

THE SERBS AND BYZANTIUM
DURING THE REIGN OF TSAR STEPHEN DUŠAN
(1331–1355) AND HIS SUCCESSORS



Stephen Dušan, fresco, Lesnovo monastery, 14th century

**THE SERBS AND BYZANTIUM
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George Christos Soulis

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FOREWORD

The present work originated as the doctoral dissertation of the late George C. Soulis, submitted at Harvard University for the doctoral degree in 1958. His death on June 18, 1966, found Soulis well into a fundamental rewriting of the manuscript. He had recast, expanded, and greatly enriched chapters one, three, and four, more than doubling the size of each with new materials. Though one must assume that he intended to revise other parts as well, we must be grateful for these additions and recastings, as they transformed the work from a dissertation into a mature scholarly product. Shortly after his death, his brother, Nicholas Soulis, and his mother consulted one of the present editors as to what should be done with his unpublished manuscripts, which included the materials for the present book. An inspection of the manuscripts revealed the existence of more than one version of the doctoral dissertation; the manuscript of the greatly revised chapters one, three, and four; copious bibliographical additions; and paginal notations addressed to himself with directions for further reworking. There were letters from Professors Bariša Krekić and Sima Ćirković offering comments and advice, which Soulis had requested from them. Thus, shortly after Soulis's death his brother took the manuscript material to Cambridge and deposited it in the Harvard University Archives, whence in December 1979 Professor Giles Constable, Director of Dumbarton Oaks, brought the manuscript material to Washington so that the editors could prepare the final version for publication.

The first step in its preparation was the collation of the various versions of the work Soulis had left behind. This portion of the task was undertaken by Speros Vryonis. As mentioned above, chapters one, three, and four of the original dissertation were replaced by completely revised chapters that are much richer than their originals; chapters two, five, six, seven, and the four appendices have undergone only slight modifications while he had added an additional appendix (the fifth). Once the final form of the work had been determined, the brunt of the work passed to Jelisaveta S. Allen, who undertook the task of integrating and editing the materials, with the full collaboration of Vryonis. At the same time she incorporated the numerous bibliographical notes that Soulis had penned into

the text and then compiled a scholarly bibliography of all newer materials that had appeared subsequent to Soulis's death. The bibliographical notes penned in by Soulis were integrated into the original bibliography or into the footnotes, whereas the newer bibliography is presented in a separate section, thus enabling scholars to determine quickly what Soulis had utilized, and what has not been incorporated into his research. Allen has further enriched the work by providing it with maps and relevant portions of genealogical charts, a must for anyone interested in following the complex story that Soulis tells. There was no attempt to update the text itself and this for understandable reasons. First, thirteen years had elapsed since his death when this editing was first undertaken, and the scholarship that has since appeared in print is considerable. Second, every effort was made to keep this book truly a work of George Soulis.

The subject he treats is fundamental in the history of declining Byzantium and of medieval Serbia. It is of no less importance to the history of the Ottoman Empire, as it furnishes one of the missing segments in the complex history of successful Ottoman expansion into the fourteenth-century Balkans. Finally, the contribution to the little-known history of the Albanians in the Middle Ages is particularly welcome.

The history that Soulis has written is extremely complex, demanding as it does a formidable array of linguistic and historical talents. George Soulis came admirably equipped to his task. His death, at the peak of his scholarly powers, has deprived us of his scholarly erudition. Giles Constable, Speros Vryonis, and Jelisaveta S. Allen were all personally connected with Soulis: The two former were with him in the graduate seminar on the Crusades at Harvard in the fall of 1951, the latter was his colleague in the vast reorganization that Soulis effected of the Dumbarton Oaks scholarly library. We hope that all those who came to know George Soulis--whether at the University of Athens, the Society of Fellows at Harvard, Dumbarton Oaks, the University of Indiana, or the University of California, Berkeley--will be pleased with the publication of his book on Dušan and Byzantium.

Particular thanks are due to Giles Constable, who put the resources of Dumbarton Oaks at the disposal of the editors and who encouraged the work at every step, and to Mary Lou Masey, who typed the manuscript and with unabating dedication pursued this work to its end.

Jelisaveta Stanojevich Allen, Dumbarton Oaks
Speros Vyronis, Jr., University of California,
Los Angeles; University of Athens;
Dumbarton Oaks

PREFACE

The fourteenth century is undoubtedly one of the most crucial periods in the history of southeastern Europe. The restored empire of the Palaeologi had nothing of the old Byzantine greatness. It was continually harassed by economic distress, civil wars, and social and religious upheaval, clearly manifested in such movements as those of the Zealots and the Hesychasts. The steady rise of Ottoman power had deprived Byzantium of all its Anatolian possessions and brought to its gates a formidable enemy. In continental Greece the Frankish domination in the fourteenth century was strengthened by the establishment of the Catalan Company in the duchy of Athens, and the principality of Achaia gradually lost ground to the Greek despotate of Morea.

Moreover, during this century the southward expansion of the Albanian tribes took place. Leaving their homelands, the Albanians moved in great masses southward into Epirus, Thessaly, Attica, and on into the Peloponnese and the Aegean islands. But by far the most important events of the century were the creation of the imposing Serbo-Byzantine empire of Stephen Dušan, an empire that included all the lands from Belgrade to Aetolia and from the Albanian coast to the territory east of the city of Serres in eastern Macedonia, almost two-thirds of the whole Balkan peninsula, and the establishment of the Ottoman Turks in European lands, where they were destined to stay as masters for over five hundred years.

Although the importance of the fourteenth century has been recognized, and although the great developments that it witnessed are obvious to every student of the later period of Byzantine history, there have been few efforts to study all the problems of this complicated period in the light of the source material now available. Exceptions are the work of Rubió y Lluch and, recently, of Professor K. N. Setton on the Catalans in Greece, the study of the despotate of the Morea by Professor D. A. Zakythinos, and Professor O. Halecki's book on the Byzantine emperor John V Palaeologus, which, however, deals chiefly with his Italian sojourn and his conversion to Roman Catholicism. The controversial figure of John Cantacuzenus, who dominates the Byzantine scene for a large part of the fourteenth century, still waits for a historian. The same may be said of the problem--

in many ways very puzzling--of the Albanian migration into Greece, and the establishment of the Ottoman Turks in Europe.

The history of Dušan's empire in particular has not yet attracted the attention it deserves. We do not yet possess a monography on Dušan that meets the standards of modern scholarship. Timofej Florinskij's Južnye Slavjane i Vizantija vo vtoroj četverti XIV veka (St. Petersburg, 1882) was undoubtedly a conscientious piece of work, based on the then available sources. The considerable amount of new source material published in recent years from the monasteries of Athos, Meteora, and other archives (by L. Petit, B. Korablev, W. Regel, N. Bees, D. Anastasijević, A. Solovjev, V. Mošin, P. Lemerle, and others), together with the fact that a large number of the documents attributed to Dušan and used extensively by Florinskij, have been proved false or shown to have belonged to an earlier period, render Florinskij's work unreliable on many points. The chapter on Dušan in C. Jireček's Geschichte der Serben (Gotha, 1911) is valuable, but it is short, it does not always indicate the sources, and it is lacking in details. Moreover, a great many of Jireček's views require revision after the considerable amount of recent research by A. Solovjev, V. Mošin, N. Lascaris, G. Ostrogorsky, P. Lemerle, and others, as well as the Istorija naroda Jugoslavije (Belgrade, 1953). Finally, V. Nikolić-Zemunski's Istorija cara Stefana Dušana (Belgrade, 1927) is not a work of scholarship and is of very little value to the historian.

My purpose has been to present the story of Dušan's relations with Byzantium, his conquest of the Byzantine lands in Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, and Albania, and to give a full and, I believe, adequately documented picture of Serbian rule of these territories.

I wish to thank very warmly Professor M. Dinić, of the University of Belgrade, Professor M. Lascaris of the University of Thessalonica, and my teachers, Professors R. Jakobson, A. B. Lord, and H. Lunt of Harvard University for assisting me in my research or supplying me with books that otherwise would have remained inaccessible. I recall with gratitude the advice and the encouragement I received from the late Professor R. P. Blake, my first teacher in Byzantine history, and also the first to guide my steps in the field of Byzantino-Serbian relations. I am also grateful to Professor G. Ostrogorsky of the University of

Belgrade, who as a visiting scholar at Dumbarton Oaks was kind enough to read the first draft of my thesis and make many valuable and instructive suggestions. But my chief indebtedness is to Professor R. O. Wolff, my adviser in the graduate school at Harvard University, who has patiently directed my research. It is my pleasant duty to express my appreciation of his stimulation and constant encouragement, as well as those of Father Francis Dvornik, Professors Peter Charanis, Gyula Moravcsik, Romilly Jenkins, Bariša Krekić, and Sima Ćirković.

Finally, I wish also to express my appreciation to the Department of History for granting me an Emerton Fellowship, to the Society of Fellows for honoring me with a Junior Fellowship, and to the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection for offering me the opportunity to bring my research to a completion.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AbhBayer, Hist.Cl. Abhandlungen der Hist. Classe der Königl.
Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften
- Acta Albaniae, I-II L. Thallóczy, C. Jireček, and E. Šufflay,
Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia,
I-II (Vienna, 1913-1918)
- Adamantiou, 'Εργασία A. Adamantiou, 'Εργασία ἐν Μετεώροις,
Πρακτικὰ τῆς 'Αρχ. 'Εταιρείας, 1909 (Athens, 1910), 211-73
- AFP Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum
- AIPHOC[S] Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire
[et Slaves], Université Libre de Bruxelles
- AnalBoll Analecta Bollandiana
- AnnInstKond Annales de l'Institut Kondakov
- AnnUkrAcad Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and
Sciences in the U.S.
- Aravantinos, Χρονογραφία P. Aravantinos, Χρονογραφία τῆς
'Ηπείρου, 2 v. (Athens, 1856)
- 'Αρχ.Βυζ.Μνημ. 'Ελλ. 'Αρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς
'Ελλάδος
- 'Αρχ.Δελτ. 'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
- 'Αρχ.'Εφ. 'Αρχαιολογικὴ 'Εφημερίς
- ArchStorItal Archivio storico italiano
- AS Abridged Syntagma
- ASPh Archiv für slavische Philologie
- AStNap Archivio storico per le Province Napoletane
- AUF Archiv für Urkundenforschung
- Babinger, Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft F. Babinger,
Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien
(Brünn, 1944)
- BACBelg Bulletin de l'Académie royale des Sciences, des
Lettres et Beaux Arts de Belgique
- Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur H.-G. Beck, Kirche und
theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich (Munich, 1959)
- Bees, "Geschichtliche Forschungsergebnisse" N. Bees, "Geschichtliche
Forschungsergebnisse und Mönchs- und Volkssagen über die
Gründer der Meteorenklöster," Byzantinisch-neugriechische
Jahrbücher, 3 (1922), 364-403
- Bees, Γράμματα Μετεώρου N. Bees, Σερβικὰ καὶ Βυζαντιὰ
γράμματα Μετεώρου, Βυζαντίς, 2 (1911-1912), 1-100

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τῶν Μετεώρων, Βυζαντίς, 1 (1909-1910), 191-331
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3 (1913), 209-15
- Binon, Origines légendaires S. Binon, Les origines légendaires
et l'histoire de Xéropotamou et de Saint-Paul de l'Athos
(Louvain, 1942)
- BNJbb Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher
- Bogdan, "Ein Beitrag" J. Bogdan, "Ein Beitrag zur bulgarischen
und serbischen Geschichtsschreibung," Archiv für slavische
Philologie, 13 (1890-1891)
- BSlav Byzantinoslavica
- BŭlgPreg Bŭlgarski Pregled
- Buonocore, de Widmann, "Nemagni-Paleologo-Ducas-Angelo-Comneno"
R. de Widmann Buonocore, "I Nemagni-Paleologo-Ducas-Angelo-
Comneno," Studi Bizantini, 2 (1927), 245-74
- ByzF Byzantinische Forschungen
- Βυζ.Μελ. Βυζαντινὰ Μελέτα
- BZ Byzantinische Zeitschrift
- Cantacuzenus Johannes Cantacuzenus, I (ed. L. Schopen, Bonn,
1828)
- ČasMusKrČes Časopis Musea Království Českého
- Chalcocondyles Laonicus Chalcocondyles, Historiarum
Demonstrationes (ed. Darkó, 2 v. in 3, Budapest, 1922-27)
- Charanis, "Βραχέα Χρονικά" P. Charanis, "Les Βραχέα Χρονικά
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legado de basilissa Mária y de los déspotas Thomas y Esaú de
Joannina, II (Barcelona, 1943), 35-54
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España: El legado de la basilissa Mária y de los déspotas
Thomas y Esaú de Joannina, I-II (Barcelona, 1943)
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(ed. Dj. Daničić, Zagreb, 1866)
- Δελτ.Χριστ.'Αρχ.'Ετ. Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς
'Εταιρείας
- Δελτ.'Ετ.'Ελλ. Δελτίον ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας
τῆς Ἑλλάδος
- DenkWiens Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien
- DHGE Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques
- Dinić, "Carska titula" M. Dinić, "Dušanova carska titula u
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cara Dušana, I (Belgrade, 1951), 87-118
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1932)
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welt (Speyer, 1953)
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Heiligen Berges (Munich, 1948)
- DOP Dumbarton Oaks Papers
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- Dujčev, Iz starata bŭlgarska knižnina I. Dujčev, Iz starata
bŭlgarska knižnina, II (Sofia, 1943)
- EHR English Historical Review
- EO Echos d'Orient. Revue d'histoire, de géographie et de
liturgie orientales
- Ἡπειρ.Χρονικά Ἡπειρωτικά Χρονικά
- Ἐπ.'Ετ.Βυζ.Σπ. Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
- EtBalk Etudes Balkaniques
- EtByz Etudes Byzantines
- Ferjančić, Despoti B. Ferjančić, Despoti u Vizantiji i
južnoslovenskim zemljama (Belgrade, 1960)

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- Glasnik Glasnik Srpskog Učenog Društva
- GlasSANCUJ Glas Srpske Akademije Nauka i Umetnosti
- GLSkND Glasnik Skopskog Naučnog Društva
- GLSPC Glasnik Srpske Pravoslavne Crkve
- GodFilFak Godišnjak Filozofskog Fakulteta, Belgrade
- GodSof Godišnik na Sofijskija Universitet. Istoriko filologičeski Fakultet
- Gorianov, "Hronograf XIVv." B. Gorianov, "Neizdannyyj anonimyj vizantijskij hronograf XIV v.," Vizantijskij Vremennik, n.s. 2 (1949), 276-94
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- HZ Historische Zeitschrift
- IRAİK Izvestija Russkago Arheologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole
- IstČas Istoriski Časopis

- IstGl Istoriski Glasnik
- IstPreg Istoričeski Pregled
- Ivanov, Bŭlgarski starini I. Ivanov, Bŭlgarski starini iz Makedonija (2nd ed., Sofia, 1931)
- IzvArhDr Izvestija na Bŭlgarskoto arheologičeskoto družestvo
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- Jireček, Staat und Gesellschaft C. Jireček, Staat und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Serbien (Vienna, 1912-1919)
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- JÖBG Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft
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- JugIstČas Jugoslovenski istoriski časopis
- Korablev, Actes slaves de Chilandar Actes de Chilandar (Actes

- de l'Athos, 5. Pt. 1. L. Petit, ed., Actes grecs (Supplement to VizVrem, 12, 1906). Pp. xxxiv-122. Pt. 2, B. Korablev, ed., Actes slaves (Supplement to VizVrem, 19, 1912 [1915]). Pp. 369-651
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OCP Orientalia Christiana Periodica

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- RESEE Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes
- RHD Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger
- RHE Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique
- RHSEE Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen
- RIEB Revue International des Études Balkaniques
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- SBWien, Phil.-hist.Cl. Sitzungsberichte der Phil.-hist. Classe
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- SemKond Seminarium Kondakovianum
- SKA Srpska Kraljska Akademija
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VoprIstSlav Voprosy Istorii Slavjan

VoprVseIst Voprosy Vseobščeĵ Istorii

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ZborFilFak Zbornik Filozofskog Fakultet

Zbornik Dušana Zbornik u čast šeste stogodišnjice Zakonika cara Dušana, I (Belgrade, 1951)

ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

ZgodČas Zgodovinski časopis

ŽMNP Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvešćenija

ZOG Zeitschrift für Östeuropäische Geschichte

ZRVI Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta

ZSav Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung

Chapter I

TSAR STEPHEN DUŠAN AND THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE 1331-1348

From its very beginning the expanding medieval Serbian state looked to the south. The lands controlled by declining Byzantium exercised an understandable attraction. After having secured internal stability, the Nemanjid dynasty made southward expansion a traditional policy and ultimately its primary goal.

Stephen Nemanja (ca. 1167-1196) himself, the founder of the dynasty, had increased considerably the lands of his state to the south and the east. His acquisitions included the city of Niš, where in 1189 his celebrated meeting with the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa took place.¹ But the first real drive for expansion into Byzantine lands occurred almost a century later under King Stephen Uroš II Milutin (1282-1321), whose reign witnessed unprecedented prosperity and growth of national strength. Milutin, a bold soldier himself and surrounded by a powerful nobility ambitious for territorial aggrandizement, was involved in wars with two Byzantine emperors, Michael VIII Palaeologus and his son Andronicus II. In 1282 he captured the city of Skoplje, which was never recovered by the Byzantines and in the following century became the capital of Stephen Dušan's empire. Milutin also acquired the territories of Polog, Poreč, Ovče Polje, Zletovo, and Pijanec, and his armies had raided the lands of Macedonia as far as the city of Serres and Mount Athos.² His son and successor, Stephen Uroš III (1321-1331), known as Dečanski, conducted a series of wars against the Byzantines and the Bulgarians and advanced further the borders of his state.³ Among his Byzantine conquests were Debrec (near Ohrid), Siderokastron (Železnec), and Prosek. This southward expansion of medieval Serbia climaxed during the reign of Serbia's greatest ruler, Stephen Dušan.⁴

Dušan, born about 1308, was a son of Stephen Uroš III Dečanski and his first wife Theodora. As a child he accompanied

his father into his seven-year exile in the imperial city of Constantinople, where he came into direct contact with Byzantium and its culture.⁵ At the sabor, or assembly, of 6 January 1322 he was crowned, at the side of his father, co-regent or junior king (mladi kralj, "rex iuvenis") by the Serbian archbishop Nikodim, and shortly thereafter he was entrusted with the governorship of the region of Zeta, in the area of present-day Montenegro. Among the several military campaigns led by Dečanski in which his son the coregent actively participated was the great Serbian victory over the Bulgarians at Velbužd (Küstendil) on 28 July 1330.

The increased power of the Serbian kingdom under Dečanski had driven former enemies, the Byzantine Emperor Andronicus III and his brother-in-law, the Bulgarian Tsar Michael III Šišman, into a close alliance against the Serbs. But before their allied armies could join forces, the Serbs had encountered the Bulgarians at Velbužd and inflicted upon them a total disaster. That was decisive for both the vanquished Bulgarians and the victorious Serbs, as well as for the subsequent course of Balkan history. For it was at the battle of Velbužd that the struggle for Macedonia was finally decided and the foundation laid for the Serbian hegemony in southeastern Europe that materialized during the ensuing decades. Serbia emerged from this battle the undisputed master of Macedonia and subsequently the most important power in the Balkans; Bulgaria was never to recover.⁶

The annihilation of the Bulgarian army and the death of Tsar Michael Šišman, fatally wounded on the battlefield, enabled the victorious Serbian king to restore his sister Anne-Néda and her son John Stephen to the throne of Trnovo. In 1326 Tsar Michael had repudiated his wife Anne-Néda, sister of Stephen Uroš III, and had married the Byzantine princess Theodora, widow of his predecessor, Theodore Svetoslav, and sister of Emperor Andronicus III. But the change in Bulgaria, which meanwhile lost to the Byzantines several frontier fortresses and the hotly contested Black Sea ports of Mesembria and Anchialus, did not abate. In the following year the boyars expelled the Tsarina Anne and her son and placed Michael Šišman's nephew, John Alexander (1331-1371), the son of Stracimir, on the throne.

The battle at Velbužd was followed by significant changes

in Serbia, too. The nobles rose against their king, Stephen Dečanski, and handed the throne to his son Stephen Dušan, who was crowned as the sovereign of the Serbian kingdom by Archbishop Danilo at the sabor, or assembly, at Surcina near Kosovo on 8 November 1331. The Serbian nobility, which from the times of King Milutin had exercised considerable influence in the Serbian court, seems to have attained an ever greater degree of influence under Dečanski, whose mild and peace-loving temper they despised.⁷ The contemporary Nicephorus Gregoras reports⁸ that the expulsion of the old king and the enthronement of his son was rather the result of a revolt of the discontented Serbian nobility. Dušan is portrayed as a mere instrument in the hands of his powerful magnates (μεγιστάνες, στρατηγοί, ταξίαρχοι), who brought before him his captive father and then threw the old man into prison. The Byzantine historian continues that although these were actions contrary to Dušan's wishes and indeed pained him, he nevertheless did not protest lest he suffer a similar fate. This account eloquently describes the relationship between Dušan and his nobles and the power they could exercise over him when he ascended the Serbian throne. One gathers a similar impression of the powerful position of the Serbian magnates from the description of the same events in the prosaic and rather conventional account of the anonymous continuator of Danilo.⁹

Although Dušan's ascent to the Serbian throne appears to have been the work of the nobility, some of the magnates remained discontented. Thus in Zeta, a region that had been under Dušan's direct authority, a revolt broke out in the spring of 1332, led by the vojvod Bogoje and the Albanian Demetrius Suma. The causes of this rebellion are difficult to ascertain, but one may not be far from the truth in assuming that the rebels might have felt insufficiently rewarded for their services in deposing the old king, Stephen Dečanski. Dušan moved swiftly and quickly suppressed the rebellion of the Zeta elders. He then turned his attention to Bulgaria, which had undergone the double change already mentioned. He managed to restore friendly relations by marrying the new Bulgarian ruler's sister, Helen, on Easter Day 1332. Meanwhile in the north he employed an adroit policy--militarily defensive but diplomatically aggressive--and averted a major conflict posed by the threat of the energetic king of Hungary, Louis the Great

(1342-1382), and the ever-increasing power of the Bosnian ruler. Thus, by securing internal peace and safeguarding himself from Bulgaria and Hungary, he acquired a free hand to operate in the south, where his powerful magnates had rightly noticed that conditions were propitious for military expansion. The realization of the expansionist drive of the Serbian nobility under Dušan, who became its chief exponent, was facilitated by the internal difficulties then facing Byzantium.

The quarrel between the old emperor, Andronicus II, and his grandson Andronicus III began a long succession of civil wars lasting from the spring of 1321 until 24 May 1328,¹⁰ when the young Andronicus entered Constantinople and established his authority with the help of his comrade in arms, John Cantacuzenus, who represented the powerful Byzantine aristocracy. The prolonged civil strife between the two Andronici rendered a severe blow to the empire: it was militarily weakened, financially drained, and administratively disorganized. Now a minor state, Byzantium was living more on reputation than on its actual strength and was caught between the pressure of the Ottoman Turks in the East and the Southern Slavs in the West. Asia Minor, once the backbone of Byzantine power, had been lost to the empire forever. By 1331, when Dušan ascended the Serbian throne, the Byzantines held in Asia Minor only a few isolated towns, including Nicomedia, Philadelphia, and Heraclea on the Black Sea; the rest of Asia Minor had fallen gradually into the hands of the Turkish conquerors. Because it had been divided among its leaders, a number of Turkish emirates and principalities emerged in the western regions.

Byzantium now depended entirely on its western provinces, which from the time of King Milutin were threatened constantly by the expansionist ambitions of the Serbian nobility. But during the troubled period of civil war and its aftermath (τρικυμία, σύγχυσις or άνωμαλία in the sources) these provinces were far from a reliable support.

The old thematic structure that for centuries had been the backbone of Byzantine administration and defense had completely collapsed with the Frankish conquest of 1204. In the restored empire of the Palaeologi the term thema survived, but it had lost its precise meaning and its original importance. Beside it one finds an ever-increasing number of other names without any hierarchical order, such as περιοχή,

χώρα, μέρος, ὄριον, πόλις, κάστρον, νῆσος, επίσκεψις, χαρτουλαῤῥτον, κατεπανίκιον; in Macedonia the last, however, apparently had more practical value, though variable importance.¹¹ The size and jurisdiction of these new administrative units were very unstable because of external pressures and internal strife. And similarly, their heads bore a variety of titles from duke, kephale, archon, and epitropos to Sebastokrator and despot. These did not follow any set hierarchical patterns or have the wide administrative and judicial authority that the strategos of the old times had. Concomitantly, the increasing importance of the supreme and the local chief justices¹² and of the imperial registrars,¹³ who had assumed a critical position because of the frequency with which lands could change hands during this troubled period, had reduced the authority of the governor.

All these administrative officers were appointed directly by the emperor himself,¹⁴ and they were all men of his full confidence: relatives or loyal party followers (οἰκειῶς τῆ βασιλείῃ, as it is stated in the contemporary documents). Instead of a regular system of civil service, this was a regime based on personal ties alone. The local government was thus the only tie between the province and the central government in Constantinople, but if this last slender link snapped, then the provinces would come under the control of the local landowners, who because of the internal strife of the empire grew more powerful than ever before.¹⁵

The process of feudalization, which was revived by the Palaeologi (whose ascension to the imperial throne signified a victory for the higher Byzantine nobility), had reached new heights in the fourteenth century. Both secular and ecclesiastical landowners enlarged their estates and procured for themselves increasingly extensive privileges. Thus, amidst the general distress the land magnates lived a favored life apart, more and more withdrawn from state control. And this withdrawal from state control meant a rapid decline in the state revenues, since the great landowners increasingly evaded their tax obligations and absorbed the property of the tax-paying peasant and the lesser gentry. The financial resources of the Byzantine Empire further suffered from the transformation of the pronoia system, which affected its military resources as well. Originally the pronoia estates,

granted to eminent Byzantines as a reward for their services, were held conditionally on lease and could not be inherited, but under the Palaeologi the pronoiars were increasingly permitted to transmit to their heirs the grant and its revenues, provided they did not alienate it and they accepted the obligation to render service, which was inherited with the property.¹⁶

At the time of Dušan's ascension to the throne, the Serbian border in the south ran from the Adriatic coast south of Alessio (Lješ) to the territory south of Velbužd, including the regions of Kičevo, Veles, Prosek, and Štip.¹⁷ Under the pretence of seeking revenge for the alliance that Byzantium had signed with the Bulgarians in 1330 against the Serbs,¹⁸ Dušan's forces invaded the Byzantine lands toward the end of 1331.¹⁹ Penetration into Macedonia was quick and easy, and there is no reason to think that the invading Serbian armies met any important resistance. Obviously for defensive purposes, Andronicus III had placed the invaded territory, as well as the rest of the western provinces, under one general governor (first, Guy de Lusignan was appointed general of the west στρατηγὸς τῆς Ἑσπερίας in 1328, but the following year he was replaced by Syrgiannes Philanthropenos, who remained κεφαλὴ τῶν κατὰ δύσιν κάστρων καὶ χωρῶν until 1332).²⁰ The actual unification of the Byzantine-controlled Macedonian lands, and any organized defensive action by the Byzantines, was beyond expectation. The recent advances of the Turks in Asia Minor and the hostile attitude of the Bulgarians toward the Byzantines after the battle of Velbužd²¹ kept both the Byzantine emperor and his Grand Domestic John Cantacuzenus fully occupied. Both the contemporary Byzantine historian Nicephorus Gregoras and the anonymous Serbian continuator of Danilo give the impression of quick and easy invasions of a defenseless territory.²²

Rather than defending the Byzantine territory, Grand Duke Syrgiannes,²³ who had first been appointed governor of Thrace and later put in charge of all the western provinces,²⁴ seems to have entered into secret negotiations with the Serbs. When he was brought to Constantinople and accused of high treason by Grand Papias Arsenius Tzamplakon,²⁵ he fled to the island of Euboea and subsequently made his way through the Greek mainland to Dušan's court in the latter part of

1333.²⁶ Syrgiannes apparently counted many supporters among the local rulers and magnates in Macedonia and among the unruly Albanian tribes, which had recently arrived in Thessaly.²⁷ No wonder, then, that Dušan and his nobles received this distinguished Byzantine deserter with pleasure and great honor. Syrgiannes soon concluded an agreement with Dušan and promised to "render subject to the Serbs the Roman land in Macedonia"²⁸ if they in turn would help him to seize the imperial throne.²⁹ The Byzantine deserter immediately began corresponding with his numerous friends who controlled Byzantine fortresses and cities in Macedonia and Thrace, and by promising them lands, money, offices, and other privileges, he succeeded in winning the support and cooperation of most of them.³⁰ Thus the way lay open for further Serbian conquests. Dušan himself led the campaign in the spring of 1334,³¹ accompanied by Syrgiannes and an army of Serbian and Albanian troops. Cities and fortresses, including Kastoria (Kostur), fell or surrendered one after the other, and the invaders finally made their appearance before the city of Thessalonica.³² The Byzantines had no hope of recovering the territory lost to the Turks in Asia Minor, and now the Serbs threatened to take away their European provinces. Unable to arrest the advance of the pretender Syrgiannes and his Serbian allies by military force, Emperor Andronicus resorted to guile. Sphranzes Palaeologus, a holder of the senatorial rank, had in 1334 been appointed³³ governor of the fortresses of Soskos, Dibre, Staridola, and Florina in western Macedonia,³⁴ but he soon feigned disobedience to the emperor, as had been planned in Constantinople before his departure, and got in touch with Syrgiannes. Unaware of the plot, Syrgiannes met with Sphranzes by the river Galykos near Thessalonica. There the despised and feared pretender was attacked and fatally wounded. When he died on 23 August 1334 in Dušan's camp, the Serbian ruler "greatly lamented him as a friend and ordered that he be buried in a way befitting a great man."³⁵

The death of Syrgiannes undoubtedly relieved the Byzantines. An end to the hostilities between Serbia and Byzantium followed, and immediately thereafter the two combatants sought a formal peace. Seeing their Macedonian lands rapidly slipping away, and hard pressed by the recent Turkish victories at Sermilium,³⁶ the Byzantines were eager for a quick settlement;

Dušan, too, welcomed a settlement, since his kingdom was threatened from the north by King Robert of Hungary.³⁷ Thus a meeting which took place near Thessalonica on 26 August 1334,³⁸ is described by the anonymous continuator of Danilo as having been very cordial. The two rulers kissed each other in the most friendly manner and exchanged gifts. Then they drew up a treaty that was more favorable to the Byzantines than might have been expected, a fact certainly due to the threat that Serbia was facing from the Hungarians in the north. According to the terms of the agreement, Dušan would retain from the land he had conquered only Ohrid, Prilep, Strumica,³⁹ Siderokastron (Železnec),⁴⁰ and Čemren.⁴¹ The rest of the fortresses and cities would be returned to the Byzantines.⁴² The two rulers also seem to have signed an alliance against the Hungarians, since it is clear from Cantacuzenus's account that after the treaty was concluded, Emperor Andronicus sent a military force against the Magyars (the army soon returned, however, as the Magyars had withdrawn from Serbian territory⁴³).

The main significance of this Serbo-Byzantine treaty is that Byzantium for the first time officially recognized Serbian rule over former Byzantine territory, conquered under the Serbian kings Milutin, Dečanski, and Dušan. Serbian rule over the conquered territory north of Ohrid, Prilep, and Veles had been previously recognized, but only indirectly in the form of dowry to King Milutin for his marriage in 1299 with the Byzantine princess Simonis.⁴⁴ As a result of the new treaty, the Serbs consolidated their position in Macedonia, controlling such strategic fortresses as Prilep, Strumica, and Siderokastron, which naturally opened the way for further southward expansion. The kingdom's center of gravity shifted to the newly conquered territories, and Dušan established his headquarters there in his new capital, the "famous city" of Prilep, which he had felt especially proud to acquire.⁴⁵

While the Serbs were consolidating their position in their newly conquered Macedonian lands, the Byzantine emperor was seeking to restore his authority in the Greek mainland. Thessaly had emerged in the fourteenth century as an independent territory free of Byzantine administrative control. It was ruled instead by a powerful feudal aristocracy, which had inherited many Western feudal characteristics.⁴⁶ The most powerful Thessalian magnate, the sebastokrator Stephen

Gabrielopoulos, who controlled northwestern Thessaly,⁴⁷ died in the late summer or autumn of 1333.⁴⁸ (Gabrielopoulos must have died at the earliest in July 1333 or at any rate in the late summer⁴⁹). The country fell into complete chaos, thereby presenting an opportunity for Byzantine intervention. Both the imperial governor of Thessalonica, Eparch John Monomachus, and the despot of Epirus, John Ducas Orsini, invaded Thessaly. Monomachus was soon joined by the emperor himself, and the Byzantine armies marched victoriously to Volos (Golos), Kastri, and Lykostomo⁵⁰ and in a matter of weeks restored to imperial authority the land up to the frontier of the Catalan duchy, for the first time since the fateful days of the Fourth Crusade. Even the unruly Albanian tribes, which had recently poured into Thessaly in great numbers, were subdued and compelled to recognize the authority of the emperor, and the despot of Epirus was forced to evacuate the western part of Thessaly that he had seized.

Upon his victorious return to Thessalonica, we are told, Emperor Andronicus received a Serbian embassy asking for a meeting between the basileus and the king.⁵¹ He agreed to meet at the Macedonian village of Vaimi (Βαῖμι), but having arrived there first, Andronicus proceeded with a guard of three hundred men and some of his magnates and met Dušan on Mount Radovište (Ραδοβόσδουον) in the latter's territory.⁵² After a seven-day sojourn as the king's personal guest, who had gladly received and "royally treated" him, the Byzantine emperor returned to his own lands. Nothing is said in our only source, the memoirs of John Cantacuzenus (who states that he was present at this meeting), of the purpose of the meeting and the nature or the subject of the negotiations. We can only guess. Judging from the eagerness of Andronicus to meet Dušan as soon as possible and from the puzzling silence of our Byzantine sources, it is safe to suppose that the Byzantine emperor had taken the initiative for this meeting, too, and that its purpose was most probably the securing of the king's assistance, or benevolent neutrality, for the forthcoming Byzantine campaign against Epirus and Albania. Following the annexation of Thessaly, bringing Epirus back into the fold of the empire became the emperor's first consideration. As a result of unending internal dissension and the conflicting claims on the country, the collapse of the last remnant of the once-powerful despotate

was now merely a matter of time. Indeed, the Byzantine campaign was crowned with success. Accompanied by Grand Domestic John Cantacuzenus, Emperor Andronicus marched in 1336 through Thessaly at the head of a strong army whose nucleus consisted mainly of Turkish troops from the emirate of Aydin. After crushing a revolt that had broken out in Albania, in 1337 he succeeded in subjugating the whole of Epirus--an area that had led an independent life since the Latin conquest of Constantinople.⁵³

If an agreement had been reached on Mount Radovište between the emperor and the king about the former's plans for a campaign against Epirus and Albania, as seems likely, it was not kept. Barely finished with subduing the rebellious tribes in southern Albania, Andronicus was about to move into the lands of the despotate of Epirus when Dušan invaded central Albania. The port of Durazzo seems to have fallen into Serbian hands by August 1336, and Dušan continued his drive south into the territory recently regained by the empire in southern Albania.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, we possess almost no information concerning the Serbian conquest of these Albanian territories. The Albanian resistance, if there was any, must have collapsed instantly, because neither the Venetians nor the Angevins, who controlled much of the coastal area, sent any help, although in a letter sent from Naples and dated 19 August 1336,⁵⁵ the Angevin king of Sicily, Robert, exhorted the Albanian nobility to break away from Dušan and promised to send to their assistance a strong army in the spring of the following year.⁵⁶

The southward expansion of Stephen Dušan entered a new phase with the death of Emperor Andronicus III on 15 June 1341.⁵⁷ The emperor had left as heir to the Byzantine throne his son John, only 9 years old.⁵⁸ According to the prevailing custom, John's mother, Anne of Savoy,⁵⁹ should have acted as regent, but the powerful grand domestic John Cantacuzenus, who had in reality governed the empire under Andronicus III, installed himself in the imperial palace and assumed the regency as tutor of the minor emperor. Cantacuzenus, however, was confronted with a strong opposition centered around the dowager empress Anne, the patriarch John Calekas,⁶⁰ and--its most active exponent--the wily and crafty Alexius Apocaucus.⁶¹

Cantacuzenus tried from the very beginning to cope with the grave and critical situation that the empire was facing as a result of internal court intrigues, financial chaos, and strong

pressure from external enemies. Turkish pirates were raiding Thrace and Macedonia. The Bulgarian tsar John Alexander had advanced to Sliven, on the southern border of his state, and demanded the delivery of his rival John Stephen Šišman II (1330-1331), who had sought refuge in Byzantium. Further west the Albanians were raiding Epirus and Thessaly. And the Serbs, having repudiated their peace treaty with the Byzantines, began a new invasion in Macedonia.

The Serbian army soon reached Thessalonica and bypassing it came to the village of the Cretans⁶² but then withdrew, carrying much booty and plunder.⁶³ Cantacuzenus, greatly disturbed by the new Serbian inroads, went to Didymoteichon and set about organizing an army with personal funds. There he received an embassy from the Frankish feudatories of the Achaia, who in their desire to cast off the suzerainty of the Florentine Acciajuoli, were willing to recognize the authority of the Byzantine basileus.⁶⁴ It looked for a moment as though the Byzantines would reestablish a firm hand in the Greek mainland and the Peloponnese. Cantacuzenus himself, while getting ready for the expedition, addressed his generals optimistically, saying: "Should we succeed with God's help in bringing the Latins living in the Peloponnese under the control of the empire, then the Catalans in Attica and Boeotia will necessarily acknowledge us, either voluntarily or by compulsion. Once this is accomplished, the power of the Romans will stretch from the Peloponnese to Byzantium, as it used to be, and it is obvious that it will not be difficult then to demand satisfaction from the Triballi [Serbs] and the other neighboring barbarians for the insults they have heaped upon us for so long."⁶⁵

If Cantacuzenus had ever entertained such hopes, they were not to be realized. Instead of expanding its authority and increasing its territory, Byzantium suffered another disastrous civil war far more bloody than that between the two Andronici, a war of far graver consequences--among them, further loss of territory and complete chaos in the European provinces of the empire. During Cantacuzenus's absence from the capital, the opposition found the opportunity to stage a coup d'état and declared him an enemy of the state. Those of his followers who did not succeed in escaping were arrested and imprisoned, and his vast property was mercilessly

pillaged and destroyed. The regency was handed over to the patriarch John Calecas, and Cantacuzenus's archenemy, Alexius Apocaucus, having received the title of grand duke, became the governor of Constantinople and its neighboring area. For a time, apparently the dowager empress Anne of Savoy was formally recognized as senior sovereign in Constantinople.⁶⁶ Cantacuzenus took up the challenge. Relying above all on the support of the feudal magnates of Thrace, as Andronicus III had done in his struggle against his grandfather, on 26 October 1341 he had himself proclaimed emperor at Didymoteichon, where he was crowned by the bishop. He was careful to have his name proclaimed after that of Empress Anne and her son, Emperor John V, as an indication that he was fighting not against the legitimate emperor but only against the usurpation of Alexius Apocaucus, who had quickly assumed dictatorial powers in Constantinople. The news of Cantacuzenus's proclamation gave the signal for the bitter civil war between Constantinople and the imperial pretender. The strife lasted over five years, draining the empire of its last vestiges of strength and allowing foreign powers to take a more prominent part than ever before in the internal quarrels of the Byzantines. Cantacuzenus's followers in the capital were now more vigorously persecuted, and Apocaucus himself led a campaign against Cantacuzenus in Thrace. Finding himself in a difficult and rather desperate situation, Cantacuzenus turned to the Turkish emir of Aydin, Omur beg,⁶⁷ for military assistance, and to the Serbian king Stephen Dušan for refuge and hospitality.

Cantacuzenus's personal acquaintance with Dušan dated back to the meeting between Emperor Andronicus III and the Serbian ruler at Mount Radovište in 1336, which Cantacuzenus had attended. There, we are told, "a devoted friendship" developed between the two men,⁶⁸ which later⁶⁹ facilitated the restoration of Serbo-Byzantine peace, shattered by Dušan's advance in Albania. These earlier contacts must have undoubtedly encouraged Cantacuzenus, condemned in Constantinople and pursued by the armies of Apocaucus, to appeal to Dušan for military assistance and the formation of an alliance. He also tried to win the support of the Bulgarian tsar, but the messengers carrying his letters were intercepted by guards of the party of Apocaucus.⁷⁰ But he seems to have finally concluded an agreement with Dušan, to which he makes a reference in connection

with later events.⁷¹ In his memoirs Cantacuzenus states that while in Thrace he had sent an embassy to the Serbian ruler and that a treaty was signed, according to which Dušan had promised not to harm any Byzantine cities. No other provisions are mentioned. The single term must be considered either an exaggeration of the truth or something mentioned out of context. There is no doubt that Cantacuzenus, hard pressed for allies, could not have demanded such conditions for an alliance with Dušan, who represented the strongest force in the Balkans at that time, without in return promising great things for Dušan.

Cantacuzenus was also unable to win any support from the local Byzantine governors in the western provinces, most of whom were almost completely independent. Among these was the powerful ruler of the region between Serres and Christopolis, Guy de Lusignan, later king of Armenia,⁷² who openly declared his hostility. The only exception was Protostrator Theodore Synadenus, the governor of Thessalonica and the surrounding area to the Strymon (Struma) river⁷³ and the Serbian magnate Stephen Hrelja. One of Dušan's most powerful military leaders, Hrelja had been a leading force in the Serbs' southward expansion, and he had participated in the civil war between the two Andronici in the 1320s, when he apparently established his friendship with Cantacuzenus. He later asserted his independence from Dušan⁷⁴ and established his authority in Strumica and the entire region along the Strymon river to the city of Chrysopolis on the Aegean coast. For a while Hrelja was courted by both Byzantine parties, but he probably felt that in siding with Cantacuzenus he would have a greater opportunity for increasing his lands at the expense of his pro-Constantinopolitan pronoiar neighbors.⁷⁵

Encouraged by the attitude of Synadenus and Hrelja, Cantacuzenus entrusted Didymoteichon to his wife, Irene, and her brother, Manuel Asen (Asanes)⁷⁶ and set out with an army of about two thousand men for Thessalonica on 2 March 1342⁷⁷ by way of Bera.⁷⁸ He soon arrived at Peritheorion,⁷⁹ which he besieged. He then tried to get in touch with Hrelja and Synadenus. Meanwhile, a last attempt for a peaceful settlement with Constantinople through the offices of Athonite monks failed. Cantacuzenus, unable to bring to submission the besieged city of Peritheorion, decided to continue his march westward along the littoral, passing by Polystylon⁸⁰ and the straits of

Christopolis.⁸¹ He finally pitched camp at Philippi.⁸² The position of Cantacuzenus was, however, somewhat complicated by Hrelja's attitude and the explosive social situation in Thessalonica.

Hrelja, who was apparently more interested in increasing his territorial possession than in joining an unprofitable military campaign, came to the rescue only when Cantacuzenus became master of the city of Melnik, where Hrelja, it seems, claimed some territory.⁸³ What exactly was negotiated between the two after the fall of Melnik is not known, but Cantacuzenus did not fail to notice what an important ally the Serbian magnate might be; Helja "was not only strong in weapons and cavalry and money, but he was also very well versed in matters of strategy, and as such, he knew quite well how to help his friend and harm his foe."⁸⁴

Meanwhile, the city of Thessalonica had become the battleground for bitter social convulsion since the weakening of central rule. In his armed struggle against Cantacuzenus, Alexius Apocaucus relied to a large extent on the support of the masses and stirred up the spirit of social hatred against his opponent's aristocratic supporters.⁸⁵ A series of insurrections against the local aristocracy had broken out in Adrianople and other Thracian cities, but the most violent class strife occurred in Thessalonica, where the popular anarchist party of the Zealots had assumed control of the city and had forced the governor Synadenus and the other pro-Cantacuzenus leaders to flee at the beginning of the summer of 1342.⁸⁶ The refugees met with Cantacuzenus, who had rushed to them, assisted by Hrelja's forces, near the fortress of Gynaecocastron, north of Thessalonica. But the appearance of Alexius Apocaucus and his forces in Thessalonica brought about serious dissension at Gynaecocastron, where apparently a rebellion resulted in the withdrawal of Cantacuzenus with some two thousand men to the Serbian frontier in the north. They eventually found refuge in the court of the Serbian king. Synadenus and his followers, who had meanwhile entered into secret negotiations with Apocaucus, returned now to Thessalonica.⁸⁷

Cantacuzenus's flight left the Macedonian territories that were ostensibly controlled by him and his followers open to reconquest by the forces of Alexius Apocaucus. Soon, however,

the Constantinopolitan forces moved against the Serbs who were besieging the city of Edessa (Voden) and forced them to withdraw. The advancing Byzantine forces were joined by Hrelja himself, whose change of allegiance must have been dictated by the new opportunity to increase his lands--this time at the expense of Cantacuzenus's followers--especially the fortress of Melnik held by Cantacuzenus's brother-in-law, John Asen (Asanes).⁸⁸

Meanwhile Cantacuzenus had fled to Prosek and was received by the local governor, Michael, a Byzantine deserter in the service of Dušan. Solovjev has suggested that the Michael in question might have been Michael Asen,⁸⁹ who had surrendered the city of Prosek to the Serbian king during the civil war of the 1320s.⁹⁰ From there Cantacuzenus proceeded to Veles, where he met with an acquaintance from the Mount Radovište meeting in 1336, a great Serbian magnate and military leader, Grand Vojevod John Oliver.⁹¹ In his eagerness to obtain the Serbian magnate's support, and having mediated in winning over Dušan's favor, Cantacuzenus proposed a marriage between his son Manuel and Oliver's daughter.⁹² Oliver, who could clearly see the advantage to the Serbian nobility from an involvement in the Byzantine civil war, persuaded Dušan to receive Cantacuzenus favorably, who now arrived via Skoplje at the Serbian king's court at Pauni (Тав) near Priština, most probably in July 1342.⁹³

The arrival of John Cantacuzenus in Serbia, seeking refuge and assistance in his struggle against his enemies in Byzantium, is an event of great significance in the development of Byzantino-Serbian relations during the reign of Stephen Dušan. Several powerful Byzantines, such as Syrgiannes, had fled to the Serbs in the past, but no previous episode could compare to the flight of Cantacuzenus. Here was an emperor of the Romans, whose office and title commanded the utmost respect of all peoples under the spell of Byzantine political theory within the Byzantine cultural orbit. Now a basileus himself for the first time appeared in the court of the Serbian king, and what is even more significant, he was begging the king's friendship and military assistance. Cantacuzenus's detailed description of his royal reception at the Serbian court is undoubtedly an exaggeration that should not be taken at face value. Under the circumstances Dušan could hardly have treated him as superior, and Gregoras's story, that the

two rulers treated each other as equals and that Cantacuzenus brought precious gifts to Dušan and his wife, seems closer to the truth.⁹⁴ Exaggerated also is Cantacuzenus's account of the course and the nature of the negotiations, and the texts of the exchanged speeches cannot be in their entirety authentic.⁹⁵ We can only lament the fact that Gregoras, who states that he was familiar with the speeches of both Dušan and Cantacuzenus, does not reproduce them.⁹⁶

It could hardly have been possible for Cantacuzenus, a helpless refugee begging for military assistance to retake Didymoteichon, to address Dušan, who had demanded all the Byzantine cities west of Christopolis--or at least west of Thessalonica--with the following threat: "Know well that I shall never deliver willingly the numerous and marvelous cities you demand, not even a single one, even the worst of them all, which I should not exchange even for my children's safety."⁹⁷

One thing, however, is clear: At the negotiations the Serbian nobility played an important role, and one can easily conclude that as a class they exercised great influence upon Dušan.⁹⁸ In supporting Cantacuzenus and pressing their wish upon the undecided king, the Serbian nobles could expect new lands in Macedonia once Cantacuzenus won the civil war, and a redistribution of the pronioia lands would follow, since most of them in Macedonia were held by loyalists.

The alliance that was finally concluded by Dušan and Cantacuzenus is characterized, not unexpectedly, by an effort on both sides to advance their ends.

The outcome of the negotiations was an alliance, the terms of which, according to Cantacuzenus, were the following:⁹⁹

1. The two rulers would remain allies and friends for life, and neither of the two would harm the other by the contrivance of any cunning devices.
2. The emperor would not claim any of the Byzantine cities of which Dušan had become master, either by receiving them from his father or by conquering them himself, during Andronicus's reign, nor would he wage war against them.
3. The emperor would have the remainder of the cities that were still under Greek authority, and the king would not take any of them by means of any device or contrivance, but he would become his ally in order to

force them to submit to Cantacuzenus. Any of these cities that were captured by arms or that surrendered by an agreement in the presence of the emperor would be kept by Cantacuzenus, and the Serbs would not harm them. In case the emperor should not be present and the king or one of his generals should by arms, agreement or bribery, become master of a city that belonged to the Byzantines, the city would belong to Cantacuzenus and would be given immediately to him upon demand.

4. Dušan would declare Empress Anne and her son, Emperor John Palaeologus, his enemies, and he would never make a treaty with them. Instead, he would injure them as much as he could be assisting Cantacuzenus in every way.
5. When Cantacuzenus became the sole ruler of the Byzantine Empire, he would be an ally of Dušan as much as possible and would declare war on and attack any aggressor against Serbia.

This treaty was finally ratified in the presence of the Serbian archbishop Joanikij and the royal entourage of the nobles only after Dušan's demand that the stronghold of Melnik be included among the cities under his control was satisfied. This special demand is undoubtedly linked with Hrelja, who was now persuaded to return to Dušan's service on the condition that he would become the master of the long-coveted Melnik. Melnik was surrendered to Hrelja by its governor John Asen at the order of his brother-in-law Cantacuzenus, who was eager to have the badly needed Serbian assistance provided by the alliance.¹⁰⁰ Both Dušan and Cantacuzenus must have been eager to satisfy Hrelja's demand and thus to deprive their opponents of such a powerful magnate and able soldier.

The terms of the treaty between the king and the rival emperor, as described in Cantacuzenus's memoirs, must be accepted with many reservations. The emperor's persistent attempt to convey the impression that he was received and treated at the court of the Serbian king as a superior, and that the Serbs agreed to supply him with military assistance simply because they valued his friendship more than "great sums of money or the possession of large cities,"¹⁰¹ certainly does not correspond to the truth. But unfortunately, no other account of

the terms has been preserved except for an indirect but illuminating reference in Gregoras. In discussing a later event, the capture of Berrhoia by Cantacuzenus in the spring of 1343¹⁰² Gregoras says that the two rulers had confirmed the terms of their agreement by an oath that "they should adhere to the inviolable terms of their alliance, allowing the subjects of the Byzantine cities to join whomever [of the two rulers] they wished."¹⁰³ He adds that one should not prevent the other from restoring to the chosen master a city surrendered by agreement or by siege. Gregoras echoes here more faithfully some of the terms of the agreement signed between Dušan and Cantacuzenus. His reference clearly renders unreliable, for example, Cantacuzenus's statement that Dušan would keep only the Byzantine cities the Serbs had occupied during the reign of his father, Dečanski, and during his own reign to 1341 (that is, to the end of the reign of Emperor Andronicus III), and that all the rest would go to Cantacuzenus whether he himself or his allies the Serbs had captured them. Furthermore, the fifteenth-century Byzantine historian Ducas makes a brief allusion to the alliance, and though he says nothing of the specific terms of the treaty, he adds, significantly, that many of the Byzantine fortresses and cities in Macedonia "instead of being given to Byzantine despots, were granted to barbarian lords, Triballi and Serbs."¹⁰⁴

Whatever the exact terms of the treaty, it is evident that it was a matter of great significance both for the energetic rival emperor, who needed assistance to return to his base at Didymoteichon and eventually to Constantinople, and for the ambitious king and his nobility, who sought to expand their lands in the south. John Cantacuzenus received the military assistance and was thus able to renew with vigor his struggle against Constantinople. For Dušan and the Serbian nobility the treaty opened a wide horizon for further acquisitions in the turbulent and anarchic Maceonian regions. In reality, Dušan's assistance to Cantacuzenus was nothing but a calculated plan to expand Serbian hegemony into Macedonia. That aim was clearly manifested soon thereafter, for when Cantacuzenus began his march westward to Serres and Didymoteichon, the Serbian armies rushed to the western parts of Macedonia and to Albania.

As soon as the treaty was signed, Dušan summoned twenty-four

of his most powerful generals. Only four were to stay with him; the rest were to follow Cantacuzenus, now preparing for his march to Didymoteichon where his wife, Irene, and her brother Manuel Asen were besieged by Apocaurus's forces.¹⁰⁵ Meanwhile, Cantacuzenus had sent a messenger, a certain Bratilos, to Didymoteichon to hearten the besieged by announcing his forthcoming march with his Serbian allies.¹⁰⁶ That march, however, ended in disaster. After a thirty-day sojourn at the Serbian court,¹⁰⁷ Cantacuzenus set out on his campaign in the summer of 1342, leaving behind his son Manuel as a hostage to the Serbs. He was followed by his Serbian allies (among whom were Oliver and Vratko). But when he reached Serres, he was unable to persuade the population to desert the loyalists and surrender to him, and his army was plagued by dysentery. He was finally forced to return to Serbia empty-handed.¹⁰⁸

Meanwhile, Dušan had invaded southwestern Macedonia and conquered the city of Edessa.¹⁰⁹ At the same time or very shortly thereafter, the Serbs became masters also of Florina (Hlerin) and Kastoria. They then turned their attention to Albania, the conquest of which they completed except for Durazzo, which remained in Angevin hands. Thus, by the summer of 1343 the Serbs had possession of the Albanian stronghold of Kroja and, further to the south, Berat, Kanina, and the neighboring port of Valona, the last three cities conquered by the "Sebastokrator of Serbia" kyr Nicephorus Isaakios, a Byzantine in Dušan's service.¹¹⁰

The sudden increase of the Serbian-dominated lands between 1342 and 1343 gave Dušan undisputed leadership in the Balkans and fostered in him ambitions and eventually imperial dreams never--before or after--entertained by any other Serbian ruler. His territory now extended from the Adriatic Sea in the west to the Strymon river in the east, including Kanina, Kastoria, Florina, Edessa, and the Strymon region, with Melnik controlled by Hrelja. The new gains are clearly illustrated in the titles that Dušan assumed and used in the documents issued by the Serbian chancery. In a decree of 28 March 1343, which confirmed a number of villages granted to the monastery of Chilandar by Rudl, a nobleman from Strumica, Dušan refers to himself as "king and autocrator of all the Serbian and maritime lands and čestnik (or чьстник) of the Greek lands."¹¹¹

The alliance between Cantacuzenus and Dušan had greatly disturbed Constantinople, which clearly saw that the rival emperor could become a more formidable enemy. It is not surprising, therefore, that Empress Anne and Alexius Apocaucus did everything within their power to break up the alliance. After Cantacuzenus's failure at Serres, they sent two successive embassies to Dušan, the first headed by a certain George Loukas and second by Macarius, bishop of Thessalonica, but neither had any success. Cantacuzenus tells us that they had promised to the Serbian king all the Byzantine cities and lands west of Christopolis in Macedonia, with the exception of Thessalonica, if Dušan would only surrender him alive to them, or decapitate him.¹¹² To attribute the failure of the Constantinopolitan embassies to Dušan's great friendship for Cantacuzenus, as the latter would like us to believe, sounds highly improbable. His mention, however, that the Serbian nobility stood by his side seems a more convincing explanation. They could see in the continuation of the civil war a more profitable course for their expansionist plans, and they could expect greater gains from Cantacuzenus, who once victorious would redistribute the pronouia lands in Macedonia, now controlled by loyalist governors and magnates.¹¹³ One should not also exclude the possibility that Cantacuzenus himself might have promised even greater concessions to the Serbs to thwart his opponents; but no such promises are mentioned in his memoirs, where he is always careful to portray himself as a patriotic emperor and his rivals as despicable traitors.

