

Patriarchal Chronicles of the Sixteenth Century

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DOCUMENTS OF ANY SORT for the history of the Greek patriarchate of Constantinople in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are sadly lacking.¹ No Ottoman or patriarchal documents dealing with the early years of the so-called Great Church under the Ottoman sultans have survived. Yet this transitional period is crucial for the proper understanding of the history of the Patriarchate and of the Greek *millet* in general under the Ottoman sultans. This lack of documents can be attributed to several factors, the most significant of which seem to be the occasional fires at the Patriarchate, individual acts of destruction, and frequent displacements of the patriarchal church in this era. It is clear, however, that the need for documents was already felt by the patriarchs of the early sixteenth century,² who had no means, no written evidence from the days of the conquest, to prove to reigning sultans that Mehmed II Fatih (1451–1481) had endowed the Great Church with a number of privileges.³

¹ For the early history of the Patriarchate of Constantinople see, among others, S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge 1968) 165–86; V. Laurent, “Les Chrétiens sous les sultans,” *EchO* 28 (1929) 398–404; G. Georgiades Arnakis, “The Greek Church of Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire,” *Journal of Modern History* 24 (1952) 235–50; T. Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination* (Brussels 1952); and M. Gedeon, *Πατριαρχικοί Πίνακες* (Constantinople 1890) and *Χρονικά τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ Οἴκου καὶ Ναοῦ* (Constantinople 1894).

² The need is aptly demonstrated by an incident *ca* 1520, when Sultan Selim I Yavuz attempted to convert most of the churches of Constantinople that were still in Greek hands. Patriarch Theoleptus I argued that these churches had been granted to the Greeks by the Conqueror; Theoleptus could not substantiate his claim, however, because, he maintained, the original document had perished in a fire at the Patriarchate. For this incident see M. Philippides, “An ‘Unknown’ Source for Book III of the *Chronicon Maius* by Pseudo-Sphrantzes,” *Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines* (forthcoming); Runciman (*supra* n.1) 189–91, and *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* (Cambridge 1969) 199–204; and J. H. Mordtmann, “Die Kapitulation von Konstantinopel im Jahre 1453,” *BZ* 21 (1901) 129–44.

³ Mehmed II Fatih annexed formally only the church of Saint Sophia, while that of the Holy Apostles was assigned to Gennadius II as the Patriarchate. During his reign as patriarch, Gennadius saw twelve more churches converted. The Holy Apostles was then demolished (together with the church of Lips) and the Greek architect of the Conqueror, Christodoulos (also known as the freedman Sinan), built on the site the

Although we do hear of the existence of some documents, in the form of *berat* or *firman*, in the few Greek chronicles of the sixteenth century, the oldest complete *berat* that we possess is not, strictly speaking, patriarchal, as it deals with Leontius, the metropolitan of Larissa; it was issued in the reign of Sultan Ahmed I (February 1604); this document survives only in its Greek vernacular version and not in its official Ottoman form.⁴ The oldest patriarchal *berat* in existence was issued to Patriarch Dionysius III and dates to 1662, more than two centuries after the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks.⁵

Relations between patriarchs and sultans, unless such documentation becomes available, can only be known in general terms. Scholars have tended to assume that the oldest existing *berats* reproduce, more or less, the tone and material of earlier *berats* that have not survived. Before such documents become elaborate in their terminology and assume an overly rhetorical nature, they show a tendency toward being most formulaic; perhaps it may be assumed that there were some duplications,⁶ especially since *berats* seem to have been issued to individual patriarchs, who succeeded one another with remarkable frequency. From 1623 to 1700, for instance, there were no fewer than fifty changes in the patriarchal throne.⁷

What then do we actually know about the transitional period from Byzantine Constantinople to Ottoman Istanbul in connection with the Patriarchate? From the documentary point of view very little can be harvested, as no actual *berats* or *firmans* have come down to us, even though we do hear of their existence. Whether such early documents actually existed is even doubted, as it is not inconceivable that patri-

mosque of the Conqueror. Pammakaristos was the second church of the Patriarchate, but it too was taken over and turned into the mosque of victory in 1573. The Patriarchate was finally located in the rebuilt church of Saint George in the Phanar district.

