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Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century

DIMITRI KOROBEINIKOV

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To my parents, Valentina and Alexander

Preface

This book looks at relations between Byzantium and its eastern neighbours in the thirteenth century. Despite the fall of Constantinople in 1204 and the consequent disintegration of Byzantium, the successor state, the Nicaean Empire (1204–61), was much stronger and much more the heir of the twelfth-century Byzantium of the Komnenoi than has generally been appreciated. Furthermore, it was recognized as such by its eastern neighbours throughout the period. The Nicaean Empire gained dominant influence over the Seljukid Sultanate of Rūm in the 1250s. The appearance of the Mongols added a complicating factor, which the Byzantines at first managed effectively. However, in the last quarter of the century the continued decline of Seljuk power, the continuing migration of Turks from the east, and what effectively amounted to a lack of Mongol interest in western Anatolia allowed the creation of powerful Turkish nomadic confederations in the frontier regions facing Byzantium. By 1304 the nomadic Turks had broken Byzantium's eastern defences. The Empire forever lost its Asian territories, and Constantinople became the easternmost outpost of Byzantium.

The thirteenth century is a period of consistent success for Byzantine diplomacy towards the Seljuks and the Mongols. However, successful relations with the great powers of the age were not ultimately a key factor for successful defence of Byzantine Asia Minor.

Acknowledgements

This book would have been impossible without the help of many people. First and foremost, I thank my supervisor, Dr M. Whittow, for all his help and patience during the laborious process of shaping the structure of this book. My second, unofficial supervisor was Dr R. Repp, who greatly helped me with the 'oriental' part of my work. I also owe a considerable debt to Dr M. E. Martin, who read the text throughout and offered many suggestions concerning both the style of the writing and the content. Dr J. Shepard's support was vital during the last stages of this work.

I am very grateful to Dr J. Gurney for his consultations on Persian, Dr S. Brock and Dr D. G. K. Taylor for their lessons in Syriac, and Professor T. van Lint in Armenian. I also wish to express my gratitude to Professor C. Mango and Professor E. M. Jeffreys for various pieces of advice, to Professor A. A. M. Bryer, for all his help since 1999 when he had given recommendations when I was applying to the University of Oxford, and to Dr J. D. Howard-Johnston, Dr R. Macrides, Professor S. Redford, and Dr A. Peacock for scholarly discussions.

My first thesis had been submitted in Russia, and my supervisor was Academician G. G. Litavrin. His passing was a heavy loss for me, as was that of Professor I. Ševčenko. My first tutors were Dr R. Shukurov and Professor S. Karpov, to whom I am indebted for introducing me to the world of Byzantine and Oriental Studies. I also remember unforgettable talks with Ian Booth about Paphlagonia, our common passion.

The most important parts of the book were written when I was a student at Exeter College, Oxford (1999–2004), a Junior Research Fellow at Wolfson College, Oxford (2004–7), Research Fellow at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC (2006–7), and Senior Research Fellow at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, University of Koç, Istanbul (2013). To all these colleges and foundations I am deeply grateful for their support. In Moscow, my colleagues at the Institute of General History, the Russian Academy of Sciences, have been a constant source of inspiration and encouragement. I also thank my new colleagues at the University at Albany, SUNY, for their stimulating help.

I also want to thank the editors of Byzantinische Forschungen (and in particular Dr W. Kos and Prof W. Kaegi) and Ashgate Publishing Limited (and most especially Mr J. Smedley and Prof L. Brubaker) for permission to reuse the content of two articles of mine.[1] Likewise I am grateful to the

[1] Korobeinikov 2007, 2004b.

Trustees of Dumbarton Oaks for their permission to reproduce the picture of the Church of the Holy Saviour in Chora (Kariye Cami).

Bonum vinum laetificat cor hominis, and my life in Oxford would have been bleak and colourless without my Greek friends, all now Doctors: Eleni Lianta, Maria Kouroumali, Panos Sophoulis, and Christos Simelidis. Family friends Jim and Jane Corden have always helped me greatly. Indeed, my time at Oxford would have been inconceivable without their support.

Finally, a special debt to my parents, Valentina and Alexander, for their love, help, and advice.

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Abbreviations

Akropolites	Georgii Acropolitae *Opera*, eds. A. Heisenberg and P. Wirth, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1978)
Akropolites (Macrides)	George Akropolites, *The History*, trans. R. Macrides (Oxford, 2007)
Akropolites (Zhavoronkov)	Georgii Akropolit, *Istoriia*, trans. P.I. Zhavoronkov (St Petersburg, 2005)
Aksarayi	Aksaraylı Mehmed oğlu Kerîmüddin Mahmud, *Müsâmeret ül-ahbâr. Moğollar zamanında Türkiye Selçukluları Tarihi,* ed. O. Turan (Ankara, 1944)
Bar ʿEbrāyā	Gregorios Bar ʿEbrāyā (Gregorius Barhebraeus), *Ktābā d-maktbānut zabnē: Gregorii Barhebraei chronicon syriacum: e codd. mss. emendatum ac punctis vocalibus adnotationibusque locupletatum*, [ed. P. Bedjan] (Paris, 1890)
Bar Hebraeus (Budge)	Gregory Abû'l Faraj, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography*, ed. and trans. E. W. Budge, 2 vols (London, 1932)
BE	*Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου*, eds. E. L. Branouse and M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, 2 vols. (Athens, 1980)
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
Choniates, *Historia*	Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. A. van Dieten (Berlin, 1975)
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3	F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches, 565–1453*, 5 vols. (Munich and Berlin, 1924–77), *3.Teil* (with assistance of P. Wirth): *Regesten von 1204–1282* (Munich, 1977)

Dölger, *Regesten*, 4	F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453. 4.Teil. Regesten von 1282–1341* (Munich, 1960)
EEBΣ	*Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*
EI²	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, 11 vols. (Leiden, London, 1960–2002)
Gregoras	Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina*, eds. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1829–55)
Guilland, *Recherches*	R. Guilland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1967)
Histoire (ed. Uzluk)	*Anadolu Selçukluları Devleti Tarihi III. Histoire des Seldjoukides d'Asie Mineure par un anonyme, depuis l'origine de la dynastie jusqu'à la fin du regne de Sultan Alâ-el-Din Keikoubad IV (?) fils de Soleimanshah 765/1364. Texte persan publié d'après le MS. de Paris*, ed. F. N. Uzluk (Ankara, 1952)[1]
Ibn al-Athīr	ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh,* 11 vols. (Beirut, 1998)
Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 2	*The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from* al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh. Part 2: *The Years 541–589/1146–1193: The Age of Nur al-Din and Saladin*, trans. D. S. Richards [Crusade Texts in Translation, 15] (Farnham, 2007)
Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3	*The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from* al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh. Part 3: *The Years 589–629/1193–1231: The Ayyūbids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace*, trans. D. S. Richards [Crusade Texts in Translation, 17] (Farnham, 2008)
Ibn Bibi	*Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure, d'après l'abrégé du Seldjouknāmeh d'Ibn-Bībī: texte persan,* ed. M. T. Houtsma [Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides, iv] (Leiden, 1902)

[1] References are made only to the pagination of the Persian manuscript facsimile.

Ibn Bibi (AS)	İbn-i Bībī, *El-Evāmirü'l-ʿAlā'iyye fi'l-umūri'l-ʿAlā'iyye*, ed. A. S. Erzi (Ankara, 1956)
Ibn Bibi (Duda)	H. W. Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī* (Copenhagen, 1959)
Ibn Bibi (Yazıcıoğlu Ali)	*Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure d'après Ibn-Bībī: texte turc*, ed. M. T.Houtsma [Recueil des textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides, iii] (Leiden, 1902)
Ibn Bibi (Yazıcızâde Ali)	Yazıcızâde Ali, *Tevârîh-i Âl-i Selçuk (Oğuz-nâme-Selçuklu Tarihi)*, ed. A. Bakır (Istanbul, 2009)
Juvaini (Boyle)	ʿAla-ad-Din ʿAta-Malik Juvaini, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, trans. from the text of Mirza Muhammad Qazvini by J. A. Boyle (Manchester, 1997)
Juwaynī	ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿAṭā Malik-i Juwaynī, *Ta'rīkh-i Jahān-Gushā*, Persian text ed. by Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazwīnī, 3 vols. [E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, xvi, 1–3] (Leiden, London, 1912–37)
Kirakos Gandzakets'i	Kirakos Gandzakets'i, *Patmut'yun Hayots'*, ed. K. A. Melik'-Ōhanjanyan (Erevan, 1961)
Kirakos (Bedrosian)	Kirakos Gandzakets'i's *History of the Armenians*, trans. R. Bedrosian (New York, 1986)
Kirakos (Khanlarian)	Kirakos Gandzaketsi, *Istoriia Armenii*, trans. L. A. Khanlarian (Moscow, 1976)
Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner	*Manr zhamanakagrut'yunner, XIII–XV dd. (Short Chronicles, XIII–XV cent.)*, ed. V. A. Hakobyan, 2 vols. (Erevan, 1951, 1956)
MM	F. Miklosich, J. Müller, eds., *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana,* 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860–90)
MPG	J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeco-latina*, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857–66)
MPL	J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, 217 vols., 4 vols. of indices (Paris, 1844–64)
Nasawī	Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Nasawī, *Sīrat al-sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Mankburnı (Zhizneopisanie sultana Jalal ad-Dina Mankburny)*, ed. and trans. Z. M. Buniiatov (Moscow, 1996)

