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978-0-521-85703-1 - Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204-1330

Dimiter Angelov

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[More information](#)IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL
THOUGHT IN BYZANTIUM, 1204-1330

This is the first systematic study of Byzantine imperial ideology, court rhetoric, and political thought after the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 – in the Nicaean state (1204–1261) and during the early period of the restored empire of the Palaiologoi. The book explores Byzantine political imagination at a time of crisis when the empire ceased to be a first-rate power in the Mediterranean. It investigates the correspondence and fissures between official political rhetoric, on the one hand, and the political ideas of lay thinkers and churchmen, on the other. Through the analysis of a wide body of sources (some of them little known or unpublished), a picture of Byzantine political thought emerges which differs significantly from the traditionally accepted one. The period saw refreshing developments in court rhetoric and political thought, some with interesting parallels in the medieval and Renaissance West, which arose in response to the new historical realities.

DIMITER ANGELOV is Research Fellow in Byzantine History at the University of Birmingham. He holds a doctorate from Harvard University (2002) and has taught as assistant professor at Western Michigan University (2002–5).

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Preface

This project began as a doctoral dissertation submitted in 2002 to the History Department of Harvard University and was completed as a book at the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies at the University of Birmingham. I am most indebted to my mentor at Harvard, Angeliki Laiou, who introduced me to the issues and sources of late Byzantine history, directed the doctoral dissertation with great care, and offered me a great many useful comments as well as constructive criticism. Michael McCormick of Harvard University has discussed with me a number of points of conceptualization and detail, and his insistence on setting Byzantine civilization in a broader medieval context has been inspirational. John Duffy of Harvard University taught me Greek paleography and assisted me significantly in the study of unpublished manuscript material. I conducted a substantial portion of the research at the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies in Washington, DC, where I held a Junior Fellowship in the years 1999–2000, and I have benefited from its library resources.

The book could hardly have been completed without the generous postdoctoral grant I have been awarded by the European Commission in the form of a two-year Marie Curie Fellowship at the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity, University of Birmingham. I should like to thank the History Department at Western Michigan University for its unreserved support for my research when granting me a leave and thus enabling me to take residence in Birmingham. Since its foundation in 1970–71 the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies in Birmingham has grown into a leading research institution, providing excellent conditions and a creative atmosphere for the cultivation of Byzantine studies. I have always benefited from my conversations with Anthony Bryer, the Centre's co-founder, and have been fortunate to have as my colleague at the Centre Ruth Macrides, with whom I discussed innumerable issues related to the

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history and culture of the empire of Nicaea. I would also like to thank Dimitris Kastritsis, Adam Kosto, Paul Magdalino, Joseph Munitiz, Ihor Ševčenko, Kostis Smyrlis, and Alice-Mary Talbot, each of whom has contributed in his or her own unique way with comments and suggestions to the final shape of this book. I am grateful to Henry Buglass, graphic artist at the Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity at the University of Birmingham, for helping me in the production of the maps.

Finally I should express my immeasurable debt to my late grandfather, Dimitar S. Angelov, whose story-telling talent, erudition, and love for the past first kindled in me a passion for history at an age when I could hardly comprehend the meaning of complex concepts such as “ideology” or “political thought.”

Birmingham

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A note on style

This book is based on the study of a large body of texts, some of which are found in rare editions or are unpublished. The decision whether or not to quote the Greek has been made on a case-by-case basis. In the footnotes I have quoted passages or phrases from the sources whenever I have deemed that such quotations could help to illustrate better my argument. This approach has the virtue of making explicit for the reader the basis of some of the interpretations offered here. I have provided English translations of passages which are crucial or which pose difficulty. For the purpose of readability, I have avoided as much as possible the use of Greek characters in the main body of the text; Greek has been confined to the footnotes. I have adhered to the practice, now standard in the field of Byzantine studies, of transcribing Byzantine names and not latinizing them: thus Palaiologos, not Palaeologus; Athanasios, not Athanasius. In the case of Byzantine court titles and offices, I have attempted to strike a compromise between truthful rendition and conventional, reader-friendly English usage. I have offered a transcription of most titles, such as *mesazon*, *sebastokrator* or *dikaiophylax*. Sometimes a felicitous English rendition has been possible, in which case I have opted to use an anglicized equivalent of the Byzantine court office or title: for example, grand logothete instead of *megas logothetes*; grand constable instead of *megas konostaulos*. The only Byzantine court title which I have consistently capitalized is that of Despot (*despotes*). The reason for this is that the Despot was the second highest title-holder in the court hierarchy after the emperor; the rulers of Epiros titled themselves Despots during most of the history of this autonomous successor state to the Byzantine empire.

