and immovable wealth. The main source of wealth would have been his cloth shop, from where some fabrics worth 700 *hyperpyra* were stolen soon after his death. The family had trade activities as well, albeit not successful: his son Alexios undertook a trading trip after the father's death with the consent of the family, but he suffered a loss of 300 *hyperpyra*. The family possessed a large vineyard estimated at 900 *hyperpyra* (although this lay unproductive for some unknown reason – maybe it was outside the City). He may well be identical to or a relative of Theodoros Koumouses who appears as a member of the senate in 1390 in a treaty with Venice.¹¹⁰⁹ There are other merchants, whom we cannot identify as aristocrats, but who had the title of the *oikeios* of the emperor and certainly some kind of social standing. This is for example the case of Theodoros Mamales, whose brother was a trade partner of Andreas Argyropoulos shortly before his death.¹¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰⁶ MM II, 495-496.

¹¹⁰⁷ PR III, 286.

¹¹⁰⁸ Manuel Kalekas, *Letters*, 178, 227, 325. I have included the third *archon tes politeias* Andreas Argyropoulos to the new rising aristocracy due to the later fortunes of his family, unlike Kalokyres and Melidones.

¹¹⁰⁹ MM III, 143. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that he acts as a witness in the treaty. As a wealthy merchant he would have connections with other Western merchants in Constantinople.

¹¹¹⁰ MM II, 374-375. They had traded furs from Wallachia which cost 587 *hyperpyra*. An earlier Konstantinos Mamales was grain merchant active in Caffa in 1360: he had bought there 60 *modioi* of grain for 6 *sommi d'argent*: M. Balard, 'Un document Génois sur la langue roumaine en 1360', *RESEE* 18 (1980), 235-238.

Another curious case is the Koreses family. Nikolaos Koreses and his son Manouel had a trade partnership with Georgios Goudeles (Manouel's capital was far less than Goudeles': he invested 1000 *hyperpyra* compared to 2600 of Goudeles). Nikolaos was one of the agents of Eudaimonoïoannes in Tana and had strong connections in Pera.¹¹¹¹ Nikolaos had at least one more son named Georgios married with Euphrosyne, the daughter of a Georgios *Soromi* and maternally probably related to the Kalligopouloi.¹¹¹² Matschke places the family of Koreses in the new emerging aristocracy;¹¹¹³ however I would not do the same. Nikolaos Koreses came from Chios which at the moment was under Genoese rule. Thus it is natural that he would have connections with the Genoese. But, otherwise, the Koreses family is unknown. It was a relatively wealthy family of traders. Besides, their family connections can neither be considered aristocratic on the evidence of the surnames (Soromi and Kalligopoulos).

The wealth that these merchants possessed was only one side of the picture. Other middle-class people had more modest means or were negatively affected by the siege. The deceased wife of Theodoros Barzanes (a Kaloeidina) had a considerable dowry of 2250 *hyperpyra* when she married. By the time of the siege this dowry had been reduced to 1503 *hyperpyra*, consisted of a vineyard worth 500 *hyperpyra*, a newly built big house with an internal yard of 208 *hyperpyra*, a bakery and other shops worth 310 *hyperpyra* and some other smaller houses, fields and material things.¹¹¹⁴ Another Kaloeidas, Ioannes Antiocheites Kaloeidas, held in common with a nun named Chrysokephalina Kaukanina a big perfume shop (*μυρεψικόν*) worth 400 *hyperpyra*. Although Kaloeidas owed 400 *hyperpyra* from his wife's dowry, the court

¹¹¹¹ Balard, 'Pera au XIVe siècle', 39-40; MM II, 546-550. Her uncle and her two brothers were named Kalligopouloi.

¹¹¹² Balard, 'Pera au XIVe siècle', 36.

¹¹¹³ Matschke, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, 177-178.

¹¹¹⁴ MM II, 347-352.

was able not only to reconstitute her dowry, by taking some houses and a vineyard from him, all of them worth 600 *hyperpyra*, but they left him with additional property of his own.¹¹¹⁵

A certain Michael Monembasiotes appears to own several shops; he had at least a soap-manufacturing workshop, which cost, along with its utensils 100 *hyperpyra*, and a tavern of 130 *hyperpyra*, which he gave to his daughter-in-law. His deceased wife's dowry is claimed to be more than 1000 *hyperpyra*. Monembasiotes' deceased son had more property, which now belonged to his children. Apart the house where the family was living, he was in possession of a smaller tavern, a soap-manufacturing workshop and some smaller shops attached to this workshop, in addition to other things. Moreover we learn that his widow, Eirene Gabraina, after her husband's death engaged in handicrafts and was able to provide sufficiently for her subsistence and that of her children.¹¹¹⁶ Another shop-keeper was Stylianos Chalkeopoulos who owned a big tavern worth 225 *hyperpyra* and some smaller shops worth 69 *hyperpyra*. But he owed 300 *hyperpyra* to the *oikeios of the emperor* Nikolaos Makrodoukas and to *kyr* Loukas Linardos and another 100 *hyperpyra* to his niece, and as a result these shops were pawned by decision of the court.¹¹¹⁷

The middle class people were also engaged in lending activities. The names and the sums of these loans are occasionally attested in the Patriarchal Register: Anatolikos loaned 50 *hyperpyra* taking a belt as pawn;¹¹¹⁸ Michael Magistros Pothos loaned 75 *hyperpyra* to the *archontopoulo* Michael Palaiologos;¹¹¹⁹ Katakalon loaned

¹¹¹⁵ MM II, 358-359.

¹¹¹⁶ MM II, 439-441.

¹¹¹⁷ MM II, 452-454. We know also of a Manouel Doukas Chalkeopoulos who was active in Pera in 1389: see Balard, 'Pera au XIVe siècle', 36.

¹¹¹⁸ MM II, 419-420.

¹¹¹⁹ MM II, 382-384.

50 *hyperpyra* to a Branas Gounares;¹¹²⁰ *kyr* Georgios Alethinos Chrysoberges loaned 50 *hyperpyra* to a tavern-man named Astrapyres.¹¹²¹ Chrysoberges may well be involved in the grain trade since we learn that a baker still owed 10 *hyperpyra* for grain to him.¹¹²²

However, it is difficult to classify these middle-class persons by occupation. As their properties reveal they owned houses, smaller or bigger, various kinds of shops, most commonly though bakeries and taverns. Bakeries and taverns must have been a last resort. Constantinople was decaying rapidly economically and had lost its place as a centre of artisanal production. The middle class people were also engaged personally in commercial activities by trading or buying products and sometimes were partners in *syntrofiiai*, but usually their role was rather minor. Some of them were personally undertaking trips with other people's money like Konstantinos Angelos.

But they also owned land, vineyards and fields, sometimes substantial, like Koumouses' vineyard which alone cost 900 *hyperpyra*. Some of them actually tried during this period to profit and invest in land and houses, the price of which was dropping, since people were abandoning Constantinople constantly. They were also affected by the bad situation during the siege, although the scale of the losses that they suffered does not seem to be as great as the aristocrats'. Besides, now several of them were much wealthier than some aristocrats. Even the fact that Panopoulos was unable to repay Kalokyres back was not due to the siege but to a personal illness/accident. Generally they were able not only to get through the siege with fewer losses than the aristocracy, but sometimes they were able to invest their money in real estate, like Kalokyres. Nevertheless, except for fortunate people like him, the common people

¹¹²⁰ MM II, 455.

¹¹²¹ MM II, 367-368.

¹¹²² MM II, 473-474.

had lost any political power and influence they might have attained during the previous decades and this has not changed now. If during the reign of Kantakouzenos, the artisans and the merchants of Constantinople were recognised as a special social group, called in to the common council which he summoned, there is no evidence for the treatment of these social strata as a special professional or social group in these last decades of the fourteenth century.

In general then, social and economic life was highly affected during the siege. The population dropped significantly, prices rose and people of all social groups were hit by poverty, famine and misery. This must have generated some sort of distress in the City. Based on Ottoman and Byzantine sources, Necipoğlu argues for this situation. The Byzantine government of Ioannes VII repeatedly tried to reach an agreement with Bayezid I, without surrendering the City to him but promising at the same time to be a faithful vassal. The attempt obviously failed.¹¹²³ We have also Ioannes VII's letter to the king Henry IV of England only two months before the battle of Ankara (28 July 1402), in which Ioannes VII urged him to come to his rescue, because he was ready to surrender the City to Bayezid.¹¹²⁴

¹¹²³ Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*, 180-182. She also says that the Patriarchal Register contains four references to Byzantine embassies to the Sultan. The first is a fact (MM II, 341), but the second refers to an embassy sent to Russia to seek for help (MM II, 359-361). A third reference is contained in a promise of a priest named Georgios Lopadiotes (MM II, 484-485), who promises that he will never again go out of the City to deliver news (*mantata*) or serve any *archon*. Presumably he did deliver news being in service of some aristocrat, but there is no evidence to say that he negotiated privately as an agent of some aristocrat. For the fourth see the next note.

¹¹²⁴ Barker, *Manuel Palaiologos*, 213-214 and 500-501. But Ioannes VII might be exaggerating in order to achieve his goal.

Some later sources also note that the citizens of Constantinople were ready to deliver the City to Bayezid. One of these, a short chronicle, says that some Byzantine *archontes* had set off for Kotyaion, in order to give the keys of Constantinople to Bayezid as soon as he was victorious against Tamerlan in Ankara. However, they returned when they learned of Bayezid's disaster.¹¹²⁵ We have perhaps some evidence of the distress in the City. Patriarch Matthaios was accused by certain people of negotiating privately with Bayezid in order to ensure his own security in case the City fell to the Turks. Therefore, he was forced to make a public denunciation of these accusations. In the same speech he says to the populace that he had threatened with excommunication the ambassadors who were going to negotiate peace with Bayezid, to prevent them from promising anything harmful to Constantinople.¹¹²⁶

The documents in the Patriarchal Register in any case do not contain evidence of despair or insecurity. Certainly, the economic conditions were hard and a great part of the populace had abandoned Constantinople to avoid poverty. The state and the emperor proved generally unable to withstand this flight from Constantinople. To some degree, the flight of the populace reduced the needs to provision the city and might have helped to withstand the siege. The emperor proved more effective in forcing some aristocrats, who could actually fight, to stay, like his *oikeios* Manouel Palaiologos Raoul.

The siege did contribute to the change of the social picture. Perhaps it helped the acceleration of the decline of the old aristocracy and the stabilisation of the new entrepreneurial aristocracy, like the families of Goudeles, Notaras, Argyropoulos, Eudaimonoïoannes etc. Many of these families in the past belonged to the provincial

¹¹²⁵ *Chronica Breviora*, 22: 184-185. Other sources which say that the Byzantines were ready to surrender the City to Bayezid include the *Histories* of Doukas, XIV.4 and Kritoboulos, I, 32-33.

¹¹²⁶ MM II, 463-467.

aristocracy or to the middle class; thus a social ascent can be observed. Moreover, it is difficult to speak any longer of a high aristocracy, at least outside the immediate imperial family and two or three extremely rich individuals. The differences with the lower aristocracy seem to have been eroded, especially now that they were restricted to Constantinople and they were evolving into an urban patriciate analogous to that of the Italian cities. Yet, it is still possible to identify the families of the civil aristocracy as a separate social group. Certainly, the middle class did not disappear nor were they degraded to the lower classes. Some of them had considerable property. Nevertheless, the general decline of the aristocracy was not reflected in loss of political power. The aristocrats still occupied all the important posts. In fact, even though we see them losing constantly their properties, most of the land inside the City still belonged to them or to the Church.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Byzantine society was highly stratified. The Byzantines perceived their society as divided between the rich and the poor. Although this schema might seem rather sketchy to modern eyes, it incorporated, to a large degree, the material realities of the late empire. The aristocracy maintained direct possession of the most important sources of wealth, land and real estate, or at least maintained control and exploitation of it indirectly through the form of *oikonomia*. The continuous occupation of governmental posts by generations of the same family was ensured by personal competence and by the possession of a basic level of wealth. In turn, these posts not only contributed to a higher social status, but were themselves sources of wealth.

Thus, wealth was identified with political power. A rich man was simultaneously a *dynatos*, a man with titles and political power. ‘Nobility’, high birth, was accompanied by titles, posts in the government and wealth. Never before were these three elements combined in harmony to such a degree.¹¹²⁷ These three elements represent the division of a society in terms of the possession of the means to acquire wealth, in terms of access to positions of political authority and power, and in terms of a high status in society. The observed continuity of this upper stratum of society, of this elite and dominant class, throughout the period under consideration, allows us safely to speak of an aristocracy in the fourteenth century. Moreover, the opportunity to rise socially to this aristocracy was seriously limited. People such as Tagaris, Apokaukos, Batatzes, may have experienced social ascent thanks to their possession of wealth (Apokaukos), virtues and imperial grace (Tagaris), but their rise was

¹¹²⁷ Cf. the analysis of Kazhdan, *L’ aristocrazia bizantina*, 67-114 for the 11th-12th centuries.

probably not as impressive as it seems; they may already have belonged to this upper stratum, albeit in a lower hierarchical position.

To be more precise, this schema, the division of rich and poor, useful as it may seem, cannot fully describe the structure of Byzantine society. Elements existed that did not fit in this schema, such as the simple soldiers, some independent peasants or artisans and merchants in the towns. In fact, they form a middle class, an intermediate category, between the aristocracy and the poor people. These men were not dependent unlike the lower segments of the urban population, who were dependent either as servants in the *oikos* of a powerful man or as wage workers earning their daily bread, and unlike the *paroikoi*, the dependent peasants, in the countryside. Even if some of them were in the service of the aristocracy, as professional scholars or teachers or financial curators and secretaries, they had a greater degree of financial and social security than the lowest layers of society, and many of them could be in the service of different aristocrats or the state. At the same time, however, they did not belong to the privileged group of society, the aristocracy: they do not assume any posts in local or central government, in the army or in the church. Even if some soldiers were privileged, in comparison with the *paroikoi*, with possession of an *oikonomia* or, even in some extraordinary cases, with a handful of dependent peasants, their level of wealth brought them closer to the *paroikoi* than to the aristocrats. But it should be recalled that the Byzantines could not easily integrate elements that did not fit their two-fold distinction. For this reason the concept of a middle class was rather alien to Byzantium. The designation *mesoi* is very rare and does not refer to a specific social group. It derives rather from the Aristotelian *mesotes* and from the Byzantine ideal of self-sufficiency (*αὐτάρκεια*); people of the upper strata of society could have been included as well.

The borderline between these groups is not clear-cut. The upper layers of the middle class in the towns had the opportunity through their engagement in trade – as far as possible, in a trade domain dominated by the Italians and later by the Byzantine aristocracy – to achieve substantial wealth. But it was only through their integration into the state hierarchy and through marriages to aristocratic families that they could maintain a certain degree of family continuity and enter the aristocracy. Koumouses in 1400 Constantinople might have possessed substantial wealth compared to many aristocrats of the same time, but his family remained unknown after him, in contrast to Argyropoulos, for example. Some of these people might assume certain lower offices in church or in state administration. Perhaps this is the reason for the occurrence of otherwise unknown people as notaries or the great number of people from different families and the lack of family continuity which can be observed in the occupation of the lower offices in the metropoleis of Serres and Zichna.

Just as the middle class was made up of different elements, so too the aristocracy was not uniform. First, there are striking differences between the high aristocracy, which was small in number, and the lesser aristocracy. The high aristocracy consisted of families - whose members numbered in total a few hundred - which monopolised the most important governmental offices and the highest titles. They possessed vast amounts of wealth, both movable and immovable, and they were responsible for making the most important decisions. By constructing and assuming the notion of nobility, they effectively placed themselves much above the ordinary people and the lesser aristocrats.

But there were distinctions not only in terms of the possession of wealth and titles. Family tradition was very strong in Byzantium and this had implications very often for the career of a Byzantine. It is not at all unusual for a son to have the same

title as his father, as if it were part of the latter's inheritance.¹¹²⁸ Such a situation would be an extreme case, not always observed, but just as a son's priest was often a priest and a carpenter's son a carpenter as well, so too in the aristocracy certain families were identified by a specific career. The analysis reveals that there were two main traditions in the aristocracy: the military and the administrative. The civil aristocracy included people identified with service in the domains of state and finance administration, the church administration and justice, and it included many scholars. The military aristocracy embraced army officials, while its members commonly held *pronoiai*. It should be recalled that the differences between these two groups was not so much in terms of social status or economic power, but rather family tradition.

There is no significant diversity between the provincial and the Constantinopolitan aristocracy in the fourteenth century, although the majority of the prominent aristocratic families resided in the capital. This is in contrast to the situation in most former centuries and especially to the twelfth century, when all the prominent families resided in Constantinople and when provincial prominent families rose at the expense of the state. But, as with the twelfth century, the elite remained the strongest supporter of the Byzantine state, whereas the lesser aristocracy, whose share in power was limited to unimportant positions, came easily to terms with the new conquerors, the Serbians and the Turks. Another difference lies in the civil aristocracy. The civil aristocracy of the provinces, outside Constantinople and Thessalonike, was restricted mainly to local church positions, whereas the significant civil posts in the provinces were not reserved for them, but they were appointed centrally.

¹¹²⁸ See for example the office of *megas logothetes*: occupied by Georgios and Konstantinos Akropolites and later by Theodoros and his son Nikephoros Metochites.

There were no major alterations to this social schema throughout the fourteenth century. With a few changes, the same elite families that governed the empire in 1300 continued to do so in 1400. The vast land possessions of the aristocracy were lost to the new conquerors, yet the aristocrats maintained control and direct possession of the remaining sources of wealth. But in terms of financial level their position had deteriorated significantly. Many of the aristocratic families had lost their high economic standing and faced economic difficulties. There were, perhaps for the first time since the eleventh century, middle class people who enjoyed a comparable level of wealth. Byzantine society had remained always, albeit to different degrees, open to the bourgeoisie, the upper middle class, and this openness was accelerated in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Contributing to this openness was the political power – wealth – nobility nexus, which identified the late Byzantine aristocracy. Wealth was de-demonised and even if men such as Kantakouzenos and Gregoras could take aim, in a form of *psogos*, at the unexpected acquisition of wealth by some of their enemies, such as Apokaukos or Batatzes, the reality was that these same people had not only acquired wealth but a high social status; they were treated as equals to the other aristocrats, while even their accusers could make use of the very same sources of wealth.

Even if Byzantine society remained ‘open’ to social ascent theoretically, the aristocracy created effective barriers to safeguard its position. Hierarchy, viewed as deriving from divine order, was applied to the Byzantine social structure. Hierarchy should be safeguarded and everyone was thought to have his accorded place and should remain in it. Titles in the official hierarchy, honorific epithets, display of wealth, snobbery and demands for deference by the social inferior were the means by which a closed group was created. There were very few voices in the fourteenth

century that stressed the concept of equality and even fewer were those that openly resisted it. Yet, the ostensible compliance to the rules of hierarchy and to the dialectics of deference by social inferiors did not eliminate resistance or the use of these as a means to legitimate their claims. The most capable could use the concept of philanthropy and could invert the dialectics of deference to acquire a share of the excess material resources of the aristocrats.

In the end, it was not so much social inequality that was the reason for the collapse of Byzantium. In Byzantium horizontal social groups were underdeveloped. Civic or village identities, guilds, confraternities, companies of men-at-arms were of minor importance for the social structure of Byzantium. Even networks of monastic communities (e.g. Mt Athos) had little cooperation among them. In fact neither horizontal nor vertical social ties were underdeveloped in Byzantium, but they did not take the form of analogous social ties in western Europe. There were no constitutionalised vertical ties of dependence, but every aristocratic *oikos* was made of servants and other dependants and there was a great degree of loyalty among these relations. These ties took the form of a patronage type social structure. The clients expected financial security and possibly social ascent; the patrons expected support from them. Loyalties in the second civil war were to a large degree defined by membership to already established unofficial networks, and these networks were either patronage networks or networks of family relations.

Byzantium lacked neither social status groups nor social classes. In fact, as I noted before, the Byzantine aristocracy of the fourteenth century combined in great harmony both the concepts of social status and of social class. The aristocrats were aware of their place in society, of their wealth and their political power, while the other people were also aware of it. But the patronage system, which is commonly

accompanied by a belief that the social system is a given, seriously hindered the development of a social class consciousness in Byzantium. Even the aristocracy never evolved into a self-conscious social group. Every aristocratic family strove individually to maintain its own status and the welfare of its social network.

The implications of these conditions were detrimental for Byzantium. The emperor, the Church, the people, the merchants, the aristocratic families were all trapped into this state of affairs. Radical reforms were almost impossible and the government (i.e. the network of the emperor) responded to the situation each time, by individual or short-term measures which did not solve the problem.

In the West guilds, merchants, royal authority, cities, feudal lords strove to achieve power. In fact, all these elements created social distress; but at least each of these groups had a more or less clear direction for society, economy and politics. As Angold has recently remarked, ‘the trouble with Byzantium is that change never followed any clear direction’.¹¹²⁹ Having in mind what we have already said, this lack of clear direction can be attributed to the social system of Byzantium. The end of Byzantium was not a failure of the state, but a failure of society.

¹¹²⁹ M. Angold, ‘Review of J. Harris, *The end of Byzantium* (New Haven 2010) and of A. Kiousopoulou, *Βασιλεύς ή οικονομός: Πολιτική εξουσία και ιδεολογία πριν την Άλωση* (Athens 2007)’, in <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1030>.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1.

LIST OF THE PROPERTIES OF THE MONASTERY OF PRODROMOS IN SERRES

- the *metochion* of Gastilengos with a totality of 7548 *modioi* (in 1339).¹¹³⁰
- the metochion of St Georgios Kryonerites with more than 3062 *modioi* of land in 1353.¹¹³¹
- the metochion of Asomatos with a land of more than 1525 *modioi*, 3 mills and 3 water mills.¹¹³²
- the metochion of *Theotokos* in Trilision with an *oikonomia* of 1000 *modioi* (*posotes* of 25 *hyperpyra*), and two other smaller sub-*metochia*: the *Gradistos* and the *of Tzernes*; it also owned in the village of Trilission the taxes of several *paroikoi* assumed to more than 30 *hyperpyra* and also a mill, vineyards of 45 *modioi* and other monastic land (not of the *paroikoi*) of 450 *modioi*.¹¹³³
- land in Kato Ouska; the private lands of the monastery were 700 *modioi* with an income of 17 *nomismata* and there were more than 28 *staseis* of *paroikoi* with a total income of the estate to 100 *nomismata*.¹¹³⁴
- the *metochion* of Ostrine with land of 877 *modioi*, vineyards of 18 *modioi* and the income from the taxes of the Jews in Zichna to 20 *hyperpyra*.
- the land sold and donated by Eirene Choumnaina Palaiologina in Tholos of 1742 *modioi* in 1355.¹¹³⁵

¹¹³⁰ Actes Prodromou (B), 86-87.