⁴ *berat* is an Arabic word in origin, designating an honor, a diploma, or a privilege (*barat*). For the document about Leontius see M. Gedeon, Ἐπίσημα Γράμματα Τουρκικὰ Ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὰ Ἐκκλησιαστικὰ Ἡμῶν Δίκαια (Constantinople 1910) 87–97.

⁵ Gedeon (*supra* n.4) 9–14. Before this period an important document, showing how Ottoman officials dealt with ecclesiastical privileges, was drawn up, and it survives; known as the Decree of Sinan Pasha, it dates from *ca* 1430 and outlines the privileges of the population of Ioannina in the *sancak* of Albania. Text in F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi* III (Vienna 1865) 282–83 (= P. Aravantinos, *Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἠπείρου* II [Athens 1856] 315, and C. Amantos, “Οἱ Προνομακοὶ Ὅρισμοὶ τοῦ Μουσουλμανισμοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν,” *Hellenika* 9 [1936] 119). Cf. A. E. Vacalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation: The Byzantine Period, 1204–1461* (New Brunswick 1970) 148–49.

⁶ Arnakis (*supra* n.1) 242–45.

⁷ K. Paparhegopoulos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους* II (Athens 1932) 75.

archs in need of documentation may have simply argued for the existence of such documents in order to retain the privileges of the Patriarchate, which were often questioned by the successors of Mehmed II.⁸ The first patriarch under the Ottoman sultans was George Kourtetsis Scholarius, who took the name Gennadius II on his elevation.⁹ There had been no patriarch in Constantinople in the days before the siege of 1453. The last Byzantine patriarch had been the unionist Gregory III Mamas (1443–1450), who departed in 1451, and no successor was appointed.¹⁰ After the fall of the Byzantine capital, Sultan Mehmed II Fatih appointed, with the approval of the surviving bishops, Gennadius II to be the head of the Greek *millet*, on 6 January 1454.¹¹ His elevation to the patriarchal throne, with the accompanying ceremonies, has been described in detail in the *Chronicon Maius* which used to be attributed to the pen of George Sphrantzes (1401–1477), the *protovestiarior* of Constantine XI Palaeologus-Dragnis, the last Greek emperor of Constantinople.¹² As long as the authenticity of the *Maius* was not questioned, the information supplied in the text was considered to be historical fact. It has gradually been proved, however, that the *Maius* is a late composition, authored by the well-known forger Makarios Melissenos-Melissourgos in Italy ca 1580.¹³ In Sphrantzes' authentic work, the *Chronicon Minus*, Gennadius II is never mentioned, perhaps because this individual was a confirmed anti-unionist and was not welcome at the Byzantine court

⁸ Philippides (*supra* n.2). Also cf. Papadopoulos (*supra* n.1) 1–158, who assumes that such documents existed; in favor of this view, it should be noted that Manuel Malaxos was familiar with the term *berat*, which he reproduces in Greek as *μπαράτιον* (cf. M. Crusius, *Turco-Graecia* [Basel 1584] 178).

⁹ See, among others, C. J. G. Turner, "The Career of Gennadius Scholarius," *Byzantion* 39 (1969) 420–55; A. Decei, "Patrik II. Gennadios Skolarios'un Fatih Sultan Mehmet için yazdigi ortodoks i'tika-namesinin türkce metni," *Fatih ve Istanbul* 1 (1953) 53–61; A. Papadakis, "Gennadios II and Mehmet II the Conqueror," *Byzantion* 42 (1972) 88–106; A. Comnenus-Hypsilantes, *Tὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλωσιν 1453–1789* (Constantinople 1870); and F. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time* (Princeton 1978) 105, 410–11.