All references to the Old Testament follow the nomenclature and numeration of the Greek Septuagint. Classical authors are cited according to H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and S. Stuart Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edn (Oxford, 1940), and the standard editions. The transliteration of bibliography entries published in Slavic languages using the Cyrillic alphabet is based on the Library of Congress transliteration system.

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AG	J. Boissonade, <i>Anecdota graeca e codicibus regijs</i> . 5 vols. Paris, 1829–1833. repr. Hildesheim, 1962
Agapetos the Deacon	R. Riedinger, <i>Agapetos Diakonos. Der Fürstenspiegel für Kaiser Iustinianos</i> . Athens, 1995
Akropolites I, II	<i>Georgii Acropolitae opera</i> . 2 vols. ed. A. Heisenberg and P. Wirth. Leipzig, 1973
B	<i>Byzantion</i>
<i>Basilika</i>	<i>Basilicorum libri LX</i> , series A, 8 vols. ed. H. Scheltema et N. van der Wal. Groningen, 1953–88
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
Blemmydes, <i>Imperial Statue</i>	H. Hunger and I. Ševčenko, <i>Des Nikephoros Blemmydes Βασιλικὸς Ἀνδριᾶς und dessen Metaphrase von Georgios Galesiotes und Georgios Oinaïotes</i> . Vienna, 1986
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BNJ	<i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
BSHAR	<i>Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie Roumaine</i>
BSI	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
Chilandar	<i>Actes de Chilandar</i> , I, ed. M. Živojinović, V. Kravari and C. Giros. <i>Archives de l'Athos</i> 20. Paris, 1998
Chilandar, ed. Petit	<i>Actes de Chilandar</i> , ed. L. Petit and B. Korablev. St. Petersburg, 1911; repr. Amsterdam, 1975

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- Chomatenos, ed. Prinzing G. Prinzing, *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*. Berlin, 2002
- Choniates, *Orationes* J.-L. van Dieten, *Nicetae Choniatae orationes et epistulae*. Berlin and New York, 1973
- Correspondence of Athanasius* *The Correspondence of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople*, ed. A.-M. Talbot, Washington, 1975
- CSHB *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*. 50 vols. Bonn, 1828–97
- Darrouzès, *Regestes* J. Darrouzès, *Les Regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*. Vol. 1: *Les actes des patriarches*, fasc. 5: *Les Regestes de 1310 à 1376*. Paris, 1977
- Dionysiou *Actes de Dionysiou*, ed. N. Oikonomides. *Archives de l'Athos* 4. Paris, 1968
- DOC *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, 5 vols. Washington, 1966–99
- Docheiariou *Actes de Docheiariou*, ed. N. Oikonomides. *Archives de l'Athos* 13. Paris, 1984
- Dölger, *Regesten* *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*.
vol. 2: *Regesten von 1025–1204*, ed. F. Dölger, Munich, 1925
vol. 3: *Regesten von 1204–1282*, ed. F. Dölger; rev. edn. P. Wirth. Munich, 1977
vol. 4: *Regesten von 1282–1341*, ed. F. Dölger. Munich, 1960
vol. 5: *Regesten von 1341–1453*, ed. F. Dölger and P. Wirth. Munich, 1965
- DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
- EEBS Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
- EO *Échos d'Orient*
- EPh Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος

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- Esphigmenou *Actes de Esphigménou*, ed. J. Lefort. *Archives de l'Athos* 6. Paris, 1973
- Gautier, *Théophylacte d'Achrida* *Théophylacte d'Achrida. Discours, Traités, Poésies*, ed. P. Gautier, vol. 1. Thessaloniki, 1980
- Geanakoplos, *Michael VIII* D. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282: A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relations*. Cambridge, MA, 1959
- GdSAI *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*
- Gregoras I, II, III *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia*, 3 vols, ed. L. Schopen. CSHB. Bonn, 1829–55
- Guillou, *Ménécée* *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrôme sur le mont Ménécée*, ed. A. Guillou. Paris, 1935
- Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen*, I, II and III A. Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion*. Munich, 1922–23
Vol. 1: *Der Epitaphios des Nikolaos Mesarites auf seinen Bruder Johannes*
Vol. 2: *Die Unionsverhandlungen vom 30. August 1206, Patriarchenwahl und Kaiserkrönung in Nikaia 1208*
Vol. 3: *Der Bericht des Nikolaos Mesarites über die politischen und kirchlichen Ereignisse des Jahres 1214*
- Heisenberg, *Palaiologenzeit* A. Heisenberg, *Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzeit*. Munich, 1920
- Hexabiblos*, ed. K. Pitsakes *Κωνσταντίνου Ἀρμενοπούλου Πρόχειρον νόμων ἢ Ἐξάβιβλος*, ed. K. Pitsakes. Athens, 1971
- Holobolos, *Orationes* M. Treu, *Manuelis Holoboli orationes*. Potsdam, 1906/1907
- IRAIK *Izvestiia Russkago Arkheologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinopole*
- Ivion III *Actes d'Ivion*. vol. 3, ed. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomides, D. Papachryssanthou, V. Kravari and H. Métrévéli. *Archives de l'Athos* 18. Paris, 1994