¹¹³¹ Actes Prodromou (B), 290-293.

¹¹³² Actes Prodromou (B), 190-194 and 198-202.

¹¹³³ Actes Prodromou (B), 203-204, 232-236 and 239-243.

¹¹³⁴ Actes Prodromou (B), 244-245, 250-255 and 362-365.

- the land in Monospeta the *posotes* of which was 47,33 hyperpyra.¹¹³⁶
- the *metochion* of Esphagmenou with more than 4400 *modioi* of land and including some fishing ships.¹¹³⁷
- the land in Politzos and Maurobouni with an income of around 14 *hyperpyra*.¹¹³⁸
- the metochion of St Barbara with more than 300 *modioi* of land.¹¹³⁹
- more than 40 *staseis* of poor *paroikoi* with minimal land in the villages of *Geranitza* and *Lakkoi* close to the monastery itself.¹¹⁴⁰
- a *metochion* in Neochori with more than 980 *modioi* of land.¹¹⁴¹
- a *metochion* in Zichna with two mills, two churches, some houses and a bath.
- the *staseis* of 20 *paroikoi* in Topoltzos.¹¹⁴²
- an estate in Keranitza.¹¹⁴³
- in Libadion at least 600 *modioi* of land.¹¹⁴⁴
- In Serres two taverns, 14 other craftshops, 5 houses and house complexes, 9 water mills.¹¹⁴⁵

¹¹³⁵ Actes Prodromou (B), 308-310 and 315-316.

¹¹³⁶ Actes Prodromou (B), 343-346, 348-350.

¹¹³⁷ Actes Prodromou (B), 56-57 and 66.

¹¹³⁸ Actes Prodromou (B), 350-351 and 353-355.

¹¹³⁹ Actes Prodromou (B), 366.

¹¹⁴⁰ Actes Prodromou (B), 340-341.

¹¹⁴¹ Actes Prodromou (B), 396-397.

¹¹⁴² Actes Prodromou (B), 90-91.

¹¹⁴³ Actes Prodromou (B), 341-342.

¹¹⁴⁴ Actes Prodromou (B), 292.

¹¹⁴⁵ Actes Prodromou (B), 292-293.

TABLE 1. THE MONASTERY OF PRODROMOS' FIELDS IN ASOMATOS

	NAME OF FORMER PROPERTIOR	MEANS OF ACQUISITION	SURFACE IN <i>MODIOI</i>
1		sale	8
2	Sakoulas (?)	?	4
3			1
4			1
5	Skyloïoannes	sale/donation	3
6	Koukouras	<i>emphyteusis</i>	
7	Kontos (priest)	<i>emphyteusis</i>	4
8	Z..aina	sale	4
9	Konops		2,5
10	Xenos Pseustos	exalleima	4
11	widow Moschonina	sale/donation	3
12			5
13	Berges	sale/donation	3
14	papas Stephanos	sale	6
15	Ioannes ...lirimos	sale/donation	3
16	Paphla...	sale/donation	2
17	Diasoriane	sale/donation	7
18	Modokephalos	sale/donation	9
19	Blandymerina, Mamantzina, Phlebares	sale/donation	13
20	Phakitzes	sale	4
21	Basilo	sale/donation	6
22	Komprektes, Rountes	sale/donation	4
23	Pleuris	sale/donation	2
24	Paggalos	sale/donation	3
25	Protopapas	sale/donation	1
26	Babylas	sale/donation	2
27	Babylas	sale/donation	
28	Skyloïoannes	sale/donation	4
29			38 ¹

30	...motas, Peratos	sale and donation	35
31	Armenes	sale/donation	28
32	Armenes	donation	11
33	from the stasis of...	sale/donation	45
34	Dratzobitzinos, Zabarnas	sale/donation	72
35	Demetrios Perdikares, Philomates	sale/donation	15
36	Soterichos, Aaron	sale/donation	16
37	Pharmakes	sale/donation	20
38	Chalma	sale/donation	6
39	Euphemia Megalomatisa	sale/donation	23
40	Euphemia of Goumperas	sale/donation	11
41	Keramotos	sale/donation	
42	Dratzobitzinos	sale	18 ²
43	Koukouras	sale/donation	9
44			20
45	Theodoros Markeses and empress	donation	700
46	Perdikares	sale/donation	6
47	Theodoros Boulgares	sale	3
48	Arete of Philomates	sale/donation	3
49	Guillaume Kaballarios and his adopted girl	sale/donation	9
50	Phragkopoulos	donation	10 ³
51	Alamanos, Radenos	sale/donation	
52	Pagkalos, Kamateros, Mogabares, <i>raiferendarios</i> Rantilas, (the son of) <i>tes eutaxias</i>	sale/donation	
53	Phragkopoulos	sale/donation	6
54	Mamenos Perdikares	sale	6
55	Maroulina of Myres	sale/donation	7
56	Guillaume Gazes	sale	
57	Georgios Kodopates	sale	6
58		sale	
59	Ioannes Leipsakes	sale	5
60	papas...	sale	4
61		exchange	11
62	Ioseph oikonomos	exchange	7

63	Martha of Melissenos, Koprektos	sale/donation	6
64	Kopribas	sale	3
65	Mellisenos Perdikares	sale	8
66	Kasimas	sale	
67	Ioannes Perdikares	sale/donation	3
68	Konstantinos Zibares	sale/donation	3
69	Basileios Katharos	donation	4
70	sebastos Achyraites	donation	3 ⁴
71	Kamateros	sale/donation	4
72			3 ⁴
73	Th....	sale/donation	9
74	Gia....	donation	5
75	Alexios Gribozenos	sale/donation	4
76portarea	sale/donation	4
77	Maroulina	sale/donation	5
78	<i>ieromonachos</i> , Poungitzes	sale/donation	9
79	Steiriones, Steiriones	sale/donation	4
80	papas Kopsenos	exchange	2
81	Arabantenos	exchange	4
82	Theotokes Koudoupates	donation	14
83	Strateges	donation	3
84	Akindynos	sale/donation	5
85	papas Ioustinos Pepelas	sale/donation	8
86	Saranmpechina	sale/donation	4
87	Steiriones	<i>exalleima</i>	6
88	Stratelates	<i>exalleima</i>	
89	land of papas kyr Theodoretos		
	TOTAL		+1381,5

¹ Plus Alexios Mangidas (*paroikos*?)

² Sakoulas occupied it *ametochos*?

³ Includes a vineyard that the monastery planted

⁴ From a certain *paroikos* 'stasis

APPENDIX 2.

TAX LISTS OF PEASANTS IN STRYMON AREA

T: Total M: Medium, average G: Gini index

I have not included the average and Gini indexes when there is no point (e.g. when there are only 2-3 pigs in the whole village) or it is unimportant.

2a. CHOTOLIBOS (modern Photolibos)							
	ANIMALS			LAND IN MODIOI			TAX
	OXEN	COWS	OTHER ANIMALS	FIELDS	VINEYARDS	GARDENS	
1	2	3	1 mule/4 pigs	22	6		4
2	2	2	1 mule/6 pigs	6	1		1
3	1	2		? ²	3	1	1,5
4	2	2	1 mule	? ³	4	?	2,5
5					1		0,5
6	2	2		100	4,5	0,5	4
7	2	2	4 pigs	100	4,5		3
8	1	2		20	2		1
9	1			?	?		2
10	1	1		35	8,5	5	3,33
11							0,25
12	2	2	1 mule	30 ¹	3		2
13	1			20 ¹	1,5		0,5
14	1			12 ¹	3,5		1
15	2	2	1 mule	28 ¹	3,66		1,5
16					2,5		0,5
17	1			20 ¹			0,5
18	1			10 ¹	1,5	3	0,5
19	1			30 ¹	2		1
20	1				0,66		0,5
21							0,33
T	24	20	5 mules/14 pigs	>433 (500 ca.?)	53,82	10?	31,41
M	1,14	1,14	0,24 mules/0,66 pigs	23,81	2,56	0,5	1,5
G	0,33	0,57		0,54	0,42		0,43

¹ The land has been given to him (*ἀπὸ παραδόσεως*), presumably from the monastery.

² An estimation on the basis of the tax paid would yield a land of probably 20 modioi (see also no. 12 which has almost same property pays 2 *hypepryra* and owns 30 *modioi* of land).

³ An estimation on the basis of the tax paid would yield a land of probably 30-40 *modioi*.

2b. DOXOMPO							
	ANIMALS			FISHING		VINEYARDS	TAX ²
	OXEN	COWS	PIGS	SHIPS	BIBARIA		
1			2?	0,5		3,66	1,5
2			2			1	0,5
3				1	6	10,66	3
4	2	2		1	15	20	5
5						1,66	0,5
6			2	1	8	4	1,33
7	2	3	2	1	12	7	2,5
8						?	0,5
9						1	0,25
10						3	1?
11				0,5		3	1
12				1		3	1
13				0,5		1,5	1
14		2		0,5		3,66	2
15						2 m. <i>chers.</i>	0,25
16				0,5		4,66	1,5
17	1	2	2	1		3,5 /1 m. <i>chers.</i>	2
18		2	2	0,5		3	1,33
19	1	2	3	1		1,33	0,5
20				1		3	1,5
21	1		2	0,5	12	4,5	1,66
22				1		0,5	1,66
23			2	0,5		3	1,25
24	2	1	1 mule and 1 horse			3/1 m. new made vineyard/ 1 m. <i>chers.</i>	2
25			2	0,5		3,5	1,5
26				0,5	3	1,5	0,66
27	1	1	2	0,5	8	4	1,5
28				0,5		2	1
29			2	1		1,5	1,5
30				0,5		4	1,5
31	1	2	3	1	25	7,5/2 m. <i>chers.</i>	4
32						1,5	0,66
33						2	0,5
34						5	2,5
35	1		2	1	20	1	2,5
36				0,5	6		0,33
37			2		4	2	0,5

38			2	0,5	6	5	2
39	1			0,33		4	$\frac{1,5^3}{2}$
40	1	1		0,33		4	$\frac{1,5^3}{2}$
41	1			0,33	5	4	$\frac{2^3}{2}$
42	2		2	0,5		4,66	2
43			2	0,5		3	1,5
44			2	0,5	8	2	1
45	1		2	1	8	5,5	2
46			3	1	8	5,5/1 m. new plant	2
47	2		3	0,5	10	3	1,5
48	2			1	5	2	1
49			2	1		4	1,5
50			2	1		2	1,33
51	1			0,5	8	5,5	2
52			2	0,5		1,5	0,66
53	2	2	4/1 mule	1	30	15	5
54	1		3	1	20	3	3
55			3	1	15	3,5	3
56			2	0,5			0,33
57					2	1,5	1
58			2	1		3	1,5
59			2			2,5	1
60				0,5		3,5	1,33
61			2	0,5	8	6,5	2,33
62			3/2 mules			4,5	2
63			2	0,5			0,66
64				1		2	1
65	1		3	0,5	4	2,5	1,5
66	1		3	0,5		2,5	1,5
67	2	2	4	1		11,5	3
68		2	3	1	10	7,66	3
69	1		3	1	15	6	3
70	1	2	3	0,5	4	2	2
71			3	0,5	4	2	2
72			3	0,5	4	2,5	1,5
73			3	0,5	10	3,5	1,5
74			3	1		3	1,33
75			3	1	15	4,5	1,5
76			3	0,5	8	7,5	2
77			2	1		3,5	1,5
78						3	1
79			2	1	5	4	1,5
80		2	3	0,5		7,5	2
81						1,5	0,5
82				0,5		1,5	1

83	2		3	0,5		2	1
84			2			3	1
85			4	1	4	6,5	2
86				1	6	2	1,5
87						3	1
88	1			0,5	7	1,5	1,5
89			1 mule	0,5		5	1,5
90						2,5	0,66
91						1	0,5
92			2	0,5			0,5
93			3/mule/horse			4,5	1,5
94	1	1	3/1 mule	0,5	12	6	2
95			3/1 mule				0,33
96				0,5		1,66	1,5
97			2	0,5			0,5
98	2			0,5		2,5	2
99			2				0,5
100				0,5		2	0,66
101		1				1,5	0,66
102			2	0,5		2,5	1
103	1		3			5	2
104				0,5	7	2,5	1
105	1		3			2	1
106				0,5		1,33	0,5
107						1	0,33
108			3	0,5	10	7	3
109			2			8	2
110	1	2	4			6	2
111			3/1 mule				0,5
112				0,5		2	1
113							0,5
114							0,25
115		2	3	0,5		2	1
116			3			1	0,66
117							0,25
118	1					2	0,5
119						4	1
120		1					0,33
121						1,5	0,5
T	42	35	171/ 9 mules	56,5	377	400,5	170,5
M	0,35	0,29	1,41	0,47	3,12	3,31	1,41
G	0,78	0,86	0,51	0,44	0,78	0,42	0,33
	<i>ennomion</i>	<i>aer</i>	<i>tritomoiria</i>		commercial	<i>linobrocheion</i>	405 ⁴
				1	60	4400 m. land ⁵	80

¹ Tiled-roof house (*ὕποκέραμα*)

² In the taxes on italics, there is specifically mentioned in the document that the amount does not includes the fishing. It is not the tax on ships, since as someone can observe people with no ships and nets are also mentioned thus.

³ Each one also pays to the state 2,33 *hyperpyra* for the *gripos* they commonly hold.

⁴ *Aer and ennomion*: 20 *hyp.*; *charagma*: 15 *hyp.*; *gomariatikon, kommerkion, opsonion, katagogion* (commercial taxes): 50 *hyp.*; *tritomoiria* of the ships and *bibaria*: 300 *hyp.*; fair of St Nikolaos: 10 *hyp.*

⁵ 3000 *modioi* can be cultivated only.

2c. EUNOUCYOU (modern Maurothalassa)								
	ANIMALS				LAND IN MODIOI		TREES	TAX
	OXEN	COWS	PIGS	OTHER ANIMALS	VINEYARDS	GARDENS		
1	1	1	2		5	1		2
2	4	4	2	120 sheep 2 horses	10	1		7
3	2	4	12		2	1	1	2,5
4	2	4	6	50 sheep	4	2	3	3
5	4	6	20	2 horses	8	1	3	2
6					2		1	1
7	1	1			1,5	?	1	1
8	2	1			6	?	2	3
9	2	1			10	?		3
10		1		1 mule	2/1 m. <i>chers.</i>	?	4	1,5
11	1		3		1,5	?	1	1,5
12	3	6	10		8			4
13	3	3	10		8			4
14					2			0,33
15	2	1	20	10 sheep	7	1,5	2	3
16	2		20		4		4	3
17	2		10		2,5		1	3
18	2	2	5		6,66	1	6	3
19	2	1	5		4/ 2 m. <i>chers.</i>	1	6	3
20	2		2		5	1/1 m. orchard	4	2
21					3,5			0,5
T	37	37	145	180 sheep	112,66 plus 4 m. <i>chers.</i>	>15,5	36 trees	53,33
M	1,76	1,76	6,9	8,57	5,46		1,71	2,54
G	0,39	0,39	0,6	0,9	0,31			0,29

2d. KATO OUSKA (modern Nouska)								
	ANIMALS				LAND IN MODIOI			TAX
	OXEN	COWS	PIGS	MULES	FIELDS	VINEYARDS	OTHER FIELDS	
1	2				30			0,66
2	2	2	3	1	120	7		5
3	1	3	3			1,5		0,33
4	1		3					1,5
5					38	1,66	2,5 m. <i>esothyryn</i>	
6	1	3	3					0,33
7					30	3		1
8				(ex.)	50	3 m. <i>chers.</i>		??
9				(2 ex.)	200	20 m. <i>chers.</i>		7
10					125	2		3
11						2		0,33
12	1	1			11	1,5	1 m. <i>aulotopion</i>	1
13					11	4 (2 <i>exampelo</i>)		1
14	1				42		2 m. <i>esothyryn</i>	1,33
15	3	3	6	1	70	5	2 m. <i>aulotopion</i>	2
16	2	3		1	162	4,66		5
17	2	2	4	1	48	3	2 m. <i>esothyryn</i>	2,5
18	2	2	4					
19	1				110	5	3 m. <i>esothyryn</i>	4,5
20	1			1	15	1		1
21				(ex.)	13			0,33
22				(ex.)	6	1		0,17
23				(ex.)	35			0,17
24				(ex.)	190			5,5
T	20	19	26	5	1306	48,33	12,5	43,65
M	1,12	0,75	1,75	0,31	57,65	2,1	0,54	1,9
G	0,43	0,62	0,66		0,53	0,51		0,47
					(700)			(17)

2e. MONOSPETON								
	ANIMALS			LAND IN MODIOI			TREES	TAX
	OXEN	COWS	GOATS	FIELDS	VINEYARDS	OTHER FIELDS		
1	1	4	3	19	5,5	2 m. <i>aulotopion</i>		2
2		1	3	22	5,5			1,5
3	1	2	5	79	12,33	1 m. orchard	5	3
4		2	5	in common to no. 3				
5	1	4	20	73	8	1 m. orchard	15	3
6	1	1	3	30	16,66	1 m. orchard	6	4
7				25			4	1
8	1	3	30	41	13		4	3,5
9			5		2,66			0,33
10		1	15		4,66	7 m. <i>aulotopion</i>		1
11		3	15	8	11,5	12 m. <i>aulotopion</i>		2,5
12		1	5		4,66	12 m. <i>aulotopion</i>		1,5
13					5	3 m. <i>aulotopion</i>	1	0,66
14	1	4	40	23	13			4,5
15				31		1 m. orchard	10	1,33
16		2	10	4	8	0,5 m. orchard		1,5
17		1		in common to no. 16				
18	1	2	8	56	6,33			2
19	1	3		46	14,66	1 m. orchard		4,5
20			10		2,33			0,5
21								0,17
22					6			1
23				20	3,66		2	1
24				6		2 m. <i>aulotopion</i>	2	0,83
T	8	34	187	483	143,5	39 m. aulotopion 5 m. orchard	61	41,32
M	0,4	1,7	9,35	20,13	5,98	1,63	2,55	1,72
G	0,55	0,4	0,53	0,55	0,42	0,8		0,43

- In the village there are also 9 mules and 44 beehives, of which one household possess the 35.

2f. POLITZOS						
	ANIMALS				VINEYARD	TAX
	OXEN	COWS	SHEEP	MULES		
1		2	40			1,83
2	1		10	1	1,5 (he raised it)	0,66
3	1			1		0,33
4		4	60	1		1,5
5	1	4	80	1		3
6		2		1		0,17
7		2		1		0,17
8						0,17
9	1	2	10	1		1,66
10	1	3	30	1		1,66
11				1		0,5
12	1		30	1		1,66
13						0,17
14			10			0,17
15						0,17
16						0,17
17				1		0,66
T	6	19	260 +	11		14,65
M	0,35	1,12	15,29	0,65		0,86
G	0,66	0,65	0,71			0,5

2g. PREVISTA (modern Palaikomi)								
	ANIMALS				LAND IN MODIOI		TREES	TAX
	OXEN	COWS	GOATS	SHEEP	FIELDS	VINEYARDS		
1	2	3	4		93	6		4
2	1	2	10					1
3	1	2	1		45	3	3	3
4	2	2	3	15	50	0,66	3	3
5	2	2	8	25	100	6,5	1	3
6	1	3	2		50	4	2	3
7	2	1	4		24	3,5		3
8		2	2					0,5
9	2	1	6		35	3,5		3
10	1		8		20	2		2
11	2		3		40	6	3	3
12	2		4	40	70	3,5	2	3
13	2	1	15		30	3	6	3
14	2	2	4	60	70	5,66	2	3
15	1	3	4	25	50	3,5	4	2

16	1	2	2		36	3	1	2
17	2	1	2	80	16	1,5		2
18	2	2	4		17	2,5	4	2,5
19	2	3	2	80	30	1		2,5
20			3		17	2,5		2,5
21	1	1			35	2	2	2,5
22			2		6	2	2	1
23						1	1	0,66
24	2	4		40	60	5,5	1	3
25	1	1	2		30	2,5	1	2
26	1	1	2		10	3		1,5
27	1	1		25	34	2,5		2
28	2	3	6		40	3		2
29					50	2		2
30	2	2	2		58	5	3	2,5
31	1	2	2		40	3,5	1	3
32	2	1	2		54	3		2
33		2	2		54	3		2,5
34	2	3	4	40	120	0	1	4
35				(ex.)	50	4	2	3
36	1	1		50	24	1	1	1,5
37				(ex.)		3		1
38	2	3	4	100	60	4		3,5
39	2	1	2		35	4		3
40		1	2		9	4		2
41	1	4			20	3		2
42	1	2	2		30	3		2
43	1	8	4		56	1,5	2	2,5
44					35	3	1	??
45	2	2	4		80	5,5	1	4
46	1	2			60	?	4	3,5
47	2	3	3		75	9	2	4
48	1	3		70		0,5		1
49	2	5	6		60	6	2	4,5
50	1	1	15		2	3,5	1	2,5
51	1	1	2		55	1,5	1	2,5
52	2	3	8		55	3		3,5
53	2	6	8	13	65	6	2	4
54								0,5
55			3		30	3		2,5
56	1	1	8	30	70	4	3	3
57	1	1	15		30	6	2	3
58	1	4	4		50	3	2	2,5
59	2	2	10		90	6	2	5

60				(ex.)	50	6		3
61					8			0,5
62				(ex.)	20	3		2
63				30	2	2,5		1
64				(ex.)	25	4	4	3
65						2		0,66
66					4			1,5
67				(ex.)	8	?	2	16
68	2	?				2	3	2
69				(ex.)		3		1
70								0,5
T	37	107+	229	723	2542	209,32	78 walnut	179,32
M	0,6	1,68	3,69	11,65	36,72	3,13	1,13	2,6
G	0,37	0,49	0,51	0,83	0,42	0,35		0,28
					mill	domanial		18
						16 (exam.)/2 m. garden	6 walnut	4
						<i>ennomion aer</i>		44,33
					2300			?
					4842			>245,65

- In the village there are also 12 mules

2h. SEMALTOS (modern Mikro Soulio)						
	ANIMALS			LAND IN MODIOI		TAX
	OXEN	COWS	SHEEP/GOATS	FIELDS	VINEYARDS	
1	1	1		15	3,5	1
2	1	1				
3	1	1				
4				60	6	3
5	2	2				
6			20 sheep	50	8	3,5
7		1		30	5 plus 3 m. chers.	2
8	2	2		40	5	2,5
9	1	1				
10		2	10 sheep	70	8 plus 2 m. chers.	5
11				15	3,5	1
12	2	1	28 goats	70	7	3,5
13	2	1		55	6,5	3
T	12	13	30 sheep/28 goats	405	52,5 plus 5 modioi chers.	24,5