But Cantacuzenus's misfortune after his failure at Serres had a happy turn. An embassy from his loyal supporters, the Thessalian magnates, assured the champion of the Byzantine aristocracy and the protector of their interests and property of their allegiance to him as their emperor in his conflict with Constantinople. Cantacuzenus appointed his nephew John Angelus, a former governor of Epirus and an extremely able general, governor (κεφαλῆ) of the fortresses and the lands of Vlachia (Thessaly) for life. John Angelus, while acknowledging his uncle's suzerainty and guaranteeing considerable freedom of action to the various magnates and promising friendship and military assistance to Cantacuzenus, ruled semi-independently over Epirus with Acarnania and

Aetolia, as well as over Thessaly, and he was soon in a position to extend his already considerable domain at the expense of the Catalan possessions in Thessaly. So although Cantacuzenus had been expelled from the old imperial territory, he managed now to retain a certain hold over recently reconquered Greek districts, which had been in the forefront of his mind and whose reunion with the empire had been largely his work.¹¹⁴

The support of the Thessalian aristocracy, to whom Cantacuzenus must have granted many privileges, was undoubtedly important to Cantacuzenus, now a refugee for the second time at Dušan's court and hard pressed by the armies and the intrigues of his enemies. It was simultaneously an obstacle to his enemies. The anti-Cantacuzenites had made another attempt to enter into direct negotiations with Dušan hoping to undo his alliance with Cantacuzenus. Apocaucus himself attempted through the offices of Hrelja to meet with the king at Chrysopolis,¹¹⁵ but the sudden death of Hrelja apparently put an end to the effort. Apocaucus returned to Constantinople, while Dušan rushed to seize the lands of the deceased Serbian magnate.¹¹⁶ Didymoteichon, meanwhile, was still isolated and under siege not only by the loyalist forces but also in turn by the Bulgarian tsar John Alexander, who coveted the city for himself.¹¹⁷ Cantacuzenus negotiated with Omur, the Seljuq emir of Aydin, who reached Didymoteichon with his troops sometime between December 1342 and February 1343 and delivered it from the Bulgarian siege.¹¹⁸ The alliance of Cantacuzenus with Omur is significant because thereafter Cantacuzenus received continual support from the Turks, first those of Aydin and then the Ottomans. That support gave him superiority over his opponents and, indeed, from the military point of view, finally turned the Byzantine civil war in his favor.¹¹⁹

With the assistance of Serbian troops, Cantacuzenus organized a new expedition to Didymoteichon. Unable to subdue Serres, he raised the siege and proceeded farther east, but when he realized his inability to cope with the numerous loyalist forces in Thrace, he retreated to Strumica, seeking refuge with Dušan for the third time.¹²⁰ Cantacuzenus's failure in eastern Macedonia and Thrace was, however, balanced by success in the western regions of Macedonia. The city

of Berrhoia, which at this time was ruled not by a governor but by an assembly representing the three classes - the nobility, the people, and the clergy - was under siege by the Serbian troops. The city managed to send an embassy to Dušan's court ostensibly to discuss the terms of surrender, but in effect it entered into secret negotiations with Cantacuzenus and offered the besieged city to him. Without disclosing his real aim, Cantacuzenus left the Serbian court with his forces and entered Berrhoia in April 1343, where he was cordially received. He subsequently appointed his son Manuel as its governor.¹²¹

The surrender of Berrhoia to Cantacuzenus was an event of great importance. Immediately after, the cities of Servia and Platamon and the fortresses of Petra, Soskos, and Staridola (presumably in northern Thessaly) also surrendered without a fight. The acquisition of all these lands brought additional forces to the ranks of Cantacuzenus's army and brought him into direct contact with his nephew John Angelus, the governor of the northwest corner of Thessaly, who joined Cantacuzenus with the famous Thessalian cavalry.¹²² Now John Cantacuzenus was no longer a mere refugee at the mercy of his Serbian host, for he directly controlled a sizable territory that enabled him to restore a measure of his independence and a considerable amount of his power and prestige.

Cantacuzenus's conquest of Berrhoia, under Serbian siege, and independence certainly did not please Dušan and his Serbian nobles, who did not intend to allow either of the Byzantine parties to take the upper hand. So Dušan abandoned Cantacuzenus and searched for ways to harm him. He joined hands with the regency in Constantinople, which was only too eager to court his favor. Cantacuzenus now found in Dušan not an ally but a formidable enemy.¹²³

Cantacuzenus and his armies, meanwhile, had marched to Thessalonica and camped outside the city, hoping to capture the city by treachery from inside. Cantacuzenus's hopes, however, were thwarted. Dušan encouraged the Zealots in the city and its governor Michael Monomachus to resist the besieging forces. At the same time Alexius Apocaucus arrived at Thessalonica by sea with a large Byzantine force and Turkish mercenaries. Consequently, Cantacuzenus made his

way back to Berrhoia, managing to escape the large Serbian army Dušan had sent against him under the leadership of Božić (Bozikes).¹²⁴

Empress Anne and Alexius Apocaucus, discovering Dušan's hostility toward Cantacuzenus, attempted through successive embassies to win Dušan over to an alliance against their common enemy, and they undoubtedly promised him and his dignitaries great rewards.¹²⁵ The regency also appealed to Venice to act as mediator in persuading Dušan to enter into an alliance with them against Cantacuzenus.¹²⁶ This much-desired alliance was finally achieved, and a treaty was signed between Empress Anne and King Dušan, which arranged also for the marriage of Dušan's little son Uroš and the sister of Emperor John Palaeologus.¹²⁷ Allied with the regency in Constantinople, Dušan thus became an open and formidable enemy of Cantacuzenus. Their new relationship opens a new chapter in the exhausting civil war between the two rival emperors. The Serbian king and his nobility clearly saw that the only way to get control of much coveted southwestern Macedonia, now firmly in the hands of Cantacuzenus, was to join their arms with Empress Anne's against Cantacuzenus.

In the summer of 1343 Cantacuzenus, facing the combined forces of Apocaucus and Dušan, appealed from Berrhoia to his friend Emir Omur of Aydin for military assistance. In the autumn Omur came by sea with a strong army to the port of Klopa, about a dozen (ca. sixty stada) kilometers south of Thessalonica.¹²⁸ From Klopa fifty of Omur's ships with part of his army sailed to Pydna, planning to go to the aid of Cantacuzenus from there. The Turkish troops systematically plundered the villages in the Macedonian countryside near Thessalonica, many of them under Serbian control.¹²⁹ Cantacuzenus, unable to come to a rapprochement with Dušan as he would have liked, left his son Manuel in Berrhoia and marched with an army joined by his Turkish allies toward Thessalonica. But the Zealots, who had effectively persecuted all sympathizers of Cantacuzenus in Thessalonica, firmly defended it. Unable to conquer the city even with Omur's assistance, Cantacuzenus moved eastward with his Turkish allies¹³⁰ in the direction of Didymoteichon. By the end of 1343 Cantacuzenus had crossed the straits of Christopolis and besieged (unsuccessfully) Peritheorion. Having become

master of a number of Thracian cities, among which were Polystylon, St. Irene, and Povisdos,¹³¹ he made finally a triumphal entry in Didymoteichon. Shortly thereafter he organized a campaign to the Rhodope area, and the city of Koumoutzina (Komotine) with the neighboring fortresses of Asomatos, Parademo, Kranovounion, and Stylarion surrendered to him.¹³² Thus a sizable territory extending from Berrhoia in the west to Didymoteichon in the east was in the control of Cantacuzenus and his followers.

The successes of Cantacuzenus naturally disturbed his enemies, who had thought that the dissolution of the treaty between Dušan and Cantacuzenus would result in his defeat. In the spring of 1344 they made contact with Emir Omur (whose armies were mainly responsible for Cantacuzenus's successes) and bribed him to abandon Cantacuzenus and return to his lands.¹³³ Thus early in the summer of 1344 Omur returned to Anatolia, partly because the Genoese fleet was harassing the coast of his emirate (it even succeeded in capturing Smyrna itself on 28 October 1344).¹³⁴

Cantacuzenus, once more isolated, was again surrounded by enemies. Dušan had approached Zichna¹³⁵ with his best forces and was contemplating pursuing Cantacuzenus into Thrace. Tsar John Alexander of Bulgaria, who by allying with the regency in Constantinople was granted nine Thracian cities, including Philippopolis, Stenimachus and Čepino, had moved with his army to Stilvnon.¹³⁶ In Constantinople the patriarch, who was proclaimed "father and guardian" of the young basileus, exhorted the population to fight bitterly against the imperial pretender,¹³⁷ and soon a large army set out from the capital against Cantacuzenus. A further blow was the desertion of the Bulgarian hajduk Momčilo, who in 1343 had joined Cantacuzenus in his unsuccessful siege of Peritheorion.¹³⁸ Cantacuzenus had granted him the region of Merope, but Cantacuzenus's enemies persuaded the Bulgarian warrior to turn against him and his allies, the Turkish troops of Omur, which reappeared in Macedonia.¹³⁹ Momčilo, however, attempted to establish an independent principality in the Merope region, but he was utterly defeated and fatally wounded on 7 July 1345 by the forces of Cantacuzenus and Omur.¹⁴⁰

Thus it really looked as if "the war surrounded the emperor from all sides."¹⁴¹ And in western Macedonia, what was not already in Serbian hands was abandoned to its fate. There,

the door was wide open for further Serbian expansion. Indeed, Dušan and his Serbian magnates invaded the defenseless territories and soon became their master. We know practically nothing of the exact course and chronology of these new conquests. Both Cantacuzenus and Gregoras, though they deal in detail with events in Thrace and Constantinople, ignore almost completely the western provinces of the empire at this time. They often write of the many and wonderful cities that the Serbian king conquered - without a single pitched battle and in most cases in collaboration with the pro-Serbian party from within - but we never learn the names of these cities or the exact time of their capture.¹⁴² It is, however, an undisputed fact that during this period Dušan became the sole master of Macedonia with the sole exception of the cities of Berrhoia, which was still under Manuel Cantacuzenus,¹⁴³ Thessalonica, which was politically independent under the Zealots,¹⁴⁴ and Serres with some neighboring fortresses, which remained loyal to Constantinople.

When in the spring of 1344¹⁴⁵ King Dušan learned that Omur was departing for Asia Minor and Cantacuzenus was left alone in Thrace, he took his best forces and advanced to Zichna. But the Turks, having lost their sixty ships to the Genoese, decided to return home by land. The 3,100 Turkish troops met Dušan's army, led by Gregory Preljub, "whom [Dušan] considered superior to all his powerful men in valor, courage, and experience,"¹⁴⁶ at Stephaniana¹⁴⁷ and in May 1344 utterly defeated it.

Withdrawing from Zichna, the Serbs waited for another opportunity to invade eastern Macedonia. This time they turned their attention to the city of Serres, the well-fortified Byzantine stronghold, which they besieged and "brought to a great want in the expectation that it would soon capitulate."¹⁴⁸ Within the besieged city there was a pro-Serbian party under Michael Asen (Asanes), a relative of Cantacuzenus's wife, but the pro-Cantacuzenites under the leadership of Constantine Palaeologus and the grand stratopedarches Demetrius Tzamplakon (Τζαμπλάκων) apparently had the upper hand--and they wished to surrender the city to Cantacuzenus. First Cantacuzenus sent an embassy to Dušan under John Bryennius, who met the Serbian king at some distance from Serres, where he had withdrawn, fearing an attack from Cantacuzenus's Turkish allies. The

embassy, which intended to persuade Dušan to abandon the siege of Serres, returned empty-handed. Subsequently, Cantacuzenus convoked an assembly at which his Turkish ally Omur, who had returned to Thrace with Suleiman,¹⁴⁹ was present, a fact that clearly indicates how much he depended on the Turks. Despite Cantacuzenus's appeal for a campaign to deliver Serres from the Serbian siege first--since he claimed that "if Pherae [Serres] was neglected and captured by the king, there will be no hope for recovering it and the other Macedonian cities"¹⁵⁰--the assembly decided to march first directly against Constantinople. It was only when the march to Constantinople proved a failure that his thoughts turned to Serres. The unexpected death of Suleiman, however, and the subsequent return of the Turkish troops to their home left Cantacuzenus in Didymoteichon unable to restrain Dušan from his final assault on the city of Serres, which finally surrendered without bloodshed on 24 September 1345 with the help of the pro-Serbian party in the city.¹⁵¹

The conquest of "the divinely protected city" or "the great and wonderful city" of Serres¹⁵²--θεόσωστος πόλις or πόλις μεγάλη καὶ θαυμασία¹⁵³--which ranked in importance among the Macedonian cities second only to Thessalonica, marks the high point of Dušan's conquests, which are so vividly summed up in the words of Nicephorus Gregoras. "The king was insatiable," writes the Byzantine historian, "reveling in the civil wars of the Romans and considering this time as the most advantageous for him and as the greatest gift of fortune. Wherefore he descended like a flame and was spreading over the Roman cities and land, continuously enslaving them on his way, since there was nothing that could resist his assaults. The Byzantines [the regency in Constantinople], confessing it or not, preferred rather to let him have all the territory up to the straits of Christopolis with the exception of Thessalonica."¹⁵⁴

The straits of Christopolis, modern Kavalla, remained the farthest point of Dušan's southeastern expansion. Gregoras's evidence is corroborated by a Serbian manuscript notice in a gospel from Chilandar, dated about 1347, from which we learn that Dušan ruled over "the Greek lands up to the city of Morunac called Christopolis."¹⁵⁵ All the cities west of Christopolis, including Serres, Drama, Philippi and Chrysopolis, were firmly

in Serbian hands, with the exception of Thessalonica, the western part of the peninsula of Chalcidice,¹⁵⁶ and the coastal city of Anaktoropolis, present-day Eleutheropolis, which was an independent city ruled by a Bithynian pirate, Alexius,¹⁵⁷ who was formerly in the service of Alexius Apocaucus.¹⁵⁸

The fall of Serres into Serbian hands marks a turning point of great significance in the history of Dušan's reign. The period prior to 1345 was characterized chiefly by a policy of southward expansion. It should be stressed, however, that this policy was not the result of Dušan's personal ambition, as it has been often portrayed,¹⁵⁹ but the expression of the expansionist drive for more land and power by the Serbian nobles, who exercised great influence over the king, and of whom the king had become the greatest exponent. The Serbs had been involved in the Byzantine civil war for purely opportunistic reasons: to satisfy their territorial ambitions. Offering their alliance first to Cantacuzenus and later to the regency in Constantinople, they finally emerged the uncontested, leading power in the Balkans. Their ascendancy had repercussions. It seems that Dušan did not originally have the ambition that soon came to dominate him. Eventually, however, he aimed at nothing else than becoming emperor. The period following the fall of Serres is thus dominated by the imperial idea, which Dušan now embraced with great zeal and fervor.

I have mentioned earlier how Dušan, after his conquests in Macedonia and Albania in 1343, aware of his expanded territory and increased authority, assumed the title of "king and autocrator of all the Serbian and maritime lands and čestnik of the Greek territories." As the Serbian conquests progressed and the weakness of Byzantium became more and more apparent, Dušan--the strongest ruler in the Balkans, commanding the bulk of the Western provinces of the empire, which after the loss of Anatolia were its backbone--logically decided to assume the imperial title himself. Since the Byzantines were so incompetent that they had to rely on his alliance or on Emir Omur's, and since the far less important ruler John Alexander of Bulgaria already had the title of tsar and signed his decrees "basileus and autocrator of all the Bulgarians and the Greeks," Dušan was emboldened. We must never forget that the struggle for the imperial dignity is the

medieval equivalent of the struggle for the hegemony, which the Serbs now enjoyed in the Balkan peninsula.

Bred in the world of Byzantine political theory and living in the Byzantine cultural orbit, which recognized only one temporal empire--the universal Christian Roman empire--it was natural that once Dušan became the strongest ruler in the Balkans he would stretch out his hand for the imperial crown and claim thereby the leading position in the Byzantine hierarchy of states.

It is significant to recall a parallel case from a much earlier period that offers striking similarities. The bitter struggle between Byzantium and the Bulgarian ruler Symeon (893-927) was also above all a struggle for imperial dignity. No doubt Dušan was fully aware of the story of Symeon, whose legacy lived in the memory of the Second Bulgarian Empire. As a child, Dušan had spent seven years (1314-1321) in the imperial city; similarly, Symeon had grown up and was educated there, and at times he was called Hemiargus, the Half-Greek. Thus Symeon was also absolutely convinced that there could exist only one world empire. Later, as the ruler of a mighty Bulgarian state, he therefore aimed not to found a national Bulgarian empire alongside Byzantium but to substitute a new empire of universal significance for the old Byzantine empire. His daring claim is illustrated not only by the title he had assumed--basileus of the Romans, with or without the addition "and of the Bulgarians"--but also by his fierce attacks on the walls of Constantinople, which almost fell.¹⁶⁰

The destruction of the First Bulgarian Empire did not bring an end to the Bulgarians' imperial idea. It remained a constant inspiration throughout the history of the Second Bulgarian Empire.¹⁶¹ When the Second Bulgarian Empire emerged from the revolt against Byzantium in 1185, the leaders of the revolt, Peter and Asen, assumed the title of tsar (the Slavic equivalent of basileus), and their successors continued to use it. This idea was strong especially in the fourteenth century, when John Alexander was recognized in Byzantine documents as βασιλεὺς τῶν Βουλγάρων,¹⁶² and--like Symeon--he appears on his coinage as tsar of the Bulgarians and the Romans.¹⁶³ Moreover, in manuscript illuminations prepared for him, he is depicted

in full Byzantine imperial attire and in the Byzantine style, where even the hand from the clouds signifying the divine blessing of the temporal ruler is indicated.¹⁶⁴

Since Dušan's contemporary bore the title basileus of the Romans and imitated the Byzantine ruler, it is natural that Dušan, who was immeasurably stronger, would follow the same pattern.

The Second Bulgarian Empire, although far from being as mighty as Symeon's state, embraced with no lesser fervor the imperial idea and revived the legacy of Symeon's ambitions. John II (1218-1241), Michael Asen (1246-1256), Constantine Tich (1257-1277), and finally John Alexander (1331-1371) all bore the imperial title.¹⁶⁵ The revolt of the Asen brothers in 1185 restored the "empire of the Bulgarians and the Greeks" and reinstated its patriarchate in 1235. Although in reality feeble, these Bulgarian rulers clung tenaciously to the imperial title "tsar of the Bulgarians and the Greeks" and held a sumptuous court in the Byzantine fashion, surrounding themselves with despots and dignitaries such as protosebasts and logothetes. The double-headed eagle appeared on the coinage of the Bulgarian rulers from the end of the thirteenth century, a clear symbol of their imperial aspirations.

John Alexander, the contemporary of Dušan, was glorified as the "Tsar of the Tsars" and as an autocrat (samodržec), and he was likened to Constantine the Great and Alexander the Great. It is significant that a Bulgarian translator of the Chronicle of Manasses modified a passage that referred to the transfer of the imperial idea from Rome to Byzantium, by declaring that "Bulgaria is the New Rome" and all the eulogies and praises addressed to Emperor Manuel Comnenus were now transferred to John Alexander. These pompous eulogies certainly did not correspond to reality, but they testify to the firm hold that the imperial idea had attained in Bulgaria during the fourteenth century.¹⁶⁶

Thus it is not surprising that Dušan would follow the same example. Late in November or December 1345,¹⁶⁷ shortly after the capture of Serres, Dušan proclaimed himself basileus and assumed the imperial title, styling himself from then on "Emperor and Autocrator of Serbia and Romania" (βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Σερβίας καὶ Ρωμανίας), or in the Slavic version,

"Emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks" (царь Сръвліємъ и Гръкомъ, or царь Сръвліємъ и Гръкомъ).¹⁶⁸ It is interesting that Dušan's proclamation as emperor is mentioned also in a number of minor historical sources as yet unnoticed. In several letopisi it is stated that Dušan was proclaimed emperor in the Greek lands.¹⁶⁹ On the coins issued between the time of his proclamation as emperor and his coronation (only coins with Latin inscriptions of the western type survive from this period, but Dušan also used coins with Slavic legends patterned on contemporary Bulgarian coins, as comparison easily shows) we read the following legend: RX[REX RASIE]- ST[EPAN] IP[IMPERATOR] ROMA[NIAE] or REX RIA[RSASIA] - ST[EPAN] IP[IMPERATOR] ROIOM[ROMAIORUM]. From these legends it becomes clear that Dušan, while proclaiming himself emperor of Romania, had maintained the title of king of Serbia (Rascia). But in the coins issued after his coronation, Dušan is no longer called king -- only emperor.¹⁷⁰

The assumption of the imperial title signified undoubtedly the climax of Dušan's struggle with Byzantium. The new title, emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks, did not imply any basic change in the Byzantine notion of the basileus as the head of the one and only universal Christian empire, but it simply adjusted this concept to an ethnic reinterpretation.¹⁷¹ That Dušan aimed not at becoming a national emperor but at replacing the basileus is evident also from the fact that he considered himself as "the successor with God's grace of the great and holy Greek emperors."¹⁷² Further illustration comes from Gregoras, who informs us that after his proclamation Dušan "changed the barbarian way of life for the Roman manners, and he has used and he is manifestly using up to this time the crown and all the insignia of distinction which are fitting for such a great magistracy."¹⁷³ But a basileus without his own patriarch was inconceivable for the Orthodox world, for "emperorship and church constitute one integral entity, and it is quite impossible to separate them from each other."¹⁷⁴ Symeon of Bulgaria had deemed it necessary to create a patriarchate of his own, an act that enabled him to fulfill the role of the ruler as envisaged in the Byzantine political notions, over both the church and the state. It was the same reasoning, that a true basileus could not exist without his own patriarchate, that moved the

rulers of the Second Bulgarian Empire to restore the Bulgarian patriarchate when they revived the imperial claim. That action, taken by Tsar John Asen II in 1235 at Trnovo, was sanctioned by the Byzantine church and state in Nicaea.¹⁷⁵ Thus Dušan's contemporary, Tsar John Alexander who often signed documents "emperor and autocrator of all Bulgarians and Greeks" (црь и самодръжецъ въсѣмъ Българомъ и Гръкомъ), had his own Bulgarian patriarch. Dušan must have had before him this Bulgarian example. As an indication of the ethnic notion attached to the Byzantine imperial idea, one may note the addition of the word "Bulgarian" or "Serbs" to the imperial title. The ethnic element should not be interpreted as an attempt to establish a Bulgarian or Bulgaro-Greek empire or a Serbian or Serbo-Greek empire, for both Bulgarian and Serbian rulers sought to replace the Byzantine emperor and become the basileus of the universal Christian empire. Rather, it was an attempt to make the transition from national statehood to empire. Imperial coronation was unthinkable without the participation of the patriarch in fourteenth-century Byzantium. The ecclesiastical function was considered essential to the legitimacy of a new emperor, for it provided a link between the emperor and God and gave sanction to his office.¹⁷⁶ The role of the patriarch, who handed the crown to the new emperor, was extremely important in the coronation ceremony, and only a coronation performed by the patriarch conferred complete and indisputable validity.¹⁷⁷ Thus Dušan, who moved within the Byzantine world of ideas, needed a solemn coronation with the participation of the patriarch to give legitimate sanction to his proclamation. He could not, however, expect the blessings of the patriarch of Constantinople, but having before his eyes the Bulgarian example with its independent patriarchate, he convoked the savor in Skoplje in the spring of 1346, which would crown him officially as Emperor.

The first thing the assembly did was to proclaim the Serbian archbishop of Peć, Joanikij, as patriarch,¹⁷⁸ an event that marks the foundation of the independent Serbian patriarchate. The new patriarch was apparently granted jurisdiction over all the ecclesiastic sees in the conquered Byzantine lands.¹⁷⁹

Patriarch Joanikij commanded the full respect of Dušan. In discussing the signing of his alliance with Dušan at Pauni (Тадó) in 1342, Cantacuzenus tells us that when Joanikij, then the Serbian archbishop, arrived for the ceremony of the oaths, King

Dušan went out of his house to meet him and to receive his blessing and then led the archbishop's horse by the bridle to the place where the prelate would dismount.¹⁸⁰ It is interesting to note that Dušan performed this practice in Serbia for the very man whom he later elevated to the first Serbian patriarchate and from whose hands he received the imperial crown.

Following the appointment of Joanikij as patriarch, the sabor witnessed on Easter Sunday, 16 April 1346 the coronation of Dušan as emperor of the Greeks and the Serbs by the newly appointed Serbian patriarch. In attendance were the Bulgarian patriarch of Trnovo, Symeon; the autocephalous archbishop of Ohrid, Nicholas; the protos of the Athonite monasteries, which now were within the lands controlled by the Serbs; and many other prelates and all the representatives of the powerful Serbian nobility. On the same occasion Queen (Kraljica) Helen was crowned empress and their young son Stephen Uroš Kralj¹⁸¹ (king). So there were now three emperors on Balkan soil, and a fourth in Trebizond in Asia Minor.¹⁸² The Byzantines naturally did not recognize any of these pretenders to imperial authority and ignored Dušan's new title. Later, however, they were forced momentarily to recognize him as emperor, as we shall see in the following chapter.¹⁸³

Dušan's dream of replacing the Byzantine emperor could come true only if the Serbian tsar could find an ally who could provide him with military assistance and, above all, a fleet. Thus in February 1346 a Serbian embassy appeared in Venice. After announcing to the doge the forthcoming coronation of Dušan as tsar of the Serbs and the Greeks, it solicited his help, which would enable Dušan to become the master of Byzantium. In return, Dušan offered to act as mediator in an attempt to settle the Venetians's differences with the city of Zara.¹⁸⁴ Dušan must have calculated that an alliance with Venice, which as a result of its old rivalry with Genoa had become a supporter of the Byzantines, would not merely provide him with the needed naval power; it would also deprive the Byzantines of their most powerful naval ally and transform the Venetians into their enemy.¹⁸⁵ The Venetians, however, preferred to remain faithful to Constantinople and declined the overtures of the Serbs. In a

letter to Dušan dated 3 March 1346 the Venetian Senate expressed in most flattering words their joy for his coronation as emperor of the Greeks (*de coronatione sua in imperio Constantinopolitano quam nobis ab gaudium significat*), since Dušan had declared himself a friend of the Venetian Republic, but they politely refused to provide him with the requested naval assistance for the planned conquest of Constantinople, informing him that Venice intended to respect its truce with Byzantium (*imperium Romanie*).¹⁸⁶ It is evident that the Venetians had no desire to replace the weak Byzantine Empire, which depended considerably on their financial and diplomatic support, with that of the powerful Serbian tsar.

The designs of Dušan posed a deadly threat to the Byzantines. From the very beginning they were unable to check Dušan's conquests. The long and bitter civil strife had absorbed the entire strength and attention of both factions.

Since his return to Thrace, Cantacuzenus had managed to strengthen his position considerably. Confident now of victory (especially since his archenemy Alexius Apocaucus had been assassinated in Constantinople on 11 July 1345¹⁸⁷) and probably also encouraged by the events at the sabor in Skoplje, he crowned himself emperor (*basileus*) in Adrianople on 21 May 1346. This solemn coronation, performed by the patriarch of Jerusalem, gave now legitimate sanction to Cantacuzenus's claim to the imperial throne, first made in his proclamation at Didymoteichon in 1341, which had marked the beginning of the civil strife. Supported by the landed aristocracy (upon which he had bestowed additional lands belonging formerly to pro-Constantinopolitan pronoi holders), by the followers of the spiritual movement of Hesychasm and by his powerful Turkish allies, Cantacuzenus eventually succeeded in confining the authority of Empress Anne and her son, Emperor John Palaeologus, to the city of Constantinople and its surroundings.

This ambitious woman, who acted as a regent for her son, would not, however, give up the struggle. She turned to the Turks for military aid, and her efforts were successful. In the summer of 1348 a Turkish force of six thousand men arrived, but to her disappointment they preferred to invade and pillage Bulgaria rather than attack Cantacuzenus. Then

she made overtures to appease the Hesychasts by, for instance, replacing Patriarch John Calecas on 2 February 1347¹⁸⁸ with Isidore, a supporter of the Hesychasts, and releasing their leader Gregory Palamas from prison. These efforts, too, proved to be in vain. Finally, on 3 February 1347 the gates of the imperial city were open for Cantacuzenus's entry.¹⁸⁹ An agreement had been concluded between Cantacuzenus and Empress Anne, according to which he was recognized as emperor but allowed to rule for only ten years, until John V, the legitimate ruler, would come of age and be able to take his share in the government. A general amnesty was granted to both parties, and a new coronation of Cantacuzenus took place on May 13 in the church of Blachernae. This time Cantacuzenus received the imperial crown from the hands of the patriarch of Constantinople, necessary for the coronation to have complete and indisputable validity. Furthermore, a spiritual bond was thus established between Cantacuzenus and the family of the Palaeologi, which was designed to legitimize the position of the new ruler and present him as the head of the ruling house.¹⁹⁰

As soon as a number of urgent domestic matters had been arranged, Cantacuzenus turned his attention to Dušan. He first appointed his son Matthew, on whom he had bestowed a special title "higher than that of the despot and immediately below that of the emperor,"¹⁹¹ as an autonomous governor in the Rhodope region, extending south of Xanthe between Didymoteichon and Christopolis, bordering on Dušan's state.¹⁹² The new emperor evidently intended to create a buffer state between Byzantium and "the mighty waves from the vast sea of the Triballi [Serbs]."¹⁹³ Cantacuzenus's next concern was the recovery of the Byzantine cities that the Serbs had occupied since his 1342 treaty with them. While negotiating an alliance with the papacy directed against the Turks, Cantacuzenus appealed to Clement VI to intervene and exert pressure on Dušan to free the Byzantine cities and fortresses that he was holding unjustly (*qui contra deum et justiciam occupat Regnum Imperii, civitates et castra*). He even sent an embassy to Dušan himself toward the end of March 1348, but the Serbian tsar, conscious of his might, completely disregarded the Byzantine request to discuss the matter and sent Cantacuzenus's envoys

back empty-handed. Subsequently, the Byzantines attempted to organize an expedition with Turkish assistance to recover their cities in Macedonia occupied by the Serbs, but here, too, they failed. Cantacuzenus himself was suddenly taken severely ill, his loyal Turkish ally, the emir of Aydin, Omur, had died in May 1348, and the Genoese had unexpectedly declared war against Constantinople.¹⁹⁴

Relieved from the Byzantine menace, Dušan immediately turned his attention to his northern lands, as under their energetic King Louis I (1342-1382) the Magyars had invaded Serbian territory. Soon thereafter Dušan opened a new offensive in the south. In southwestern Macedonia the Serbs had been masters of the last Byzantine stronghold--Berrhoia--since the beginning of 1347, when Manuel Cantacuzenus, the son of the now-ruling Byzantine emperor and Berrhoia's governor since 1343, fled to John Angelus in Thessaly.¹⁹⁵ Once Berrhoia, which controlled the door to Thessaly, fell into Dušan's hands, the road for the conquest of the Thessalian lands lay wide open. The Serbian conquest was further facilitated by the disastrous plague, the Black Death, which ravaged Thessaly in 1348 and left it ruined and desolate, counting among its victims the able governor John Angelus.¹⁹⁶ By November 1348 Dušan's forces were in complete control of Thessaly, as one may conclude from two of his chrysobulls of that date issued to the monasteries of Lykousada and St. George at Zablantia.¹⁹⁷ Both monasteries were in the region of Trikkala (Lykousada is near Phanari, south of Trikkala; St. George is at Zablantia north of Trikkala), but in the chrysobull for the monastery of Lykousada, Dušan confirmed the possessions of the monastery not only in the neighboring territory but also in the regions of Halmyros and Pharsala, its right to fish in Lake Ezero, and its lands in the region of Mount Olympus; and finally he granted an increase in the monastery's revenue from the salt pans at Lykostomion at the mouth of the Peneus river. Furthermore, a Venetian document dated 3 January 1349 implies that the Serbs had conquered Thessaly, since the Venetians noticed their presence near their station at Pteleon, on the Aegean coast south of the Gulf of Volo.¹⁹⁸ At this time Dušan also succeeded in conquering Epirus, Acarnania, and Aetolia, which had been ruled by John Angelus

until his death and then, like Thessaly, had fallen into chaos.¹⁹⁹

The conquest of all these new territories must have been quick and easy. There is no evidence in our sources that the Serbian troops ever met any serious resistance. Although the military resources and especially the force of cavalry that the Thessalian magnates had at their disposal are well-known,²⁰⁰ the plague must have caused confusion and disorganization. Cantacuzenus informs us in connection with later events (when Cantacuzenus allegedly complained to Dušan in 1350 about the conquered Byzantine cities) that the Acarnanians, suffering great destruction from Dušan's invading forces, preferred to flee to the littoral and surrender to barbarian slave dealers and be taken away as slaves rather than die of starvation in their homeland.²⁰¹ Though this statement may contain exaggeration, nevertheless it perhaps conveys some idea of the nature of the Serbian invasion. The peaceful submission of all the newly conquered territories also suggests possible collaboration with the local nobility and the monastic clergy. We have seen already how Cantacuzenus had been assisted in this manner in 1342 and 1343.

Dušan issued the above-mentioned chrysobulls soon after he became master of Thessaly. In one Dušan confirmed the land possessions of the monastery of Lykousada, which it had acquired from the Byzantine emperors and their local representatives (governors); in the second he restored to the possessions of the St. George monastery the village of Zablantia with its peasants, which had been taken away by Sebastokrator John Angelus. It is natural to suppose that those magnates and ecclesiastical institutions wronged by John Angelus must have welcomed the Serbs, who were eager to restore and confirm their old privileges.

It should be noted that the chrysobull for the monastery of Lykousada is an ὀρθομωτικὸς χρυσόβουλλος λόγος. In it Dušan took an oath "in the name of God, the holy gospel and the sacred life-giving cross and in all holy things and in the name of his soul" that he would never violate the privileges of the monastery. This type of chrysobull is unique in Serbian diplomatics of the period. All the Nemanjids had issued only ordinary chrysobulls

(Dušan especially had issued several chrysobulls in favor of monasteries) that did not involve an oath. But the chrysobull for Lykousada refers to the same region as the well-known ὀρκομωτικὸν γράμμα by Michael Gabrielopoulos (June 1342).²⁰² Michael Gabrielopoulos's oath--"in the name of the gospels, the sacred and life-giving cross and all the holies..."--resembles the text of Dušan's chrysobulls. A similar expression can be found in a later ὀρκομωτικὸς χρυσοβούλλος λόγος of Emperor Symeon (May 1366) for the monastery of Zablantia.²⁰³ All three documents derive from Thessaly, which indicates that in that region during the fourteenth century the practice of taking an oath was similar to French feudal practice.²⁰⁴ Thus Dušan's horkomotikos logos must be viewed as a Thessalian continuation of the tradition of Latin feudalism.

With the annexation of Thessaly, Epirus, Acarnania, and Aetolia, Dušan completed his conquests of Byzantine territories. His realm never expanded beyond the frontier achieved at that time. The lands of the Serbian Empire now stretched from the outskirts of Christopolis in the east to the Adriatic coast in the west and from the region south of Belgrade in the north to the port of Pteleon²⁰⁵ on the Aegean and the Corinthian gulf in the southwest. From this extensive territory only the city of Thessalonica and the western part of the peninsula of Chalcidice²⁰⁶ remained in Byzantine hands, as well as the city of Anactorropolis on the Aegean coast, ruled by the Bithynian pirate Alexis, the Angevin possessions on the Adriatic coast (Durazzo, Butrinto, and Vonitsa) and finally Ragusa.

The acquisition of these extensive and formerly Byzantine territories is spelled out in Dušan's imperial title. He became not only "emperor of Serbia and Romania" but also emperor of the litoral (παραθαλασσίας, πομόρje, Πομόρje in Serbia), which according to Dinić includes the lands along the Aegean coast, unlike the earlier title of pomorske zemlje [Adriatic litoral], the Western lands, of the Entire or the Great Dysis (i.e., the lands of the despotate of Epirus), of the Despotat (despotate of Epirus), and of Albania. All these titles appear in both Greek and Slavic documents by Dušan.²⁰⁷ In a Venetian document of 1350 Dušan is referred to as Dominicus imperator Raxie et Romanie

dispotus Larte et Blachie comes.²⁰⁸

Incited to a large extent by Dušan's promises to restore old privileges or grant new ones, Byzantine garrisons submitted to his rule, deserted the Byzantine authorities, and local pro-Serbian groups expelled the representatives of the Byzantine party. These were frequent occurrences. Cantacuzenus often refers to Serbian conquests of Byzantine cities as the result of bribery, but a critical student may see here a cover for other causes, such as inability to resist the Serbian forces and the eagerness of pro-Serbian elements to surrender their city to Dušan in exchange for certain privileges. The fact that Dušan succeeded in occupying this vast Byzantine territory mainly through peaceful surrender speaks of the weakness of the Byzantines and the total disarray of their administration and economy as a result of the disastrous war between John VI Cantacuzenus and John V Palaeologus. Dušan promised especially to restore lands to magnates and monasteries that had suffered losses from one or the other hostile Byzantine group during the civil strife. During that period a great many pronoias and monastic lands changed hands more than once. Dušan, by promising restoration of these lands to the monasteries, easily won their support, and by granting pronoias (lands that belonged to the Byzantine state) to new pronoaiars, he could very well increase the number of his supporters among the local magnates. It is interesting that during the civil war we observe the transformation of the pronoia to hereditary possession on a grand scale.²⁰⁹ Cantacuzenus himself considers the civil war as the main cause of Dušan's expansion and assumption of imperial title. The civil war is also blamed for Dušan's expansion and for his assuming the imperial title by the Patriarch Philotheus.²¹⁰

The civil war greatly weakened Byzantium in every respect. The two hostile parties confiscated and granted to their followers monastic lands and pronoias. The pronoaiars, who changed sides according to the highest offer, emerged stronger than ever, and their pronoias tended at this time to become hereditary. This fact explains also the eagerness of the Serbian magnates to get involved in the Byzantine civil war and take sides with whatever faction

seemed to them more profitable.

Thus Dušan could have easily come into contact with the discontented local nobility and monasteries, restored their lost possessions, confirmed the old privileges, and even granted new ones at the expense of their enemies.²¹¹ Dušan had freed the monasteries of their obligations both toward the state and toward the pronoiar, thereby extending a most liberal policy toward the monks, whose support he sought.²¹²

Chapter II

TSAR STEPHEN DUŠAN AND THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE 1348-1355

The consolidation of Dušan's position in the conquered Byzantine territories of Thessaly, Epirus, and Acarnania and the transformation of his Serbian state into an imposing Serbo-Greek empire now proceeded unimpeded. In contrast, Byzantium found itself in the midst of a new storm as Emperor John Cantacuzenus lay ill for a year in Didymoteichon.¹ Even more serious, numerous disputes arose between the Byzantines and the Genoese of Galata,² a suburb of Constantinople.

With their recapture of the island of Chios in 1346 and the establishment of the famous Mahona, the important trading company of the house of the Giustiniani³ that survived into the sixteenth century, the Genoese posed an increasingly grave threat to the Byzantines. To free himself from Genoese maritime power, Cantacuzenus felt the immediate need of building the imperial navy. The navy, rebuilt at such great sacrifice under Andronicus III, had once again been destroyed during the civil war, with the consequence that Byzantium came to rely on the Genoese. And now the empire was hemmed in at sea between Venice and Genoa, completely and humiliatingly impotent, just as it was caught on land between the Turks and the Serbs. As the imperial treasury was empty, John Cantacuzenus appealed to the generosity of the wealthy classes and with the utmost difficulty managed to collect in a relatively short time 50,000 hyperpyra for the construction of a fleet.⁴

Additional measures were taken by the emperor in the hope of undermining the powerful position that the Genoese of Galata held in the commercial field. The Genoese supremacy in commerce is indicated by the fact that the Genoese customs officials were collecting annually 200,000 hyperpyra, while the Byzantines managed to take in barely 30,000 hyperpyra.⁵ Thus Cantacuzenus decided to lower the customs tariff to such a degree that ships preferred the port of Constantinople to that of Galata. He subsequently favored Byzantine trade and

agriculture by imposing restrictions on the importation of wine and cereals, which were imported mainly from the Genoese colonies of the Black Sea. Hard hit by these measures, the Genoese declared war against the Byzantines in the summer of 1348. They attacked the imperial navy, destroyed a number of ships and partly besieged Constantinople itself. And in the following autumn they attempted an assault on the imperial capital itself, but without success. However, only a few months later, in the spring of 1349, they attacked and destroyed the Byzantine fleet, which Cantacuzenus had built with so much sacrifice and effort. However, the Genoese emerged from this strenuous war equally exhausted, and they eagerly sought an agreement to put an end to the hostilities.

The war between Genoa and Byzantium during 1348-1349 appeared to the Serbian ruler a welcome opportunity to intervene, and he began to search for allies in his new ventures. At the same time, the Venetians, apprehensive of Hungarian expansionist policies in the Dalmatian region and of Genoese progress in the Levant, sought to secure the support of Dušan for a war they planned against Hungary and Genoa. Venice, which earlier had declined Dušan's overtures to enter into an alliance against the Byzantines, dispatched an embassy to Serbia--perhaps at the instigation of Byzantium, with which the Venetians were now on good terms--offering to mediate between Serbia and Byzantium and also to help establish friendly relations between Serbia and Bosnia.⁶ The Venetian embassy was doomed to failure, however, because Dušan could not see any profit in such an arrangement just when he stood as a mighty conqueror of Byzantine territories and could envisage the day when he would become master of Byzantium itself.

Furthermore, in its anxiety over the growing strength of its old rival, Genoa, Venice moved even closer to Byzantium, and consequently on 10 November 1349 a treaty was concluded between the Venetians and the Byzantines.⁷ This treaty was the reason allegedly for refusing the proposals for an alliance which Dušan made to Venice the following year. The Serbian ruler, who had unsuccessfully attempted to come to an agreement with the Venetians shortly after the fall of Serres in 1346, now sent his ambassador Michael Buća to the Venetian doge announcing, among other things, that Dušan

was the master of ten parts of the Byzantine Empire, with the important exception of Constantinople, which he could capture only with the naval assistance of Venice.⁸ If Venice would agree to provide him with the necessary assistance, he would grant Venice the entire territory of the despotate of Epirus as reward. And in case Venice should not be satisfied with the lands of the despotate, he would assault Galata, wrest it from the Genoese, and hand it over to the Venetians. Moreover, he justified to the doge his attack on Constantinople as motivated by his desire to liberate the defenseless and captive John Palaeologus from the hands of the imperial usurper John Cantacuzenus.⁹ Despite the doge's explicit refusal, Dušan tried again a month later to secure assistance from the Venetians for his plans against Constantinople.¹⁰

Venice could clearly foresee that by assisting Dušan, who was already master of the greatest part of the Balkan peninsula, she would further strengthen the position of the Serbian ruler. If he conquered Constantinople, he would eventually become a much greater threat to Venetian interests in Dalmatia and the Levant than a weak Byzantium could ever be. Venice definitely preferred to preserve a weak Byzantium that depended on Venetian assistance and favored its interests against its bitter rivals, the Genoese. To help Dušan conquer Constantinople would mean the replacing of an impotent Byzantium with an eventually dangerous and powerful rival.

While these negotiations and exchange of embassies between Venice and Serbia were going on, Byzantium had come to terms with the Genoese of Galata, as already indicated. Having settled his differences with the Genoese, Emperor Cantacuzenus felt free to turn his attention to the west and plan a serious expedition against the Serbs in Macedonia. This was apparently a great opportunity for such an undertaking, since in 1350 Dušan was fighting far away to the north, in the Neretva region.¹¹ However, the critical position of Thessalonica, surrounded by territories controlled by the Serbs, called for immediate action; Dušan had even made an unsuccessful attempt in 1349 to conquer the city.¹²

Since the establishment in 1347 of John Cantacuzenus as emperor in Constantinople, the city of Thessalonica had led a turbulent political life, governed as an independent

republic.¹³ The revolutionary faction of the Zealots had not only refused to recognize Cantacuzenus as the legitimate emperor but also inclined rather favorably toward his enemies, the Serbs. When the patriarch of Constantinople, Isidore, appointed Cantacuzenus's friend, the famous Hesychast Gregory Palamas, as archbishop of Thessalonica, the governors of the city, Protosebastos Alexius Metochites and the Zealot leader Andreas Palaeologus, ignored Cantacuzenus's letters of recommendation for the new archbishop. In fact, they refused to allow Palamas to enter the city and forced him to retire to the island of Lemnos.¹⁴ The Zealots claimed allegiance only to John Palaeologus, whom they considered the legitimate emperor, and flatly refused to take orders from Cantacuzenus. This refusal however, was interpreted by their adversaries not as a result of genuine devotion to John Palaeologus, but rather as an excuse and disguise for their real intentions--the establishment of Zealot authority in Thessalonica, which eventually did happen.¹⁵

The rivalry that soon sprang up between the two co-governors of Thessalonica, Alexius Metochites and Andreas Palaeologus, kindled Cantacuzenus's hopes for restoring his authority in the agitated city. Metochites turned to Cantacuzenus for assistance; Andreas Palaeologus and his Zealot followers turned to the Serbs. Lest the Zealots agree to surrender Thessalonica to Dušan, Metochites sent letters to Cantacuzenus urging him to march on Thessalonica immediately, before the Serbian ruler could approach the city,¹⁶ while he began preparations for a systematic persecution of the Zealots in the city. Having learned of Metochites's plans, Andreas Palaeologus fled first to Dušan and subsequently to Mount Athos, where he died.¹⁷ Meanwhile, Dušan, who had returned from his northern campaign, had moved his troops outside Thessalonica, hoping to capture it with the help of the persecuted Zealots and through bribery.

In answer to this appeal from Thessalonica, Cantacuzenus sent an encouraging message urging Metochites and his followers to hold on and promising quick assistance. The Byzantine emperor approached the Venetians, apparently without success, and asked them to authorize their merchants to supply the besieged Thessalonicians with the necessary grain supplies.¹⁸

Cantacuzenus also requested the assistance of his son-in-law, Sultan Orchan, who sent a large force of Turkish horsemen under his son Suleiman. But instead of marching against Dušan, they were soon recalled to Asia Minor, where Orchan was menaced by the neighboring emirs.¹⁹ Cantacuzenus remained steadfast in his decision, however, and began the campaign against Dušan alone. Accompanied by Emperor John Palaeologus, Cantacuzenus sailed from Anaktoropolis²⁰ on the Macedonian coast for Thessalonica.²¹ On the way he anchored nearby the port of Christopolis, now in the hands of the Serbs under Brajan, an old acquaintance of Cantacuzenus's from the time of his sojourn at Dušan's court.²² How successful Cantacuzenus was in winning Brajan's support cannot be surmised from Cantacuzenus's account even though it mentions that Brajan had promised to assist and to exercise influence on other Serbian acquaintances of the Byzantine emperor to come to his aid.²³ The only assistance that Cantacuzenus received was from a group of Turkish pirates, who appeared at the mouth of the Strymon river with twenty-two ships and agreed to join him in alliance. Reinforced with these Turkish ships and forces, Cantacuzenus sailed to Thessalonica, which he entered, accompanied by John Palaeologus, sometime in the fall of 1350.²⁴ He found the city in great upheaval from the bitter civil strife between the Zealots and the aristocracy and from the imminent threat posed by the outside enemy, the Serbs.²⁵ The first thing Cantacuzenus did was declare a relentless war against the Zealots. He put their leaders under arrest and ordered the rest to leave the city. He then turned his attention to the besieging Serbs around the city, whom he claims he expelled from their fortresses and "in a short period of time he cleaned up the land of enemies; for the Triballi [Serbs] ruled over the entire territory outside the gates of the walls of the city prior to the emperor's arrival."²⁶ Involved in his struggle against the Serbs, Cantacuzenus rejected an offer made by the Venetian ambassador Jacopo Bragadino for an alliance directed against the Genoese.²⁷

The next task that Cantacuzenus undertook was the recovery of the city of Berrhoia in western Macedonia. The city had now been in the hands of the Serbs since 1347, but Cantacuzenus counted on the help of a group of local supporters

and the assistance of a certain Martzelatus, chief of some Serbian herdsmen near Berrhoia; his son had been taken prisoner by Cantacuzenus's Turkish allies in a plundering raid in Macedonia, and for his freedom the father promised assistance in capturing Berrhoia.²⁸ After the capture of Berrhoia, Cantacuzenus marched with an enlarged army against Edessa. His expectations that its magnates would deliver the city to him without fighting were not realized. Instead, he had to force the capture of the city by assault, and after arresting four leaders of the Serbian garrison, he dismissed the rest without their arms, expelled the pro-Serbian citizens, and placed the city under George Lyzicus, assisted by a garrison of two hundred men.²⁹ Meanwhile, a number of fortresses and small cities near Edessa and Berrhoia, such as Staridola, Petra, Soskos, Debre, Ostrovo, Notia, and the Thessalian Lykostomion and Kastrion, joined Cantacuzenus willingly.³⁰

The next objective in Cantacuzenus's march was Serbia, a stronghold of great significance. Its capture would certainly open the way for the conquest of Thessaly.³¹ Serbia was defended by Gregory Preljub, the able Serbian conqueror and governor of Thessaly, who rushed with his troops to defend this strategic post.³² Unable to break the resistance of the defenders and hampered by heavy rainfalls, Cantacuzenus decided to abandon the siege and return to Berrhoia. He concentrated his efforts once more in the Macedonian area, where, as he reports, several formerly Byzantine cities sent secret envoys to inform him that upon his approach they would be ready to surrender to him.³³

Cantacuzenus further informs us, in a highly unconvincing manner, that a number of local Serbian rulers, harassed by continual raids by the Turkish auxiliaries and not expecting assistance from Dušan, who was far away in the north of his extensive empire, joined him voluntarily. Among them were the powerful Hlapen, a relation of Dušan, and Tolislav.³⁴ Even Skoplje, a city in the hands of the Serbs since 1282 that served as Dušan's capital, allegedly sent envoys to Cantacuzenus informing him of its desire to surrender to the Byzantines rather than be destroyed, since its earlier appeal to Dušan (fighting at that time in the northern frontiers of his state) to come to its rescue remained unheeded.³⁵ It is highly improbable, however, that Dušan and his nobles

could display such apathy, as Cantacuzenus alleges, especially since he had put so much effort and so much energy into becoming master of southern Macedonia. We must, therefore, take Cantacuzenus's account with great reservations.

Having left protovestiarites Diplovatatzes³⁶ as governor of the recently recovered Thessalian territory,³⁷ Cantacuzenus returned from Berrhoia to Thessalonica to recruit additional armed forces. And from there he soon set out with John Palaeologus against Gynaecocastron, north of Thessalonica, which was in Serbian hands under a certain Velko. At Cantacuzenus's approach Velko opened negotiations with him, promising to surrender Gynaecocastron willingly. But the arrival of Dušan in Macedonia (to halt the Byzantine reconquest), prompted Velko to change his mind and to join his Serbian leader. We are told by Cantacuzenus that Dušan proceeded all the way to the outskirts of Thessalonica and from there communicated to Cantacuzenus his desire for a meeting to settle their differences.³⁸ A meeting between the two rulers soon took place somewhere near Thessalonica. Unfortunately our only source again is the memoirs of Cantacuzenus, who has every reason to give us a biased account. Curiously enough, Nicephorus Gregoras does not even mention the event. Dušan's desire to come to terms with the Byzantines could perhaps have been necessitated by the destruction wrought by the Turkish mercenaries in Serbian lands, the voluntary surrender of a number of cities to Cantacuzenus, and the Serbian ruler's military involvements in the north.³⁹

When the two rulers first met, disagreement prevailed, and they parted accusing each other of ingratitude or of failing to maintain the terms of their old friendship.⁴⁰ In their next meeting, however, they allegedly agreed that Acarnania, Thessaly, Serbia (and all the cities as far as the Aegean coast, including Berrhoia), Edessa, Gynaecocastron, and Mygdonia with all the cities and towns around the Strymon river up to the borders of the city of Serres, and the Tanessianos mountains, would go to the Byzantines; the Serbs would keep Zichna, Serres, Melnik, Strumica, Kastoria, and the other small towns and villages in Macedonia lying outside the aforesaid boundaries.⁴¹

This alleged agreement, however, never materialized, for

Dušan soon denounced it, saying he would sign a treaty only if Cantacuzenus would be satisfied with the cities he already possessed, which was already too much; otherwise he would be prepared to declare war. Cantacuzenus attributes this change in attitude to a group of Byzantines who found secretly their way to Dušan and advised him not to surrender any territory, since Cantacuzenus's weak army was not in a position to harm him, and since there was also the possibility of persuading John Palaeologus to renew the civil war with Cantacuzenus.⁴²

To a critically minded student, Cantacuzenus's report does not appear entirely convincing. Most probably the original agreement never took place, and it is even questionable whether Dušan would ever have agreed to the status quo, since he was in a more advantageous position than Cantacuzenus. The fact that Cantacuzenus soon departed for Constantinople, leaving the recovered territory in Macedonia a prey to Dušan's army, clearly indicates that the Byzantines could not dictate their terms. Dušan quickly recaptured the city of Edessa, assisted by a pro-Serbian party from within.⁴³ Its Byzantine governor, Lyzicus, suffered severe punishment not only for having put up resistance but also for having harassed Dušan at Kastoria during the reign of Emperor Andronicus.⁴⁴ After the capture and plundering of Edessa, the Serbian army proceeded to Berrhoia, which fell, probably into the hands of Hlapen, who had apparently returned to the ranks of Dušan's army.⁴⁵

Cantacuzenus labored from Constantinople to win over the support of Tsar John Alexander of Bulgaria. But Dušan had also sent an embassy to the Bulgarian ruler, which persuaded him to reject Cantacuzenus's proposals.⁴⁶ Cantacuzenus's failure to win the support of the Bulgarians and Constantinople's internal unrest, a result of the Hesychast controversy, did not deter him from his plans of organizing a new campaign against the Serbs. After convoking a synod in 1351 that condemned the teachings of Barlaam and Acindynus, the chief opponents of his Hesychast supporters,⁴⁷ Cantacuzenus made preparations for his campaign. His plans were, however, interrupted by a series of events. A Venetian embassy with fourteen ships arrived in the spring of 1351 in Constantinople, proposing an alliance against the Genoese, with whom the Venetians were already at war as

a result of Genoa's attempt to control the entire trade of the Black Sea.⁴⁸

Thus Cantacuzenus, despite initial hesitations, postponed his plans for the campaign and joined the Venetians and their ally Peter IV of Aragon in their war against the Genoese, whose colony in Galata was hostile to Constantinople. Genoa appealed to the Turks for assistance and soon secured their alliance. Now the two opposing fleets, the Genoese under Paganino Doria and the Venetian, Aragonese, and Byzantine under Nicholas Pisani, met in a battle that lasted throughout the night but remained indecisive. Both sides suffered great losses. Although the Venetians fled to Italy after the naval battle, the conflict continued intermittently until 1355, when sheer exhaustion forced the protagonists to make peace. The Byzantines, left alone in a desperate situation worsened by the constant threat of renewed civil war in Byzantium (which did occur five months later), came to terms with the Genoese of Galata and their Turkish allies. A peace treaty was signed on 6 May 1352 between the Byzantines and the Genoese, according to which the former renounced forever their alliance with the Venetians and confirmed the existing privileges of the Genoese in the Byzantine Empire. Moreover, the Genoese would receive more territory in Galata and the Thracian cities of Selymbria and Heraclea.⁴⁹

In Thessalonica meanwhile, despite the crushing of the Zealots, there remained a party hostile to Cantacuzenus and his supporters, the nobility. These anti-Cantacuzenites, who apparently had been in contact with Dušan,⁵⁰ approached John Palaeologus and told him how infuriated they were at the injustice done to him by Cantacuzenus, who deprived him of the ancestral throne, leaving him only the imperial title empty of any power.⁵¹ So they urged him to attempt to recover his throne, which they said he could easily do with the assistance of the Serbian tsar, who was eagerly awaiting the renewal of the Byzantine civil war. Persuaded, John Palaeologus sent an embassy to Dušan, whose imperial title seems to have been recognized.⁵²

Three sources⁵³ inform us of the negotiations that then took place between John Palaeologus and Dušan. Palaeologus was promised all possible help in arms and money to enable him to recover the lost sovereignty; allegedly he was advised

to divorce his wife, Helen, a daughter of Cantacuzenus, and to marry the young sister of the Serbian empress, thus strengthening the ties between the two allies.⁵⁴

While all these events were taking place in Thessalonica, Cantacuzenus was held in Constantinople by the war against the Genoese of Galata, which had taken an unhappy turn since the departure of the fleet of his allies, the Venetians. Unable to undertake in person a new expedition in Macedonia to prevent a rapprochement between Palaeologus and Dušan, Cantacuzenus hurriedly sent Empress Anne to Thessalonica with instructions to persuade her son, Emperor John, to renounce--for his own interests and the interests of his state--his plans for an alliance against Constantinople with the Serbs. The empress found the city of Thessalonica in great turmoil and on the threshold of a new civil war. "All the arrangements with the king, to which the young emperor should adhere, were made, and the king himself with his wife was encamped near Thessalonica, urging a civil war among the Byzantines," Cantacuzenus tell us.⁵⁵ The same source further informs us that Anne succeeded in persuading her son to renounce his plans and herself went out to the Serbian camp and spoke with the tsar's wife, as a result of which the Serbs were persuaded to withdraw.⁵⁶ Subsequently, Empress Anne remained in Thessalonica, while her son John departed for the capital. Certainly Cantacuzenus's account conceals a great deal, which we are unable to reconstruct accurately.