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- Jacob of Bulgaria Λόγος προσφωνητικός, in S. Mercati, *Collectanea Byzantina*. vol. I. Bari, 1970, 81–93
- JÖB *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* (until 1968 issued as *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*)
- Kantakouzenos I, II, III *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri IV*, 3 vols., ed. L. Schopen. CSHB. Bonn, 1831–32
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- Lampenos, *Encomium* I. Polemis, ‘Ο λόγιος Νικόλαος Λαμπηνός καὶ τὸ ἐγκώμιον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον Β΄ Παλαιολόγον. Athens, 1992
- Laurent, *Regestes* V. Laurent, *Les Regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. I: *Les actes des patriarches*, fasc. 4: *Les Regestes de 1208 à 1309*. Paris, 1971
- Lavra II, III *Actes de Lavra*, vols. 2 and 3, ed. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos and D. Papachryssanthou. *Archives de l’Athos* 8, 10. Paris, 1977–79
- Magistros, *On Kingship* P. Cacciatore, *Toma Magistro. La regalità*. Naples, 1997
- MB K. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*. 7 vols. Venice, 1872–1894, repr. Hildesheim and New York, 1972
- Metochites, *Miscellanea* G. Müller and T. Kiessling, *Miscellanea philosophica et historica*. Leipzig, 1821, repr. Amsterdam, 1966
- MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*

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MM

F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols. Vienna, 1860–90, repr. Aalen, 1968*Nicephori Blemmydae Autobiographia*J. Munitiz, *Nicephori Blemmydae autobiographia sive curriculum vitae necnon epistula universalior*. Turnhout and Leuven, 1984.

OCA

Orientalia Christiana Analecta

OCP

Orientalia Christiana Periodica

ODB

Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, ed. A. Kazhdan. Washington, 1991

Pachymeres I.i, I.ii

George Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, vols. I and II, ed. A. Failler, trans. V. Laurent. Paris, 1984

Pachymeres II.iii, II.iv

George Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, vols. III and IV, ed. and trans. A. Failler, Paris, 1999

Panteleimon

Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmon, ed. P. Lemerle, G. Dagron and S. Ćirković. *Archives de l'Athos* 12. Paris, 1982Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta*A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, 5 vols. St. Petersburg, 1891–98, repr. Brussels, 1963.

PG

J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca*. 161 vols. Paris, 1857–1866

Philotheou

Actes de Philothée, ed. V. Regel, E. Kurtz and B. Korablev. St. Petersburg, 1913, repr. Amsterdam, 1975

Planoudes, “Basilikos”

L. Westerink, “Le basilikos de Maxime Planude,” *BSI* 27 (1966), 98–103; 28 (1967), 54–67; 29 (1968), 34–50

PLP

Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit, 12 vols, ed. E. Trapp et al. Vienna, 1976–96

Previale, “Un panegirico inedito”

L. Previale, “Un panegirico inedito per Michele VIII Paleologo,” *BZ* 42 (1943–49), 1–49

Protaton

Actes du Prôtaton, ed. D. Papachryssanthou. *Archives de l'Athos*, 7. Paris, 1975