ODB	*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1991)
Pachymeres	Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler, trans. A. Failler and V. Laurent, 2 vols. in 5 parts (Paris, 1984–2000)
PBW	M. Jeffreys *et al. Prosopography of the Byzantine World*: http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk
PLP	E. Trapp, R. Walter, H.-V.Beyer, eds. *Prosopographisches Lexicon der Palaiologenzeit* (Vienna, 1976–2000)
Rashīd al-Dīn	Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. B. Karīmī, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1959)
Rashīd al-Dīn (Rawshan-Mūsawī)	Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. M. Rawshan and M. Mūsawī, 4 vols (Tehran, h. sh. 1373 / 1994)
Rashīd al-Dīn (Arends)	Rashīd al-Dīn, *Sbornik letopisei*, trans. A. K. Arends, L. A. Khetagurov, O. I. Smirnova and U. P. Verkhovsky, 3 vols. (Moscow, Leningrad, 1946–60)
Rashīd al-Dīn (Thackston)	Rashududdin Fazlullah, *Jamiʿu't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, trans. W. M. Thackston, 3 vols. (Harvard, 1998–9)
REB	*Revue des Études Byzantines*
Skoutariotes (Heisenberg)	Theodori Scutariotae *Additamenta ad Georgii Acropolitae Historiam*, in Georgii Acropolitae *Opera*, eds. A. Heisenberg and P. Wirth, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1978), i, pp. 275–302
Skoutariotes (Sathas)	Anonymous *Σύνοψις χρονική*, in *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, ed. K. N. Sathas, 7 vols. (Venice, 1872–94), vii, pp. 1–556
SBAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Klasse*
Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljūq	*Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljūq dar Ānāṭūlī*, ed. N. Jalālī (Tehran, 1999)
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*

Note on Transliterations

All names and titles which appear in Byzantine sources are preserved as closely as possible to their Greek original. I have thus written 'Nikomedeia' instead of 'Nicomedia' and '*megas logothetes*' instead of '*grand* (or *great*) *logothete*'. An exception has been made for such well-known place names as Constantinople and Nicaea, the two Byzantine capital cities in the thirteenth century, for the Greek and Roman provinces in Asia Minor (e.g. Cilicia instead of Kilikia), for the names of two famous rivers in Asia Minor (the Maeander and the Cayster), and for the names of the poets and prose writers of Ancient Greece and Rome, which are listed in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*.[1]

All the names written in Arabic characters are transliterated according to the Library of Congress system. The purpose of this transliteration system is to make the original form easily recognizable. However, I felt free to reproduce the specific Turkish sounds *ö* and *ü*, as well as *ğ*, *ç* and *v*, in the names of the persons whose Turkic identity was beyond any doubt. Thus, the name of the Biblical king Solomon (Sulaymān/Süleymān in the Qur'ān) is transliterated as 'Sulaymān' in Arabic and Persian names and as 'Süleymān' in Turkic ones. As the letter ī (ى) in Turkish pronunciation represents two sounds [i] and [ı], I have reproduced in Turkish names the sound [ı], in order to differentiate the former from the sound [i], rather than using ī. Thus, I have written the name 'Yaghībasān' as 'Yağıbasān'. In the footnotes, however, I have often used the simplified form (e.g. Aksarayi instead of Āqsarāyī), not least because I have followed the choices of the sources' editors. In addition, this helps the reader to discern my opinions about this or that author (e.g. Āqsarāyī or Ibn Bībī) from my references to the *editio critica* of his work (e.g. Aksarayi, p. 143 or Ibn Bibi, p. 256).

The Mongol names are given in the Middle Mongolian form, without the long vowels. Thus, I have written 'Ghazan' and not 'Ghāzān', 'Baiju' and not 'Bāyjū'. However, while the names of the Mongol Khāns (including the Īlkhāns) are transcribed only in this simplified form, the names of the less-known Mongol *noyan*s are accompanied by their 'Arabic' transliteration (in round brackets), as they appear in the Muslim sources. The purpose is the same: to make the names fully 'readable'.

The names of the dynasties are also given in simplified form (without long vowels). The names of local Turkic dynasties are written in the Turkish form.

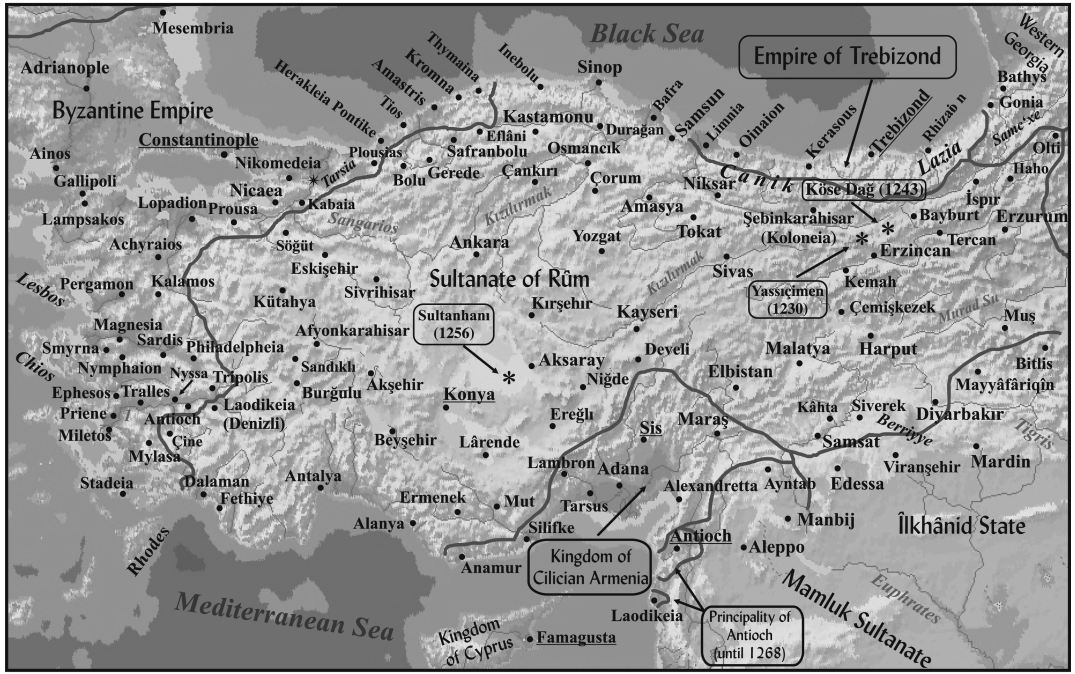
[1] S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, revised 3rd edition (Oxford, 2003).

Thus, I have written 'Seljuks' and not 'Saljūqs', 'the Karamanoğulları' and not 'the Karamanids'.

Place names, however, are another story. In reproducing Muslim geographical names, I have used the system adopted in the *Historical Atlas of Islam,* ed. H. Kennedy (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 2002), maps 46 and 47. The place names of the Sultanate of Rūm are given in the modern Turkish form, without indicating long vowels. However, in many cases I also use the Arabic transliteration for the names of Eastern Anatolia, which was an area disputed between the Seljuks, the Ayyubids, the Mongols, and the minor Persian, Arabic, Armenian, and Turkic dynasties. The names of the Muslim lands, provinces, and places east of Asia Minor are reproduced in transliterated form (e.g. ʿIrāq), just as these are reproduced in the relevant maps of the *Historical Atlas of Islam*. Usually these forms are easily recognizable (e.g. Iran and Īrān); an exception has been made for Egypt (al-Miṣr) and Syria (al-Shām), as the traditional Arabic spelling of these countries is too different from the normal English forms, which derive from Greek.

As with personal names, titles are transliterated according to the Library of Congress system. The only exceptions are the titles 'Sultan' and 'Caliph' which have their usual English form. As such, these two titles are capitalized when this is required by the rules of English grammar, while other titles are not, apart from the titles 'Khān' and 'Īlkhān', which are always written with the first letter capitalized, as is common in academic literature.

Asia Minor c. 1265



Legend: ✶ **- Bridge of Justinian over Sangarios** *1 - Maeander River*

∗ **- Major battles** **Constantinople - Capital cities**

Introduction

The Thirteenth Century

Few historical periods in the history of mankind can be seen as so fateful as the thirteenth century. The Mongol Empire, which united almost the whole of Asia and far exceeded in size the past Empires of the ancient Iranian kings, Alexander the Great, or the Roman emperors, was established in the 1210s–70s. Military campaigns on an unprecedented scale, the destruction of many cities and towns, and the disappearance of states, tribes, and even nations—all these events were hallmarks of this cruel century.