¹⁰ On Gregory III see Gennadius of Heliopolis, "Was There a Patriarch Athanasius Shortly Before the Fall?" *Orthodoxia* 18 (1943) 117–23.

¹¹ For the date cf. A. N. Diamantopoulos, "Ὁ Γεννάδιος Σχολάριος ὡς Ἱστορικὴ Πηγή," *Hellenika* 9 (1936) 295–301.

¹² On Sphrantzes and on Pseudo-Sphrantzes (Makarios Melissenos-Melissourgos) cf. M. Philippides, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire: A Chronicle by George Sphrantzes, 1401–1477* (Amherst 1980); "The Fall of Constantinople: Bishop Leonard and the Greek Accounts," *GRBS* 22 (1981) 287–300; "Σύγχρονες Ἐρευνες στὰ Κείμενα τοῦ Σφραντζῆ," *Παρνασσός* 25 (1983) 94–99 (= *Τιμητικός Τόμος εἰς Μνήμην Γ. Θ. Ζώρα, edd. G. K. Pournaropoulos and P. D. Mastrodemetres*). Also cf. Philippides (*supra* n.2).

¹³ On the family of the Melissourgoi, who attempted to identify themselves with the Melissenoi, cf. I. K. Khasiotis, *Μακάριος, Θεόδωρος καὶ Νικηφόρος οἱ Μελισσηνοὶ (Μελισσουργοὶ)* (Thessalonica 1966).

in the last years of Constantinople's independent existence. The source of Melissenos-Melissourgos on the enthronement of Genadius II has now been shown to be the work ascribed to Manuel Malaxos, who completed a *Historia Patriarchica* sometime after the middle of the sixteenth century.¹⁴ In fact, the work ascribed to Manuel Malaxos supplies most of our information about the history of the early patriarchs under the Ottoman sultans.

Manuel Malaxos was a member of the immediate circle of the patriarch.¹⁵ His sources have not been identified so far, but his importance as an early historian of the Patriarchate becomes obvious in the absence of other documentary evidence and in view of the fact that his work was influential on western historiography concerning ecclesiastical affairs of the east. Martinus Crusius (Martin Kraus), Professor of Greek at Tübingen from *ca* 1555, was one of the very few individuals in the west to display a lively interest in contemporary Greece under the sultans. Through the offices of Stephen Gerlach, a Lutheran chaplain in Constantinople, Crusius began a regular correspondence with officials at the Patriarchate and also was involved in an ill-fated attempt to bring the Lutherans and the Orthodox Church closer together.¹⁶ Crusius' lasting achievement, however, was the result of his correspondence, as he published two monumental books, the *Germanograecia* and the famous *Turco-Graecia*, the two main sources in the west for the history of late Constantinople and for the Greeks under the sultans in this era.¹⁷

Especially fruitful was Crusius' association with Theodosius Zygomalas,¹⁸ the *protonotarios* of the Patriarchate, who supplied most of the

¹⁴ Philippides (*supra* n.2).

¹⁵ On Manuel Malaxos see G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I (Berlin 1958) 414–15; C. A. Papadopoulos, "Περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Χρονογραφίας τοῦ 15' Αἰῶνος," *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 9 (1912) 410–54; F. H. Marshall, "The Chronicle of Manuel Malaxos," *ByzJ* 16 (1922) 137–90. We have very few facts about the career of Manuel Malaxos. Crusius was told that he had been a pupil of Matthew Kamariotes, one of the last Byzantine scholars. He seems to have been the head of a small school in Constantinople.

¹⁶ Stephen Gerlach kept a diary of his stay at Constantinople, which was published long after his death: *Stefan Gerlachs des Aelteren Tagebuch* (Frankfort am Main 1674). On Gerlach *cf.* E. Benz, *Die Ostkirche im Licht der protestantischen Geschichtschreibung* (Freiburg 1952) 24–29. On the attempt of the Protestants and the Orthodox Church to come to an understanding through the efforts of Gerlach and Crusius, *cf.* Runciman (*supra* n.1) 246–58.