2i. TRILISSION							
	ANIMALS				LAND IN MODIOI		TAX
	OXEN	COWS	PIGS	OTHER ANIMALS	FIELDS	VINEYARDS	
1	2	2	3		38	?	2,25
2	1		2		13	2	0,66
3		1	2		117	2,5	3
4		1	2				0,25
5	1	1	2				0,33
6		1	4			1	0,33
7	2	1				1	0,33
8	2	1	2			3	0,66
9							0,25
10	2	2	2			3	0,66
11		1	2	4 beehives		1	0,25
12				3 goats		3	0,66
13	1	2	2		27	3	1
14			3			1,5	0,33
15	2	2		30 goats/6 beehives	38	2 plus 1 mill	3,5
16	2	2	3	30 goats/5 beehives	8	1 plus 1 mill	2,66
17	2	2	2	15 goats/5 beehives	10		1
18	2	2	4	24 sheep/12 beehives			1
19	2	2	4		16		0,33
20		1			18	7 aulotopion	0,5
21		1		3 goats		6 aulotopion	0,25
22		1	3	8 goats/3 beehives	7	1	0,5
23	1	2					0,25
24							0
25		1			50		1
26	(ex.)				100		2
T	22	29	42	89 goats/24 sheep/35 beehives	442	28 /13 m. aulotopion	23,95
M	0,88	1,16	1,68	3,56 goats/1 sheep/1,4 beehives	17	1/0,5 m. aulotopion	0,92
G	0,55	0,34	0,46	0,81	0,76	0,53	0,49

2j. ZABARNIKEIA						
	ANIMALS		LAND IN MODIOI		TREES	TAX
	OXEN	COWS	FIELDS	VINEYARDS		
1			1 m. garden			0,5
2			68	4 m. <i>chers.</i>	6	1,5
3	1	1	0,5 m. garden	4	1	1
4	2		72	13	1	4
5	1		52	6,5	1	2
6	1		47	8		2,5
7						0,33
8			46	8		2
9	1		20	6	1	1,5
10			16	12,5		1,5
11	1		50	4		2
12	1		40	5,5	1	2
13	2	2	30	6		3
14				4	3	1
15	2	2/ 3 pigs	42	9	1	3
16	1	1	55	4	5	2,5
17				3,5		0,5
18	1		1 m. <i>aulotopion</i>	2,5		1
19	1		30	6		2
20				6		0,5
21				5		1
22			40	9		2
23				3		0,5
24				2	3	0,5
25				2	3	1
26				1,5		0,5
27				3		0,66
28				3		0,5
29			4	3 m. <i>chers.</i>		0,17
30	2	1	58	6		3
31				2 m. <i>chers.</i>		0,5
32				3	1	0,5
33				0,5		0,33
34				2,5		0,66
35			20	3,5		1
T	17	7/ 3 pigs	690 1,5 m. garden	154,5 9 m. <i>chers.</i>	26 walnut	47,15
M	0,49		19,7	4,54		1,35
G	0,64		0,59	0,34		0,35

2k. ZICHNA (modern Nea Zichni)				
	HOUSES	ANIMALS	VINEYARDS	TAX
1	2		10 m. land/8 m. vineyards/21 m. abandoned vineyards	3
2	1		5	1,5
3	1		8	2,5
4	1		3	1
5	1		6	2
6	2	1 mule	9	2,5
7	1	1 ox/1 mule		0,5
8	1			0,5
9	1			0,5
10	1			0,17
11	1			0,33
		1 ox/ 2 mules	10 m. land/39 m. vineyards/21 m. abandoned vineyards	14,5

TABLE 3a. GINI INDICES

VILLAGE	OXEN	COWS	SHEEP	PIGS	FIELDS	VINEYARDS	TAX
Chotolibos	0,33	0,57			0,54	0,42	0,43
Doxompo	0,78	0,86		0,51		0,42	0,33
Eunouchou	0,39	0,39	0,9	0,6		0,31	0,29
Kato Ouska	0,43	0,62	0,66		0,53	0,51	0,47
Monospeton	0,55	0,43	0,53		0,55	0,42	0,43
Politzos	0,66	0,65	0,71				0,5
Prevista	0,37	0,49	0,83/0,51		0,42	0,35	0,28
Trilision	0,55	0,34	0,81	0,46	0,76	0,53	0,49
Zabarnikeia	0,64				0,59	0,34	0,35
AVERAGE	0,52	0,54	0,71	0,52	0,57	0,41	0,4

TABLE 3B. INCOME OF THE PEASANTS IN PREVISTA ¹							
RENTED FIELDS ¹	OWNED FIELDS	TOTAL FROM FIELDS	VINEYARDS	COWS ²	SHEEP or GOATS	TOTAL	TOTAL AFTER TAX
7,5	17,205	24,705	6	6	0,8	37,505	33,5
12,5	0	12,5	0	4	2	18,5	17,5
6,875	8,325	15,2	3	4	0,2	22,4	19,4
12,5	9,25	21,75	0,66	4	3,6	30,01	27
6,25	18,5	24,75	6,5	4	6,6	41,85	38,9
6,25	9,25	15,5	4	6	0,4	25,9	22,9
16,25	4,44	20,69	3,5	2	0,8	26,99	24
6,25	0	6,25	0	4	0,4	10,65	10,2
14,375	6,475	20,85	3,5	2	1,2	27,55	24,5
10	3,7	13,7	2	0	1,6	17,3	15,3
13,75	7,4	21,15	6	0	0,6	27,75	24,8
10	12,95	22,95	3,5	0	8,8	35,25	32,2
15	5,55	20,55	3	2	3	28,55	25,6
10	12,95	22,95	5,66	4	12,8	45,41	42,4
6,25	9,25	15,5	3,5	6	5,8	30,8	28,8
8,125	6,66	14,785	3	4	0,4	22,185	20,2
16,25	2,96	19,21	1,5	2	16,4	39,11	37,1
16,25	3,145	19,395	2,5	4	0,8	26,695	24,2
15	5,55	20,55	1	6	16,4	43,95	41,5
3,75	3,145	6,895	2,5	2	0,6	11,995	9,5
7,5	6,475	13,975	2	0	0	15,975	13,5
5	1,11	6,11	2	8	0,4	16,51	15,5
6,25	0	6,25	1	2	0	9,25	8,6
11,25	11,1	22,35	5,5	2	8	37,85	34,9
8,75	5,55	14,3	2,5	2	0,4	19,2	17,2
11,25	1,85	13,1	3	6	0,4	22,5	21
8,75	6,29	15,04	2,5	0	5	22,54	20,5
13,75	7,4	21,15	3	4	1,2	29,35	27,4
0	9,25	9,25	2	4	0	15,25	13,2
11,25	10,73	21,98	5	2	0,4	29,38	26,9
7,5	7,4	14,9	3,5	4	0,4	22,8	19,8
12,5	9,99	22,49	3	6	0,4	31,89	29,9
0	9,99	9,99	3	0	0,4	13,39	10,9
3,75	22,2	25,95	0	2	8,8	36,75	32,8
6,25	4,44	10,69	1	0	10	21,69	20,2
11,25	11,1	22,35	4	6	20,8	53,15	49,6
13,75	6,475	20,225	4	2	0,4	26,625	23,6

5	1,665	6,665	4	2	0,4	13,065	11,1
10	3,7	13,7	3	8	0	24,7	22,7
8,75	5,55	14,3	3	4	0,4	21,7	19,7
5	10,36	15,36	1,5	16	0,8	33,66	31,2
1,875	6,475	8,35	3	0	0	11,35	8,8
8,75	14,8	23,55	5,5	4	0,8	33,85	29,9
5	11,1	16,1	3	4	0	23,1	19,6
9,375	13,875	23,25	9	6	0,6	38,85	34,8
12,5	0	12,5	0,5	6	14	33	32
11,25	11,1	22,35	6	10	1,2	39,55	35,1
12,5	0,37	12,87	3,5	2	3	21,37	18,9
6,25	10,175	16,425	1,5	2	0,4	20,325	17,8
12,5	10,175	22,675	3	6	1,6	33,275	29,8
10,625	12,025	22,65	6	12	4,2	44,85	40,9
6,25	0	6,25	0	0	0	6,25	5,7
2,5	5,55	8,05	3	0	0,6	11,65	9,2
3,75	12,95	16,7	4	2	7,6	30,3	27,3
8,75	5,55	14,3	6	2	3	25,3	22,3
12,5	9,25	21,75	3	8	0,8	33,55	31
7,5	16,65	24,15	6	4	2	36,15	31,2
5	1,48	6,48	0	0	0	6,48	6
6,25	0,37	6,62	2,5	0	0	9,12	8,1
6,25	0	6,25	2	0	0	8,25	7,6
6,25	0,74	6,99	0	4	6	16,99	15,5
18,75	0	18,75	2	0	0	20,75	18,7
6,25	0	6,25	0	0	0	6,25	5,8
561,3	442,47	1003,77	189,32	218	187,6	1598,135	1445,7

¹ The table is based on several hypotheses: the peasants do not work outside their village; they do not have other sources of income or nutrition – smaller domestic animals such as hens, fishing, hunting, grass or wild fruit collection but no corveés have been calculated; no peasants from other villages work as wage workers; the manpower of each household is the same, regardless of the number of its members. Therefore, these incomes represent more an exercise.

² See note 530 for the calculation of the income from rented or owned land and for the distribution of the domanial land among the peasants. It is based on oxen possession and the amount of owned land. The total land of the village (4842 *modioi*) divided among the cultivators (63 peasants and 37 oxen) gives a medium 48 *modioi*. Thus a peasant with no oxen would cultivate in total 50 *modioi*, a peasant with one ox would cultivate 100 *modioi* and a peasant with two oxen would cultivate 150 *modioi*. These figures fit perfectly with the calculations of Laiou and Lefort regarding the amount of land cultivated by peasants.

³ The income from animals has been calculated according to their value.

APPENDIX 3.

THE TWO PARTIES OF THE SECOND CIVIL WAR

In order to better understand the intensity of the two parties I have introduced points of affinity to each of the leaders of the two parties. The intensity of Kantakouzenos' party becomes analogous to the intensity of the regency party, only when we introduce three points of reference to the regency party corresponding to the three main leaders (the empress, the patriarch Kalekas and Alexios Apokaukos).

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Abbreviations

Points of affinity

A: Apokaukos	6: son, brother, parents
E: Emperor/Empress	5: uncle, nephew, cousin
K: Kantakouzenos	4: son/brother/father in-law or farther blood relation
P: Patriarch	3: friends, political friends
AV.: average	2: no obvious relation but they are known to each other
R: Regency	1: no relation at all

TABLE 4. THE PARTY OF KANTAKOUZENOS

NO.	NAME	RELATION	A.K.	A.R.
1	Matthaios Kantakouzenos	son of K.	6	2
2	Manouel Kantakouzenos	son of K.	6	2
3	Ioannes Angelos	cousin of K.	5	2
4	Nikephoros Kantakouzenos	uncle of K.	5	2
5	Manouel Asanes	brother-in-law of K.	4	3
6	Ioannes Asanes	brother-in-law of K.	4	3
7	Andronikos Asanes	nephew of K.	4	3
8	Nikephoros Angelos Orsini	son-in-law of K.	4	2
9	Manouel Kourtikes Tarchaneiotes	relative of K.	4	2
10	Demetrios Sgouropoulos	<i>oiketes</i> of K.	4	1
11	Theodoros Pepagomenos	<i>oiketes</i> of K.	4	1
12	Potamiates	<i>oiketes</i> of K.	4	1
13	Iakobos Broulas	<i>oiketes</i> of K.	4	1
14	Ioannes Pothos	<i>oiketes</i> of Angelos	3	1
15	Mpratilos	messenger	3	1
16	Leon Kalothetos	family friend of K.	3	1
17	Demetrios Kydones	family friend of K.	3	1
18	Batatzes	<i>oiketes</i> of Andronikos III	1	3
19	Komitopoulos	<i>oiketes</i> of Andronikos III	1	3
20	Alexios Doukas	prisoner, cousin of A.	1	4
21	Raoul	prisoner	1	1
22	Palaiologos	prisoner	1	1
23	Michael Maurophoros	aristocrat in Serres	1	1
24	Sideras	murdered by the regency	2	1
25	Demetrios Pharmakes	aristocrat in Thessalonike	1	1
26	Palaiologos (2)	aristocrat in Thessalonike	1	1
27	Gabalas	<i>mesos</i> in Thessalonike	1	1
28	Arsenios Tzamlakon	aristocrat in Macedonia	2	1
29	Asomatianos Tzamlakon	brother of no. 28	1	1
30	Demetrios Tzamlakon	brother of no. 28	1	1
31	Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas	aristocrat in Thessalonike	1	1
32	Nikolaos Kabasilas Chamaëtos	scholar, aristocrat	1	1

TABLE 4. THE PARTY OF KANTAKOUZENOS

33	Georgios Glabas	army commander of K.	2	1
34	Theodoros Patrikiotes	tax official	2	2
35	Michael Bruennios	city governor	2	2
36	Laskaris		1	1
37	Ioannes Palaiologos	army commander of K.	1	2
38	Konstantinos Palaiologos (2)		1	2
39	Theodoros Kaballarios		1	1
40	Alousianos		1	1
AV.			2,66	1,57

TABLE 5. THE APOSTATES OF KANTAKOUZENOS

NO.	NAME	RELATION	OFFICE	P.K.	P.R.
41	Ioannes Batatzes	son-in-law of A. and P.	army commander	1	1 (5) ¹
42	Theodoros Synadenos	friend of K.	<i>kephale</i>	4	3
43	Apelmene	<i>oiketes</i> of K.	army officer (?)	4	1
44	Stephanos Chreles		city governor	2	2
45	Konstantinos Palaiologos	<i>sympentheros</i> of A.	city governor	2	5
46	Koteanitzes		army officer	1	1
47	Momcil		army commander	1	1
48	Georgios Kokalas		army officer	1	1

TABLE 6. THE APOSTATES OF THE REGENCY

NO.	NAME	RELATION	OFFICE	P.K.	P.R.
49	Kontostephanos		city governor	1	1
50	Paraspondylos	<i>oiketes</i> of Andronikos III	city governor	1	3
51	Magkaphas	<i>oiketes</i> of Andronikos III	city governor	1	3
52	Ierax	<i>oiketes</i> of Andronikos III	city governor	1	3
53	Manouel Apokaukos	son of A.	city governor	1	6
54	Ioannes Apokaukos	son of A.	city governor	1	6
55	Phakeolatos		navy commander	1	3
56	Georgios Isaris		aristocrat in Thess.	1	1
57	Tzyrakes	<i>oiketes</i> of E.		1	4

TABLE 7. THE SUPPORTERS OF THE REGENCY

NO.	NAME	RELATION	OFFICE	P.K.	P.R.
58	Georgios Choumnos	father-in-law of A.	<i>epi tes trapezes</i>	2	4
59	Ioannes Choumnos	relative of no.58	<i>stratopedarches</i>	1	2
60	Andronikos Asanes	uncle of E.	<i>sebastokrator</i>	4	3
61	Konstantinos Asanes	uncle of E.		3	3
62	Isaakios Asanes	uncle of E.	<i>panypersebastos</i>	3	3
63	Manouel Asanes	uncle of E.		3	3
64	Ioannes Gabalas		<i>megas logothetes</i>	4	2
65	Manouel Kinnamos		<i>mystikos</i>	1	3
66	Guy de Lusignan	uncle of E.	governor	4	5
67	Andronikos Palaiologos	son-in-law of A.	army commander	2	4
68	Thomas Palaiologos		army commander	1	2
69	Georgios Palaiologos		army commander	1	2
70	Michael Monomachos		army commander	1	1
71	Monomachos		<i>eparchos</i>	1	1
72	Georgios Tagaris		<i>megas stratopedarches</i>	1	3
73	Manouel K. Strategopoulos			4	3
74	Goudeles	<i>oiketes</i> of E.	city governor	1	4
75	Sphrantzes		army commander	1	1
76	Ioannes Katabolenos	<i>oiketes</i> of E.	city governor	1	4
77	Michael Palaiologos		Zealot leader	1	2
78	Andreas Palaiologos		Zealot leader	1	2
79	Alexios Metochites		Zealot leader	1	2
80	Branos			1	1
81	Mougdouphes			1	1
82	Phrangopoulos			1	1
83	Archontitzes		city governor	1	1
84	Geor. Doukas Philanthropenos		city governor	1	2
85	Aplesphares	<i>oiketes</i> of E.		1	4
86	Georgios Margarites		aristocrat	1	1
87	Ioannes Margarites		aristocrat	1	1
88	Ioannes Palaiologos Raoul		<i>megas logothetes</i>	1	2
				1,65	2,35

APPENDIX 4.

THE ZEALOTS OF THESSALONIKE

One of the most interesting cases in the scholarly literature is the Zealot regime in Thessalonike. The Zealots have been seen as a popular party who hated the aristocracy and who had a political programme that favoured the lower classes. They have been seen even as a pre-modern commune in a study in 1928 by I. Kordatos a Greek Marxist historian.¹¹⁴⁶ In fact, much more was known then for the Zealots than we know now. A homily by Nikolaos Kabasilas in the form of dialogue against ‘those who confiscate church property’ and which also presented the arguments of ‘those’, had been considered by Sathas and Tafrali to target the Zealots.¹¹⁴⁷ However I. Ševčenko, who fully edited the dialogue in 1957, pointed out that there is nothing in the dialogue that can lead us to the assumption that the target are the Zealots, apart from our own presuppositions about their program. Secondly, on palaeographical grounds, Ševčenko concluded that the treatise was drafted (or at least corrected) in the later third of the fourteenth century. For Ševčenko the homily cannot be safely dated but most probably should be placed in the context of the 1370’s, when Ioannes V tried to confiscate church property, in order to distribute *pronoiai* and build defences in face of the Turkish conquest of Thrace.¹¹⁴⁸

¹¹⁴⁶ I. Kordatos, *Η κομμούνια της Θεσσαλονίκης (1342-1349)* (Athens 1928). Similarly was described by P. Browning, ‘Комуната на зилотите в солуни’, *Istoricheskii pregled* 6 (1950), 509-526.

¹¹⁴⁷ C.N. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l’histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Age*, V (Paris, London and Athens 1883), xxxv, who first expressed this view; Tafrali, *Thessalonique*.

¹¹⁴⁸ Ševčenko, ‘anti-Zealot discourse’, who thought at first that it targeted the regency in Constantinople. The original draft, discovered by Ševčenko, from the hand of Kabasilas himself, bears

Although the ‘communist’ program had been ‘lost’, the Zealots still inspired the true spirit of popular revolution according to the Marxist scholars. Many Marxist

corrections, in at least three phases. This might mean that it *could* have been written before and edited much later in the lifetime of Kabasilas: I. Ševčenko, ‘The author's draft of Nicolas Cabasilas ‘anti-Zealot’ discourse’, *DOP* 14 (1960), 181-201. This view is also expressed by Smyrlis, ‘The state, the land and the private property’, 58-87. Two years later I. Ševčenko, ‘A postscript on Nicolas Cabasilas’, *DOP* 16 (1962), 403-408, expressed the view that it cannot be safely dated. G.P. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387* (Vatican City 1960), 41-51, compared the treatise with analogous comments from the metropolitan of Thessalonike Isidoros Glabas and expressed the view that it targeted the confiscations of church properties to which Manouel Palaiologos proceeded in the 1380’s. Later on (G.P. Dennis, *Nicholas Cabasilas Chamaetos and his Discourse on Abuses committed by Authorities against sacred Things*, in *Byzantine Studies/ Etudes byzantines* 5 (1978); reprinted in G.P. Dennis, *Byzantium and the Franks* (London 1982), no. XI.) he claimed that the treatise had no specific recipients and is rather a rhetorical exercise in such a theme (i.e. confiscation of sacred property) common in Byzantium both as a literary motif and as a historical reality (see for example the analogous comments of the Patriarch Gregorios the Cypriot: C. Rapp, ‘Ein bisher unbekannter Brief des Patriarchen Gregor von Zypern an Johannes II., Sebastokrator von Thessalien’, *BZ* 81.1 (1988), 10-11. See also I. Ševčenko, ‘Nicolaus Cabasilas' Correspondence’, *BZ* 47 (1954), 49-59, where he moves the date of birth of Kabasilas from ca. 1300 to ca. 1320, thus making less possible the redaction of the treatise before 1345.

More recently M.-H. Congourdeau has returned to the assumption that in fact the dialogue was first composed during the second civil war and had as recipients Alexios Apokaukos and the Patriarch Kalekas. There is mention in the dialogue that the money was directed to the repair of the walls, the construction of a fleet and the payment of soldiers; acts supposedly carried out by Apokaukos. The text also states that the ecclesiastical *archon* (who has to be either a metropolitan or a patriarch), was accused of simony (Kalekas was also accused of misappropriation of sacred property: cf. the report of metropolitans to the empress Anna which led to the deposition of Kalekas in *Memorandum to the empress*, PG 151: 767-770) and at amassing wealth for himself and his associates (the text mentions the *χορός* around him, i.e. his associates, not ‘les fils’ that Congourdeau translates). In sum, there are indications that can lead us to think of Apokaukos and Kalekas, but at the same time all this ‘evidence’ can also have been aimed at other people. Isidoros Glabas had made exactly the same accusations of Manouel Palaiologos in Thessalonike. Besides, there are other some accusations in the text, such as misappropriation of the property of other bishoprics, or the appropriation of the property of deceased priests, which cannot have targetted Kalekas. Also, concerning the ‘bad’ lay *archon*, the text refers to confiscations profiting the public treasury or for decorating churches and, again, these were not charges that we meet elsewhere against Apokaukos.

M.-H. Congourdeau kindly provided to me her still unpublished article on the treatise of Kabasilas ‘Les énigmes du *Discours* de Nicolas Cabasilas contre les archontes’.

historians either ignored the conclusions of Ševčenko or tried without success to refute him. Chrochova, following Tafrali, without any evidence, saw the leaders of the Zealots as belonging to the intellectual middle-class (perhaps reminiscent of Lenin or Marx) and led by the ‘philosophical school’ of Barlaam.¹¹⁴⁹ The Zealots figure in all Marxist scholarly works as saviours of the Byzantine Empire. They gathered the vital forces of the empire and tried to resolve all the economic and social differences in order to strengthen the people in face of the Turkish attacks, as Chrochova, Kazhdan and Werner pointed out.¹¹⁵⁰ For the new-orthodox professor and priest Georgios Metallenos, the Zealots were monks, the poor and beggars and had as their social programme to appropriate and redistribute the properties of aristocrats; they followed the traditional orthodox monasticism.¹¹⁵¹ The Zealot regime has also been connected with a contemporary popular revolt in 1339 in Genoa. There the popular faction led by Simon Boccanegra attacked the properties of the patriciate of the city and appropriated the city administration.¹¹⁵² Soon after the mid-60’s the debate on the

¹¹⁴⁹ V. Hrochova, ‘La révolte des zélotes à Salonique et les communes italiennes’, *Byzantinoslavica* 22 (1961), 1-15.