Having eliminated many kingdoms, the Mongols, whose state bordered Poland and Hungary on the west, Mamluk Egypt and India on the south, and Indo-China and Japan on the east, made possible long journeys and the exchange of ideas, the arts, and trade. In 1275 Marco Polo, a Venetian merchant, apparently reached China, and his fascinating account of his travels opened the lands beyond Īrān to Europeans. At the beginning of the fourteenth century Rashīd al-Dīn, the *wazīr* of the Mongol Īlkhāns in Īrān, composed the *Shuʿab-i panjgāna*, the *Five genealogies* of the rulers of the Arabs, Jews, Mongols, Franks, and Chinese, and thus became a pioneer in establishing a new field of study which we now call 'world history'.

In this changing, perturbed, dangerous world of the thirteenth century, Byzantium seems to have been a remnant of the remote past. As the Mongol Empire was the largest, so the Byzantine Empire was the oldest. At the beginning of the thirteenth century Byzantium was still one of the most influential states in the eastern Mediterranean, possessing two-thirds of the Balkans and almost half of Asia Minor. At the end of the century the Empire was a tiny, second-ranking Balkan state, whose lands were often disputed between the Bulgarians, the Serbs, and the Franks.

Two events, both disastrous to the old Empire, contributed to its tragic fate in the thirteenth century. The first was the capture of Constantinople on the night between 12 and 13 April 1204 by the participants in the Fourth Crusade. The second was the fall of the last Byzantine possessions in Asia Minor, which had been conquered by the Turks by 1304. From this point on, the Empire ceased to be a great Mediterranean power.

It would, however, be a mistake to describe the history of Byzantium as a series of defeats and failures. For the Byzantines also knew their triumphs in the thirteenth century, like that of 15 August 1261, when the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–82) entered Constantinople, which had recently been retaken from the Latins. The old Empire still had the resources for its survival: its possessions in Asia Minor formed the basis for the successful Byzantine *reconquista* against the Crusaders. One cannot help but wonder how these Anatolian possessions fell to Turkish hands only forty years after the triumphal return of Michael VIII to Constantinople.

Oddly enough, we still have no monograph which describes the thirteenth century history of Byzantium, despite the fact that the fall of Constantinople in 1204 and the loss of Asia Minor in 1302–4 were milestones of no less importance than the battle of Manzikert in 1071 and the conquest of Constantinople by Meḥmed II Fātiḥ (1444–6; 1451–81) in 1453. Only a few pages in the works of Vryonis, D. M. Nicol, Laiou, and Cahen,[1] who provide the best accounts of this period, narrate the loss of Western Asia Minor by the Byzantines. A particular difficulty with which any scholar of Byzantine history after 1204 is confronted is that this period requires knowledge of many languages. For the Ottoman state, the gravedigger of Byzantium, had been founded by the end of the thirteenth century; and anyone wishing to understand why Byzantium disappeared from the political map should also study, besides the extant documents and chronicles in Latin, Greek, and Church-Slavonic, the sources in Persian, Arabic, and Ottoman.

Thus, the chief focus of this work is Byzantine-Turkish relations in the thirteenth century, from 1204 to 1304/5. A special emphasis will be laid on the political contacts that existed between the Empire, on the one hand, and the Seljuks, and later the Mongols, on the other. But I cannot ignore the simple fact that before any serious investigation I need to introduce my sources, however scanty and dispersed the latter may be. One should not forget that these historians, writers, and chroniclers composed their works, some of them true *chefs-d'œuvre*, amidst the awe, blood, and dust of their cruel time; their biographies, as well as the study of their works as sources, help us to understand the feelings, prejudices, and sympathies of people who are separated from us by the distance of eight centuries.

* * *

Some preliminary remarks are in order. It is important to remember that the Byzantine state in Western Anatolia was destroyed by the ethnic invasion of the Turks in the 1300s, whilst a considerable part of the Greek (Byzantine)

[1] Vryonis 1971: 133–42; D. M. Nicol 1993: 122–47; Laiou 1972: 76–93; Cahen 2001: 230–3.

population remained under the rule of the Turkic *bey*s, and later the Ottomans. Hence the title 'Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century': I wanted to underline the simple but not quite accepted fact that the key to the survival of Byzantium lay in its relations with the neighbouring *nation* (the Turks) and not the *states* (the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm or the Īlkhānid state in Īrān), though both the Seljuks of Rūm and the Īlkhāns were political masters of the Turks. For the Byzantines managed to harmonize their foreign affairs with these states and did not expect any serious threat on the part of the Seljuks or the Mongols in the thirteenth century. I thus separate the notions 'Turks' and 'Turkish', on the one hand, from 'Seljuks', 'Seljuk' and 'Mongols', 'Mongolian', on the other: the first was a nation, while the other two were the political units which absorbed various ethnic groups, not necessarily of Turkish origin.

The terms 'Seljuks' and 'Seljuk' mean, first and foremost, the Seljuk *state*: the ruling dynasty, the state officials, and the army. Likewise, the terms 'Mongol' and 'Mongolian' mean the Mongol Empire, with the Īlkhānid state as its subdivision in Īrān; the Mongol officials installed in the Sultanate of Rūm; and the Mongol army. Though some Mongol tribes occupied various places in Asia Minor, these were largely in Eastern and Central Anatolia. Thus, as far as western Anatolian affairs are concerned, I have been able to restrict the meaning of 'Mongol' and 'Mongolian' to 'something or someone relating to the Mongol state'.

The meaning of the terms 'Turks' and 'Turkish' must be differentiated from the term 'Seljuks' and 'Seljuk'. The 'Turks' were the Turkish-speaking population of the Sultanate of Rūm, both nomadic and sedentary. Though one can find another term in the sources, namely the 'Turkmens' ('Türkmens'), as a designation of the nomadic Turks (and I have sometimes reproduced this name), it was, nevertheless, much more convenient for me to write 'the nomadic Turks'. It should be noted that both terms ('Turks' and 'Turkmens') were to some extent interchangeable in the thirteenth century: one and the same nomadic unit could have been called either 'Turks' or 'Turkmens', depending on the word choice of the author. For example, the nomadic Turkic confederation al-Yīwā'iyya (Īwā'ī), which was defeated by the Kh^{w}ārazm-shāh Jalāl al-Dīn Mankburnı (1220–31) near Lake Urmia (Urmiyya, Kaputan) in AH 623 (2 January–21 December 1226), was called 'the Turks' (*al-atrāk*) by al-Nasawī and 'the Turkmens' (*al-turkmān*) by Ibn al-Athīr.[2]

The difference between the two terms ('Turkmens' and 'Turks') did not lie in their language or ethnic divisions,[3] but in their habitat: while the name

[2] Ibn al-Athīr, x, pp. 467–8; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), 3, pp. 277–8; Nasawī, p. 149 (Arabic text), p. 166 (Russian translation). Likewise, the Turks of Denizli were called either 'the Turks' or 'the Turkmens' in the sources. Cf. also the title *ilig turkmān*, which was reproduced as *ilig turkān* in: Juwaynī, ii, pp. 15, 88; Juvaini (Boyle), pp. 288, 355.

[3] The Turkmen language as such (including the language of the groups of the Turkmens in Asia Minor and ʿIrāq), began in the end of the thirteenth century at the earliest: Charyiarov and Nazarov 1997: 412–26; cf. Schönig 1998: 261.

'Turks' was applied to both the sedentary and the nomadic population, the Turkmens were almost always nomads.[4] The term 'Turkmens' is scarcely mentioned in the Anatolian Persian sources of the thirteenth century. Such limited usage of the term 'Turkmens' in our sources reflects the historical and geographical situation in Western Anatolia, where the nomads almost always dwelt side by side with the sedentary population, mostly because of the geographical features of the peninsula, in which the lowlands, the essential part of the nomadic habitat, were too small in size and number. Both societies, nomadic and sedentary, could not have functioned properly without economic cooperation and as such never aimed at the ultimate destruction of each other. As a result, we hardly ever find territories in Asia Minor which were entirely occupied by the nomads. The symbiosis between the nomads and the sedentary population in Anatolia is different from that in Mongolia or Central Asia, where the nomadic element was much more dominant. In Asia Minor, even in the no man's land of the boundary zone, one could have found a mixture of populations: nomadic, semi-nomadic, and sedentary.[5] I continue, following my sources, to call the Turkish-speaking population of Asia Minor 'the Turks', trying wherever possible to classify the sort of the Turks mentioned.

The adjective formed from the noun 'Turk' is 'Turkish'. However, one should take into account the linguistic situation in Asia Minor in the thirteenth century. The spoken Turkic language, which G. Doerfer appropriately called 'Das Vorosmanische' (literally '[the] pre-Ottoman [language]'),[6] was different from modern Turkish, and even from Ottoman Turkish. Unfortunately, there is no established term in English for the Turkic language in Asia Minor of this period. When I use the adjective 'Turkish', I am referring to the Anatolian Turks and their language before the foundation of the Ottoman state, and not to Modern or Ottoman Turkish. The latter is always specified as 'Ottoman'. In so doing I have tried to distinguish the heterogeneous Turkic population of Asia Minor of the thirteenth century and its language, in which various phonetic, lexical, and grammatical forms from both Western and Eastern Oghuz language groups are strangely mixed, from grammatically more compact and precise Ottoman.[7]

Relations between Byzantium and the Turks, even in the thirteenth century, have often been considered as part of Byzantine-Ottoman relations. Many eminent and expert scholars have given their primary attention to the early years of the Ottoman *beylik* or at least to the beginning of the Aegean emirates.[8] However the scantiness of sources did not permit them to reach

[4] Cf. Hendy 1985: 114–15.
[5] Korobeinikov 2010: 224–38.
[6] Doerfer 1976: 81–131.
[7] Guzev 1997: 116–26.
[8] To list but a few: Köprülü 1935, 1992; Wittek 1934, 1938; Cahen 2001; Kafadar 1995; Lindner 1983, 2007; Imber 1990; Zachariadou 1983, 1991; Turan 1971); Zhukov 1988; Lowry 2003.

reliable results, through no fault of their own.[9] As far as the thirteenth century is concerned, the sources are the chief difficulty.