¹⁷ *Turco-Graecia libri octo* (Basel 1584) and *Germanograecia* (Basel 1585). For the negative reaction of a Greek scholar from Byzantium to the appearance of the *Turco-Graecia*, see G. Fedalto, "Ancora su Massimo Margounios," *BollIstStorVenez* 5/6 (1964) 209–13.

¹⁸ Zygomalas on occasion acted as interpreter for Patriarch Jeremias II during visits by westerners. It was in fact Zygomalas who introduced Gerlach to the patriarch. Zyo-

material published in the *Turco-Graecia*. It was Zygomalas who brought to the attention of Crusius the *Historia Patriarchica* of Manuel Malaxos. In fact, before Malaxos' material was sent to Crusius, it was copied and corrected by Zygomalas himself. The work was sent in 1581, and in 1584 it appeared, with a Latin translation, in the *Turco-Graecia*.

The *Historia Patriarchica* has proved to be a treasure of information for the history of the patriarchs after the fall of Constantinople; given the lack of other documentation, it has been by necessity our basic source for this period, not only for the history of the Patriarchate but also for that of Ottoman Greece. Thus, it is because of Manuel Malaxos, through Crusius, that the western world knew the details of Gennadius II's elevation and of his immediate successors. There are persistent rumors in our sources, however, to suggest that Manuel Malaxos was not the actual author of the *Historia Patriarchica*; Stephen Gerlach believed that Manuel Malaxos was only the copyist of the manuscript that was sent to Crusius and not its author.¹⁹ Moreover, Manuel Malaxos states in the text that he simply μεταγλώτισσεν εἰς κοινὴν φράσιν, which implies that he merely changed the linguistic form of another, already existing source.²⁰

What then was this source, or original work, that has proved so influential for our views on the early Patriarchate? Damascenus the

malas' erudition has been praised by scholars. He proved to be the chief informant of Crusius while the latter was gathering the material for the *Turco-Graecia*. A typical example of their association can be seen in their correspondence. There was a tale in existence in the sixteenth century that Constantine XI Palaeologus-Dragasis had put to death his wife and children before the fall of Constantinople to the Turks. Crusius had heard of this story and asked Zygomalas to investigate. Zygomalas answered as follows: φέρεται δὲ λόγος ὅτι ὁ πρότερον μεταδούς [sc. Constantine XI] τῶν θεῶν μυστηρίων τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ, τῇ βασιλίᾳ καὶ πολλοῖς συγγενέσι καὶ οἰκείοις ἅπαντας ἀποκεφαλίσθησαν προσέταξε τοῦ μὴ αἰχμαλωσίας τυχεῖν. βασιλίᾳ ὄνομα ὑστάτης οὐκ οἶδα. ἠρώτησα γὰρ πολλοῖς, καὶ οὐδεὶς μοι εἶχε λέγειν ἀληθείας ῥήματα ἢ γραφὴν δεῖξαι (*Turco-Graecia* 96). In fact the last emperor of Byzantium had no children or wife in 1453. Perhaps the ultimate source for this legend is the verse chronicle on the Ottoman sultans by Hierax, entitled *Χρονικόν* (K. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi* I [Venice 1872]). Nevertheless, Crusius was convinced of the existence of the empress and even composed Greek epigrams to the last imperial couple (*Turco-Graecia* 57). Investigation of this legend in G. T. Zoras, "Αἱ Τελευταῖαι Στιγμαὶ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Παλαιολόγου καὶ τοῦ Μωάμεθ τοῦ Κατακτητοῦ," *Ἑλληνικὴ Δημιουργία* 8 (1951) 202-10 (= *Περὶ τὴν Ἄλωσιν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* [Athens 1959] 125-33).

¹⁹ Crusius (*supra* n.8) 90 and Gerlach (*supra* n.16) 448.