¹¹⁵⁰ B.T. Gorjanov, *Поздневизантийский феодализм* (Moscow 1962); A.P. Kazhdan, *Аграрные отношения в Византии XIII-XIV вв.* (Moscow 1962); E. Werner, ‘Volkstümliche Häretiker oder sozial-politische Reformer? Probleme der revolutionären Volksbewegungen in Thessalonike 1342-1349’, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität. Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, 8:1 (Leipzig 1958/1959), 45-83.

¹¹⁵¹ G. Metallenos, *Ησυχαστές και Ζηλωτές: Πνευματική ακμή και κοινωνική κρίση στον Βυζαντινό 14ο αιώνα* (Athens 1995). New-orthodoxy is an intellectual movement in modern Greece of leftist (or almost leftists or ex-leftists) intellectuals, scholars and politicians. It has nationalistic and religious tones built on a leftist background. The nostalgia for Byzantium is one of the motifs of the New-orthodoxy.

¹¹⁵² The first scholar who tried to connect the two movements was Tafrali and soon he was followed by Brătianu, *Privilèges*, 117-123 and Chrochova, ‘La revolte’; I. Ševčenko, ‘The Zealot revolution and the supposed Genoese colony in Thessalonica’, in *Προσφορά εις Στίλπιωνα Κυριακίδη* (Thessalonike 1953), 603-617.

Zealots ceased, and especially the voices regarding their ‘revolutionary’ regime. Matschke returned to the debate with an article in 1994 and concluded that their actions were in accordance with the policy of the regency (city assemblies with participation of the lower classes, confiscations of aristocratic properties etc.) but there is no evidence for a concrete programme of wealth redistribution.¹¹⁵³ Barker in his study of Late Byzantine Thessalonike connected the regime of the Zealots, as Meyendorff had done in the past, with the city’s separatism. But, he still believed that the Zealots hated Kantakouzenos because he was an aristocrat and that they ‘*might*’ have had a revolutionary programme, although the sources do not indicate this clearly.¹¹⁵⁴

In 1342, as Kantakouzenos reached Makedonia, we learn that the governor of Thessalonike Theodoros Synadenos was preparing to defect to him because he feared the growing power of the ‘Zealots’ (i.e. the supporters of Ioannes V)¹¹⁵⁵ in the city. As

The events were known in Byzantium as both Gregoras and Kantakouzenos narrate. Nevertheless, it seems that there was not a presence of Genoese merchants in Thessalonike during this time and, moreover, it is a mere hypothesis that the Zealots knew the movement. It is based on the assumption that the Zealots were inspired by this social movement, but, on the light of the new evidence about the inexistence of a political or social programme by the Zealots, any discussion about a Genoese influence seems obsolete.

The theory, however, had been strengthened by a curious passage in the Philotheos Kokkinos, *Life of St Sabbas*, 194, where he says that those that caused all this trouble in Thessalonike were actually barbarians ‘from our borders’ (or far from us, as Barker (‘Late Thessalonike’, 20 note 45) translates it: ‘*τινῶν βαρβάρων ἐκ τε τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐσχατιῶν*’) and immigrants (or refugees: *ἐπηλύδων*) from the nearby islands.

¹¹⁵³ Matschke, ‘Zeloten’.

¹¹⁵⁴ Barker, ‘Late Byzantine Thessalonike’, 20-21.

¹¹⁵⁵ The name of the Zealots was probably a self-designation by the Zealots and had connotations to the earlier religious Zealots, as Gregoras points out. They certainly were not a pre-existent ‘party’ or faction but rather they were the anti-Kantakouzenists of the city, who called themselves Zealots, obviously for their zeal for the legitimate emperor and were then organised: Gregoras, II, 674-675 ‘*εἰς ἀντίπαλον ἔστησαν μοῖραν οἱ πλούτου καὶ δόξης ἐφιέμενοι πένητες, καὶ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπὶ μέσης τε διαρρήδην ὕμνου τῆς πόλεως καὶ*

his plan was revealed the Zealots stirred up the people and drove out Synadenos and a thousand other men who were adherents of Kantakouzenos, including the garrison of the city.¹¹⁵⁶ For three days Thessalonike was plundered by them. Kantakouzenos insists that the Zealots were ‘poor men’ who strove to plunder the properties of the rich, whom he identifies as his own supporters. A significant number of supporters of Kantakouzenos still remained in the city. They were obliged to follow the Zealots along with the *mesoi* (i.e. either the middle class or most probably the moderate and neutral people, as in Thucydides).¹¹⁵⁷

Even though it is not recorded, most fugitives must have returned to Thessalonike after their defection from Kantakouzenos and soon things were normalised in the city again. After the coming of Omur with the Turks and the retreat of Apokaukos to Constantinople in the summer 1343, Kantakouzenos tried to force Thessalonike to surrender by raiding the suburbs. In the city the living conditions

ἄμα Ζηλωτὰς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπωνόμαζον, ὀνόμασι χρῆστοις τὴν τῆς κακίας ὑπόθεσιν περιπέττοντες, καὶ τὸν δῆμον εἰς συμμαχίαν ἐκάλουν, κερδῶν ἐτοιμῶν ἐλπίσι τοὺς σφῶν θυμοὺς παραθήγοντες’.

¹¹⁵⁶ Gregoras, I, 633-634; Kantakouzenos, II, 233-234: ‘[Συναδηνὸς δὲ] τοὺς λεγομένους Ζηλωτὰς, οἱ ὑπὲρ βασιλέως τοῦ Παλαιολόγου βασιλεῖ τῷ Καντακουζηνῷ ἠροῦντο πολεμεῖν, ἀξανομένους κατὰ μικρὸν περιεώρα [...] τοῦτο δ’ ὅτι καὶ Θεσσαλονικέων οὐ μόνον ἡ στρατιὰ, οἱ ἦσαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ δυνατοὶ τὰ βασιλέως τοῦ Καντακουζηνῷ ἠρημένοι πρὸς ἀμέλειαν ἐνήγον, οἷς ἐθάρρει, ὅτε βούλοιο, περιέσεσθαι τῶν Ζηλωτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνοι [i.e. the Zealots] διὰ τὴν μέλλησιν ἐκείνου ἦσαν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητοι καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀνηρέθισαν κατὰ τῶν δυνατῶν, τοῦ πρωτοστράτορος ἤδη ἐγνωσμένου τὰ Καντακουζηνῷ τοῦ βασιλέως δρᾶν, ἐπιθέμενοι ἀθρόον, ἐξελαύνουσι τῆς πόλεως περὶ χιλίους ὄντας’.

It should be noted that the passage imply that the 1000 were individual men and not simply members of the aristocratic families (i.e. plus children, women) as has been understood by Werner. This latter interpretation would mean tha the garrison of the city was 100-200 men, and it is not comparable with the later number of 800 men, mainly of the garrison of the city, which Apokaukos summoned in 1345.

¹¹⁵⁷ Kantakouzenos, II, 234-235: ‘ἐτράπησαν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν φηγάδων καὶ αὐτὰς τε καθήρουν καὶ τὰς οὐσίας διήρπαζον, καὶ τᾶλλα ἔπραττον, ὅσα ἦν εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ πενίας συναλαιομένους καὶ εἰς ὕβριν ἐξενηγεμένους διὰ τὴν ἀθρόαν εὐπορίαν [...] οἱ Ζηλωταὶ αὐτίκα ἐκ πενεστάτων καὶ ἀτίμων πλούσιοι καὶ περιφανεῖς γεγεννημένοι, πάντα ἤγον δι’ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ τοὺς μέσους μετήεσαν τῶν πολιτῶν, ἢ συνασχημονεῖν ἀναγκάζοντες αὐτοῖς, ἢ τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν ὡς Καντακουζηνισμὸν ἐπικαλοῦντες’.

grew difficult because of the siege. He still had supporters in Thessalonike and there were rumours that they were trying to hand the city over to him. According to Gregoras the poor people of the city, in distress due to the lack of basic provisions, were led to commit atrocities by the Zealots, whom he identifies as poor but greedy men.¹¹⁵⁸ As a result, the supporters of Kantakouzenos were the victims. Two of them were killed, an aristocrat named Palaiologos and one of the middle class named Gabalas. Others were mistreated and expelled from the city.¹¹⁵⁹

¹¹⁵⁸ Gregoras, I, 673-675: ‘*Τοῖς γε μὴν Θεσσαλονικεῦσι, τειχῶν ἐντὸς συγκλεισθεῖσι μετὰ τῶν ποιμνίων καὶ βουκολίων [...] ὑφ’ ὧν ἀχθομένοις συνέβαινε στασιάζειν λαμπρῶς τοῖς πολίταις. οἷς μὲν γὰρ κτήσεις ἦσαν ἀγρῶν, ἄχθεσθαι ἐνῆν, τῶν ἀγρῶν δηουμένων· οἷς δ’ ἀγέλαι ποιμνίων, καὶ ζεύγη βοῶν, καὶ ὀπόσα τῶν ἀχθοφόρων ζώων [...] οἷς δ’ ἡλικιωτὶς ἦν ἡ πενία καὶ τὸ κοῦφον τοῦ βίου τὸ μὴ βουλόμενον ἰσχυρῶς ἐμάστιξε τῆς ψυχῆς, τούτοις δ’ ἔφεσις νεωτέρων συνήκμαζε ταραχῶν καὶ θορύβων, καὶ κατὰ τῶν πλουσίων ἢ βασκανία τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐτείνετο, καὶ τὸ μανικὸν ἠσκεῖτο σφόδρα τῆς γνώμης. [...] Τούτων δ’ οὕτως διηρημένων διπλῆ, καὶ τρίτῃ μοῖρᾷ τις αὐτοῖς ἐπεφύετο συρφετώδης [...]. Πεπλασμένης οὖν ἀρτίως εἰς τὸν δῆμον ῥυείσης φήμης, ὡς τοῖς πλούτῳ καὶ ἀγροῖς καὶ βοσκήμασι βρίθουσιν ἀναπετάσαι τὰς τῆς πόλεως πύλας κρύφα μελετηθεῖη τῷ βασιλεῖ Καντακουζηνῷ τὴν ζημίαν οὐ φέρουσιν, εἰς ἀντίπαλον ἔστησαν μοῖραν οἱ πλούτου καὶ δόξης ἐφιέμενοι πένητες, καὶ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπὶ μέσης τε διαρρήδην ὕμνον τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἄμα Ζηλωτὰς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπωνόμαζον [...] καὶ τὸν δῆμον εἰς συμμαχίαν ἐκάλουν [...] καὶ πάντες ἄθροοι τῶν οἰκιῶν εὐθὺς ἐξεχέοντο, καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν πολεμίων αὐτοὶ πικρότεροι τοῖς πλουσίοις ἐγίνοντο*’. So, according to the passage, the Thessalonicians were enclosed within the city walls together with their herds; there was grief for those that had fields outside the city, since these were plundered and for those that had herds, because the animals were dying every day due to the lack of provision (note: there is no mention to farmers as has been claimed; these men could well be wealthy citizens that normally owned fields and herds outside the city, as is implied also later in the account); the people were hungry and many were ready to appropriate the properties of the wealthy citizens; that there was a rumour that those who had many fields and herds were ready to open the gates to Kantakouzenos (note the connection with the previous group); while the *demos* was divided thus in two factions (i.e. the rich and the poor), the rumour of treason became known to the people by a newly organised third faction, which was composed of the poor citizens that were greedy, the Zealots (the third newly organised faction were the Zealots, not the common people, as the Third Class; cf. Matschke, ‘Zeloten’, 23) who led the *demos* to an uprising killing many wealthy citizens and appropriating the wealth, thus becoming even worse to the wealthy than the enemies outside the gates.

¹¹⁵⁹ Kantakouzenos, II, 393-394.

Thessalonike thereafter remained an enclave of the regency in Macedonia, since the rest of the province reverted to Kantakouzenos or was conquered by the Serbians. In 1345 Ioannes Doukas Apokaukos was the governor of the city. According to Kantakouzenos, Ioannes Apokaukos was not satisfied, because he was compelled to share his authority with the Zealots. We have no reason to doubt this two-fold authority in the city, but it may be not as exceptional as it is presented by Kantakouzenos. We should remember that the governors of the cities in this period were normally compelled to share their authority with the local councils which in many cases they were at odds with the governor. Thus in a trial that was held to judge an appeal of the monastery of Docheiariou against the tax official Chageres for a land appropriation, among the participants were members of the local aristocracy. Among them were numbered the *megas droungarios* Georgios Isaris (until up to then he was a devoted anti-Kantakouzenist),¹¹⁶⁰ the *megas tzaousios* Theodoros Koteanitzes,¹¹⁶¹ the *megas chartoularios* Nikephoros Senachereim, the *skouterios* Senachereim and the *protoierakarios* Demetrios Komes. The document shows that Ioannes Apokaukos still had power in the city, as did the rest of the state authorities.¹¹⁶²

The same document sheds light on another aspect that Kantakouzenos stresses. Ioannes Apokaukos, in an attempt to prevail over the Zealots, started approaching the Kantakouzenists of Thessalonike. In the end, he decided to murder their leader and his co-archon Michael Palaiologos. The murder of Michael Palaiologos did not create any turmoil to the city; thus Apokaukos proceeded to the next step. He arrested or expelled all the notable Zealots. However, he was still afraid of siding openly with the

¹¹⁶⁰ According to Gregorios Akindynos, Isaris changed his allegiance and in the aftermath, during the later uprising, his property was plundered and he barely escaped death:

¹¹⁶¹ It is to be noted that a certain Koteanitzes was one of the Thessalonican army commanders that defected from Kantakouzenos in 1342.

¹¹⁶² Actes Docheiariou, 94-95.

Kantakouzenists because of his father in Constantinople. Instead, he extorted money from the wealthy supporters of Kantakouzenos (who had revealed their intentions to him). But when his father was murdered in Constantinople, Ioannes Apokaukos called for a council, where he presented his view that the city should change sides in favour of Kantakouzenos. The *eparchos* Andreas Palaiologos, another leader of the Zealots (who had not been arrested for some reason) was compelled by the situation not to disagree, as also Georgios Kokalas.

So, two messengers (Nikolas Kabasilas and Georgios Pharmakes) were sent to Matthaios Kantakouzenos in Berroia in order to invite him to take over the command of the city and ask for tax immunity for the city and additional income for all the city *archontes* and the army. Their demands were accepted and as the messengers returned and announced the conclusion of the agreement, Andreas Palaiologos decided to act. He repaired to the Lower City, where at that time he had the *arche* (rule) of this part of the city; thus it means that probably he was a kind of *demarchos* in this section of the city.¹¹⁶³ As such he had also the support of the inhabitants there, the seamen (*τὸ ναυτικὸν*). On the other side, Ioannes Apokaukos was in charge of some 800 men including the garrison of the city, while the rest of the people remained neutral for the time being. With his men Ioannes Apokaukos was in a superior position, but the treason of Kokalas (who was until then with Ioannes Apokaukos) and the reluctance of Apokaukos to attack and clear the situation quickly, changed the balance. Alexios Palaiologos with the help of all non-arrested Zealots started summoning the people to his side. Kokalas, in the meantime, secretly convinced the sergeants of the army not to attack but rather to retreat, and, simultaneously, provoked the people to take side with the Zealots. As a result, when Andreas Palaiologos attacked, the soldiers refused to

¹¹⁶³ See above p. 55-56.

fight and Apokaukos and one hundred other citizens were imprisoned. Next day a rumour that the prisoners had revolted led the *demos* to rise up again and kill all the prisoners, including Apokaukos. Thereafter, the *demos* attacked again other parts of the city killing some other citizens. Among them figured Georgios Pharmakes, the messenger to Kantakouzenos, although he happened to be Kokalas' brother-in-law.¹¹⁶⁴ We are able to confirm the significant violence that occurred in Thessalonike from personal experiences of three of Kantakouzenos' supporters: Nikolaos Kabasilas, Demetrios Kydones, and Georgios Isaris.¹¹⁶⁵

The incident reveals more about the origins of the Zealot leaders. Although the identification of Michael Palaiologos has failed,¹¹⁶⁶ his surname, as also the surname of the other leader, Andreas Palaiologos, are revealing. Andreas Palaiologos had the title of *eparchos* and later that of the *epi tes trapezes*, and was also a large landowner in the vicinity of Thessalonike.¹¹⁶⁷ Georgios Kokalas was a military official, long before the civil war (he is attested as *oikeios* of Andronikos III and *me*

¹¹⁶⁴ Kantakouzenos, II, 568-582. In 2011 in the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Sofia, Dan Ioan Mureşan casted doubts on the date of September 1345 given by a short chronicle for the date of the riot (Chronica Breviora, 49:351), dismissing the chronicle as chronologically inconsistent elsewhere. On the basis of the riot's placement in the narrative of Kantakouzenos (around the time of his coronation in Adrianople in May 1346 and probably as a consequence of the coronation of Dušan in Serres in April 1346) and the letters of Kydones, he dated the riot sometime around late spring 1346: D.I. Mureşan, 'Pour une nouvelle datation du massacre de l'aristocratie de Thessalonique', in *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine studies, Sofia 22-27 August 2011. Volume II: Abstracts of Round Table Communications* (Sofia 2011), 227-228.

¹¹⁶⁵ Georgios Isaris: Akindynos, *Letters*, 238-242 (and also the editor's comments at 411-412); Demetrios Kydones: Demetrios Kydones, *Oratio ad Cantacuzenum*, 2-3; Nikolaos Kabasilas: Demetrios Kydones, *Letters*, 120.

¹¹⁶⁶ A.T. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen (1259-1453)* (Amsterdam 1962), 29 and contrary D. Nicol, 'The prosopography of the Byzantine aristocracy', in Angold, *The Byzantine aristocracy*, 79-91 (here at 87).

¹¹⁶⁷ Actes Lavra III, 27. *Eparchos* is a title in the imperial hierarchy and not the post of the eparch (prefect) of Thessalonike (Oikonomides, *Actes de Lavra III*, 27), which did not actually exist. For the title *epi tes trapezes* see Kantakouzenos, III, 104.

adnouiastes in 1336) and this was his function in 1345 and he was *syggambros* (i.e. the husband of my wife's sister is *syggambros* to me) to Pharmakes, member of yet another local aristocratic family.¹¹⁶⁸ The origins of a certain Strategios, who 'held the keys of the citadel' and also betrayed Apokaukos in the uprising of 1345, cannot be determined but he also had a military post.¹¹⁶⁹ What is certain is that they cannot anymore be viewed as members of the middle class, or the intellectual circles of Thessalonike or even the bourgeoisie.¹¹⁷⁰ Their alleged poverty is not true, but rather a rhetorical exaggeration that served their purpose: to destroy the image of these 'bad guys'.

Furthermore, efforts to connect the intellectual circles of Thessalonike (Konstantinos Armenopoulos, Matthaïos Blastares, Thomas Magistros, Nikolaos Kabasilas) with the Zealots have failed,¹¹⁷¹ and subsequently a connection with the

¹¹⁶⁸ MM I, 177. In PLP, no. 14089, the title is sadly missing. Besides, a *megas logariastes* Kokalas, attested during the first civil war as supporter of Andronikos II, had concluded marriage with the imperial family (he was son-in-law of the *megas stratopedarches* Andronikos Palaiologos, a grandson of Michael VIII): Kantakouzenos, I, 232.

¹¹⁶⁹ See the identification by Matschke, 'Zeloten', 37 note 120; attributing to Strategios the post of the *archon of the acropolis*, as was attested in 1326 a certain Georgios Lyzikos (Kantakouzenos, I, 272). Strategios refused to give the keys in order to allow the few remaining supporters of Apokaukos to escape the city, and, as a result, they were all imprisoned and executed subsequently.

¹¹⁷⁰ Chrochova, 'La révolte des zélotes', 13.

¹¹⁷¹ Sjuzumov, 'К вoпpocy', 30-32. These identifications were actually the result of the identification of anti-Palamites with the regency, an identification which also soon waned. Matthaïos Blastares, Thomas Magistros and Nikolaos Kabasilas seem to have changed their anti-Palamite stance around 1345 and moved to the camp of Palamas. For Thomas Magistros: Akindynos, *Letters*, 228-234 and Hero's comments at 406-407 (who probably by 1345 had adopted a more apathetic stance regarding Palamism); for Matthaïos Blastares: Akindynos, *Letters*, 208-216 (Akindynos complains to Matthaïos that the latter defected from their cause) and that Blastares is the 'holy Matthaïos' recipient of the letter see G. Theocharides, 'Ο Ματθαίος Βλάσταρις και η μονή του κυρ-Ισαάκ εν Θεσσαλονίκη', *Byzantion* 40 (1970), 439-442. For Nikolaos Kabasilas: Constantinides Hero in Akindynos, *Letters*, 336, who asserts that the letter of Akindynos to Kabasilas (p. 60-62) could represent an effort to win him over to the anti-Palamite camp as had done David Disypatos for the Palamite camp; later though most probably

‘centralising aspects’ of the ‘programme’ of the Zealots. There is no mention of any systematic confiscation of properties or to any systematic redistribution of wealth. There was plundering of properties of Kantakouzenists on three occasions of unrest (1342, 1343 and 1345) as well as murders, but, as has been argued, these acts were a common phenomenon in Byzantium. The sole systematic measure of a fiscal nature was a fine imposed by Ioannes Apokaukos on all rich Kantakouzenists.¹¹⁷² Moreover, there is no ground to argue for an increase of the importance of popular assemblies in Zealot Thessalonike. There were two supposed councils: the first one is narrated by a later Turkish chronicle and is connected to the arrival of the Turks in 1343, but it is doubtful that it involved the entire city populace;¹¹⁷³ and the same is true for the council gathered in 1345 by Ioannes Apokaukos, which involved only aristocrats, the

he was a Palamite (see Tsirpanlis, ‘Nicolas Cabasilas’, 417 and Kantakouzenos, III, 275, who is referred to as one of the three candidates proposed to Kantakouzenos for the patriarchal throne in 1353, thus it is unlikely that a non-Palamite would have been chosen during this still raging controversy). For Konstantinos Armenopoulos: C. Pitsakis, ‘Γρηγορίου Ακινδύνου ανεκδοτή πραγματεία περί Κωνσταντίνου Αρμενοπούλου’, *Επετηρίς του Κέντρου Ερεύνης της Ιστορίας του Ελληνικού Δικαίου της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 19 (1974), 188-206, who, though, believes that Armenopoulos had adopted a neutral stance regarding Palamism.