In 1300–1402, from the conquest of Western Asia Minor to the battle of Ankara between the *amīr* Timur Gurgan (1370–1404) and the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid I Yıldırım (1389–1402), the Ottoman state and the Aegean emirates rapidly developed from nomadic confederations with a rudimentary state apparatus and primitive taxation into efficient states with excellent military organization. The Turkish historical tradition of these political units appeared only at the end of the period, i.e. at the end of the fourteenth century at the earliest. Scholars like P. Wittek, R. P. Lindner, and C. Kafadar who tried to reconstruct early Ottoman history in the 1290s using the Ottoman sources, were forced to use data written much later, in the 1390s–1480s, and largely based on oral tradition. Meanwhile the non-Ottoman sources (mostly Persian and Arabic) contemporary with the establishment of the Ottoman emirate are still unexplored. These do not contain much information about the foundation of the Ottoman and Aegean *beylik*s, but are indispensable for the history of the boundary zone in Western Asia Minor at the end of the thirteenth century. That is why I have tried to avoid as much as possible any discussion of the rise of the early Ottoman state, as this event largely belonged to the fourteenth century. Similarly, I have avoided any discussion of the so-called *ghāzī*-thesis, i.e. on the nature of the early Ottoman state and the scholarly debates over the problem of the *ghāzī*-warriors as the chief force in the conquest of the new lands for the Ottoman sultans.[10] No source composed from the thirteenth to the first half of the fourteenth century describes the Turks of Western Anatolia as *ghāzī*s, while many sources, especially Byzantine and Persian, mention the frontier Turks of the period as nomads. I will explore these topics later, in a separate monograph on Byzantine-Turkish relations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The focus on the thirteenth century has also influenced my attitude to the sources. I have preferred to use *contemporary* sources, i.e. those composed between 1200 and1350. Moreover, as far as these sources are concerned, I have chosen only those which gave me first-hand information. For example, one of the most important sources for the history of Asia Minor in the 1260s, the chronicle *Zubdat al-fikra* of the Mamluk historian Rukn al-Dīn Baybars (d. 1325), was reproduced in other Mamluk historical writings, first in the *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* by al-Nuwayrī (1279–1333), and then in the *ʿIqd al-jumān fī ta'rīkh ahl al-zamān* by al-ʿAynī (1361–1451), the *Ta'rīkh*

[9] For example, Wittek used Byzantine and Persian sources in order to study the history of the *beylik* of Menteşe from the end of the thirteenth century onwards. However, he mostly focused on the early Ottoman sources. Wittek's work was severely criticized because he had 'created a theory before having the data'. Cf. Heywood 2002c; 2002d; 2002b.

[10] On the discussion, see Kafadar (1995) and Lindner (1983, 2007), who are most informative.

al-duwal wa al-mulūk by Ibn al-Furāt (1334–1405), and the *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhira* by Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 1470).[11] Of these, only the chronicles of al-Nuwayrī and al-ʿAynī have been used here, and only in cases where they gave additional information, independent of that of Rukn al-Dīn Baybars.

The Ottoman sources have also been used, but to a lesser extent than in the works of Lindner and Kafadar. I have always collated the Ottoman chronicles' data with sources from the thirteenth century, be the latter Byzantine, Arabic, or Persian. I hope that this method will have helped to avoid erroneous conclusions.

[11] Richards, *Introduction,* in Baybars al-Manṣūrī 1998: xxi–xxv. On Rukn al-Dīn Baybars, see Chapter 1.

Chapter 1

The Sources

The history of the thirteenth century is one of great ethnic movements—the continuation of the Crusades, the Mongol invasion, and, finally, the establishment in Asia Minor and Egypt of new Turkic states: the Mamluk Sultanate in Syria and Egypt and the various Turkish *beyliks* in the former Byzantine lands in Anatolia. The last two movements were less visible but more important for their consequences for the history of Anatolia than the Crusades and the Mongol advance. The reason for this is that Asia Minor and Egypt went through a new stage of Turkic ethnic penetration into the Mediterranean, which ended with the foundation of the Turkic realms. These changed profoundly the picture of the region for many years to come. The rule of the Mamluks in Egypt, who were conquered by the Ottomans in 1517, but still retained their possessions and power, was ended in 1811 by Muḥammad ʿAlī (1805–48), while the Ottoman Empire, which grew out of the Turkish emirates in Anatolia at the end of the thirteenth century, lasted until 1922.

The Turks in Asia Minor destroyed old cultures, but, unlike their victims, they did not possess a highly developed written cultural tradition of their own at the time of their penetration and initial settlement. Therefore, the most informative sources about the Turkish conquest of Western Asia Minor in the thirteenth century are Greek (Byzantine), Persian, and Arabic texts.

The Byzantine and the Oriental sources belong to two different historiographical traditions. The chief models for the Byzantine historians were two great Ancient Greek historical works—the *Histories* of Herodotus of Halicarnassus (Bodrum) (d. *c.* 420 BC), which he wrote using the elements of various genres (genealogical history, political history, mythical history, memories of fine sayings, biographical writings, and general history), and the *Histories* (sometimes called the *History of the [Peloponnesian] War*) of Thucydides (d. *c.* 400), a masterpiece of political history. Imitation, good or bad, of these two works produced the genre of so-called 'classicizing history'. Aelius Theon of Alexandria, a rhetor of the first century AD, describes a historian's training:

> We shall read Herodotus first, despite the fact that he covers so much, because of his great simplicity of style. From his work we shall move to Theopompus and

> Xenophon, then to Philistus and Ephorus, and finally to Thucydides.[1] Training will be the same as in the case of reading the orators. Avoid doing what some teachers do, leaving aside the brilliance and sublimity in Thucydides, while cutting him down into an imitation full of obscurities and stressing whatever is abstruse and difficult in his writing. Do not imitate only one model but all the most famous of the ancients. Thus we shall have copious, numerous, and varied resources on which to draw. It is wrong to limit imitation to a single author.[2]

Another rhetor of the second half of the fourth century AD, Aphthonius the Sophist, included an *enkomion* on Thucydides, whose eloquent style he called 'the fairest thing' and compared it with Herodotus'.[3] The works of both Aelius Theon and Aphthonius formed an important part of the rhetorical corpus so influential in Byzantium. The Byzantine models for imitation in historical narrative were few, carefully selected, and belonged to the distant past of Classical Greece.[4]

Conversely, Oriental historiography was much younger. The Arabs' earliest historical works, written in the eighth century AD, were biographies of the Prophet;[5] while Persian historiography in its new, Muslim shape, began during the brilliant period of the reign of the Sāmānid dynasty in Transoxania (Mā warā'a al-Nahr, Maverannahr) and Khurāsān in 819–997.[6] They never elaborated such an antiquarian system of genres and models of historical narrative as did the Byzantines.[7]

BYZANTINE SOURCES

There are only three major Greek sources dealing with the Turks in the thirteenth century: the *History* (*Χρονικὴ συγγραφή*) by George Akropolites, the *Historical relations* (*Συνγγραφικῶν ἱστοριῶν* [*πρώτη*]) by George Pachymeres, and the *Roman History* (*Ἱστορία Ῥωμαϊκή*) by Nikephoros Gregoras.

The work of Akropolites covers the period 1203–61.[8] Akropolites' *History* is noteworthy for its deep knowledge of the situation at the Nicaean court.

[1] On these authors, see *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, pp. 529–30 (Ephorus of Cyme, *c.* 405–330 BC), 696–8 (Herodotus), 1163–4 (Philistus of Syracuse, *c.* 430–356 BC), 1505–6 (Theopompus of Chios, *c.* 378/7–after 320 BC), 1516–21 (Thucydides), 1628–31 (Xenophon, *c.* 430–350 BC).

[2] *Progymnasmata*, trans. Kennedy (2003), p. 68.

[3] *Progymnasmata*, trans. Kennedy (2003), pp. 108–10.

[4] Hunger 1969–70: 26–9. [5] Robinson 2003: xiv–xv, 19. [6] Meisami 1999: 1–46.

[7] On Arabic historical tradition (especially the universal histories) from the rise of Islam until the ninth century, see Duri 1962: 46–53, Khalidi 1994. On the Persian historical tradition which emerged in the tenth century, see Meisami 1999.

[8] On Akropolites and his work, see: Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 3–101; Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), pp. 14–44.