Although Dušan's attempt to form an alliance with Palaeologus against Cantacuzenus apparently failed, his desire to inflame the civil strife among the Byzantines was realized. Hostilities between the two Byzantine emperors were soon resumed, and both sides searched for allies. On 10 October 1352, John Palaeologus signed a treaty with Venice (which apparently was never executed), according to which Venice would give John 20,000 ducats as subsidy in his fight against Cantacuzenus in exchange for the island of Tenedos, which would remain under the Venetians until the end of their war with Genoa.⁵⁷ John Palaeologus first attacked Matthew Cantacuzenus, who had been transferred from the governorship of the Rhodope region to that of Adrianople. And the city of Adrianople

would certainly have fallen into Palaeologus's hands had Emperor Cantacuzenus not rushed to his son's rescue with his Turkish allies. Palaeologus, finding himself in a strained position, appealed to the Serbs and Bulgarians for military assistance. They both expressed eagerness to assist the desperate Byzantine emperor, but Dušan, in order to assure the fulfillment of Palaeologus's promises, asked to have Palaeologus's brother, Despot Michael, as hostage at his court. Upon the arrival of Michael at Dušan's camp, a cavalry division of four thousand men under Dušan's treasurer (kaznac), Borilović, was dispatched.⁵⁸ Cantacuzenus, upon learning of Dušan's and John Alexander's assistance to his rival, appealed for help to his son-in-law, the Ottoman sultan Orchan, which he eventually received. Thus the ultimate outcome of the civil strife between the two Byzantine emperors lay in the hands of the Ottomans on one side and the Serbs and Bulgarians on the other. The meeting of the two hostile forces near Didymoteichon spelled the utter destruction of Palaeologus and his Serbian allies; the Bulgarians, who had not been engaged in battle, retreated at the mere approach of the superior Turkish army.⁵⁹ With the help of the Genoese, John Palaeologus fled and sought refuge on the island of Tenedos. Cantacuzenus now abandoned all respect for the principle of legitimacy, for which he had worked so hard in the past. He announced the deposition of John Palaeologus from the Byzantine throne and had his son Matthew proclaimed co-emperor in 1353. Patriarch Callistus, however, refused to crown the new emperor and vigorously protested this action. Callistus was a stout defender of the authority of the Byzantine church, and he had done much to restore its power and influence. He had excommunicated the upstart independent Serbian patriarchate and its founder, Tsar Dušan,⁶⁰ and he had obtained from the Bulgarian patriarchate the recognition of the see of Constantinople. Cantacuzenus ousted the obstinate patriarch and replaced him with the bishop of Heraclea, Philotheus, who consented to crown Matthew in 1354.⁶¹ But all these efforts to establish firmly the power of his own house proved to be only of short-lived success. The opposition supporting John Palaeologus as the legitimate ruler grew

even stronger, and the civil war continued uninterrupted. Thanks to his Ottoman allies, John Cantacuzenus was able once again to triumph over his opponents, but it should be remembered that Turkish help was a two-edged weapon.

It is exactly during this period of bitter internal strife in Byzantium that an event with extremely important repercussions for the subsequent history of the empire and the Balkans in general took place--namely, the beginning of the permanent establishment of the Ottoman Turks in Europe. So far, Turkish troops had come often to European soil as the allies of Cantacuzenus, and with their pirate ships they had conducted plundering raids along the European coast from their Anatolian base. There had been no permanent settlement. But their frequent presence in Europe convinced them of the weakness of Byzantium and its inability to present their establishment there.⁶² Already in 1352 Turkish troops had settled in the fortress of Tzympe⁶³ in the neighborhood of Callipolis (Gallipoli), and it was only two years later, on 2 March 1354, when an earthquake wrecked the walls of Callipolis, that Suleiman and his Ottoman troops rushed to the neighboring city and occupied it.⁶⁴ All of Cantacuzenus's efforts to persuade the Turks to evacuate Callipolis were unsuccessful. The conquerors had now in their hands a secure passage from Asia Minor to Europe and an excellent base of operations for further conquests in Thrace, which they soon began systematically. Shortly after the fall of Callipolis, Hadji Ilbeg, one of Suleiman's ablest generals, set out with an army and conquered an extensive territory in Thrace from the Byzantines, which extended up to Raedestus (Rodosto) and the lower Marica.⁶⁵

With frequent appearances in Macedonia, the Turks had become a matter of serious concern for the southern Slavs as well. The Serbian forces had been twice utterly defeated by them, in 1344 at Stefaniana in Macedonia and in 1352 at Didymoteichon in Thrace, and their lands had been devastated by their frequent raids. So it is not improbable that Dušan might have attempted to come to some kind of understanding with the Turks in the hope of sparing his lands. In fact, Gregoras informs us that in 1351 Dušan attempted to conclude a marriage

alliance with the Ottoman Turks. He had sent an embassy to Sultan Orchan proposing a marriage alliance and the establishment in this way of a lasting treaty.⁶⁶ We are told that Orchan accepted the proposal and sent back the Serbian ambassadors bestowed with gifts and accompanied by his own envoys. But the entire train of the embassy was arrested near Raedestus by the Byzantine despot of Aenos, Nicephorus, and so the whole plan came to nothing.⁶⁷

Dušan might have thought that when Venice and Genoa were in bitter conflict in the Levant and the two Byzantine emperors had reopened their old rivalry, he would have had an opportunity to carry out his plans against Byzantium and obtain from the Turks the help and support that Venice had denied to him the year before. His attempt to come to a rapprochement with the Turks should not surprise us and should be viewed in the light of the mentality of the age. Cantacuzenus had more than once used the Ottoman and other Turks as allies, his Byzantine opponents had courted the favor of the Turks with equal zeal (thought not with the same success), and the Genoese had on several occasions collaborated with them. So Dušan was simply applying the realpolitik of his times, which considered dealings with the infidel as nothing wrong or unusual. No one had yet clearly realized what a menace the Turks would soon become for all the Christian peoples of the Balkans. Absorbed in rivalries and wars among themselves, the Christian rulers of southeastern Europe could not rise above personal ambitions and realize that their policies, which would leave the Turks as the unchallenged arbiter, would lead to such a disaster. And Dušan was no more perspicacious than others when he turned to Orchan for an alliance. Whether a few years later the Serbian ruler sensed something of the forthcoming Ottoman storm is a controversial problem; his turnabout may have been connected with his relations with the Avignon papacy and its interest in a new crusade against the infidel.

In June 1354, Dušan sent an embassy to Pope Innocent VI in Avignon.⁶⁸ It included the general judge (καθολικός κριτής) Božidar (Bossidarius, judex generalis); the governor (κεφαλῆ) of Serres, Nestongus Ducas (Nestegius,

cephalia Serenus); and a certain citizen of Cattaro (Kotor), Damian (Damiano de Catara civis Catarensis). They presented the pope with a golden bull of the Serbian tsar, who recognized the Pontif as the father of all Christians and the representative of Jesus Christ on earth. The Roman church was proclaimed the teacher and master of all the faithful, and Dušan confessed his devotion to it. The Serbian envoys also told the pope that Dušan would promise complete freedom and rights to the Catholics in his empire and that he desired an embassy sent to him from Avignon.⁶⁹

Shortly thereafter Dušan expressed to the Pope, through Bishop Bartholomew of Trogir,⁷⁰ his wish to be named by the Roman church capitaneus of a crusade against the Turks, a title given, according to the tradition of the Crusades, only to important monarchs. Pope Innocent VI had already sent from Avignon early in February 1355 an embassy to Serbia, consisting of the bishop of Trogir and the learned Frenchman Peter Thomas of Périgord, then bishop of Patti and Lipari in Sicily, later archbishop of Crete and titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople. The ambassadors had arrived at the Serbian court in the latter part of February or early in March, where they were received by Dušan and his dignitaries in a royal fashion.⁷¹ In the meantime Innocent had acceded to Dušan's request and granted him the title of capitaneus contra Turchos.⁷²

The eager response by Innocent VI can be undoubtedly explained in the light of Dušan's recognition of the Catholic church and the rights of its followers in his empire. A number of papal letters were sent to royalty and high dignitaries requesting good treatment for his envoys to Dušan. Such letters were addressed to King Louis of Hungary, Dušan's wife Helen, King Uroš, the Serbian patriarch Joanikij (who meanwhile had died), all the archbishops and bishops of Serbia and Albania, and to Sebastokrator Dejan, Despot Oliver, Caesar Preljub, Grand Logothete Gojko, the general of the German guards Palman, and the other powerful and influential nobles in Dušan's empire.⁷³ On their way to Serbia the papal envoys met in Pisa with Holy Roman Emperor and King of Bohemia Charles

IV, who was headed to Rome for his coronation. Charles, most probably at the suggestion of the pope, handed to them his famous letter to Dušan, dated 19 February 1355, in which he calls him "most beloved brother" (frater carissimus) and reminds him of their noble Slavic kinship. Charles also offered his services to intervene and bring about a rapprochement between Serbia and Hungary and promised assistance in the case of further Serbian expansion in the Byzantine territory.⁷⁴

The mission of the two bishops, Bartholomew and Peter, ended with complete failure. It was clear that they were more concerned with bringing Serbia to the bosom of the Roman church than with organizing a crusade against the infidel. Similar unsuccessful attempts had previously been made by Rome, in 1327, 1336, 1337, and 1340. With the failure of the 1355 mission, Dušan's crusading plans, whether sincere or not, also failed.⁷⁵ Although Serbia had been exposed to Western influences from the Dalmatian coast through the Middle Ages, nevertheless the deeply rooted Byzantine influences were the determining factor in the country's outlook. It did not view with much favor the Catholic church. Serbia already possessed its independent church with a Serbian patriarch at its head. The historian, then, may legitimately ask what prompted Dušan to open negotiations with the papacy and make so many important concessions. Was it the Turkish menace, which Dušan might have foreseen, and as a result his sincere interest for a crusade against the infidel that made him turn to the pope and recognize his primacy? Or was there some other motive?

There is no doubt that Dušan was not pleased by the settlement of the Turks in Europe. But on the other hand, nothing indicates that Dušan, who in 1351 had asked Sultan Orchan for a marriage alliance, had changed so radically in three years as to see clearly the gathering storm and thus to turn to the Avignon papacy for assistance when nobody else in the West was fully aware of the Turkish menace, as C. Jireček⁷⁶ and a number of Serbian historians have maintained. Furthermore, there is no evidence at all that after receiving the title of capitaneus contra Turchos, Dušan really made any preparations for a crusade. He could

reach the Turks only through Byzantine territories, and there is no indication that he sought a rapprochement with the Byzantines at that time.

Therefore, one has to look elsewhere for Dušan's motive. And indeed, if we examine carefully the relations between Serbia and Hungary at that period, we shall understand why the Serbian tsar acted as he did. We are informed that in 1354 the Serbs and the Magyars were engaged in a bitter war against each other.⁷⁷ The conflict seems to have been on a large scale, and it is most probable that Dušan appealed to Pope Innocent to accept him into the Roman church and to confer upon him the title of capitaneus contra Turchos in order to free himself from the conquering king of Hungary, Louis, who had entered the city of Belgrade in mid-June 1354⁷⁸ and appeared as champion of the Catholic church in his war against orthodox Serbia. Dušan knew well that the papacy was much interested in a crusade against the Turks, who threatened the commercial interests of Venice and Genoa and the Latin princes in the Greek mainland and the Aegean islands. But after the retreat of the Magyars from the Serbian lands, mainly as a result of epidemic diseases that plagued Louis's army and counted his younger brother, Stephen of Slavonia, among its victims, there was no need for Dušan to negotiate with Avignon any longer.

When Dušan had dispatched his embassy to the pope, Byzantium was in the midst of a new crisis. The old conflict between the rival emperors, John Cantacuzenus and John Palaeologus had begun again. The prevailing mood in Constantinople is aptly described in a letter to the Venetian doge Andrea Dandolo by his bailo in the Byzantine capital, Matheus Venerio.⁷⁹ The letter, dated 6 August 1354, states that the populace was in a state of uncertainty and doubt in regard to the outcome of the civil war and did not display any eagerness to join one side or the other. But the author of the letter thinks that the Byzantines, threatened by the Turks and the Genoese alike, would be eager to submit to Venice for protection, and if this could not be done, they would be willing to approach to this end the Magyar or the Serbian ruler.

In the same year, 1354, John Palaeologus came to terms with the Genoese, the enemies of his rival, John Cantacuzenus.

The Genoese pirate in the Aegean, Francesco Gattilusio, offered Palaeologus his assistance in overthrowing Cantacuzenus and in installing him as the sole emperor in Constantinople. Palaeologus in return promised his Genoese ally the hand of his sister Maria and the island of Lesbos, the largest and the most important of the islands that the empire still held in the Aegean.⁸⁰ A last attempt at reconciliation between the two rival emperors had failed, and the conflict reached its final stage. John Palaeologus succeeded in capturing the arsenal of Heptascalon in the capital, and with the help of the anti-Cantacuzenites he confined his opponent in the palace of the Blachernae, thus isolating him from his guard, composed mainly of Spaniards and Turks, which was quartered in the new fortress built at the Golden Gate. Cantacuzenus, realizing his desperate position, decided to abdicate on 22 November 1354, and he subsequently retired to the monastery of Manganes in Constantinople, where he took the monastic habit under the name of Joasaph. Cantacuzenus lived in monastic retirement for nearly thirty years, during which he wrote his memoirs and a number of theological treatises in defense of Hesychasm. He died in the Morea on 15 June 1383.⁸¹ His wife, Empress Irene, had retired to the monastery of Saint Martha, where she had taken the veil.

The abdication of John Cantacuzenus, however, did not immediately put an end to the civil war in Byzantium. The abdicated emperor's son, Matthew, had remained master of the Rhodope region, including the city of Adrianople. Although Emperor John Palaeologus had allowed Matthew to retain for life the imperial insignia, hostility soon broke out between the two. An attempt to force Matthew to agree to give up all the cities he possessed in Thrace and, while retaining the title of basileus, to receive in exchange the Morea from his brother Manuel (who in return would get the island of Lemnos and 10,000 pieces of gold) had apparently failed.⁸² Open warfare began in 1357. Matthew was finally seized by the Serbs and handed over to his opponent John Palaeologus. Forced to abdicate as basileus, Matthew subsequently found refuge in the Morea, which he ruled from 1380 until 1382, after the

death of his brother Manuel.⁸³

The conclusion of the Hungarian war and the restoration of peace in the northern provinces of the Serbian Empire permitted Tsar Dušan to return to the south, where he remained for the rest of his life. He spent the winter of 1354 with his court in the city of Serres. There a sabor had been held a few months earlier, in the fall, to elect the abbot of the monastery of Chilandar, Sava, as the new Serbian patriarch to succeed the deceased patriarch Joanikij.⁸⁴ Unlike earlier saviors, this one was called "a sabor of the Serbs and the Greeks" (СЪБОРЪ СРЪБСКИИ И ГРЪЧСКИИ) to denote the participation of the Greek population. And the new title of the head of the Serbian church was "Patriarch of the Serbs and the Greeks," probably indicating a reaction to the anathema that the patriarch of Constantinople, Callistus, had placed on the Serbian patriarchate and tsar⁸⁵ and aiming at obtaining wider support from the Greek population in Dušan's empire.

At the same time Dušan was watching the political developments in Byzantium, which had culminated in the abdication of John Cantacuzenus. In the spring of the following year a new sabor was convened at Krupišta in the Bregalnica region, in Ovčje Polje.⁸⁶ Dušan made an attempt to mend the schism with the patriarchate of Constantinople, but we are told by the continuator of Danilo that he failed to bring about a rapprochement with the patriarchate of Constantinople and with Byzantium in general, now that his arch-enemy John Cantacuzenus had been removed. This is also manifested in his change of attitude toward the West. During the latter part of February or early in March 1355 the ambassadors of the Avignon pope had arrived at Dušan's court. The negotiations, however, came to a deadlock, and the papal envoys left empty-handed. When the Hungarian threat ended (a truce or treaty between King Louis and Dušan was signed a little later, in May 1355⁸⁸) Dušan changed his attitude toward the West. Thus Bishop Peter left for Hungary, hoping to persuade King Louis to resume hostilities against the Serbs, but he finally returned empty-handed to Avignon via Venice shortly before 25 March 1356.⁸⁹

The rivalry between the Serbs and the Hungarians

did not end there. In the fall a dispute over the control of Clissa (Klis) and Scardona (Skradin) in Dalmatia arose among the Serbs, the Hungarians, and the Venetians. The latter succeeded in becoming masters of Scardona on 10 January 1356; Clissa fell into the hands of the Hungarians in March 1356. The Serbs were the losers. Dušan had died in the meantime and did not see the outcome of this conflict.

We do not have any reliable details about Dušan's death, and the little that is known is obscured by legend. A document of his shows that he was near Berrhoia on 5 December 1355,⁹⁰ and from other contemporary sources we learn that he died on 20 December 1355.⁹¹ We do not know exactly where he ended his life, but there is a possibility that he may have died in or near Prizren, since we know that his body was buried in the nearby monastery of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, which he had founded.⁹² Under what circumstances he died we do not know. According to the later sources, the Ragusan chroniclers Orbini (ca. 1550-1614)⁹³ and Luccari (1551-1615),⁹⁴ in 1355 Dušan was leading a great campaign against Constantinople, and when he reached the frontier of the Byzantine Empire at Diaulopota (Diapoli), he died from fever. That information, which passed into later Serbian chronicles, is not verified by any contemporary source. It must be based, however, on the epic tradition, since we find several Serbian folksongs that relate the story of the expedition and Dušan's sudden death at Davopolje (Luccari's Diapoli, Orbini's Diaulopota).⁹⁵ The stories of the campaign and the inopportune death of Dušan do not appear to correspond to reality, but they are undoubtedly products of the imagination of the folk bards because the contemporary or somewhat later historians and chroniclers--especially Cantacuzenus and Gregoras, who carefully describe this period in detail and record Dušan's death--do not mention such an event. It is with good reason, then, that Florinskij rejects the authenticity of Dušan's last campaign against Constantinople.⁹⁶ On the other hand, this legendary campaign and death on the way to Constantinople clearly indicates what a strong impression Dušan had left in the people's minds.

The death of Stephen Dušan, whose victorious campaigns had raised Serbia to a strong empire, the most powerful in the Balkan peninsula, marked also the beginning of the collapse of what he had built during the twenty-five years of his reign.

Chapter III

DUŠAN'S INTERNAL POLICY IN THE CONQUERED BYZANTINE LANDS

Following his proclamation and subsequent coronation as Emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks in Skoplje on 16 April 1346, Dušan thoroughly embraced the idea of ruling over a Serbo-Greek empire based on Byzantine forms. The new emperor, according to Nicephorus Gregoras, "had changed the barbarian way of life for the Roman manners and had used and is still manifestly using to this moment the crown and all the insignia of distinction befitting such a great magistracy [i.e., imperial dignity]." ¹

Byzantine religious and cultural influences had been at work among the Serbs since the time of their permanent conversion to Christianity by Byzantine and Orthodox Slavic missionaries in the latter part of the ninth century. Despite the struggle between the Nemanjid rulers and Byzantium, these influences remained predominant, thus determining the cultural character and orientation of the Serbs. In addition, however, to Byzantine religious and cultural influences, the Byzantine state structure began to influence Serbia more and more as the Serbs penetrated the Byzantine provinces during the struggle between the Nemanjids and the Byzantines, and as they gained familiarity with Byzantine civil administration and financial and legal systems. Closer knowledge of Byzantine institutions and way of life led Serbia to introduce them gradually into its own lands, since they suited the conditions prevailing in the Serbian feudal state--its social structure, the nature of its supreme power, the relations of the monarch with the aristocracy and the church, and the relations between feudal lords and serfs.

These influences grew still stronger when, under King Milutin, who in 1299 had married Simonis, the daughter of Emperor Andronicus II, the conquest of Byzantine lands by Serbia assumed more significance and a number of Byzantine towns in Macedonia fell into the hands of the Serbs. ² They reached their highest point, however, when Stephen Dušan conquered half of the Byzantine Empire, occupying almost the whole of Macedonia, Epirus, and Thessaly. He subjugated the center of Byzantine Christianity, Mount Athos, and proclaimed himself emperor,

openly raising a rival claim to that of the Byzantine emperors and founding his own empire of Serbs and Greeks. In the newly annexed southern Greek regions, which were the center of gravity of Dušan's empire, life preserved its Byzantine character, influencing the Serbian part of his realm.

The new emperor accepted the Byzantine ceremonial, which had made its appearance already in the Serbian court under his grandfather, King Milutin, but it reached its peak under Stephen Dušan.³

The impregnation of Serbia with Byzantine culture intensified as the Serbian frontier extended at the expense of the Byzantines. Closer contact with Byzantine institutions occurred, and the way of life in these territories prevailed over Western influences (via the Dalmatian coast).⁴

The Serbs had been systematically exposed to Byzantine influences from the very moment that Christianity in its Byzantine form took root among them in the latter part of the ninth century. But these influences were originally exclusively religious and cultural since in the medieval period religion was the vehicle of most aspects of culture, including written law.⁵ The church acquainted the Serbs with the general principles of Christian civilization, Byzantine theology and liturgy, and the thought and culture in general of East Rome, either directly or through the channels of Slavic Christianity, which soon prevailed in the Serbian lands. Latin Christianity, which reached the Serbian lands from the Dalmatian coast, left a noticeable imprint on the Serbs and their culture (which was caught between East and West) but did not manage to shake the basically Byzantine orientation.

As Mošin⁶ states, the first period of Byzantine influence coincides with the Christian conversion of the Serbs and their acceptance of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. The second period resulted from the activities of St. Sava, the founder of the independent national Serbian church. Sava, the son of Stephen Nemanja, the founder of the Nemanjid dynasty, established vital ties with Mount Athos, and thus through Athonite channels all genres of literature, learning, and art were transplanted among the Serbs. It was during this period that the Byzantine orientation of Serbia was ultimately decided. Although remaining basically religious, Byzantine influence during this period was much more intense and much broader in scope. In

the relationship between Serbia and Byzantium the Serbian monastery of Chilandar on Mount Athos, which remained the cultural and spiritual center of Serbia for many centuries, played a key role.⁷ Certain Byzantine legal practices entered Serbia along with the church and the monasteries because these institutions had properties and so had an effect on the people outside the church who worked on the church's estates.

Byzantine influence began to be noticed and felt outside the religious and cultural orbit in the thirteenth century even as Byzantine political power declined. Raška (which after a long struggle liberated itself from Byzantine sovereignty about 1180) emerged as an independent state, and its ruler assumed the title of samodržac (the autocrat part of the Byzantine imperial title), indicating the independent character of the state and its ruler.⁸ The weakening of Byzantine political control, however, did not by any means imply that Byzantium's cultural influence was also on the wane. On the contrary, it expanded in both Bulgaria and Serbia, where the developments of the preceding centuries had created favorable conditions. Although the political climate underwent frequent changes, the Serbia of Stephen Nemanja and his heirs remained within the orbit of the Byzantine church, and the stamp of Byzantine culture became increasingly evident.

Marriages played an important role in the dissemination of Byzantine culture. Intermarriage began at the end of the twelfth century and continued to the middle of the fifteenth century. These marriages⁹ can be divided into two groups. The period up to the death of Dušan in 1355 is one of hostilities with Byzantium, when the princely marriages had well-determined political aims to bring about a rapprochement between the two countries and to improve their relations. During the period from Dušan's death until the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the Turkish conquest of the Serbian despotate in 1459, there was no rivalry between Byzantium and the Serbs, and the princely marriages were nothing but the expression of solidarity between the two Orthodox peoples.

When at the end of the twelfth century the independent state of Raška emerged under the Nemanjid dynasty, the primitive tribal organization was slowly replaced by governmental administrative apparatus. St. Sava's translation of the Byzantine Nomocanon included the Procheiron, or Procheiros Nomos, of Basil the Macedonian. Through this translation

Byzantine public and criminal law were introduced to Serbia in a book that was considered as the θεῖοι καὶ ἑποὶ νόμοι. This was an important event, for Byzantine law was now introduced in a formal manner. When the church had been established, Byzantine canon law had necessarily been introduced, but now Byzantine civil law entered the Serbian state as well.

With the formal introduction of Byzantine law in the thirteenth century, we notice the beginnings of Byzantine political organization and culture. During the reign of Milutin, when the Serbs acquired extensive Byzantine territories in Macedonia, they became directly acquainted with Byzantine legal practices and notions. By his marriage to Simonis, Milutin opened the door for further Byzantine influences: Byzantine court ceremonial, titles, and administrative organization were fully introduced, and the pronoria system spread among the Serbs.¹⁰ Mošin¹¹ notices under Milutin the introduction of the following:

1. New taxes modeled on Byzantine taxes.
2. Organization of the royal court after the Byzantine fashion, apparent in the introduction of such titles as δεσπότης, σεβαστοκράτωρ, καῖσαρ, μέγας δομέστικος, πρωτοβεσιτάριος, μέγας δοῦξ, πρωτοστράτωρ (terčija), λογοθέτης, πρωτοσεβαστός.¹² All these titles were to be found in Serbia before Dušan's reign.
3. Byzantine influences in organization of local administration and justice.
4. Serbian diplomatics, especially under Milutin.

As Mošin has argued, strong Byzantine influences occurred under Milutin, deciding the character of the subsequent Serbian state, but it was further developed under Dušan. One must subject Mošin's theory to examination because it seems that the greatest influence occurred under Dušan. Dušan ruled within the Byzantine tradition, and the idea of the world ruler that haunted him made him aim at the Byzantine throne. He had proclaimed himself tsar (basileus), acquired all the insignia and raiment of the Byzantine basileus, and also created a patriarch--crucial for the notion of basileus and patriarch together. The organization of Dušan's court and administration according to the Byzantine fashion is indicated by the number of Greek terms in administration, taxation, high offices, and officials (sebastokrator, logofet, prahtor, etc). Byzantinization also called for extensive official building activity; this is the great period of the construction of Serbian churches. With the

edition of the Zakonik, the Serbian code of laws, the Serbian tsar imitated the law-giving activity of the Byzantine basileus--he appeared as something of a second Justinian. Many of the details of this achievement were short-lived because his mighty empire began collapsing immediately after his death.¹³

Titles

Dušan had granted with great liberality titles of Byzantine origin to generals, magnates and other high officials of his state. Many of these titles, such as despot,¹⁴ sebastokrator, caesar (цесар), megas domesticus (велики слуга), protovestiarius (протовестияр), megas dux (велики војвода), logothetes (логофет), protosebastos (протосебаст), ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης (ставицац), were all in use in Serbia before Dušan as a result of the introduction of Byzantine ceremonial following Milutin's marriage to Simonis in 1299. Under Dušan many other titles were added, and there is every reason to believe that Dušan established a complete Byzantine court with eighty (according to Codinus) or ninety members (according to Matthew Blastares) and granted these titles to his generals, magnates, and other officials, including Greeks.¹⁵

In the later Byzantine period the highest titles were the despot and the sebastokrator. In medieval Serbia the title of despot appears for the first time during the highest point of Serbia's political and territorial expansion, 1346-1371. When despot is mentioned in Serbian sources before 1346 it refers to cases of foreign origin (Byzantine or Bulgarian despotes). Only after his proclamation as emperor in 1346 did the Serbian ruler assume the right to bestow this title on his subjects, which was an imperial privilege.

The first despot in the Serbian court known to us is Dušan's most important official, John Oliver, mentioned as despot for the first time in 1349.¹⁶ During the years of the Serbian Empire, we find several distinguished persons, mainly related to the imperial family, who bore the title of despot.

An analysis of the sources indicates that the office of the despot, in Serbia as in Byzantium, was purely of titular character: it did not involve the exercise of any definite functions or the holding of a special region. The despots of Serbia held their lands like the other feudal lands, entirely independently of their title.

With the death of the last Serbian tsar, Uroš, in 1371, the

first period of the history of the despot title in Serbia comes to an end.¹⁷

The despot title of the Serbian ruler during the first half of the fifteenth century has a different origin. From Stephen Lazarević (who received the title in August 1402 from John VIII Palaeologus) to Lazar Branković, the Serbian princes received the title from Constantinople.

Language and Diplomats

In the new empire of the Serbs and the Greeks--which sought to appear as a continuation of the Byzantine rule, which placed the center of gravity in the former Byzantine provinces, and which also had to deal with extensive Greek populations--it was only natural that the Greek language was recognized as a second official language, equal with Serbian.

Judging from the numerous surviving Greek documents issued by Dušan and his successors, one must assume that there existed at the Serbian court two chanceries, a Slavic and a Greek. C. Jireček¹⁸ seems to think the Serbian rulers had possessed a Greek chancery since the beginning of the thirteenth century, and he refers to the famous correspondence of King Radoslav with the archbishop of Ohrid, Demetrius Chomatianus. M. Lascaris¹⁹ has, however, challenged Jireček's opinion. Later, in studying all the existing Greek documents issued by Dušan and his successors, V. Mošin came to the conclusion that the medieval Serbian court did not possess a Greek chancery, and that all these Greek documents were composed by the recipient in advance on the basis of Byzantine prototypes and presented to the Serbian rulers for signing. Mošin's theory is based on the lack of stylistic uniformity in the Greek decrees of the Serbian rulers.²⁰

Byzantine Influences on Serbian Diplomats²¹

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries more Byzantine elements became apparent in Serbia, but a marked increase of this Byzantine influence in Serbian diplomats occurred ca. 1300--one manifestation of that strong penetration of the Byzantine tradition into Serbia after Milutin's conquest of Macedonia. The Serbian decrees issued for the monasteries of this region borrowed the administrative, financial, and judicial terminology of Byzantine acts and tended to be even closer in form to the Byzantine chrysobulls. This tendency, however, did not bring about systematic modification of the formulation of the Serbian acts.

The apogee of Byzantine influence in Serbian diplomatics, according to Mošin,²² coincides with the reign of Tsar Stephen Dušan and his son, Tsar Uroš. Beginning in 1343 or 1346 we find in the Serbian chrysobulls the expression zlatopečatnoe slovo, analogous to the Byzantine χρυσόβουλλος λόγος but not used regularly according to the Byzantine fashion. In the signature of the Serbian emperor one finds only the Byzantine expression V Hrista Boga. The entire formula of the titulature remained considerably variable, however, and it became more uniform only under Tsar Uroš. During the first years of Dušan's reign only half of the issued chrysobulls indicate the date, but it appears in all twenty extant chrysobulls issued by Dušan as emperor. It should be noticed, however, that there is only one chrysobull, that concerning a donation to the village of Kabrinci, in which the date has all the elements according to the Byzantine rules.

Sometimes these documents mention the name of the intermediary person (milosnik), probably corresponding to the intermediary mentioned in the Byzantine diplomas by the note dia. More often one sees the note of the logothete mentioning the order of the sovereign.

The proclamation of the empire of the Serbs and the Greeks and the administrative organization of the southern regions "according to the customs of the Romans" necessitated the confirmation of the privileges of the cities, the monasteries, and the Greek nobility. The decrees issued by Dušan in Greek tend to copy faithfully the formulary of their Byzantine models--chrysobulls and prostagmata. The juridical distinction between the two general categories of imperial acts is reflected in Serbian diplomatics by the adjustment of the secular diploma to the Byzantine prostagma. Thus we find at the beginning of the text the formula ima želju i poveleva (ἔχει θέλημα καὶ διορίζεται), and at the end, instead of the short signature of the sovereign, we find the date written in red in the tsar's hand, resembling the Byzantine menologium. The Serbian date-subscription, however, differs essentially from the Byzantine menologium. Beside the month the indiction is missing: sometimes the day of the month appears; one time in the place of the indiction, the year after the world era (ère cosmique) is given.

After the fall of the Serbian Empire and the loss of the Greek regions, this type of the diploma-prostagma disappeared. The Serbian chrysobull abandoned certain formulas of the

Byzantine type and adopted certain new Western elements, even the personal plural pronoun mi, which we find in a diploma of Despot Lazar dated 1457.

Thus we must repeat that the Byzantine chancery did not exercise an exclusive influence on Serbian diplomatics; even during the periods of the greatest penetration of Byzantine law, Serbian diplomas always retained certain peculiarities that can be traced to the original Western traditions.²³

The Balkan Slavs were the most diligent pupils of the Byzantines when it came to state administration and church order. Orthodoxy and above all traditions and folk customs created close cultural ties with Byzantium. Ties between the ruling houses, military alliances, church contacts, and even rivalries shaped more and more spiritual, cultural, and political contacts. In the middle of the fourteenth century, when Dušan united all the lands under his scepter and proclaimed himself officially, with the help and consent of God, "emperor of the Serbians and the Romans," a uniform system of administration with a common legal basis became necessary for the peaceful coexistence of the various Balkan peoples in Dušan's empire. Dušan looked to Byzantium for the model of his imperial administration. So it was natural that he would also imitate its chancery system and forms.

Thus we find in the Serbian court such offices as despot, caesar, Sebastokrator, protosevast, and veliki primikjur. There were also legator, gjerakar, and the head of the Serbian ruler's chancery, the logofet. Many of these offices had been brought by Greeks in the entourage of Byzantine princesses; others were simply created by the Serbian court in imitation of Byzantium. Thus the forms of the Serbian ruler's chancery are extraordinarily similar to those of Byzantium. And when Dušan assumed the title of the "emperor of the Romans," he naturally also assumed the entire formal apparatus (like the red dating and signature of the privileges and prostagmata) with expressions similar to the Greek ones.

Among Dušan's first and most important chrysobulls were those issued for Mount Athos; the new chrysobulls (in both Greek and Serbian) followed the structure and expressions of the earlier Byzantine documents issued for these monasteries. Logos words and other diplomatic elements were similar to the Byzantine prototypes; the seals were similar to the Byzantine

prototype in that the Serbian ruler was represented in clothes similar to those of the Byzantine basileus. We must also mention that the dia mark was also taken over by the Serbian diplomatas²⁴-- in Greek, as a matter of fact, which is a further indication of the tie between the two chanceries.

Seals

The Greek documents of the Serbian rulers are patterned faithfully after the prototypes of the Byzantine imperial documents with similar inner formulaic expressions, written in red (purple), signature in red (some in Slavic and others in Greek) and seals attached to them.²⁵

Law

Wishing to provide a common, solid foundation for his new empire and striving to imitate the Byzantine model, Dušan felt the necessity of accepting Byzantine legislation and the authority of the written law. Since Dušan was driven by the desire to replace the Byzantine Empire, and since he already held so much Byzantine territory, he could not impose on his subjects a Serbian code. He would, rather, recognize the Byzantine one and supplement it with the Slavic customary law when necessary.

Byzantine law had made its way into Serbia long before the reign of Dušan. In Western Europe, Roman law was diffused by the church, which vivit lege Romana, but even more so by secular scholars, glossators and commentators, by the numerous universities and the legalists. In Eastern Europe, Byzantine law (Roman law in its Byzantinized version) was transmitted by monks, without commentaries, and rarely by legislators, the heads of states. Thus the phrase Ecclesia vivit lege Romana is applicable to all the countries of Eastern Christendom, and consequently to Serbia. Byzantine Christianity, which was permanently established among the Serbs in the latter part of the ninth century, introduced Byzantine legal notions and practices through the use of canon law. St. Methodius had already translated the Byzantine Nomocanon into Slavic for the Moravian church, and subsequently it became valid in the Bulgarian church.

Byzantine bishops, clergy, and monks brought with them the norms of Byzantine canon law. This situation was especially noticeable after 1018, when the Byzantine frontier extended again to the Danube river and the Serbs recognized the authority of the basileus.²⁶ Under Stephen Nemanja (ca. 1167-1196), Byzantine culture found its way, on a large scale, into Serbia. Nemanja

himself lived within the Byzantine world of ideas, and he ended his life as a monk on Mount Athos, where he joined his younger son, the celebrated St. Sava, the founder of the autocephalous Serbian church, a national Slavic church based on Byzantine models. Stephen Nemanja's 1180 council against the Bogomils was patterned after the Byzantine fashion: ecclesiastical and temporal officials assembled under the leadership of the emperor to condemn the heresy and to impose severe punishment upon the heretics. Stephen Nemanja had turned not only against Bogomilism but also against Catholicism.

With the consent of the emperor and the patriarch of Nicaea, Sava became head of the autocephalous Serbian church in 1219. The new church was Slavic but governed after the Byzantine fashion. While in Thessalonica, Sava translated the Nomocanon, attributed to Photius, and inserted in it a complete translation of the Procheiron.²⁷ Sava had seen the usefulness of such a legal manual for his people and desired that its public and criminal law be formulated and applied in the Byzantine manner. The numerous chrysobulls of the Serbian rulers issued in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries clearly manifest the strong influence of Byzantine law. Like the Bulgarian ones, these chrysobulls apply Byzantine rules, especially those addressed to the acquired Byzantine lands. Thus we see in a chrysobull that King Milutin issued in 1300 for a monastery near Skoplje that the new ruler left practically everything unchanged as it had existed under the Byzantines.²⁸

Under Milutin the influence of Byzantine law increased considerably not only in canon law and the civil law in general but also in the public law. During Milutin's time the pronioia system as well became widespread in Serbia.²⁹ Milutin was not satisfied with the title of samodržac (the equivalent of the Byzantine autocrat); he also aspired to the title of tsar (emperor, basileus), as is indicated by one of his seals. Milutin introduced Byzantine titulature to his court, and we find some local administrators called kephale in the Byzantine fashion. We also observe in the administration of justice reforms prompted by strong Byzantine influences. These reforms are illustrated by the following terms: sudija veliki ili mali, sudija gradu, sudija župski, nomik.³⁰

The influence of the church in disseminating Byzantine law should not be underestimated. Canon law accompanied the organized

church in Serbia. But the influence of the church was not limited to matters of canon law; it manifested itself also in the law of inheritances, the law of obligations, and also in the criminal law. The church, and especially the monasteries, possessed extensive estates and thus had the rights of feudal lords over their lands and peasants. In exercising their rights of justice, the monasteries introduced Byzantine notions. This influence was increased toward 1220 by the reforms of St. Sava, the reorganizer of the Serbian church along national lines and the translator of the Nomocanon and the Procheiron.

This new reception of Byzantine law in Serbia greatly strengthened its influence.³¹ It is important to notice in this connection the introduction of the pronioia system in Serbia, a system extended to monastic lands.³² The fact that Byzantine monasteries had long possessed lands in Serbian territories is of special significance, since the monks had secular legal power concerning the settlers in these lands. It is therefore possible that when the Serbs confronted new conditions, they would look for guidance to the familiar rules of Byzantine law. But traces of a systematic reception of the Byzantine law and institutions are not to be found in the existing documentary evidence during the entire period up to the fourteenth century.

Under Milutin, Byzantine legal practices used especially in conquered Byzantine lands³³ appeared, and thus the basis was laid for a systematic adoption of Byzantine law. The process followed this path: first, Milutin confirmed the alien institutions found in the newly conquered lands; then, their legal authority was extended into Serbian lands. The reception of the Byzantine legal institutions was due to two factors: 1) Practical expediency. The maintenance of Byzantine legal institutions and law in conquered lands ensured the stability of existing conditions, and it tended to gain the favor of the local magnates, church, and people in general. 2) The need to apply Byzantine legal rulings to purely Serbian lands as the result of the new, Byzantine imperial conditions.

There is no reason to believe that the judicial order and the administrative machinery underwent any real change in the former Byzantine lands under Dušan's rule. Life preserved its Byzantine character and the Byzantine system of administration was left unaltered. The only changes were at the top, where new men seem to have occupied the leading positions. Thus the highest

administrative positions in the state and church organization were occupied by members of the Serbian nobility and clergy respectively.

Zakonik

Since Dušan subscribed to Byzantine political ideas and aimed at Byzantine prototypes, it was natural for him to accept Byzantine law and institutions. With such a solid foundation, his empire could serve as a unifying factor in keeping together the Serbs, Greeks, Bulgarians, Albanians, Vlachs,³⁴ Jews, Gypsies, and Germans³⁵ under his rule. To administer this extensive empire, Dušan needed a new codification of law patterned--like everything else--on the Byzantine model, so that Dušan might appear as the direct continuator of the great and holy Byzantine emperors. He called himself...и наставнику бити великимъ и светимъ царемъ Гръцкимъ...(1345).³⁶ That Dušan felt the need for a new codification is indicated in an undated chrysobull issued after his coronation in 1346; it is regarded as a prologue to his codification of 1349.³⁷ Thus began extensive legislative work--numerous chrysobulls and other official acts, the translation and systematization of Byzantine collections of law, and finally the new code, the Zakonik,³⁸ which stands as one of the most important cultural monuments and achievements of medieval Serbia. Dušan's Zakonik, this great legislative work, was accomplished in the period between 16 April 1346 and 21 May 1349.

Apparently, preparatory work on the new code began immediately after Dušan's coronation in 1346. The preliminary work lasted until 21 May 1349, when at a sabor convoked in Skoplje³⁹ the first 135 articles of the Code of Dušan (Dušanov Zakonik) were proclaimed: "In the year 6857 [1349], the second of the indiction, at the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, on the twenty-first day of the month of May. This code is established by our Orthodox council, by the most Holy Patriarch kyr Joanikij, and by all the bishops and the clergy, both small and great, and by me, pious Tsar Stephen, and all the lords of my empire, both small and great."⁴⁰

More information about this sabor comes from a Serbian chrysobull of Dušan, dated 27 May 1350, which confirmed the patrimony (baština) of one of Dušan's lords, Ivanko Probištitović. Dušan writes: "Having convoked with God's permission and the help of the Holy Spirit a sabor in the famous city of Skoplje with my lord and father the revered Serbian patriarch kyr Joanikij and

with God's gift Empress Helen and our God's gift son King Uroš, and with the metropolitans and the bishops and the abbots and the venerable anchorites and with all the Serbian and the Greek gentry, we have revised and established and sanctioned all the regulations of the holy and divine churches."⁴¹

Both of the above texts indicate that the large codification undertaken by the Serbian ruler had as its aim more than the mere promulgation of the first 135 articles of the Zakonik. As the chrysobull stated, the Serbo-Greek sabor would begin with a "revision" of the holy and divine laws (the Byzantine expression, *τεροὶ καὶ θεῖοι νόμοι*, embraces both canon and secular law). Dušan had before him the example of Justinian, who also began his legislative work with a revision of the old laws. Both Dušan and his legal advisers knew of Justinian's great work, for it was mentioned in the preface of Blastares's Syntagma, which had already been translated into Serbian. As a matter of fact, Dušan's legislative work displays some similarities with that of Justinian.

The sabor of 21 May 1349 not only promulgated the first 135 articles of the Zakonik but also undertook a large codification of Byzantine law.

Another sabor in 1354 added the articles 136-84, and still later there were added articles 189-201. As Solovjev's detailed studies have shown,⁴² the Zakonik was part of a Serbian Codex Tripartitus, based upon Byzantine law but without neglecting Serbian customary law, when necessary. The other two parts of Dušan's legislative work were the abridgment of the Syntagma by Matthew Blastares and the so-called Law of Justinian (*Zakon Cara Justiniana*). In all the old manuscripts the Zakonik is found at the end, following the Syntagma, in a very abridged Slavic translation and, in the second place, the Law of Justinian.⁴³

Syntagma

The Syntagma (*Σύνταγμα κατὰ στοιχεῖον*) of the monk Matthew Blastares⁴⁴ is a nomocanonical collection (i.e., it contains both secular and ecclesiastical rulings) in an alphabetical order. It was written in 1335 in Thessalonica, where legal studies flourished in the fourteenth century under Constantine Harmenopoulos; one could say that Thessalonica was the center of Byzantine legal studies at that time.

The Syntagma by Blastares comprises the entire material of

the Nomocanon with the addition of important rulings of the Procheiron and the Basilica. It is thus an encyclopedia of ecclesiastical and secular law, a work that responds to the conditions of time, when the line between ecclesiastical and secular law had become blurred. Andronicus III Palaeologus had appointed ecclesiastical judges more often than laymen as καθολικοὶ κριταί (established in 1329). The Syntagma had been translated into Bulgarian during the reign of John Alexander, and since we do not possess a Bulgarian legal treatise of indigenous origin, it is possible that the Syntagma might have been the valid legal code in Bulgaria in the fourteenth century.

The Serbian translation of the Syntagma was made soon after its publication in 1335⁴⁵ but not by Dušan's order, as is often believed.⁴⁶ The abridgment of the Syntagma is a legal treatise prepared for the imperial tribunal (za sud carski), as it is explicitly stated. The abridgment prepared by Dušan's legislative team carefully excluded all elements that promoted either the caesaropapistic rights of the emperor or the papistic ones of the patriarch, leaving only those that would not impede Dušan's ambitions.⁴⁷ The ecclesiastical rulings, which formed the majority in the original text, were almost completely excluded, but all the secular rulings were left⁴⁸--all the rulings of Byzantine civil law, mostly from the Procheiron, also supplemented from material taken from the Basilica and the Novels. The criminal law, taken from the Procheiron, is kept in its entirety in the adaptation of the Syntagma.⁴⁹ Though only one third of the original remained in the Serbian abridgment, it nevertheless constitutes four fifths of Dušan's Codex Tripartitus.

The "Law of Emperor Justinian"

The "Law of Emperor Justinian" is a Serbian compilation extracted mainly from the Byzantine Nomos Georgikos, which refers to free peasants, the existence of whom was known in both Byzantium and Serbia at that time. Like Florinskij,⁵⁰ Solovjev contended that the abridged Syntagma, the "Law of Justinian," and the Zakonik form a unity when analyzed from the legal point of view, but he based his argument not only on a palaeographical analysis, as Florinskij had done, but on a comparative legal study. The one complements the other.⁵¹ The laws covering contracts (such as purchases, exchanges, gifts, mortgages, pledges, and deposits), for example, are well covered by the

Syntagma; therefore the Zakonik contains only one article concerning contracts--article 90, which deals with the redemption of mortgages (pledges). According to Solovjev, this example cannot illustrate that the law of contracts in Dušan's empire was regulated by customary legal practice. The abridgment, he contends, proves the validity of the Byzantine law, to which the Zakonik makes only one addition. By taking account of the palaeographical evidence of the manuscript and the policy of Dušan, Solovjev in his Zakonodavstvo made a detailed comparative legal study and concluded that they form a Codex Tripartitus. On the other hand, because neither the Syntagma nor the Nomos Georgikos says anything about dependent peasants, Dušan's Zakonik devoted several articles (articles 67-77, 114, 115) to the paroikoi (called meropsi in Serbian). The Syntagma contains many chapters concerning marriage and inheritance and speaks about dowries, wills, guardianship (tutelage), and the rights of widows and orphans. The "Law of Justinian" gives two supplementary articles on these subjects, and the Zakonik deals with some specific cases (marriage with Roman Catholics and the right of succession to noblemen's estates).

Dušan's Zakonik begins with a section on the church (articles 1-38), dealing mainly with its economic and legal privileges and the organization of the monasteries. Measures against the Roman Catholics and the heretics are included, since the corresponding parts in the Syntagma were antiquated.

Criminal law is well represented in the Syntagma, especially the categories of murder, robbery, theft, and moral offenses (bigamy, fornication, rape, seduction, sodomy). The Zakonik adds two rulings (stressing the distinctions between social classes) about rape committed by members of different social status (article 53) and about fornication of a noblewoman with her peasants. Similar laws are to be found in the Procheiron⁵² but not in the Syntagma, which indicates that the authors of the Zakonik filled a lacuna of the Syntagma by borrowing from other sources of Byzantine law (Procheiron) in applying the punishment of mutilation. Offenses against life are well covered by the Syntagma; nevertheless, Dušan's Zakonik has added a few more cases: articles 88-88 and 94-96 deal with parricide, murder of an ecclesiastic, murder of a nobleman by his peasants, etc.

The system of punishments in the Zakonik is very close to

that of Byzantine law: execution, impalement, hand-cutting, and blinding are specified here as in the Procheiron. In other words, punishment in the Zakonik is based entirely on Byzantine law. One is far removed from the old Serbian practice of vražda, according to which a murderer was punished by a fine of 500 hyperperi (hyperperi).⁵³ The vražda was in full effect under King Milutin, who was asked by the Ragusan senate in 1308 to administer the customary Ragusan penalty--death--to those of his subjects who had murdered a number of Ragusans. The Serbian king answered that he could never take the blood of his subjects (nolebat spargere sanguinem subditorum suorum) and that he would adhere to the old Serbian custom of a fine (vražda) of 500 hyperperi; Milutin took an oath about this upon his coronation. This conflict between Slavic and Roman-Byzantine law is worth noting. But despite this oath, Milutin did not hesitate to blind his own son in the true Byzantine fashion in 1314. We do see remnants of the old Slavic death fine in the Zakonik (1,000 hyperperi in article 94; 300 hyperperi in articles 87 and 94).

All the penalties concerning theft and robbery are mentioned in the Syntagma; the Zakonik is silent about them.

The law of seeking asylum in churches is amply covered by the Syntagma; yet the Zakonik makes two additions; asylum in the palace of the emperor and asylum in the palace of the patriarch.⁵⁴

Thus one sees clearly that the Zakonik does not treat legal aspects covered by the Syntagma and the "Law of Justinian." However, it deals with a number of legal subjects not covered by the Syntagma and the "Law of Justinian," and this is exactly where the value and the characteristic feature of the Zakonik lies: though it says very little about civil and even less about criminal law, it abounds in rulings concerning public law and legal procedure.

Public law was always the weak aspect of the Byzantine legal treatises. The Ecloga and the Procheiron do not mention it at all; only the Basilica devote their first books to it. The Epanagoge attempted to define only the rights of the emperors and the patriarchs, but this treatise was apparently never officially promulgated,⁵⁵ since the Procheiron was chosen the official legal handbook by Basil I between 870 and 879. Nevertheless, the Epanagoge continued to be used by Byzantine jurists as an important source of law.⁵⁶ Blastares had included

in his work the two chapters from the Epanagoge that dealt with the rights of emperors and patriarchs, but they were left out in the Serbian abridgment of the Syntagma.⁵⁷ In addition, the Zakonik contains many rulings about the rights of nobles and peasants and about city administration. Thus, one can consider the Zakonik the constitutional charter of Dušan's Serbo-Greek empire and compare it to the English Magna Carta of 1215 or the Hungarian Golden Bull of 1224.

Yet certain elements of Dušan's Zakonik differentiate it from those other feudal constitutions. Although Dušan's state was similarly based on a hierarchy of the classes, on privileges for the feudal lords and the church, one can clearly distinguish here the ideal of the new empire: a legal monarchy (monarchis legalis), where feudalism would be tempered by an Orthodox autocrat (sovereign). The social classes would have not only privileges but also duties. The ruler would keep in balance the interests of the various classes, protecting the lower classes from any exploitation by the functionaries and the nobility.

At the same time, however, the sovereign's authority would be tempered by the law. Articles 171 and 172 of the Zakonik make a sharp distinction between the code and the decrees of the ruler; when his decrees contradicted the rulings of the Zakonik, the judges were to act according to the Zakonik. "Every judge should judge according to the code justly, as written in the code, and shall not judge by fear of me, the tsar."⁵⁸

The idea of legal monarchy is found also in Byzantium. The basileis had pronounced it publicly,⁵⁹ though they inclined toward oriental despotism. As N. Radojčić⁶⁰ had demonstrated, articles 171 and 172 of the Zakonik are based on the Basilica, on the distinction between the γενικοί νόμοι and the ἀναγραφή. The Zakonik here recalls the Novel of Emperor Manuel Comnenus, issued in 1159 and its mention of a possible conflict between the law and decrees that the emperor might have issued of of "sympathy or antipathy for a certain person"; such decrees the judge was to consider invalid.⁶¹

In reality, Byzantium seldom had such independent judges and model emperors (legibus alligatos),⁶² but it is important that Dušan chose and accepted those good rulings of Byzantine public law, which he rendered into a more concise and effective form than the rhetorical Novel of 1159.

Court procedure is very little mentioned in the Syntagma. The Zakonik offers many rulings on this subject, but these are the least Byzantine that the code contains. The Serbian procedure was still primitive enough; it recognized the judgment of the peers for the nobility and the judgment of God for the peasants. Yet the Zakonik introduced "imperial judges," who traveled and judged in the provinces (article 110).

It should be noticed that the three codices--the two abridged translations of Byzantine legal treatises and the ingenious codex, which unified the Serbian and Byzantine law into a combined system⁶³--do not mention at all the customary law, and thus one might assume that everything was regulated by the written law. Such an impression is obviously far from the truth. In the Balkans there was a lack of educated judges, and for this reason Andronicus III had instituted in 1329 the καθολικοὶ κριταί, who were mostly ecclesiastics.⁶⁴ The need for secular education was even more acute in Serbia, where in Dušan's time the institution of the καθολικοὶ κριταί was in full use.

In 1354 a new series of rulings (articles 136-184) were promulgated, forming the second part of the Zakonik. They are based on Novelae that had been issued in the five years since the first part of the Zakonik was issued in 1349; these were codified in a new sabor. Some of these additions to the first part of the Zakonik are especially important. A Novel about the jury (which had been instituted by King Milutin) specified that criminal cases should be decided by a majority of twenty-four, twelve, or six members, depending on the seriousness of the case. This is definitely a concession to Serbian customary law. Article 176, which confirms to the former Byzantine cities the statutes of "the first emperors" (that is, the Byzantine emperors), mentions as judges only the prefects (archon, **ΒΛΑΔΑΛΗΝ**) and the ecclesiastics as tribunal, without mentioning the special, "professional" judges. This situation corresponds to the Byzantine customary law of the fourteenth century, according to which the highest ranking clerics (ἄρχοντες ἐκκλησιαστικοί) in every city with a bishopric were members of the episcopal tribunal, often assisted by the political archons (ἄρχοντες πολιτικοί).

Dušan's great legal codification was not destined to enjoy a long-lived application. With his death on 20 December 1355 much of the "Empire of the Serbs and the Greeks" had been broken into

small appanages under his weak successor Uroš, and the southern provinces soon passed into Turkish hands. The north of Serbia, however, lasted longer, and after 1402 a new state emerged under Stephen Lazarević, who bore only the Byzantine title of despot. Dušan's codex remained in use there. We know of a manuscript of it from the fifteenth century, in which the abbreviated Syntagma is glossed by some material from the Procheiron. Another version contains the Syntagma and the "Law of Justinian" in an even shorter form and differently arranged, but the Zakonik is enriched by a number of new articles (189-201). With the conquest of Serbia by the Turks, Dušan's legal work disappeared except in a few small and sporadic vestiges that survived as late as the nineteenth century.⁶⁵

The rapid disintegration of the Serbo-Byzantine empire following Dušan's death deprived the Serbian state of all the southern provinces and also of a centralized power for a considerable period of time. This accounts for the interruption of the application of Dušan's great legislative work. The Serbs of the fifteenth century, vassals of Turks or the Hungarians, had at their head no longer an emperor but a modest despot. The despotate was limited to the northern parts of the Serbian lands, where customary law prevailed in most aspects of life. In the decrees of the Serbian despots of the fifteenth century one finds little trace of the laws that Dušan had promulgated. Scarcity of evidence on legal practice following Dušan's death does not permit us to say whether his codex had answered the needs of the time or whether it dominated the tribunals after 1354. One would tend to think that the rapid decline and dismemberment of Dušan's empire during the period 1355-1389 hindered this process. After the Ottoman Turks conquered the southern provinces of Dušan's empire, Byzantine law lost its solid basis in the Serbian state. The large codex remained in effect in the reduced Serbia of the fifteenth century, but customary law eventually replaced it as a result of the institution of juries operating since 1354.⁶⁶

According to Gregoras, the administration of the new empire was divided between Dušan and his son Uroš. Dušan "allowed him [Uroš] to rule according to the customs of the Triballi over the region from the Ionian gulf and the river Istros up to the city of Skoplje," and Dušan himself was "to rule the Roman lands and cities, according to the customary way of life

of the Romans, up to the straits of the passage near Christopolis [Kavalla]."⁶⁷ Thus Uroš who bore the title of "king of all the Serbian lands,"⁶⁸ ruled over nominally Serbian lands--the northern part of the empire extending from Skoplje to the Danube and the Adriatic. Dušan kept Skoplje and the southern provinces, the territory he had conquered from the Byzantines. This division into Serbia and Romania is also mentioned in contemporary Serbian documents. The two parts are called in contemporary Serbian documents, respectively, "land of the tsar" or "land of the Romans," and "land of the king" or "land of the Serbs."⁶⁹ After this time we find in the official documents the expressions "zemlja careva i kraljeva," "trgovi carevi i kraljevi," and "vlastela careva i kraljeva." However, the division existed more in theory than in reality.⁷⁰ Because Uroš was still a child, Dušan ruled the entire empire.