¹¹⁷² Kantakouzenos, II, 571-572: ‘καὶ Θεσσαλονικέων, ὅσοι τὰ βασιλέως ἐξαρχῆς ἤρουντο, οὐκέτι ὑπεστέλλοντο, ἀλλὰ μετὰ παρρησίας προσίεσαν ἐκείνῳ, καὶ αὐτοῦ ὑποποιουμένου μάλιστα καὶ παρασκευάζοντος, ἦν ἔχει περὶ βασιλέα γνώμην ἕκαστος ἐκφαίνειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα ἦδει ἀκριβῶς, μεταβαλὼν ἀθρόον, ἠγγυρολόγει τοὺς πλουσίους, **Καντακουζηνισμόν ἐπικαλῶν**. οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν ἐξαρνεῖσθαι, (αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐξηλέγχθησαν ὑφ’ αὐτῶν,) ῥητὸν ἀργύριον κατέβαλον ἐπὶ τῷ αἰτίας ἀπολύεσθαι· **πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους οὐκ ἦν βαρὺς, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐδόκει τὴν προτέραν περὶ βασιλέα γνώμην μεταβάλλειν**’. That he does not speak in general for the rich (cf. Matschke, *Zeloten*, 31) is implied by the subsequent designation ‘πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους’, as the non-rich Kantakouzenists.

¹¹⁷³ See Matschke, ‘Zeloten’, 29-30; in the chronicle it is written that ‘everyone gathered and counseled’. Yet, there is a reference in the *History* of Kantakouzenos to a council held under the presidency of Alexios Apokaukos and ‘other notables’ right then. So, there is no question of popular participation in this council.

army and other notable citizens.¹¹⁷⁴ The sole certain popular council was held in 1350, when Kantakouzenos took over the city back.

It has been supposed that the Zealots broke any connection with the central government, especially after the events of 1345. But the series of governors (Michael Monomachos, Ioannes Batatzes, Ioannes Apokaukos) and of the other attested state officials (the tax assessor Chageres and the *katholikos krites* Glabas in 1344) do not point to independence. Nor was there a disturbance after 1345. Andreas Palaiologos received the title *epi tes trapezes*, presumably from the central government. In addition, in October 1345 Andreas Palaiologos himself asked the central government for permission to donate part of his property to a monastery.¹¹⁷⁵ We have no mention of an appointment of another governor after 1345 but in 1349 we find Alexios Metochites, the son of Theodoros Metochites in this post (in cooperation with Andreas Palaiologos) and he might have been appointed by the central government.¹¹⁷⁶ At the same time Konstantinos Armenopoulos is serving as tax official and as *krites* of Thessalonike and *katholikos krites*.¹¹⁷⁷

Alexios Metochites had again to share his authority with the leader of the Zealots Andreas Palaiologos. They both declined to accept Gregorios Palamas as the newly appointed metropolitan of Thessalonike in 1349, on grounds that he was a friend of Kantakouzenos, while they were supporters of Ioannes V. Sometime later,

¹¹⁷⁴ Kantakouzenos, II, 573: ‘καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκκλησίαν φανερωῶς συναγαγὼν ἔκ τε τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν τῶν μάλιστα ἐν λόγῳ’. Again the term *ἐκκλησίαν* should be translated simply as council, despite our connotations of an *ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ δήμου*. See also R.J. Loenertz, ‘Note sur une lettre de Démétrios Cydonès à Jean Cantacuzène’, *BZ* 44 (1951), 405-408.

¹¹⁷⁵ Actes Lavra III, 27-28.

¹¹⁷⁶ Shortly before 1349 Thessalonike he had been appointed governor in Pelopponessos.

¹¹⁷⁷ Actes Xeropotamou, 193 ‘τῶν τὰ δημόσια διενεργούντι’ and 196: ... ‘ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν ἀθέντου καὶ βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνος σεβαστοῦ κριτῆς τῆς θεοσώστου πόλεως Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ τοῦ εὐαγοῦς βασιλικοῦ σεκρέτου, ὁ νομοφύλαξ ὁ Ἀρμενόπουλος’.

Andreas Palaiologos burned in public letters coming from Kantakouzenos, in which he was calling them to deliver the city promising at the same time privileges to individuals and to the city itself. Alexios Metochites, who considered the burning of the letters as apostasy from the empire, came into dispute with Andreas Palaiologos forcing the latter to resort again to help from the seamen, as he had done in 1345. But now Metochites did not hesitate to charge as Apokaukos had done a few years ago; he stirred up the *demos*, and they attacked the seamen, defeated them and subsequently plundered their properties on the same night. Andreas Palaiologos took refuge with Stephan Dušan and later he became a monk on Mt Athos.

However, this defeat did not mean the end of the Zealots. They still had a great influence in the city and they openly cooperated with the Serbians to take command of the city. Stephan Dušan started a siege of Thessalonike, while he was bribing citizens in an attempt to win them over as his supporters. Then, Alexios Metochites and his clique called Kantakouzenos to come to help as soon as possible. In spring 1350 Kantakouzenos came with the navy to Thessalonike bringing Ioannes V with him. He says he found the city divided in two, the *demos* and the Zealots against the *aristoi*, but as soon as he arrived every problem was solved (in a ‘magic way’!) and everyone was content with his arrival. He then summoned a city council (*ἐκκλησίαν πάνδημον*) in which he explained to all the citizens of Thessalonike the atrocities and the treason of the Zealots. The leaders of the Zealots were arrested and all the others were expelled from the city.¹¹⁷⁸

There are many inconsistencies in the narrative of Kantakouzenos. He implies that the *demos*, the common people, were always on the side of the Zealots, who were leading them against the powerful. However, this is not always true. Whereas, as in

¹¹⁷⁸ Kantakouzenos, III, 104-105, 108-110 and 117-118.

other cities of the empire, the Zealots could, at the start of the war, stir up the *demos* against the supporters of Kantakouzenos, later, in 1345, they found it difficult, and only the hesitation of Apokaukos and the treason of Kokalás led all the *demos* to rise up. Only the inhabitants of the Lower City were on the side of the Zealots from the start and this because they were controlled by Andreas Palaiologos. In the end, in 1349, the Zealots were unable to stir up the *demos* and they lost the fight. When Kantakouzenos came, he sailed peacefully into the harbour with no reaction.¹¹⁷⁹

Furthermore, in his narrative, Kantakouzenos strove to present the Zealots with negative attributes. He says that in 1342 when they first revolted they took a cross from the altar and they were wandering the streets, plundering and claiming that the cross was leading them.¹¹⁸⁰ Supposedly, they also performed rebaptism for the supporters of Kantakouzenos claiming that these persons had forfeited their baptism having supported Kantakouzenos. Kantakouzenos accuses them that they were also mocking the Christian Mysteries, they disregarded the thunders as a divine sign and they had also committed cannibalism.¹¹⁸¹

It had been proposed by Angelov in the 1950's that the Zealots were influenced by heretics and most probably by Bogomilism. As Angelov had claimed, Bogomilism ran contrary to the teaching of Hesychasm, and in fact had earlier

¹¹⁷⁹ See also for this observation Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*, 96-97. Werner, 55-56 believes that the middle class were not ready to support them anymore because of the radicalisation of their policy since 1343, while the ranks of the common people were not strengthened by the farmers like in 1343 (of course as I noted before these most probably were not simple farmers but wealthy citizens). He follows the explanation of Browning on the second argument (Browning, 520).

¹¹⁸⁰ Kantakouzenos, II, 234.

¹¹⁸¹ Kantakouzenos, II, 570-571 and 581 (a Zealot is supposed to have cooked and eaten the dead body of Pharmakes).

influenced a peasant revolution in Bulgaria.¹¹⁸² But, as Werner noted in the past refuting Angelov, both teachings have mystic elements at their core, and it would be difficult for a semi-educated man or a simple monk to distinguish between the two.¹¹⁸³ But if we take Kantakouzenos' comments for granted, then the rebaptisms would be unexplained since the Bogomils rejected every Mystery and the use of any substance as sacred since they believed that the material world was created by the Devil. In addition to this, we only have to note the connections between Andreas Palaiologos and Mount Athos in order to understand that there could be no connection with Bogomilism. In 1337 Andreas wanted to visit St Sabas, the famous teacher of Hesychasm, and friend of Kantakouzenos in the monastery of Vatopedi, while after his downfall he became a monk in Mount Athos.¹¹⁸⁴

¹¹⁸² D. Angelov, 'Antifeodalni dvizenija v Trakija i Makedonija prez sredata na XIV vek. (The anti-feudal movement in Thrace and Macedonia in the middle of the 14th century)', *Istoricheski pregled* 8 (1952), H. 4/5, 438-456; Sjuzumov, 'K voprosy', 32.

¹¹⁸³ Werner, 'Volkstümliche Häretiker', 61-69.

¹¹⁸⁴ Philotheos Kokkinos, *Life of St Sabas*, 296-298, which is also an answer to their supposed a-religiosity, for which Werner speaks. Nevertheless, according to the biographer of St Sabas, the holy man 'foreseeing the future' and the bad actions of Andreas, declined to see him.

APPENDIX 5.

ANALYSIS OF THE DOCUMENTS OF THE PATRIARCHAL REGISTER OF CONSTANTINOPLE (1315-1402)

TABLE 8. NUMBER OF DOCUMENTS

1315-1402	749 ¹
1399-1402	177
Number of documents per year	
1317-1368	1-5
1315, 1316, 1324, 1347, 1354, 1365	15-20
1369	18
1370	29
1371	33
1372-1379	<i>Interruption of register</i>
1380-1398	5-15
1389, 1394, 1395	20-25
1399-1402	88

TABLE 9: PROPORTION OF LAY CASES

1315-1330	30	29%
1331-1398	16	3%
1399-1402	92	52%

¹ The numbers of 749 includes the 271 documents of the PR I, II, III (which covers the period 1315-1364), plus the 472 documents of the MM I, II for the period 1364-January 1402, plus 7 documents from January-February 1402 published by Hunger, *Inedita*.

**TABLE 10a: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE LAY CASES
(1315-1398)**

TOTAL:	46	
Dowry disputes (directly)	25	54.5%
Dowry disputes (indirectly)	3	6.5%
Marriage disputes	8	17.5%
Dispute with ecclesiastics	6	13%

**TABLE 10b: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE LAY CASES
(1399-1402)**

TOTAL:	92	
Dowry disputes (directly)	26	28%
Dowry disputes (indirectly)	11	12%
Marriage disputes	2	2%
Dispute with ecclesiastics	21	23%
Other	32	35%
↓ ↓	↓	↓
<i>(Minority)</i>	7	7.5%
<i>(Poverty and loan)</i>	2	2%
<i>(Inheritance)</i>	7	7.5%
<i>(Commercial law and loans)</i>	13	14%
<i>(Property disputes)</i>	3	3.5%

APPENDIX 6.
LISTS OF OFFICIALS

TABLE 11. PATRIARCHATE DIGNITARIES DURING BAYEZID SIEGE		
Demetrios Gemistos	<i>protonotarios megas sakellarios</i>	(1386-1393) (1394)
Manouel Chrysokokkes	<i>raiferendarios</i>	(1399-1401)
Ioannes Olobolos	<i>notaries/ kanstrisios megas chartophylax metropolitan of Gotthia</i>	(1369)/(1374) (1389-1399) (1399-1403)
Ioannes Syropoulos	<i>protekdikos sakeliou (megas chartophylax?) megas skeuophylax</i>	(1396-1397) (October 1397-March 1400) (August 1400?) (1400-1401)
Demetrios Balsamon	<i>megas skeuophylax megas sakellarios</i>	(1396-1397) (1397-April 1400)
Michael Balsamon	<i>protonotarios protekdikos megas chartophylax</i>	(1390-1397) (1399- May 1400) (June 1400-1402)
Manouel Balsamon	<i>logothetes protonotarios</i>	(1400-1401) (June 1401)
Akindynos Perdikes	<i>ypomnematographos raiferendarios</i>	(1394-1400) (1404-1416)
Michael Aoinares (Asinares)	<i>logothetes megas skeuophylax megas sakellarios</i>	(1389) (March-April 1400) (June 1400-1402)
Georgios Eugenikos	<i>primikerios of the notarioi logothetes protonotarios protekdikos sakelliou</i>	(1389) (1397) (January - May 1400) (October 1400-1401) (1402-1406)
Kanaboutzes	<i>megas protopapas</i>	(1401)
Manouel Chalkeopoulos	<i>archon ton foton archon ton ekklesion</i>	(until December 1400) (December 1400 -)
Theodoros Tychomenos	<i>ypomimneskon</i>	(1400)
Nikolaos Kinnamos	<i>deutereuon of the deacons</i>	(1400)

TABLE 12. GOVERNORS AND STATE OFFICIALS IN SERRES	
STATE OFFICIALS	
Ioannes Panaretos	<i>apographeus</i> in Strymon etc. (1297 and 1312/13)
Nikolaos Theologites	<i>apographeus</i> in Serres Strymon (1312,1317)
Tryphon Kedrenos	<i>apographeus</i> in Strymon (1316)
Ioannes Oinaiotēs	<i>apographeus in Serres</i> (1321)
Theodoros Aaron	<i>apographeus in Serres</i> (1321)
Ioannes Tarchaneiotēs	<i>epi tes demosiakes enoches</i> (1326)
Theodoros Palaiologos	<i>epi tes demosiakes enoches</i> (1326)
Manouel Theologites	<i>epi tes demosiakes enoches</i> (?) (1327)
Ioannes Ioannitzopoulos	<i>apographeus</i> (ca. 1327)
Konstantinos Makrenos	<i>domestikos of the themata</i> (1333)
Ioannes Batatzes	<i>apographeus</i> (1333 and 1339)
Manouel Doukas Glabas	<i>apographeus</i> (1341)
Michael Papyllas Gogos	<i>apographeus</i> (1341-1342)
GOVERNORS	
Leon Akropolites	<i>doux</i> of Serres and Strymon (1265)
Manouel Liberos	<i>doux</i> of Boleron, Strymon, Serres (1283)
Manouel Kouropalates	<i>doux</i> of Serres (1305)
Ioannes Apelmene	<i>doux</i> of Boleron-Mosynopolis (1319)
Andronikos Kantakouzenos	<i>kephale</i> of Serres (1322 and 1327?)
Theodoros Palaiologos	<i>kephale</i> of Boleron-Strymon-Christoupolis (1322)
Alexios TzAMPLAKON	<i>kephale</i> of Serres and the land of Popolia (1326)
Demetrios Angelos Metochites	<i>kephale</i> of Serres (1328-1331?)
Sir Guy de Lusignan	<i>kephale</i> of Serres (1341-1342)
Konstantinos Palaiologos	<i>kephale</i> of Serres (1342-1345)
Michael Abrampakes	<i>kephale</i> of Serres (1346)
Georgios Doukas Nestongos	<i>kephale</i> of Serres (1354)
Demetrios Komnenos Eudaimonoïoannes	<i>kephale</i> of Serres (1360)
Radoslav (Čelnik)	<i>kephale</i> of Serres (1365)
Manouel Doukas Tarchaneiotēs	<i>kephale</i> of Serres (1375)
Alexios TzAMPLAKON	<i>kephale</i> of Zichna (1328)
Michael Komnenos Synadenos	<i>kephale</i> (?) of Zichna (1349)
Alexios Doukas Raoul	<i>kephale</i> of Zichna (1355)

TABLE 13A. ECCLESIASTICAL DIGNITARIES OF SERRES

METROPOLITANS	Leon 1280-1299	Niphon 1309?	Nikolaos 1315-1319?	
	Ignatios 1321	Makarios 1327-1347	Iakov 1348-1360	
	Sava 1365	Theodosii 1375	Matthaios Phakrases 1376-1409?	
Oikonomos	Theodoros (Balsamon?) (1301-1314)	Manouel Koubaras (1323-1360)	Manouel Lyzikos (1377-1388)	
Sakellarios	Konstantinos Bolas (1283)	Konstantinos Theodoulos (1279-1290)	Modenos (1298-1299)	Georgios Mourmouras (1313-1333)
	Ioannes Modenos (1339-1360)	Manouel Lyzikos (1365-1366)	Theodoros Dokeianos (1375-1388)	
Skeuophylax	Theodoros Eirenikos (1319-1334)	Theodoros Tzemtzeas (1339)	Sergios Synadenos (1353-1355)	
	Georgios Triboles (1357)	Ioannes Disypatos (1358)	Nikolaos Koubaras (1365)	
Chartophylax	Konstantinos Azanites (1228)	Ioannes Kappadokes (1269-1299)	Alexios Lyzikos (1299-1311)	Ioannes Modenos (1322-1328)
	Nikolaos Abalantes (1336-1353)	Nikolaos Koubaras (1357)	Georgios Triboles (1358-1360)	Theodoros Koubaras (1365-1378)
Sakelliou	Nikolaos Zacharias (1287-1290)	Theodoros Tzemtzeas (1330-1334)	Michael Kallorizos (1336-1349)	Zerbos (bef.1353)
	Georgios Triboles (1353-1355)	Ioannes Zabarnas (1357-1360)	Theodoros Melagchrinos (1366)	Theodoros Logariastes (1377)
Protekdikos	Theodoros Mourmouras (1301)	Theodoros Zerbos (1305-1314)	Theodoros Tzemtzeas (1319-1328)	
	Michael Kallorizos (1333-1336)	Sergios Synadenos (1329?/1337-1348)	Nikolaos Koubaras (1353)	
	Demetrios Apelmene (1360)	Ioannes Abalantes (1365)	Theodoros Melissenos (1377)	
Protonotarios	Konstantinos Azanites (1253)	Georgios Mourmouras (1308/09)	Nikolaos Koubaras (1328-1349)	
	Ioannes Synadenos (1357-1360)	Konstantinos Glabas (1394)		
Logothetes	Konstantinos Bodeles (1290)	Theodoros Kalligopoulos (1319-1325)	Sergios Synadenos (1329-1334)	
	Demetrios Bardas	Manouel Xenophon		

	(1362)	(1387)		
Kanstrisios	Eudokimos Atzymes (1313)	Theodoros Synadenos (1377)	Ioannes Melanias (14 th century)	
Ypomnemato graphos	Athanasios Xenophon (1345)			
Protopapas	Michael Odontes (1275)	Michael Teknodotos (1343)		
Dikaiophylax	Nikolaos Abalantes (1348)			
Archon ton monasterion	Leon Kallomenos (1328)	Manouel Disypatos (1365)		
Archon ton ekklesion	Ioannes Synadenos (1323)	Konstantinos Synadenos (1324)	Manouel Choniates (1365)	
Katechetes	Konstantinos Marmaras (1290)			
Epi ton gonaton	Leon Maramanthas (1319)	Michael Glabas (1377)		
Epi tes eutaxias	Nikephoros Pepanos (1301)			
Laosynaptēs	Leon Zacharias (1299-1313)	Konstantinos Bodeles (1283)		
Protopsaltes	Michael Manasses (1242)	Adam (1319-1323)		
Ekklesiarches	Zacharias (1365)			
Primmikerios of the taboullarioi	Theodoros (1283)	Theodoros Kalligopoulos (1301-1334)	Ioannes Synadenos (1357-1360)	
Domestikos	Eudokimos Grentlas (1283-1290)	Georgios Maureas (1301)	Ioannes Koubaras (1319-1323)	
Taboullarioi	Konstantinos Azanites (1253)	Konstantinos Theodoulos (1275)	Ioannes Phalakros (1301-1305)	Konstantinos Triboles (1310)
	Leon Zacharias (1313)	Theodoros Aploraudes (1316-1317)	Michael Teknodotos (1320-1328)	Ioannes Papadopoulos (1323)
	Theodoros Logariastes (1323-1330)	Konstantinos Azanites (1328)	Sergios Synadenos (1329)	Ioannes Abalantes (1366)

TABLE 13B. ECCLESIASTICAL OFFICIALS OF ZICHNA

METROPO LITANS	<i>Ioakeim</i> (1318-1332)	<i>Sophonias</i> (1334-1356)	<i>Paulos</i> (1378-1386)	<i>Makarios</i> (1388)
Oikonomos	Ioannes Binariotes (1310/1311)	Joseph (1320-1340)	Gabriel Kalodioikes (1356)	Michael Boubalas (1360-1362)
Sakellarios	Demetrios Diogenes (1304)	Theodosios Cheilas (1305-1329)	Gabriel Kalodioikes (1353-1355)	Ioannes Kallomenos (1356)
Skeuophylax	Georgios of Archideacon (1304)	Theodoros Keramotos (1311-ca.1339)	Stephanos Amarantos (1356)	Leon Konstomoiros (1353-1362)
Chartophylax	Georgios Konstomoiros (1305-1311)	Georgios Kallomenos (1321-1343)	Ioannes Zacharias (1353-1378)	
Sakelliou	Demetrios Diogenes (1306)	Theodoros Keramotos (1310)	Theodoros Symeon (1329)	
	Ioannes Kallomenos (1343-1355)	Manouel Melitas (1362)		
Protekdikos	Theodoros Symeon (1310)	Ioannes Keranitzas (1349-1355)	Demetrios Skleros (1362)	
Protonotarios	Georgios Konstomoiros (1304-1306)	Konstantinos Joseph (1311)	Ioannes Kallomenos (1329-1340)	
	Ioannes Keranitzas (1343)	Demetrios Bodeles (1349)	Diogenes (1355)	
Logothetes	Demetrios Stylites (1329)	Leon Konstomoiros (1349-1356)	Demetrios Bardas (1362)	
Raiferendarios	Nikephoros Pepanos (1319)	Ioannes Konstomoiros (1329)	Rantilas (before 1332?)	
Kanstrisios	Georgios Pentakales (1320)			
Ypomnematogr aphos	Michael Dryinos (1322-1339)	Georgios Kallomenos (1356)		
Protopapas	Ioannes Zerbos (1311)	Michael Boubalas (1356)		
Laosynaptes	Theodosios Kamateros (1305)			
Protopsaltes	Theodosios Kamateros (1311-1339)	Koubaras (b. 1360)		
Domestikos	Michael Binariotes (1305-1310)	Ioannes Stylites (1311)		
Koubouklesios	Alexios Probatas (1311)			
Primmikerios of the taboullarioi	Ioannes Drynos (1304-1306)	Demetrios Stylites (1305)		
Taboullarioi	Michael Binariotes (1305-1310)	Niket. Konstomoiros (1320/1340)	Michael Asemas (1330)	Michael Boubalas (1328-1333)

TABLE 14. SENATORS IN THE PALAIOLOGAN ERA		
Konstantinos Komnenos Palaiologos	<i>kaisar</i> , brother of Michael VIII	1259 ²
Alexios Strategopoulos	<i>megas domestikos</i>	1259
Konstantinos Tornikios	<i>megas primmikerios</i>	1259
Georgios Akropolites	<i>megas logothetes</i>	1274 ³
Demetrios Iatropoulos	<i>logothetes ton oikeiakon</i>	1274
Konstantinos Akropolites	<i>megas logothetes</i>	1285-1320 ⁴
Theodoros Skoutariotes	<i>epi ton deeseon</i>	1270 ⁵
Nikolaos Panaretos	<i>prokathemenos tou bestiariou</i>	1274 ⁶
Berroiotes	<i>megas diermeneutes</i>	1274
Theodoros Boilas Mouzalon	<i>megas logothetes, protovestiarios</i>	1285 ⁷
Theodoros Angelos Komnenos	son-in-law of Andronikos II, <i>megas domestikos</i>	1287 ⁸
Michael Doukas Philanthropenos	<i>epi tes trapezes</i>	1287
Rimpsas	<i>praitor tou demou</i>	1287
Berenguer d'Entenca	<i>megas doux</i>	1304 ⁹
Ioannes Glykys	<i>logothetes tou dromou</i>	1310
Ioannes Palaiologos Philes	<i>megas primmikerios</i>	1312/3 ¹⁰
Nikephoros Choumnos	<i>epi tou kanikleiou</i>	1321 ¹¹
Theodoros Metochites	<i>megas logothetes</i>	1321
Theodoros Synadenos	<i>domestikos tes trapezes</i>	1321 ¹²
Ioannes Kantakouzenos	<i>megas papias</i>	1321
Manouel Tagaris	<i>megas stratopedarches</i>	1321 ¹³

² Gregoras I, 72. For the next two as well.