Without Akropolites we would know little about the Nicaean–Seljuk contacts. However, Akropolites' work is not a chronicle, which means that he organizes the whole text as a combination of topics in a *general* chronological sequence. He thus was in some ways different from his great predecessor Niketas Choniates whose *History* (*Χρονικὴ διήγησις*) of Byzantium in 1118–1206/7, written in the reign of Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203) and finished in Nicaea in 1207–17, was based on the principles of logical coherence within a particular set of events, often at the expense of chronological accuracy.[9]

An example of Akropolites' preference for logical clarity over strict chronology can be seen in chapters 40 and 41. In these, Akropolites reports on the peace treaty between John III Batatzes (1221–54) and Tzar Kaliman (1241–6), son of John II Asen (1218–41) of Bulgaria,[10] after which the emperor marched to Thessalonica against the Emperor John Doukas (1237–41) of Epiros (the city was taken by the Nicaeans later, in December 1246).[11] In both chapters Akropolites refers to the Mongol–Seljuk war which ended in the battle at Köse Dağı on 6 Muḥarram AH 641 (26 June 1243), in which the Seljuks suffered a humiliating defeat.[12] The battle was a watershed in the history of the Seljuks of Rūm, as the Sultanate lost its independence. In chapter 40 Akropolites writes about the victory of the 'Tatar people' over 'the Muslims', which was so thorough that Theodore Laskaris, son and heir apparent of John III, informed his father about the outcome of the battle. The news forced John III to return to Nymphaion. In chapter 41 Akropolites continues: 'As we said, the army of the Muslims was destroyed by the Tatars'.[13] Do chapters 40 and 41 relate simultaneous events?

There are three dates which help establish the chronology in both chapters. The first is the date of the death of Tzar John II Asen on 24 June 1241 in the chronicle of Aubrey de Trois Fontaines,[14] the *terminus a quo* of John III

[9] An example of such chronologically tortuous 'set of events' concerning the Seljuks of Rūm in 1155–77 can be found in Chapter 3 of the reign of Manuel I Komnenos in Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 116–25. On Choniates as a writer, see Hunger 1978: i, 431–41; Simpson 2006: 196–221 and 2009: 13–34, esp. 16–17; Kazhdan 2005: 288–326, esp. 319; Bibikov 1989: 123–8.

[10] Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1773a.

[11] Akropolites, i, pp. 65, l.4–67, l.1; Zhavoronkov 2001: 69–71. Zhavoronkov repeats his conclusions in Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), pp. 79, 229, note 557. Cf. Bredenkamp 1996: 252–61. On the fall of Thessalonica in December 1246, see Akropolites, i, pp. 79, l.8–85, l.2; Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), pp. 85–8, 234–8, notes 607–34; Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 235–46.

[12] Ibn Bibi (AS), p. 517; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 227, 335, note 199.

[13] Akropolites, i, pp. 67, ll.1–5, 68, ll.20–21.

[14] 'Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium', p. 950; Bozhilov 1985: 86, N 7. Zhavoronkov (2001: 72–4) believes, after Philippe Mouskes's *Chronique rimée*, that John II Asen's death took place *after* the deaths of the Popes Gregory IX (1227–41) and Celestine IV (1241) on 21 August and 10 November 1241 respectively. However, Philippe Mouskes wrote that the *news* of John II's death *arrived from Constantinople*, which suggests that the news spread across Western Europe sometime after 24 June 1241, obviously at the time of Gregory IX's death on 21 August of the same year (Mouskes: 1836–38: ii, p. 673, ll.30740–50).

Batatzes' campaign against Thessalonica.[15] The other two dates can be found in chapter 41, which describes the events on the Nicaean eastern frontier in 1242–3. Akropolites begins his account with the journey of the Emperor John III Batatzes from Thessalonica to Nymphaion, where he spent the winter season [of 1241–2], and then to Lampsakos, where the emperor remained during the summer and autumn [of 1242]. In winter the emperor moved to Pegai, but on his way there he was caught by cold weather on 18 December 1232 (the correct date was 1242).[16] This is our second date confirmed by the sequence of the seasons (winter, spring, summer, and autumn) in Akropolites, who adds that the Emperor was in Nymphaion until the beginning of the spring [of 1243]. Then Akropolites again describes the defeat of the Seljuks by the Mongols (which was doubtlessly the battle at Köse Dağı on 26 June 1243, our third date) and the alliance concluded by John III Batatzes and the Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II (1237–45) at the end of 1243.[17] Both dates (of the battle and the following alliance) are in accordance with other dates in chapter 41.

As far as the sequence of John III Batatzes' movements is concerned, the chronology in Akropolites has no faults, despite the mistake in the date of the exceptionally cold weather in Pegai in 1242. However, his mention of the battle at Köse Dağı as a chronological milestone in both chapters is puzzling, as his own calculations of the winter and summer seasons show a time span of two years. Chapters 40 and 41, therefore, describe events in and around the Empire of Nicaea in 1241–43, but the course of the contemporaneous Mongol–Seljuk war, far from the Nicaean borders, was 'reduced' by Akropolites to the battle at Köse Dağı. The war began with the capture of Erzurum by the Mongols at the end of 1242.[18] No other trustworthy source mentions a battle between the Seljuks and the Mongols, which so alarmed John III when at Thessalonica in 1241.

Did Akropolites, who abruptly ends his *History* in mid-sentence in 1261 and who did not manage to revise his text,[19] make a trivial chronological mistake? The suggestion cannot explain why he so meticulously lists the winter and summer seasons between two mentions of apparently one and the same battle. Hence the need for another, more plausible suggestion,

[15] Akropolites, i, p. 65, ll.4–8.

[16] Akropolites, i, pp. 67, l.26–68, l.19. The text reads: 18 December AM 6741 (ϛψμα′) [1232]. This is obviously a mistake in the manuscript; its editor, A. Heisenberg, offered a correction: AM 6751 (ϛψνα′) [1242] instead of AM 6741 (ϛψμα′): Akropolites, i, p. 68 (critical apparatus) and *notae*, p. 306.

[17] Akropolites, i, pp. 68, l.20–70, l.12; Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 1776; Zhavoronkov 2001: 70–1.

[18] Ibn Bibi, pp. 234–6; Ibn Bibi (Duda), pp. 222–4; *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljūq*, pp. 91–2; *Histoire* (ed. Uzluk), p. 48, with the somewhat imprecise date: AH 639 (12 July 1241–30 June 1242); Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, p. 75; Cahen 2001: 70.

[19] Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 31–2.

namely that Akropolites does not want to describe the war. From this point of view, chapters 40 and 41 are masterpieces of a well-balanced narrative; the balance is deliberately achieved at the expense of the chronology. Had Akropolites paid attention to the details of how the Mongols destroyed the army of the Seljuk sultan, he would have followed his predecessor Choniates whose 'chronological digressions' make his *Χρονικὴ διήγησις* so tortuous. Instead, Akropolites inserts a paragraph in which he most unoriginally (and unjustly) ascribes the Mongol victory to the moral decadence and drunkenness of the Seljuk sultan (a picture of a Muslim ruler as a drunkard was a traditional anti-Muslim commonplace in Byzantine and, from a wider perspective, Christian literature).[20]

Thus, in 1241 Theodore Laskaris, John III's heir apparent and the future emperor, could have informed his father only about the possible Mongol–Seljuk battle-to-be (as, since 1240, the Mongols appeared in dangerous proximity to the eastern frontier of the Sultanate), not the battle that had just taken place. This *quid pro quo* allowed Akropolites to avoid lengthy explanations in chapter 40. His geographical arrangement is clear: chapter 40 is entirely dedicated to Balkan affairs, while chapter 41 describes events in Asia Minor. The peculiarity of Akropolites' method, in always preferring geographical and logical clarity to chronology, has sometimes misled even his modern translators.[21]

Usually, each topic in Akropolites depicts events which took place over one or several years; moreover, sometimes Akropolites primarily focuses on events in which he participated. He usually avoids detailed description of the situation beyond the Nicaean borders in Asia Minor, as I have tried to illustrate with the example of the battle at Köse Dağı and the Mongol–Seljuk war in 1242–43. Similarly, Akropolites does not mention the campaigns of the Emperor John III Batatzes against the Seljuks in 1225–31.[22] With regard to the important events of 1257 and the Nicaean–Seljuk anti-Mongol alliance,

[20] Cf. Akropolites (Macrides), p. 222, note 8.

[21] Zhavoronkov, on the basis that the battle mentioned in both chapters was indeed the one at Köse Dağı, disregarded other chronological indicators in Akropolites and re-dated the death of John II Asen and the cold winter storm in Pegai to 1242 and 1244 respectively, contrary to the traditional dates (2001: 69–74). Macrides suggested that there were two Mongol–Seljuk battles in Akropolites: one in 1241 (in chapter 40), and the other in 1243 (at Köse Dağı, in chapter 41). However her reference to the battle in 1241 cannot be accepted, as her source, Vincent of Beauvais (1624: iv, book 30, chapter 147, p. 1283), plagiarized from the earlier work of Simon de Saint-Quentin, who correctly stated that it was in 1242 when the Mongol–Seljuk war began. The same date can be found in the earlier (and more trustworthy) editions of Vincent of Beauvais (Akropolites (Macrides), p. 219, note 18; Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, p. 75; Vincent de Beauvais 1474: lib. xxx, capitulum cxlvii, fol. 333r, and 1494: lib. 30, capitulum 147, fol. 416v.