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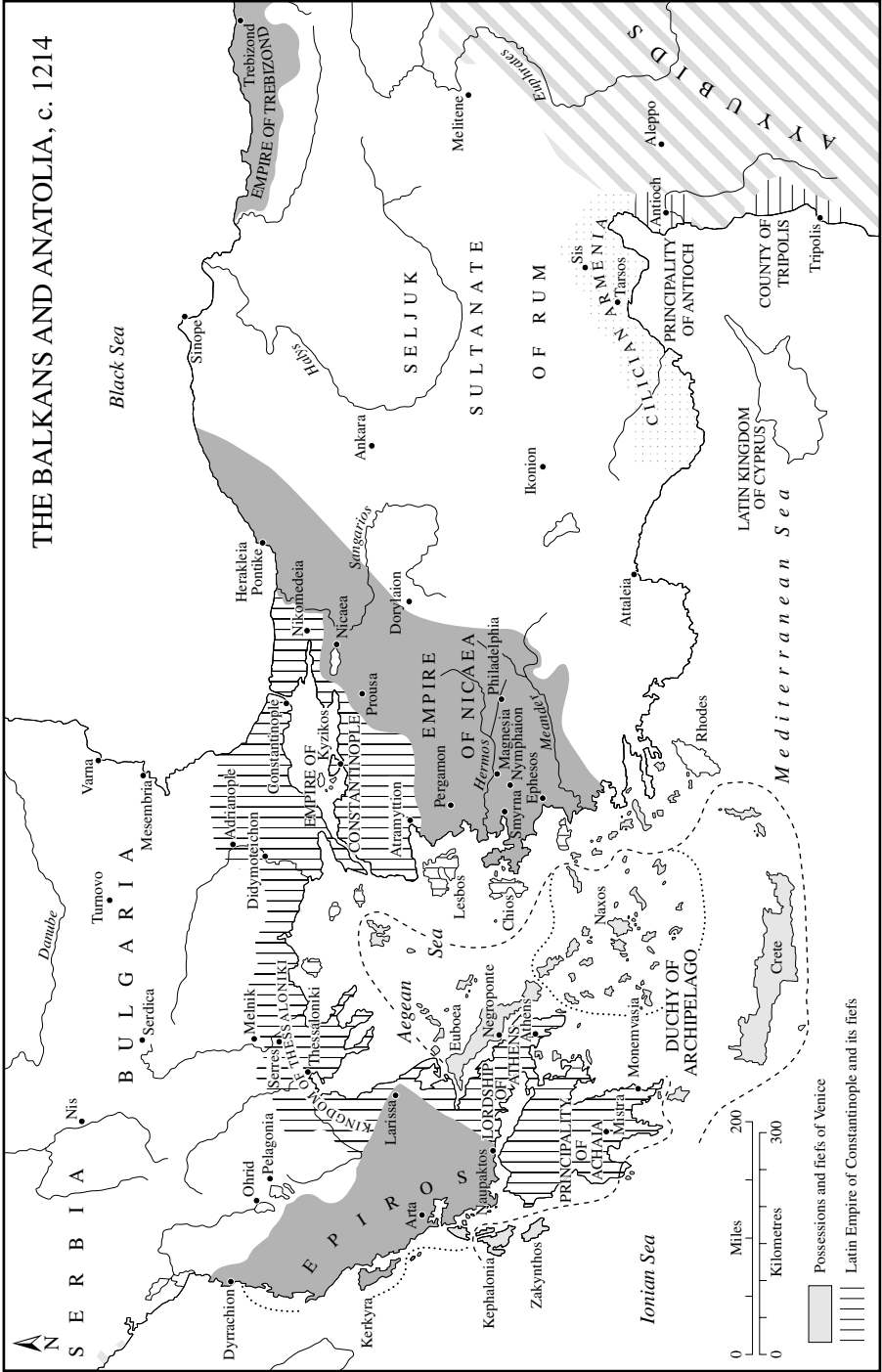
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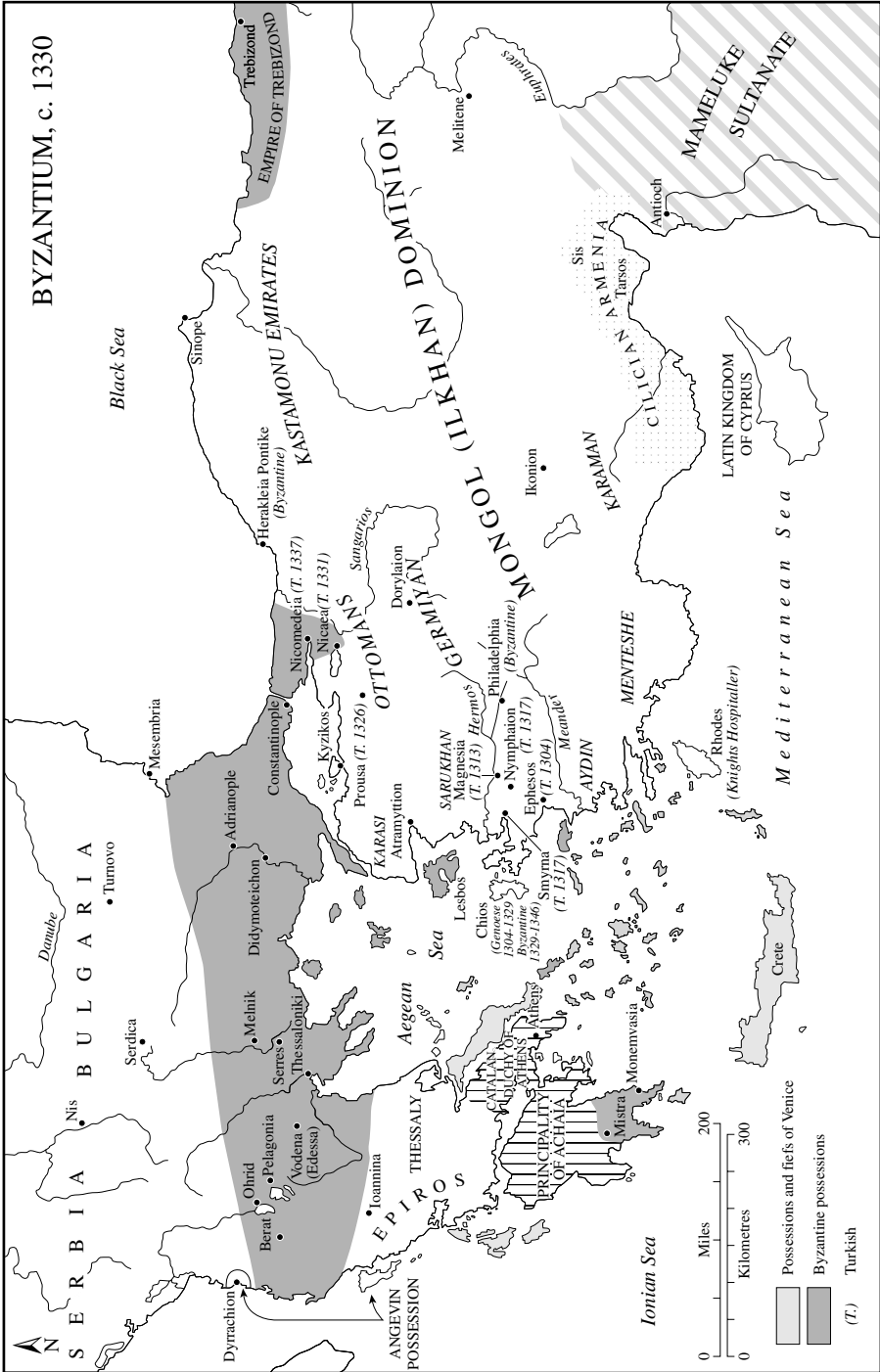
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- Pseudo-Kodinos J. Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos: Traité des Offices*. Paris, 1966
- REB *Revue des Études Byzantines*
- Regel and Novosadskii, *Fontes Rerum Byzantinarum. Rhetorum saeculi XII orationes politicae*. St. Petersburg, 1892–1917, repr. Leipzig, 1982
- Rhalles-Potles G. Rhalles and M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, 6 vols. Athens, 1852–59, repr. Athens, 1992
- SK *Seminarium Kondakovianum*
- Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae* CCXVII. Florence, 1898
- Theodore II, *Encomio* L. Tartaglia, *Teodoro II Duca Lascari. Encomio dell'imperatore Giovanni Duca*. Naples, 1990
- TM *Travaux et Mémoires*
- Vatopedi *Actes de Vatopédi*, I, ed. J. Bompaire, J. Lefort, V. Kravari and C. Giros. *Archives de l' Athos* 21. Paris, 2001
- VV *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*
- Walz, *Rhetores Graeci* C. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*. 9 vols. Stuttgart, 1832–36
- Xeropotamou *Actes de Xéropotamou*. ed. J. Bompaire. *Archives de l' Athos* 3. Paris, 1964
- Zepos, JGR P. and I. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, 8 vols. Athens, 1931, repr. Aalen, 1962
- Zographou *Actes de Zographou*, ed. V. Regel, K. Kurtz and B. Korablev. St. Petersburg, 1907, repr. Amsterdam, 1969
- ZRVI *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*



Map 1. The Balkans and Anatolia, c. 1214



Map 3. Byzantium, c. 1330