³ Pachymeres, II, 483. For Iatropoulos as well.

⁴ Kantakouzenos, I, 67.

⁵ MM V, 246-248.

⁶ Pachymeres II, 493. For Berroiotes as well.

⁷ Pachymeres, III, 103.

⁸ MM IV, 276. For the next two as well.

⁹ Pachymeres IV, 545.

¹⁰ Gregoras, I, 263.

¹¹ Kantakouzenos, I, 67. For Metochites as well.

¹² Kantakouzenos, I, 71-72. For Kantakouzenos too.

Theodoros Kabasilas	<i>logothetes of the stratiotikon</i>	1327 ¹⁴
Kokalas	<i>megas logariastes</i>	1327
Sphrantzes Palaiologos	<i>megas stratopedarches</i>	1334 ¹⁵
Andronikos Palaiologos	cousin of Andronikos III	1337 ¹⁶
Demetrios Tornikes	uncle of Andronikos III, <i>megas droungarios</i>	1337
N/A	<i>protallagator</i>	1337
Georgios Choumnos	<i>epi tes trapezes</i>	1337-1342 ¹⁷
Georgios Amarantos		1390 ¹⁸
Andreas Komnenos Kalothetos		1390
Theodoros Koumouses		1390
Ioannes Laskaris Kalopheros	<i>paidopoulon</i> of Ioannes V 1351	1360
Maurodoukas Palaiologos	<i>in Serbian-occupied Serres</i>	1365 ¹⁹
Michael Schoules	<i>in Serbian-occupied Serres</i>	1365
Ioannes Adeniates	priest	1393 ²⁰
Theodoros Kantakouzenos	uncle of Manouel II	1409 ²¹
Konstantinos Asanes	uncle of Manouel II	1409
Andreas Asanes	cousin of Manouel II	1409
Demetrios Palaiologos Goudeles	cousin of Manouel II	1409
Nikolaos Notaras	<i>sympentheros</i> of emperor, <i>diermeneutes</i>	1409
Alexios Kaballarios Tzamlakon	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II	1409
Manouel Kantakouzenos Phakrases	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II	1409
Nikolaos Sophianos	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II	1409
Georgios Goudeles	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II	1409

¹³ Kantakouzenos, I, 91.

¹⁴ Kantakouzenos, I, 232 and 240. They were members of a tribunal by six ‘ecclesiastics’ and six ‘senators’ that would judge the differences between Andronikos II and Andronikos III (cf. Kantakouzenos, I, 225-226).

¹⁵ Kantakouzenos, I, 451 and 457.

¹⁶ PR II, 110 for the next two as well.

¹⁷ PR II, 110; Kantakouzenos, II, 20-21.

¹⁸ MM III, 143. For the next two as well.

¹⁹ Actes Esphigmenou, 162. For Schoules too.

²⁰ MM II, 172-174.

²¹ Laurent, ‘Trisepiscopat’, 134, for all these members in 1409.

Andronikos Tarchaneiotes Philanthropenos	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II	1409
Demetrios Leontares	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II	1409
Demetrios Chrysoloras	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II	1409
Andronikos Melissenos	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II	1409
Demetrios Palaiologos Eirenikos	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II	1409
Sphrantzes Sebastopoulos	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II	1409
Matthaios Laskaris Palaiologos	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II	1409
Kantakouzenos	<i>megas primmikerios</i>	1409
Manouel Bryennios Leontares	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II	1409
Manouel Agathon	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II	1409
Ioannes Angelos Philanthropenos	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II Thessalonike	1421 ²²
Thomas Chrysoloras	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II Thessalonike	1421
Demetrios Palaiologos Prigkips	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II Thessalonike	1421
Michael Palaiologos Krybitziotes	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II Thessalonike	1421
Andronikos Metochites	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II Thessalonike	1421
Michael Angelos Trypommates	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II Thessalonike	1421
Theodoros Diagoupes	<i>oikeios</i> of Manouel II Thessalonike	1421
Georgios Scholarios	<i>katholikos krites, katholikos sekretarios</i>	1438 ²³
Ioannes Argyropoulos	<i>katholikos? krites of the demosion</i>	1438
Georgios Gemistos	<i>katholikos krites</i> of Mystra	1438
Loukas Notaras	<i>megas doux, mesazon, protos</i> of the Senate	1453 ²⁴

²² Actes Iviron IV, 158, also for the rest members in 1421 Thessalonike.

²³ Doukas, 213-214.

²⁴ Doukas, 264.

TABLE 15. THE OFFICIALS IN THE PALAIOLOGAN ERA ²⁵

Index

- * The list of the offices is based on that reproduced by Pseudo-Kodinos (p. 134-139). This list dates after the upgrade of *mezas domestikos* occurred during the reign of Andronikos III and perhaps from the reign of Kantakouzenos.²⁶
- * The table does not include the *despotes* and *sebastokratores* who were usually the emperor's sons and brothers.
- * The table does not include officials in places independent from the empire (empire of Trebizond, states of Thessaly and Epirus before their annexation in the 1330's).
- * The table does not include officials attested only with their first name (e.g. 'the *sebastos* Michael') or officials not precisely dated during the whole thirteenth century.
- * When the PLP entry has a different interpretation of the text or does not include an office or the name of an official, a footnote will denote the source or explain any discrepancy.
- * *Entries in italics* denote officials in semi-independent provinces (Morea and Thessaly in 1380's) and *Romaioi* officials in Serbian-occupied Serres.
- * **Surname in bold** means that among several surnames this is the one that he is designated with.

²⁵ The concept of making such a list was taken from the work of Kyritses, *Byzantine aristocracy* who also includes a similar list. Yet, he ends roughly at the middle of the fourteenth century, he does not include some until then unpublished sources and he believes that one office could only be held by an individual at a given period, which create many discrepancies between these two lists. Moreover, Kyritses orientated in the early Paleologan period rightfully chooses to use the list reproduced in the Hexabiblos of Armenopoulos (see the new edition in Pseudo-Kodinos: 305-306) and which dates probably in 1321, after the promotion of Theodoros Metochites to *mezas logothetes*.

²⁶ See Angelov, 'Hierarchy of court titles'.

* **Date in bold** means that the office is specifically known as has started or ended right then. Dates not in bold are simply the attested ones.

* a.: after G: *gambros* of the emperor C: Cousin of the emperor
 b.: before N: nephew of the emperor R: Unknown family relation
 bet.: between U: uncle of the emperor
 P: *Pansebastos* or *pansebastos sebastos* S.: *Sympentheros* of the emperor

Some of these family relations are designated in the titulature of the person.

↑: This official is later attested with a higher title.

↓: This official is later attested with a higher title, but a change in the hierarchy of titles has demoted this office in a period different from the list of Pseudo-Kodinos reproduced here.

1. KAISAR			
Alexios Komnenos Strategopoulos	1259-1270		26894
Roger de Flor	1305 -	G	24386
Ioannes Palaiologos	1325/26	C	21479
Alexios Angelos Philanthropenos	1381-1389		29750
Manouel Angelos Philanthropenos	1392- 1394		29771
2. MEGAS DOMESTIKOS			
Alexios Philes	1259-1263	G	29809
Michael Palaiologos Tarchaneiotēs ²⁷	1272- 1284 ↓	N	27505
(Theodoros) Komnenos Angelos ²⁸	1287	G	196 = 12102 ²⁹
Ioannes Angelos Senachereim	1296		25150

²⁷ Attested with three titles simultaneously *protosebastos*, *protobestiarios*, *megas domestikos*: MM IV, 102 (ca. 1283).

²⁸ It is not certain that both mentions in the document (Theodoros Komnenos Angelos and the *megas domestikos* Komnenos Angelos) refer to the same person: MM IV, 276 and 279.

²⁹ By mistake the editors of PLP have assigned two different entries for the one person that they identify (as Theodoros Angelos Komnenos and as Theodoros Komnenos Angelos): MM IV, 276 and 279.

Alexios Raoul	1303		24109
Ioannes (VI) Angelos Palaiologos Kantakouzenos	1325-1341	G	10973
Stephanos Chreles	ca. 1340-1342		30989
Alexios Atouemes Laskaris Metochites	1355-1369	U	1640= 17977 ³⁰
Alexios Doukas Raoul	1337(?) - 1366	U	24111 ³¹
(Konstantinos?) Tarchaneiotes	-1355		27468= 27494?
Demetrios Palaiologos	1357-1375	C	21455
Andronikos Palaiologos Kantakouzenos	1435-1453	C	10957
3. PANYPERSEBASTOS			
Georgios Zagarommates	1259-1261	U	6417
Ioannes Palaiologos	1305-1325/26	C	21479
Nikephoros Doukas Angelos Orsini	1340-1347	G	222
Isaakios Palaiologos Asanes	1341- b. 1351	U	1494
Andronikos Asanes	1351	N	91369
Leon Kalothetos	1358		10617
Stephanos Kalothetos	1366		10622
TzAMPLAKON	1371		27742
<i>Stephanos Koreses</i> ³²	<i>1388-1392/3</i>		<i>13184</i>
Tompros	long b. 1401		29067 ³³
4. PROTOBESTIARIOS			

³⁰ The uncle of Ioannes V and *megas domestikos* Alexios Atouemes (MM III, 126) in 1357 should be identified with Alexios Laskaris Metochites. In Actes Vatopedi II, 342 he is referred as uncle of the emperor, *megas domestikos* Alexios Atouemes Metochites with a deceased father *megas logothetes* (i.e. Theodoros Metochites) and in the next document he himself (Actes Vatopedi II, 347) signs as Alexios Laskaris Metochites without the Atouemes.

³¹ The document of 1337 is possible to date in 1353 as well. Raoul was *megas domestikos* in the Serbian empire.

³² In the semi-independent Thessaly.

³³ Tompros according to an 'old chrysobull' had been awarded some houses in Constantinople (MM II, 552). I wonder whether he can be identified Ioannes Dobrotica (PLP, no. 29073), despot in Dobrudcha in 1366-1385. Dobrotica during the second civil war had occupied Medeia and Kantakouzenos forced him to surrender after an agreement with which Kantakouzenos made Dobrotica 'one of the most notable *Romaioi*': Kantakouzenos III, 62-63. Only later did Dobrotica went to Dobrudcha.

Ioannes Komnenos Doukas Angelos Raoul	1259 – ca. 1274	C	24125
Demetrios Mourinos	1279		19512
Michael Palaiologos Tarchaneiotes	ca.1281- 1284	U	27505
Theodoros Boïlas Mouzalou	1291		19439
Andronikos Angelos Komnenos Dukas Palaiologos	1326-1328	C	21435
Theodoros Doukas Palaiologos Synadenos	1342-1343	U	27120
<i>Demetrios Mygares</i> ³⁴	<i>1392/3</i>		<i>19836</i>
5. MEGAS DOUX			
Michael Tzamantouros Laskaris	1259-1269		14554
Alexios Doukas Philanthropenos (1)	1273-1274	R	29751
Licario	1277-1280		8154
Roger de Flor	1303-1305	G	24386
Berenguer d'Entenca	1304		27580
Ferran Ximenes de Arenos	1307 -		27944
Syrgiannes Philanthropenos Komnenos Palaiologos	1321-1328/9	N,G	27167
Isaakios Asanes	-1341 ↑	U	1194
Alexios Doukas Disypatos Apokaukos	1341-1345		1180
Asomatianos Tzemplakon	1348-1349		27753
<i>Paulos Mamonas</i> ³⁵	<i>-1416/7</i>		<i>16580</i>
<i>Manouel Phrangopoulos</i> ³⁶	<i>1429</i>		<i>30139</i>
<i>Paraspondylos</i> ³⁷	<i>1436</i>		<i>21905</i>
Alexandros Laskaris	mid-15 th c.		14524
Loukas Notaras	ca. 1441- 1453		20730
6. PROTOSTRATOR			
Andronikos Palaiologos	1259-1279	C	21432
Alexios Doukas Philanthropenos (1)	1259-1274	C	29751
Andronikos Doukas Aprenos	ca. 1266		1207
Čauşbaşi	1279-1280		27813
Michael Strategopoulos	1283-1293	U	26898
Ioannes Palaiologos Philes	1315?	N	29815

³⁴ In semi-independent Thessaly.

³⁵ In Morea.

³⁶ In Morea.

³⁷ In Morea.

Theodoros Doukas Palaiologos Synadenos	1321-1342 ↑	U	27120
Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes	1302-1304		27505
Andronikos Palaiologos	1342-1344	C	21433
Georgios Phakrases	1346-1355		29575
Andreas Phakeolatos	1347-1354		29559
Konstantinos Tarchaneiotes	1351-1352		27494= 27468?
Manasses Tarchaneiotes	1364		27498
Ioannes Palaiologos	1375-1377	C	
Chrysos	bet. 1376-1379		31190
<i>Sarakenopoulos</i> ³⁸	<i>1395</i>		24855
Manouel Kantakouzenos	1420-1429		10979
<i>Manouel Phrangopoulos</i> ³⁹	- 1429		30139
<i>Ioannes Phrangopoulos</i> ⁴⁰	<i>1429-1443</i>		30100
Markos Palaiologos Iagaris	1429/1430		7811
Palaiologos	1453		21416
<i>Nikolaos Sebastopoulos</i>	<i>1459</i>		25084
7. MEGAS LOGOTHETES			
Georgios Akropolites	1255- 1282		518
Theodoros Boilas Mouzalou	1282-1294 ↑		19439
Konstantinos Akropolites	1305/6-1321		520
Theodoros Metochites	1321-1328	S	17982
Ioannes Gabalas	1343-1344		93286
Ioannes Palaiologos Raoul	1344	U	24126
Nikephoros Laskaris Metochites	1355-1357	U	17986
Georgios Sphrantzes	1451-1453		27278
8. MEGAS STRATOPEDARCHES			
Balaneidiotes	1260- b. 1266		2057
Ioannes Komnenos Doukas Angelos Synadenos	1275/76-1283	G	27125
Libadarios	1296 ?		14859
Raoul	ca. 1300		24105

³⁸ In Morea.

³⁹ In Morea.

⁴⁰ In Morea.

Senachereim Angelos	1310/11-1315 ?	R	25146
Andronikos Palaiologos	1321-1324	R	21428
Manouel Tagaris	1321-1329	G	27400
Sphrantzes Palaiologos	1334-1339		27282
Andronikos Palaiologos (2)	1341-1342	C	21433
Georgios Choumnos	1341-1342	U	30945
Ioannes Batatzes	1343-1345		2518
Demetrios Tzamplakon	1345-1366/67	G	27755
Georgios Tagaris	1346-1355		27399
Michael Philanthropenos	1350 ?	C	29774
Georgios Synadenos Astras	1354 - b. 1366	S	1598
Demetrios Angelos Metochites	1355		17980
Alexios	1358 -1363 (b. 1373)	G	91128
Markos Palaiologos Iagaris	1430 -		7811
Phrangopoulos	b. 1437		30090
Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites	1444-1453		17981
9. MEGAS PRIMMIKERIOS			
Michael Palaiologos Tarchaneiotes	1267-1272 ↑	C	27505
Kasianos	1305- 1306		11346
Ioannes Palaiologos Philes	1310 ↑	N	29815
Nikephoros Basilikos	1333 ⁴¹ - 1342		2470
Manouel Komnenos Raoul Asanes	b. 1347 ↑	G	1506
<i>Miekras</i> ⁴²	<i>1340</i>		<i>18077</i>
Ioannes Doukas Apokaukos	1344-1346		1187
Andronikos Palaiologos Asanes	1351-1383	R	1488
Alexios	1357 ↑	G	91128
Ioannes	1357 -1386	G	92154
Demetrios Phakrases	1362-1377		29576
Georgios Isaris	1366 ↑ ↓		92111
Ioannes Palaiologos	1373 ↑	C	21484

⁴¹ Actes Prodromou (B), 399.

⁴² In Thessaly; although attested during the Byzantine dominion of Thessaly, it is quite possible that old officials of the state of Thessaly retained their titles due to the peaceful annexation in 1333. This would explain why such a high title was occupied by a local provincial *archon*.

Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites	1435-1437 ↑		17981
<i>Lazaros</i> ⁴³	1458		14337
10. MEGAS KONOSTAULOS			
Michael Kantakouzenos	a. 1262		10984
Andronikos Tarchaneiotes	1267/8-1272/3	N	27475
Michael Kaballarios	-1276		10044
Licario	1276-1277 ↑		8154
Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes	a. 1282-1297 ↑		27504
Michael Tornikes	1320	R	29132
Ioannes Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos Synadenos	1321/2-1333	C	27126
Alexios Kabasilas	1339-		10073
Michael Senachereim Monomachos	1342/3-		19306
Georgios Isaris	-1373		92111
[11. EPI TOU KANIKLEIOU] ⁴⁴			
Nikephoros Alyates	1258-1261		721
Nikephoros Choumnos	1295-1327	S	30961
Ioannes Melitiniotes	14 th c.(1330-1340s?)		17854= 17853?
Manouel Angelos	1354-1370		91040
Alexios Palaiologos TzAMPLAKON	1438		27751
12. PROTOSEBASTOS			
Michael Nestongos	1259-1271/72	C	20726
Michael Palaiologos Tarchaneiotes	b. 1267-1284 ↑	N	27505
Theodoros Boïlas Mouzalos	1291 ↑		19439
Tarchaneiotes	1293-1295		27470
Andronikos Angelos Komnenos Dukas Palaiologos	1326 ↑	C	21435
Stephanos Chreles	1334/35 ↑		30989
Konstantinos Komnenos Palaiologos Raoul	first half of 14 th c.		24127= 21494?
Konstantinos Palaiologos	1342		21494= 24127?

⁴³ In Morea.

⁴⁴ The title is missing from the list of Pseudo-Kodinos, but it can be found in other lists and this is its accorded place.

Ioannes Gabalas	1341- 1342 ↑		93286
Ioannes Palaiologos Raoul	1342-1343 ↑	U	24126
Leon Kalothetos	1345-1349 ↑		10617
Alexios Atouemes Laskaris Metochites	1349-1350 ↑	U	1640= 17977 ⁴⁵
Ioannes	-1357 ↑	G	92154
13. PINKERNES			
Alexios Doukas Nestongos	1267	C	20727
Libadarios	1272-		92538
Manouel Komnenos Raoul	1276/77- 1279	C	24132
Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes	1282 ↑		27504
Alexios Doukas Philanthropenos	1293-1336	N,U	29752
Senachereim Angelos	1305-1306 ↑	R	25146
Syrgiannes Philanthropenos Komnenos Palaiologos	1319-1321 ↑	N	27167
Ioannes Angelos	1336-1342 ↑	R	91038
Demetrios Tornikes	1358-1378		29123
Laskaris	1366/67		92513 / 92514
<i>Theodoros Sebastopoulos</i> ⁴⁶	<i>1381/82</i>		25082
14. KOUROPALATES			
Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes	1282 ↑		27504
Oumbertopoulos	-1285		21163
15 and 16. PARAKOIMOMENOS OF SPHENDONE AND OF KOITON ⁴⁷			
Basileios Basilikos (of <i>koiton</i>)	1259/61-1281		2458
Ioannes Makrenos	1262-1263		92605
Gabriel Sphrantzes (of <i>sphendone</i>)	b. 1280		27276
Konstantinos Doukas Nestongos	1280-1307?	U	20201

⁴⁵ The uncle of Ioannes V and *meas domestikos* Alexios Atouemes (MM III, 126) in 1357 should be identified with Alexios Laskaris Metochites. In Actes Vatopedi II, 342 he is referred as uncle of the emperor, *meas domestikos* Alexios Atouemes Metochites with a deceased father *meas logothetes* (i.e. Theodoros Metochites) and in the next document he himself (Actes Vatopedi II, 347) signs as Alexios Laskaris Metochites without the Atouemes.

⁴⁶ In Thessaly.

⁴⁷ I have included both titles as one entry because often it is not specified what kind of *parakoimomenos* one was.

Raoul	ca. 1300		24106
Dionysios Drimys (of <i>sphendone</i>)	ca. 1300		5829
Ioannes Choumnos (of <i>koiton</i>)	1307		30954
Ioannes Choumnos (of <i>sphendone</i>)	1307-1338		30954
Andronikos Kantakouzenos	1320		10955
Alexios Doukas Disypatos Apokaukos	1321-1341 ↑		1180
Ioannes Phakrases	b. 1328		29580
Andronikos Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos Tornikes	1324-1327	R	29122
Demetrios (Palaiologos Tornikes?)	1342	U	5298 = 29124?
Manouel Sergopoulos (of <i>sphendone</i>)	bet. 1347-1354		25210
Palaiologos	1358		N/A ⁴⁸
<i>Angelos Kalothetos</i> ⁴⁹	1362		209
17. PROTOBESTIARITES			
Aprenos	- 1280		1206
Libadarios	- 1296		14859
Andronikos Kantakouzenos	1324-1328	S	10956
Ioannes Doukas Apokaukos	1344 ↑		1187
Georgios Spanopoulos	1347-1348		26458
Diplobatatzes	1350		5509
Theodoros Palaiologos	ca. 1381-1394	U	21461
Markos Palaiologos Iagaris	- 1429 ↑		7811
Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites	1433 ↑		17981
Georgios Sphrantzes	1432- 1451 ↑		27278
18. LOGOTHETES TOU GENIKOU			
Theodoros Boilas Mouzalos	1277- 1282 ↑		19439
Konstantinos Akropolites	1282 - ca.1294 ↑		520
Theodoros Metochites	1305-1321 ↑	S	17982
Ioannes Chrysoloras	ca. 1367		31161
19. DOMESTIKOS TES TRAPEZES			
Alexios Kaballarios	1270- 1272/73		10034
Phokas Maroules	1327		17157

⁴⁸ Actes Vatopedi II, 275.