[22] Langdon 1992: 1–4.

Akropolites speaks mostly about the war between Nicaea and Epiros,[23] without giving much attention to oriental affairs at that time.

This can easily be explained. Akropolites (1217–1282)[24] himself was a Nicaean noble, a relative of the Imperial dynasty of the Palaiologoi[25] and held high posts in the Empire. He was born in Constantinople in 1217, as he himself writes.[26] His parents belonged to an aristocratic family: Akropolites ascribes to the Emperor John III Batatzes words about the 'noble kin' of the Akropolitai,[27] though they emerged at the end of the eleventh century as fiscal officials of middle rank.[28] In 1233, at the age of 16, Akropolites was sent by his parents from Constantinople to Nicaea.[29]

He soon had a prominent career. A year after his arrival at Nicaea (1234), he entered the famous school of Theodoros Hexapterygos,[30] and then (*c.* 1237 or 1238) that of Nikephoros Blemmydes.[31] Akropolites was appointed *logothetes tou genikou* ('secretary of the state households') by 1246.[32] At the beginning of the reign of Theodore II Laskaris (1254–58), sometime in 1255, he received the rank of *megas logothetes* ('prime minister'), which he held till his death in 1282.[33] He continued to hold the office even when he established his famous school in Constantinople at the beginning of the 1260s.[34]

After the re-conquest of Constantinople by Michael VIII, Akropolites became an eminent diplomat: he was a member of the Byzantine embassy to the Council of Lyons in 1274,[35] and Imperial ambassador to the Empire of Trebizond in 1281–82,[36] after which he died.[37]

[23] Akropolites, i, pp. 138, l.21–150, l.24.

[24] On his life, see Georgios Akropolites (1217–1282), *Die Chronik*, trans. W. Blum (1989: 1–48); Macrides, 'Akropolites, George', in *ODB*, i, pp. 48–9; Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), pp. 14–44; Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 5–28; *PLP* 518.

[25] Akropolites, i, p. 164, ll.19–20.

[26] Akropolites, i, p. 46, ll.12–15.

[27] Akropolites, i, p. 49, ll.18–19.

[28] Macrides, 'Akropolites, George', pp. 48–9; Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 6–7.

[29] Akropolites, i, p. 46, ll.12–20.

[30] Akropolites, i, p. 49, ll.6–10; Zhavoronkov 1986: 126; Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 8–9.

[31] Akropolites, i, p. 50, ll.2–8; Blemmydes probably refers to Akropolites in his famous *Autobiographia* (Nicephorus Blemmydes, I, 49, ll.3–4).

[32] Akropolites, i, pp. 78, l.25–79, l.3; Hunger 1978: i, p. 442. On the office of *logothetes tou genikou*, see Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices,* p. 176, ll.15–16. The suggestion that Akropolites held the rank of *megas logariastes* ('great treasurer') between *c.* 1239–46 (Akropolites, ii, p. 1, l.1; *PLP* 518) is now rejected: Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 20–1. On the office of *megas logariastes*, see Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, p. 182, l.26.

[33] Akropolites, i, p. 124, ll.14–18 (date: 1255); pp. 139, l.25–140, l.3; Pachymeres, i, pp. 369, ll.14–21 (date: 1265); Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), pp. 18–19; Zhavoronkov 1986: 126–7; 1991: 63; Hunger 1978: i, p. 442; *PLP* 518. Cf. another opinion: Macrides, 'Akropolites, George', p. 49: Akropolites became *megas logothetes* at the beginning of the reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–82). Macrides later agreed that 1255 was indeed the date of Akropolites' appointment as *megas logothetes*: Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 22–3.

[34] Pachymeres, i, pp. 369, ll.14–21; 409, ll.23–25.

[35] Pachymeres, i, pp. 490–3.

[36] Pachymeres, i, p. 655, ll.18–24; Dölger, Wirth, *Regesten*, 3, N 2050.

[37] Zhavoronkov 1986: 127; Akropolites (Zhavoronkov), pp. 23–4; Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 14–16.

His *History* describes the period between 1203 and 1261, in which the year 1233 is a watershed;[38] after this, Akropolites bases his account more and more on his own biographical material. As a witness, he is very trustworthy, despite the attempt to vindicate Michael VIII Palaiologos, who usurped the throne.[39] This, as well as his tendency to describe in greater detail the events in which he took part, makes his *History* to some extent 'incomplete'. Sometimes a very careful analysis of his text is needed in order to extract reliable information.

His language is simple, though he prefers classical words and avoids unnecessary reference to contemporary *realia*.[40] His *termini technici* are very precise (cf. *ἀμυραχούρης* [*amīr-i akhūr*],[41] *πεκλάρπακις* [*beglerbegi*, var. *beylerbeyi*],[42] *σουλτάν* [*sulṭān*][43]); more interesting is that he sometimes provides his readers with a translation of these terms[44] or an antiquarian synonym, like *ὁ δὲ περσάρχης σουλτάν* ('the sultan, master of the Persians').[45] Though his translations are not always exact, his understanding of the *realia* of the Seljukid Sultanate of Rūm is much better than that of Choniates. For example, Akropolites did not make the mistake Choniates did with the name of the city of Ak-saray (or Aksaray, lit. 'white palace'). Choniates failed to understand the *Rūmī* Greeks' (*Rūmī* were the Greek subjects of the Seljuk sultan) spelling of the Turkish name of Aksaray as *τὰ Ἄξαρα*, the contracted form of which is *Τάξαρα* ('the city of Aksaray'), and mistakenly inserted an additional article: *ὁ Μασοὺτ... παρενέβαλεν εἰς τὰ Τάξαρα, ἅ ἐστιν ἡ πάλαι λεγομένη Κολώνεια* ('[Sultan] Masʿūd entered the city of Aksaray, which is ancient Koloneia by its name').[46] Akropolites preserves the correct form *τὰ Ἄξαρα*.[47]

The *History* of Akropolites was the main source of the *Synopsis* of Theodore Skoutariotes,[48] another member of the Byzantine embassy to the Council of Lyons (1274), who was later appointed metropolitan of Kyzikos.[49] However, Skoutariotes enriched the account of Akropolites with some unknown sources.

[38] Zhavoronkov 1991a: 64. [39] Zhavoronkov 1991a: 64.

[40] Hunger 1978: 446. On the classicizing features of the *History* of Akropolites, see: Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 51–4.

[41] Akropolites, i, p. 138, l.2. [42] Akropolites, i, p. 138, ll.12, 15.

[43] Akropolites, i, pp. 14, l.9; 15, ll.4, 5, 9, 18, 20, 27; 16, ll.12, 15, 17, 24; 17, ll.1, 4, 7, 9, 11; 27, l.8; 68, l.21; 69, ll.1, 19, 25; 70, ll.2, 8; 71, l.16; 137, l.7; 143, l.26; 144, l.15; Moravcsik 1958: ii, pp. 286–7.

[44] Akropolites, i, p. 138, ll.1–2: *ἀνὴρ δέ τις τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις περιωνύμων, τὴν ἀξίαν ἀμυραχούρης – μεγά δὲ τοῦτο παρὰ Πέρσαις* ('a certain person from the Persian nobility, *amīr-i akhūr* by the dignity, which is a great one among the Persians'); Akropolites, i, p. 138, ll.11–12: *τῷ μεγίστῳ στρατοπεδάρχῃ τῶν Περσικῶν στρατευμάτων, ὃν πεκλάρπακιν οἴδασιν οἱ Πέρσαι καλεῖν* ('to the *megas stratopedarches* of the Persian armies, whom the Persians call *beylerbeyi*').

[45] Akropolites, i, p. 143, ll.25–26. Akropolites uses the term *περσάρχης* ('the master of the Persians') along (not necessarily together) with *σουλτάν*: Akropolites, i, pp. 11, l.2; 14, l.19; 125, ll.8, 11; 135, l.15; 136, ll.24, 27; 143, l.26; 144, l.10.

[46] Choniates, *Historia*, p. 53, ll.45–46. Here, Koloneia means Colonia Archelais, Garsaura.

[47] Akropolites, i, p. 137, l.11.

[48] Skoutariotes (Sathas), vii, pp. 1–556; Skoutariotes (Heisenberg), i, pp. 275–302.

[49] Hunger 1978: i, pp. 477–8; *PLP* 26204.

The *History* has recently been translated, with excellent commentaries, by P. I. Zhavoronkov[50] and R. Macrides;[51] I have used both translations but given my own translations whenever appropriate.