²⁰ The *Historia Patriarchica* attributed to Manuel Malaxos was published again in the Bonn corpus (ed. I. Bekker, 1849). Sometimes scholars confuse Manuel Malaxos with his relative Nikolaos Malaxos, who compiled the Greek version of *Nomocanon*; cf. e.g. M. Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientaliorum ab Ecclesia Catholica Dissentium* I (Paris 1926) 496.

Studite has been neglected by modern scholarship. He was from Thessalonica, served as the metropolitan of Naupactus and Arta, and lived in this period.²¹ He composed a *History of the Patriarchs of Constantinople* from the time of Constantine the Great to ca 1570. He completed his work about 1572. From the evidence that is presented below it becomes clear that our ultimate source for the history of the Patriarchate is this work by Damascenus; his text was copied, elaborated slightly, and in some cases even supplemented by Manuel Malaxos and Theodosius Zygomalas; in this corrected form it was sent to Crusius and eventually appeared in the *Turco-Graecia*. By extension, Damascenus' *History* is also the ultimate source for the last sections of Book III of the *Chronicon Maius* by Pseudo-Sphrantzes (*i.e.* Melissenos-Melissourgos), which are concerned with the elevation of Gennadius II and with early days of the Great Church under Mehmed II Fatih.

Malaxos has followed Damascenus' text very closely, both in its lexical items and in the sentence structure; Pseudo-Sphrantzes, on the other hand, has allowed himself greater freedom and has changed both the linguistic items, giving them an archaic flavor, and the sentence structure, avoiding the simple paratactic style of both Damascenus and Malaxos. As to information, what is presented in the three texts is identical, with one innovation. Damascenus, the ultimate source, states that the patriarch and his retinue discovered a murdered man within the courtyard of the Church of the Holy Apostles (*μέσα εἰς τὴν αὐλήν*); Malaxos has omitted the reference to the courtyard; it appears, however, in a slightly different form, *ἐν τῷ τοῦ ναοῦ περιουλείῳ*, in Pseudo-Sphrantzes. Moreover, all three texts include the same Turkish word in their conclusions, *sürgün*. The linguistic dependence of Malaxos and Pseudo-Sphrantzes on Damascenus can be illustrated by the following passages:²²

DAMASCENUS: ἔδωκε δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν περίφημον ναὸν τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων καὶ ἔκαμεν αὐτὸν πατριαρχεῖον· καὶ ἐκεῖ ὁποῦ ἐκαθέζετον ὁ

²¹ There is no entry for Damascenus in Moravcsik (*supra* n.15). Runciman (*supra* n.1) 209–10 knows of him but erroneously calls his book an unpublished history of Constantinople.

²² The extract from Damascenus' work was first copied and published by Sathas (*supra* n.18) III (Venice 1872) ιβ', who also saw the dependence of Manuel Malaxos on Damascenus; no conclusions were drawn by Sathas, who thus failed to see the implications of Damascenus' work for the history of the Patriarchate in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Manuel Malaxos' text can be found in Crusius (*supra* n.8) 106 and in Migne, *PG* 160.316. The text of Pseudo-Sphrantzes is published in V. Grecu, *Georgios Sphrantzes, Memorii 1401–1477. In annexă Pseudo-Sphrantzes: Macarie Melissenos Cronica, 1258–1481* III (*Scriptores Byzantini* V [Bucharest 1966]) 13.