⁴⁹ In Morea.

Theodoros Doukas Palaiologos Synadenos	1321 ↑	C	27120
20. EPI TES TRAPEZES			
Bryennios	1272		3248
Michael Doukas Philanthropenos	1286- 1304	U	29777
Palaiologos	b. 1324		21411
Georgios Choumnos	1337- 1342 ↑	U	30945
Laskaris	1348		14513
Stephanos Radenos	1358		N/A ⁵⁰
Angelos	1400		171
Ioannes Notaras	-1411/12		20729
21. MEGAS PAPIAS			
Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes	b. 1282 ↑		27504
Oumbertopoulos	-1285 ↑		21163
Nikolaos Komnenos Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes	1300s		27507
Ioannes (VI) Angelos Palaiologos Kantakouzenos	1320 ↑	N	10973
Konstantinos Palaiologos	1321-1324	N	21493
Alexios TzAMPLAKON	1327-1332	O	27748
Arsenios TzAMPLAKON	1332-1352	S	27752
Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas	1347-1369		92224
<i>Georgios Doukas Nestongos</i> ⁵¹	<i>1355-1360</i>		<i>20198</i> ⁵²
22. EPARCHOS ⁵³			
Konstantinos Chadenos	a. 1261	P	30346
Manouel Mouzalon	1285	P	19445
Ypertimos	b. 1305		29501
Chalkeopoulos	b. 1305		30410
Michael Senachereim Monomachos	1327-1342	P	19306
Andreas Palaiologos	1345 ↑		21425
Georgios Isaris	1348-1350 ↑		92111

⁵⁰ Actes Vatopedi II, 269 and 275.

⁵¹ In Serbian-occupied Serres.

⁵² Actes Prodromou (B), 127 ; Actes Chilandar (Petit), 308-310.

⁵³ This title does not imply that these people were prefects of Constantinople just like it was the case in middle Byzantium. It was an honorific title and at least the last four of them had no connection to Constantinople.

Michael Doukas Arianites	b. 1375		1312
23. MEGAS DROUNGARIOS TES BIGLAS ⁵⁴			
* Andronikos Eonopolites	1286-1289		6713
Theodoros Mouzalon	ca. 1300		19437
Theodoros Komnenos Philes Kantakouzenos	- ca. 1300		N/A ⁵⁵
Theodoros Komnenos Philes	1302-1332 ?		29813
Demetrios Palaiologos Tornikes	1324-1341 (↑ ?)	N, U	29124 = 5298
Konstantinos Palaiologos Tornikes	1325		29131
* Georgios Bryennios	1328		3251
Theodoros Palaiologos	1328	C	21463
Stephanos Palaiologos	1334		21537
Ioannes Gabalas	1341 ↑		93286
* Georgios Doukas Apokaukos	1342		1183
Johanne de Peralta	1347-1354		22404
* Manouel Bryennios Laskaris	1355		14548 ⁵⁶
Demetrios Glabas	1366		91685
Komes	1366		92398
24. MEGAS ETAIREIARCHES			
Leon Mouzalon	1280-1302		19443
Progonos Sgouros	1294/95	G	25060
Doukas Nestongos (2)	1304 and 1305 - ⁵⁷		20725
Georgios Sarantenos	1325	P	24901
Andronikos Exotrochos	1328- 1329		6081
<i>Ioannes Margarites</i>	1348 ⁵⁸		16850
Nikolaos Sigeros	1355- 1357		25282
Tarchaneiotes	1355-1358 ⁵⁹		27469

⁵⁴ The names marked with an asterisk are specified as simply ‘*megaloi droungarioi*’ in the sources.

⁵⁵ Actes Vatopedi I, 174 and 176.

⁵⁶ There is no mention in PLP of his title, though in the document sign a Demetrios Palaiologos and a *megas droungarios* as apographeis in Lemnos, while the bull on the document bears the name Manouel Laskaris (Actes Lavra III, 57 and 65-66). Later on there is a reference to a tax assessor Bryennios Laskaris (Actes Lavra III, 79)

⁵⁷ Pachymeres, IV, 593-595 and 687: he was deposed but obviously restored next year.

⁵⁸ In Serbian-occupied Serres. He bears only the designation of *oikeios* during the Byzantine rule.

Alexios Yalon Laskaris	1369-1370		14526
Michael Kaballarios	b. 1375		10026
Ioannes Laskaris Disypatos	1437		5537
25. MEGAS CHARTOULARIOS			
Libadarios	1284 ↑		14859 ⁶⁰
Michael Komnenos Philes	ca. 1315 ?		29818
Konstantinos Palaiologos	1317	N ⁶¹	21496
Andronikos Kantakouzenos	1322 ↑	S	10956
Laskaris	1341		14515
Nikephoros Senachereim	1344		25155
Laskaris Metochites	1373-1376		17983
[26. LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU] ⁶²			
Basileios Metretopoulos	1267-1280		17987
Ioannes Glykys (later patriarch 1315-1319)	1295-1315		4271
27. PROTASEKRETIS			
Michael Kakos Senachereim	1259-1262		25154
Michael Neokaisarites	1274		20096
Manouel Neokaisarites	bet. 1274-1283		20094
Demetrios Iatropoulos	1295		7968
Theodoros Neokasareites	end of 13 th c.		20091
Leon Bardales	1321-1342		2183
<i>Georgios Philanthropenos</i> ⁶³	- 1356/57		29758
<i>Manouel Philanthropenos</i> ⁶⁴	1380		29770
<i>Manouel Garares</i> ⁶⁵	1392/93		3554
28. EPI TOU STRATOU			
Raoul	ca. 1300		24101

⁵⁹ Actes Vatopedi II, 270.

⁶⁰ Pachymeres, II, 597: the title is missing from PLP.

⁶¹ Actes Vatopedi I, 282.

⁶² The title is missing from the list of Pseudo-Kodinos, but it can be found in other lists and this is its accorded place.

⁶³ In Serbian-occupied Ioannina.

⁶⁴ In Serbian-occupied Ioannina.

⁶⁵ In Thessaly.

Maroules	1305-1307		92644
Theodoros Doukas Mouzakios	1305/06		19428
Kabasilas	b. 1321		10068
Jean de Giblet	1324/25		6589
Senachereim	1341		25138
Markos Doukas Glabas Mourinos	1355-1370		19513
<i>Orestes</i> ⁶⁶	1365/66		21097
29. MYSTIKOS			
Ioannes Kaballarios	mid-13th century		92220
Nikephoros Choumnos	1293- 1295 ↑	S	30961
Monomachos	1319/20		19295
Manouel Kinnamos	1342-1349		11724
Manouel Phialites	14th – 15th c.		29718
30. DOMESTIKOS OF THE SCHOLAI			
Fernando Ahones	1305-1306		29632
Manouel Doukas Komnenos Laskaris (?) ⁶⁷	1320		14549
Goryanites	1358		N/A ⁶⁸
31. MEGAS DROUNGARIOS OF THE STOLOS			
Gabalas	1241-1266/67	P	3293
Stephanos Mouzalon	- 1303		19447
Ioannes Doukas Mouzalon	start of 14th c.		19440
Ioannes Philanthropenos	1324		29766
Georgios Isaris	1344 ↑		92111
32. PRIMMIKERIOS TES AULES			
Doukas Nestongos	- 1304 ↑		20725
Ioannes Palaiologos	1324/25 (?) ⁶⁹ -1342		21483

⁶⁶ In Serbian-occupied Serres.

⁶⁷ Actes Chilandar (Regel), 131 and 134. Specified as *domestikos of the western scholai*. But there is no such a title attested elsewhere. It might be a different naming of this office. He signed simply as *domestikos of the scholai*. He was also at the same moment *kephale* in Thessalonike.

⁶⁸ Actes Vatopedi II, 271.

⁶⁹ S. Lampros, 'Πλαστά χρυσόβουλλα', *NE* 17 (1933), 329. The particular chrysobull is not fake. There is a lacuna after '*primmikerios*' so it is not certain if he is a *primmikerios tes aules*. But the document is a grant of an *oikonomia* and there is no other official title with '*primmikerios of something*'.

33. PROTOSPATHARIOS ⁷⁰			
Leontopardos	ca. 1400		14723
34. MEGAS ARCHON			
Angelos Doukas Komnenos Tarchaneiotēs	ca. bet. 1295-1332		27473
Maroules	1303- 1305 ↑		92644
Alexios Raoul	1321/22		24108
Demetrios Angelos	1332		190
Ioannes Paraspondylos	1342		21911
Kabasilas	1369-1377		(92224?) ⁷¹
Antonios Mandromenos	1383		16621
35. TATAS TES AULES			
TzAMPLAKON	1272 -		27747
Andronikos Eonopolites	1280/81 ↑		6713
Michael Senachereim Monomachos	1317 ⁷² - 1321 ↑	P	19306
Manouel Allelouias	1356		678
36. MEGAS TZAOUSIOS			
Nikephoros Arianites	1277	P	1313
Papylas	1282		21828
Hranislav	- 1304		30985
Oumpertopoulos	1305-1307		21164
Alexios TzAMPLAKON	1326 ↑		27748
Ioannes Spartenos	1330		26501
Theodoros Koteanitzes	1344		92427
<i>Kardames</i> ⁷³	<i>1365</i>		<i>11184</i>
<i>Nikephoros Eliabourkos</i> ⁷⁴	<i>1415</i>		<i>6018</i>
37. PRAITOR OF THE DEMOS			

⁷⁰ Two more manuscript scribes without a surname bear this title: PLP, nos. 7426, 8731.

⁷¹ I doubt that there is a reference to Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas mainly on the ground that the former title held by Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas was *megas papias* which is 13 places above the *megas archon*. Changes brought to hierarchical position of the offices were never so substantial (usually 1-4 places), as to suppose that there could have occurred a similar change so soon. See also above note 210 for more.

⁷² Actes Vatopedi I, 289.

⁷³ In Serbian-occupied Serres.

⁷⁴ In Morea.

Rimpsas	1286		24291
Serapheim Syropoulos	1320		N/A ⁷⁵
Ioannes Angelos	b. 1344		91037
Konstantinos Chrysoloras	- 1347		31163
Iakobos Mpalisteres	1349		19620
Nikolaos Sigeros	1352 – b. 1357		25282
38. LOGOTHETES TON OIKEIAKON			
Demetrios Iatropoulos	1260- 1295 ↑		7968
(Manouel?) Angelos	1277		215? ⁷⁶
Theodoros Metochites	1295-1305 ↑	S	17982
Ioannes Doukas Trichas	1343?		29350
Glabas	1344		91682
39. MEGAS LOGARIASTES			
Ioannes Belissariotes	1268/69		2558
Konstantinos Chadenos	1269 ↓	P	30346
Kokalas	1327		14088
40. PROTOKYNEGOS			
Indanes Sarantenos	1300		24908
Raoul	start of 14 th c.		24107
Kontophre	1329		13130
Ioannes Batatzes	1333-1341? ↑		2518
Alyates	b. 1348		709
Rizas	1361		24265
41. SKOUTERIOS			
(Kapandrites) ⁷⁷	ca. 1300		11005
Choumnos	1306		30939
Theodoros Sarantenos	1324-1325	P	24906

⁷⁵ G.M. Thomas and R. Predelli, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum sive acta et diplomata res Venetas Graecas atque Levantis illustrantia* (Venice 1880), I, 165. Perhaps PLP, no. 27218 if Serapheim is the monastic name of Stephanos and given the relation of both with Venice.

⁷⁶ There is no entry in PLP for him, but the editors, Dölger and Guiland identify Manouel Angelos as the possible occupant.

⁷⁷ Several members of this family bear the title *skouterios* PLP, nos. 11005, 11006, 11008, 11009, 11010. If it is not a coincidence then we rather deal with a second surname Skouterios.

Glabas	- 1343		93348
Senachereim	1344		25145
Andreas Indanes	1351		8208
42. AMERALIOS			
Fernando Ahones	1303-1305 ↑		29632
43. EPI TON DEESEON			
Ioannes Glykys	ca. 1282-1295/96 ↑		4271
Georgios Chatzikes	1321-1325		30724
44. KOIAISTOR			
Nikephoros Choumnos	1272/75-1293 ↑	P	30961
Michael Atzymes	bet. 1315-1319		1633
45. MEGAS ADNOUMIASTES			
Hyaleas	b. 1310	P	29467
Manouel Batrachonites	1270 ⁷⁸ - 1315	P	2529
Ioannes Angelos	1317		202
Ioannes Doukas Zarides	1323		6462
Michael Neokaisarites (2)	1324-1325 ⁷⁹		20095
Alexios Hyaleas	1333-1336		29470
Georgios Kokalas	1336 ⁸⁰		92485
Georgios Kazaras	1351- b. 1373		11490
Ioannes Marachas	1402		16829
46. LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU			
Kinnamos	1303		N/A ⁸¹
Hyaleas	1315/16 - 1317 ⁸²	P	29465
Meliteniotes	1325		94143
Theodoros Kabasilas	1327	P	10090
47. PROTOÏERAKARIOS			
Konstantinos Chadenos	1274		30346

⁷⁸ Actes Vatopedi I, 171.

⁷⁹ Actes Ivion III, 301.

⁸⁰ PR II, 144. The title is missing from PLP.

⁸¹ L.T. Belgrano, 'Prima serie di documenti riguardanti la colonia di Pera', *Atti della Soc. Lig. Di storia patrial 13* (1877-1884), 99-317 (here at 103: cf. Kyritses, *Byzantine aristocracy*, 405).

⁸² Actes Vatopedi I, 287.

Basilikos	ca. 1300		2454
Demetrios Palaiologos	first decade of 14th		94378
Sarantenos	1338		N/A ⁸³
Ioannes Synadenos	b. 1341		27123
Demetrios Komes	1344 ⁸⁴		92402
Iagoupes	1344		92055
Theodoros Strongylos	1348		26952
Angelos Potziates	1385/86		23606
48. LOGOTHETES TON AGELON			
Pepagomenos	b. 1285		22350
Theodoros Metochites	1290-1295 ↑		17982
Phakrases	1299-1300		29570
Konstantinos Makrenos	1344		16365
49. MEGAS DIERMENEUTES			
Ioannes Berroiotes	second half of 14th		13371
Berroiotes	- 1274		2673
Nikolaos Sigeros	1347-1357		25282
Syrianon	ca. 1400		27179
50. AKOLOUTHOS			
51. KRITES OF THE PHOSSATON			
Kommenos Gabras	1300		3364
Alexios Diplobatatzes	1307	P	5510
<i>Michael Kaballarios Sophianos</i> ⁸⁵	1324		26411
Senachereim	1336		25140
Michael Maurophoros	1335 ⁸⁶ -1348	P	17504
Sgouros	1362/1377		25041
52. ARCHON OF THE ALLAGION			
Georgios Phroues...	1324		30188
53. PROTALLAGATOR			
Manouel Senachereim	1321-1333		25152

⁸³ Actes Vatopedi II, 164 and 167.

⁸⁴ Actes Docheiariou, 170. The title is missing from PLP.

⁸⁵ In Morea.

⁸⁶ Actes Prodromou (B), 63, 69.

Aspietes	1326		1571
Platynteres	1329		23343
Gazes	1344		91580
Melagchrenoi	1344		17625
Basilikos	b. 1345		N/A ⁸⁷
<i>Konstantinos Trypommates</i>	1349		N/A ⁸⁸
54. MEGAS DIOIKETES			
Theodoros Kabasilas	1316-1322 ↑		10090
Glabas	1330-1341 ↑		91682
Ioannes Doukas Balsamon	1355		91427= 5694 ?
Ioannes Doukas	end of 14th c.		5694= 91427 ?
55. ORPHANOTROPHOS			
Leon Bardales	1296-1300 ↑		2183
Tryphon Kedrenos	1316 - b. 1321		11604
(Konstantinos?) ⁸⁹ Edessenos	1342, 1344	P	91847= 14177?
Alexios (Xanthopoulos)	- 1348		616 ⁹⁰
Manouel Chageres	1350?-1369		30344
Georgios Kallistos	1391		10487
Michael Gemistos	1401		3637
56. PROTONOTARIOS			
Niketas Soteriotes	1361-1376 ⁹¹		27341
57. EPI TON ANAMNESEON			
Konstantinos Spinges	1333		26545
Spanopoulos	1338-1341		26456

⁸⁷ Actes Prodromou (B), 307 (his wife is called *protallagatorissa*).

⁸⁸ Actes Prodromou (B), 155.

⁸⁹ The two years lapse may help identify the without-name Edessenos (Actes Docheiariou, 165; Actes Iviron IV, 112) with the without-surname Konstantinos (Actes Prodromou (A), 119 and Actes Prodromou (B), 400) in the same area as *apographeis*.

⁹⁰ PR II, 402. No surname but he is the son of Xanthopoulina. His brother does not either bear a surname.

⁹¹ Actes Vatopedi II, 416.

Philippos Logaras	1339		14990
(Meletios) Skoutariotes	1342-1359		26191= 26209?
Petriotes	1365		23042
58. DOMESTIKOS TON TEICHEON			
59. PROKATHEMENOS OF THE KOITON			
Georgios Chatzikes	1305-1310	P	30724
Michael Kallikrinites	1321-1331	P	10371
60. PROKATHEMENOS OF THE BESTIARION			
Nikolaos Panaretos	1274	P	21652
Ioannes Kanaboures	1315		10865
61. BESTIARIOU			
Ioannes Magkaphas (?) ⁹²	1263		16063
Alexios Alyates	1274		712
Andrea Morisco	1305		29516
Zeianos	1321-1322		6514
62. ETAIREIARCHES			
Ioannes Panaretos	1313	P	21641
Andronikos Exotrochos	1313 ↑		957=6081=93 500
Apokaukos	1325-1328		1179
Manouel Blachernites	1328		2829
Glabas	1337		4214
Kalides	bet. 1339-1342		10340
Anataulas	b. 1342		870
Andronikos Tzymiskes	1343		27950
<i>Ioannes Gabras</i> ⁹³	1348		3358
Kaligas	ca. 1400		93693
63. LOGARIASTES TES AULES			
Manouel Angelos	mid-13th c. ↑		215

⁹² He is designated as *bestiarion* of the empress. It could refer to the personal *bestiarion* of the empress, yet the land was donated by the empress to the monastery of Patmos, so that is why the document referred to her and perhaps to Magkaphas.

⁹³ In Serbian-occupied Serres.

Kassandrenos	1317-1320		11313
64. STRATOPEDARCHES OF THE MONOKABALLOI ⁹⁴			
Michael Elaiodorites Spanopoulos	ca. 1300		N/A ⁹⁵
* Petzikopoulos	b. 1325		22529
* Tarchaneiotes	ca. 1344		27472
Ioannes Choumnos	1344	P	30953
*Demetrios (Xanthopoulos)	- 1348		5335
65. STRATOPEDARCHES OF THE TZANGRATORES			
Siouros	ca. 1303		25394
66. STRATOPEDARCHES OF THE MOURTATOI			
67. STRATOPEDARCHES OF THE TZAKONES			
68. PROKATHEMENOS OF THE GREAT PALACE			
69. PROKATHEMENOS OF THE PALACE IN BLACHERNAI			
Pepanos	1328		22379
70. DOMESTIKOS OF THE THEMATA			
Saponopoulos	bet. 1295-1332		24842
Konstantinos Makrenos	1333-1339 ⁹⁶ ↑	P	16365
71. DOMESTIKOS OF THE EASTERN THEMATA			
Manouel Sgouropoulos	1286-1293	P	25029
Georgios Atzymes	1300		1627
Michael Atzymes	1311-1315/19		1633
72. DOMESTIKOS OF THE WESTERN THEMATA			
Nikolaos Kerameas	1284	P	92363
Georgios Strategos	1317-1330	P	26902
Alexios Apokaukos	- 1321 ↑		1180
Ioannes Tarchaneiotes	1322-1326		27486
Zomes	b. 1324		6651
73. MEGAS MYRTAÏTES			
Prokopios	1328		23823
74. PROTOKOMES			

⁹⁴ I have included under this title all the unspecified *stratopedarchai* (those marked with an asterisk).

But they could belong to the next three categories.

⁹⁵ Actes Vatopedi I, 176. Signed as '*stratopedarches of the allagia*'.

⁹⁶ Actes Zographou, 273.

75. PAPIAS			
76. DROUNGARIOS			
Kanaboutzes	b. 1324		10867
Broulokontares	1355		3233
77. SEBASTOS			
Ioannes Kaballarios	mid-13th century		92220
Demetrios Spartenos	1262	P	26495
Nikolaos Kampanos	1262		10832
Michael Kalothetos Abalantes	1262		15
David Broulas	1264		3232
Georgios Petritzes	1266		23032
Nikephoros Lostaras	1266-1268	P	15234
Michael Apelmene	1268		1158
Michael Kerameus	ca. 1270-1283/84		11646
Ioannes Amaseianos	1273		93069
Nikolaos Moschamperos	1280		19346
Georgios Chrysoberges	b. 1281		31109
Manouel Liberos	1283 ⁹⁷	P	14889
Theodoros Tetragonites	1286		27598
Petros Doukopoulos	1292		5707
Phakrases	ca. 1294 – ca. 1334		29572
Gouliotes	1300?		4370
Georgios Gabalas	13th-14th c.		91568
Georgios Barangopoulos	13th-14th c.		93159
Michael Elaiodorites Spanopoulos	ca. 1300 ↑		N/A ⁹⁸
Papylas	ca. 1300		21829
Pamphilos	ca. 1300		21593
Klibanares	ca. 1300		11837
Manouel Atzymes	ca. 1300		1632
Ioannes Kalopheros	ca. 1300		10731
Demetrios Apelmene	1300-1302	P	1155

⁹⁷ Actes Prodromou (B), 37 (the document is dated in 1283 not 1334 as Bénou and Guillou believed).

⁹⁸ Actes Vatopedi I, 176. Signed as ‘*stratopedarches* of the *allagia*’.