One of the pupils of Akropolites was George Pachymeres, whose account is the most important source for our study. Unfortunately, we know very little about him. He was born in Nicaea in 1242 and arrived at Constantinople in 1261, when the capital was recaptured by the Nicaeans.[52] In 1265 he was *notarios* at the Patriarchal court.[53] He had a successful ecclesiastical career as *diakonos* (deacon) of St Sophia, *didaskalos tou Apostolou* ('doctor Apostoli', a person responsible for commenting on the Acts) in 1277, and *hieromnemon* (a lawyer responsible for candidates for ordinations) in 1285, while by the end of the thirteenth century, when he was writing his *Historical Relations*, he had received the position of *protekdikos* ('defensor ecclesiae', ecclesiastical advocate) and the civil post of *dikaiophylax* ('defender of the law', an Imperial judge in the ecclesiastical affairs).[54] He died around 1310.[55]

His massive work, the two volumes of the history of the reign of Michael VIII and Andronikos II (1282–1328) Palaiologoi, describes the period between 1254 and 1308,[56] thus continuing the *History* of his teacher Akropolites. Like Akropolites, Pachymeres introduces autobiographical notes into the text[57] and shows his attitude to the events he describes.[58] However, unlike Akropolites, Pachymeres did not hold any high position in the state hierarchy and was less experienced in political affairs, though he knew members of the ruling dynasty. He was a friend of the Patriarchs John Bekkos of Constantinople, Theodosios Villehardouin (Prinkips) of Antioch, and Athanasios II of Alexandria, to whom Pachymeres sent two letters.[59] Pachymeres' works are notorious for their very sophisticated rhetorical style.

Pachymeres was a professional rhetor: he composed *Progymnasmata* (rhetorical exercises in composition) and 13 *meletai* on rhetoric.[60] Indeed, he consciously continued the work of Akropolites, whose famous promise to

[50] Akropolites (Zhavoronkov).
[51] Akropolites (Macrides).
[52] Pachymeres, i, pp. xix–xx; 23, ll.3–8.
[53] Pachymeres, ii, p. 347, ll.27–28.
[54] Pachymeres, i, pp. xix–xx, 23, ll.3–8; J. Darrouzès 1970: 532, l.9; 533, l.4; Hunger 1978: i, p. 447; Talbot, 'Pachymeres, George', in *ODB*, iii, p. 1550. On the offices of *didaskalos tou apostolou*, *hieromnemon*, *protekdikos*, and *dikaiophylax*, see Darrouzès 1970: 109–10, 323–32, 368–73, 531, l.11.
[55] Hunger 1978: i, p. 447; Lampakis 2004: 21–38, 44; Angelov 2007: 260–3.
[56] Hunger 1978: i, p. 447; Lampakis 2004: 39–134.
[57] Pachymeres, i, p. 23, ll.3–8.
[58] On the problem of the Byzantine authors' tendency for bias and personal intrusion into the subject of their historical narratives, see Scott 1981: 62–6.
[59] Pachymeres, i, pp. xx, xxii.
[60] Talbot, 'Pachymeres, George', p. 1550; Lampakis 2004: 135–80.

write *sine ira et studio*[61] he repeated in his *prooimion*.[62] However, he did so in a very different way.

Pachymeres begins his work in the style of Thucydides, in the same Ionicized Attic.[63] Compare Pachymeres' words, *Γεώργιος Κωνσταντινουπολίτης... τάδε ξυνέγραψεν...* ('George, a Constantinopolitan, wrote these . . . '), with Thucydides' *Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναίος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων...* ('Thucydides, an Athenian, wrote the history of the war waged by the Peloponnesians and the Athenians'[64]). But Pachymeres complicates the beginning of his work by introducing an autobiographical note, unlike Thucydides (as well as Akropolites). Moreover, Pachymeres has an idea of cyclical historical periods, which Thucydides does not have, but which Pachymeres shapes with the help of citations from Sophocles.[65]

Pachymeres is a paradoxical author when viewed within Byzantine literary conventions. On the one hand, his text is full of citations from Homer, Pindar, Plato, and Sophocles and he includes mythological *exempla* in his text.[66] It seems that when writing his *Historical Relations* he followed the advice of the rhetor Aelius Theon: 'Do not imitate only one model but all the most famous of the ancients'. Pachymeres' tendency to archaize is so extensive that he uses the obsolete lunar months of the Athenian calendar,[67] and he also applies the 'pagan' form *πρωτοθύτης* ('sacrificer-in-chief') to the patriarch.[68] Only Theodore II Laskaris used this word with the same meaning, probably because Abel, in Genesis 4: 1–8, the first person to bring an offering to God (and who was murdered out of jealousy by his brother Cain), was called *πρωτοθύτης* by Gregory (Gregorios) Antiochos at the end of the twelfth century.[69] Pachymeres is apt to make his text as complex as possible, using very rare terms from ancient poets which can be found only in, for example, the *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*,[70] Homer, or other ancient authors.[71] It has

[61] Akropolites, i, p. 4, ll.18–23; Akropolites (Macrides), pp. 30, 105–6 and note 7.

[62] Pachymeres, i, p. 25, ll.1–2.

[63] See on this style Horrocks 1997: 25–9; Lampakis 2004: 42–52.

[64] Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Smith, i, pp. 2–3.

[65] Cf. Pachymeres, i, p. 23, ll.14–16: '. . . time (*chronos*) by its nature hides, but does not destroy everything. During cyclical periods (*συχναῖς κυκλικαῖς περιόδοις*), time necessarily brings into life all the things that had been hidden' and the words of Sophocles' *Ajax,* 646–7: *ἅπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀναρίθμητος χρόνος | φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται· Strangely the long and countless drift of time | Brings all things forth from darkness into life* (tr. J. Moore: Sophocles, *Ajax*, ed. Dawe, p. 32; Sophocles, 'Ajax', eds. Grene and Lattimore, ii, p. 237).

[66] Hunger 1978 i, pp. 451–3.

[67] Like *ἐλαφηβολιών*, *γαμηλιών*, *ἀνθεστηριών*; cf. Pachymeres, v (Index), pp. 94, 129, 165. The same month names can be found in Thucydides, *passim*.

[68] Cf. Hunger 1981: 46.

[69] Pachymeres, i, p. 111, l.14; Theodorus II Ducas Laskaris, 'Epistula ad Georgium Acropolitam', ed. Tartaglia, p. 6, l.90; Theodori Ducae Lascaris, *Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. Festa, letter 108, l.12; Gregorios Antiochos, *Λόγος ἕτερος ἐπιτάφιος*, ed. Sideras, Oration 4, p. 108, l.7. I thank Dr Christos Simelidis for his consultation concerning the *πρωτοθύτης*.

[70] Cf. Pachymeres, ii, p. 445, ll.11–12.

[71] Bibikov and Krasavina 1991: 281.

been suggested that this could have blurred all possible *realia* which did not correspond to Pachymeres' models,[72] but is not the case. Hence the paradox. His *termini technici*, as well as proper names, are free from any antiquarian forms. Pachymeres carefully reproduces the *realia* of the Nicaean and early Palaeologan Empire: he reproduces terms found in documentary sources, like the *prostagmata* of the Nicaean emperors: *ἀλλάγια*,[73] *βαίουλος* (*baille*),[74] *καβαλλάριοι* (cavalrymen, usually of Latin origin [*caballarii*], in the Byzantine service),[75] *καδδηνάλιοι* ('cardinals'),[76] etc.[77] Moreover, Pachymeres presents almost the whole *taxis* of Byzantine court dignitaries known from Pseudo-Kodinos, the fullest late Byzantine list of court ranks.[78]

In his careful reproduction of foreign spellings, Pachymeres distinguished himself from the long-established tradition of Greek historical prose according to which foreign names were changed into Greek. Indeed, Clearchus Solensis (late 4th to early 3rd century BC) complained about the difficult pronunciation of the name 'Jerusalem' ('*Ιερουσαλήμ*), from Hebrew '*Yerūshālaim*', despite the evident allusion to the Greek word *ἱερός*.[79] The division of the name 'Jerusalem' in Greek, *Hierosolyma*, into 'hieros' ('holy') and 'Solyma'[80] was first made by Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. AD 330–90), who thus put the 'unpronounceable' Jerusalem into the context of the Greek poetry.[81] Indeed, it was Homer who mentioned the 'hills of the Solymoi' (*Σολύμων ὀρέων*) of the 'Ethiopians', which his commentators thought to have been somewhere in Cilicia, Lykia, or Pisidia.[82] And it was the famous poet Choerilus of Samos (fl. last third of the fifth century BC) who wrote about the people of the

[72] Cf. Bibikov and Krasavina 1991: 281–2.

[73] *τὸ ἀλλάγιον*: Pachymeres, ii, p. 403, l.10; iv, p. 447, l.23. See on the institution of *allagion* or 'unit', 'troop contingent' Bartusis 1992: 31, 411 (index).

[74] *ὁ μέγας βαίουλος*: Pachymeres, v (Index), p. 49, n 18. On the office (*baille* was a rector in Venetian settlements on the Byzantine territory), see D. M. Nicol 1988: 181.

[75] *ὁ καβαλλάριος*: Pachymeres, i, p. 117, l.10; 119, l.11; ii, p. 425, l.11. On the term, see Bartusis 1992: 28.

[76] *ὁ καδδηνάλιος*: Pachymeres, i, p. 279, l.2; ii, p. 463, l.7.

[77] Hunger 1978: 452–3; cf. Averintsev 1996: 286–7.

[78] Pachymeres, v (Index), pp. 47–53.

[79] *τὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ὄνομα πάνυ σκολιόν ἐστιν, Ἱερουσαλὴμ γὰρ αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν* . . . ('The name of their [i.e. Jews'] capital is very curious (lit. 'crooked'): they call it Jerusalem'): Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum,* ii, p. 323; Averintsev 1996: 43–4.