In the imperial court Byzantine offices and titles were granted to members of the ruling family and rulers in Romania.⁷¹ They were:

Despots: John Oliver

Dušan's half-brother Symeon

John Asen Comnenus, Empress Helen's brother

Sebastokrators: Dejan

Branko Mladenović

Caesars: Gregory Preljub

Vojihna

Grand Logothete: Gojko

Dušan's attitude in the conquered lands was not that of conqueror but that of the legitimate successor of the Byzantine emperors. And the Byzantine historian Nicephorus Gregoras states that Dušan ruled in his lands "according to the Greek customs," while in the lands of Uroš were recognized "the Serbian customs" (there appear as magnates vojevode, knezovi, župani, etc.) It is difficult to accept literally what Gregoras says, namely that Uroš ruled according to the customs of the Triballi and Dušan according to those of the Romans, since we know that Dušan's laws were equally valid for both parts of his empire, and that King Uroš had no real independence but was a sort of co-regent in the Byzantine sense--co-Emperor. This is well illustrated by a 1353 decree of Uroš, "king of all the Serbs," by which he simply confirms an act of donation of his father Dušan, issued the same year in favor of the monastery of the Saints Archangels at

Prizren, probably because the object of the donation lay in the "Serbian lands."⁷² There is no doubt that this division existed de jure, since we have concrete evidence in contemporary sources, but it had no de facto application. First, it is out of the question that a young son like Uroš, who was merely a child (hardly ten years of age when he was crowned king), could follow an independent policy. It is logical that Dušan had in fact direct authority over the Serbian lands, too, and that the Serbian kingdom of Uroš was merely an empty honor.

All the decrees issued by Dušan had complete validity in both the Greek and the Serbian lands, and it is interesting to note that the young King Uroš assisted in the sabor of 1349, which promulgated Dušan's legislative work, thus implying that this legislation would obtain in both parts of the empire.

Second, from the legal point of view, it would have been impossible to make an exact division between areas of the Serbian and the Greek law. Among the "Serbian lands" were areas like Prizren and Polog, which had formerly belonged to the Byzantines, and where vestiges of Byzantine law and life were strong, in both the cities and the countryside. We find in these regions, for example, Byzantine institutions like the nomik (public notary) and kefalija (from Byzantine kephale, district governor),⁷³ which had become current since the reign of King Milutin.

One must not forget also that the Byzantine legal treatises, the Nomocanon and the Procheiron, had been in use in these territories for several generations and that Byzantine legal influences had also penetrated through the church.

Concomitantly, several Serbian elements appear in the "Roman lands," where we find a number of Serbian rulers and officials in both the cities and the villages, not to mention Serbian colonization in certain Byzantine regions.⁷⁴ It is impossible to think that all these people did not introduce certain elements of Serbian institutions and life into the Byzantine lands. We know, for instance, that there were appointed officials in the formerly Byzantine regions of Macedonia who were called župani (ζουπάνου).⁷⁵

Finally, a careful study of Dušan's documents referring to properties in the "Serbian lands" proves that such a division in the administration did not correspond to the actual situation.⁷⁶

Therefore one may conclude that there was a uniformity in law for the entire empire.⁷⁷ The only difference that may have

existed is the degree of application: in the north officials must have often resorted to practices of customary law, while the written Byzantine law must have prevailed in the south.

Position of Greeks

The code and the Serbian abridgment of the Syntagma of Blastares make no distinction whatsoever between the Serbs and the Greeks from the legal point of view. There are no conquerors and conquered--only Orthodox citizens with equal rights. In the imperial documents, too, there is no distinction between the two groups, and both Serbian and Greek are recognized on equal terms as official languages of the empire. Indeed, Dušan appears as a true "emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks," and as such, he summons both the Serbian and the Greek nobility and clergy to saviors "of the Serbs and the Greeks."⁷⁸

The shifting of the center of gravity from Serbia to the newly conquered Byzantine provinces and the adoption of Byzantine ways and Byzantine law were undoubtedly dictated by his imperial idea and his aspirations to replace Byzantium itself with his new Byzantino-Serbian Empire. Dušan soon realized, however, that in order to succeed, it was necessary to win the sympathy and support of the Greek population and to appear in the eyes of his formerly Byzantine subjects and clergy as a legitimate emperor, not as a usurper. Only this would facilitate the realization of his plans and open to him the way "pro acquisitione imperii Constantinopolis."⁷⁹ What Solovjev said with regard to the acceptance of the Byzantine law⁸⁰ by Dušan can very well be said with regard to his new policy in general.

Participation of Greeks in Dušan's Empire

In the sabor in the winter of 1354, convoked in Serres by Dušan to elect the new Serbian patriarch Sava, Greeks participated.⁸¹ Perhaps Dušan aimed at giving wider recognition to the Serbian patriarchate and for this reason included Greeks in the assembly. One might connect this action with the fact that the Serbian patriarchate was anathematized that year by Callistus and that Patriarch Sava bore the title (for the first time in the titlature of the Serbian patriarch) of "patriarch of the Serbs and the Greeks"; this title corresponds to the imperial title of Dušan and was apparently an answer to the anathematization. This new patriarchal title is mentioned in Dušan's chrysobull of 10 August 1354 in favor of the monastery of the Virgin at Arhiljevica.⁸²

There is no reason to believe that except for the appointment of district governors in the conquered areas, the administrative machinery changed in any noticeable degree from Byzantine times. Dušan had accepted as valid the laws and the privileges granted by the different Byzantine emperors, and the majority of his Greek documents are simple confirmations of privileges previously granted by the Byzantine rulers. We may suspect, however, that the pro-Serbian parties that existed in the Byzantine cities assumed local power under the new rule.⁸³ The degree to which Greeks participated in the administration and their legal status in Dušan's empire have been the subject of controversy among scholars. On the basis of several contemporary documents,⁸⁴ one can say that there seems to have been a de jure equality between Greeks and Serbs in the new empire.⁸⁵ In several places the code specifically states that no distinction before the law is to be made between the two peoples. For instance, in article 39:⁸⁶ "And to the lords and the gentry, who live within my state, both Serbs and Greeks, to whom was given land as patrimony and in chrysobulls before my reign and who held it up to the day of this council, these patrimonies are confirmed." And article 40: "Of Chrysobulls: And all chrysobulls and prostagmata, which my majesty hath granted and shall grant, and those inheritances, are confirmed, as also those of the first Orthodox Emperors: and they may be disposed of freely, submitted to the Church, given for the soul, or sold to another."⁸⁷

Both articles guarantee the inviolability of the Serbian and the Greek lords on an equal basis. In article 124⁸⁸ the inviolability and privileges of the Greek cities that Dušan had conquered are confirmed; in article 173 the Serbian, Greek, and German lords⁸⁹ appear on equal terms before the law; and finally, in article 176⁹⁰ there is no distinction made between Serbian and Greek citizens in the courts.⁹¹

A difficulty arises, however, when one tries to see whether there was also a de facto equality between the two peoples. On the basis of a detailed analysis of the Menoikeion documents,⁹² Florinskij arrived at the conclusion that there was a complete equality, both de jure and de facto, between the Serbs and the Greeks, and that Dušan was in every respect a true emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks.⁹³ Florinskij's opinion cannot be accepted as correct, however, since the majority of the documents on which he based it have been proved to belong to the Byzantine emperors

Andronicus II and Andronicus III, not to Stephen Dušan. It was exactly this fact that led C. Jireček to go to the other extreme and to declare the opposite.⁹⁴

Jireček's opinion was challenged by Solovjev, who has devoted an article to this problem.⁹⁵ Solovjev expressed the opinion that Dušan, both in his legislation and in his actual policy, favored an equality in rights between the Serbs and the Greeks. He interpreted articles 39, 40, 124, and 176 of the code as ensuring a complete equality in rights between the Serbs and the Greeks.⁹⁶

In my opinion, only articles 173 and 176 put Serbs and Greeks on an equal basis before the law. Articles 39, 40, and 124 seem not necessarily to imply an equality but simply to guarantee the status and the privileges of the Serbian and the Greek nobility. Solovjev based his opinion chiefly on evidence drawn from the Athonite documents of that period. In these documents he found several Greek names among the dignitaries of the Serbian court. These included Grand Primicerius Isares,⁹⁷ Grand Papias Nestongus Ducas,⁹⁸ Grand Tsacousios Kardames Palaeologus, Grand Hetaericharches John Margarites,⁹⁹ Ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ Orestes,¹⁰⁰ κριτῆς τοῦ φοσάτου Maurophorus,¹⁰¹ Grand Domesticus of Serbia Megas Domestikos Alexius Raoul,¹⁰² Grand Constable John Tsaphas Orsini in Arta, Despot John Oliver,¹⁰³ Governor of Prosek Michael (a Greek in the service of Dušan),¹⁰⁴ Sebastokrator of Serbia Kyr Nicephorus Isaakios (Chiersacchio).¹⁰⁵ All these names indicate that Greeks held important offices in Dušan's state. Moreover, practically all the καθολικοὶ κριταὶ (general judges) in the formerly Byzantine provinces were Greeks.¹⁰⁶ Solovjev further declared that "it is possible to see such equality between Serbian and Greek governors also in the northern regions."¹⁰⁷ He based his statement on a list of names of the monastery of Bogorodica at Tetovo (ca. 1346),¹⁰⁸ in which a few names of Greek landlords appear.

There is no doubt that Jireček's opinion has to be rejected, given the evidence Solovjev's research has brought forth.¹⁰⁹ On the other hand, it may be argued that Solovjev's thesis is certainly exaggerated. It is true that the Greeks had in their hands the local administration and courts in the former Byzantine provinces, and even held a number of positions in Dušan's court, but we must not overlook the fact that no Greek appears to have held any of the high positions, either in the imperial court or in

the administration of the formerly Byzantine provinces. The only Greek to bear a high title is the sebastokrator of Serbia, Nicephorus Isaakios. He had ruled over Ohrid and conquered Berat in 1343, becoming governor of part of Albania, including Valona and Berat.¹¹⁰

It is also interesting to note that after the conquest of the Byzantine lands by Dušan, several Greek bishops were ousted and replaced by Serbs.¹¹¹

Thus, I think one may conclude that the highest offices in the imperial court and the top administration remained firmly in the hands of the Serbs, while the local administration of conquered Byzantine provinces remained in the hands of the Greeks--although this is not to say that the Serbs did not participate in the local administration at all.¹¹²

Consequently, although it seems that there was complete equality before the law between the Serbs and the Greeks, as is evident from the code, it is not correct to say that there was complete equality in actuality, since the higher administration in the conquered provinces remained strictly in Serbian hands.

Dušan's Attitude toward the Church and Monasteries

Dušan made a special effort to win over the clergy and the monks of the conquered territories. With the exception of the replacement of a few bishops by Serbian prelates (cf. Danilo; and Uglješa's chrysobull on the union of churches; and the church of Serres), the Byzantine church remained intact. Dušan was fully aware that recognition by the Byzantine church would mean only a de facto recognition and support of his authority by his Byzantine subjects but also a religious sanction for his rule. Thus, from the very beginning he was liberal in confirming old or granting new privileges to the monasteries. He succeeded in detaching them from Constantinople and making them recognize his authority.¹¹³

Among the monasteries that experienced Dušan's liberality:

The monastery of St. John Prodromus on Mount Menoikeion.¹¹⁴ When Dušan was besieging Serres in September 1345, he visited the nearby monastery of St. John Prodromus and issued a prostagma in its favor.¹¹⁵ Shortly thereafter, when he became master of Serres, he issued a chrysobull in favor of the monastery, confirming its old privileges and granting several new ones.¹¹⁶

The monastery of St. Anastasia near Zichna.¹¹⁷

The Thessalian monasteries of Lykousada and St. George at

Zablantia.¹¹⁸

Most of the Athonite monasteries.¹¹⁹ Most of Dušan's efforts were centered on Mount Athos, which exercised great influence on the Greek church and the minds of the Orthodox peoples. For this reason Dušan not only confirmed old and granted generous new privileges to the various Athonite monasteries, especially the monastery of Chilandar, but also toward the end of 1347 visited Mount Athos. Accompanied by Empress Helen, he presented precious gifts to the monastic community.¹²⁰

The monastery of Treskavac, near Prilep.¹²¹

The archbishopric of Ohrid.¹²²

The creation of the Serbian patriarchate brought all the bishoprics in the conquered territories under its jurisdiction. Therefore, Greek bishops and monks attended the sabbats.¹²³

Thus, one may conclude that by accepting the Byzantine magnates among his dignitaries, and by displaying liberality toward the Byzantine monasteries and clergy in his domain, Dušan undoubtedly wanted to win the support of the conquered and appear to them as a legitimate ruler and a continuator of the Byzantine rule and forms. This notion¹²⁴ is clearly manifested in several of Dušan's chrysobulls, by which he simply confirms privileges granted by the "great and holy Greek emperors,"¹²⁵ and where he appears as a mere "successor with God's grace of the great and holy Greek emperors."¹²⁶

It is understandable why he liked to compare himself to Constantine the Great¹²⁷--a common practice among so many Byzantine rulers. Such comparisons were also common among the Bulgarians. John Alexander was glorified as "tsar of tsars," as "autocrat" (samodržec), and was compared to Constantine the Great and Alexander of Macedon.¹²⁸ As a result of the Byzantine imperial notion, Dušan also felt the necessity of establishing his own patriarchate. His imperial title was to be a symbol of political and spiritual preeminence, as it was in Byzantium.¹²⁹

Chapter IV

THE SERBS IN MACEDONIA FROM DUŠAN'S DEATH (1355) TO THE TURKISH CONQUEST

The death of Stephen Dušan initiated a period in Serbian history that can with good reason be called the "time of troubles."¹ The large, multinational empire that Tsar Stephen had created was left in the hands of a weak successor and a number of petty local rulers, Dušan's former governors. Dušan had regularly appointed his relatives and his favorite magnates as governors in the territories he had conquered. How much authority they had and how much independent action they could display is not exactly known. The attempts of the local Serbian rulers to act independently were not unusual phenomena in Dušan's empire, as may be seen from the cases of Hrelja and Brajan, discussed in Chapter II: but no local ruler ever succeeded in establishing his own authority for any length of time.

Although Dušan did not achieve a complete integration of the various elements in his empire, he did succeed--through his calculated policy and his personal ability--in preserving its outward unity. After his death even this unity disappeared. His throne was given to his young son Stephen Uroš, who also assumed the title of "tsar of the Serbs and the Greeks" (царь сръблемь и гръкомь)² This title, however, became a mere decoration, without any real meaning attached to it. Only about nineteen years old when he assumed the Serbian throne, Uroš was "a really handsome man, admirable in appearance, young in thoughts, [and] appeared extremely kind and gentle,"³ but he was undoubtedly "debile e di poco valore," to use Orbini's expression.⁴

To preserve the unity of Dušan's empire, a man of great ability was needed. Uroš was not only young but also lacking in ability, as all the sources testify.⁵ For this reason Dušan's death was followed by great unrest and tendencies toward independence by the local governors and influential feudal lords.

The Byzantine historians Cantacuzenus,⁶ Gregoras,⁷ and Chalcocondyles⁸ inform us about their actions. Although some of the Serbian governors refused to pay any allegiance to the new tsar and declared themselves independent, there was one who even claimed the Serbian throne for himself. This rival was Despot Symeon, half-brother of Dušan, who had appointed him governor of Epirus, Acarnania, and Aetolia.⁹ The conflict between Symeon and Uroš intensified. Cantacuzenus writes that "the most powerful of the Serbian magnates having ousted the weaker ones from their offices, some of them then allied with the king [Uroš] without appearing in person, or obeying as though he were their master, but sending assistance like allies and friends; others allied with his uncle Symeon; and a few allied with neither but, keeping the power they had, awaited the future, when they would join the one who proved the stronger."¹⁰

After the death of Dušan and of Gregory Preljub, Symeon in 1356 invaded Thessaly. After having been expelled by Nicephorus, the deposed despot of Epirus and governor of Aenos, who made an attempt to regain the heritage of his fathers, Symeon moved northward and soon arrived in Kastoria with an army of four thousand to five thousand men, consisting of Serbs, Albanians, and Greeks.¹¹ In Kastoria he was proclaimed emperor by his army¹² and assumed the title of βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Σέρβων (unlike Dušan's title, βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀτοκράτωρ Σέρβων καὶ Ῥωμαίων), which indicates increasing Greek influence. From there he set out for Serbia to gain possession of the Serbian throne.¹³ The course of events in the south, however, stopped his advance toward Serbia and made him choose to return to Thessaly.¹⁴ Despot Nicephorus, who had landed in Thessaly, had expelled the Serbs and had temporarily recovered it, along with Epirus and Acarnania, for the Byzantines. But when in 1358 Nicephorus was killed at Acheloos, fighting against the Albanians,¹⁵ it undoubtedly appeared opportune for Symeon to return and reestablish his authority in his former lands and in Thessaly. Giving up any claims to the Serbian throne, he remained in Thessaly, where he established an independent state that little by little became entirely Greek in character.

The Byzantines, whose attempts to recapture the lost lands had so far remained unsuccessful, saw in Dušan's death and the subsequent turmoil an excellent opportunity to achieve their goal. Thus, besides Despot Nicephorus's campaign in Thessaly

and Epirus during the spring of 1356,¹⁶ another important Byzantine offensive took place in eastern Macedonia. After Dušan's death the brothers Alexius and John Asen conducted a campaign against the Serbs along the Macedonian seacoast, and in a short time they established themselves at the mouth of the Strymon river.¹⁷ Their plan was to proceed up the river and march against Serres. The Serbs, however, held firm, and the two brothers could not penetrate beyond the coastal district. Only this area, which included the mouth of the Strymon, Christopolis, Anaktoropolis, and Chrysopolis, along with the island of Thasos, remained in their hands.¹⁸

A second Byzantine attack was led by Matthew Cantacuzenus, who was again on hostile terms with Emperor John Palaeologus. He invaded eastern Macedonia from Thrace in the summer of 1356.¹⁹ He was encouraged in this undertaking by the Serbian magnates who had been old friends of his father.²⁰ According to Cantacuzenus's account, they urged Matthew through secret embassies to invade the Serbian-dominated lands, and they promised their willingness to submit to his authority.²¹ At the same time, the same source informs us, the Serbian governor of Drama, Vojihna, sent an embassy to Matthew, announcing that everything was prepared for the surrender of the city and that he had also persuaded the governor of Serres to join the conspirators.²² Vojihna further stated that the governor of Serres was ready to deliver the city to Matthew with Empress Helen and much wealth. Matthew accepted the proposals with joy and informed Vojihna that he would come in thirty days, after collecting a Byzantine army and asking Sultan Orchan for military assistance. The Turkish troops soon arrived,²³ and Matthew, afraid that they might plunder his lands, as they threatened to do, set out immediately without waiting for the thirty days to elapse. As soon as Vojihna had learned that Matthew was coming with his Turkish troops, he went to Serres to consult the other conspirators about further action. In Serres Vojihna found a Serbian army, sent by Tsar Uroš to his mother. He joined these Serbian forces and, renouncing his promises to Matthew, marched with them against the invading Byzantines and their Turkish allies. One may, however, question the truthfulness of Cantacuzenus's statement about Vojihna's readiness to collaborate with Matthew, since Gregoras, who also discusses Matthew's expedition, says nothing about any secret alliance between

Vojihna and Matthew.²⁴

The first clash between the two armies occurred near Serres. The Serbs, suffering considerable losses, were forced to retreat. They soon regrouped their forces, however, and launched a new unsuccessful attack. Matthew's troops again pushed back the Serbs, who retreated to Serres.

Cantacuzenus informs us that toward the end of the day, after Matthew had fixed his camp on the banks of the river Panax (Angites) for the night, some of the Turkish troops returned from plundering the nearby villages. Taking their allies the Turks for Serbs, Matthew's soldiers suddenly panicked, and began to flee homeward. They hurried to pass the straits of Philippi²⁵ before night fell, since the terrain was such that the local population could destroy them entirely if they heard that they were retreating. After making vain attempts to stop his troops and make them fight the Serbs of the neighboring areas, who were now attacking, Matthew had to retreat with his panic-stricken army. Unable to pass the straits because of the crowd there, he decided to withdraw to a reedy swamp until nightfall. But the Philippians followed him. A certain Gavras, who was in Matthew's service and was lying wounded a little way off, innocently told the Philippians that the man who had rushed there was Matthew Cantacuzenus. They searched out Matthew with the help of dogs and so apprehended him. Subsequently, they took him to Philippi and from there to Drama at the orders of Vojihna. Again, Cantacuzenus's account on this point seems unconvincing and naive. It is impossible to believe that Matthew's victorious troops would flee in panic merely because they had mistaken a group of Turkish soldiers for Serbs. We are fortunate, however, that Nicephorus Gregoras refers to the same events and supplies us, undoubtedly, with more trustworthy information. Gregoras tells us that when Matthew invaded eastern Macedonia with his Turkish allies, he met the armed resistance of the Serbs, by whom he was not only completely defeated but also taken prisoner.²⁶ This indicates that the retreat and flight of the Byzantines resulted from a defeat they had suffered on the battlefield--something not mentioned at all by Cantacuzenus.

Emperor John Palaeologus was with his fleet near the islands of Tenedos when he was informed of Matthew's capture.²⁷ He invaded Matthew's territory, and after passing through Peritheorion and Koumoutzina (Komotine) finally reached Gratianou,

which had served as Matthew's capital, without having met any resistance. Then he sent an embassy to Vojihna asking that the prisoner be surrendered to him and promising in return great gifts. An agreement was made, and Matthew was delivered to John Palaeologus, who sent him with his wife to the island of Tenedos, where he was kept prisoner in the acropolis.²⁸

After the unsuccessful Byzantine campaigns in Thessaly and Macedonia, the Serbs were never again disturbed by any organized Byzantine offensive. Their next enemy was the Ottoman Turks. After establishing themselves in Callipolis (Gallipoli) in 1354, the Turks had quickly begun their expansion into Thrace. It was clear that nothing could prevent them from penetrating the Serbian-dominated lands in Macedonia, which were now governed by many minor local rulers, most of whom exercised independent authority. The magnates who had been appointed by Dušan to administer these lands had declared themselves after his death more or less independent and refused to recognize the authority of the new tsar.

The list of the Serbian local rulers of that period that we possess is far from complete.²⁹ We are sufficiently informed, however, about the situation in several areas of Dušan's empire after his death. Drama and the territory adjoining it, neighboring with the Byzantines, was under the authority of Caesar Vojihna.³⁰ After the unsuccessful campaign of Matthew Cantacuzenus, Vojihna's name disappears from the Byzantine sources. He is mentioned, however, in a Slavic inscription on a curtain presented to the monastery of Chilandar in 1399 by his daughter the nun Euphemia, the widow of Despot Uglješa.³¹ Also in a notice of 1360 the title kesar refers undoubtedly to Vojihna.³²

Farther west we find Dušan's widow, Empress Helen,³³ who for a reason that is not clear³⁴ had established herself in the city of Serres after her husband's death. Nor do we know the exact nature of her authority--whether she was completely independent,³⁵ as Cantacuzenus's account suggests,³⁶ or whether she had recognized, if not in reality at least formally, Uroš's authority. The relations, however, between Helen and Uroš were friendly, if we judge from the little documentary evidence on this subject. We know, for instance, that when Matthew Cantacuzenus invaded Macedonia, there was in Serres a Serbian army that had been sent to Helen by Uroš.³⁷ Also we know that in May 1356, Uroš was in Serres, where he promulgated a

pompous chrysobull to the bishop of Melnik.³⁸ Later, in April 1357, Helen participated in a sabor convoked by Uroš in Skoplje.³⁹ By May 1356 Empress Helen had taken the veil, having assumed the name Elizabeth.⁴⁰ But even as a nun she did not cease to interfere in political matters. She continued to live in Serres, an independent ruler surrounded by Serbian and Greek officials.⁴¹

About Helen's reign in Serres we know very little. She ruled the city through a governor who was very likely appointed by her.⁴² Her participation in the political developments in the Balkans at that time must have been considerable. Helen's name appears as the principal party in the marriage negotiations between her sister Theodora⁴³ and Despot Nicephorus; having recovered Thessaly and Epirus from the Serbs (1356-1358), Nicephorus wanted for various political reasons to desert his own wife and marry the sister of Tsar John Alexander of Bulgaria.⁴⁴ In 1360 she also played the primary role in arranging the marriage of her son Tsar Uroš to Anne, daughter of the ruler of Wallachia, Alexander. She thereby sought to renew the ties between the two ruling families of Bulgaria and Serbia, since a sister of Anne was the wife of the Bulgarian crown prince John Stracimir.⁴⁵

From Cantacuzenus we learn that during 1364 Helen received in Serres a Byzantine embassy sent by Emperor John Palaeologus, asking for a rapprochement with the Serbs and for common action against the Turks. The leader of the embassy was the patriarch of Constantinople, Callistus,⁴⁶ whom she received with great honor. But Callistus suddenly became seriously ill and soon died. The same happened also to other members of his embassy.⁴⁷ "Whence the rumor was spread among my people," Cantacuzenus writes, "that the Triballi had planned to poison them. This was, however, a lie and clearly a false accusation."⁴⁸ The same source informs us that Helen (Elizabeth) refused to give Callistus's body to the Athonite monks, who had asked for it, and buried him with great honors in the cathedral of Serres.⁴⁹

In 1366 Serres was occupied by the Serbian despot John Uglješa, who ruled⁵⁰ it until his death at the battle of the Marica on 26 September 1371.⁵¹ Where Empress Helen (Elizabeth) went after this event we do not know with certainty. Most probably she went to her son's court in Skoplje. Her name appears along with Uroš's in a Ragusan document dated 1 April 1368⁵² and also in an Athonite document of January 1375.⁵³ Besides, we know

from the continuator of Danilo that Prince Lazar consulted Empress Helen (Elizabeth) before he proclaimed the reconciliation of the Serbian church with the patriarchate of Constantinople (1374-1375).⁵⁴ Helen (Elizabeth) died on 7 November 1376, outliving her son Stephen Uroš, who died at the age of thirty-five in December 1371.⁵⁵ A notice written after 1382 informs us that she died as the nun Eugenia. This would suggest that she had received the monastic *μεγα σῆμα* with the new name.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, our sources do not provide a complete picture of the empress's personality. Her active participation in the political life of the time, both when her husband was alive and after his death, implies that she was a capable woman. Her rich gifts to the Athonite monasteries suggest that she was also pious and religious and deeply imbued with the Orthodox faith.⁵⁷

After Dušan's death, north of the territory ruled by Helen and Vojihna we find Uglješa and his older brother Vukašin. According to Chalcocondyles,⁵⁸ Dušan had appointed them to rule the area between Serres and the Danube. These two brothers played an active role in Serbia during this period and finally became the central figures.⁵⁹

Our only sources on the background of the brothers are the Ragusan chroniclers of the seventeenth century, G. Luccarri⁶⁰ and M. Orbini.⁶¹ According to them, Uglješa and Vukašin were the sons of a small landlord whom Luccari calls Margna (Mrnja), and Orbini, Margnaua (Mrnjava). The two chroniclers portray him as a poor nobleman from Livno (Hlievno) in Hum who lived later at Blagaj near the Neretva river and was finally taken by Dušan to his court. Under Dušan the two brothers served in various capacities in Dalmatia. In his court Vukašin and Uglješa had held the offices of *ὀλοχόος*, and of *ἐπιλοχόμος* respectively.⁶² An act of the Ragusan senate dated 22 July 1346 speaks of gifts to "Uglesse barono,"⁶³ and Luccarri informs us that Dušan had appointed Uglješa ruler of Livno, while Vukašin (Vukascin celnik) was sent to Ragusa to carry on negotiations with the senate in Dušan's name. In a notice dated 1350 [in a manuscript in the National Library of Belgrade] we find Vukašin mentioned as župan at Prilep,⁶⁵ and in a document of Tsar Uroš, issued in 1355 "sotto le fiumara de Scutari" and preserved only in an Italian translation, Vukašin's name appears among the magnates at the Serbian court bearing the title of *čelnik* (zeonich Vukašin).⁶⁶

When Dušan died, the brothers Uglješa and Vukašin were in

their eastern territories. Whether they proclaimed themselves independent or recognized the authority of the new tsar we do not know. According to the oldest Serbian Rodoslov, Vukašin was awarded the title of despot and became best man at the tsar's wedding.⁶⁷ Then we hear nothing about the two brothers until 1366,⁶⁸ when Uglješa assumed the title of despot⁶⁹ and gained power in Serres and all the neighboring lands. What caused this change is not explained in our sources. Some modern scholars have thought that a coup d'état led by Vukašin brought him to the Serbian throne, others, that the Turkish menace made it advisable to place next to Uroš a strong co-ruler. Uglješa's lands now extended to Strymon in the west, the Boz-dağ mountains in the north, the river Nestos (Mesta) in the east,⁷⁰ and the Aegean in the south, including the cities of Christopolis, Philippi, Drama, Zichna, and Serres.⁷¹ Uglješa possessed also lands on Ἰερισσοῦ!⁷² It is very probable that he had inherited Caesar Vojihna's lands after the latter's death, which occurred about that time.⁷³

Continuing the practice initiated by Stephen Dušan, Uglješa issued acts both in Serbian and in Greek. We possess only nine decrees that we can attribute with certainty to Uglješa, five in Greek and four in Serbian.⁷⁴ Uglješa displayed in most instances a "philhellenic" policy and assumed a friendly attitude toward the Byzantines.⁷⁵ This is best illustrated by his religious policy. He must have been a pious person with strong religious feelings: all the surviving documents of Uglješa refer to church and monastic affairs, and he is well known for his attempt to reconcile the Serbian church with the patriarchate of Constantinople. In March 1368 he issued an act by which he proclaimed the reconciliation between the Greek and the Serbian churches.⁷⁶

After a long rhetorical preamble in which justice is discussed as an important virtue, Uglješa condemns the policy of Stephen Dušan in a striking passage. "After Dušan had proclaimed himself emperor of Serbia and Romania, he became arrogant as a result of the importance of the dignity and the greatness of his authority. He not only looked with greedy eyes at the foreign cities that had not yet submitted to him, drew an unjust sword against entirely innocent people, and viciously deprived of the Roman freedom and state those who had been born, fed, and reared in it, but also extended his injustice even to the sacred and old institutions of the church. In addition, he

transcended the limits prescribed by the fathers and attempted to break down and crush inequality, like another judge from heaven and lawgiver: moreover, scorning the Lord's law, and after imposing his own will not only in human things but also in divine things, he made a self-ordained patriarch in violation of canon law, and having boldly taken away many bishoprics, he put them under the jurisdiction of the new patriarch, and from this act came the schism in the church."⁷⁷ Then Uglješa tells us how he felt the desire to restore all the rights of the patriarchate. For this purpose he had sent an embassy to the patriarch of Constantinople, who in turn had sent to Uglješa the bishop of Nicaea and exarch of Bithynia. The latter had succeeded in bringing about an agreement and thus establishing friendly relations between the two churches. According to the agreement they had made, Despot Uglješa was to restore to the patriarchate of Constantinople all the churches and bishoprics and all the patriarchal rights that Dušan had taken away. Uglješa's March 1368 document restored the rights of the patriarchate of Constantinople in his lands. From this moment the relations between the patriarchate of Constantinople and Uglješa became very cordial, as may be seen in several patriarchal acts.⁷⁸

Uglješa's piety is also clearly expressed in his relations with the Athonite monasteries.⁷⁹ I have already mentioned that seven of the nine authentic acts of Uglješa refer to Athonite monasteries (Chilandar, Vatopedi, Zographou, Simopetra, St. Panteleimon). In the testament of Abbot Chariton of Kutlumus, Uglješa appears as one of the benefactors of Mount Athos along with Tsar Stephen Dušan, Empress Helen, Vuk Branković, and Radohna.⁸⁰ He had built various structures for several Athonite monasteries.⁸¹ His name is particularly connected, however, with the monastery of Simopetra, which he restored in 1363, as is clear from a chrysobull of his.⁸² From the same chrysobull we learn that Uglješa had asked the protos and the council of Mount Athos for permission to build a large monastery in the name of Simon Petra near the existing little building.⁸³ Once permission was granted, Uglješa says, "I sent the kindest and holiest among the monks, kyr Euthymius, with many servants and riches both for the building of the holy monastery and for the purchase of lands both inside and out. And with God's will he erected and built the entire holy monastery with a tower and kellia and with all the church utensils, and the church was embellished and icons were

painted on it. And I placed in it also many valuable things in the form of holy icons, and books, and gold-woven cloths, and the whole church was roofed in lead...and I dedicated to this monastery property and revenues."⁸⁴ In addition he bought lands and presented them to the monastery and also a number of kellia. Many of the objects Uglješa dedicated to the monastery still bear witness to his gifts in their inscriptions.⁸⁵

Finally, we know that Uglješa visited Mount Athos in 1371,⁸⁶ and according to a local tradition, after his death in 1371 his son retired to the monastery of Simopetra, where he lived the rest of his life as a monk.⁸⁷

Of special importance is Uglješa's foreign policy, in which he appears to have displayed great foresight. Early on he saw the Turkish danger and tried to organize an alliance with the Byzantines against the Turks, who had established themselves in Thrace and continually raided Macedonia, especially from the sea. The Turkish menace brought him south.⁸⁸ His religious policy and his initiative for a reconciliation with the patriarchate of Constantinople were undoubtedly steps in this direction.

Byzantium at that time also saw the Turkish danger and an alliance with other Christian nations appeared necessary. Emperor John Palaeologus appealed to Rome and also looked for alliances in the Balkans and Hungary. When the attempt to unite the Orthodox and Latin churches and create an alliance between East and West against the Turks proved a failure,⁸⁹ the Byzantine emperor tried to form an alliance with the Serbs. This was the reason for the mission of the anti-Latin patriarch Callistus to Empress Helen in Serres in 1364, which came to nothing, as we have seen.

Then, in 1366, Emperor John V turned once more to the West. This time he himself sailed the Black Sea with a great retinue, including his sons Manuel and Michael, to the Danube and met the Hungarian king, Louis I of Anjou.⁹⁰ For the first time in history a Byzantine emperor appeared in a foreign land to lead not a victorious army but a delegation soliciting assistance. A mixed embassy of Byzantines and Hungarians was sent to Pope Urban V in Avignon, but the effort produced no results, and John returned to Byzantium without having accomplished anything. A little later, in the summer of 1366, John's cousin, Count Amadeo of Savoy, undertook at the pope's invitation a crusade against the Turks with a small group of French and Italian knights. He

arrived in Constantinople on 2 September 1366, and he succeeded in taking Gallipoli, the key to Byzantium, from the Osmanlis and relieving the Byzantines from Turkish pressure. But immediately after Amadeo's departure, the Turks reclaimed Gallipoli.⁹¹ To this time belongs the speech of Demetrius Cydones, in which he urged the Byzantines not to deliver Gallipoli to the Turks without resistance; he also advised them to accept the proposals of the Serbs for an alliance against the common enemy, the Turks.⁹²

In 1369 John Palaeologus traveled to Italy and accepted the Catholic religion.⁹³ His conversion, however, did not bring about the union of the two churches and remained merely an individual act, applying to the emperor's person alone and opposed by the Byzantine clergy. He finally left Rome in 1370, and after a short detainment by certain Venetian bankers for the debts that Byzantium owed to them, returned to Constantinople empty-handed.⁹⁴ Then Patriarch Philotheus proposed an alliance among the Orthodox states that would include not only Byzantium, Serbia, and Bulgaria but also Muscovite Russia, with its Grand Prince Dimitri Ivanovich, the future Donskoj. This plan was eagerly accepted by King Vukašin and especially by Despot Uglješa, who began preparations for a crusade against the Turks. Uglješa first visited Mount Athos to secure divine protection against the infidel and to give a religious character to his undertaking.⁹⁵ Uglješa's brother Vukašin also participated in this campaign, which ended with the disastrous 1371 battle at Černomen (present-day Ormenion in Greek Thrace) on the right bank of the Marica.

As I have already mentioned, in 1366 Vukašin took the title of king, but it seems that he held an important position and wielded much influence under Uroš even before that date. In a document of Uroš, dated 1355, by which he confirms the privileges granted to the city of Kotor (Cattaro) by his predecessors, čelnik Vukašin (zeonich Vucasin) appears as a witness along with Caesar Vojihna, Prince Lazar, Vojvod Mircea, Radić Branković, Župan Nikola, and Radoslav Hlapen.⁹⁶ Later in the negotiations between Tsar Uroš and the Ragusans in 1361, Vukašin appears as a powerful person in the Serbian court. Uroš had sent a certain Marko as envoy to Ragusa. The Ragusan senate had authorized the rector and his council to reply orally and in writing to "imperatorī Sclavonie ad ambaxistam, quam misit, per pulcriorem modum," as well as to write to "imperatrici ut Volcasino" and

others and to deliver without resistance to "Marco ambaxiatori" his own silver deposited in Ragusa as well as "libras XXV argenti uxoris Volcasinj."⁹⁷ In another instance, in 1362, when the Ragusans were looking for direct communication with the Serbian court, they sent their citizen Radoslav Cimbić to Vukašin and to Empress Helen, seeking their assistance in conducting the negotiations.⁹⁸

Finally, in November 1366, Vukašin appears as king (*dominus rex Sclavonie*) for the first time in a document, along with Tsar Uroš.⁹⁹ Uroš seems to have been deprived of much of his power and his revenue after this event. King Vukašin appears, in the documents, to have taken an active part in Serbian political life. We do not know whether Vukašin was elevated by Uroš to co-ruler or seized power in a kind of coup d'état. According to Orbini, the change was peaceful; Uroš himself called Vukašin to his court and gave him the title of king (*gli diede etiandio il titolo del Re*).¹⁰⁰ C. Jireček seems to think that the precarious situation in which Serbia found itself at that time--the result of the ever-growing Turkish menace--necessitated a change in the Serbian court.¹⁰¹ The view that the change came about peacefully is also supported by the fact that in the church of Saint Nicholas at Psača, there exist side-by-side portraits of Tsar Uroš and King Vukašin from the year 1366-1367, and their portraits are similarly displayed in the Markov monastery.¹⁰² Also, in contemporary Ragusan documents the name of the "*dominus imperator Sclavoniae*" appears with that of the "*dominus rex Sclavonie*."¹⁰³ The areas directly ruled by Vukašin seem to have been the regions of the important cities of Prizren, Kičevo, Skoplje, and Prilep.¹⁰⁴

Vukašin appears to have been active from the very beginning. The relations between Serbia and Ragusa clearly indicate what power Vukašin had assumed as king of Serbia. After the proclamation of Vukašin as king, Uroš lost much of his authority in the relations between Serbia and Ragusa but continued to receive the income from the tributes of St. Demetrius and Ston.¹⁰⁵ The new king even claimed from the Ragusans the rest of the St. Demetrius tribute for himself, but this was denied.¹⁰⁶ In 1370 the city of Ragusa asked Vukašin for trade privileges and especially the confirmation of the chrysobull that Stephen Dušan had issued in 1349 and Uroš had confirmed in 1357. King Vukašin received the Ragusan ambassadors Michael de Babalio and Jacob de

Sorgo in Poreč, southwest of Skoplje in the valley of Treska, and he satisfied their request by a decree dated 5 April 1370. In this document Vukašin is called "lord of the Serbian lands, of the Greeks, and of western territories," and it mentions his wife Helen (Kralica kyr Alêna) and his sons Marko and Andrew.¹⁰⁷

His friendship with Ragusa lasted for a long time, as we can assume from the fact that a deposit of his (denarii quondam regis Volchassini) was received by his surviving sons as late as 1399.¹⁰⁸ In the fall of 1370 Župan Nikola Altomanović,¹⁰⁹ who ruled over the territory from the coast south of Ragusa to the mountains east of the river Drina, demanded that the Ragusans pay to him the tribute of St. Demetrius that was destined for the Serbian rulers. When his demand was rejected, he sent at the time of vintage his "vexillifer" Radin Dubravčić with a numerous army, which ransacked the city of Ragusa, causing more damage than any war between Ragusa and its neighbors had done before.¹¹⁰ In the following year King Vukašin prepared a campaign against Župan Nikola. From a contemporary source we learn that King Vukašin, his son Marko, and his son-in-law George Balšić had pitched camp under the walls of Scutari in June 1371, in order to march from there against Nikola either via Onogošt (Nikšić) and through present-day Montenegro, or by some other direction.¹¹¹ What happened after this we do not know. There is no doubt, however, that the whole campaign was given up. Vukašin soon returned to the south and set out with his brother Uglješa for a campaign against the Turks. The main organizer of this campaign was undoubtedly Uglješa,¹¹² who had sent an embassy to Constantinople to conduct negotiations for such an undertaking.¹¹³ Meanwhile, thanks to his initiative, the reconciliation of the Greek and the Serbian churches was accomplished.¹¹⁴

Thus the two brothers Uglješa and Vukašin set out with their armies in the fall of 1371 to meet the Turks. They took the route via Philippopolis and then turned toward Adrianople. They met the enemy at Černomen,¹¹⁵ a town on the right bank of the Marica, about a day's journey from Adrianople. The battle that took place on Friday, 26 September 1371¹¹⁶ between the Turkish and the Serbian forces¹¹⁷ was fierce. The Serbs were totally defeated and the two brothers met their deaths.¹¹⁸

The advance of the Turks and their growing power highly disturbed the papacy. Soon after the bad news of the disaster on the Marica reached the West, Pope Gregory XI began to propagate

the idea of a crusade against the Turks. In May of the following year, 1372, he wrote to King Louis of Hungary urging him to turn against the infidel, who had already invaded Serbia.¹¹⁹ At the same time, at the tearful behest (*lacrimabilis expositio*) of Archbishop Francis of Neopatras, the pope convoked a notable congress to which most of the Christian princes of Europe and the Levant were invited to send representatives.¹²⁰ The congress was scheduled to take place in Thebes on 1 October 1373.¹²¹ Present were the delegates of the Byzantine emperor, John V Palaeologus; of the titular Latin emperor and prince of Achaea, Philip III of Taranto; of the Venetian doge, Andrea Contarini; of King Louis of Hungary; of King Peter II de Lusignan of Cyprus; of the Knights Hospitalers of Rhodes; of the Republic of Genoa; and of King Frederick III of Sicily. In addition, certain other Latin dignitaries were present in person: Leonardo Tocco, duke of Leukas; the Venetian Francesco Giorgio (Zorzi), margrave of Boudonitza; the Genoese Francesco Gattilusio, lord of Lesbos; Bartolomeo Quirini, the Venetian bailo of Negroponte; Niccolo III dalle Carceri, one of the three lords of Negroponte; Mateo de Peralta, vicar general of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras; and Nerio Acciajuoli, since 1371 the Florentine lord of the castellany of Corinth. There were also a great number of archbishops, bishops, and other prominent ecclesiastics of Greece. The archbishops of Neopatras and Naxos presided. The assemblage preached a crusade against the infidel, but it was never realized¹²² because rivalries and disagreements among the dignitaries rendered impossible any united action against the Turks. Thus the Turks were left unchecked and free to strengthen their position and continue their conquests in Europe.

The Serbian defeat on the Marica in 1371 was an event of far-reaching significance for both the conqueror and the conquered. It opened the gates for the Turkish conquest of the Serbian-dominated lands in Macedonia,¹²³ and it paved the way for the fatal battle of 15 June 1389 at Kosovo Polje. The Ottoman Turks advanced rapidly into Macedonia without meeting any serious resistance and soon reached the frontiers between Hungary and Serbia and also between Albania and "Sclavonia" and the ports on the Adriatic.¹²⁴

The picture of Serbian-dominated lands in Macedonia after the battle at Marica was discouraging. The loss of Vukašin and Uglješa and their armies deprived the Serbs in Macedonia of their

best military force and two energetic rulers. Besides, the death of Tsar Uroš, which followed a few months later (4 December 1371),¹²⁵ brought upon the Serbian state considerable turmoil. It is significant to note that the idea of the Serbian Empire now disappeared even in name, and the title of tsar was not used by the Serbs after Uroš's death. The Serbian princelings were caught between Turks and the Hungarians. In eastern Macedonia Despot John Dragaš and his brother Gospodin Constantine became vassals of the Turkish sultan Murad. So did Bogdan, Gropa, King Marko and the rest of the rulers in western Macedonia. They all had to pay tribute to the sultan and supply troops in case of war.

A part of Uglješa's lands, however, fell into Byzantine hands for a while. From a notice in MS. No. 21 of the monastery of Protaton on Mount Athos we learn that the son of John V, the despot of Thessalonica Manuel Palaeologus, had entered Serres on 10 November 1371 and installed his authority in this district.¹²⁶ The Serbian defeat on the Marica presented a welcome opportunity for Manuel to recover from the Serbs additional Byzantine lands in Macedonia. From the preamble of a chrysobull composed by Demetrius Cydones¹²⁷ and issued shortly after the battle at the Marica, we gather that Emperor John V had granted to his son the privilege of rule for life over certain territories in Macedonia and Thessaly, a part of which "he himself had relieved from the Serbian yoke."¹²⁸ Cydones expressed the hope that Manuel would be able to defend from the Turkish danger the cities granted to him. The region of Serres, however, did not remain for long in the hands of Manuel Palaeologus. A firman of Sultan Murad I, issued in July 1372 for the monastery of St. John Prodromus on Mount Menoikeion, suggests that the Turks were in possession of Serres in 1372.¹²⁹ This occupation seems to have been temporary, since another Turkish occupation of the city is recorded to have begun on 19 September 1383.¹³⁰ This one lasted five and a half centuries.

On the basis of a number of Athonite documents one may assume that after the battle of the Marica, the Byzantines recovered the entire territory lying between the rivers Nestos and Strymon and became also masters of the whole of the Chalcidice area.¹³¹

On the other hand, we must not forget that long before the battle of the Marica the Byzantines had recovered from the Serbs

the coastal region of eastern Macedonia, including Christopolis, Anaktoropolis, and the mouth of the Strymon. This territory was ruled by the two brothers Alexius and John Asen, who also signed as Palaeologi.¹³² On 9 March 1357 Emperor John had granted them the districts of Chrysopolis, Anaktoropolis, and the island of Thasos as hereditary possessions.¹³³ After Dušan's death the two brothers had conducted a campaign against the Serbs along the Macedonian shore, as I have already mentioned, and had soon established themselves at the mouth of the Strymon. Further advance, however, was checked by the Serbs. Apparently, the Byzantine emperor granted to the two brothers the above-mentioned territories as reward for those conquests. Later, in 1365, we find Alexius and John governors of Christopolis as well.¹³⁴ Sometime before 1373 Alexius died, and John remained sole ruler of their hereditary lands (Chrysopolis, Anaktoropolis, and Thasos) and those administered for the emperor (Christopolis and the mouth of the Strymon).¹³⁵ All these territories remained Byzantine until they were taken by the Turks.

Turning to the Macedonian lands that remained in Serbian hands after the battle of the Marica, we first find Dušan's nephews, the Dejanovići, ruling the territory between the possessions of Vukašin and those of Uglješa. The Dejanovići--Despot John Dragaš and Gospodin Constantine--were the sons of Sebastokrator Dejan¹³⁶ and "carica srpska" Theodora (Eudoxia), Dušan's sister.¹³⁷ Their territory, one may conclude from contemporary documents, included Veles, Tirkeš, Strumica, Štip, Kočani, Kratovo, Velbužd and Žegligovo, which controlled the main routes from Serbia to Thessalonica.¹³⁸ The largest part of this region had earlier belonged to Despot Oliver, who with his brother Bogdan and Sebastokrator Dejan had ruled under Dušan over all of eastern Macedonia.¹³⁹

The conditions under which the two Dejanović brothers rose to power remains entirely unknown. They seem to have been very religious, if one may judge from the fact that all their surviving decrees--dated between 1372 and 1393--deal with donations of other monasteries to St. Panteleimon and of Chilandar on Mount Athos.¹⁴⁰ After the battle of the Marica, both brothers became Turkish vassals. Despot John Dragaš, of whom, one may add, there is a coin in the National Museum at Belgrade,¹⁴¹ died around 1378.¹⁴² His lands were inherited by his brother Constantine.

Gospodin Constantine entered into close relations with the Byzantines, and his daughter Helen, the wife of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus, was the only Serbian princess ever to become a Byzantine empress. Her sons, John VIII and Constantine XI, the last two emperors of Byzantium, were also known by the name Dragases, which reminds us of their relationship to the Dejanovići.¹⁴⁴ While a Byzantine empress, Helen never forgot Serbia, and she cherished the memory of her father. In October 1395 she made a pious donation to the monastery of Petra in Constantinople in order to have prayers read for the soul of her father, "the most glorious governor of Serbia, Gospodin Constantine of happy memory."¹⁴⁵ Later she became a nun with the name Hypomone, and she died at an advanced age in 1450.

The territory west of Serres to the river Axios (Vardar) was in the hands of the former despot John Oliver's brother Bogdan, whom Chalcocondyles calls "a brave man and well versed in the art of war." He had been appointed to this position by Dušan himself.¹⁴⁶ In the region of Berrhoia and Edessa ruled Radoslav Hlapen, one of Dušan's well-known generals, who has been mentioned earlier in connection with the capture of Berrhoia in 1351.¹⁴⁷ In the region of Kastoria we find as governor Nicholas Bagaš Baldovin (Παράσης ὁ Βαλδουωίνος), who was the son-in-law of Radoslav Hlapen. We possess a decree of Nicholas Bagaš Baldovin, issued between September 1384 and August 1385, by which he donated the monastery of Mesonesiotissa (Μεσονησιώτισσα), which is the present-day monastery of Mauriotissa at Kastoria, to the monastery of St. Paul on Mount Athos.¹⁴⁸ The abbot and restorer of this monastery was Nicholas's brother Antony (Arsenius); sometime between 1360 and 1365 he and Gerasimus Radonias bought St. Paul from the monastery of Xeropotamou for twenty-four thousand aspers.¹⁴⁹

Of the Serbian rulers of western Macedonia, the best known is Marko Kraljević¹⁵⁰ of the Serbian epic tradition. After the death of his father, Vukašin, at the battle of the Marica, he assumed the title of king¹⁵¹ and ruled over the area that at one time extended from the river Axios to the Albanian plains; the main cities were Skoplje, Prilep, Ohrid, Monastir (Bitolj), and Florina. Although he was not a very notable ruler, and although he even became a vassal of the Turks, he is a great national hero in Serbian folk poetry and also to a certain extent in Bulgarian and Albanian poetry.¹⁵² The difficulty for

the historian is that Marko has been so veiled in legend that it is not easy to determine the truth about him.

It is generally believed that he was born around 1335. In the sources he first appears in 1361 as Tsar Uroš's envoy to Ragusa, as I have already mentioned.¹⁵³ Other evidence about Marko comes from contemporary buildings. In Prilep, Marko's capital,¹⁵⁴ there remain the ruins of old fortifications, called by the local people "Markovi kuli" or "Markov Grad."¹⁵⁵ It is believed that Marko's court was located there. The extant monastery of Saint Archangels in Prilep was erected by King Vukašin and his son Marko, according to local traditions. There is, however, a great probability that it may have been built by Marko, since there is a founder's portrait (κτιστορικόν) of Marko.¹⁵⁶ Portraits of Marko exist also in the monastery of Saint Andrew at Treska¹⁵⁷ and in the monastery of Saint Demetrius at Sušica near Skoplje (known also as Markov Manastir.¹⁵⁸) Marko must have undoubtedly issued several acts for these monasteries, which unfortunately have not been preserved. Finally, silver coins issued by Marko bear the following inscriptions: *ва Христа Бога благоверни краль Марко*.¹⁵⁹ A Serbian inscription at the Bogorodica monastery at Ohrid informs us that Marko was related to Ostoja Rajaković, the son-in-law of Župan Gropa.¹⁶⁰ From a notice in a contemporary manuscript we learn that Marko married Hlapen's daughter Helen.¹⁶¹ Mauro Orbini further informs us that Marko, the ruler of Kastoria and Ohrid, divorced Helen because of her bad conduct.¹⁶² However, she gave Kastoria to Balša Balšić, who in turn had divorced his first wife, the daughter of Andrew Musachi, despot of Berat, in order to marry Helen. Marko then besieged Kastoria with the help of Turkish troops, but he did not succeed in capturing it. George Balšić came to the assistance of his brother Balša and pushed Marko back. Balša returned to Zeta with his new wife, but he soon put her in prison for her "vita dishonesta." Contradicting Orbini, Giovanni Musachi tells us that his own ancestor Andrew Musachi had taken the city of Kastoria¹⁶³ from Marko Kraljević (Marco Craglia). Besides Kastoria, Marko had lost other territories: the Balšići had also taken Prizren¹⁶⁴ even before Kastoria, and Prince Lazar had annexed some of the northern regions. Later, Vuk Branković, Marko's northern neighbor, captured Skoplje, sometime before 1377.¹⁶⁵

As a Turkish vassal, Marko was obliged to supply the sultan with troops in wartime as well as to pay tribute. Whether Marko himself or his troops participated on the Turkish side in the battle of Kosovo in 1389 is still debated.¹⁶⁶ But it is certain that Marko as Turkish vassal marched with Sultan Bayezid's army against the vojvod of Wallachia, John Mircea, and was killed along with Constantine Dejanović at the battle of Rovine on 17 May 1395.¹⁶⁷ The death of Marko marks the end of the Mrnjavčevići rule. Marko's surviving brothers found themselves exiles in Ragusa, and later they went to Hungary, where they died.¹⁶⁸

After the battle of Rovine, the lands of Marko and Gospodin Constantine fell into the hands of the Turks.¹⁶⁹ Thus, after the death of the first vassal rulers, the Turks governed directly, and gradually the complete conquest of the Balkans unfolded. As a result of the direct annexation of the lands of Marko and Constantine, a considerable portion of the Serbian conquests from the time of Milutin and Dušan passed over to direct Turkish administration.¹⁷⁰

The only Serbian rulers who had still remained independent after the battle of the Marica in 1371 were the Serbian dynasts of the west and north, the Balšići,¹⁷¹ Vuk Branković,¹⁷² and Prince Lazar,¹⁷³ and farther west Nikola Altomanović¹⁷⁴ and the ban of Bosnia Stephen Tvrtko, who in the summer of 1377 assumed the title of king.¹⁷⁵ The next field of operation for the Turkish conqueror would be the lands of Serbia proper. The strongest among the still independent Serbian rulers was Prince Lazar,¹⁷⁶ who had common boundaries with the Turkish conquerors. He ruled over the whole Morava region, the towns of Novo Brdo and Rudnik, the fortress of Užice, and the districts of Mačva and Braničevo, up to the banks of the Sava and the Danube. Prince Lazar's headquarters were established in Kruševac. Through marriage he had succeeded in influencing the neighboring rulers, and thus he emerged as the most powerful among them.¹⁷⁷ In regard to the nature of Prince Lazar's control over the other Serbian magnates, Jireček correctly emphasized that Lazar was not the supreme ruler over other Serbian lords but only the head of a family to which his sons-in-law Vuk and George belonged.¹⁷⁸

After the Serbian defeat at the Marica, Prince Lazar had clearly realized the Turkish menace. Therefore, early in his

reign he achieved a definite reconciliation between the Greek and the Serbian churches.¹⁷⁹ According to the continuator of Danilo,¹⁸⁰ after he had reached an agreement with Empress Helen, Dušan's widow, and the Serbian nobility, and had obtained the consent of the patriarch of Peć, Sava IV, Lazar sent the monk Isaias¹⁸¹ to Constantinople accompanied by four other prelates.¹⁸² The Serbian embassy arrived in Constantinople at the beginning of 1375. It was received with honor by the Byzantine Emperor John Palaeologus, by his son Manuel, the patriarch Philotheus, and the Holy Synod. The patriarch and the synod decided to raise the ban of excommunication laid upon the Serbian church in 1352 and again to accept the Serbs into the community of the Orthodox church. Continuing his account, Danilo says: "And even something better than this happened, and this thanks to kyr Isaias who was very much liked by the patriarch; the patriarch and the synod gave to the Serbs the right to have not only an archbishop but an independent patriarch who would not submit to anybody. They demanded only one thing: the promise that if in the future the Serbs would become strong and again acquire the Greek lands, they would not replace the Greek bishops."¹⁸³ Patriarch Philotheus then sent the Serbian envoys back accompanied by two Greek prelates, Matthew and Moses, who arrived with them in Serbia, proclaimed forgiveness of the tsars Dušan and Uroš, the Serbian patriarchs Joanikij and Sava and all other prelates, and established friendly relations with the Serbian church.¹⁸⁴

Unfortunately, we do not possess any source concerning the recognition of the Serbian patriarchate by the Byzantines except the account of George Branković, which is based on Danilo,¹⁸⁵ and for this reason Danilo's account has become the subject of much discussion among scholars. The central point of the controversy is whether the patriarchate of Constantinople officially recognized the patriarchate of Peć in 1375. If not, then Danilo's account should be rejected as untrustworthy. Among the scholars who have doubted the trustworthiness of Danilo's account, only M. Lascaris has attempted to give an explanation of his opinion.¹⁸⁶ Lascaris observes that in the "Εκθεσις νέα,¹⁸⁷ a chancery manual written in 1386, the formula for addressing the head of the Serbian church was ἀγιώτατε ἀρχιεπίσκοπε Πεκίου καὶ πάσης Σερβίας (most holy archbishop of Peć and of all Serbia), which indicates, in his view, that the head of the Serbian church was not recognized as patriarch by the church of Constantinople. Lascaris's thesis, however, has been criticized by G. Ostrogorsky,¹⁸⁸

who states that it is difficult to reject unconditionally Danilo's account. He suggests that in this case a very common Byzantine practice may well have been followed: the Byzantines often tried to forget as soon as possible the titles they had granted in time of stress. The fact that the head of the Serbian church continued to be called patriarch in contemporary official Serbian documents¹⁸⁹ after the reconciliation of the two churches makes Ostrogorsky's criticism quite reasonable. Again, one finds difficulty in accepting the view of Lascaris, who allows the possibility that the patriarch of Constantinople, without expressly conceding to the Serbian head of church the title of patriarch, nevertheless authorized him to use this title within his own church but not in relations with other Orthodox churches.¹⁹⁰

The Turks, meanwhile, were making progress subjugating the Bulgars.¹⁹¹ In 1386 Sultan Murad captured Niš and marched against Prince Lazar.¹⁹² At the same time the Turks invaded Bosnia and penetrated into the Neretva valley.¹⁹³ The defeat of the Turkish army of Shain¹⁹⁴ by the Bosnian general Vlatko Vuković in 1388 prompted Murad to form an expedition against Serbia and Bosnia. Murad was accompanied by his sons - Bayezid and Yakub - and his able generals Evrenos, Saridshe, and Balaban. Among the Turkish troops were also forces sent by Murad's tributaries, like Constantine Dejanović and perhaps Marko Kraljević. Against the Turks marched the troops of Prince Lazar and his son-in-law Vuk Branković, the army of King Tvrtko of Bosnia under Vlatko Vuković, and the army under Ban John Horvat, one of the leaders of the Neapolitan (Angevin) party in Croatia. The opposing armies met at Kosovo Polje (the field of the Blackbirds) on St. Vitus's day (Vidov dan), Tuesday, 15 June 1389.¹⁹⁵ The story of the battle is famous. At first the Serbs were winning: Sultan Murad was killed by a Serbian hero, the left wing of the Turkish army was put to flight, and general confusion spread in the Turkish ranks. News of the victory was sent to King Tvrtko, who relayed it to the west, but the Turkish army under Bayezid, Murad's son and heir, managed to bring about a swift reversal and defeat the Serbs totally. Prince Lazar was taken prisoner and, with his nobles, executed. His successors submitted to the conqueror and promised to pay tribute to him and serve in the Turkish army.