πατριάρχης, μία νύκτα εὔρεθη ἕνας σφαμένος μέσα εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ πατριαρχείου· ὡς εἶδεν ὁ πατριάρχης καὶ ἡ συνοδεία αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον σφαγμένον, ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν, ἵνα μὴ σφάξουν καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ· διότι ὅλος ἐκεῖνος ὁ τόπος τὸ γῦρον τοῦ πατριαρχείου ἦτον ἔρημος, ἔσοντας ὁποῦ τελείως ἄνθρωποι δὲν ἐκατοίκουν εἰς τὴν γειτονίαν ἐκείνην, ὅτι ἐσφάγησαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. ὁμως ἐν τῷ ἅμα ὁ πατριάρχης εὐγῆκεν ἀπ' ἐκεῖ καὶ ἀφήκε τὸν ναὸν ἐκείνον σφαλισμένον καὶ ὑπήγε εἰς τὸν σουλτάνον καὶ ἀνέφερε τὰ γενόμενα· καὶ ἐζήτησεν αὐτοῦ νὰ τοῦ δώσῃ τὴν μονὴν τῆς Παμμακαρίστου νὰ τὴν ἐκάμῃ πατριαρχεῖον. καὶ ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ σουλτάνος τοῦτο, τῆς ὥρας ἔδωκε αὐτοῦ ὄρισμόν, καὶ ἔλαβε αὐτὸν τὸν ναόν, καὶ πατριαρχεῖον τὸν ἔκαμεν . . . καὶ τοῦτος ὁ ναὸς τῆς Παμμακαρίστου ἦτον ὅλος ἔξωθεν τὸ γῦρον κάτοικος, ἀνθρώπους τὰ ὀσπίτια γεμάτη ὅλη ἡ γειτονία καὶ ἐπάνω καὶ κάτω, διότι ἤφεραν σεργούνιδες²³ ἀπὸ ἄλλα κάστρα καὶ τοὺς ἐκατοίκησαν ἐκεῖ . . .

MANUEL MALAXOS: ἔδωκε του δὲ καὶ τὸν περίφημον ναὸν τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων καὶ ἔκαμε πατριαρχεῖον· καὶ ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐκαθέζετον ὁ πατριάρχης, μιᾶ νύκτα εὔρεθη ἕνας ἄνθρωπος σφαμένος. καὶ ἐφοβήθη φόβον μέγαν, ἵνα μὴ σφάξουν αὐτὸν ἢ ἀπὸ τὴν συνοδείαν αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ, διότι ὅλος ὁ τόπος γύρωθεν τοῦ πατριαρχείου ἦτον ἔρημος· ἔσοντας, ὁποῦ ἄνθρωποι δὲν ἐκατοίκουν ἐκεῖ, ὅτι ἐσφάγησαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. ὁμως ἐν τῷ ἅμα ὁ πατριάρχης εὐγῆκεν ἀπ' ἐκεῖ καὶ ἀφήκε τὸν ναὸν σφαλισμένον καὶ ὑπήγεν εἰς τὸν σουλτάνον καὶ ἀνήφερε τὰ γενόμενα καὶ ἐζήτησεν αὐτοῦ νὰ τοῦ δώσῃ τὴν μονὴν τῆς Παμμακαρίστου νὰ τὴν ἐκάμῃ πατριαρχεῖον. καὶ ὁ σουλτάνος ὡς ἤκουσε τοῦτο, τῆς ὥρας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῦ ὄρισμόν καὶ ἔλαβε τὸν ναὸν τῆς Παμμακαρίστου τῆς ὑπεράγνου Θεοτόκου καὶ ἔκαμεν αὐτὸν πατριαρχεῖον . . . καὶ τοῦτος ὁ ναὸς τῆς Παμμακαρίστου ἦτον ὅλος ἔξωθεν τὸ γῦρον κάτοικος, ἀνθρώπους τὰ ὀσπίτια γεμάτη ὅλη ἡ γειτονία καὶ ἐπάνω καὶ κάτω, διότι ἤφεραν σεργούνιδες ἀπὸ ἄλλα κάστρη καὶ τοὺς ἐκατοίκησαν ἐκεῖ . . .

PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES (Melissenos-Melissourgos): καὶ οὕτως ἄχρι τοῦ σεπτοῦ Ἀποστολείου συνώδευσαν αὐτόν . . . αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ ἀποστόλων τέμενος δέδωκεν ὁ ἀμηνῶς εἰς πατριαρχεῖον. ποιήσας ὁ πατριάρχης ἐν τῷ σεπτῷ Ἀποστολείῳ καιρὸν ὀλίγον, ἔπειτα θεωρῶν ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς πόλεως οὐδεὶς ταλαίπωρος Χριστιανὸς ἐναπέμεινε, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ τι ἐναντίον συμβῆ αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν, διότι ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν εὔρεθη τις Ἀγαρηνὸς πεφονευμένος ἐν τῷ τοῦ ναοῦ περιουλειῷ,²⁴ καὶ διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ὁ πατριάρχης ἤτησε τὴν μονὴν

²³ The Turkish term is *sürgün*, which denotes persons who were forcibly brought to Constantinople from conquered territories. On the policy of deportation and forced resettlement in the Ottoman Empire see Ö. Barkan, "Les déportations comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation dans l'Empire Ottoman," *Revue de la Faculté des sciences économiques de l'Université d'Istanbul* 9 (1949/50) 67-131. In the three texts the closest phonetic approximation of this word appears in Pseudo-Sphrantzes.

²⁴ This word may perhaps prove that Melissenos worked directly from the text of Damascenus and not from Malaxos, as no courtyard is mentioned in Malaxos, while it appears in both Damascenus and in Pseudo-Sphrantzes.

τῆς Παμμακαρίστου. καὶ ἐδωρήθη αὐτῷ τοῦ εἶναι εἰς κατοίκησιν· ἐν ἐκείνους γὰρ τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐναπέμεινάν τινες ὀλίγοι Χριστιανοί . . . καὶ τινες Χριστιανοὶ συνήχθησαν. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ τινὰς ἀποίκους εἰσήνεγκε, κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν διάλεκτον λεγομένους σουργούνιδες . . . καὶ οὕτως τὴν πόλιν ἐκατώκησε . . .

Damascenus was a prolific writer; most of his work consists of homilies which are still used in the Orthodox Church.²⁵ Unfortunately his *History of the Patriarchs of Constantinople* has never been published and is still awaiting an editor.²⁶ It is to be hoped that this important work will be published in the future; the entire text will undoubtedly assist in our better understanding of the early days of the Patriarchate under the Ottoman sultans. The evidence presented here suggests that Damascenus' text is the original source of both Manuel Malaxos and Pseudo-Sphrantzes; the diagram given as *Figure 1* illustrates the relationship of the texts of the *Historia Patriarchica*.

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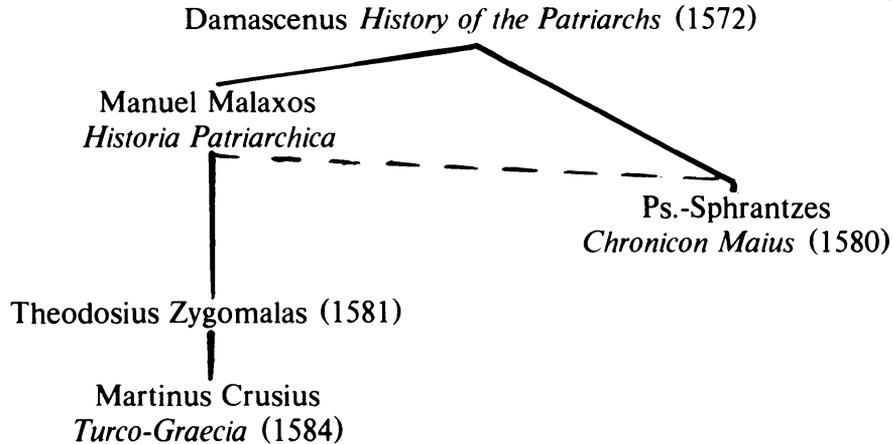


Figure 1

²⁵ Runciman (*supra* n.1) 210.

²⁶ The manuscript (569) is now housed in the Patriarchal Library; formerly it was in the Metoechia of the Holy Sepulchre of Constantinople.