[80] In restoring the name as 'Solyma', I follow the Souda, which states that 'Solyma' was the city and 'Solymoi' were the people; cf. *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. Adler, entries 784 and 786; Suidas, *Lexicon graecum*, ed. Chalcondyles et al., §T.iii, p. [867] (the book has no original pagination); Estienne, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae,* viii, col. 512.

[81] Gregorius Nazianzenus, 'Carmina de se ipso' (Carm. II.1.13.178), in *MPG*, 37, col. 1241, ll.6–7: *Πέτρῳ δ' ἴσα φέροιτο θεοκτόνος Ἰσκαριώτης | Καὶ Σολύμοις ἱεροῖσιν ἀλιτροτάτη Σαμάρεια.* Cf. also Gregorius Nazianzenus, 'Carmina moralia' (Carm.I.2.2.419), in *MPG*, 37, col. 611, l.6; and the commentary by Zehles and Zamora 1996: 185 (I am grateful to Dr Christos Simelidis who drew my attention to this book).

[82] Homer, *Odyssea*, ed. von der Mühll, 5: 282–90; *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, ed. Dindorf, , Book 5 hypothesis-verse 282, l.4–285, l.2, p. 273, ll.15–18; Strabo, *Geographica*, ed.

'Solymian hills' (*γένος... ᾤκεον δ' ἐν Σολύμοις ὄρεσι*), the Jews, according to Josephus (b. AD 37/8) and according to Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. AD 260–339) one of those 'nations' led by Xerxes I, King of Persia (486–465 BC) against the Greeks in 481 BC.[83] Though Pachymeres follows Clearchus and Gregory of Nazianzus (he divides the name into two parts *metri causa*: *τοῖς ἱεροῖς προσβαλεῖν Σολύμοις*, the latter obviously being Choerilus' form *Σολύμοις*[84]), this did not prevent him from reproducing the most difficult foreign spellings.

Meineke, i, Book 1, chapter 2, section 10, ll.22–33, p. 27, ll.2–14. Cf. Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. Merrill, p. 151:

> Journeying from the Ethiopians then, the strong shaker of earth (Poseidon) saw
> him (Odysseus) far off from the peaks of the Solymoi, for he observed him
> sailing along on the sea; in his heart was the god most wrathful;
> angrily shaking his head, he said to himself in his spirit:
> 'Oh what shame, that concerning Odysseus the gods have entirely
> changed their minds while I was among the Ethiopian people!
> Now he is near the Phaiakians' country; for him it is fated
> there to escape the calamitous end of the woe that has dogged him.
> But I think I will yet drive him into quite enough evil.'

[83] Choerilus Samius, in *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, eds. Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, p. 149, fragment 320, ll.1–5 (with the references to Josephus *Contra Apionem*, Book 1, sections 172–174, and Eusebius *Praeparatio evangelica*, Book 9, chapter 9, sections 1–2):

> *τῶν δ' ὄπιθεν διέβαινε γένος θαυμαστὸν ἰδέσθαι,*
> *γλῶσσαν μὲν Φοίνισσαν ἀπὸ στομάτων ἀφιέντες,*
> *ᾤκεον δ' ἐν Σολύμοις ὄρεσι πλατέῃ παρὰ λίμνῃ,*
> *αὐχμαλέοι κορυφάς, τροχοκουράδες · αὐτὰρ ὕπερθεν*
> *ἵππων δαρτὰ πρόσωπ' ἐφόρευν ἐσκληκότα καπνῷ.*

English translation (by Thackeray, p. 233):

> Closely behind passed over a race of wonderful aspect;
> Strangely upon their lips the tongue of Phoenicia sounded;
> In the Solymian hills by a broad lake their habitation;
> Shorn in a circle, unkempt was the hair on their heads, and above them
> Proudly they wore their hides of horse-heads, dried in the hearth-smoke.

It seems that Choerilus' description better fitted the ancient Arabs east of the Dead Sea rather than the Jews of Jerusalem, though Josephus called the latter *Solymites* (*Contra Apionem*, Book 1, section 248 (= Josephus, *Against Apion*, trans. Thackeray, pp. 264–5).

[84] Pachymeres, iv, p. 505, ll.7–9: [Īlkhān Ghazan] *πόλλ' ἄττα δεινὰ τὸν τῶν Ἀράβων σουλτὰν εἰργάζετο, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἱεροῖς προσβαλεῖν Σολύμοις . . .* ('[Īlkhān Ghazan] caused numerous dangers to the sultan of the Arabs, so that he was [on the verge] of attacking Jerusalem itself (lit. "Holy Solyma")'); cf. the correct, undivided form in Pachymeres, iv, p. 677, l.21: *Ἱεροσολύμοις*. There are two different forms of the name 'Jerusalem' in Greek: *τὰ* (var: *ἡ*) *Ἱεροσόλυμα* and *ἡ Ἱερουσαλήμ* (var: *Ἱερουσαλήμ*). The form *τοῖς ἱεροῖς σολύμοις* was obviously created from *τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα*. If the words *ὁ ἱερός* were 'borrowed' from another, rarer, form *ἡ Ἱερουσαλήμ*, the second part of the divided name of Jerusalem in Pachymeres would have been *Σαλήμ*. The form *ἡ Σαλήμ* (cf. Genesis 14:18) should be distinguished from the phonetically similar, but orthographically different, name *τὸ Σαλείμ* (var: *Σαλίμ*) (indeclinable), a town near Scythopolis in northern Samaria. St John baptized people in the vicinity of *τὸ Σαλείμ* (John 3:23): see *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, ed. Danker, pp. 470–1 (lemma *Ἱεροσόλυμα*), 911 (lemmata *Σαλείμ* and *Σαλήμ*).

It should be also noted that the Greeks changed foreign names in order to adjust these to Greek *καλλιφωνία* (which might have been considered similar to *ἐπιμέλεια καὶ κάλλος*, 'carefully wrought style and beauty', recommended in the Byzantine rhetorical corpus[85]). Apart from Clearchus, who was not satisfied with the Greek form of the name 'Jerusalem', other examples can also be found. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who lived in the first century BC, did not dare to cite the names of the Roman gods, though he was an admirer of Roman power.[86] The same is true of Anna Komnena (who died between 1153 and 1155), who wrote: 'For all my desire to name their (i.e. Crusaders') leaders, I prefer not to do so. The words fail me, partly through my inability to make the barbaric sounds—they are so unpronounceable—and partly because I recoil before their great numbers.'[87] The difference is that Dionysius carefully replaces the Latin names of gods with Greek ones (Cronos instead of Saturn, Hephaestos instead of Vulcan, Artemis instead of Diana, etc.), while Anna was forced to reproduce the names of the Crusaders (as well as those of the Seljuks), as there were no Greek equivalents for these.

Thus, the *History* of Pachymeres, despite its difficult rhetorical style and tortuous syntax, is one of the most reliable sources for Byzantine–Turkish relations. One should not forget that Pachymeres started his career as a scribe (*notarios*), that is to say, a composer of official documents. He shows great skill in connecting his high rhetorical style with the documents he used. Even the citation from Sophocles, mentioned at the beginning of Pachymeres' *History* occurs in the *chrysobullos logos* of 1259 of the Iviron monastery.[88] One might also guess that where no parallel existed in Ancient Greek sources, Byzantine authors, and Pachymeres in particular, followed Hermogenes of Tarsus (fl. 2nd century AD), the 'father' of Byzantine rhetoric, on purity of style: 'The diction that is appropriate to purity is everyday language that everyone uses, not that which is abstruse or harsh-sounding'.[89]

[85] Hermogenes, *Opera*, ed. Rabe, pp. 296–311; Hermogenes, *On Types of Style*, tr. Wooten, pp. 54–64, esp. p. 62 (cf. Averintsev 1996: 273):

> From the preceding discussion it should be evident what kind of word order is needed to produce Beauty. First, it must avoid the clashing of vowels [hiatus] (*ἄνευ συγκρούσεως τῶν φωνηέντων*). Secondly, the word order should produce metrical configurations that are very similar to meter. Thirdly, the meter suggested must fall into feet that are appropriate to the passage and to the kind of style that we are aiming at.

[86] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, tr. Cary, i, II, 50, 3 (pp. 454–7): *Τάτιος δὲ Ἡλίῳ τε καὶ Σελήνῃ καὶ Κρόνῳ καὶ Ῥέᾳ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἑστίᾳ καὶ Ἡφαίστῳ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Ἐνυαλίῳ καὶ ἄλλοις θεοῖς, ὧν χαλεπὸν ἐξειπεῖν Ἑλλάδι γλώττῃ τὰ ὀνόματα.* ('And Tatius [built temples] to the Sun and Moon, to Saturn and to Rhea, and, besides these, to Vesta, Vulcan, Diana, Enyalius, and to other gods whose names are difficult to express in the Greek language.'); Averintsev 1996: 44.

[87] Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, x: 4, p. 315, ll.56–59; Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, tr. Sewter, pp. 324–5; Dagron 1994: 222.

[88] Pachymeres, i, p. 22, n 2.

[89] Hermogenes, *On Types of Style,* p. 10; Hermogenes, *Opera*, p. 229, ll.8–9.