In this battle the Ottomans crushed the last center of

resistance of the peoples of the northwestern Balkans. Turkish domination in the Balkans was thus well established, and it decided the course of history of the Balkan peoples for many centuries.

Chapter V

THE SERBS IN THESSALY

As soon as the Serbian conquest of Thessaly was accomplished, toward the end¹ of 1348, Dušan entrusted the administration of the new lands to Caesar Gregory Preljub,² leader of the victorious army, and one of the most outstanding Serbian generals.³

The contradictory nature of the sources does not permit us to define with certainty the exact boundaries of Preljub's state. The northern frontier apparently reached as far as the city of Serbia, which according to Cantacuzenus "was not a small city, lying on the boundary line of Bottiaca and Thessaly," and ruled, together with the rest of Thessaly, by Preljub.⁴ The eastern boundaries extended to the Aegean coast, as is indicated by contemporary documentary evidence, which shows that the Serbs possessed salt-works at Lykostomion and Kitros.⁵ The Venetian port of Pteleon and the area west of it formed the southern frontier.⁶ The real difficulty is with the western boundaries of the state. It has been frequently suggested that Preljub's authority extended far beyond the Pindus mountains into Epirus, including the city of Yanina. Such a view does not seem acceptable because Preljub is explicitly mentioned in the Byzantine sources as governor of Thessaly, or Vlachia in Greece (ἡ ἐν Ἑλλάδι Βλαχία), which never included any lands west of the Pindus mountains.⁷ On the other hand, C. Hopf,⁸ E. Muralt,⁹ F. Rački,¹⁰ W. Miller,¹¹ N. Bees,¹² and G. Ostrogorsky¹³ have written that Preljub ruled not only over Thessaly but also part of Epirus, including Yanina. One source responsible for this theory is a passage from the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" (written in 1400 or 1401) that reads in some editions as follows: "Then Dušan invaded Thessaly, and after bringing it, along with the city of Yanina, to submission, he appointed one of his generals, named Preljub,

as its governor.¹⁴ Another passage is in Chalcocondyles, who informs us that Dušan entrusted the lands between Trikkala and Kastoria to Župan Nicholas, and the region of Aetolia to Preljub.¹⁵ A close examination of these two passages does not permit us, in my opinion, to conclude that Preljub ruled Epirus. First, the phrase "along with the city of Yanina" (σὺν τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἰωαννίνων) does not appear in the oldest manuscript of the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," published by G. Ainian, nor in the synopsis of the chronicle discovered in Meteora by P. Uspenskiĵ¹⁶--a fact that suggests that this phrase is most probably a later interpolation. Second, even if one overlooks this omission, the ταύτης in our text seems to refer only to τῆν ἐν Ἑλλάδι Βλαχίαν. Furthermore, we know that Yanina never belonged geographically or administratively to "Vlachia in Greece" (Thessaly).¹⁷ However, Chalcocondyles's statement that Preljub ruled Aetolia--a geographical term often including Epirus at this time¹⁸--cannot be considered trustworthy, since we know how unreliable Chalcocondyles is as a source,¹⁹ and since all other sources explicitly state that Preljub was appointed governor of Thessaly only.²⁰ I very much suspect that Chalcocondyles has confused Gregory Preljub or Preljubović with his son Thomas Preljub or Preljubović, who was ruler of Yanina from 1366 or 1367 to 1384. The influence of Chalcocondyles's statement can be easily detected also in Mauro Orbini, who wrote that Preljub was "despoto & signor d'Iagnina, & d'altre contrade vicine,"²¹ although this is in direct contradiction with his statement in the preceding page of the same work, that Dušan had entrusted to Symeon "la Città d'Iagnina in Romania, co tutto il paese fin' àl'Arta, & molti altri castelli, & città, ch'erano in quei cōtorni."²²

The capital of Preljub's state has been the subject of much controversial discussion among scholars. C. Hopf, using as a basis the erroneous assumption that Yanina belonged to Preljub, wrote that Caesar Gregory Preljub established his residence in Yanina.²³ P. Aravantinos,²⁴ G. Destunis,²⁵ P. Uspenskiĵ,²⁶ L. Heuzey,²⁷ A. Adamantiou,²⁸ M. Goudas,²⁹ and later S. Cirac Estopaňan³⁰ held the view that Preljub had established his headquarters in Trikkala. On the other hand, J. Voyatzidis³¹ expressed the opinion that Servia, not Trikkala, was Preljub's capital. He based his theory on two passages in Cantacuzenus. In the first Cantacuzenus mentions that "Preljub was ruling over

the city of Servia along with the rest of Thessaly,"³² and in the second passage, where he refers to the Byzantine invasion of Thessaly in 1350, he says that Preljub was at that time in Servia.³³ It seems to me that the first reference does not support Voyatzidis's view. Cantacuzenus speaks extensively about Servia in that part of his work; so if he adds that "Preljub was ruling over the city of Servia along with the rest of Thessaly," he does not mean necessarily that Servia occupied a position of preeminence in his state. The second reference must be viewed in context. Cantacuzenus was speaking of the Byzantine invasion of Serbian-dominated Macedonia and especially of the invasion of Thessaly in 1350. It is logical to suppose that at such a critical moment Preljub would have rushed with his army to Servia, a natural fortress situated at a strategic point on the border between Macedonia and Thessaly.³⁴ Therefore, his presence in Servia at that time does not prove that he had established his headquarters there permanently.

Trikkala seems for many reasons to have been Preljub's capital: Trikkala is a centrally located city in Thessaly and has natural defenses;³⁵ we know that Preljub was assassinated in or around Trikkala at the end of 1355 or the beginning of 1356,³⁶ and his wife³⁷ and son lived in Trikkala at the time of the assassination;³⁸ and Symeon Uroš, who became ruler of Thessaly shortly after Preljub's death, resided in Trikkala.³⁹

Preljub's task as governor must have been difficult if we may judge from the conditions prevailing in Thessaly. Thessaly, known in medieval times as the home of a numerous Vlach population,⁴⁰ was invaded at the beginning of the fourteenth century by unruly Albanian tribes. A letter written in 1325 by Marino Sanudo Torsello and addressed to the archbishop of Capua provides us with interesting information about Albanian inroads in Thessaly.⁴¹

Eight years later, in 1333, we hear again of Albanian tribes in Thessaly. In his account of the Syrgiannes episode Cantacuzenus mentions that when the Byzantine deserter fled to Thessaly, he found himself among Albanians who lived there as "independent nomads (αὐτόνομοι νομάδες)." ⁴² When Emperor Andronicus III later campaigned against Thessaly to restore order, he met twelve thousand Albanians of the tribes of the Malakasaioi, Bouoi, and Mesaritai, who lived "free of rule and controlled the mountainous regions of Thessaly."⁴³

Preljub could hardly have succeeded in bringing to submission the Vlach and Albanian nomads and in establishing order in his domain when John Cantacuzenus, in an effort to recover the Byzantine provinces held by the Serbs, invaded Macedonia in 1350 and quickly reached the Thessalian border. Cantacuzenus easily became master of Lykostomion and Kastrion and then turned to Serbia, which was defended by Preljub himself with his best troops. After an unsuccessful effort to capture this important fortress, which would have opened the way for the recovery of Thessaly, Cantacuzenus withdrew first to Berrhoia and then to Thessalonica, leaving Nicephorus Sarantenus as governor of Lykostomion and Kastrion, which, however, soon fell again into Serbian hands.⁴⁴

We have very little information about Preljub and the Serbs in Thessaly in general after Cantacuzenus's unsuccessful campaign. In 1354 Preljub seems to have corresponded with Pope Innocent VI about the pope's negotiations with Tsar Dušan for a crusade against the Turks.⁴⁵ We learn also, from the life of St. Athanasius of Meteora, that Preljub came to terms with the unruly Albanian tribes of Thessaly.⁴⁶ That treaty did not long endure, however. Soon thereafter, as St. Athanasius had foretold, Preljub was killed near Trikkala in a clash between Albanians and Serbs.⁴⁷ The exact date of Preljub's death is not known, but on the basis of Cantacuzenus's account⁴⁸ and the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus,"⁴⁹ one may conclude that he died shortly after Dušan (20 December 1355).⁵⁰

The general confusion that prevailed in the Serbian Empire after Dušan's death seemed to Nicephorus II,⁵¹ son of the Despot of Epirus John II Orsini, an excellent opportunity to recover his father's possessions from the Serbs. From Aenos, where he had been appointed governor by his father-in-law Emperor John Cantacuzenus, Nicephorus organized an expedition against the Serbs in Thessaly and Epirus. Nicephorus had originally been brought to Constantinople from Epirus by Emperor Andronicus III and his Grand Domesticus John Cantacuzenus after their successful campaign against the despotat of Epirus.⁵² Soon after his arrival in Constantinople, Nicephorus married Cantacuzenus's daughter, Maria.⁵³ When Cantacuzenus entered Constantinople on 3 February 1347 as victor in the civil war, he appointed Nicephorus despot of Aenos and the cities of the Hellespont.⁵⁴ In the spring of 1356⁵⁵ Nicephorus left Aenos⁵⁶ with a fleet for Thessaly, which

he conquered without difficulty. Cantacuzenus reports that the Thessalians were eager to get rid of both Serbian rule and the continual raids of the wandering Albanian tribes.⁵⁷ Nicephorus, therefore, apparently received help from the Thessalians as well as from his brother-in-law Symeon Uroš, ruler of Epirus and Aetoloacarnania.⁵⁸ As soon as Nicephorus became master of Thessaly, he expelled Preljub's widow, Irene, with her son, Thomas, who found shelter in Serbia.⁵⁹ At the same time he marched to Aetolia and, putting aside family ties, ousted Symeon and his wife Thomais from the territory they had ruled. Symeon and Thomais took refuge in Kastoria.⁶⁰ Nicephorus then turned his interest to the island of Leukas, which was at that time under the Venetians. He made contact with various groups on the island, who then arrested their ruler, Graziano Giorgi (Zorzi), and delivered him to the invader. Giorgi was imprisoned by Nicephorus, and remained so until the latter's death when he was liberated and sent back to Leukas.⁶¹

While Nicephorus was engaged in his campaign, his faithless Admiral Limpidarius returned with the fleet to Aenos, planning to conquer the city and establish himself as its ruler. There he encountered the opposition of Nicephorus's wife, Maria.⁶² Unable to withstand for long Limpidarius's siege, she finally abandoned the city and fled first to Constantinople and then to Thessaly, where she joined her husband, who had by then become master of all Thessaly and Acarnania.⁶³ Maria was at first welcomed by Nicephorus, but after a while he began to treat her unfairly,⁶⁴ for he had been persuaded by some of his advisors to abandon her for political expediency and to marry the sister of Dušan's widow. The sources report that Nicephorus soon began to display dislike of Maria; even the very sight of her became displeasing to him. He finally sent her to Arta, where she was thrown into prison. At the same time he sent an embassy to Dušan's widow, asking for her sister's hand. News of the embassy and proposal reached Maria in prison; at first she refused to believe it, but when she learned that all arrangements for the new marriage were completed and that one of the terms of the agreement was for her to be handed over to the Serbs, she immediately appealed to her brother, Manuel Cantacuzenus, despot of Morea, to come to her rescue. Manuel responded by sending a boat, which brought Maria to the Peloponnese. The Greeks and Albanians, who according to Cantacuzenus saw Maria off with

acclamations and indications of their affection, assumed now a hostile attitude toward Nicephorus. The Albanians, if we may believe Cantacuzenus,⁶⁵ threatened Nicephorus with war unless he denounced his agreement with the Serbian empress, recalled Maria from Morea, and accepted her again as his true wife.

Nicephorus--again in Cantacuzenus's account--because he either recognized his mistake or feared the rebelling Albanians, denounced his agreement with the Serbian court and invited Maria to return from the Peloponnese, promising that he would again provide for her a peaceful and happy life. Maria accepted the invitation and prepared to return to her husband. Meanwhile, Nicephorus, wishing to bring the Albanian rebels into submission,⁶⁶ organized an expedition against them, taking with them as allies a group of Turkish corsairs⁶⁷ who had landed on the Thessalian coast. He met the Albanians, led by Charles Thopia, near Acheloos⁶⁸ in Aetolia. Nicephorus was killed in the battle, and his army utterly defeated.⁶⁹ Upon hearing of her husband's fate, Maria left the Peloponnese for Constantinople and soon afterward retired to the monastery of St. Martha, where she spent the rest of her life.⁷⁰

The date of the battle of Acheloos and the death of Despot Nicephorus has been the subject of much discussion. The only evidence we have comes from the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus." There we read that "after having come to Acheloos and having engaged in war with the Albanians, [Nicephorus] was defeated and killed by them, after a reign of only three years, two months and a few days, the present year being 6866 [1357-1358]." ⁷¹ It has been shown earlier in this chapter that Nicephorus arrived in Thessaly shortly before, or during, the spring of 1356. Three years and two months later would take place the battle of Acheloos and Nicephorus's death late in the spring or early in the summer of 1359, a date that contradicts that mentioned in the chronicle. In an effort to settle this discrepancy, J. Voyatzidis⁷² suggested that Nicephorus's conquest of Thessaly must have taken place in 1355 and his death, after three years, two months, and a few days, in 1358. It is difficult to accept this theory, since it is certain that Nicephorus appeared in Thessaly after 1355--following the death of Dušan and Preljub.

On the other hand, C. Hopf proposed that the word *τριετίαν* in the text should be replaced by *διετίαν*.⁷³ Thus, according to

Hopf, Nicephorus conquered Thessaly in the spring of 1356 and was killed by Charles Thopia, two years, two months, and a few days later at Acheloos--in 1358.⁷⁴ S. Cirac Estopañan expressed the view that at the battle of Acheloos Ghin (John) Boua Spata, the despot of Acheloos, was victor, as Chalcocondyles relates; and that Nicephorus arrived in Thessaly at the beginning of 1356, after the death of Dušan and Preljub. His death in the battle against the despot of Acheloos and the Albanians three years, three months, and a few days later would then have occurred in the spring of 1359.⁷⁵ However, Charles Thopia, the Albanian chieftain who defeated Nicephorus in the battle of Acheloos, began his rule over Nicephorus's territory in Epirus in 1358.⁷⁶ To support his theory, Cirac Estopañan⁷⁷ declared that Charles Thopia and the date of the beginning of his rule have nothing to do with our problem because it was Ghin Boua Spata⁷⁸--not Charles Thopia, as Hopf had suggested--who defeated and killed Nicephorus. He based his theory on the following passage by Chalcocondyles: "When the Albanians arrived in Acarnania with the consent of its ruler, they took over the land and became its masters. They then joined together to attack the Greeks in case they came against them. And when the ruler (who was called Isaac) appeared once in a hunting expedition, he was attacked by the Albanians, led by Spata, a man displaying vigor and courage, both profitable and satisfactory to them under the conditions at that time. And they killed there the ruler."⁷⁹

Cirac Estopañan suggested that if we substitute the name Isaac for Nicephorus, we get the true story of Nicephorus's death: Nicephorus was killed by Ghin Spata.⁸⁰

There is no doubt, in my opinion, that Cirac Estopañan misunderstood Chalcocondyles, and that he confused two entirely different events. First, it seems difficult to suppose that Chalcocondyles was unfamiliar with Nicephorus's name and confused him with Isaac. Besides, Chalcocondyles does not imply that the Isaac he mentions had organized any campaign against the Albanians, as Cantacuzenus⁸¹ and the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus"⁸² do in the case of Nicephorus. Furthermore, Chalcocondyles refers to Isaac as an ἡγεμῶν, but Cantacuzenus⁸³ and the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus"⁸⁴ always refer to Nicephorus as δεσπότης, a title granted to him by Emperor John Cantacuzenus when the latter appointed him governor of Aenos. Finally, Chalcocondyles says that Isaac was killed by Spata

while he was hunting--an entirely different story from those reported by the other sources. Chalcocondyles's passage seems to refer to the death in Acarnania of a local governor, named Isaac, at the hand of Ghin Spata.⁸⁵ Consequently, C. Sathas and S. Cirac Estopañan have confused the two events and considered them as one. In my opinion, Hopf's solution to the contradiction in the chronicle is the soundest, since all facts lead us to believe that the battle of Acheloos and Nicephorus's death occurred in the late spring or early summer of 1358.

We have seen that Symeon, after his expulsion from Epirus and Acarnania by Nicephorus, went with his wife Thomais to Kastoria.⁸⁶ There he established his headquarters and turned his attention to the north, where he saw an opportunity for expansion. While Nicephorus was fighting the Albanians in Acarnania, Symeon organized an expedition against Serbia. His aim was apparently to head an extensive Serbian Empire, as had his half-brother Stephen Dušan.⁸⁷ Symeon had hardly entered the Serbian territory⁸⁸ when news of Nicephorus's death reached him. Immediately he abandoned his northern campaign and turned toward the south. His armies occupied Thessaly without any difficulty.⁸⁹ He established his headquarters in Trikkala where he soon brought his wife and their three children.⁹⁰ From there he rushed to Epirus, which was at that moment overrun by Albanian bands. According to the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," the local population received him with joy and willingly handed to him Arta and Yanina as well as the rest of the fortresses of Aetolia.⁹¹ But news of Radoslav Hlapen's invasion of Thessaly caused Symeon to return at once to that country. Hlapen had married Irene, the widow of Gregory Preljub, whom Despot Nicephorus had expelled from Thessaly with her son Thomas.⁹² The Serbian magnate, accompanied by his step-son Thomas Preljubović, who in accordance with Serbian practice was entitled to hereditary rights in his father's lands,⁹³ invaded Thessaly.⁹⁴ Such a campaign undoubtedly appeared to Hlapen as a proper step toward reestablishing legitimate rule. Actually, however, this action cannot be separated from Hlapen's design to annex Thessaly to the lands of Berrhoia and Kastoria, which he ruled. His invading armies met no resistance, and after a short siege of Damasis, he easily took control of this important Thessalian fortress.⁹⁵

Hlapen's quick success forced Symeon to come promptly to

terms. An agreement was concluded according to which Thomas Preljubović would marry Symeon's daughter Maria-Angelina, and Hlapen would restore Damasis to Symeon. The Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," the only source for the history of these events, reports that "the emperor [Symeon] gave his daughter to Thomas as wife and made him son-in-law. Thomas entered Trikkala, where he was received by the emperor, who gave him his daughter in an engagement⁹⁶ ceremony conducted by the metropolitan of Larissa. A few days after the marriage was accomplished, Thomas went home to his stepfather, where he later brought his wife [γαμετήν]." ⁹⁷ This passage raises some complicated questions in the mind of the careful reader. Why did Thomas go alone to Trikkala?⁹⁸ And when he returned to Hlapen, why did he not take Maria-Angelina with him? The problem becomes even more complicated when we recall that in 1359--presumably the year of the marriage--Maria-Angelina could not have been more than ten years old.⁹⁹ It was Voyatzidis who first tried to clarify the picture¹⁰⁰ by suggesting that Thomas had urgent reason for leaving Trikkala immediately after the wedding. King Louis I of Hungary had invaded Serbia in May 1359, and presumably Thomas had to join Hlapen's army and march against the Hungarians. Later, Cirac Estopañan¹⁰¹ reviewed the same problem and gave what seems to me a very satisfactory explanation. According to Estopañan, Thomas and Maria-Angelina were engaged (μνηστείαν) in 1359, but the actual marriage took place a couple of years later when Maria-Angelina became twelve years old--the earliest marriageable age, according to Byzantine canon law of that period.¹⁰² Thomas, therefore, must first have left Trikkala after his engagement, returned for the marriage sometime in 1361 or 1362, and then left the city again, this time accompanied by his wife.

After the conclusion of the treaty with Hlapen, Symeon seems to have centered his attention on his Thessalian possessions. The lands west of the Pindus mountains were in the hands of the Albanians. Later, Symeon officially granted them this territory, with the exception of Yanina, which he eventually gave to Thomas Preljubović. Thus Symeon ceased to have any authority over any part of Epirus, but close ties between Yanina and Thessaly were retained until the death of Maria-Angelina on 28 December 1394.¹⁰³

No contemporary source has preserved a clear picture of the Emperor Symeon.¹⁰⁴ Only the sixteenth-century historians

Géronimo Zurita y Castro and Mauro Orbini provide some help. The Aragonese historian reports that both the Greeks and the Latins in Symeon's state were dissatisfied with his rule, which finally caused great upheaval.¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, Orbini refers to Symeon as weak and of little valor.¹⁰⁶

During a period when Epirus and Macedonia were harassed by Albanian bands and the Ottoman invaders, Thessaly seems to have experienced a certain degree of state organization under Symeon. Although we find in Thessaly a number of Serbian magnates like Baleas, Stranimir's son (Βαλέας τοῦ Στρανιμίρου); Manuel, Tihomir's son (Μανουήλ τοῦ Τιχομίρου); or Hranislav (Χρανισθλάβον), the majority of the lords at Symeon's court apparently came from old local Byzantine families.¹⁰⁷ The four surviving decrees of Symeon are written in Greek, and there is no evidence whatsoever that Serbian was ever used as an official language by his chancery.¹⁰⁸ It would not be an exaggeration to say that Symeon's state was in every respect Byzantine. He was himself hellenized to a considerable degree: let us not forget, both his mother and wife were Greek.

The famous monastic community of Meteora, established in the fourteenth century in the neighborhood of Trikkala, experienced on several occasions Symeon's generosity,¹⁰⁹ and other Thessalian monasteries also benefited from his generous nature.¹¹⁰ Moreover, Thessaly under Symeon was the center of literary activity. The metropolitan of Larissa, Antonius,¹¹¹ whose name appears in documents dated between 1340 and 1362, was undoubtedly a gifted writer of homilies, of which a number survive, in two codices.¹¹²

The exact date of Symeon's death is not known. His last surviving document is his second chrysobull, issued in favor of the monastery of St. George at Zablantia and dated May 1366.¹¹³ After that date neither he nor his wife Thomais is mentioned in any of the sources. We know, however, from the Koporinski leto-pis, the oldest of the Serbian chronicles, that he died in Trikkala.¹¹⁴

Symeon was succeeded by his son John Uroš Ducas Palaeologus, who had been brought up in an entirely Greek environment. John seems to have been appointed co-regent while his father was alive,¹¹⁵ but after his father's death he assumed the title of emperor, and on the basis of his two surviving documents, he appears as sole ruler of Thessaly by 1372.¹¹⁶ John must have

been, as Jireček describes him, an unwarlike, completely monastic man.¹¹⁷ After ruling the state inherited from his father for an undetermined number of years, he entrusted it to his relative, Alexius Angelus Philanthropenus, and retired to Meteora.¹¹⁸ There he joined Athanasius,¹¹⁹ founder of that monastic community, and became his devoted disciple. From a document dated November 1381,¹²⁰ we learn that John was a monk with the name Joasaph.¹²¹ Consequently, he must have taken the monastic habit sometime between November 1372 and November 1381.

Most of our information about John (Joasaph) as a monk derives from the life of St. Athanasius the Meteorite.¹²² According to this source, St. Athanasius, "with the full consent of all the fathers and brethren, entrusted the entire administration [of the monastic community of Meteora] to the Emperor kyr-Joasaph."¹²³ The same source informs us that after staying at Meteora for a while, Joasaph left for Thessalonica and Mount Athos. The reasons for his departure are not explained, but from a passage in the life, we may assume that he had disagreed with some policies in the monastic community, especially with certain regulations of the typicon of his kellion.¹²⁴ We learn further that shortly before his death, St. Athanasius advised the members of his monastic community to appoint Joasaph as their head when he returned from Mount Athos. Joasaph must have returned to Meteora shortly after St. Athanasius's death (1383), as the saint had predicted.¹²⁵ From a manuscript notice in a codex dated 6894 (1385-1386), ind. IX, written at Joasaph's expense for the monastery of the Transfiguration (Meteoron proper) by Thomas Xeros, chartophylax of the bishopric of Trikkala, we learn that Joasaph was at that time at Meteora.¹²⁶

A number of documents of later date testify to Joasaph's presence at Meteora.¹²⁷ We know that Joasaph became the head of the monastic community of Meteora and, with the help of his sister Maria-Angelina, rebuilt in 1388 the church (katholikon) of the monastery of the Transfiguration at Meteora.¹²⁸ In this church there exist even today two portraits of Joasaph, which remind us of his work there.¹²⁹ A few years later--around 1390--he also contributed to the establishment of another Meteorite monastery, the monastery of the Hypselotera.¹³⁰

There is evidence that in 1394 Joasaph went to the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos.¹³¹ We do not know exactly how long he stayed there, but in February 1401 he was back at Meteora,¹³²

where he seems to have spent the rest of his life. Joasaph's death is fixed in 6931 (1422-1423) by N. Bees, who has studied the problem in detail.¹³³

Serbian domination of Thessaly ended officially when John Uroš retired to Meteora and the government of Thessaly passed into the hands of his relative, Alexius Angelus Philanthropenus.¹³⁴

Little is known of the history of Thessaly under the brief rule of the Philanthropeni. Manuel Philanthropenus, who succeeded Alexius, was undoubtedly the last Christian ruler of the country. Its occupation by the Turks early in 1394¹³⁵ put an end to the last remnants of the Serbian domination. The Serbian element in Thessaly, however, seems to have survived throughout the fifteenth century.¹³⁶

Chapter VI

THE SERBS IN EPIRUS

When conquered by Dušan's armies in 1348, Epirus presented a distressing picture of the chaos created by the constant inroads of Albanian hordes into Epirus and from there into Thessaly, which had begun toward the end of the thirteenth century.¹ The Serbian conquest of Epirus coincides with the period when the southward expansion of the Albanians had become a mass movement. This situation undoubtedly facilitated the Serbian conquest. There is no reason to believe that the Serbian troops found any local resistance. In fact, they were supported by many of the local magnates, who were eager to see order and security established. This desire for order is clearly indicated by the case of John Tsaphas Ducas Orsini. According to a contemporary source, he received as reward for his services to the Serbs a chrysobull by Dušan granting him the fortress of Rogoi and the neighboring lands.²

The administration of Epirus and Acarnania in general was entrusted by Dušan to his half-brother Symeon, who bore the title of despot.³ To consolidate his position and cover it with the mantle of legality,⁴ Symeon married Thomais, the daughter of the despot of Epirus John Orsini (d. 1335) and Anne Palaeologina.⁵ When this marriage took place is not known, but it was probably shortly after the Serbian conquest of Epirus. At least that is the impression one gets from the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," which is our main source for the history of Epirus under Serbian domination.⁶ Symeon seems quickly to have won the sympathy and the support of the Epirotes.⁷ The nature of his rule is also unknown, since our sources do not provide us with any direct information on the Serbs in Epirus before Dušan's death. We may assume, however, that supreme authority remained in the hands of Dušan. Only

thus can one explain the fact that Dušan had offered the lands of the despotate of Epirus to Venice as reward for alliance in the unsuccessful treaty negotiations in 1350.⁸

After Uroš's accession to the Serbian throne in 1355, however, Despot Symeon not only declared himself independent but also secured the support of a number of smaller Serbian local rulers and claimed the Serbian throne for himself. He quickly crossed the Pindus mountains, invaded Thessaly, which had been left without a governor by Preljub's death in 1355, and then, moving northward, entered Kastoria. There he gathered an army of four thousand to five thousand Greeks, Serbs, and Albanians, who proclaimed him tsar.⁹ Then he set out for Serbia.¹⁰ Meanwhile he had come into contact with the Venetians, who were always eager to foment confusion and internal conflict in Serbian lands.

The invasion of Thessaly by Despot Nicephorus II Orsini¹¹ in the spring of 1356 contributed greatly to the confusion. After Symeon had left Epirus, the local Albanian chieftains, among whom the best known are the Spatas and the Ljoshas, seem to have taken control of most of the province, and the population undoubtedly suffered from this change. The Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" tells us that when Despot Nicephorus recovered Epirus and Acarnania in 1356, he found the population dispersed as a result of "the perverseness and the ill disposition of the Albanians."¹² The course of the events that led to the battle of Acheloo and the death of Nicephorus in 1358 clearly indicated how important an element the Albanians were in Epirus.

Symeon's return to Epirus after Nicephorus's death was greeted warmly. "The Aetolians," says the chronicle, "welcomed him joyfully and acclaimed him as emperor, and they surrendered to him Arta and Yanina along with the other fortresses which Aetolia possesses."¹³ Symeon's stay in Epirus was short because Hlapen's invasion of Thessaly called him back to Thessaly. The chronicle informs us, however, that before he left Epirus, he bestowed rich gifts upon the local magnates.

The war with Hlapen was soon terminated by the treaty that arranged the marriage of Symeon's daughter Maria with Hlapen's stepson Thomas Preljubović. From then on Symeon remained governor of Thessaly only. He clearly saw that it would be impossible to establish his authority west of the Pindus

mountains, where the powerful Albanian tribes ruled practically the whole territory. Thus he entrusted the administration of Epirus and Aetolia to local magnates and Albanian chieftains. From a chrysobull of Symeon we learn that he granted the local magnate, John Tsaphas Ducas Orsini¹⁴ the title of grand constable¹⁵; Symeon also seems to have baptized one of his children.

This chrysobull was issued in January 1361 to confirm the territorial possessions and the privileges of John Tsaphas Ducas Orsini,¹⁶ since all documents confirming the privileges granted to him by Dušan and the other Serbian rulers had been burned in a fire at Arta. John apparently asked Symeon to issue the surviving chrysobull, according to which John is recognized as the master of the fortress of Rogoi,¹⁷ with a considerable area around it, in addition to new lands in the district of Arta, the island of Leukas, a few places in Xeromeron, and finally a considerable number of villages in the districts (the document uses the term θέμα) of Yanina and Vagenetia.¹⁸ The contents of the document indicate that Symeon was generous to John: he not only confirmed John's old privileges but also added a considerable number of new ones. There is no doubt that Symeon's generosity resulted to a certain extent from the fact that it was impossible for John to exercise any authority over several of the newly granted territories, since the island of Leukas was under the Venetian Graziano Giorgi,¹⁹ and practically all of Epirus was under the Albanians. How long and over exactly what territories John ruled we do not know. The only thing we know is that before 1366,²⁰ Symeon officially gave Aetolia to the Albanians. He divided it into two parts, each of which was administered, according to the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," by an Albanian chieftain, who bore the title of despot. The first district, which included Acheloos with the adjoining territory and Angelokastron,²¹ was under Ghin Boua,²² and the second, which included Arta and the Rogoi, was under Peter Ljosha.²³

Only the city of Yanina remained outside the Albanian-dominated area, according to the chronicle.²⁴ Wishing to put an end to the unrest in the territory around Yanina caused by the Albanians, who were always eager to take that city, the citizens of Yanina and the émigré magnates who had fled the district of Vagenetia and found refuge there sent an embassy to Symeon in Thessaly, asking him to send them a governor. Symeon received the embassy in friendly fashion and then

proposed to them as governor his son-in-law Thomas Preljubović. Then the embassy proceeded to Edessa (Voden), where Thomas lived at the court of his stepfather Hlapen. Thomas accepted the position and, with his wife Maria-Angelina and a numerous army, accompanied the embassy back to Yanina, where he was received with much applause and the Byzantine proskynesis.²⁵ He soon added to his name the surnames Comnenus Palaeologus in order to strengthen his position.²⁶ His arrival at Yanina took place in the year 6875 (1 September 1366 to 31 August 1367).

The history of Thomas's rule remains obscure in many ways, since the chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," which is practically the only source about him, is so obviously biased. The text, which depicts Thomas as a cruel tyrant, was written not as an objective work but as a libel, as Cirac Estopaňan's studies have shown.²⁷ But since we lack any other sources, we are bound to rely for information on this chronicle--using it, however, with the utmost caution.

We are informed that shortly after his establishment in Yanina, Thomas for unknown reasons removed from office the bishop of the city Sebastianus.²⁸ He then took many villages and lands belonging to the church of Yanina and gave them to his Serbian followers, and he also confiscated many of its sacred objects.²⁹ It is very plausible, as C. Hopf thought,³⁰ that Thomas did this to reward the Serbs who followed him from Edessa. Cirac Estopaňan, however, denies entirely that there was any real persecution of the church or confiscation of its lands, "except for a partial distribution of the ecclesiastical lands among the Serbian clergy...and at the same time the old question of the paroikoi and the hereditary possessions of the Despots."³¹ The chronicle may very well give an exaggerated picture of what really happened, but Cirac Estopaňan appears to go to the other extreme. It is known from other sources that the Serbs had made similar confiscations elsewhere.³² From the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" we learn also that Thomas later persecuted other clergymen, such as the kathegoumenos of Metsovo, Isaias, and the bishop of Yanina, Matthew, who was sent there by Constantinople in September 1382.³³ When Matthew arrived in Yanina, he conducted the service in which Thomas was invested with the insignia of the despot, sent by the emperor of Constantinople. The investment was performed by Gabriel, the

kathegoumenos of the church of the Archimandreion, and the magnate Mangavanos. Soon afterward Thomas restored to the church of Yanina the paroikoi, whom he had previously taken away. According to the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," Matthew rejected the offer, and this resulted in his exile and settlement in Arta.³⁴ Cirac Estopañan expressed the opinion that Matthew's presence in Arta was due not to his banishment from Yanina but to some unknown reason.³⁵ Since Cirac Estopañan's opinion is a mere speculation, I see no reason to discard the evidence of the chronicle.

Besides the church, Thomas seems to have attacked the nobility of Yanina. According to the chronicle, he persecuted a number of local magnates simply as a result of natural viciousness and of a lust for money. Among them were Constantine Vatatzes, καβαλλάρης Myrsiotes Anmyrakles, Elias Klassas, Niceophorus Vatalas, Manuel Philanthropenus, and the prokathemenos Constantine.³⁶ The local nobility, however, did not remain inactive but answered by a series of revolts. Thus a certain Bardas, who ruled over the fortrees of Hagios Donatus,³⁷ defied Thomas's authority and declared himself independent.³⁸ So did John Kapsokavades in the fortress of Arachovitsa.³⁹ For these persecutions and his policy in general, Thomas relied upon the advice of his counsellors, who were "slanderers, slaves of their bellies, intriguers, informers, and perfidious men."⁴⁰ Among them were Koutsotheodorus, Manuel Tseptus, Michael Apsaras,⁴¹ and Choucholitzas.⁴² Michael Apsaras appears to have been the most influential of all and the most favored by Thomas, who had bestowed upon him the title of protovestiarius.

Even the honest Serbs who had accompanied Thomas to Yanina are said to have abandoned him and left as a result of his inhuman policy.⁴³ But there is no doubt that a number of Serbs had permanently settled in Yanina during this period. As a matter of fact, we know that after the plague that occurred in Yanina in 6876 (1367-1368), Thomas married off the widows to the Serbs he brought with him, giving to them as dowries possessions that belonged to the local population.⁴⁴

Thomas is blamed for having established new taxes and increased old imposts like the exaleimmata, sikla on wine, angreiai, zemiai, customs duties, mitata and pronoia.⁴⁵ Thomas is also accused of having established in Yanina temporary

monopolies of wine, grain, meat, and cheese, and also permanent monopolies of fish and fruit. These monopolies were held sometimes by himself and sometimes by his magnates. He also forced public artisans to pay *zemiai*, *angereia*, and duties, and the other citizens had to work without receiving any payment.⁴⁶

From the information supplied by the chronicle, one gets the impression that Thomas's rule was indeed tyrannical and extremely inhumane. If we keep in mind, however, that the chronicle is not an objective source but a partial account written after Thomas's death by members of the opposition party who were eager to praise the benevolence and legitimacy of Thomas's assassins, the picture of the economic life of Yanina under Thomas can very well be considered an exaggeration. The partiality of the chronicle becomes obvious when we compare the economic situation of Yanina under Thomas with that described in the well-known chrysobull of Andronicus II, issued in 1319 for the church of Yanina.⁴⁷ Such a comparison clearly shows that economic conditions under Thomas were not worse than before 1319.

The period of Thomas's rule witnessed a long and strenuous struggle between Thomas and the Albanian chieftains who effectively ruled over all of Epirus with the exception of Yanina. Thomas led a continual war against the Bouoi, Musachoi, Zenebissaioi, Ljoshia, Malakassaioi, and the other Albanian tribes in Epirus. His campaigns were so disastrous for the Albanians that he acquired the title of Albanian-slayer (*ἀλβανοκτόνος*).⁴⁸

As soon as Thomas established his authority in Yanina (1366-1367), the Albanians launched an attack and besieged the city for three years. The attack was led by Peter Ljoshia, followed by the tribes of the Mazarakoioi and the Malakassaioi.⁴⁹ The siege was unsuccessful and the war was finally ended by the marriage of Thomas's daughter Irene to Peter Ljoshia's son John.⁵⁰ C. Hopf explained the Albanian attack on Yanina as the result of the Albanian desire to eradicate Serbian influence in Epirus.⁵¹ This opinion seems to me erroneous, since Symeon had officially recognized the Albanian "despotates" in Epirus, and since there is no reason to believe that the Serbs of Yanina could at that time exercise any real influence in Epirus. On the other hand, Cirac Estopaňan believes that the Albanians' attack on Thomas was nothing but a

manifestation of the struggle between Arta and Yanina for the leading position in Epirus.⁵² This thesis seems to be quite conjectural.

The peace between the Albanians and Thomas did not last long. After a period of five years the struggle began again. Peter Ljoshka had meanwhile fallen victim to the plague of 1373-1374. Immediately after his death, the Albanian chieftain Ghin Boua,⁵³ who ruled over the despotate of Angelokastron, conquered Arta and united the two Albanian despotates. Ghin Boua, who is described by the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" as "an active man and brilliant in every respect, and adorned with both eloquence and ability and of dignified and handsome appearance,"⁵⁴ thus became Thomas's most formidable enemy. He conducted a series of campaigns against Yanina, which ended only after Thomas gave him precious gifts and promised him his sister Helen as wife.⁵⁵ But this peace with the Albanians was also short-lived. In September 1377 the Malakassaioi tribe, led by Ghin Phrates, attacked Yanina and fought against the garrison of the fortress. The Albanians were defeated and Ghin himself was taken prisoner.⁵⁶ This was Thomas's first victory over the Albanians, who had harassed him from the very beginning of his rule.⁵⁷ Peace was established for a time, and Thomas even allied with Spata in the latter's war against Grand Master John Ferdinand de Neredin and the other Frankish noblemen, which took place in the region of Arta, most probably in 1379.⁵⁸ The Latins were defeated in the battle, and the grand master, taken prisoner, regained his freedom only after the Albanians had received valuable rewards. It was in this battle that Esau de Buondelmonti was captured and brought to Yanina, where he eventually ruled as Thomas's successor.⁵⁹

Thomas was much annoyed by the strengthened position of the Albanians, and thus their relations became tense again. The Malakassaioi, accompanied by bands of Bulgarians and Vlachs, led a campaign against Yanina.⁶⁰ In February 1379, a group of more than two hundred Albanians crossed the lake with the help of a deaf ferryman named Nicephorus, and entered the acropolis,⁶¹ while the main body of attackers landed on the little island in the lake. The frightful battle that ensued lasted for three whole days and later developed into a naval battle in the lake.⁶² The Albanians and their allies were defeated and carried into captivity. The monks who wrote the chronicle, according to the

usual Byzantine fashion, attributed this victory to the intervention of the Archangel Michael, the patron of the city of Yanina.

But in May of the same year Spata made another expedition against Yanina. The only thing we know about this campaign is the information provided by a later epitomizer of the chronicle, according to which Spata withdrew after receiving from Thomas five thousand gold pieces and three horses.⁶³ An embassy arrived from Serbia, offering the city to Thomas, but he put the ambassadors in prison. At the same time a revolt led by a number of city magnates, like the πρωτοσπαρχήτης Michael Philanthropenus and the prokathemenos Constantine, seems to have been planned in Yanina, apparently provoked by Thomas's treatment of the local nobility and his economic measures. Their plans, however, were revealed by a certain Chouchoulitzas, and Thomas immediately arrested the leaders and threw them into prison. Philanthropenus was poisoned, and Constantine was blinded and sent as an exile to Boursina.⁶⁴

The continual struggle with the Albanians and the internal instability in Yanina led Thomas to ask help, first from the Latins and then from the Turks.⁶⁵ The Ottoman Turks responded immediately and in June 1381 sent an army to Epirus under the leadership of Isaim,⁶⁶ which quickly occupied Bela Hopas and confined the Mazarakaioi and the Zenebissaioi to the region of Politsas. Then Thomas conquered without opposition a number of forts in the neighborhood of Yanina--Boursina, Kretsounista, Dragoma, and Veltsista, and he also bought Arachovitsa and Hagios Donatus.⁶⁷ He thereby opened a new offensive to recover Epirus from the Albanians with the help of the Ottoman Turks. A little later, in 6890 (1381-1382), a group of forty Turks under a certain Kostas came to Thomas's assistance, enabling him to take the tribe of the Zoulanaioi⁶⁸ into captivity. The Turks in general accelerated their conquests in Epirus. On 5 May Isaim occupied Reunekon, and in September of that year he became master of Dryinopolis.⁶⁹

Meanwhile, Spata's march against Yanina reached the place called Aroula, but he withdrew after concluding an agreement with Thomas. Thomas succeeded in bringing into submission the Zenebissaioi and the Malakassaioi. When the Turk Timurtas attacked Arta in 1384, Spata made an unsuccessful attempt to form an alliance with Thomas. At this time another conspiracy

against Thomas's life was organized in Yanina. Thomas had broken with his wife Maria-Angelina,⁷⁰ who apparently had a share in the conspiratory move that led to his assassination.

We possess two entirely contradictory accounts of Thomas's assassination. According to the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," Thomas was killed on 23 December 1384⁷¹ by members of his bodyguard, whose names were Nikephorakes, Rainakes, Artabastus, and Antony the Frank.⁷² Then the population of the city, rejoicing at the death of the tyrant, gathered in the cathedral, where they declared their allegiance to Maria-Angelina and invited her brother Joasaph from the monasteries of Meteora. Joasaph suggested Esau de Buondelmonti as his sister's new husband. On the other hand, Chalcocondyles⁷³ puts all the blame on Maria-Angelina, who he says had fallen in love with Esau while he was held prisoner in Yanina after the battle of Arta. In cooperation with her lover, she killed her husband Thomas and assumed control over Yanina. Of the two accounts, Chalcocondyles seems more convincing, since the biased authors of the chronicle often distorted the truth and also since the character of Maria-Angelina, despite the reports in the chronicle, was not commendable.⁷⁴ According to Chalcocondyles, Thomas left behind a son, who fled to the court of Sultan Murad to plead for help against the count of Cephallonia, Charles Tocco, who had expanded his authority in Acarnania. Murad, however, arrested and blinded the boy.⁷⁵

Thomas's rule has been described as most tyrannical. N. Jorga wrote, characteristically, that Thomas was a cruel tyrant-- a true predecessor of the terrible Ali-Pasha.⁷⁶ If one accepts the account of the chronicle, then Thomas's treatment of the local nobility and the church, like his economic measures, was extremely cruel and tyrannical. The same source also accuses him of having brought the Turks to Epirus. But this picture is undoubtedly exaggerated. The series of plots by the local nobles against Thomas may to a certain extent justify his alleged treatment of the nobility. Besides, Thomas's continual warfare with the Albanians had placed him in a difficult position. As far as his appeal to the Turks is concerned, Thomas simply followed a common practice of the time--one also followed by his successor, Esau Buondelmonti, who unlike Thomas received much praise from the authors of the chronicle.

A number of extant monuments remind us of Thomas's rule.

On the walls of the fortress of Yanina there is an inscription reading ΘΩΜΑ(C), identified with Thomas Preljubović by A. Orlandos.⁷⁷ We also possess the famous reliquary of Cuenca.⁷⁸ It is a diptychon dedicated to the monasteries of Meteora by Thomas and his wife Maria-Angelina. On the left is a picture of Maria-Angelina kneeling at the feet of the Virgin with the following inscription: ΜΑΡΙΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΑΓΓΕΛΙΝΑ ΔΟΥΚΑΙΝΑ Η ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΝΑ. On the right side was a picture, now destroyed, of Thomas kneeling at the feet of Jesus Christ, with the following inscription: ΘΩΜΑΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΣ Ο ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ. Finally, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Thomas's tombstone was described as bearing the inscription Θωμάς Φιχάρων (?) Πρεΐλαπος Δεσπότης.⁷⁹

The new ruler, Esau,⁸⁰ belonged to the Florentine nobility. He was the son of Nanente Buondelmonti and of Lapa Acciajuoli, and consequently related to the Acciajuoli of Athens and the Tocci of Cephallonia. The marriage of Esau with Maria took place in Yanina most probably in February 1385.⁸¹ At the marriage, celebrated with great ceremony, were the wife of the caesar of Thessaly, Alexius Angelus Philanthropenus.⁸²

Esau's rule is marked chiefly by the rehabilitation of the anti-Thomas party. The first thing the new ruler did was to recall the exiled bishop of Yanina, Matthew, who died shortly afterward. In January 1386, Esau and the local clergy nominated the abbot of Archimandreion, Gabriel, to succeed him.⁸³ He also recalled to Yanina the magnates who had fled Thomas's persecution, and he set free those who were in prison. According to the chronicle, he abolished all the taxes and imposts established by his predecessor. Finally, he arrested and imprisoned Thomas's main councilor, the protovestiarius Michael Apsares, and his children. He blinded them and sent them into exile.⁸⁴

Esau seems to have desired a pacifying policy, both internally and externally. He immediately sought an understanding with the Albanian and official recognition from the Byzantines. He sent an embassy to Constantinople to present his homage to the Emperor John V, who in response sent Vryones Palaeologus to Yanina to invest Esau with the dignity of the despot. The ceremony took place in 6894 (1385-1386), and the service was conducted by the bishops of Bela and Dryinopolis.⁸⁵ Esau, like Thomas, felt it necessary to win the support of Constantinople to

strengthen and legitimize his position.

His attempts to achieve a rapprochement with the Albanians, however, were doomed to failure.⁸⁶ During the first half of 1385, Spata marched against Yanina. The readiness and efficiency that Esau displayed made Spata withdraw and conclude peace. The provisions of this treaty are not known. This peace, however, did not last long, and the struggle soon resumed. Thus, Esau was forced to follow the method employed by his predecessor Thomas: to appeal to the Ottoman Turks for military aid, since he could not expect any from the Byzantines.⁸⁷ In 1386 Esau himself went to the court of Sultan Murad and paid homage. While Murad was still alive, it appears, the two hostile camps in Epirus remained peaceful. But after the battle of Kosovo in 1389, in which Murad lost his life, the Albanians began attacking Esau again. On 7 July 1389, Spata attempted a new attack on Yanina and set a camp near the city after conducting a series of raids. The Malakassaioi, who had earlier submitted to Thomas, defied Esau's authority and joined Spata. The Albanian forces did much plundering and occupied Veltsista, a village near Yanina. Moreover, the bishop of Bela, to whom Esau had granted the fortress of Bribia, deserted Esau and submitted to Spata, surrendering the fortress to him.

Esau was now apparently in a critical position. He summoned his army, but the flight of a part of his troops prevented him from coming to grips with Spata, who was menacing Yanina more than ever. The situation soon changed, when Turkish forces from Thessalonica came to the rescue of Esau. After Spata was repelled, Esau went with the Turkish general Melkoutses and the caesar of Thessaly⁸⁸ to the court of Sultan Bayezid. It is clear that his motive was to negotiate for a larger campaign against the Albanians in Epirus. Since he had decided to clear the Albanian tribes from the lands of the old despotate, he did not hesitate to ally himself with the Turks and perhaps even to become their vassal. After a fourteen-month sojourn at Bayezid's court, Esau returned to Yanina on 4 December 1390, accompanied by the famous Turkish general Evrenoz-beg and Turkish troops, passing first through the region of the Acheloos river and the city of Arta. The details of this campaign are not known. All we know is that with the help of the Turks, Esau defeated the Albanians and thus secured for Yanina a peaceful period of four years,

1391 to 1394. The only disturbance during this period was his conflict in 1394 with the Venetians, who claimed authority over the small port of Sayada, a dependency of Corfu. For a long time the negotiations took place over the contested territory.

This particular period witnessed the disappearance of the last remnants of the Serbian domination in Epirus, which had ended in reality with the assassination of Thomas. On 28 December 1394⁸⁹ the basilissa Maria-Angelina died, bringing to a close the interesting history of the despotate of Epirus under the Serbs. The personality of basilissa Maria-Angelina remains enigmatic in many respects, as a result of the entirely contradictory surviving accounts about her.

Maria-Angelina is called by the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" "golden Angelina indeed" (χρονῆς τῷ ὄντι 'Αγγελίνης) and "kind and most pious basilissa indeed" (ἀγαθῇ τῷ ὄντι γε εὐσβεστάτη βασίλισσα). Chalcocondyles, however, describes her as a woman of dubious morality and as an unfaithful wife. C. Hopf⁹⁰ has declared that Chalcocondyles's account is a later story--clearly mix-ups and confusions. But in my opinion it would be a mistake to dismiss it as a simple myth. This version must contain a certain amount of truth, since the chronicle itself also informs us that Thomas's councilor Apsaras once accused Maria-Angelina on moral grounds. It is true that some scholars⁹¹ have considered this accusation mere slander, but in my opinion it is difficult to reject both the account of Chalcocondyles and the accusation of Apsaras. Of Maria-Angelina we possess two contemporary representations, which undoubtedly preserve some of the basilissa's features. Besides the famous reliquary of Cuenca, already mentioned, we have an icon showing the basilissa Maria-Angelina kneeling before the feet of the Virgin. She presented this icon to the monasteries of Meteora,⁹² with which she always maintained close relations. It is significant, moreover, that Maria-Angelina's only surviving document⁹³ is an act of donation to her brother John, by then monk Joasaph, residing in the monasteries of Meteora. After she acknowledges the receipt of certain objects that she had left with him upon Thomas Preljubović's death, she confirms his right to keep various objects and a cross that had belonged to Despot Nicephorus. Finally, she guarantees that no one would be allowed to disturb either him or

the monks of Meteora on account of these objects, inherited from her parents.⁹⁴

Soon after Maria-Angelina's death the Albanian menace reappeared. Esau again sought to bring about a rapprochement. In January 1396 he married Spata's daughter Irene, in order to bring "security and peace in his lands," as the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" says.⁹⁵ But unfortunately, even this did not end hostilities with the Albanians. On April 1399, having gathered considerable forces, among which were the Albanian tribes of the Malakassaioi and the Mazarakaioi, Esau marched against Ghin Zenebises,⁹⁶ leader of the Zenebissaioi. His power had grown quickly after his recent victory over the Turkish troops of Evrenoz-beg and Yakshi, who had attacked him, apparently at the invitation of Esau.⁹⁷ Esau met the Zenebissaioi in the region of Dibra,⁹⁸ where he was utterly routed and himself taken prisoner.

The Florentines were disturbed when the bad news arrived. They were as eager to keep the rule of the Buondelmonti in Yanina as they were to keep that of the Acciajuoli in Athens and Thebes. To free Esau, they sought the intervention of Venice through her bailo in Corfu and sent two ambassadors with a letter to Spata.⁹⁹ From this letter we know that the ambassadors were Ugo de' Alexandri and Andrea de Buondelmonti, a first cousin of Esau. Through the intervention of the Florentines, and the Venetians, and Spata--although we do not have any exact information about the nature of the actual intervention--Esau was set free for the imposing sum of ten thousand florins. After a tour through Corfu, Leukas, and the Cyroboleo region, where he was received by his father-in-law Spata and his brother Maurikius Boua Sgouros, Esau returned to Yanina on 7 July 1400.¹⁰⁰ Soon afterward, on 27 October, his father-in-law Ghin Boua Spata died.¹⁰¹ His brother Maurikius Boua Sgouros immediately occupied Arta, where Spata had his headquarters; Ghin Spata's illegitimate son Paul kept Naupactus, which he ruled until 1407, when he handed it over to the Venetians.¹⁰² Sgouros kept Arta for only a short time because a certain Bongoes,¹⁰³ who is referred to in the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" as "Serbo-Albanito-Bulgaro-Vlach" (a characteristic mingling of the various nationalities at that period), expelled him and became master. Shortly thereafter, in 1401, Maurikius recovered the city, and

Bongoes himself lost the fortress of Parga, which the Venetians occupied along with Phanari and Sayada.¹⁰⁴

From 1400 the history of Epirus becomes obscure, since we lose even the suspect guidance of the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus." Thus the last years of Esau's reign are covered by darkness. Exactly when Esau died is not known. We know of a document of his issued in March 1408, in favor of the Metropolis of Yanina,¹⁰⁵ and also a notice in a Serbian manuscript dated 6917 (1408-1409), which mentions the "great and famous lord Esau" who was lord of the "famous city of Yanina."¹⁰⁶ His death was therefore later than 1408. His wife Irene must have died sometime before 1408, because Esau's third wife, Eudoxia Balšić, is named in the Serbian manuscript notice.¹⁰⁷ Of this third marriage were born a son, called George, and two other children, whose names are not known.¹⁰⁸

Upon Esau's death Yanina seems to have been occupied for the first time by the Albanians under Maurikius Boua Spata.¹⁰⁹ He had secretly received help from the Corfiots,¹¹⁰ who aided him at the instigation of the Venetians. They wished to prevent Charles Tocco¹¹¹ from annexing Epirus to his possessions. Charles Tocco--a relative of Esau's, the duke of Leukas and count palatine of Cephallonia and Zakynthos, and a vassal of King Ladislas of Naples--was concerned with the problem of Epirus.¹¹² He wished to expel the Albanian chieftain and inherit his uncle's lands. Consequently, he conducted continual warfare against Maurikius, except during a short truce, until 1418, when Charles Tocco killed the Albanian despot in battle. Assisted by the local population, he thus became master of Epirus.¹¹³

The Tocci, who ruled over Arta and Yanina in addition to the islands of Cephallonia, Ithaca and Zakynthos, remained rulers of Epirus until the Turkish conquest. Charles I Tocco died in 1429 and was succeeded by his nephew Charles II, who ruled until 1448. Charles II soon came into conflict with the illegitimate sons of Charles I, Memnon, Heracles, and Tyrnos, who had received from their relative the land in the region of Acheloos. The three sons appealed to Sultan Murad II for help in recovering the paternal lands. Sultan Murad sent Sinan Pasha, who came into direct contact with anti-Latin nobility of Yanina. They soon concluded an agreement according to which Sinan Pasha guaranteed the privileges of the nobility, and

in return they surrendered the city to the Turks. The accepted date of the conquest of Yanina by the Turks is 9 October 1430.¹¹⁴ Charles II moved to Arta, where he lived later as a Turkish vassal. On 24 March 1449, Arta itself fell to the Turks, who had expelled from the city the successor and son of Charles II, Leonardo Tocco. He retired first to Zante and finally to Naples.¹¹⁵

Chapter VII

THE SERBS IN ALBANIA

The lands within the square formed by Antivari (Bar), Prizren, Ohrid, and Valona, which constituted the territory of medieval Albania,¹ present during the period of the Serbian domination a picture as obscure and confusing as that of the earlier periods of Albanian history. The Byzantines, driven out of these lands by the conquering forces of Stephen Dušan, lost all their Albanian possessions forever, but the Angevins managed to maintain the port of Durazzo despite heavy Serbian pressure.² Besides the Serbs, the Byzantines, and the Angevins, three other forces emerged in Albania, where they were destined to play a decisive role in the following years. The Venetians, who had always cast covetous eyes on the Albanian coastal area, succeeded in becoming masters of parts of it during this period. Second, Albanian tribes for the first time began to play an active role and to form independent small principalities. Third, after the fatal battle at the Marica in 1371, the Ottoman Turks poured unhindered into Macedonia, Serbia, and Albania and eventually put an end to this "time of troubles" in Albanian history.