Konstantinos Tzyrapes	1303-1305		28160
Kala....	1305		N/A ⁹⁹
Dermokaïtes	1306/07		5204
Maroulas	1312		17133
Gregorios Moschopoulos	1315 -1317 ¹⁰⁰		19371
Kalodikes	1316		10538
Eustathios Kinnamos	1316		11718
Andronikos Īrakites	1316-1319		8093
Demetrios Kontenos	1317-1319		13048
Alyates	b. 1319		710
Konstantinos Pergamenos	1319- 1321		22420
Kerameus	1319		N/A ¹⁰¹
Panaretos	b. 1321		21634
Andronikopoulos	1321		91203
Sgouros	1321		25044
Ioannes Oinaïotes	1321		21027
Theodoros Aaron	1321		4
Georgios Anataulas	1322		872
Leon Kalognomos	ca. 1322		10529
Euthymios Kardames	b. 1322/23		92331
Palates	b. 1323		21559
Manouel Kourtikes	1319-1323		N/A ¹⁰²
Basileios Sebastianos	long b. 1324		25066
Basileios Sebastianos	1324		25067
Konstantinos Mouzalon	1324		19442
Theodoros Sarantenos	1325 ↑		24906
Michael Sabentzes	1325		24658
Nikephoros Martinos	1325-1327 ¹⁰³	P	17201
Georgios Alyates	1327	P	713

⁹⁹ Actes Prodromou (B), 72.

¹⁰⁰ Actes Vatopedi I, 291.

¹⁰¹ Actes Prodromou (B), 212 ‘*κριτής Θεσσαλονίκης*’.

¹⁰² Actes Prodromou (B), 215; Actes Vatopedi I, 332.

¹⁰³ Actes Prodromou (B), 406 ff.

Theodoros Lykopoulos	1328		15210
Ioannes Mygiares	1328		19838
Konstantinos Achiraïtes	b. 1329	P	N/A ¹⁰⁴
Michael Myres	1329		N/A ¹⁰⁵
Nikephoros Choumnos (2)	1330		30960
Theodoros Lykoudas	1332		15213
Michael Kaloeidas	1332/33-1335		10569
Nikolaos Doukas Sarantenos	1335		24915
Skleros	1336		26111
Michael Smileos	1336		26264
Ioannes Sarakenos	1336		N/A ¹⁰⁶
Ioannes Trichas	1337		29349
Sgouropoulos	b. 1338		25007
Skoules	1338		N/A ¹⁰⁷
Boullotes	1341 ?		N/A ¹⁰⁸
Mesopotamites	1342		17954
Konstantinos Armenopoulos	1345-1359	P	1347
Manouel Dimyres	14 th century		5420
Ioannes Prosenikos	14 th century		23860
Georgios Phakeolatos	mid-14 th century		29560
Synadenos	1355		27109
Ioannes Doukas Balsamon	1355 ↑		91427
<i>Myrepsos</i>	1425		19862
78. MYRTAÏTES			

¹⁰⁴ Actes Prodromou (B), 201 and 211.

¹⁰⁵ Actes Prodromou (B), 175.

¹⁰⁶ Actes Prodromou (B), 122.

¹⁰⁷ Actes Prodromou (B), 259.

¹⁰⁸ Actes Prodromou (B), 242.

APPENDIX 7.
MISCELLANEA

TABLE 16. LAY REAL ESTATE OWNERS AND TRANSCATIONS IN SERRES

FIRST OWNER	RECIPIENT	VALUE	BUILDING TYPE	NEIGHBOUR OF	DATE
Manouel Lygaras	mon. Esphigmenou	14 nom.	two-stored wooden house with an attached shop	Nikolaos Maronites	1301
Kakodioikes	mon. Prodromos		<i>oikotopia</i>		b. 1303
daughter of Phokas	mon. Prodromos		<i>oikotopia</i>	Kordistina/Eirene of <i>primmikerios</i> /Kamatzenos	1303
mon. Prodromos	Georgios Phokas		<i>oikotopia</i>	Zapares/Theodoros Thessalonikeus/Ramboulas	1303
Theodosina, granddaughter of Xiphias	Akindynos Philommates	33 nom.		Konstantinos Melias/Alexios Xiphias	
Kabianos	Leon Ramboulas		shop		b. 1310
Kale Ramboulaina (Leon Ramboulas)	Andronikos Lypenares	36 nom.	shop		1310
Ioannes Thyryses	mon. Prodromos	40 nom.	shop	Theodoros Zerbos/Mabelina	1314

Theodoros Zerbos				Ioannes Thryses	1314
Kourtikes Skoutariotes	mon. Vatopedi	3 <i>adelph.</i>	large yard including two-stored houses and sub-stored houses		1323
Michael Komnenos Pelargos	mon. Chilandar	190 nom.	sub-stored houses, with yard and door	Pyrouses Klonares/Alexios Soperos	1325
Pyrouses Klonares					1325
Alexios Soperos					1325
Stamatike of Paraïoannes	mon. Chilandar	40 nom.	a sub-stored house within another one		1326
Melachrine	mon. Chilandar		a large house complex		b. 1326
Kentarchos	mon. Vatopedi	donation	house		b. 1329
Theodoros Sarakenos	mon. Prodromos	<i>adelphaton</i>	house	Leon, cousin of Sarakenos	1329
Michael Petzes	mon. Prodromos	4 nom.	1/3 of a house	Demetrios Nomikos (+)	1329
Alexios Angelos	mon. Prodromos	donation	house		1329
Leon Gobenos	mon. Prodromos	20 nom.	part of a house of Alexios Angelos	Zampitlibas/ Maurophoros	1329
Kamatere	mon. Prodromos	donation	<i>oikotopia</i>	Kaballarios/Myres	1329
Adrianoupolites	mon. Prodromos	donation	<i>oikotopia</i>	Chenatos/Exkoukistos	1329
Mauros son of Theochares	mon. Prodromos	donation	<i>oikotopia</i>	St Anastasia	1329
Maria Mabelina/Anna	mon. Prodromos	60 nom.	shop	Alexios Kouperes/mon.	1330

(sister)/Ioannes Thryses				Prodromos	
Alexios Kouperes			shop	Maria Mabelina	1330
Kale Chrysokladarea	Manouel Sanianos		half house	Komnene Kardamina	b. 1333
Manouel Sanianos	Georgios Ierakitzes	42 nom.	half house	Komnene Kardamina	1333
Ioannes Sarakenos	mon. Prodromos		house		1336
Kalos	mon. Prodromos		<i>oikotopia</i>		b. 1338
Kokine	mon. Prodromos	donation	house		ca. 1338
Georgios Zapates			house	<i>metochion</i> of St George Tzeperes	ca. 1338
Makarios Kozeakos	mon. St Anastasia	donation	house		1338
Xenos Mourmouras		exchange	house		1339
Nikolaos Doukas Synadenos	mon. Prodromos	annuled	<i>oikotopia</i>		b. 1341
Konstantinos and Athanasios Georgilas	mon. Prodromos	65 nom.	house (two doors, roofed with tiles and planks)	mon. Prodromos/Manouel Asanes	1343
Manouel Asanes			house	Georgilas	1343
Alexios Xipheas	mon. Prodromos	100 nom.	shop		1343
Eirene Komnene Kardamina/sons	mon. Prodromos	28 nom.	shop	Krikelas/mon. Prodromos	1343
Krikelas			shop	Komnene Kardamina	1343
Maria Philomatina	Michael Synadenos	30 nom.	two-stored house and one sub-store	Michael Synadenos/Konstantinos of Maroulina	1347
Konstantinos of Maroulina			house	Maria Philomatina	1347

Michael Synadenos			house	Maria Philomatina	1347
Boilas Kardames	mon. Prodromos	<i>adelphaton</i>	house complex (yard, arch, bakery, houses)		1347
Georgios Phokopoulos	mon. Vatopedi	donation	houses		b. 1348
Markos Angelos	mon. Vatopedi	donation	houses		
Alexios Asanes/Maria Asanina	mon. Prodromos	donation	shop		1348
Melachrinos				Alexios Asanes	1348
priest Archistrategites				Alexios Asanes	1348
Konstantinos Trypommates	mon. Prodromos	<i>taphiatikon</i>	house		1349
Konstantinos Trypommates	mon. Prodromos	donation	hostel		1349
Nikephoros Amaxas	mon. Chilandar		house		b. 1351
Radilas	Iakobos Mpalaes		house		b. 1353
Eudokia Atramitine	Iakobos Mpalaes		<i>oikotopia</i>		b. 1353
Zerbos sakelliou	mon. Prodromos	donation	shop		b. 1353
son-in-law of Toxaras	mon. Prodromos		shop		b. 1353
Alexios Kouperes	mon. Prodromos	sale	shop		b. 1353
Kardames	mon. Prodromos	sale	shop		b. 1353
Krikelas	mon. Prodromos	sale	shop		b. 1353
Ierakitzes	mon. Prodromos	sale	shop		b. 1353
Abrampakes	mon. Prodromos	sale	shop		b. 1353

Glykeus	mon. Prodrornos	sale	two shops		b. 1353
Iakobos Mpalaes	Kale, daughter-in-law	testament	house		1353
Iakobos Mpalaes	Kale, daughter-in-law	testament	<i>oikotopia</i>		1353
Iakobos Mpalaes	Maria, his servant	testament	<i>oikotopia</i>		1353
Georgios Batatzes Phokopoulos/Anna Angelina	mon. Prodrornos	<i>adelphaton</i>	house	Paloukes	1353
Paloukes			house	Batatzes Phokopoulos	1353
Georgios Batatzes Phokopoulos/Anna Angelina	mon. Prodrornos	<i>adelphaton</i>	bakery		1353
Georgios Batatzes Phokopoulos/Anna Angelina	mon. Prodrornos	<i>adelphaton</i>	mill building		1353
Tarchaneiotas			house		1353
Theotokes Koudoupates	mon. Chilandar	part for <i>adelphaton</i>	old house, two-stored		1355
Eugenia Abrampakina Tatadena	mon. Prodrornos	50 nom.	two-stored shop	Krikelas/Kommenos Abrampakes/mon. Prodrornos	1355
Laskarina	mon. Laura	donation	houses and a bakery		b. 1377

TABLE 17. THE INSTITUTION OF ADELPHATON IN SERRES

Kourtikes Skoutariotes	Large yard and 8 m. vineyards/(large vineyard)	<i>2 adelphata/ (1 adeplhaton)</i>	Vat.I, 330-332
Symeon Madarites (1305)	400 m. land plus one mill sites	<i>2 adelphata</i>	A.PR.(B), 61
Demetrios Nomikos (1320)	house, 66 m. land, 2 m. vineyard	<i>1 adelphaton</i>	A.PR.(B), 248-249
Theodoros Sarakenos (1329)	house, 2 vineyards (the one is 3m.), 3 m. <i>aulotopion</i>	<i>1 adelphaton</i>	A.PR.(B), 165
Hypomone Mourmouraina (1339)	monastery	12 basilika kalathia of grain, 60 metra of wine, 12 metra of olive oil, 1.5 kalathion of legumes, 40 litres of cheese, 10 litres of butter, 12 gomaria of wood, 1 gomarion of torch wood, 0.5 kalathion of olives, 0.25 kalathion of salt, 2 kalathia of walnuts 1	A.PR.(B), 282-283
Stephanos Patrikios (1330)	share in Ptelea	<i>1 adelphaton</i>	A.PR.(B), 77
Ioannes Sarakenos (1336)	<i>zeugelateion</i> , other land, pair of oxen, horse	<i>1 adelphaton</i> at home or 2 in the monastery	A.PR.(B), 122
Ioannes Margarites (after 1342)	peasants' <i>staseis</i>	<i>1 adelphaton</i>	A.PR.(B), 245
Alexios Xiphias (1343)	part of a house = 42 nom.	<i>1 adelphaton</i>	A.PR.(B), 137

Boilas Kardames (1347)	bakery and houses (one is a two-stored house)	1 <i>adelphaton</i>	A.PR.(B), 149
Magdalene Kardamina (1347)	movable property (equal to Boilas' houses)	1 <i>adelphaton</i>	A.PR.(B), 150
Maria Basilike (1349)	4 <i>aulotopia</i> , two small fields, 2 vineyards	18 mouzouria of grain, 24 mouzouria of wine, 1 litra of oil, 1 zyge of shoes, 3 kontia of salt and 8 gomaria of wood ²	A.PR.(B), 304-306
Konstantinos Trypommates (1349)	half vineyard and a hostel	1 <i>adelphaton</i> (when he will become a monk)	A.PR.(B), 156
Iakobos Mpalaes (1353)	two monasteries and 200 m. land	1 <i>adelphaton</i> (heritable)	A.PR.(B), 269-270, 275-277
Konstantinos Cholebiareas (1353?)	two monasteries	2 <i>adelphata</i> = 8 litres of oil, 1 mouzourion of olives, 8 m. koutzin, 1 mouzourion legumes	A.PR.(B), 299-300
Georgios Batatzes Phokopoulos	houses, bakery, mill, land	2 adelphata: 36 mouzouria of grain, 36 metra of wine, 6 kontia of salt, 8 litres of olive oil, 12 gomaria of wood, 6 mouzouria of legumes, 18 litres of cheese, 2 mouzouria of olives, 2 mouzouria of walnuts, the income from the mill ³	A.PR.(B), 288-289
Eirene Choumnaina Palaiologina (1355?)	781 m. land and 11 <i>staseis</i> of <i>paroikoi</i> (= half village)	160 nom. plus 2 heritable <i>adelphata</i>	A.PR.(B), 311-313, 315-316

¹ 922 kg of grain (2.5 kg per day)
615 l of wine (1.7 l per day)
109,2 l of olive oil (299 ml per day)
115 kg of legumes (0.32 kg per day)
300 kg? of cheese (0,82 kg per day)
75 kg of butter (205 gr per day)
1152 kg of wood
96 kg of torch wood
38 kg of olives (105 gr per day)
19 kg of salt (5.3 gr per day)
115 kg of walnuts (0,32 kg per day)

² 230 kg of grain (0,63 kg per day)
410 l of wine (1,12 l per day)
9,1 l of oil (25 ml per day)

768 kg of wood

³ 461 kg of grain (1,27 kg per day)
369 l of wine (1 l per day)
72,8 l of oil (199 ml per day)
76,8 kg of legumes (0,21 kg per day)
135 kg of cheese (0,37 kg per day)

1152 kg of wood

25,6 kg of olives (70 gr per day)

25, 6 kg of walnuts (70 gr per day)

ABBREVIATIONS FOR TABLES 16-17:

mon.: monastery

nom.: *nomismata*

b.: before

shop: *ἐργαστήριον*

oikotopia: terrain for building

taphiatikon: for burying, for a grave

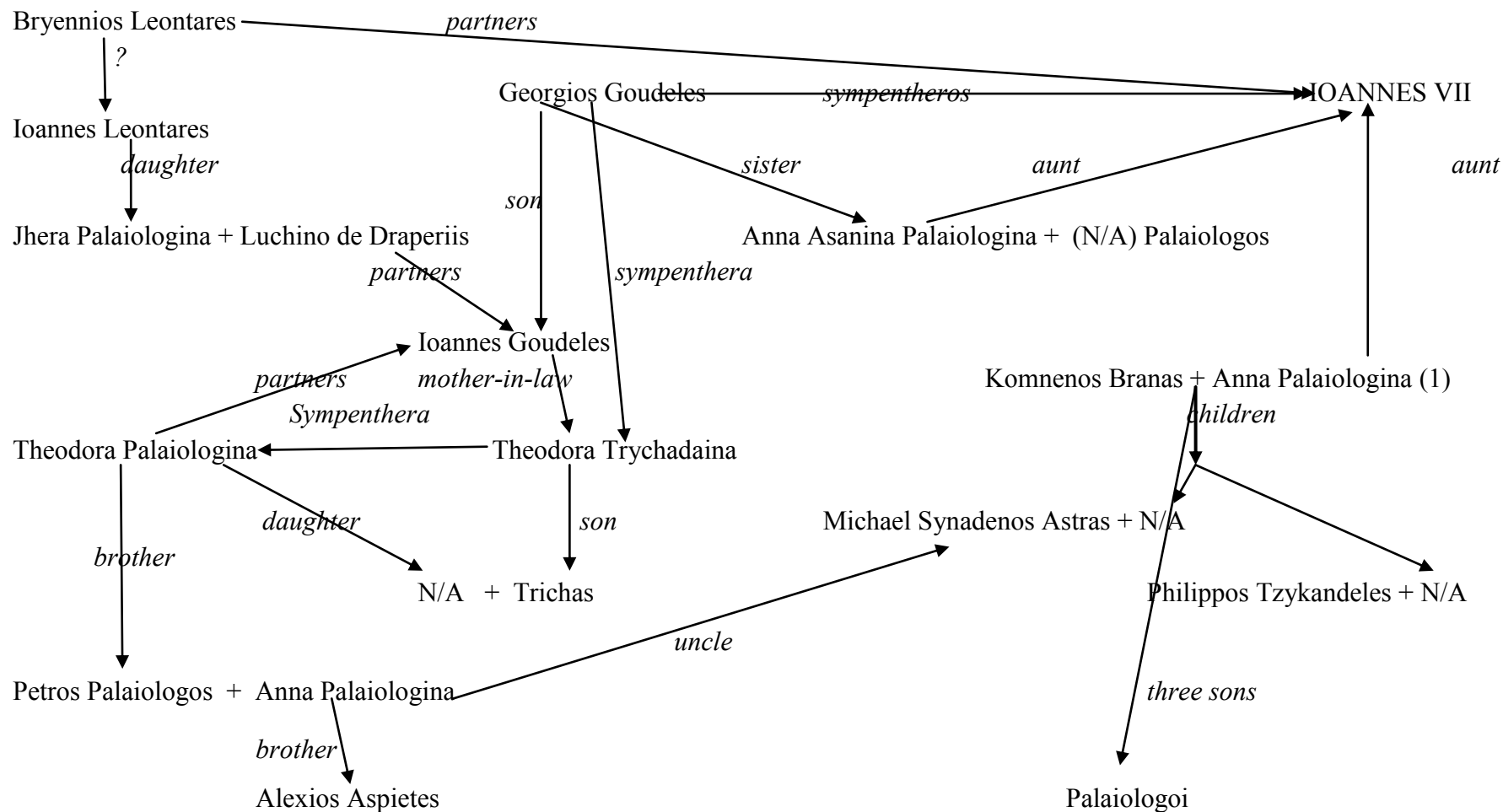
A.PR.(B): Actes Prodromou (B)

m.: *modios*

MAP OF THE REGION OF STRYMON



DIAGRAM OF AN ARISTOCRATIC CIRCLE



GLOSSARY

<i>adelphaton</i>	an annual pension in kind provided by a monastery to an individual; usually it includes food or other necessities
<i>apographeus</i>	the tax assessor of a province and, often, the tax collector
<i>archon</i>	an aristocrat or official
<i>archontopoulo</i>	‘son of an <i>archon</i> ’ or sometimes simply an <i>archon</i>
<i>authentēs</i>	the ‘lord’ of someone, usually the emperor
<i>chersampelon</i>	abandoned/damaged vineyard
<i>demarchos</i>	representative of the common people, appointed by the government
<i>demos</i>	the common people in towns
<i>doulos</i>	servant (with more servile connotations); actually ‘slave’
<i>dynatos</i>	powerful man, essentially an aristocrat
<i>ekklesia</i>	council
<i>emphyteusis</i> (adj.: <i>emphyteutikos</i>)	implantation contract; usually concerns the planting of a vineyard in return for an annual <i>telos</i> in cash not in kind; it may refer to building of a house on someone’s soil or generally land clearing on someone’s land, again with the same rules
<i>ennomion</i>	tax on pasture land
<i>eparchos</i>	court title with no function; not identical with the former eparch (prefect) of Constantinople

<i>ephoros</i>	the patron of a monastery, who can also be a layman
<i>eugenes</i>	noble
<i>exalleima (adj.: exalleimatikos)</i>	escheated, abandoned land or an abandoned <i>stasis</i>
<i>exarchos</i>	appointed head or representative of something/someone
<i>exokatakoiloi</i>	the five highest dignitaries of the patriarchate
<i>fatria (φατρία)</i>	faction, a circle of supporters but not a party
<i>gambros</i>	son/brother-in-law; but it might be extended to cover marriage to a cousin or niece
<i>Gefolgschaftswesen</i>	the following of an aristocrat
<i>genos</i>	the family origin of someone
<i>gonikos/e</i>	patrimonial property or property which can be transmitted; in essence it denotes full dominium
<i>hyperpyron</i>	the Byzantine gold coin, which had been devalued and later disappears completely; still it is used as an accounting unit with its original nominal value
<i>katholikos krites of the Romaioi</i>	‘General judge’: the supreme judicial court in Byzantium after 1329
<i>kephale</i>	the governor of a province or of a city
<i>kommerkion</i>	a fixed tax on merchandise
<i>ktetor</i>	the founder of a monastery; he possesses certain rights which he can transmit to his heirs
<i>kyr</i>	honorific epithet, equivalent to the English ‘Sir’
<i>mesazon</i>	the ‘prime minister’ of late Byzantium, an appointed person through whom state affairs are administrated in cooperation

	with the emperor
<i>metochion</i>	former small monastic establishment now a dependency (and administrative unit of a larger monastery)
<i>metron</i>	unit of measurement of quantity of liquids; it differs from product to product (wine: 10.25 litres; oil: 9.1 litres)
<i>modios</i>	unit of measurement of surface (=1/10 of an acre) or of quantity (<i>politikos modios</i> = 18 <i>thalassioi modioi</i> or 18 <i>tagaria</i> =322 kg)
<i>mouzourion</i>	unit of measurement equal to <i>modios</i>
<i>nomisma</i>	the <i>hyperpyron</i>
<i>oikeios</i>	‘familiar’; in connection with the emperor it is a semi-title
<i>oiketes</i>	servant
<i>oikonomia</i>	derives from the verb ‘to administer’, yet it has also the meaning of <i>pronoia</i>
<i>oikos</i>	household, family
<i>paidopoulo</i>	A page
<i>paroikos</i>	the Byzantine dependent peasant
<i>posotes</i>	the nominal value of an <i>oikonomia/pronoia</i> ; essentially it represents the sum of all fiscal taxes and other dues included in the grant of <i>pronoia</i> , but not the actual income (see <i>infra</i>)
<i>praktikon</i>	the tax registry of an <i>oikonomia</i>
<i>pronoia</i>	award from the state of a grant consisting usually of land and often of dependent peasants; it represents an income for the holder; the recipient holds it for his lifetime and conditionally
<i>prostagma</i>	a type of imperial document; an order

<i>protasekretis</i>	judicial office and title; the head of the judges before 1329
<i>roga</i>	wage, payment in cash to officials, employees or soldiers
<i>stasis (or hypostasis)</i>	a fiscal tax-paying unit (usually a peasant)
<i>stremma</i>	unit of measurement of surface equal to <i>modios</i>
<i>sympentheros/a</i>	the father/mother of my son/daughter-in-law, but could be extended to include uncles as well
<i>syntrophia</i>	commercial partnership
<i>syr</i>	the designation <i>kyr</i> applied though to a person of Latin origin
<i>telos</i>	the tax on a property
<i>thema</i>	administrative division; represents a province
<i>zeugelateio</i>	a large estate

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