The conquest of Albania by the Serbs was accomplished mainly by the campaigns in 1342-1343, which ended with the conquest of Berat,³ Valona, and Kanina.⁴ These cities remained in Serbian hands until the coming of the Turks. The friction between the Byzantines and the Albanians that was left over from the 1335-1336 campaign of Andronicus III against the Albanian nomads in the Berat-Valona area⁵ undoubtedly greatly facilitated the Serbian inroads.

Aware of this enmity between the Albanians and the Greeks, Dušan exploited it and favored the Albanians, to whom he even gave many lands previously belonging to the Byzantines.⁶ Otherwise, he left things unchanged, in accordance with his

policy elsewhere. The Serbs had not come to destroy the old order and establish a new one but simply to continue as much as possible the old practices and to take over as legal heirs of their Byzantine predecessors. The chrysobull that Dušan issued in June 1343, by which he confirmed the privileges of Kroja that had been granted by the Byzantine emperors, clearly indicates that the Serbian ruler sought to win the support of the Albanian nobility.⁷ From the evidence in this document we may assume that Dušan entrusted to the local nobility the administration of the various Albanian cities he had conquered. Only the area encompassing the cities of Berat, Kanina, and Valona was entrusted to Dušan's brother-in-law, John Comnenus Asen (brother of the Bulgarian tsar John Alexander), who bore the title of despot, bestowed only upon Dušan's closest relatives.⁸ The exact date of John's appointment as governor of these lands is not known. It is, however, plausible that he was appointed in 1345, immediately after this area was conquered by Dušan.

To legitimize his position and at the same time win the support of the local population, John married Anne Palaeologina, widow of Despot John II Orsini of Epirus and mother of the last Greek despot of Epirus, Nicephorus II.⁹ He also took the name Comnenus (borne by the Greek despots of Epirus) and became so thoroughly hellenized that all his surviving documents are signed in Greek.¹⁰ His behavior is parallel to that of Despot Symeon in Epirus, who married Anne's daughter Thomais for the same obvious reason.

Because Valona, where John had his headquarters, was an important port, much frequented by Venetian and Ragusan ships,¹¹ he had direct contact with these two republics and developed commercial relations with Venetian and Ragusan merchants. The three Slavic documents of his that we possess are receipts from these transactions, signed by the despot himself in Greek.¹² He was selling cattle, pepper, sugar, "spices and other things" in wholesale quantities to Venetian and Ragusan merchants.¹³ The spices and the sugar had undoubtedly been imported from the Orient. Thus John's commercial activity must have been extensive. The spread of his commerce is also suggested by the fact that John was in correspondence with the Mameluk sultans in Egypt, as A. Solovjev has shown on the basis of the formulas in an Arabic manuscript of the Ambrosiana

Library in Milan: letters were addressed to the "brilliant, highly esteemed honorable, magnanimous, courageous hero like a lion, the Duke Angelus Comnenus NN, pillar of Christianity, King of Serbia and Bulgaria...."¹⁴

From a Venetian document dated 13 April 1350 we learn that in 1349 Venice had sent the marquis of Boudonitza to protest that John Comnenus had seized a Venetian ship. Dušan asked his brother-in-law to pay indemnity to the Venetians, and when he did not, Dušan became angry. Being unable to do anything "because of the empress' affection," however, he decided to pay the indemnity to the wronged Venetians himself. Thus on 13 April 1350 there arrived in Venice Michael Buča, "ambaxador serenissimi domini imperatoris Raxie et Romanie, dispoti Larte et Blachie comitis," with a sum of 1,120 hyperpyra for the Venetians.¹⁵ The relations between John and the Venetians, however, seem soon to have become friendly again because on 2 May 1353, the "magnificent vir dominus Johannes Comninos et Assanis, Romanie despotus," sent an embassy to Venice, which had granted him Venetian citizenship.¹⁶

After Dušan's death John sided with Symeon, his wife's son-in-law, against Tsar Uroš. Uroš and his supporters, however, succeeded in capturing Berat from John in July 1356.¹⁷ In the same year Despot Nicephorus II arrived in Epirus in an attempt to restore the despotate of his father. Thus John Comnenus was in a difficult position. In the summer of 1357 he sent an embassy to Venice asking the republic to send a nobleman as rector of his lands (unum ex nobiles nostris pro rectore locorum suorum), to give him a battleship, and to allow him to use the flag of St. Mark in his domain.¹⁸ From other Venetian documents we learn that the republic granted the first two demands, but we know nothing about the third.¹⁹

John Comnenus is also mentioned in Ragusan document dated 30 January 1359²⁰ and for the last time in a Venetian act dated 23 September 1363,²¹ in connection with a great epidemic that swept Durazzo and Valona at that time. It is probable that John fell victim to this plague.

As successor to John there appears in the documents of 1366 and 1368 Alexander,²² whom some historians consider his son.²³ This Alexander signed himself as "lord of Kanina and Valona"²⁴ and appears as an ally of Ragusa, of which he had become a citizen. From his letter sent on 2 September 1368 to the

Ragusans,²⁵ thanking them for having bestowed upon him the republic's citizenship and swearing to remain a faithful friend of Ragusa, we learn of the organization of his small court in Valona and of its ethnic composition. We find, for example, vojevods like Prodan and Mikleuš, the kephale Branilo of Valona and Castriot of Kanina, master of the court (dvorodžica) Rajče, cup-bearer Ujedja, and two judges, Stamati and Abrad. The names themselves point to Serbian, Greek, Albanian, and Vlach origins. Most probably the same court existed under Alexander's predecessor, John Comnenus.

The period of Alexander's reign must have been short, because his name disappears early from the sources. Hopf conjectures that he was killed in the battle of the Marica in 1371 and succeeded by his son George (Giureš Illić), who was deposed and killed in the following year by the Balšići.²⁶ At any rate, Valona and Kanina appear in 1375 to have been in the possession of the Serbo-Albanian family of Balša,²⁷ which shortly after the death of Dušan had founded a strong independent state in the territory of Zeta. The two brothers, George I and Balša II, in alliance with the Spatas and other Albanian chieftains, occupied large parts of Vukašin's territory after his death in 1371. Pushing southward, they occupied the region of Musachia, which was under a local ruler named Biagio Matarango, and soon became masters of Valona, Kanina, and Berat. In consequence of this usurpation, the inhabitants of Valona fled and found refuge on the little island of Saseno in the bay of Valona, where they placed themselves under the protection of Venice.²⁸

The most important local dynasty in northern Albania was the Balšići,²⁹ who were closely connected with the history of Serbia and especially of the Montenegro area. More than any other dynasty of medieval Albania, the Balšići were a true product of Serbo-Albanian symbiosis.³⁰ Immediately after the death of Dušan, the Balšići appear as a strong family. Their strength grew quickly, and they attempted to unify the neighboring territories under their rule and later to extend their authority into central and southern Albania. The first known member of this family, Balša I, assisted by his sons Stracimir, George I and Balša II, occupied after Dušan's death the upper part of Zeta; they also invaded the territory of the Ducagin family. After his death,³¹ in 1362, Balša was succeeded by his sons,

Stracimir (d. 1372), George (d. 1378), and Balša II (d. 1385) who ruled in succession. George extended their authority eastward, where he conquered Prizren in 1372 after King Vukašin's death.³² In the following year he received from Župan Nikola Altamanović the areas of Dračevica, Canali (Konavli), and Trebinje, which soon brought him into conflict with the ruler of Bosnia, Tvrtko.

A number of Venetian documents inform us of the domination of the Balšići in northern Albania. In an act dated 23 March 1372, we read "Jura de Balscae dominus Avalonae, Budvae et aliorum locorum."³³ In one dated 8 August 1385, we read "magnificus dominus Balsa Blasich Gente Canine et Avalone dominus," who had acquired also Venetian citizenship and was in friendly relations with the republic of St. Mark.³⁴ As ruler of Valona and Kanina, Balša II extended the authority of the Balšići into southern Albania. To strengthen and legitimize his position in the newly conquered lands, Balša Balšić, whom Mauro Orbini describes as a person of "no great intelligence but personally courageous," married the daughter of Andrew II Musachi, Comnina, and thus he became connected with this powerful Albanian tribe. After the death of his brother George in 1378, Balša became also sole ruler of Zeta. Later, when he captured Durazzo from Charles Thopia, "prince of Albania," he assumed the title of duke. Thopia at once appealed to the Turks for help to restore him in Durazzo; meanwhile, Balša, like other Christian rulers of his time, wasted his forces instead of concentrating on fighting the Turkish peril; he campaigned against Tvrtko, the great king of Bosnia, for the possession of Kotor (Cattaro). As a result of his policy, he could raise only a small army when the Turks marched against him. He fell on the battlefield in 1385, and his head was sent as a trophy to the Turkish sultan.³⁵

Upon Balša's death, his Albanian dominion was taken by the conqueror, except for the cities of Valona, Kanina, Saseno, Cheimarra, and the tower of Pyrgos,³⁶ which remained to his widow Comita Comnina. Left alone with a daughter named Rugina, she felt unable to defend her possessions from the ever-growing Turkish menace. Thus in 1386 she offered "the castle and the town of Valona" to Venice on certain conditions.³⁷ These negotiations came to nothing, but three years later it was agreed that Comita should furnish three rowers annually to the captain of the Venetian fleet in recognition of Venetian

domination over the islet of Saseno, which commanded the bay of Valona.³⁸ In 1393 Comita offered Valona to Venice for a second time, but the republic of St. Mark, uncertain about the future of these places after the Turkish victory at Kosovo Polje in 1389, declined her offer in a letter of thanks stating that the republic would prefer to have her friends stay in their own dominions and govern them rather than to have them under the direct rule of Venice.³⁹ Two years later, Comita made a new offer to the Venetians. She sent the bishop of Albania to Venice with the offer of all the four places which she held--Valona, Kanina, Cheimarra, and the tower of Pyrgos--with the provision that she and her son-in-law might go wherever they pleased and live honorably there. In cash this stipulation meant seven thousand ducats annually for living expenses--out of the nine thousand that the bishop estimated as the total revenue from her lands.⁴⁰ But before anything definite was agreed upon, Comita died. She was succeeded by her daughter Rugina and her husband Mrkša (Μίρξας).⁴¹

Mrkša Žarković who now appears in our sources as dominus Avlonae (or ἡγεμὼν Κανίνων,⁴² or Ré di Serbia)⁴³ was the son of Žarko, mentioned in our sources as ruling in 1356-1357 in the region of the mouth of the river Bojana.⁴⁴ Closely related to the Balšići through his mother, who had married George Balšić⁴⁵ (d. 1378) after Žarko's death, Mrkša's marriage with Rugina,⁴⁶ the daughter of Balša Balšić, was thus contrary to the canon law of the Eastern church. In 1394 Mrkša sent the monk Athanasius to the patriarch of Constantinople explaining to him that his marriage had been dictated by the menace of the advancing Turks and asking to have the union blessed by the archbishop of Ohrid. The patriarch answered that he could neither forbid nor confirm Mrkša's marriage but advised him and his wife to lead pious lives.⁴⁷

The Turkish peril in 1396 compelled Mrkša to offer Valona, Cheimarra, Berat, and the tower of Pyrgos to the Venetians; they did not accept the offer, wishing first to get accurate information about these places.⁴⁸ He then turned to Ragusa, of which he was an honorary citizen, for leave to deposit all his property there for safekeeping. Nothing came of this scheme, and in 1398 he applied again to Venice because he found it impossible to defend his lands alone against the Turks.⁴⁹ Venice then considered it undesirable that those areas should

become Turkish but decided first to send her admiral to inquire into their revenues, cost, and condition, expressing a preference for leaving them in their present ruler's hands. In 1400, when the inquiry had not yet been made, another envoy was sent from Valona to Venice, only to receive the same answer.⁵⁰

Mrkša apparently had his headquarters in Kanina; he sent his letters "u kuli Kaninskoj."⁵¹ He appears to have been made a citizen of both Venice and Ragusa.⁵² From the contemporary documents we learn that his chancery was composed mostly of Greeks and Slavs. As magnates in his court appear David, Miralija, George Kavedatić, the Albanian Kosta Barda, and Janja Janjetić; later, when Rugina ruled alone, we find a certain Nikola Corka.⁵³

Upon Mrkša's death, his widow sent still another unsuccessful envoy to Venice in 1415-1416. She was reminded of the debts of her late husband and of her subjects to the republic.⁵⁴ Since all the appeals for outside help failed, the Turks soon became masters of Valona. From a letter of the Ragusans to King Sigismund dated 26 August 1417, we learn that the Turkish army had already appeared in June 1417 and had occupied Berat, Kanina, and Piach (Pyrgos). They plundered and burned the city of Valona. The Turkish general Hamza-beg was appointed governor of Valona. Rugina fled to the island of Corfu.⁵⁵

Thus, for the first time the Turks became masters of a port in the Adriatic. They soon began to build ships and became in the Adriatic a direct threat to the Venetians, who tried unsuccessfully in 1418 to persuade Sultan Mehmed I to restore Valona and the other conquered places to Rugina, who was a citizen of Venice.⁵⁶

Balša II was succeeded in Zeta⁵⁷ by his nephew George II Stracimirović (ruled 1385-1403), who married Prince Lazar's daughter Helen. Under George Stracimirović the lands of the Balšići suffered losses from various neighboring magnates, especially the Crnojevići⁵⁸ and the Ducagins.⁵⁹ Finally, toward the end of the fourteenth century the Turks menaced George, too. The Turks even held him a prisoner for a year while they succeeded in becoming the masters of Scutari and Ulcinj (Dulcigno). George's son, Balša III, who succeeded his father, became involved in a long struggle with the Venetians, who had meanwhile acquired Scutari and other fortresses of that area.

Venice did not spare any effort to destroy the enemy. The Venetians tried to turn the increasingly powerful Castriota family and the other Albanian princes against Balša III, and they planned at one time to assassinate him.⁶⁰ This plan failed, however, and so Venice authorized on 25 June 1420, Jacob Dandolo to conclude a treaty with Balša⁶¹ through the offices of the Sicilian king.

Balša III died in early 1421 at the court of his uncle, the Serbian despot Stephen Lazarević,⁶² to whom Balša had willed his realm. This succession involved both Despot Stephen and his nephew and heir Despot George Branković in prolonged hostilities with Venice; the Venetians claimed Balša's coastal region of Zeta and eventually obtained it when the Serbian despotate fell to the Turks in 1439.

Turning to northeastern Albania, we find at the time of Dušan's death another local ruler, Andrew Gropa, who ruled in the district of Ohrid.⁶³ He had married Anne (Kyranna),⁶⁴ daughter of the Albanian ruler Andrew II Musachi, and had acquired marital ties with Serbian rulers. His son-in-law Ostoja Rajaković (d. 1379) was a relative of King Vukašin; his tomb, with a Serbian inscription dated October 1379, and portrait still exist in the church of St. Bogorodica at Ohrid.⁶⁵ Andrew Gropa, who bore the title of grand župan, is mentioned as ruler of Ohrid in a Greek inscription dated July 1378 in the church of St. Clement at Ohrid.⁶⁶ It is interesting to note that we also possess coins of Andrew Gropa, bearing the inscription ΓΡΟΠΑ ΓΙΟΥΧ (sc. Gropa gospodin Ohridski).⁶⁷

West of Gropa's territory and north of the "despotate" of Valona and Kanina was the Albanian tribe of the Musachi.⁶⁸ Their territory extended from the present-day region of Musachia to the river Vojussa. After Dušan's death the Musachis extended their territory southward. We have already seen how Andrew Musachi, with the help of his sons-in-law Balša and Gropa, took the city of Kastoria from Marko Kraljević. The same Andrew also came into conflict with King Vukašin.⁶⁹ As a reward for his victory, Andrew received from the Byzantine emperor investiture over Kastoria, the title of the despot of Epirus⁷⁰ with the privilege of the golden seal, and a throne embroidered with the imperial emblems in pearls.

The immediate successors of Andrew were his three sons, Ghin I, Theodore II, and Stoja Musachi, who ruled his lands

until the fatal battle of Kosovo in 1389. They were in turn succeeded by Ghin's descendants, Andrew III, Biagio Matarango, and Landi, who found themselves in the unfortunate position of facing the Turkish invader. The Turks had invaded Albania in 1394-1396, and from then on the lands of the Musachi family did not enjoy peace. Finally, at the beginning of the fifteenth century the Musachi family was forced to recognize the Ottoman sultan.

In central Albania we find at this time the Matarango family,⁷¹ which ruled the coastal territory between the rivers Shkumbi and Seman, and the Thopia⁷² family, which played a principal role in the history of Albania in the fourteenth century. The Thopias first appeared in history in the second half of the thirteenth century, but they soon grew in power until in the fourteenth century they were the strongest tribe in central Albania, and their rule extended over the lands lying between the rivers Mat and Seman. In an inscription of the monastery of St. John at Elbasan, written in Greek, Latin, and Serbian, the house of Thopia is mentioned as deriving from royal French blood.⁷³

After Dušan's death, for the first time in history an Albanian kingdom (Regnum Albanie)⁷⁴ was formed in the central part of Albania, under the most powerful and most significant member of the Thopia clan, Charles. He reigned from 1359 to 1388, with headquarters apparently located in the city of Kroja, which he conquered in 1363. Thopia became master of Durazzo in 1363.⁷⁵ This city had belonged to the Angevins, with whom Thopia was hostile. He was supported in his policy by the Venetian and the Ragusan republics, as well as by the Albanian nobility.⁷⁶ Although the Angevins' domination in Albania suffered a serious setback during his reign, they succeeded in recovering Durazzo for a short period. In 1372 the husband of the celebrated duchess Joan of Durazzo, the Duke Louis of Evreux and Beaumont of the royal family of Navarre, concluded a treaty with Ingeram de Coucy, who promised to supply him with troops to conquer the whole "regnum Albanie" from Charles Thopia and George Balšić.⁷⁷ Louis occupied Durazzo and took the title of "dux Duratii," but when he died in 1373, Thopia found an opportunity to recover Durazzo and in March 1374 appears as ruler of Durazzo again.⁷⁸ A few years later the second husband of Duchess Joan, Duke

Robert of Artois, besieged Durazzo and captured it, as a Ragusan document of 8 July 1379 informs us.⁷⁹ Thopia appears for the third time as ruler of Durazzo, but on this occasion merely in the name of the French pretender Louis I (d. 1384) and his young son Louis II.

Charles Thopia was also an enemy of the Balšići, who were pressing the frontiers of his state from both the north and the south. The Balšići seem to have conquered Durazzo for a short period of time, because Balša II Balšić signed a document, dated 24 April 1385, as duke of Durazzo (duka drački).⁸⁰ But in 1385 Balša died, and Durazzo was recovered by Thopia.⁸¹ The appearance of the Turks in Albania in the following year frightened Charles Thopia. He therefore turned to Venice and concluded an alliance with the Venetians in 1386, for a moment even offering Durazzo to secure their help against the Turkish peril.⁸² Soon afterward, in 1388, he died and was succeeded by his weak son George Thopia (ruled 1388-1392), who was closely related through his wife Theodora to the Serbian ruler Vuk Branković. A partisan for the pope of Avignon, George Thopia was naturally on hostile terms with Rome. The Roman pope Boniface IX called him in 1391 "filius iniquitatis"⁸³ and urged George Stracimirović, then leader of the Balšići, to wrest Durazzo from Thopia. Meanwhile Venice installed a governor in Durazzo,⁸⁴ which seemed to be menaced by the Turks. The Venetians were now the real rulers; George Thopia served only in name. Upon George's death in the following year, 1392, the Venetians took over direct control of Durazzo,⁸⁵ which remained in their hands until the beginning of the sixteenth century, when it was conquered by the Turks (17 August 1501).⁸⁶

In the 1390s the Thopias also lost Kroja. In 1392 we find as governor in that city a Venetian patrician Marco Barbadigo, who had married Thopia's daughter Helen. Venice had declared him a rebel (rebellis) for disobedience. Unable to resist the pressures from Venice, Marco soon became a Turkish vassal. But finally he was arrested and brought to Venice as a prisoner. His wife Helen then married Constantine, a son of George I Balšić and Theodora (known later as nun Xenia). Besides Kroja and Dagno, near Scutari (which he occupied in 1395) Constantine Balšić appears to have ruled also the region of Scurio, lying between Durazzo and Tirana. From a contemporary document we learn that he was executed

in 1402 by the Venetians in Durazzo.⁸⁷ His mother and his wife were then sent to Venice, where they spent the last years of their lives in extreme poverty.

Despite the attacks of the Balšas and the losses of Durazzo and, later, Kroja,⁸⁸ the Thopias continued to govern the central part of Albania. The invading Turks became the constant enemy, against whom they fought heroically in the last decades of the fourteenth century. They continued their fight in the fifteenth century under the banner of the Castriota family, which rose to power in the fifteenth century, until the end of Albanian independence.

Northern Albania presented a similar picture after Dušan's death. The northern lands were also in the hands of local chieftains, who were a product of the Serbo-Albanian symbiosis that characterized the area throughout the Middle Ages.⁸⁹

In the region of Alessio and its hinterland there was the old Albanian family of the Ducagin.⁹⁰ They came into conflict first with the Balšići, who ruled over the lands of Zeta and Dioclia, and later with the Turkish invaders. On the other hand, they developed close relations with the Venetians. In 1403 they concluded a treaty with Venice by which they granted Alessio to the republic.⁹¹ Later they allied with George Castriota Scanderbeg in the common national struggle against the Turks. Albanian independence came to an end with the death in 1467 of the famous George Castriota Scanderbeg, who offered heroic resistance against the Turks. The Turks thus became absolute rulers of the Albanian lands and soon put an end to the numerous petty states that had arisen in Albania during the period of Serbian domination.

CONCLUSION

After tracing the history of the establishment, growth, and decline of Serbian rule in Byzantine lands in the fourteenth century, one may profitably turn to examine the overall picture to summarize the causes and chief characteristics of this historical event, as well as to consider its legacy.

The civil wars in Byzantium--between the two Andronici in the twenties and forties of the fourteenth century, and between John V and John VI Cantacuzenus in the forties--had left the European provinces of the empire in a chaotic state. Thus the way was opened to Stephen Dušan for new conquests, an undertaking easily accomplished with the help of the local nobility. In many cases the local nobles voluntarily surrendered their cities to the Serbs after Dušan guaranteed to them the privileges they had customarily enjoyed and added certain new ones. The chrysobulls of Dušan for the city of Kroja and for John Tspahas Orsini Ducas, as well as the reports of the contemporary sources on the surrender of cities like Berrhoia and Serres, clearly show how greatly Dušan was assisted in his conquests by the local nobility.

Dušan's conquest of Byzantine lands may be divided, by the Serbian capture of Serres on 24 September 1345 into two periods. The fall of Serres marked a change in Dušan's policy that had far-reaching significance; shortly thereafter he declared for the first time his imperial aims and assumed the imposing title of emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks. Prior to this he had been interested only in forming a strong Serbian state and in increasing its boundaries, but after the fall of Serres, he adopted a new policy leading toward the creation of a Byzantino-Serbian empire that would some day replace the tottering empire of Constantinople. His new imperial aims were clearly revealed by his official coronation as tsar of

the Serbs and Greeks at Skoplje on Easter Day 1346. In keeping with this policy, Dušan took pains to retain in his new state all its Byzantine characteristics and to convince his new subjects that he was not a destroyer of the old order but a legitimate successor of the Byzantine rulers.

Like many sovereigns of the Middle Ages, Stephen Dušan adopted the dangerous policy of portioning out parts of his realm as appanages to relatives and trusted officers. The result of such a policy, coupled with the weakness of his successor Uroš V, was that Dušan's premature death was followed by internal upheaval and local movements for independence. The final outcome was the parceling of his large empire in Byzantine lands into a number of small, independent Serbian states, the rulers of which soon yielded to the strong Byzantine influence and finally became Byzantine in practically every respect. Weak and disunited, they easily fell prey, one after the other, to the Ottoman armies after the fatal battle at the Marica in 1371.

It is often argued that had Dušan lived longer, the Balkans might have been spared conquest by the Turks. In my opinion the supporters of this view tend to exaggerate the strength of Dušan's empire, which lacked uniformity and integration. They also neglect the fact that to a certain extent, it was the antagonism between the Byzantines and the Serbs that brought the Turks to Europe. The seriousness of the Turkish menace was not accurately estimated by either the Byzantines or the Serbs, whose main efforts were absorbed in wars among themselves. Neither Cantacuzenus nor Dušan, nor any other Balkan ruler, realized the imminence and magnitude of the Turkish danger, and if at times they pressed for war against the infidel, it was principally for reasons of political expediency. The critical situation was truly realized only after the fall of Gallipoli, which afforded the Turks a secure foothold in European territory. By that time the weak Byzantine Empire and the petty Slavic states in Macedonia were unable to check the advance of the Turks, and the Turkish victories at the battles of the Marica in 1371 and Kosovo in 1389 sealed the fate of southeastern Europe for half a millenium.

The period of Serbian domination in the Byzantine lands of Macedonia, Epirus, and Thessaly is of special significance in the history of the Serbs, for during that period, Byzantine influence reached its peak and left deep impressions on Serbian

culture that survive to the present day. It is also the most glorious period of Serbia's past, to which Serbian nationalism has always looked for inspiration.

Appendix I

MOMČILO

According to Cantacuzenus and Gregoras, Momčilo¹ was a Bulgarian (Μουός)² hajduk who rebelled and was chased out of his country. He fled to the Byzantines and joined the army of Emperor Andronicus III, who gave him a military fief near the Byzantino-Bulgarian frontier.³ His mistreatment of the Bulgarians and his disobedience to his Byzantine superiors caused him to be hated by the former and persecuted by the latter. So he fled and found refuge in Dušan's Serbia, and from there he fled to Cantacuzenus when the latter was unsuccessfully besieging Peritheorion.⁴ When Cantacuzenus invaded Thrace and one city after another surrendered, he appointed Momčilo governor over the Slav nomads in the region of Merope, "not only because he thought that since he was of the same race these nomads would be favorably disposed toward him, but also because he was not lacking courage and boldness in battle and was a first-rate expert in robbery and plunder."⁵ While in this position, he was approached and persuaded by Cantacuzenus's opponents in Constantinople to turn against his master.⁶ Cantacuzenus at that time was preparing to move with his Turkish allies from Gratianou⁷ and Koumoutzina (Komotine) to Didymoteichon, and then to march against Heraclea. Momčilo, thinking that Cantacuzenus had already left Didymoteichon, marched against Abdera, where there were anchored fifteen Turkish ships that had been sent with an army to Cantacuzenus's aid by the emir of Smyrna, Omur.⁸ Momčilo succeeded in setting fire to three of the ships. The news of Momčilo's act reached Cantacuzenus's camp outside Koumoutzina with the exaggeration that all the ships and all the soldiers had been destroyed. The Turkish troops with Cantacuzenus then demanded to turn against Momčilo instead of continuing their march to Heraclea to avenge the fate of their kinsmen. The first clash between the forces of Momčilo and Cantacuzenus took place near Peritheorion, and Momčilo won. He then dispatched two embassies, one to Empress Anne asking for a reward in exchange for an alliance, and another to Cantacuzenus asking forgiveness for the ingratitude he had shown and promising that nothing of this sort would happen again.

Unable to punish him and thinking that it was inopportune to have him as an enemy, Cantacuzenus accepted his request and granted to him the title of sebastokrator after he learned that Empress Anne had granted him the title of despot.

The Bulgarian brigand, however, did not keep his promise. Before long, he declared himself entirely independent,⁹ and turned his arms¹⁰ against Cantacuzenus and also, this time, against Empress Anne. Cantacuzenus, assisted by Emir Omur,¹¹ who had come again to Thrace with new forces, set out toward the end¹² of the spring of 1345 in a campaign against the Bulgarian rebel, who had meanwhile increased his possessions.¹³ Momčilo attempted once more to appease Cantacuzenus by asking pardon again, and promising to serve him faithfully henceforth. Cantacuzenus, knowing well how untrustworthy were Momčilo's promises, continued his march. He met Momčilo with his forces arranged before the walls of Peritheorion. The inhabitants had closed the gates and would permit only Cantacuzenus's nephew Raiko to enter with fifty men.¹⁴ A bitter battle took place on July 1345. Momčilo was killed and his forces utterly routed.¹⁵ Momčilo's name entered South Slavic epic folk poetry, and there are a considerable number of folksongs about Momčilo and the battle at Peritheorion.¹⁶

Appendix II
THE CITY OF SERRES UNDER
DUŠAN'S RULE

The most important center in the southeastern provinces of Dušan's empire was Serres, which served as a kind of capital for the area. We have seen how much the Serbian tsar had labored for its conquest and how significant this event had been for the orientation and the development of Dušan's policy toward Byzantium. One must not forget, too, that it was in Serres that Dušan was proclaimed "emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks."

When the city fell into Serbian hands, Dušan left the Byzantine institutions intact, in accordance with his general policy in newly conquered areas. Thus in the high posts we find mostly Greeks, who apparently were the leaders of the pro-Serbian party in Serres.¹ The first governor (kephale)² of the city under Stephen Dušan was a Greek, Michael Avrambakes, whose name is mentioned in a document of 1346.³ Other persons who occupied the office of the governor of Serres under Dušan were Doukas Nestongus (Nestegus) in 1354⁴ and Demetrius Comnenus Eudaimonoiannes in 1360.⁵ We find in contemporary documents other Greek officials, such as ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ Orestes,⁶ who most probably served also for a while as governor of the city.⁷

As bishop of the city we find first Cyprian,⁸ who held this office before the Serbian conquest, and Metropolitan Jacob, one of the most striking figures of the period.⁹ Exactly when Dušan appointed him metropolitan of Serres we do not know. Jacob was an old protégé of Dušan's. When Dušan built the monastery of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel near Prizren, he appointed Jacob as the monastery's first abbot.¹⁰ Soon afterward, he became metropolitan of Serres, without, however, cutting ties with his monastery, as documentary evidence shows.¹¹ It is important to note that a Serbian archbishop was appointed by Dušan to a Greek city.¹² It is the only case I know of, but undoubtedly there must have been other such appointments,¹³ since we know from the continuator of Danilo that when Dušan conquered the Byzantine territories, he expelled the Greek bishops.¹⁴ One may parenthetically remark that the Serbian

influence, however, was limited mainly to the upper stratum of the clergy. The results of A. Solovjev's detailed study of the church of Serres under the Serbs from 1345 to 1371 clearly indicate that except for the two metropolitans, Jacob and Sava¹⁵ and Dikaios Nikola Milac who were Serbs, all the ecclesiastical offices in Serres remained in the hands of the Greek clergy.¹⁶ Apparently this was also the case in other cities.

Our information concerning Jacob's activity as archbishop of Serres is scanty. We know, however, that after the anathematization of the Serbian church by the patriarch of Constantinople in 1352, Jacob, seeing that a possible Byzantine recovery of Serres would deprive him of his position, asked Empress Helen to secure for him a revenue. Helen fulfilled his request and gave him the church of St. Nicholas at Pšina "pod Kožljem" for life.¹⁷ In 1357 Jacob convoked a synod in Serres for an affair concerning the monastery of Caracalla.¹⁸ Jacob is also well known for the particular interest he took in copying manuscripts and for sending a number of Serbian codices to Mount Sinai.¹⁹ The last known mention of his name is in a document dated November 1360.²⁰

Appendix III
THE TOWER OF SERRES

In the southwestern section of the acropolis of Serres rises a tower known as the "tower of Helen" or the "tower of Orestes." It is one of the most striking monuments reminding us of the Serbian domination of this area.¹ It is preserved to the present day in good condition and has two inscriptions--the longer on the right--that have become the subject of a long controversy among scholars.

Both inscriptions are made up of small bricks, and to ensure the stability of the construction, the letters were connected with other small parts of bricks in between them, thus rendering the reading extremely difficult. Dividing the longer inscription into two parts is a helmet with the double-headed eagle on the top, also of bricks, placed in the middle. Underneath the inscription there is a figure resembling an apple or a sun and another design suggesting a square board or pillow, both of brick.

The first to publish the inscription was P. Papageorgiou.² He originally read the longer inscription in 1889 as follows: ΠΥΡΓΟΣ...ΕΛΕΝΗΚΟΝΕΚΤΗΧΕ (Πύργος...Ἐλένης ὄν ἕκτη[ι]σε) (sic). Later in 1894 the same scholar rejected his former reading and revised it as follows: πύργος ἀγούστου βασιλέως ὄν ἕκτη(ι)σεν (sic) Ὀρέστης(?). Thus he expressed the opinion that it is incorrect to attribute the tower to the Serbian empress Helen, as has usually been done.³ A. Papadopoulos Kerameus,⁴ disagreeing with Papageorgiou's opinion, insisted on attributing the tower to Helen and read the inscription as Πύργος ἀγούστῃς Ἐλλήνης, ὄν ἕκτησεν(ἕκτισεν) Ὀρέστης. He also discovered that the whole inscription makes a complete decapent syllabic verse. P. Papageorgiou, however, did not change his opinion, as he indicated in a later article.⁵ Another scholar, N. Stratis,⁶ read the inscription in question as ΠΥΡΓΟΣ ΑΥΓ ΣΤ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΟΝ ΕΚΤΙCΕΝ ΟΡΕCΤΗC and attributed the tower to Basil II Bulgaroktonos (975-1025). Finally, N. Bees,⁷ agreeing basically with A. Papadopoulos Kerameus, proposed the following reading: Πύργος ἀγοούστῃς Ἐλλήνης ὄν ἕκτησεν Ὀρέστης. All the above-mentioned scholars were unable, however, to read the shorter inscription

on the left, which some described as Slavic. The first who attempted to read it was A. Xyngopoulos.⁸ According to him, it is a Greek inscription that indicates the date, reading as follows: Αβγού(στου) Δ' (Ι)νδ(ικτιῶνος Γ).. ΩΝΗ (6858 1350). He read the longer inscription as Πύργος Ἀγίου βασιλείου, ὅν ἔκτισεν Ὁρέστης.

Later, during a visit to Serres in the 1930s, Alexander Solovjev⁹ studied the longer inscription and proposed the following: ΠΥΡΓΟΣ ΣΤΦ ΒΑΣΙΑ C ON EKTICEN OPECTHC. According to him, the word CTΦ is an abbreviated form of Tsar Stephen's name, like the monogram CTΦ(N) on his coins. Moreover, the helmet with the double-headed eagle on the top agrees completely with the helmet on the coins of Dušan and Uroš. Furthermore, we find on Dušan's coins figures explained as a small board (or pillow) and apple (or sun), which correspond with those on the tower. Finally, agreeing with Bees, A. Solovjev identified the name Orestes¹⁰ of the inscription with an official in Serres of the same name, whom we find mentioned for the first time in Athonite documents of 1365 and 1366.¹¹ A. Solovjev's views seem convincing. They also correspond to the date that A. Xyngopoulos deciphered. I therefore believe that the tower should be definitely attributed to Tsar Dušan and not to Helen, and that we should accept A. Solovjev's conclusion that "the governor kyr Orestes built or, it is better to say, renovated the tower in the fortress of Serres, and dedicating it to the name of Tsar Stephen, decorated it with the imperial emblem."¹²

A. Deroko,¹³ who has studied the archaeological monuments of Serres from the period of the Serbian domination, has reached the same conclusion as A. Solovjev, the only difference being his reading of Dušan's monogram. According to A. Deroko, one should read CTΦN instead of CTΦ. His is probably the most acceptable reading.

Appendix IV
NOTES ON THE OTTOMAN
INVASION OF MACEDONIA

The story of the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans¹ remains obscure. The various accounts provided by the great authorities like J. von Hammer, J. Zinkeisen, and N. Jorga often give a vague, confused, and contradictory picture of the event that sealed the fate of the people of southeastern Europe for more than half a millenium. The main reason for this unsatisfactory situation is the scarcity of specific evidence in the contemporary sources concerning several crucial matters. The Byzantine authors, as H. A. Gibbons² has observed, are general and sketchy about the progress of the Turks in Macedonia. On the other hand, the Ottoman histories, the South Slavic chronicles, and the Italian sources provide contradictory evidence, often presenting the scholar with a dilemma. It is not without justification that C. Jireček, in referring to the end of medieval Serbia and Bulgaria, wrote that it is "the most obscure and difficult period of South Slavic history."³ Since Jireček made the above statement, important sources for this period have come to light,⁴ and serious investigation has been undertaken by scholars like S. Novaković,⁵ N. Jorga,⁶ P. Nikov,⁷ F. Taeschner and P. Wittek,⁸ F. Babinger,⁹ and P. Lemerle.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the picture still remains obscure.

The very character of the Ottoman conquest contributes to the confusion. The conquest originally seems to have been of a purely military nature, for the Turks left only garrisons in the conquered cities, and they reduced the local rulers to the status of vassalage. A second conquest of certain centers was needed to impose direct Ottoman control in Macedonia. But these two aspects of the Ottoman conquest--military occupation and complete control--are seldom clearly indicated in the sources.

The beginnings of the Ottoman conquest of Macedonia and of the Balkan peninsula in general are closely connected with the battle of the Marica on 26 September 1371. This famous battle not only witnessed the slaughter of the best Serbian forces and the deaths of their leaders, King Vukašin and Despot John Uglješa, but also opened the way for Murad's victorious armies

to conquer Macedonia and forced the majority of the Serbian rulers to declare themselves vassals of the Turkish sultan. A contemporary account from the monk Isaias, who lamented the Serbian disaster at the Marica in moving words, pictures in the most graphic way the Ottoman invasion of Macedonia. "Like the birds of heaven," the pious monk writes, "the Ishmaelites spread themselves over the land and never ceased murdering the inhabitants or carrying them off into slavery. The country was empty of men, of cattle, and of the fruits of the fields. There was no prince or leader; there was no redeemer or savior among the people. All faded away before the fear of the Ishmaelites, and even the brave hearts of heroic men were transformed into the weak hearts of women. Rightly were the dead envied by the living."¹¹

Immediately after the battle of the Marica, a decisive campaign was organized by Sultan Murad against Macedonia. In 1371-1372 the Turkish armies led by Haireddin Pasha and Evrenoz-beg invaded Macedonia.¹² They had set out from Komotine (Gümülcina), which had shortly before been conquered by Evrenoz, and the two Turkish generals, helped by the famous Lala Shahin, became masters of Serres in 1372.¹³ This conquest, however, seems to have been of a purely military nature and did not affect the administration of the city. It was only on 19 September 1383¹⁴ that the Turks took complete and permanent control of the city.¹⁵ How Murad lost Serres we learn from the Byzantine historians Phrantzes,¹⁶ Chalcocondyles,¹⁷ and the anonymous author of the "History of the Ottoman Sultans,"¹⁸ a work of the sixteenth century, based mainly on Chalcocondyles. The governor of Thessalonica, Manuel Palaeologus, conspired with the inhabitants of Serres¹⁹ to attack the Turkish garrison and deliver the city to him. Manuel succeeded in his plans and occupied Serres sometime between 1 July 1379, when John V Palaeologus was restored to the Byzantine throne, and 19 September 1383,²⁰ when the Turks recaptured the city.

In 1383, Manuel's plots against the city of Serres provoked a Turkish campaign against Thessalonica. The Turks' four-year siege ended with the capture of the city by Haireddin Pasha in April 1387.²¹ During these years it seems that Christopolis also passed into Turkish hands.²² Meanwhile, another campaign brought Štip, Monastir (Bitolj), and Prilep under Turkish domination in 1385.²³ The same fortune seems to have befallen

Kastoria.²⁴ Also, Berrhoia²⁵ is reported to have been conquered by the Turks at this time (1385-1387).²⁶ The conquest of western Macedonia was completed a few years later, when Murad's son, Bayezid I Yildirim, began his rule (1389), which witnessed another period of victorious Turkish campaigns in the Balkans.²⁷ When his vassals Marko Kraljević and Constantine Dejanović died, Macedonia fell entirely under direct control of the Osmanlis.

Appendix V
THE DOCUMENTS OF THE MONASTERY OF SAINT JOHN PRODROMUS
ON MOUNT MENOIKEION

On Mount Menoikeion, near the city of Serres, lies the monastery of St. John Prodromus,¹ which was founded about 1275 by an Athonite monk named Ioannikios. During the fourteenth century it became an important monastic community in the western provinces of the Byzantine Empire, second only to Mount Athos. Moreover, the first patriarch of Constantinople after the Turkish conquest, Gennadius, also known as George Scholarius, spent the last years of his life in the monastery of St. John and died there.²

The monastery's rich collection of manuscripts and historical documents³ interests us here, especially a number of Greek documents of Byzantine and Serbian rulers of the fourteenth century, usually called the Menoikeion documents. A considerable number of articles deal with these documents, chiefly with the problem of their authenticity. Since some of these documents are attributed to Dušan, it is necessary to survey their history and the various opinions expressed about their authenticity.

In the middle of the fourteenth century the monks of St. John began to copy the documents of the monastery into two codices, which existed until recent times but have mysteriously disappeared.⁴ In one they had recorded the typikon and important decrees, and in the other acts and gifts from private persons. In the beginning of the eighteenth century a copy of the first codex was made by order of the famous patriarch of Jerusalem Chrysanthus Notaras. This copy existed in the library of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulcher in Constantinople and was published in 1872 by Constantine Sathas.⁵ It included thirteen decrees of Andronicus II and Andronicus III and one of Stephen Dušan.

Much later, in 1856 to 1858, when the well-known investigator of Serbian antiquities Stephen Verković went to Serres, he ordered a copy of the decrees, especially those by Dušan, to be made for him. This was done in three codices, which were before the war in the National Library of Belgrade (nos. 94, 95, and 96).

These three codices were the most complete collection of the copies of the Menoikeion documents. They included forty decrees in Greek, of which only twelve were in the codex Sathas had published. The remaining twenty-eight were copies of decrees attributed to Stephen Dušan, the majority of which bore his signature. These twenty-eight decrees were first published in Serbian translation by M. Petronijević⁶ in Belgrade in 1869 and 1871. The Greek texts of these twenty-eight documents were copied by the Russian scholar V. Lamanskij during his sojourn in Belgrade in 1863. He later gave the copy he had made to his pupil T. Florinskij, who analyzed them in his Pamjatniki zakonodatelnoj deĵateljnosti Dušana (Kiev, 1888). Florinskij also published in Pamjatniki the complete texts of seven of them.⁷

Besides the codex of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulcher in Constantinople and those of the National Library of Belgrade, another copy was made for Carl Hopf, which included the same documents, in the same order as the Belgrade codices nos. 95 and 96, omitting only the last seven Byzantine decrees. Carl Hopf gave this copy to F. Miklošich and J. Müller, who reproduced it in the fifth volume of their Acta et Diplomata. The editors published there all the twenty-eight decrees⁸ in question as authentic documents of Dušan.

The first to deal with the problem of authenticity was T. Florinskij,⁹ who concluded that only twelve of the twenty-eight documents could be attributed with certainty to Dušan. A few years later the Serbian scholar S. Novaković¹⁰ expressed the opinion--without giving sufficient explanation--that sixteen belonged to the Byzantine Emperors Andronicus II and Andronicus III and the rest to Dušan, but in a later publication he considered only ten as Dušan's.¹¹

In more recent times A. Solovjev, S. Kyriakidis, and F. Dölger have attempted to resolve the issue of which Menoikeion documents really belong to Dušan. In 1934 A. Solovjev concluded that only eight of them are Dušan's, and the other twenty are only the prostagmata of the Byzantine emperors, by a "simple procedure"¹² attributed to the Serbian conqueror.¹³ S. Kyriakidis¹⁴ accepted only five from the Miklošich-Müller collection as certainly belonging to Dušan. F. Dölger,¹⁵ who has succeeded in dating the Menoikeion documents in a definite way, accepted only seven. When A. Solovjev¹⁶ returned

in 1936 to the discussion of the problem, on the basis of new material he confirmed his original thesis: that only eight decrees belong to Dušan. This was soon accepted also by F. Dölger.¹⁷ A year later A. Solovjev¹⁸ expressed the possibility that two other decrees, which refer to a certain Domesticus Raul, might belong to Dušan. He based this supposition on a Greek act from the monastery of Vatopedi, discovered in 1936 by V. Mošin, in which a certain μέγας δομέστικος Σερβίας ὁ Ραούλ is mentioned. Solovjev thinks that if the two Rauls are the same, ten of the Menoikeion documents belong to Stephen Dušan.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. See Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris and Historia Peregrinorum in MGH, Scriptores rerum germanicarum, n.s., V (Berlin, 1928), 30 134-5; cf. also the letter of Dietpold, bishop of Passau, to Duke Leopold and the Annales Colonienses maximi, in MGH, Scriptores, XVII (Hanover, 1861), 509, 797.

2. Danilo, Životi kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih (ed. Dj. Daničić, Zagreb, 1868), 113; Georgius Pachymeres, I (ed. Bekker, Bonn, 835), 474, 12-4. In my opinion P. Lemerle (Philippe, et la Macédoine orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine [Paris, 1946], 198) erroneously places this raid in 1280.

3. See Lj. Stojanović, Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi, I (Belgrade, 1902), 26, no. 56.

4. G. Ostrogorsky, "Étienne Dušan et la noblesse serbe dans la lutte contre Byzance," Byzantion, 12 (1952), 151. This article appeared first in Serbian in Zbornik u čast šeste stogodišnjice Zakonika cara Dušana, I (Belgrade, 1951), 79-86.

5. Dušan had lived in Constantinople for seven years with his exiled father, his mother Theodora, and his brother Dušica, who died there. See a contemporary notice (1330) in Stojanović, Zapisi i natpisi, I, 26, no. 56; see also Danilo, Životi, 163, 169; Gregory Camblak's Life of Stephen Decanski in Glasnik, 11 (1859), 57, 59-60. Unfortunately, our sources do not give the exact date of this event. The various proposed dates are reviewed by M. Purković in his article "Itinerar kralja i cara Dušana," GlSKND, 19 (1938), 242, n. 16, who arrives at the conclusion that the dates must be 1312-1318, but he does not effectively disprove the usually accepted dates of 1314-1321.

6. Bulgarian independence was restored, but Bulgarian pretensions were destroyed. The second Bulgarian Empire never recovered from the disaster of Velbužd (Küstendil) and often proved submissive, never dangerous to its neighbors in Serbia. Uroš now turned against the Greek emperor in Macedonia, drove him back within his own borders, and captured Veles, Prosek, and Štip.

Andronicus hastily made peace and went off to attack his former ally Bulgaria. Thus in a single battle at Velbužd, Uroš had won enduring renown, while in the space of a single campaign he had vanquished a tsar and an emperor. See Ostrogorsky on the importance of controlling Macedonia in "Byzantium and the South Slavs," SlEERev, 42 (1963), 13.

7. See Theodore Metochites' report (presbeutikos) to Nicephorus Chumnus, then minister of the state, about his official mission to King Milutin as an official representative to negotiate a peace treaty (1299) between the Byzantine emperor and the Serbian king, who wished to put an end to the long Byzantine-Serbian frontier war. Metochites reports that when an agreement with the king was about to be made, the nobles opposed it vehemently because it was in their interest to have the war continue. Metochites gives the impression that the king was not in a position to oppose or disregard the wishes of his powerful and bellicose entourage. (C. Sathas, Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη, I [Venice, 1872], 165-6).

8. Gregoras, I (ed. L. Schopen, Bonn, 1829), 457.

9. Danilo, Životi, 213.

10. 19 April 1321 to 19 May 1328, according to G. I. Theocharides, Τοπογραφία καὶ πολιτικὴ ἱστορία τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης κατὰ τὸν 16' αἰῶνα (Thessalonica, 1959), p. 34, with no references to sources.

11. Lemerle, Philippes, 222ff.

12. κριταὶ: S. Kyriakides, Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται, II-V (Thessalonica, 1939), 290, n. 3; P. Lemerle, "Recherches sur les institutions judiciaires à l'époque des Paléologues," AIPHOSIS, 9 (1949), 370-84.

13. ἀπογραφεῖς: Kyriakides, Βυζ. Μελ., 289; F. Dölger, Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges (Munich, 1948), 191ff.

14. Kyriakides, Βυζ. Μελ., 196, 289.

15. E. Stein, "Untersuchungen zur spätbyzantinischen Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte," Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte, 2 (1923-1925), 20; M. Dendias, "Contribution à l'étude de l'administration locale dans l'Empire byzantine," Πεπραγμένα, Ninth Byzantine Congress, II (Athens, 1956), 343-65.

16. G. Ostrogorsky, Pour l'histoire de la féodalité (Brussels, 1954), 92ff.

17. Danilo, Životi, 197; Joannes Cantacuzenus, I (ed. L. Schopen, Bonn, 1828), 285, 10-1; cf. V. Jovanović, "Kako su se širile medje srpskoj državi za vladu Stevana Dušana, i oblasti njegove carevine," Glasnik, 68 (1889), 78; C. Jireček, Geschichte der Serben, I (Gotha, 1911), 375; T. Tomoski, "Isprovki i dopolnenija na nekoj karti od srednovkovnata istorija na Makedonija," Godišen Zbornik na Filoz. fakultet na Univerzitet vo Skopje, Istorisko-filoloski odel, 7 (1954), 111-22. Tomoski's conclusion (p. 118-9) that Decanski controlled

the whole territory between Štip and Strumica, with the exception of the city of Strumica, is not supported by the sources. The document issued by Dušan (S. Novaković, Zakonski Spomenici Srpskih država srednjega veka [Belgrade, 1912], 399-401) that Tomoski uses to support his argument definitely could not have been issued in 1332; but most probably it comes from 1336. This document provides evidence that the lands given by Hrelja to Chilandar were located in Štip and its surrounding area. Tomoski without any evidence whatsoever includes in his map the city of Radovište among Dečanski's possessions.

18. Cantacuzenus, I, 428, 4ff.; G. Ostrogorsky, History of the Byzantine State (New Brunswick, 1957), 450.

19. Danilo, Životi, 221-2; Gregoras, I, 457, 11ff. Cf. Laonicus Chalcocondyles, Historiarum Demonstrationes, I (ed. E. Darkó, Budapest, 1922), 20, 5ff.; 24, 18ff.

20. Cantacuzenus, II, 191; Lemerle, Philippe, 233.

21. For the relations between Bulgaria and her neighbors at this period, see V. Zlatarski, "Vopros o proishozhdenij bolgarskago cara Ivana-Aleksandra," Statii po slavjanovedeniju, II (St. Petersburg, 1906), 178ff.; P. Mutafchiev, Istorija na bulgarskija narod, II (Sofia, 1944), 187ff.

22. Gregoras, I, 457, 11ff.; Danilo, Životi, 223-4. Cf. Michael Ducas (ed. E. Bekker, Bonn, 1834), 26, 5ff.

23. On Syrgiannes, see the article of S. Binon, "À propos d'un prostagma d'Andronic III Paléologue," BZ, 38 (1938), 133-55, 377-407; N. Bees, "Sur les tables généalogiques des despotes et des dynastes médiévaux d'Épire et de Thessalie," Zeitschrift für östereuropäische Geschichte, 3 (1913), 213-5; and R. Guiland, "Fonctions et dignités des eunuques," EtByz, 3 (1945), 197-202. For straightening out chronological problems of Syrgiannes's career, see R. J. Loenertz, "Ordre et désordre dans les Mémoires de Jean Cantacuzène," REB, 22 (1964), 222-37.

24. Cantacuzenus, I, 24, 14-5; 123, 16; 411, 24ff.; 436, 10-1; Gregoras, I, 297, 5ff.; 302, 4-6. "Domesticus of the themes of the West," see Dölger, Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches, no. 2766; cf. 2764.

25. On Arsenius Tzamplakon, see Cantacuzenus, I, 437, 18ff.; II, 77, 18; 256, 11ff.; Gregoras, I, 489, 3. Cf. the articles by R. Guiland, "Fonctions et dignités des eunuques," EtByz, 3 (1945), 208-10, and "Études de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines," BZ, 44 (1951), 233, where all the literature on Tzamplakon is mentioned. Cf. also R. Guiland, "Sur quelques grands dignitaires byzantins du XIVe siècle," Τόμος 'Αρμενοπούλου (Thessalonica, 1953), 188-9, and P. Lemerle, "Autour d'un prostagma inédit de Manuel II. L'aulè de Sire Guy à Thessalonique," Silloge Byzantina in onore di S. G. Mercati (Rome, 1957), 282ff. Alexios Tzamplakon is mentioned in a 1376 document of Vatopedi, L. Sophronios, "Ἀγιορειτικῶν κωδίκων σημειώματα Β) 'Εκ τοῦ ἀρχείου τῆς μονῆς Βατοπεδίου, Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς, 2 (1918), 85-86. For other members of the Tzamplakon family, see 'Ἀγιορειτικὰ ἀνάλεκτα ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχείου τῆς μονῆς Βατοπεδίου, ibid., 3 (1919), 336, 437-8. On the Tzamplakon family, see I. Đujić, BZ, 51 (1958), 422; see also G. Theodorides, Μακεδονικά, vol. 5.

26. Cantacuzenus, I, 450, 15ff.; Gregoras, I, 490, 11ff. The flight of Syrgiannes to the Serbian king occurred in 1353 and not in 1334, as Jireček (*Geschichte*, I, 373) thought. Gregoras (I, 490, 11ff.) informs us that at the same time the mother of Andronicus, the nun Xene (ex-Empress Maria) died in Thessalonica. We know from Cantacuzenus (I, 473, 10-2) that Xene died in July or August, or at any rate in the summer of 1333, a year and a half after Andronicus II's death, which occurred on 13 February 1332. Cf. A. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaeiologen, 1259-1453* (Diss. Munich, Speyer a. Rh., 1938), 35; R. J. Loenertz ("Ordre et désordre dans les Mémoires de Jean Cantacuzène," *REB*, 22 [1964], 226, n. 12; 231) places the flight of Syrgiannes in the latter part of 1333.
27. Cantacuzenus, I, 450-1; Gregoras, I, 495.
28. Gregoras, I, 490.
29. Cantacuzenus, I, 450, 20ff.; Gregoras, I, 490, 7ff.
30. Gregoras, I, 495, 12ff.
31. Loenertz, "Ordre et désordre," 231.
32. Cantacuzenus, I, 451, 11ff.; Gregoras, I, 498, 22f.; 500, 2; Danilo, *Životi*, 223.
33. Loenertz, "Ordre et désordre," 230.
34. Kyriakides, *Βυζ. Μελ.*, 204, n. 2.
35. Cantacuzenus, I, 457, 16-18. Syrgiannes's death undoubtedly occurred late in the summer of 1334. (Cf. Gregoras, I, 498, 22-3). Guiland ("Fonctions et dignités des eunuques," *EtByz*, 3 [1945], 199) places the death on 23 August 1334. See *Chronicon breve Thessalonicense* in R. J. Loenertz, *Démétrius Cydonès. Correspondance*, I (Vatican City, 1956), 174. Μηνὶ ἀγούστου κγ', ἡμέρα γ', τοῦ ἀγίου Λούπου, Ἰνδικτιωνος θ', τοῦ ἴσωμ γ' ἔτους [1334] ἐσοκτώθη ὁ Συργιάννης. Cf. Loenertz, "Ordre et désordre," 225, n. 11, where corrections are made to his text published in his *Cydonès. Correspondance*, I.
36. Cantacuzenus, I, 455, 11ff.
37. See Cantacuzenus, I, 457, 24ff.; Danilo, *Životi*, 277ff. Cf. P. Marković, "Odnosaj između Srbije i Ugarske, 1331-1335," *Letopis Matice Srpske*, 221 (1903), 1-26 (especially 15ff.), 222 (1903), 16-51.
38. "Les deux souverains se rencontrent sur le Galykos - août, 1334," Loenertz, "Ordre et désordre," 230.
39. M. Lascaris (*Prilozi*, 6 [1926], 127-8) in a review of the book of M. Ristić, *Strumica, geografsko-istoriska rasprava* (Belgrade, 1925), showed on the basis of a passage in Gregoras (I, 457, 14-5) that Strumica was conquered by Dusan in 1331.
40. Siderokastron (Železnec) had already fallen into Serbian hands under Dečanski but was recovered by Andronicus III in 1330 (Cantacuzenus, I, 428, 16-9).

41. The continuator of Danilo (Životi, p. 226) mentions also Kastoria, Florina (Hlerin), and Edessa (Voden) among the Byzantine cities retained by Dušan according to the provisions of the treaty. M. Dinić ("Za hronologiju Dušanovih osvajanja vizantiskih gradova," ZRVI, 4 [1956], 7-8), however, carefully studied this passage of the continuator of Danilo and decided that it contains many inaccuracies. Dinić conclusively showed that Kastoria and Edessa fell into Serbian hands only in 1342-1343 and that Florina fell either at the same time--which is more probable--or at least much later than 1334. (See above, note 32, where it is stated that Syrgiannes and Dušan had captured Kastoria).

42. Danilo, Životi, 226. George Branković (1645-1711) mentions in his chronicle "Nešto o kronici despota Djordja Brankovića, ispisao Ilarion, monah," Letopis srbski, 1866 [Novi Sad, 1887], 14) a number of other Byzantine cities, like Berrhoia (Averija), Serres (Serez), Trikkala, Yanina, and Kanina (Hanina), as having also been given to Dušan by the Byzantine emperor at this time. I. Ruvarac ("O prvim godinama Dušanova va kraljevanje," Rad, 19 [1872], 185) proved that Branković's information is incorrect, since it is known that the above-mentioned cities were conquered by the Serbs later. For the dubious historical value of Branković's chronicle, see N. Radojčić, Narodna Enciklopedija, I, 290b-292b, where all the main literature on the subject is mentioned. Cf. also N. Radojčić, "Vizantinski izvori grofa Djordja Brankovića i Jovana Rajića za doba cara Dušana," IstGlas, 1951, 1-2, 3-18.

43. Cantacuzenus, I, 458, 3ff. T. Florinskij (Južnye Slavjane i Vizantija vo vtoroj četverti XIV v., I [St. Petersburg, 1882], 70-1) doubts very much that Cantacuzenus is telling the truth when he writes that Dušan asked Andronicus for military assistance against the Hungarians. Florinskij thinks that Andronicus was not in a position to send any military help at that time, since he needed whatever military forces he had for himself.

44. It should be mentioned, though, that Byzantium had previously recognized the Serbian rule over the conquered territory north of Ohrid, Prilep, and Veles in the form of dowry to Milutin for his marriage with the Byzantine princess Simonis. Cf. M. Lascaris, Vizantiske princeze u srednjevekovnoj Srbiji. Prilog istoriji vizantiskosrpskih odnosa od kraja XII do sredine XV veka (Belgrade, 1926), 56ff.

45. Danilo, Životi, 226; "и градъ славѣныи Прилѣпъ въ томъ бо благоуствивъи кралъ възавиже себѣ дворъ царьскыи въ прѣвѣваннѣ" (and the famous city of Prilep, where the pious king had established his imperial court for habitation). The conquest of Prilep by the Serbs is also confirmed by a 1335 act of Dušan granting privileges to the monastery of Treskavac near Prilep. (S. Novaković, Zakonski spomenici srpskih država srednjega veka [Belgrade, 1912], 664). On Prilep in this period, see S. Novaković, "Prilep u prvoj polovini XIV veka, po treskavackim poveljama kralja Stefana Dušana," Glas, 80 (1909), 1-24. On the monastery of Treskavac, see P. Miljukov, "Hristianskija drevnosti zapadnoi Makedonii," IRAİK, 4 (1899), 109ff.

46. I. Sokolov, "Krupnye i melkie vlasteli v Fessalii v epohu Paleologov," VizVrem, 24 (1923-1926), 35, 44; A. Solovjev, "Fessalijskie arhonty v XIV veke; certy feodalizma v vizantijsko-serbskom stroe," Bslav, 4 (1932), 159ff.; Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, 210; D. Nicol, Meteora, the rock monasteries of Thessaly (London, 1963), 53ff.; B. Ferjančić, Tesalija u XIII i XIV veku (Belgrade, 1974).

47. Kyriakides, Βυζ. Μελ., 200.

48. Definitely later because Loenertz, "Ordre et désordre," 229, dates the death of ex-Empress Maria (the nun Xene) 'about June-July 1333 and the death of Stephen Gabrielopoulos about June 1333, but Cantacuzenus (I, 473) explicitly writes: ἅπὸ τοῦς ἀπτόυς χρόνους μετὰ μικρόν καὶ ὁ Θεσσαλίας δεσπόζων... Γαβριηλόπουλος Στέφανος ὁ σεβαστοκράτωρ ἐτεθνήκει.

49. P. Lemerle, L'Emirat d'Aydin. Byzance et l'Occident. Recherches sur "La Geste d'Umur Pacha" (Paris, 1957), 119, n. 1; D. Švob, "Novac Tesalskog sevastokratora Stefana Gavrilopula Melisina," Numismatika (Zagreb, 1933), 25-7, reviewed by M. Lascaris in Byzantion, 14 (1939), 423-4, with reference to the studies that indicate that not Gabrielopoulos but King Radoslav issued the coin, as previously attributed.

50. Cantacuzenus, I, 474; R. J. Loenertz, "Athènes et Néopatras. Regestes et notices pour servir à l'histoire des duchés catalanes," Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 25 (1955), 186. Lemerle, Aydin, 119, n. 3.

51. Cantacuzenus, I, 474, 20ff.

52. Cantacuzenus, I, 475, 12ff. The meeting of the two rulers must have taken place in 1335, after Andronicus's conquest of western Thessaly shortly before the invasion of the island of Lesbos by Domenico Cattaneo, the Genoese commander of the New Phocaea in Asia Minor (Cantacuzenus, I, 476). R. J. Loenertz ("Ordre et désordre," 229) has dated the meeting at Mount Radovište between Andronicus III and Dušan to about July 1333. His reasoning is as follows: According to Cantacuzenus (I, 473), Sebastokrator Stephen Gabrielopoulos, governor of Thessaly, died shortly after the death of ex-Empress Maria (the nun Xene), which Loenertz places sometime in June or July 1333. Andronicus attended her funeral in Thessalonica. After Gabrielopoulos's death, Thessaly was invaded by Monomachus and a little later by Andronicus himself. Andronicus returned victorious to Thessalonica; then followed the meeting between Andronicus and Dušan at Mount Radovište, which Loenertz places about July 1333.

Loenertz's chronology seems too crowded for all these events to happen in June-July, but it is possible. The difficulty arises when we return to the text of Cantacuzenus (I, 476), where we read that after the seven-day sojourn of Andronicus with Dušan: Βασιλεὺς δὲ ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην ἐλθὼν καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἐνδιατρίψας, ἤκει εἰς Βυζάντιον. καὶ οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὕστερον ἤγγελετο, ὡς Δομένικος ὁ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Κατάνια... and we know that these events concerning Domenico Cattaneo took place in 1335.

There is certainly some discrepancy here in Cantacuzenus's account because there is a continuous narration from the death of Xene (which can be accurately dated to summer 1333) to the events involving Cattaneo (which occurred in 1335). However, the events that took place between the death of Gabrielopoulos

and the meeting of Andronicus and Dušan must have happened in a period shorter than two years (1333-1335). It is possible that the events involving Cattaneo (in 1335) are arbitrarily described as having occurred a few days after Andronicus's return from his meeting with Dušan to Constantinople.

Now if we accept Loenertz's chronology, then the Mount Rađoviste meeting was the first meeting between Andronicus and Dušan. Cantacuzenus was present at the meeting and apparently stayed all seven days with Dušan, for he says (I, 475): κατὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν συντυχίαν καὶ μεγάλῳ δομῆστικῷ ἐγένετο πρὸς Κράλην φιλία ἰσχυρὰ πεῖραν ἑαυτοῦ παρασχομένῳ). From Cantacuzenus's account it is evident (although not explicitly stated) that Andronicus took the initiative for the meeting and was so eager to meet Dušan that he advanced farther than Vaimi to meet him. We should recall that Andronicus was harassed by the Syrgiannes affair, as in the spring-summer (according to Loenertz, loc. cit., 231) Tzamplakon had accused Syrgiannes of disloyalty. So in this case, Andronicus's eagerness to meet with Dušan must be ascribed to his desire to thwart any negotiations that Syrgiannes had concluded with the Serbs. That Syrgiannes was friendly with the Serbs is proved by the fact that he later fled to them and in 1334 started a campaign with Dušan against the Byzantines.

53. Cantacuzenus, I, 495ff.; Gregoras, I, 544ff.

54. V. Makušev (Istoričeskija razyskanija o slavjanah v Albanii v srednie veke [Warsaw, 1871], 46) expressed the opinion that the Serbs had conquered Durazzo by this time. He based his opinion on a letter of the king of Sicily, Robert of Anjou, dated Naples, 19 August 1336 (Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae... I [Vienna, 1913], 239-40), in which he exhorted the Albanian nobles "a rege Rasie regni [Albanie] et comitatus [Duracii] detentore illicito abscondere." The same opinion was expressed also by Florinskij, Južnye Slavjane, II, 73. This passage in Robert's letter, however, does not state explicitly that Dušan had conquered Durazzo. He might have taken the title of count of Durazzo without necessarily being master of the city. Hopf (Chroniques gréco-romanes [Berlin, 1873], 429a, 442b) arbitrarily concluded on the basis of another document by the king of Naples, Robert of Anjou, dated Naples, 25 September 1337 (Acta Albaniae, I, 244-5) that the Serbs were at that time masters of Valona and Kanina.

55. Acta Albaniae, I, 239-40.

56. Makušev (Istoričeskija razyskanija, 42-3, 52) and Florinskij (Južnye Slavjane, II, 74) speak of a war of the Albanian chieftain Andrea II Musachi (d. ca. 1373) against the invading army of Dušan. Their source for this war is [Giovanni Musachi], Breve memoria de li discendenti de nostra casa Musachi, in C. Hopf, Chroniques gréco-romanes, 281. In the Breve memoria, however, it is stated that Andrea Musachi was fighting against Vukašin (il Rè Vukasino) and not against Dušan. In my opinion Makušev (op. cit., 52, 1) has arbitrarily accused the author of the Breve memoria of having mistakenly written the name of Vukašin instead of that of Stephen Dušan. I do not see why Vukašin could not have been fighting with Andrea II Musachi (see Chapter IV, 104).

57. Cf. A. Papadopoulos, Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259-1453 (Diss. Munich, Speyer a. Rh., 1938), 43. Cf. also the anonymous chronicle of cod. Mosqu. gr. 426 (V. Gorianov, "Neizdannij anonimnyj vizantijskij hronograf XIV v.," VizVrem, 2 [1949], 284), which gives 14 June as the date of death and 15 June as that of the burial. For an evaluation of this source, see V. Laurent, "La chronique anonyme du cod. Mosquensis gr. 426 et la pénétration turque en Bithynie au début du XIVE siècle," REB, 8 (1950), 207-12.

58. P. Charanis, "Les Βραχέα Χρονικά comme source historique," Byzantion, 13 (1938), 344.

59. On Anne of Savoy, see Dino Muratore, Une principessa sabauda sul trono di Bizanzio. Giovanna di Savoia (Chambéry, 1906); Ch. Diehl, "Princesses d'Occident à la cour des Paléologues, II, Anne de Savoie," Figures byzantines, II (Paris, 1908), 245-70; T. Bertelé, "Giovanna di Savoia, imperatrice di Bisanzio," Atti e Memorie dell'Instituto Italiano di Numismatica, 6 (1930), 20ff.; F. Bertelé, Monete e sigilli di Anna di Savoia, imperatrice di Bizanzio (Rome, 1937), and cf. the review by F. Dölger in BZ, 38 (1938), 193-6.

60. V. Laurent, "La chronologie des patriarches de Constantinople de la première moitié du XIV siècle (1294-1350)," REB, 7 (1950), 154; his correspondence, ed. by R. J. Loenertz, Correspondance de Manuel Calécas (Studi e testi, 152, Vatican, 1950); cf. H.-G. Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich (Munich, 1959), 728-9.

61. D. Zakythinos, Crise monétaire et crise économique à Byzance du XIIe au XIVE siècle (Athens, 1948), 76, 81, 84. On Alexius Apocaucus, who from very obscure beginnings had distinguished himself in the civil war as a supporter of the young Andronicus and subsequently as a holder of various high offices and managed to accumulate great wealth, see Zakythinos, Crise monétaire.

62. For the village of the Cretans, see Cantacuzenus, I, 455: καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ Μακεδονίας μέρος τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπαγόμενος στρατιᾶς...μεταξὺ Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ Ῥεντίνης φρουρίου τινός, ὃ παρὰ τῆ Βόλβη λίμνῃ κεῖται ἐπὶ λόφου ἕδρυσμένον, ἔστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν χωρίῳ τινὶ τῶν Κρητῶν προσαγορευμένῳ, ὅτι στρατιὰ ἐκ Κρήτης ἀπὸ κατώκων δι' αἰτίαν τινὰ ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἀναστάντες.

63. Cantacuzenus, II, 79, 9ff.

64. Ibid., II, 74, 23ff.

65. Cantacuzenus, II, 80, 8-13.

66. Cf. the seals and coins in T. Bertelé, Monete e sigilli di Anna di Savoia, imperatrice di Bizanzio (Rome, 1937), and the comments on these in the book review by F. Dölger, BZ, 38 (1938), 195ff. Cf. also Dölger, "Johannes VI. Cantacuzenus als dynastischer Legitimist," AnnInstKond, 10 (1938), 19ff.

67. Cantacuzenus had formed a close and lasting friendship with Omur, who often came to his assistance in critical moments and thus played a determining role in Cantacuzenus's fate. From

the latter's memoirs one does not get a clear picture of the status of Omur in their relationship; Cantacuzenus often tries to portray Omur as a sort of subordinate (see Cantacuzenus, II, 345-8, 393, 398). However, Gregoras (II, 597ff.) provides us with an objective report of this relationship, which was based on the mutual friendship of two equals.

68. Cantacuzenus, I, 475, 23-5: κατὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν συντυχίαν καὶ μεγάλῃ δομεστικῶ ἐγένετο πρὸς Κράλην φιλία ἰσχυρὰ πείραν ἑαυτοῦ παρασχομένηφ.

69. Cantacuzenus, II, 82, 18-20.

70. Gregoras, II, 616, 2-6. This event took place toward the end of October or early in November 1341 (see Gregoras, II, 616, 11).

71. Cantacuzenus, II, 240ff.

72. Gregoras, 623; cf. S. Binon, "Guy d'Arménie et Guy de Chypre. Isabelle de Lusignan à la cour de Mistra," AIPHOSIS, 5 (1937), 127.

73. Gregoras, II, 626, 3-6; Cantacuzenus, II, 193, 6-12. On Synodenus, cf. P. Nikov, "Koj e Šinadin, čiçata na car Iv. Aleksandra," Izvestija na istoričeskoto družestvo, 3 (1911), 217-25. See also Theocharides and Kyriakides.

74. The break occurred while Andronicus III was still alive; see Cantacuzenus, II, 274.

75. Cantacuzenus, II, 193; Gregoras, 626. For Hrelja's abilities, power, and wealth, see Cantacuzenus, I, 261ff.; II, 193, 197, 233. His name appears in contemporary Serbian and Greek documents and inscriptions, with the title of protosebastos, grand domesticus, or caesar, although it is not clear who granted him these titles. From the Serbian documents we learn that Hrelja controlled Štip and the surrounding area. S. Novaković, ZakSpom, 399, 401, 402, 404, 410; L. Petit, Actes grecs de Chilandar, 275. In this document Hrelja is referred to as ὁ οἰκεῦος τῆ βασιλεία μου μέγας δομεστικός κύρις Στέφανος ὁ Χρέλης but unfortunately there is no date or signature. Petit arbitrarily attributed it to Andronicus III, dating it 1333-1341. For criticism of Petit's attribution, see Stein, Untersuchungen, MOG, 53, who with some good reason expressed the opinion that Hrelja received this title under John V, but before June 1355, because another Athonite document of this date speaks of δὲ τῷ γράμματος τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστικῶ τοῦ Χρέλλη (Petit, Chilandar, 304). Cf. V. Laurent, "Le grand domesticat. Notes complémentaires," EO, 37 (1938), 70. I. Dujčev, Iz starata bŭlgarskata knižnina, 2 (Sofia, 1943), 280, 283-4. On Hrelja, who died in 1342 as monk Chariton at the monastery of Rila, of which he was a donor, there is considerable literature mentioned by Dujčev, op. cit., 2, 418, and by M. J. Dinić, "Hrelja," Enciklopedija Jugoslavije, IV (Zagreb, 1960), 28. Cf. Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, 204-5. Hrelja had also property in the region of Melnik (Cantacuzenus, II, 228).

Chrysopolis is the Amphipolis of the Byzantine authors. See F. Papazoglu, "Eion-Amfipolj-Hrisopolj," ZRVI, 2 (1953), 7-24. Cf. Theocharides, Κατεπανίκια, 91.

76. On Manuel Asen, see F. Uspenskiĭ, "Bolgarskie Aseneviĭ na vizantijskoj službe v XIII-XIV vv.," IRAIK, 13 (1908), 10ff. Cf. Lemerle, Aydin, 69.

77. Cantacuzenus, II, 196; Gregoras, II, 627-8.

78. Bera (Vera, Vira) is the present-day village of Feretzik in Thrace. See Cantacuzenus, III, 310, 17ff. Cf. A. Orlandos, *Tà βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Βῆρας*, Θρακικά, 4 (1933), 3ff.; and his additions in *Ἐπιτύμβιον Χρ. Τσοῦντα* (Athens, 1941), 500ff.; Lemerle, Aydin, 65, n. 3.

79. Peritheorion was built by Andronicus III at the site of the ancient Anastasioupolis (cf. Cantacuzenus, I, 542, 10-5). V. E. Regel, "O gorode Anastasiopole," Στέφανος, Sbornik statej v čest' F. F. Sokolova (St. Petersburg, 1895), 147-52. Resumé in VizVrem, 2 (1895), 677; Regel on the basis of Procopius (De aedificiis, Bonn, III, 303), Cantacuzenus, I, 542, II, 197), episcopal lists of the church of Constantinople, and the evidence of the French traveler Bertrandon de la Brocquière (1433), who believed that contemporary Buru-Kalesi was Anastasioupolis, later called Peritheorion. Peritheorion was located near the present-day village of Porto Lago on the Thracian coast, south-east of Xanthe. See S. Kyriakides, *Θρακικά ταξείδια*. Μπουροῦ Καλέ-Ἀναστασοῦπολις-Περιθεώριον, in *Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος* (Athens, 1931), 195ff.; cf. also Kyriakides, Βυζ. Μελ., 2-5 (Thessalonica, 1939), 371, 373; Lemerle, Aydin, 168, n. 4. Peritheorion appears in the Serbian sources as Peritor (Lj. Stojanović [ed.], "Srpski rodoslovi i letopisi," Glasnik, 53 (1883), 65; and in the folksongs as Pirdop, Pirot, or Pirlitor (Talvj [i.e., Thérèse Albertine Louise Robinson], Volkliedern der Serben, I [Leipzig, 1853], 87).

80. Polystylon was located on the site of ancient Abdera (Cantacuzenus, II, 226, 19-21). The name of the present-day village of Bulustra, which occupies the site of this medieval city, is simply a corruption of the name Polystylon. See S. Kyriakides, *Μπουλούστρα-Πολύστυλον*, *Ἀφιέρωμα εἰς Γ. Ν. Χατζηδάκιν* (Athens, 1921), 170ff. Cf. Kyriakides, Βυζ. Μελ., 373.

81. Christopolis is the present-day Kavalla. During this period it was a city famous for its fortifications and a major port controlling the main route from Thrace to Macedonia. See Lemerle, Philippes, 191, Aydin, 167. Cf. S. Novaković, "Strumska oblast u XIV veku i car Stefan Dušan," Glas, 36 (1893), 18-19; C. Jireček, "Das christliche Element in der topographischen Nomenclatur der Balkanländer," SBWien, Phil.-Hist. Cl., 136 (1897), 44; Kyriakides, op. cit., 294; G. Bakalakis, *Τὸ παρὰ τὴν Χριστοῦπολιν τεῖχος*, *Ἑλληνικά*, 10 (1938), 307-18. R. Janin, "Christopolis, évêché de Macédoine," DHGE, 12 (1951), 779-81. In the Slavic sources Christopolis is also called Morunac (Stojanović, Zapisi i natpisi, 35).

82. On Philippi during this period, see the excellent work by Lemerle, Philippes, passim.

83. Cantacuzenus, II, 227, 20ff. On Melnik, see Kyriakides, Βυζ. Μελ., 190-1 and idem, *Σημείωμα περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς Βυζαντινῆς πόλεως Μελενίκου*, *Μακεδονικά*, 3 (1955), 404-7. Cf. F. Dölger, "Zwei byzantinische Reiterheroen erobern die Festung

Melnik, "Izvestija na Bŭlgarskija Arheologičeski institut (Festschrift Katsarov I), 1950, 156-7.

84. Cantacuzenus, II, 233, 4-7. Cf. Gregoras, II, 633.

85. "Cantacuzenus and his Palamite supporters depended on the pronoiarii and the 'better people,' while the government of Constantinople occasionally catered to the 'rabble' and commanded the sympathies of the poor. This analysis may be valid on the whole, but it does not apply in all cases. Pronoiarii were the backbone of the loyalist forces as well, while the 'rabble' sometimes showed pro-Palamite tendencies," I. Ševčenko, "Alexius Makrembolites and his 'Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor,'" ZRVI, 6 (1960), 199.

86. On the Zealots, see I. Ševčenko, "The Zealot Revolution and the Supposed Genoese Colony in Thessalonica," Προσφορά εἰς Στ. Κυριακίδη (Thessalonica, 1953), 603-17, where all the earlier literature is mentioned; R. Guiland, "La Commune Zélote de Thessalonique (1342-1349)," Πραγμαμένα τοῦ ᾠ' Διεθνoῦς Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συεδρίου (1953), Β' (Ἑλληνικά, Παραρτ. 9) (1956), 435; I. Ševčenko, "Nicolas Cabasilas' 'Anti-Zealot' Discourse; a Reinterpretation," DOP, 11 (1957), 81-171. E. Werner, "Volkstümlische Häretiker oder sozial-politische Reformert? Probleme der revolutionären Volksbewegung in Thessalonike, 1342-1349," Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx Universität Leipzig, 8 (1958-1959), Gesellschafts und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe, Heft 1, 45-83; 59-60 on Dusan and the Zealots. E. Frances, "Răscoala zeloților din Thessalonie în lumina ultimelor cercetări" (La révolte des zélotes de Thessalonique à la lumière des dernières recherches), Studii, 12 (1959), no. 3, 257-66. Summary in BSlav, 21 (1960), 162.

87. Gregoras, II, 634-5; B.T. Gorianov, "Hronograf XIV v.," 285; Cantacuzenus, II, 237ff., in discussing these events gives a very untrustworthy account, without mentioning any conspiracy between Apocaucus and Synadenus. Elsewhere, however, Cantacuzenus refers to the riot in Gynaecocastron (II, 243, 275, 286, 369-70).

88. Gregoras, II, 654; Cantacuzenus, II, 273ff.; on Hrelja, see Gorianov, "Hronograf XIV v.," 285.

89. A. Solovjev, "Grečeskie arhonty v serbskom carstve XIV veka," BSlav, 2 (1930), 278.

90. Gregoras, I, 413.

91. On John Oliver, see Ferjančić, Despoti, 159-66; Cantacuzenus, II, 259, 269, 291; Gregoras, II, 637. Cf. J. Radonić, "O despotu Jovanu Oliveru i njegovoj ženi Ani Mariji," Glas, 94 (1914), 74-108; Dj. Stričević, "Jedna hipoteza o titularnom imenu srpskih despota XIV v.," Starinar, n.s. 7-8 (1956-57), 113-30ff. According to Radonić and Stričević, Oliver was a Greek who was serving under Dušan. According to Stričević, his name is a rendering of ὁ Ἀίβερος of the Greek sources. Stričević points to the relationship with Manuel Liberos, duke of the theme of Boleron-Mosynopolis, Serres-Strymon mentioned in a decree of Andronicus III, dated March 1334 (Guillou, Archives St. Jean-Prodrome, 104ff.) and a judge Daniel Liberos, known from a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century seal. Stričević also thinks that Oliver received the title of despot from Cantacuzenus

during the latter's visit to the Serbian court in 1342. Oliver's previous titles were grand vojevod and grand sebastokrator. Cf. R. Guiland, "Recherches sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin: Le despote," REB, 17 (1959), 52-89. However, the name of Oliver's brother was Bogdan, unknown in Greek as a first name. It could be that originally they were of Greek extraction, but by this time they must have become Serbs.

92. Gregoras, II, 638-9; Cantacuzenus, II, 259ff.

93. Cantacuzenus, II, 261, 3-6; Concerning the date, see Gregoras, II, 640, 15ff.; 647, 4ff. Cf. Ducas, 26, 1ff.; G. Cammelli, "Demetrii Cydonii orationes tres, adhuc ineditae," BNJbb, 3 (1922), 73; Phrantzes, 42, 10ff. On Pauni, called Ταώ by Cantacuzenus (II, 261), see S. Novaković, "Nemanjićeske prestonice Ras-Pauni-Nepodimlja," Glas, 88 (1911), 29. Jireček, Staat und Gesellschaft, I, 7, n. 1.

94. For the reception of Cantacuzenus by the Serbian king, see Cantacuzenus, II, 261ff., 286; Gregoras, II, 640, 5ff.

95. For example, Cantacuzenus never misses a chance to blame his enemies for having forced him to ally himself with the Turks and bring them over to Europe. Cf. Cantacuzenus, III, 163, 4ff. On the veracity of Cantacuzenus's memoirs, see J. Dräseke, "Kaiser Kantakuzenos' Geschichtswerk," Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, 33 (1914), 489-506; N. Jorga, "Médailles d'histoire littéraire byzantine," Byzantion, 2 (1925), 292-3.

96. Gregoras, II, 641, 8-23. Cf. Ducas, 26, 13ff.

97. Cantacuzenus, II, 266, 6-10.

98. Cantacuzenus, II, 370. Both in Constantinople and in Ragusa, one knew well that the success of any negotiations in the Serbian court depended not only on the will of the ruler but also on that of his entourage. See G. Ostrogorsky, "Dušan i njegova vlastela," Zbornik u čast šeste stogodišnjice Zakonika cara Dusana (Belgrade, 1951), 82. Ostrogorsky also very rightly (ibid., n. 7) takes issue with N. Radojčić (Srpski državni sabori u srednjem veku [Belgrade, 1940], 114), who thinks that the Byzantines had overestimated the influence of the Serbian nobility, and that the nobility derived their great power and their prestige from royal generosity and not from their position as a class.

99. Cantacuzenus, II, 272, 21ff.

100. Gregoras, II, 654; Cantacuzenus, II, 273ff.

101. Cantacuzenus, II, 271.

102. R. J. Loenertz, "Note sur une lettre de Démétrius Cydonès à Jean Cantacuzène," BZ, 44 (1951), 406.

103. Gregoras, II, 656, 17ff. Gregoras's information seems to be closer to the truth.

104. Ducas, ed. Grecu, 55; cf. ibid., 50-1.

105. Cantacuzenus, II, 276, 19ff.

106. Cantacuzenus, II, 286, 2ff.

107. Ibid., 289, 23ff. Gregoras, II, 647, 4ff. The anonymous chronicle of cod. Mosq. gr. 426 (Gorianov, "Hronograf"), 285, 165-6 places the departure of Cantacuzenus from Serbia in April 1343. Gregoras's information is very explicit, and I do not think that one should doubt its accuracy.

108. Cantacuzenus, II, 292, 10ff.; cf. ibid., 310, 17ff.; Gregoras, II, 644, 657.

109. Cantacuzenus (II, 301ff.) unconvincingly reports that Edessa should be delivered to him according to the original agreement, but being unable to provide the necessary garrison at the time, he allowed the Serbs to keep it temporarily.

110. See Dušan's chrysobull, dated June 1343, by which he confirms the privileges of Kroja (see Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje srpskih vladara [Belgrade, 1936], 310ff.). From a Greek notice in an Athonite manuscript we learn that the Sebastokrator of Serbia, kyr Nicephorus Isaakios, had conquered Berat in 1342-1343. See S. Lampros, Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos, I (Cambridge, 1895), no. 3750. Cf. M. Dinić, "Za hronologiju," 1ff., where this notice is analyzed in detail and studied in connection with a Slavic one in a psalter written for Branko Mladenović and dated 6854 (1345-1346). Dinić convincingly concludes that Dušan must have conquered Kastoria, Kanina and Valona at about the same time. For the conquest of Florina (Hlerin) by the Serbs at this time, see Cantacuzenus, II, 350-1.

111. S. Novaković, ZakSpom, 410. On the date of this document, see Dinić, "Za hronologiju," 9, n. 31. According to Jireček, Staat und Gesellschaft, I, 12, n. 2, вѣстник is a Serbian title for an official like knez (comes) or vladalac', apparently deriving from вѣсть (honor), which appears in the sources as early as 1189. On the other hand S. Dimitrijević, "Hronologija Dušanog carskog novca," IstČas, 9-10 (1959), 117, suggests that the additional title of Dušan as "вѣстникъ горъвѣськымъ странамъ," means probably that Dušan partook in the administration of the Greek lands; i.e., he controlled part of the Greek lands. The same title and slight variations of it are to be found in a series of other decrees by Dušan listed by Dinić, loc. cit., 9, n. 32.

112. Cantacuzenus, II, 306, 10ff.; cf. ibid., 370, 7ff.; III, 138, 19ff.; Gregoras, II, 642, 4ff.

113. Cantacuzenus, II, 306ff.

114. G. Ostrogorsky, History of the Byzantine State (Oxford, 1956; New Brunswick, 1957), 460-1.

115. Cantacuzenus, II, 323, 14ff.; 397, 21ff.

116. Cantacuzenus, II, 324, 7ff. The death of Hrelja occurred in 1342, according to Cantacuzenus (II, 328, 3-4). This date is confirmed by the inscription on Hrelja's tomb at the monastery of Rila, where he was buried with his wife. (See I. Dujčev, Iz starata bŭlgarska knižnina, 283-4). From the same inscription we also learn that Hrelja had acquired the title of caesar and that he died as monk Chariton. The text of the inscription is available in Dujčev (see above). Previously the

inscription was published by J. Šafarik, "Pismeni spomenici srbski i bugarski," G1SkND, 7 (1855), 182-84; also in Stojanović, Zapisi i natpisi, IV, 8, no. 6019. See also I. Ivanov, "Khrel'ovi nadpisi," in Sv. Ivan Rilski i negovija manastir (Sofia, 1917), 143-5. Cf. R. Grujić, "Promena imena pri monasenu kod srednjekovnih Srba," G1SkND, 11 (1932), 239. Hrelja's name has entered Serbian epic poetry.

117. Cantacuzenus, II, 337ff. Cf. Lemerle, Aydin, 148, n. 1.

118. See Irene Mélikoff-Sayar, Le Destān d'Umūr Pacha (Paris, 1954), 11.1335ff.; cf. Lemerle, Aydin, 162ff.

119. Ostrogorsky, History, 461.

120. Cantacuzenus, II, 328, 10ff.; Gregoras, II, 653, 11ff.

121. Cantacuzenus, II, 350, 21ff., 370, 12ff.; Gregoras, II, 654, 9ff.; also the anonymous chronicle, Gorianov, "Hronograf XIV v.," 285, 165: Τῷ ἀπριλλίῳ δὲ [1343] ἔφυγεν ὁ Καντακουζηνός ἀπὸ τῶν Κράλην· καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν βέρρειαν. On Cantacuzenus in Berrhoia see Loenertz, "Note sur une lettre," 406-8.

122. Cantacuzenus, II, 355, 4ff.

123. Ostrogorsky, History, 461.

124. Cantacuzenus, II, 360, 1ff.; Gregoras, II, 659, 24ff.

125. Gregoras, II, 661, 2ff.; 662, 21ff.; Cantacuzenus, II, 362, 11ff.; 366, 8ff.; 373, 1ff.; III, 146, 10ff.

126. The Venetians replied on 12 May 1343, that they would comply with the request. S. Ljubić, Listine o odnošajih izmedju južnogo Slovenstva i mletacke Republike (Zagreb, 1868-1891), II, 147.

127. See two Venetian documents, dated 4 September 1343, in Ljubić, Listine, II, 192-3. For the same purpose Dušan, according to Cantacuzenus, had sent an embassy to Constantinople. See Cantacuzenus, II, 374, 12-6. Cf. ibid., III, 146, 15ff.

128. Cantacuzenus, II, 390, 1ff.; Gregoras, II, 671, 23ff.; Mélikoff-Sayar, Destan d'Umur Pacha, 11. 1401ff. Cf. Lemerle, Aydin, 164ff. Omur's arrival near Thessalonica--incorrectly dated 1339--is mentioned also in a short chronicle published by Loenertz, Cydonès. Correspondance, I, 174.

129. Gregoras, II, 672, 17ff. The anonymous chronicle of cod. Mosq. gr. 426 (Gorianov, "Hronograf XIV v.," 285, 166-8) mentions also the destruction caused by Omur's campaign in the Macedonian countryside.

130. Lemerle, Aydin, 154, 250.

131. Cantacuzenus, II, 394, 19ff.; 402, 9ff.; Gregoras, II, 677, 10ff.; 692, 9ff.

132. Cantacuzenus, II, 415, 11ff.

133. Ibid., II, 419, 23ff.; cf. Gregoras, II, 693, 21ff.

134. The problem of the date of the Genoese attack on Smyrna is thoroughly treated by Lemerle, Aydin, 189ff.

135. Cantacuzenus, II, 423, 9ff. Zichna is located south of Mount Menoikeion, not far from Lake Tachinos. See T. L. F. Tafel, De Thessalonica (Berlin, 1839), 245, note 62; Theocharides, Κατεπανίκια, 59ff.

136. Cantacuzenus, II, 406ff.

137. Cantacuzenus, II, 420, 16ff.

138. See Appendix I of this book, notes 1-4.

139. Cantacuzenus, II, 421, 16ff.; cf. Gregoras, II, 704, 20ff. See also Appendix I.

140. Lemerle, Aydin, 205, 217; see Appendix I of this book, n. 10.

141. Cantacuzenus, II, 421, 20-2.

142. Cantacuzenus, II, 437, 11ff.; 461, 1ff.; 467, 10ff.; 470, 8ff.; 471; 535, 1ff.; Gregoras, II, 746, 5-6; 795, 4ff.

143. See Demetrius Cydones's letter from Thessalonica (1343-1345) to Manuel Cantacuzenus in Berrhoia in Loenertz, Cydonès. Correspondance, I, 47, no. 17, 11.28-29; cf. Loenertz, "Note sur une lettre," 406-7.

144. Cf. Tafrali, Thessalonique des origines au XIVE siècle, 249.

145. Gregoras, II, 693, 18ff.

146. Cantacuzenus, II, 423, 14-5.

147. Ibid., 423, 17-8. On Stefaniana, present day Stefanina, see Kyriakides, Βυζ. Μελ., 328-9.

148. Cantacuzenus, II, 534, 23ff.

149. Suleiman was the son of the Ottoman sultan Orchan to whom Cantacuzenus had given his daughter Theodora as wife. The marriage alliance took place in winter of 1344-1345. See Chalcocondyles, I, 23, 6ff. Cf. Ostrogorsky, History, 463.

150. Cantacuzenus, II, 548, 15-8.

151. Cantacuzenus, II, 551, 20-23; ibid., III, 147; cf. Gregoras, II, 746, 13-6. The exact date of the capture of Serres by Dusan is given by a notice in Codex no. 62 (paper) of the monastery of St. John Prodromus on Mount Menoikeion, which reads: τῇ κδ' Σεπτεμβρίου μηνός Ἰνδ. ιδ' ἡμερα Σαββάτῳ ὥρα θ. εἰσῆλθεν ἡ φύλαξις τοῦ Κράλη ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ καστέλι καὶ ἀπὸς τῆ κε' εἰς τὸ κάτω καὶ ἐλειτουργήθη εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν ἔτους, ςωνδ' (On 24 September, indiction fourteen, day Saturday, at nine o'clock, the king's royal guard entered the fortress in the upper part of

the city, and the king himself entered the lower part of the city on the twenty-fifth and attended the service in the cathedral in the year 6854 [1345]. This notice was discovered and published by E. G. Stratis, 'Ιστορία τῆς πόλεως Σερρών, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων, etc. (First edition, Constantinople, 1909, 71; 2nd ed., Serres, 1926, 65. Cf. G. Soulis, "Notes on the History of the City of Serres under the Serbs (1345-1371)," 'Αφιέρωμα στὴ μνήμη τοῦ Μανόλη Τριαντοφυλλίδη (Thessalonica, 1960), 373.

152. G. Ostrogorsky, "La prise de Serrès par les Turcs," Byzantion, 35 (1965), 302-19.

153. Cantacuzenus, II, 329, 10; 548, 1.

154. Gregoras, II, 746, 1ff. Cantacuzenus, III, 32, referring to a later event (the military assistance of Orchan to Cantacuzenus against the Serbs in 1348), writes that the Turkish soldiers, passing the walls of Christopolis, started pillaging the cities there, "having learned that those cities were under the king." This also indicates that the territory west of Christopolis was occupied by Dušan.

155. Stojanović, Zapisi i natpisi, I, 35, no. 89. Thessalonica is also mentioned; however, the reference is probably to the region of Thessalonica and not the city.

156. On Dušan's eastern frontier, see G. Ostrogorsky, Serska oblast posle Dušanove smrti (Belgrade, 1965), 25ff.

157. Ostrogorsky, Serska oblast, 29.

158. See Cantacuzenus, III, 114, 22ff.; cf. Lemerle, Aydin, 199, note 2; 267-8.

159. S. Novaković, "Les problèmes serbes," ASPh, 33 (1912), 232.

160. Ostrogorsky, "Autokrator," 121ff.; idem, History, 233; idem, "Byzantine Emperor and the world order," SlEERev, 35 (1956-1957), 7.

161. Cf. I. Dujčev, "Düržava i tsürkva v srednovekovna Bŭlgariia" (Vstŭpitel'na lektsiia), Rodina, 3, no. 2 (Sofia, 1940), 82-96.

162. Actes de Zographou. Actes grecs, ed. W. Regel, E. Kurtz, and B. Korablev, VizVrem, 13 (1907), Priloženie, n. 31, 1 (p. 72); 33, 13 (p. 76); 40, 11 (p. 95); cf. F. Dölger, "Bulgarisches Zartum und byzantinisches Kaisertum" in his ByzES, 144ff.

163. N. Mušmov, Monetite i pečatite na bŭlgarskite care (Sofia, 1924), no. 140-2.

164. F. Dölger, "Bulgarisches Zartum und byzantinisches Kaisertum" in his ByzES, 156-7.

165. G. Ostrogorsky, "Autokrator i samodržac," GlasSAN, 144 (Belgrade, 1935), 138-41.

166. A. Solovjev, "L'influence du droit byzantin dans les

pays orthodoxes," Relazioni del X Congresso intern. di scienze storiche, I (Florence, n.d.), 597-9.

167. M. Lascaris ("Povelje srpskih vladalaca u grčkim publikacijama," Prilozi, 8 [1928], 188) has suggested this date with good reason on the basis of documentary evidence. On the proclamation of Dušan as emperor, see Cantacuzenus, II, 552; Gregoras, II, 747. The earliest known document with Dušan's imperial signature is a chrysobull in favor of the monastery of Iveron on Mount Athos, dated January 1346. Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 40. Cf. M. Dinić, "Dušanova carska titula u ocima savremenika," Zbornik cara Dušana, I (Belgrade, 1951), 87ff., which deals with the history of the imperial title of Dušan and its recognition by foreign powers.

168. Both versions given by Dinić, "Vladarska titula," 10, 18. On the Serbian versions of the title and its variants, see S. Stanojević, "Studije o srpskoj diplomatiji," Glas, 106 (1923), 40ff., and Ostrogorsky, Avtokrator, 154ff. Ostrogorsky has pointed out that although Dušan's imperial signature in Greek always includes the words βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ, in the Serbian version of the signature the word ЦАРЬ is never followed by САМОДРЪЖЬЦЬ, the Slavic equivalent for the Greek αὐτοκράτωρ. This omission cannot be accidental, since it appears in all the variants of Dušan's Serbian signature, as Ostrogorsky pointed out. The same scholar proposed the ingenious theory that when he signed in Greek, Dušan merely repeated the established formula βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ, which from the end of the eleventh century had become the only and invariable type of imperial signature in the Byzantine chrysobulls.

On the other hand any charters signed in Serbian by Dušan bear his signature as ЦАРЬ alone, omitting the Slavic САМОДРЪЖЬЦЬ (the equivalent to αὐτοκράτωρ), because this latter title was used by Dušan before his proclamation as emperor, when he was a mere king (kralj) of the Serbs, to signify his independence. This title in medieval Serbian had assumed the meaning of national independence. As emperor, Dušan aimed not at establishing an independent state but at replacing the basileus himself, as the head of the one and only universal empire.

169. Lj. Stojanović, Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi (Belgrade-Sremski Karlovci, 1927), no. 118, 130, 151, and, in the seventeenth-century Branković chronicle, ibid., no. 1082: "Subjunct sibi omnes Graecorum partes, et venit arcem Seres, ibique coronatus [sic; confusion of proclamation with coronation?] est in Imperatorem." Also, the chronicle copied at the Tronoša monastery in 1791, edited by J. Šafarik, "Srbskii ljetopisac iz početka XVIog stoljetija," Glasnik, 5 (1853), 66: "...и нарекъ себе императоромъ во Серезѣ градѣ Македонскомъ...."

170. S. Dimitrijević, "Hronologija Dušanog carskog novca," Istčas, 9-10 (1959), 120ff.

171. See G. Ostrogorsky, "Die byzantinische Staaten-hierarchie," SemKond, 8 (1936), 47, n. 9.

172. A. Solovjev, Odabrani spomenici srpskog prava od XII do kraja XV veka (Belgrade, 1926), 128; Solovjev-Mošin, Grčke povelje, 8, 44, 96, 136, 140, 154. Cf. Novaković, Zakonik, 36-37 (art. 40), Dušan liked to compare himself in the old Byzantine fashion to Constantine the Great (Novaković, Zakonik, 4;

"Heraclius and Michael VIII bore the title of 'the new Constantine,' and this flattering title passed from the Byzantines to medieval Serbia." See S. Radojčić, "Freska Konstantinove pobeđe u crkvi sv. Nikole Dabarskog," GlSkND, 19 (1938), 96; cf. A. Grabar, L'empereur dans l'art byzantin (Paris, 1936), 40, 41, 42, 56.

173. Gregoras, II, 747.

174. Letter of Patriarch Antonius to Prince Vasily I of Muscovy in Miklošich-Müller, Acta et diplomata, II (Vienna, 1862), 191; for uncertain date, see Ostrogorsky, History, 492, n. 1.

175. V. Zlatarsky, Istorija na Bŭlgarskata dŭrŭzava prez srednite vekove (Sofia, 1918-1940), 3 vols. in 4; III, 379ff. Ostrogorsky, History, 389.

176. O. Treitinger, Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt, 1956), 260, 277ff.

177. See P. Charanis, "Coronation and Its Constitutional Significance in the Later Roman Empire," Byzantion, 15 (1940-1949), 62ff.; A. Christophilopoulou, 'Εκλογὴ ἀναγόρευσις καὶ στέψις τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ ἀποκράτορος (Athens, 1956).

178. Danilo, Životi, 378-9. The event of the appointment of Joanikij as patriarch of the Skoplje sabor is also mentioned in the inscription on his sarcophagus (R. Grujić, "Pološko-tetovska eparhija i manastir Lesak" (GlSkND, 12 [1933], 61-2; R. Grujić, Skopska mitropolija [Skoplje, 1935], 99-102). N. Radojčić, Sabori, 124ff. On Joanikij, see M. Purković, "Srpski patrijarsi srednjega veka," GlSkND, 15-6 (1936), 304-6; R. Veleslinović, "Patriarh Joanikije," GlSPC, 27, 9 (1946), 131-4. I know the latter only from G. Ostrogorsky's bibliographical note in BSlav, 10 [1949], 198. The creation of the Serbian patriarchate was condemned as uncanonical, and the Serbian church was anathematized by the patriarch of Constantinople, Callistus. See the important paper by V. Mošin, "Sv. patriarh Kalist i Srpska Crkva," GlSPC, 28, 9 (1946), 192-206.

179. See the document of Despot John Uglješa proclaiming the reconciliation of the Greek and Serbian churches in March 1368 in Solovjev-Mošin, Grčke povelje, 262-4.

180. Cantacuzenus, II, 274; cf. G. Ostrogorsky, "Zum Stratordienst des Herrschers in der byzantinisch-slavischen Welt," SemKond, 7 (1935), 192-3, 203; Treitinger, ibid., 226-7. On p. 203, "Stratordienst," Ostrogorsky attributes this practice to Dušan's knowledge of the Donation of Constantine (cf. Dušan would be later likened to Constantine the Great), which demands Stratordienst to the head of the church (the successor of St. Peter), by the ruler (after the alleged example of Constantine the Great in the Donation of Constantine). The Donation is mentioned in a free rendering in the Syntagma of Matthew Blastares. Novaković, Matije Vlastara Sintagmat (1907) says that Dušan became acquainted with Blastares after the fall of Serres, but in the light of the above-mentioned passage from Cantacuzenus, Dušan must have had knowledge of it before 1342.

181. See the introductory document by Dušan to his code in

Novaković, op. cit., 4-5; Danilo (Life of Patriarch Sava by Cantacuzenus), Životi, 380. For other Slavic sources on the coronation, see Florinskij, op. cit., II, 126, n. 1. None of the Byzantine sources refer explicitly to the coronation ceremony, although they state that Dušan proclaimed himself emperor (Cantacuzenus, II, 552; Gregoras, II, 747; Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," ed. S. Cirac Estopañan, Bizancio y España: El legado de la basilissa Maria y de los dēspotas Thomas y Esaú de Joannina, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1943), II, 35. The latter source, composed ca. 1400, incorrectly places the event in 1350. Cirac Estopañan (ibid.) considers the date an interpolation of a later scribe. Gregoras and the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" mention that with the proclamation Dušan also assumed the imperial insignia, but they never recognized him as emperor (e.g., Cantacuzenus keeps referring to Dušan after his proclamation as Kral). This indicates the Byzantine refusal to recognize any validity in Dušan's title at the time. Dušan is mentioned as emperor in Athonite charters, but the monasteries were then under the Serbs. Only later, when pressed by circumstances, did the Byzantines seem to recognize Dušan as emperor, probably of the Serbs only, as one can deduce from a document of John V Palaeologus (July 1351). This will be discussed in the following chapter.

182. A. Solovjev, "Der Einfluss des Byzantinischen Rechts auf die Völker Osteuropas," Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, 76 (89), Romanistische Abteilung (1959), 445.

183. M. Dinić, "Dušanova carska titula u očima savremenika," Zbornik Dušana, 95.

184. Ljubić, Listine, II, 324, 326.

185. F. Thiriet, La Romanie vénitienne au moyen âge (Paris, 1959), 166ff.

186. Ljubić, Listine, 326-7. Cf. G. Novak, "L'alleanza veneto-serba nel secolo XIV," Archivio Veneto-Tridentino, 8 (1925), 7, 16ff.

187. Cantacuzenus, II, 543, 5ff.; Gregoras, II, 729, 14ff. See also the notices in the short chronicle of cod. Mosq. gr. 426 (Gorianov, "Hronograf XIV v.," 288, 1, 183ff.) and S. Lampros and C. Amantos, Βραχέα Χρονικά (Athens, 1932), 80, 14-5, on the basis of which P. Lemerle (Aydin, 210, note 2) established the exact date of Apocaucus's death.

188. V. Laurent, "Note de chronographie d'histoire byzantine," EO, 36 (1937), 70.

189. Cantacuzenus, III, 13, 11ff.; Ducas, 37, 9ff. Cf. V. Laurent, "La date de l'entrée de Jean VI Cantacuzène à Byzance et la déposition du patriarche Jean Calécas," EO, 40 (1939), 169-71.

190. F. Dölger, "Johannes VI Kantakuzenos als dynastischer Legitimist," AnnInstKond, 10 (1938), 19ff., with references to sources: cf. P. Charanis, "Coronation and Its Constitutional Significance in the Later Roman Empire," Byzantion, 15 (1940-1941), 63; Christophilopoulou, 'Εκλογή, 194-5.

191. Cantacuzneus, III, 33.
192. Cantacuzenus, II, 582, 6ff.; III, 47, 2ff.; Gregoras, II, 798, 20ff.; 815, 19ff.
193. Gregoras, II, 815.
194. Cantacuzenus, III, 32, 13-21; Gregoras, II, 834-5.
195. Cantacuzenus, III, 31; Gregoras, II, 795.
196. Cantacuzenus, III, 147.
197. Solovjev-Mošin, Grčke povelje, 152-61, 162-7.
198. Ljubić, Listine, III (1874), 110.
199. Cantacuzenus, III, 147. Different dates have been arbitrarily offered for the conquest of Epirus. The death of John Angelus and the conquest of Thessaly took place in 1348, not in 1349, as C. Hopf (Chroniques gréco-romanes, I, 446a) thought. T. Florinskij, "Andronik mladsij i Ioann Kantakuzin," Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvješćenija, 205 (September 1879), 14; J. Romanos, Γρατιανός Ζώρζης (Corful, 1870), 270, and 'Ιστορία τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἠπειροῦ (Corfu, 1895), 148; T. Neroutsos, Χριστιανικὰ Ἀθήνα, Δελτ. Ἑτ. Ἑλλ., 4 (1892), 200; W. Miller, The Latins in the Levant (London, 1908), 280; A. Adamantiou, Ἐργασίαι ἐν Μετεώροις, Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας, 1909 (Athens, 1910), 219, note 1, following Hopf, also proposed 1349. The Serbs must have conquered Thessaly toward the end of 1348. It is with good reason that Solovjev ("Einfluss," 169) wrote that the conquest of Thessaly must have taken place apparently in November 1348, because there are two chrysobulls by Dušan, dated November 1348, for Thessalian monasteries, one for the monastery of Lykousada and the other for the monastery of St. George at Zablantia, near Trikkala. (Solovjev and Mošin, Povelje, 154-60, 164-6). We also have a Venetian document, dated 3 January 1349, which shows that the Serbs were already masters of Thessaly. (Ljubić, Listine, III, 110, no. CLXIX). J. Šafarik, who first published the document in "Srbski istorijski spomenici Mletackog Arhiva," Glasnik, 11 (1895), 425, incorrectly dated it 3 January 1348, so that Jovanović ("Kako su se širile medje srpskoj državi za vlade Stevana Dusana, i oblasti njegove carevina," Glasnik, 68 [1889], 101) assumed that the Serbs had conquered Thessaly in 1347. Florinskij (Južnye Slavjane, II, 169, 3) expressed the opinion that Epirus and Thessaly were conquered before 1348--probably in 1347. Dinić is inclined to accept Florinskij's view ("Vladarska titula," 15-6). This opinion must be rejected, since Cantacuzenus (III, 147, 21-3) explicitly reports that the event took place after John Angelus's death (1348): ὕστερον δὲ Ἀγγέλου τοῦ ἔμοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἀνεψιοῦ, ὃς ἤρχεν ἐπ' ἔμοῦ πεμφθεῖς, ἀρπάσας [i.e. Dušan] τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἔχεις. (We know that John Angelus ruled over Thessaly and Aetolia and Acarnania [Despotate of Epirus], as Gregoras, II, 657, explicitly says.) So one may conclude that after John Angelus's death, all his territory fell to Serbian lands. Thus Thessaly and Epirus became Serbian most probably at the same time.
200. Cantacuzenus, II, 355, 391, 392; Gregoras, II, 657, 663.

201. Cantacuzenus, III, 147.

202. Miklošich and Miller, Acta et diplomata, V, 260; On the problem of the date see Solovjev, "Fessalijskie arhonty," 163, n. 24.

203. Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 250-7.

204. Solovjev, "Fessalijskie arhonty," 167; cf. Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, 158.

205. See Misti, XXVIII, Fol. 11v. (cited by Hopf, Chroniques gréco-romanes, 446a, note 93); Ljubić, Listine, III, 110, no. CLXIX (3 January 1349); 169, no. CCXLIII (14 March 1350). From a letter sent by the Venetian doge to Dušan, dated 14 March 1350, we learn that Preljub's Serbian and Albanian troops had raided Pteleon, and the Venetians wrote to the Serbian king (regi Rasie) for reparations of the damages. (Ljubić, op. cit., III, 169, no. CCXLIII). Summary of document in I. Thiriet.

206. That the Byzantines held the western part of the peninsula of Chalcidice is evident from contemporary documents. See the acts of Cantacuzenus for the Athonite monastery of Iveron. (P. Uspenskiĵ, Istoriĵa Afona [Kiev, 1877], III, 2, 160, decree of Emperor John Cantacuzenus of 1351 for the monastery of Iveron, granting privileges in Ermelija, between the peninsulas of Longos and Kassandra, and on Kalamaria).

207. Dinić, "Vladarska titula," 9-19.

208. Ljubić, Listine, III, 174.

209. Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, 122-4.

210. Encomium to Gregory Palamas (P. G., 151, col. 615): "Even the Serbian ruler Stephen came then to Mount Athos; for the civil strife that ravaged Byzantium made him basileus over not a small portion of the Byzantine territory." See also the speech Cantacuzenus addressed to his son Matthew in 1347 upon his appointment as governor of the Rhodope region.

211. E.g., the case of Thessaly in 1348, when he even guaranteed the monastic rights by oath; the case of Kroja in 1343, granting privileges.

212. Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, 207.

CHAPTER II

1. Cantacuzenus, III, 67, 8-10; Gregoras, II, 835, 14-5.
2. Cantacuzenus, III, 68, 5; cf. Gregoras, II, 835, 18ff.; 841, 1ff. See also E. Skržinskaja, "Genuezy v Konstantinople v XIV v.," VizVrem, n.s. 1 (1947), 215ff.
3. Cf. C. Hopf, "Giustiniani," Algemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste (ed. J. S. Ersch and J. S. Gruber), LXVIII, 308-41. W. Miller, "The Genoese in Chios, 1346-1566," EHR, 30 (1915), 418-32.
4. Cantacuzenus, III, 80, 16ff.
5. Ibid., III, 68, 5ff.; Gregoras, II, 842, 2ff. Cf. W. Heyd, Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge (trad. Furcy-Haynad, Leipzig, 1885), I, 498ff.
6. Ljubić, Listine, III, 119.
7. Zachariä v. Lingenthal, Jus Graeco-Romanum, III (Leipzig, 1857), 705.
8. Ljubić, Listine, III, 174-76. It is interesting to note that in this Venetian document Dušan is called "serenissimus dominus imperator Raxie et Romanie, despotus Larte [Arta] et Blachie [Thessaly] comes."
9. Ljubić, Listine, III, 175.
10. We learn about this from the negative answer of the Venetian republic to Dušan's proposals, dated 3 May 1350: "quod ad ambasatam domini regis Rassie petentis auxilium nostrum contra imperium Romanie, respondeatur cum verbis, quibus pridie responsum fuit alteri ambassatori, et cum aliis, que dominio videbuntur, excusando nos a dicta requisitione sua." (Ljubić, Listine, III, 181). Cf. Ostrogorsky, History, 472.
11. See Ljubić, Listine, III, 199 (6 October 1350).
12. Cf. Solovjev, Zakonodavstvo, 75. See also Dušan's decree issued on 28 May 1350 "od Soluna gredukie na Lukavice." (A. Solovjev, Odabrani spomenici srpskog prava [Belgrade, 1926], 152).
13. Cf. O. Tafrahi, Thessalonique au quatorzième siècle (Paris, 1912), 249.
14. Gregoras, II, 793, 876; Cf. J. Meyendorff, Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas (Paris [1949], 138.
15. Cantacuzenus, III, 104, 17-8.
16. Ibid., III, 108, 5ff.
17. Ibid., III, 109, 14ff.
18. See the Venetian document, dated 2 March 1350, in F. Thiriet, Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie, I, 68-9, from which we learn that the Venetians

replied that they were unable to comply with the request of the Byzantine emperor. Cf. F. Thiriet, "Les Vénitiens à Thessalonique dans la première moitié du XIV^e siècle," Byzantion, 22 (1952), 330.

19. Cantacuzenus, III, 111, 2ff.; Gregoras, III, 180.

20. In the text (Cantacuzenus, III, 116, 14) is mentioned Eion, which Cantacuzenus has erroneously identified with Anaktoropolis (ibid., III, 114, 20-1). Cf. Papazoglu, loc. cit., 16.

21. Ibid., III, 116, 13ff.; Gregoras, II, 876, 22ff.

22. Cantacuzenus, III, 116, 18ff.

23. Tafrali (op. cit., 252) incorrectly places the event in the fall of 1349. Gregoras (II, 876, 22ff.) says clearly that the two Byzantine emperors arrived in Thessalonica in the fall of 1350. Cantacuzenus (III, 112, 16ff.) also gives a clear impression that the event occurred in 1350. According to the short chronicle of cod. Mosq. gr. 426 (Gorianov, "Hronograf XIVv.," 287, 221), Cantacuzenus had left Constantinople in September 1350.

24. Cantacuzenus, III, 117, 5-10.

25. Ibid., III, 118, 3-5.

26. Ibid., III, 118, 6ff.

27. Ibid., III, 119, 1ff.; III, 120, 6ff. The recovery of Berrhoia by the Byzantines is mentioned also in the short chronicle of cod. Mosq. gr. 426 (Gorianov, "Hronograf XIVv.," 287 223-4).

28. Cantacuzenus, III, 130, 1-2: Λυζικὸν Γεώργιον, κράτιστον δοκοῦντα τὰ πολέμια καὶ συνετὸν.

29. Ibid., III, 130, 2-6. On Lykostomion, see L. Heuzey, Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnania (Paris, 1860), 85; Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 2 (1905), 82. On Kastri, see J. Voyatzidis, Ἑπ. Ἑτ. Βυζ. Σπ., 1 (1924), 150, 154.

30. Cf. Cantacuzenus, III, 130, 8ff.: πόλις (i.e., Servia) δὲ ταῦτα οὐ μικρὰ, ἐν μεθορίοις Βοττιαίας κειμένη καὶ Θετταλίας. Cantacuzenus, III, 131, 20-1.

31. Cf. Cantacuzenus, III, 131, 20-21.

32. Ibid., III, 131, 8-9. Florinskij (Južnye slavjane, II, 187, note 4) expressed reservations about the veracity of this account of Preljub's defensive measures.

33. Cantacuzenus, III, 133, 15ff.

34. Cantacuzenus, III, 135, 6-12: ἦκον δὲ καὶ αὐτόμολοι δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν· ὧν ἕτερος τῶν μάλιστα ἦν ἐπιφανῶν, κατὰ γένος προσήκων Κράλη, Χλάπαϊνος ὀνομασμένος, στρατιάν τε ἔχων ἕφ' ἑαυτὸν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον καὶ πολλὴν περιουσίαν· ὁ λοιπὸς δὲ ὅσ τῶν πάνυ περιδῶξων ἦν, πλὴν κάκεῖνος ἀρχάς τε πόλεων ἐγκεχειρισμένος καὶ στρατοπέδων ἡγεμονίας, ὄνομα Τολίσθαβος. Florinskij (Južnye slavjane, II, 187) on this point does not accept Cantacuzenus's account.

35. Cantacuzenus, III, 134, 5ff. Parisot (Cantacuzène, 242) incorrectly writes that Skoplje was one of the cities that Cantacuzenus had conquered at that time. T. Florinskij (op. cit., 187) also considers what Cantacuzenus says about Skoplje as a complete exaggeration.

36. Cf. A. Moustoxidis, Ἐπιτομὴς Διπλοβατάτζης, 'Ἑλληνομνήμων', 2 (1843), 97. On Diplovatatzes' family, see F. Pall, RHSEE, 22 (1945), 259, n. 2. On Alexis Diplovatatzes, see G. Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, 111ff.

37. Cantacuzenus, III, 135, 17ff.

38. Ibid., III, 137, 15-7. Apparently the destruction wrought by the Turkish troops in Dusan's lands, the voluntary surrender of several of his cities to Cantacuzenus, and his unfinished work in Bosnia made the tsar ask for a détente with the Byzantine emperor. Cf. T. Florinskij, op. cit., II, 188.

39. Florinskij, Južnye Slavjane, II, 188.

40. Cantacuzenus, III, 150, 11-3; III, 151, 12-3.

41. Ibid., III, 155, 23ff. C. Jireček (Geschichte, I, 402) doubts the trustworthiness of Cantacuzenus's statement.

42. Cantacuzenus, III, 156, 22ff.

43. Ibid., III, 160, 20ff. Our sources fail to inform us about the Serbian reconquest of western Macedonia. But there is no doubt that it was accomplished within a very short time, since we know that in the spring of 1351 Dušan had returned and continued his war in Bosnia. (Restii, Chronica Ragusina, 132). Besides, we know that not a single bishop from Macedonia participated in the synod convoked in Constantinople in 1351 against Barlaam and Acindynus. See Gregoras, II, 883, 16ff. Cf. T. Florinskij, op. cit., II, 189.

44. Cantacuzenus, III, 161, 18ff.

45. Cf. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" (ed. Cirac Estopañan), 38.

46. Cantacuzenus, III, 162, 20ff. Dušan's embassy to John Alexander in 1351 is mentioned in the Bulgarian chronicle published by Ioann Bogdan, ASPh, 13 (1890-1891), 527.

47. Cantacuzenus, III, 166, 3ff.; Gregoras, II, 879, 2ff.

48. Cantacuzenus, III, 188, 15ff.; Gregoras, II, 880, 7ff. See also the short chronicle of Cod. Mosquensis gr. 426 (Gorianov, "Hronograf XIVv.," 287, 227ff.

49. Cf. W. Heyd, Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge (Leipzig, 1885), I, 508; H. Kretschmayr, Geschichte von Venedig, III (Gotha, 1920), 207ff.; Thiriet, Régestes, 170ff.

50. Cantacuzenus, III, 201, 10ff.

51. Ibid., III, 201, 1ff.

52. See M. Dinić, "Dušanova carska titula u očima savremenika," Zbornik u čast šeste stogodišnjica Zakonika cara Dušana, I (Belgrade, 1951), 105. (As when hard-pressed, Byzantium recognized Symeon of Bulgaria as "emperor of the Bulgars," so Dušan was recognized as emperor of Serbia. This restriction of the imperial title to national terms was apparently designed to get around the Byzantine concept of the hierarchy of states with the basileus, the emperor par excellence, at the apex. See the decree by John V Palaeologus, dated July 1351, in Petit, Actes Grecs, where Dušan is mentioned as Βασιλεὺς Σερβίας. Cf. Dinić, "Carska titula," 97-8).

53. Cantacuzenus, III, 204, 7ff.; cf. Gregoras, III, 147, 17ff.; 20ff.

54. The name of the Serbian empress's sister was Theodora; see S. Novaković, "Pčinjski pomenik," Spomenik, 29 (1895), 9. Philotheus, Encomium Palamas, PG, CLI, 623, refers also to negotiations between Dušan and John V Palaeologus for an agreement. The reference in a homily by Gregory Palamas (Γρηγορίου ἀρχ. Θεσσαλονίκης τοῦ Παλαμᾶ, 'Ομίλιαι KB', έκδ. Α. Κ. Οικονόμου (Athens, 1861), 287, against oaths and especially a particular written agreement signed with the "Sang eucharistique du Christ," apparently alludes to these secret agreements between Dušan and John V Palaeologus, according to Meyendorff (Palamas, 392).

55. Cantacuzenus, III, 207, 9ff. Cf. Gregoras, III, 149, 4ff.

56. Cantacuzenus, III, 208, 11ff. Cf. Gregoras, III, 170, 9ff. Philotheus, Encomium Palamas, in PG, CLI, 624.

57. The treaty is edited in Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum, II (Venice, 1899), 17-8. Cf. F. Thiriet, "Venise et l'occupation de Ténédos au XIVE siècle," Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, 65 (1953), 222; idem, Régestes, 171.

58. Gregoras, III, 181, 12ff. Cantacuzenus (III, 246, 22) gives an exaggerated figure of seven thousand men. On Borilović, see Jireček, Geschichte, I, 405, note 1; Dj. Radojčić, "O pomeniku sv. Bogorodice Leviske," Starinar, 3rd series, 15 (1940), 57.

59. Cantacuzenus, III, 248ff. Cf. S. Novaković, Srbi i Turci, 110ff.

60. The excommunication took place sometime between autumn 1352 and spring 1354, according to V. Mošin, "Sv. patr. Kalist i sprska crkva," 202. The patriarchal excommunication is based on Danilo, Životi, 381. The patriarchal document by Callistos excommunicating the Serbian patriarchate, probably a falsification by its "discoverer" Verković, was destroyed in 1941 during the bombardment of Belgrade. See Mošin, "Kalist," 199-200. [In the literature that has appeared since G. Soulis's death, 1350 is generally accepted as the year of excommunication.--ed.]

61. Cantacuzenus, III, 269, 7ff.; Gregoras, III, 188, 17ff.

62. See N. Jorga, "Latins et Grecs d'Orient et l'établissement des Turcs en Europe," BZ, 15 (1906), 213ff.; J. Dräseke, "Der Übergang der Osmanen nach Europa im XIV. Jahrhundert," Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum. Geschichte und deutsche Literatur, 21 (1913), 501.

63. F. Babinger (Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien [Brüno, 1944], 40-41) considers unreliable the account of the Turkish sources about the conquest of Tzympe in 1352 by Suleiman at the order of his father Orchan. M. Münir Aktepe, "Osmanlı'ların Rumeli'de İlk Fethettikleri Çimbi Kal'ası," Tarih Dergisi, 1 (1950), 283-308.

64. See Lampros and Amantos, Βραχέα Χρονικά, nos. 2, 3, and 52, 22. Cf. P. Charanis, "Les Βραχέα Χρονικά comme source historique," Byzantion, 13 (1938), 347-9; also by the same author "On the Date of the Occupation of Gallipoli by the Turks," BSlav, 16 (1955), 113-7, where he convincingly refutes the view expressed by G. Georgiades Arnakis ("Gregory Palamas among the Turks and Documents of His Captivity as Historical Sources," Speculum, 26 [1951], 111-2; and "Gregory Palamas, the Χιόνας and the Fall of Gallipoli," Byzantion, 22 [1952], 310-2) that the event took place in March 1355.

65. Cf. Babinger, op. cit., 42.

66. M. Purković, "Byzantinoserbica," BZ, 45 (1952), 49, states that Dušan did not have a daughter.

67. Gregoras, III, 100, lff. Gregoras mentions that Dušan had asked for the marriage of his daughter with one of the sultan's sons, but M. Purković ("Byzantinoserbica," BZ, 45 [1952], 47-9) has pointed out that this information is incorrect, since Dušan never had a daughter.

68. Ljubić, Listine, III, 264. The papal documents concerning Dušan's negotiations with the Avignon papacy are to be found in A. Theiner, Vetera monumenta historica Hungariae sacram illustrantia (Rome, 1860), II, 8-17. Cf. Raynoldus, Annales ecclesiastici (Rome, 1646-1662), s.a. 1354. Cf. also J. Gay, Le pape Clément VI et les affaires d'Orient (Paris, 1904), 161; M. Purković, Avinjonske pape i srpske zemle (Pozarevac, 1934), 58ff. D. Maritch's dissertation Papstbriefe an serbische Fürsten im Mittelalter (Sr. Karlovci, 1933) has been inaccessible to me. On the grand papias of Serres, Nestongus Ducas, see A. Solovjev, "Grečeskie arhonty v serbskom carstve XIV veka," BSlav, 2 (1930), 282, where all the references to him in Byzantine sources are mentioned.

69. A. Theiner, op. cit., II, i, 11. The Catholic population in Dušan's empire lived mainly in the regions of Skadar, Bar, Budva, and Kotor along the Adriatic coast. They had been subject to a number of restrictions, judging from Dušan's code (Zakonik), which devoted articles six through nine to them. We learn from these four articles that the Catholics were not allowed to proselytize in Serbia, that those already proselytized should return to Orthodoxy, and furthermore that the marriage of an Orthodox woman would not be recognized unless the husband became Orthodox. See Novaković, Zakonik, 11-4; cf. Solovjev, Zakonodavstvo, 166-7. In a letter of Pope Clement VI, dated 8 January 1346, the pope exhorts Dušan to be tolerant to

the Catholic church in his lands. See Theiner, MonHung, I, 701.

70. Bartholomew had previously been a canon and bishop of Cattaro (Kotor), being in the latter post from 24 July 1348 to 20 January 1349, when he was transferred to the diocese of Trogir. It is possible that he had known Dušan then, since Pope Innocent VI writes in a letter to Dušan, regarding Bartholomew: "cum sit tibi familiariter notus" (A. Theiner, op. cit., 12). Cf. C. Eubel, et al., Hierarchia catholica medii aevi, I (2nd ed., Münster-Padua, 1913), 177, 490.

71. See The Life of St. Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières (ed. Joachim Smet, Rome, 1954), 67ff., 193ff. Cf. N. Jorga, Philippe de Mézières, 1327-1405 (Paris, 1896).

72. A. Theiner, op. cit., II, 12.

73. Ibid., II, 13ff. On Palman, see Jireček, Staat und Gesellschaft, I, 79-80; M. Dinić, "O vitezu Palmanu," ZgodCas, 6-7 (1952-1953), 398-401.

74. Collectarius perpetuarum formarum Johannis de Geylnhusen (ed. Hans Kaiser, Innsbruck, 1900), 167-8. Cf. M. Kostič, "Zasto je osnovan slovensko-glagoljaski manastir Emaus u Pragu?" GLSkND, 2 (1927), 159-65; M. Paulová, "L'idée Cyrillo-Méthodienne dans la politique de Charles IV et la fondation du Monastère slave de Prague," BSlav, 11 (1950), 174-86.

75. Cf. Florinskij, Južnye slavjane, II, 228ff.

76. Jireček, Geschichte, I, 370; M. Dinić, Enc. Jug., 183.

77. See P. Marković, "Oдноšaj između Srbije i Ugarske (1331-1355)," Letopis Matice Srpske, 223-4 (1904), 166.

78. See Dušan's document issued from Brusnica near Rudnik on the 14th of August, 1354. (Spomenik, 3 [1890] 56). Cf. Florinskij, Pamjatniki, 46; S. Novaković, Zakonski spomenici srpskih država srednjega veka (Belgrade, 1912), 428.

79. Ljubić, Listine, III, 266-7; Šafarik, Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva, 12 (1860), 13.

80. For the rule of the Gattilusi over Lesbos, which lasted until the conquest of the island by the Turks in 1462, see W. Miller, Essays on the Latin Orient (Cambridge, 1921), 313ff.

81. Cantacuzenus, III, 307, 5ff.; 308, 19ff. Cantacuzenus also wrote two works against Islam, which were translated into Serbian. See. F. Miklosich, Chrestomathia palaeoslovenica (Vienna, 1854), 59-63. On the date of the fall of John Cantacuzenus (22 November 1354), cf. R. J. Loenertz, Les recueils des lettres de Démétrius Cydonès (Vatican, 1947), 109. On the date of his death, see P. Charanis, "Les Βραχέα Χρονικά comme source historique," Byzantion, 13 (1938), 358, based on Lampros and Amantos, Βραχέα Χρονικά, no. 52, 50-1.

82. Cantacuzenus, III, 311, 19ff.

83. See P. Charanis, loc. cit., 359; based on Lampros and Amantos, Βραχέα Χρονικά, no. 52, 52. Cf. D. Zakythinos, Le

despotat grec de Morée, I (Paris, 1932), 114ff.

84. Đaniġo, Źivoti, 379-80. Cf. Radojčić, Sabori, 139. Cf. also Dušan's document from Serres, dated 23 February 1355 (Lj. Stojanović, Stare srpske povelje i psima, I, pt. 1 [1929], 67). On Sava, see V. Mošin and M. Purković, Hilandarski higumani srednjega veka (Skoplje, 1940), 72-4; Purković, GLSkND, 15-16 (1936), 307-10.

85. Between the fall of 1352 and the spring of 1354, according to Mošin, "Kalist," 202. See also footnote 60, last sentence.

86. Mošin, "Kalist," 202, writes that the sabor at Ovčė Polje took place during Dušan's sojourn there in May, June, and July 1355. See also M. Purković, "Itinerar kralja i cara Dušana," GLSkND, 19 (1938), 239-44; Radojčić, Sabori, 141-2.

87. Đaniġo, Źivoti, 381, "и не възможе обрѣсти сана раан и градоуь"; Mošin, "Kalist," 202-4; M. Lascaris, "Le patriarchat de Peć a-t-il été reconnu par l'Eglise de Constantinople en 1375," Mélanges Charles Diehl, I (Paris, 1930), 171-5; also G. Ostrogorsky in his review of Mošin's "Kalist," in BSlav, 10 [1949], 195) and in his "Dušan i vlastela," 85-6.

88. See Ljubić, Listine, III, 270, 272, 273.

89. Ljubić, Listine, III, 312.

90. Stojanović, Stare srpske povelje i pisma, I, pt. 1, 67-8: "pod Berom" and not "pod Serom," as Daničić and Florinskij tried to correct it. Cf. C. Jireček, "Spomenici srpski," Spomenik, 11 (1892), 101.

91. This date is given in the oldest Serbian Rodoslov, written between 1371 and 1410. See Lj. Stojanović, "Srpski rodoslovi i letopisi," Glasnik, 53 (1883), 12; cf. ibid., 64. The same date is given also by the Chronicon breve Thessalonicense (Loenertz, Cydonès. Correspondance, I, 175).

92. See R. Grujić, "Grob cara Dušana," GLSkND, 1 (1926), 488-9; R. Grujić, "Otkopavanje Svetih Arhandjela kod Prizrena," ibid., 3 (1928), 262-5. Cf. also Dj. Radojčić, "Avraam, o jednom monogramu iz vremena cara Stefana Dušana," Starinar, 3rd series, 14 (1939), 63-70, where he convincingly argues against the view that the inscription with Dušan's name found at the monastery of Mala Studenica at Hvosno is from his tomb.

93. Orbini, op. cit., 268: "Ma trovandosi a Diauolofta in Romania, fù assalito da febre, a cui non potè riparare con tutti i rimedij, che fece. Onde l'anno 1354. e do sua età 45. passò à miglior vita.... Altri vogliono, che egli passasse da questa vita trovandosi in Nerodimie."

94. G. Luccari, Copioso ristretto degli annali di Rausa (Venice, 1605), 60, 61: "Nel anno 1356. Stefano Imperatore di Servia intimo guerra à Constantinopoli; e con ottantacinque mila persone esperte in guerra prese la volta di Romania. Ma come sono incerte le speranze degli huomini, gianto alla ignobili villa di Diapoli in Tracia s'amalo di febre, la quale il 18 di Decembre, ch'i Serviani demandano Prosienez, lo fece morire."

95. A considerable number of Serbian folksongs were written about Stephen Dušan. See the following collections: Car Dušan u narodnim pesmama (Pančevo, 1882); Car Dušan u narodnim pesmama (n.d.); Car Dušan u narodnim pesmama (Belgrade, 1928).

96. Florinskij, Južnye slavjane, II, 203ff.

CHAPTER III

1. Gregoras, II, 747, 1-5.

2. V. Mošin, "Vizantiski uticaj u Srbij u XIV v.," JugIstČas, 3 (1937), 147ff.

3. Mošin, "Uticaj," 147ff.

4. S. Stanojević, Vizantija i Srbi, I (Novi Sad, 1903), p. iv.

5. G. Ostrogorsky, "Vizantija i Južni Sloveni," JugIstČas, I (Belgrade, 1961), 12.

6. Mošin, "Uticaj," 147-8.

7. T. Burković, Hilandar u doba Nemanjića (Belgrade, 1925). Cf. G. Iljinskij, "Značenje Afona v istorii slavjanskoj pismennost," ŽMNP, n.s. 18 (November 1908), 1-41. Both these studies show how important Chilandar has been for the transmission of Byzantine literature and learning.

8. Ostrogorsky, "Autokrator," passim.

9. Lascaris, Vizantiske princeze, passim.

10. G. Ostrogorsky, "Vizantija i Južni Sloveni," JugIstČas, I (Belgrade, 1961), 12-3.

11. Mošin, "Uticaj," 148ff.

12. Cf. P. Petrov, "O titulah 'sevast' i 'protosevast' v srednevekovnom bulgarskom gosudarstve," VizVrem, 16 (1959), 52-64.

13. F. Dölger, "Die Mittelalterliche Kultur auf dem Balkan als byzantinisches Erbe," ByzES, 269-70. For Dušan dressed as a Byzantine basileus, see murals depicting Dušan in S. Radojčić, Portreti (Skoplje, 1934). In accepting the Byzantine ceremonial in his court, Dušan displayed even more pronouncedly than his predecessors the Byzantine double-headed eagle as his emblem, changing only the colors: silver on a red background. See A. Solovjev, "Einfluss," 445; A. Solovjev, "Les emblèmes héraldiques de Byzance et les Slaves," SemKond, 7 (1935), 139ff.; idem, "Zastava Stefana Dušana nad Skopljem god. 1339," GlSkND, 15-6 [1936], 345-8; idem, Istorija srpskog grba (Melbourne, 1958).

14. See Ferjančić, Despoti, passim.

15. See S. Novaković, "Vizantijski činovi i titule u srpskim zemljama XI-XV veka," Glas, 78 (1908), 178ff. Cf. Mošin, "Uticaj," 154-7; on caesars Preljub, Vojihna, etc., see R. Guiland, "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin," OCP, 13 (1947), 187, 168-94. On despot, see G. Ostrogorsky, "Urüm-Despotes; die Anfänge der Despoteswürde in

Byzanz," BZ, 44 (1951), 448-60; R. Guiland, "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire Byzantin. Le despote, δεσπότης," REB, 17 (1959), 53-89; B. Ferjančić, Despoti u Vizantiji i Južnoslovenskim zemljama (Belgrade, 1960), reviewed in Makedonika, 5 (1961-1963), 514-9 and 'Επ. 'Ετ. Βυζ. Σπ., 32 (1963), 516-8.

16. According to Ferjančić, who convincingly argues that the title was given by Dušan sometime between 1346 and 1349, against the opposing view that it was given by the Byzantine emperor.

17. Ferjančić, Despoti, 157-8, rejects the theory that Despot Dragoslav (1326) was a despot whose title was granted by Dečanski. He believes rather that this title was granted by the Bulgarian or Byzantine ruler; see Mošin, "Uticaĵ," 154. Serbian Despots, 1346-1371 (Ferjančić, 159-76): 1. John Oliver; 2. John Comnenus (Dušan's brother-in-law), Despot near Valona, Kanina, and Berat; 3. Siniša Palaeologus (Dušan's half-brother), Despot of Aetolia, all at the time of Dušan; 4. Dejan of Kumanovo, who got the title from Dušan after August 1355 or from his son Uroš (Ferjančić, 168-70); 5. Vukašin; 6. John Uglješa; 7 and 8. John and Constantine Dragaš, sons of Despot Dejan.

18. C. Jireček, "Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei der Ragusaner," ASPh, 26 (1904), 163-4; Jireček's opinion has been accepted by S. Stanojević ("Studije o srpskoj diplomatici," Glas, 106 [1923], 82, n. 3).

19. M. Lascaris, "Influences byzantines dans la diplomatique bulgare, serbe et slavoroumaine," Bslav, 3 (1931), 501-10.

20. V. Mošin, "Gab es unter den serbischen Herrschaft des Mittelalters eine griechische Hofkanzlei?" Arch. f. Urkundenforschungen, 13 (1935), 183-97. He also discussed his theory in the article "K voprosu o sostavlenij hrisovulov u južnih Slavjan i v Vizantiji," Jubilejnyj sbornik Russk. Arheol. Obscestva v Jugoslavii (Belgrade, 1936), 93-109, and in his introduction to Grčke povelje, LXVI-CV. Mošin's theory has been sharply criticized by F. Dölger in his article "Empfängerausstellung in der byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei?" Arch. f. Urkundenforschung, 15 (1938), 393, especially regarding Byzantium, but also regarding Serbia. Dölger continued his criticism in his review of Mošin's Athonite documents ("Akti iz svetogorskih arhiva," Spomenik, 91 (Belgrade, 1939) in BZ, 40 (1940), 125-41, especially 133ff. and in his Schatzkammern, 335ff. Dölger came back to his views in his comprehensive "Die byzantinische und die mittelalterliche serbische Herrscherkanzlei," XIIe Congrès international des études byzantines, Ohrid, 1961, Rapports, 83-103, where he again rejects Mošin's Empfängerausstellung theory both for Byzantium and for Serbia, especially 100ff. Mošin, however, has always defended his theory against Dölger's attacks. He did so in his "Svetogorski arhivi" (219ff.), "Povelja cara Dušana i Jovana Paleologa Pantelejmionovu manastiru," Zgodčas, 6-7 (Ljubljana, 1952-1953), 402-16; and in his "Rapport complémentaire" in XIIe Congrès international des études byzantines, Ochride, 1961, Rapports complémentaires, Résumés (Belgrade-Ohrid, 1961), 43-8.

21. M. Lascaris in his article "Influences byzantines" sums up the problem by stating that the Byzantine chancery did not exclusively influence the Bulgarians, Serbs, and Roumanians. He

further states that Serbian and Wallachian diplomatics show many Western influences so that it could be said that those influences counterbalance the Byzantine ones. Lascaris is also astonished to find Western influences in the diplomatids of the second Bulgarian empire.

M. Kos in the summary of his communication "Über die byzantinischen Einflüsse in der älteren serbischen Diplomatik" in *Compte-rendu du IIe Congrès international des Études byzantines* (Belgrade, 1929), 138 (as far as I know this communication was never published in toto) states that the influence of the Byzantine chancery on Serbian diplomatics was insignificant at the beginning of the thirteenth century, was more felt around the year 1300, during the reign of King Milutin, while it reached its apogee at the time of Tsar Dusan and his son Uroš. Mošin (*Rapport complémentaire*, 44ff.) first discusses the problem of the origin of the diplomatics of the Nemanjid dynasty. Although S. Stanojević had concluded that the chancery of Raška was not constituted before the twelfth century and that its organization had no ties with Byzantine diplomatics, and Kos believed that the original formation of the Serbian charters derives from the Greek acts of private law, Mošin, rejecting both of these views, expounded the theory that the diplomatics of Raška (later Serbia) derives from the chancery of the kingdom of Zeta, which had incorporated both Byzantine and Latin elements in its diplomatics.

22. V. Mošin, loc. cit., 46ff.

23. H. Hunger, "Zu den Prooimien der byzantinischen Kaiserurkunden," XIIe Congrès international des Études byzantines, *Ochrid* 1961, *Résumés des communications* (Belgrade-Ochrid, 1961), 48-9. Hunger also published a book under this title: H. Hunger, Prooimion: Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden [Vienna, 1964], in which he analyzes the propagandistic purpose of the preamble of Byzantine imperial documents for promoting the imperial idea.

Hunger states that the phraseology of the prooimia of the Byzantine documents expresses the traditional views of the Byzantine emperor as a representative of Christ, as the protector of his subjects, as the creator of law, and as a benefactor and philanthropist.

F. Dölger, "Die Kaiserurkunde der Byzantiner als Ausdruck ihrer politischen Anschauungen," BZ, 159 (1938-1939), 242ff. (republished in ByzES, 14ff.). In his "Die byz. u. serb. Herrscherkanzlei," 101-3, Dölger writes that much of the phraseology and formulas in the Byzantine imperial documents are there for propagandistic effect, in order to demonstrate the Byzantine emperor as the head of orbis christianus, the successor and the earthly representative of Christ, and pater familias of the princes and peoples (states) of this world-- notions thought and practiced for centuries in Byzantium. The question remains whether Byzantium succeeded in achieving this propagandistic goal. In fact we see that the neighbors of the Byzantines both in the East and the West became admirers of the Byzantine courtly pomp and practices and in many aspects tried to imitate their elaborate ceremonial. In this field, as in many others, the Slavic peoples of the Balkans particularly followed this pattern of imitation.

24. Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 262-4.

25. In Dušan's documents we find all these elements present, but in translation (e.g., logos slovo). For seals from Dušan's documents with representations of the Serbian ruler himself, see A. Solovjev, "Dva priloga pročavanju Dušanove države. II. Pečati na Dušanovim poveljama," G1SkND, 2 (1927), 37-46; V. Mošin, "Srednjevekovni srpski pečati," Umetnički pregled, 2 (1939). 6-11, with seventeen very good reproductions of seals, mostly of Palaeologian type; F. Dölger, Schatzkammern, 117. On Serbian seals attached to chrysobulls and other documents by Serbian rulers, see V. Mošin, "Les sceaux de Stéphen Nemanja," Actes du VIe Congrès international d'Études byzantines, II (1951), 303-6 (with three reproductions); V. Mošin, "Povelja kralja Milutina Karejskoj ćeliji 1318 godine," G1SkND, 19 (1938), 59-78 (with pictures of seals in Byzantine fashion from 1310, 1302-1309, and 1318). V. Mošin, "Povelja kralja Vladislava Bogorodiciinom manastiru u Bistrici i zlatne bule kralja Uroša," G1SkND, 21 (1940), 21-32, with pictures of a seal of Palaeologian type; Mošin, "Srednjevekovni pečati," 6-11; for the documents of Dušan with seals see Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje; Dölger, Schatzkammern, 124-5 (two documents by Dušan); for a golden seal of Dušan attached to a document of 1346 from the monastery of Iveron, see Dölger, Schatzkammern, 117 (text included). Cf. A. Solovjev, op. cit., 37-46.

26. A chrysobull of Basil II for the archbishopric of Ohrid shows us that the Byzantine church law had authority not only in Macedonia but also in Serbia and that every bishop possessed ἡγεμονίας (serfs) exactly as in Byzantium.

27. See S. Troicki, "Ko je preveo Krmčiju sa tumačenjima?" Glas, 193 (1949), 119-22.

28. See the analysis of this document in Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, 190-1.

29. Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, 187ff.

30. Mošin, "Uticaj," 150ff.

31. See L. Namysłowski, "Wege der Rezeption des byzantinischen Rechts im mittelalterlichen Serbien," Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven, n.s. 1 (1926), 139-52. The formation of more certain Serbian legal forms patterned after Byzantine legal thought occurred when the political, social, and economic life of Serbia, influenced by Byzantium, needed a new and developed legal system. Thus the reception of the Byzantine law in Serbia occurred in actuality for the first time only after the conquest of Byzantine territories by the Serbs toward the end of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth centuries. Namysłowski divides the monasteries that were largely responsible for introducing Byzantine law into the Serbian state into three categories. The first are in purely Serbian territory, west of the river Morava (Ibar, Lim, Tara). Second are the monasteries on the southern part of the Vardar river and the city of Skoplje in the Byzantine provinces that toward the end of the thirteenth century and during the fourteenth were incorporated into the Serbian state. Both these groups of monasteries, which held extensive lands and thus had far-reaching secular legal rights, were steeped in Byzantine culture. Nevertheless, the first category must have displayed many aspects of Serbian culture, including traditions and customs. The third group consists of

purely Byzantine monasteries that had lands in the Serbian state given as gifts by the Serbian rulers, such as the Athonite monasteries, especially Chilandar. The earliest gifts to Chilandar date from 1198-1199. A document by Dušan, dated 1348, lists the numerous possessions of Chilandar (see the article in Cvijić's *Zbornik* on possessions of Chilandar), not only in the newly conquered Byzantine provinces but also inland into old Serbian territories. For further details and references to sources, see Namysłowski, 140; F. Dölger, "Byzanz und Südosteuropa," Volk und Kultur Südosteuropas (1958), 66.

32. See Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, *passim*.

33. A. Solovjev, "Srbi i vizantisko pravo u Skoplju početkom XIII veka," GlSkND, 15-16 (1936), 31ff.

34. See Novaković, Zakonik, art. 82; S. Dragomir, "Vlahii din Serbia in sec. XII-XV," Anuarul Institutului de istorie nationala (Cluj, 1921-1922), 279-99; see the important review of this article by P. Skok in GlSkND, 3 (1928), 305-8.

35. M. Dinić, "O vitezu Palmanu," Zgodčias, 6-7 (1952-1953), 398-401; on Jews in Dušan's "Romania" and the taxes they paid, see S. Ćirković, "Jevrejski danak u vizantiskim oblastima," ZRVI, 4 (1956), 141-7.

36. Solovjev, Odabrani spomenici, 128; cf. *idem*, Zakonodavstvo, 70, n. 4.

37. Novaković, Zakonik, 3-5.

38. Several scholars have put forward the opinion that the abridgment of the Syntagma of Matthew Blastares and the "Justinian Laws," which always appear in the manuscripts with the code, were not part of Dušan's original legislative work but a later addition. A. Solovjev, after a thorough comparative analysis of all these three works from a legal point of view, arrived at the conclusion that the one supplements the other in the different aspects of law and that all three were parts of the original codification of Stephen Dušan. (A. Solovjev, Zakonodavstvo Stefana Dušana cara Srba i Greka [Belgrade, 1928], 92ff.; Solovjev, "Le droit byzantin dans la codification d'Étienne Douchan," Revue historique de droit français et étranger, 4e série, VII [1928], 391). The extensive bibliography on Dušan's code has been critically discussed by N. Radojčić in his review article, "Vek i po proučavanja Dušanova zakonodavstva," Zbornik Dušana, 207-68. For more recent literature see Ten Years of Yugoslav Historiography (Belgrade, 1955), 202-8. Cf. also Dj. Radojčić, "Srpski rukopis zemljoradničkog zakona," ZRVI, 3 (1955), 15-28.

39. See notices of that year in Stojanović, Zapisi i natpisi, III, 40-41. Cf. Radojčić, Sabori, 130.

40. Novaković, Zakonik, 6.

41. Solovjev, Odabrani spomenici, 150-1. † Изволеннѣмъ Божиѣмъ и послѣщеннѣмъ святаго Духа, събравшѣ же царствѣ ми зборъ въ славномъ градѣ Скопи, зъ господино(м) ми отцѣмъ с прѣосвещеннѣмъ патриархомъ Срѣбскимъ кир-Иоанниемъ, и зъ богодарованною царицею кир-Еленою, и зъ богодарованнѣмъ синомъ наго кралиемъ

Урошѣмъ, и съ митрополити и єпискѹпи (и) игѹмни и съ ѹбѣстными пѹстиньножитѣли и съ всѣми властѣли Срѣвскими и Грѹчкими, и обновисмо и състависмо и ѹзаконисмо всака правила светихѹ и божествнихѹ црѣкѣвѹ...

42. Solovjev, Zakonodavstvo, summarized in his "Einfluss."

43. That the anti-Catholic acts in the Zakonik do not reflect Hesychast influences, see J. Meyendorff, Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas (Paris, 1949), 137, n. 47, and Solovjev, Zakonodavstvo, 79-81.

44. See A. Solovjev, "L'oeuvre juridique de Mathieu Blastarès," Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini (Studi bizantini e neoelenici, 5, 1939), 698-707.

45. Cf. G. Ostrogorsky, "Zum Stratordienst des Herrschers in der byzantinisch-slavischen Welt," SemKond, 7 (1935), 192-3, 204, claims that Dušan's practice of the strator service as recorded by Cantacuzenus (II, 274) indicates that Dušan knew this practice from the Syntagma.

46. This is convincingly concluded by S. Troicki, "Crkvenopolitička ideologija Svetosavske Krmčije i Vlastareve Sintagme," GlasSANICU, 212 (1953), 186ff. and the entire article, 154-206.

47. F. Dölger, "Bulgarisches Zartum und byzantinisches Kaisertum," in his ByzES, 142, n. 2.

48. The exclusion of the ecclesiastical rulings, as Troicki believed, is due to the fact that they advocated the emperor's caesaropapistic ideas and the patriarch's papistic views. Thus they would conflict with Sava's Nomocanon, which was in use in Serbia, and in which Sava had carefully sought to exclude "caesaropapist" and "papist" views and keep only those elements that advocated harmony between church and state.

49. Solovjev, "Einfluss," 446.

50. T. Florinskij, Pamjatniki zakonodatel'noj dejatel'nosti Dušana carja Serbov i Grekov (Kiev, 1888).

51. Solovjev, "La codification," 388-9.

52. Articles 53-55, Novaković, Zakonik, 180; M. Burr, "The Code of Stephen Dušan, tsar and autocrat of the Serbs and Greeks," SLEERev, 28 (1950), 208.

53. See Solovjev, "Einfluss," 444, King Milutin's letter to the Ragusans.

54. Articles 72, 112, 113. B. Gardašević, "Patrijaršijski i carski dvor kao mesta azila po Dušanovom Zakoniku," GlSPC, 28 (1947), 168-72. A. Solovjev, "Einfluss," 448, writes that asylum in the palace of the emperor and that of the patriarch perhaps corresponded to an old Byzantine custom not mentioned in the written Greek laws. N. Radojčić (Zbornik Dušana, 70-1) also considers this notion of asylum of Byzantine origin.

55. According to the important note in Ostrogorsky, History, 213, n. 2.

56. The problem whether the Epanagoge, the work of Photius (A. Solovjev, 436, 448) was officially promulgated or not, is an open question, and Solovjev opposes the view of G. Ostrogorsky (History, 213, n. 2).

57. Which according to S. Troicki, "Crkvenopolitička ideologija Svetosavske Krmčije i Vlastareve Sintagme," GlasSANUL, 212 (1953), 198ff., excluded the parts advocating caesaropapism and Eastern papism because they were contrary to St. Sava's Nomocanon, which advocated harmony between church and state.

58. Article 172, Novaković, Zakonik, 250; M. Burr, "The Code of Stephan Dušan, tsar and autocrat of the Serbs and Greeks," SlEERev, 28 (1950), 533.

59. Ὑποκεῖται ἐκδικεῖν καὶ διατηρεῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς πρῶτον μὲν πάντα ἐν τῇ θεῖα γραφῇ γεγραμένα, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτὰ ἀγίων συνόδων δογματισθέντα ἕτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐγκεκκριμένους ῥωμαϊκοὺς νόμους, Zachariae a Lingenthal C. E., Collectio librorum juris Graecoromani ineditorum. Ecloga Leonis et Constantini, Epanagoge Basilii, Leonis et Alexadri, 1852, 66. Cf. Zbornik Dušana, 58.

60. N. Radojčić, "Snaga zakona po Dušana Zakoniku," Glas, 110 (1923), 100-39; "Die Gründe einer serbischen Entlehnung aus dem byzantinischen Rechte," Bulletin de la Section historique de l'Académie Roumaine, 11 (1924), 228-35; "Dusanov Zakonik i vizantisko pravo," Zbornik Dušana, 74.

61. B. Blagoev, "Primauté de la loi dans le Code du Tsar Douchan (Origines byzantines et signification)," Actes du XIIe Congrès d'Etudes byzantines, II (Belgrade, 1964), 499-502. According to Blagoev, art. 105 of Dusan's Zakonik, when an imperial decree is in conflict with the Zakonik, the judge should address himself to the tsar, but according to art. 171, when an imperial decree again does not agree with the Zakonik, the judge should follow the code without addressing himself to the emperor. Blagoev concludes that art. 105 was written with the imperial decrees issued before the issue of the Zakonik, but art. 171 was composed later.

62. On it, see J. B. Bury, Constitution of Later Roman Empire (Cambridge, 1910), 29.

63. Solovjev, "Einfluss," 449-50.

64. Cf. the Byzantine καθολικοὶ κριταί, see Ostrogorsky, History, 448.

65. Solovjev, "Einfluss," passim.

66. Solovjev, "La codification," 411-2; for Byzantine sources in the Zakonik, see N. Radojčić, "Dušanov Zakonik i vizantisko pravo," Zbornik Dušana, 45-77.

67. Gregoras, II, 747, 5ff.

68. Novaković, ZakSrom, 701: πρῶτισονομῶν κρῆλιεμ все сръбскіе земліе оушошемь.

69. Novaković, ZakSpom, 169-72, 470, 720. It is difficult to draw an exact line between the Serbian and the Greek lands: From a chrysobull of Dušan for the monastery of Chilandar, issued during his trip through Mount Athos in 1348, we learn that villages in Plav, Zeta, Morava, Pilot, Lipljan, Prizren, and Polog belonged to the Serbian lands, while villages in Prosek, Štip, Bregalnica, Struma, Strumica, Serres, Redina, and also the district of Skoplje belonged to the Greek lands. (Novaković, ZakSpom, 418ff.). Cf. V. Marković, Jesu li srednjovekovni Srbi smatrali Makedoniju bugarskom? (Corfu, 1918), 30-2. Solovjev, Zakonodavstvo, 73, note 2. M. Dinić's paper, "La division de l'État Serbe sous Étienne Duchan en 'Pays Serbe' et en 'Roumanie,'" delivered at the Ninth International Byzantine Congress at Thessalonica, has not been published, as far as I know.

70. On boundaries between Serbian and Greek lands, see Solovjev, Zakonodavstvo, 72-3, with important references to documents; M. Dinić, "Dušan" in Enciklopedija Jugoslavije, 3 (Zagreb, 1958), 181-3; Ostrogorsky, Serska oblast, passim; G. Škrivanić, "O južnim i jugoistočnim granicama srpske države za vreme cara Dušana i posle njegove smrti," IstČas, 11 (1960), 1-15.

71. Ferjančić, Despoti, 159-76.

72. See Novaković, ZakSpom, 701-5. See also a chrysobull of Dušan for the monastery of St. Nicholas at Dobrušta (1355), in which he declared immunity for the villages he gave to the monastery from any "kephale, vojvod, knez, sevast [and] any ruler in the lands [administered] according to the Serbian customs in my empire." (S. Novaković, op. cit., 720).

73. Novaković, ZakSpom, 683, 698, and passim; Solovjev, Odabrani spomenici, 149, 194, 202, 206. On nomik, see document in Lj. Stojanović, "Svetogorski akti," Spomenik, 3 (1890); cf. S. Stanojević, "Studije or srpskoj diplomatiji," Glas, 106 (1923), 50ff.

74. Cantacuzenus (III, 329, 2ff.) mentions Serbian settlers near Serres: ἦσαν γάρ τινες ἐκ Τριβαλῶν ὀλίγοι ἐκ τῶν πέριξ καμῶν συνειλεγμένοι.

75. Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 80, 144, 176, 204; Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" (ed. Cirac Estopañan), 46-7; P. Lemerle and A. Solovjev, "Trois chartes de souverains serbs," AnnInstKond, 11 (1940), 130, line 30. Cf. Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 444-5. On Ζουπάνου, see Ostrogorsky, Serska oblast, 95.

76. See V. Mošin, Archiv für Urkundenforschung, XIII (1935), 191. Cf. M. Lascaris, "Actes serbes de Vatopedi," BSlav, 6 (1935-1936), 171.

77. See A. Solovjev, especially in Zakonodavstvo, passim; "La codification," 387-412.

78. Danilo, Životi, 380; Ostrogorsky, "Dušan i vlastela," 83.

79. Ljubić, Listine, II, 326.

80. Solovjev, "La codification," 394, where he wrote that for Dušan to recognize the validity of Byzantine law was to legitimize the usurpation of the imperial title in the eyes of his new Greek subjects.

81. Danilo, *Životi*, 380. "И по прѣставлиенни патриарѣха кирь Иоанкииѣ Стефанъ царь събра съборъ сръбьскым и грѣбьскым въ градѣ Сѣроу, и постави Савоу патриархомъ на прѣстолѣ светааго Савы."

82. Novaković, *ZakSpom*, 739: "патриархомъ Сръблѣемъ и Грѣкомъ кир-Савомъ." Greeks, Athonite monks and Greek governors participated also in the sabor at Krupašta (1355). See Radojčić, *Sabori*, 142ff.

83. See Ostrogorsky, "Dušan i vlastela," 84; *idem*, *Féodalité*, 204.

84. Cantacuzenus, II, 551, 22ff.; III, 31, 12ff. See the important passage in Cantacuzenus, III, 120, in connection with Berrhoia, where it is stated that Dušan established many Serbian people there, especially magnates. Serbian names appear also in Thessalian documents (Ivanis, Dobrilos, Petritzas, etc. Solovjev and Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, 164). Serbian settlements were also in the Serres region (Cantacuzenus, III, 329, 2ff.) For Serres, see A. Solovjev, "Car Dušan u Serezu," *JugIstČas*, I (1935), 472-7. *Idem*, "Sudiје i sud po gradovima Dušanove države," *GLSkND*, 7-8 (1930), 147ff. On pronoiā in Dušan's empire and the states of his successor, see Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité*, 200-21; see also book reviews of the Serbian edition of Ostrogorsky, *Pronija, prilog istoriji feudalizma u Vizantiji i u Južnoslovenskim zemljama*, Belgrade, 1951, by M. Lascaris, in *Byzantion*, 21 (1951), "La pronoiā en Serbie," 228-9; and by I. Ševcenko, "An important contribution to the social history of late Byzantium," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, II, 4 (1952), 448-59.

85. See documents in Solovjev, *Odabrani spomenici*.

86. The best edition of the code is still Novaković's *Zakonik Stefana Dušana cara srpskog* (Belgrade, 1893). The only available English translation is by Malcolm Burr, "The Code of Stephan Dušan, Translation and Notes," *SLEER*, 28 (1950), 198-217, 516-39. The translations of the different articles of the code I have given here are taken from Burr's translation with certain changes of my own made after comparison with the original. Article 39 deals with the lords and the gentry and reads as follows: "And to the lords and the gentry, who live within my state, both Serbs and Greeks, to whom was given land as patrimony and in chrysobulls before my reign and who held it up to the day of this council, these patrimonies are confirmed." Cf. D. Janković, *Istorija države i prava feudalne Srbije, XII-XV vek* (Belgrade, 1953), 47. On the history and the meaning of the titles *δρχων* and *vlastel* (lord) in Byzantium and medieval Serbian, see N. Radojčić, "Vlastel u zakonu gradskom Nomokanona sv. Save," *Glas*, 193 (1949), 1-14. [For later editions of *Zakonik*, see "Additional Primary Sources." - ed.]

87. Novaković, *Zakonik*, 36; Burr, *loc. cit.*, 206.

88. Article 124 (Novaković, op. cit., 95; Burr, loc. cit., 521): "Of the Law in Towns: Greek towns which the Lord Tsar hath taken, whatsoever chrysobulls and prostigmata have been granted to them, whatsoever they have and hold up to the time of this council, let them hold, and it is confirmed to them and let no man take aught from them."

89. Article 173 (Novaković, op. cit., 135; Burr, loc. cit., 533) "Of Lords: Lords greater and lesser, who come to my Imperial Court, whether Greek, German or Serb, whether great lord or anyone else, and bring with them a brigand or a thief, shall be themselves punished as a thief or a brigand." On the German settlers, who came originally as mercenaries, see Jireček, Staat und Gesellschaft, I, 80.

90. Article 176 (Novaković, op. cit., 137-8; Burr, loc. cit., 534): "Of Towns: all towns which are in my dominions shall be in relation to the law in all things as they were in the days of the first Emperors. For suits which citizens have between themselves, let them be judged before the prefects of the towns, or before the clergy. And if a man from the country have a case with a citizen let him sue before the prefect of the town and before the Church and the clergy according to the law." For a commentary on this article, see A. Solovjev, "Sudije i sud po gradovima Dušanove države," GLSKND, 7-8 (1930), 147ff.

91. Cf. Solovjev, "La codification," 393. Cf. the code's articles 6, 7, 8, 9.

92. A critical edition of this important collection of documents is A. Guillou, Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le Mont Ménécée (Paris, 1955).

93. Florinskij, Južnye slavjane, II, 112-3. "All the offices of city and regional governors," writes Florinskij, "were left to known local Greeks, probably the same ones who occupied them before. The Greek names of the kephalai and the local governors in the southeastern part of Macedonia lasted throughout Dušan's reign."

94. Jireček, Geschichte, I, 386. The same thesis is also mentioned in his Staat und Gesellschaft, I, 45.

95. A. Solovjev, "Grečeskie arhonty v serbskom carstve XIV veka," BSlav, 2 (1930), 275-87. Solovjev's article includes a list of Greek officials in Dusan's empire.

96. M. Lascaris (Actes du IIIème Congrès International d'Études Byzantines [Athens, 1932], 152) has observed with good reason that article 39 is far from proclaiming legal equality between the Greeks and the Serbs; it only guarantees to the Greek and Serbian nobles the possession of their properties.

97. Solovjev, "Grečeskie arhonty," 279; On Isares, see also V. Laurent, "Une nouvelle fondation monastique des Choumnos: Le Nea Moni de Thessalonique," REB, 13 (1955), 114-5; and R. Guiland, "Études de titulature byzantine: les titres auliques réservés aux eunuques. Le primicier," REB, 14 (1956), 139-40. Oñ Nestongus Ducas, see also R. Guiland, loc. cit., 156.

98. Solovjev, "Grečeskie arhonty," 282; G. Soulis, "Notes on

the history of the city of Serres under the Serbs (1345-1371)," *Αφιέρωμα στὴ μνήμη τοῦ Μ. Τριανταφυλλίδη* (Thessalonica, 1960, 374. Cf. Μέγας ἑταιριάρχης Νεστ. Δούκας, Pachymeres, II, 431.

99. Solovjev, "Grečeskie arhonty," 283; 280.

100. Solovjev, "Grečeskie arhonty," 280-1. On the title ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ, see R. Guiland, "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin," *REB*, 18 (1960), 89-90.

101. Solovjev, "Grečeskie arhonty," 282; it is important that Dušan's military judge was a Greek. For Maurophorus's position as a landowner, see Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité*, 123. On the title ὁ κριτῆς τοῦ φροσσάτου (judge of the army), see Guiland, "Histoire administrative," 90-2, where Maurophorus is mentioned; also Dölger, *Schatzkammern*, 43.

102. Mošin, "Akti iz Svetogorskih arhiva," *Spomenik SAN 91* (1939), 163. It is important that this office existed also in medieval Serbia. See G. Ostrogorsky, "Alexios Raul, Grossdomestikos von Serbien," *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm, I* (Wiesbaden, 1964), 340-52.

103. Ferjančić, *Despoti*, 159-66. Dj. Stričević, "Jedna hipoteza o titularnom imenu srpskih despota XIV v.," *Starinar*, 7-8 [1956-1957], 113-30; p. 118 supports the view that Despot John Oliver was a Greek (Ἰωάννης ὁ Λίβερος), in opposition to Jireček, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, III, 28), who believed that he was of Western origin. See Chapter I, note 91 of this book.

104. Solovjev, "Grečeskie arhonty," 278; see mention in Chapter I of this book.

105. M. Dinić, "Za hronologiju Dušanovih osvajanja vizantiskih gradova," *ZRV*, 4 (1956), 5: "And by name and by title it is clear that Sebastokrator Kersak was Greek, one of those who joined the Serbs, like Michael, the governor of Prosek, who in 1342 waited for Cantacuzenus when the latter crossed the Serbian frontier"; Ferjančić, *Despoti*, 163-4.

106. On the καθολικοὶ κριταί, a judicial institution established by Andronicus III in 1329, and its operation under the Serbian rule in Macedonia, see A. Solovjev, "Sudije," *GISkND*, 7-8 (1930), 147ff.; P. Lemerle, "Le juge général des Grecs et la réforme judiciaire d'Andronic III," *Mémorial Louis Petit* (Bucharest, 1948), 292ff., where all the previous literature on the subject is cited. Cf. also P. Lemerle, "Recherches sur les institutions judiciaires à l'époque des Paléologues. I: Le tribunal impérial," *AIPHOSIS*, 9 (1949), *Mélanges Grégoire*, I, 377-8, 380. *Idem*; "Recherches sur les institutions judiciaires à l'époque des Paléologues. II: Le tribunal du patriarcat ou tribunal synodal," *AnalBoll*, 68 (1950), 318-33. *Idem*, "Documents et problèmes concernant les juges généraux," *Δελτιον χρστ. ἀρχ. ἑτ.*, V, 4 (Τιμητικὸς Γ. Σωτηρίου), 29-44.

107. Solovjev, "Grečeskie arhonty," 285.

108. Solovjev, *Odabrani spomenici*, 129-32.

109. C. Jireček, I, 285-60. G. Ostrogorsky rather supports Jireček's view; see "Dušan i vlastela," 84, and *Féodalité*, 204.

110. A notice by a certain monk Jacob, written in Berat in 1343, informs us that ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτῳ τῆς εἰς τὰ Βελλάγραβα εἰσελευσέως τοῦ σεβαστοκράτῳρος Σερβείας κύρ Νικηφόρω τὸ Ἰσαακίῳ (sic). S. Lambros, Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts of Mount Athos (Cambridge, 1895), I, ms N 3750 (Dionisiat 216).

111. Danilo, Životi, 381. Cf. M. Lascaris, "Le patriarcat de Peć a-t-il été reconnu par l'Église de Constantinople en 1375?", Mélanges Charles Diehl (Paris, 1930), 175. On the Serbian bishop of Serres, see A. Solovjev, GLSkND, 7-8 (1930), 155; S. Stanojević, "Serskiij mitropolit Iakov," AnnInstKond, 10 (1938), 95-8; M. Purković, Srpski episkopi i mitropolitni srednjega veka (Skoplje, 1938). The exact date of Iakov's appointment is not known, but from a document published by P. Lemerle, Actes de Kutlumus (Paris, 1945), 91-3, we learn that he was already occupying the post in October 1348. Ostrogorsky, "Dušan i vlastela," 84-6.

112. Cf. Dušan's chrysobull for the Athonite monasteries (November 1345) in Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 32, lines 43-7.

113. On the immunity of Byzantine monasteries under Dušan, see G. Ostrogorsky, "Pour l'histoire de l'immunité à Byzance," Byzantion, 28 (1958), 222ff.; also Féodalité, 159, 204-5.

114. See the decrees issued by Dušan in favor of this monastery in Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 2-17, and also in A. Guillou, Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrôme sur le mont Ménécée (Paris, 1955), 120-44. In Guillou's book there is the best account of the history of the monastery and its archives.

115. Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 2-5; Guillou, Les archives, 122-3.

116. Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 6-17; Guillou, Les archives, 124-31.

117. Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 18-21, 174-87.

118. Solovjev and Mošin, 152-67. N. Bees, "Fragments d'une chrysobulle du couvent de Lycousada," Mélanges Merlier, III (1957), 479-86. Cf. important remarks by F. Dölger in BZ, 51 (1951), 432-3.

119. See Dušan's decrees for the Athonite monasteries in Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 28ff.; Novaković, ZakSpom, 402ff., 469ff., 486ff., 490ff., 504ff., 533ff., 543ff., 553ff.; Korablev, Actes de Chilandar, Actes Slaves, 457ff. Another unpublished chrysobull of Dusan, dated January 1346, for the monastery of Philotheou, has been discovered by M. Lascaris (RIEB, 3 [1937-1938], 269). The chrysobull for the monastery of Esphigmenou, dated between April 1346 and December 1347 and attributed to Dušan by Solovjev and Mošin (Grčke povelje, 104-9), is considered by D. Anastasijević (Byzantion, 12 [1937], 631-2; "Esfigmenskie akty carja Dušana," AnnInstKond, 10 [1938], 57ff.) as belonging to Emperor Andronicus II and not to the Serbian tsar. Also the chrysobull for the monastery of St. Panteleimon (Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 124-31) is considered by D. Anastasijević (Byzantion, 12 [1937], 634) as not belonging to Dušan. N. Bees (VizVrem, 20 [1913], 311) expressed the opinion

that the prostagma for Esphigmenou (Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 148-51) belongs to Empress Helen and not to her husband Stephen Dušan. Cf. Orbini, op. cit., 260.

120. For a detailed account of Dušan's policy toward the Athonite monasteries, see my paper "Tsar Stephen Dušan and Mount Athos," Harvard Slavic Studies, 2 (1954), 125-39.

121. Novaković, ZakSpom, 664ff. Cf. S. Novaković, "Prilep u prvoj polovini XIV veka, po treskavačkim poveljama kralja Stefana Dušana," Glas, LXXX (1909), 1-24.

122. Cf. I. Snegarov, Istorija na Ohridskata Arhiepiskopija (Sofia, 1924), I, 317.

123. On Dušan's policy toward the monasteries, see V. Marković, Pravoslavno monastvo i manastiri u srednjekovnoj Srbiji (Sr. Karlovci, 1920), 102ff.; S. Troički, "Ktitorsko pravo," GlasSAN, 168 (1935), 81-132.

124. G. Ostrogorsky, "Byzantine emperor and world order," SlEERev, 35 (1956), 8ff.

125. See Solovjev, Odabrani spomenici, 128; Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 8, 44, 96, 136, 140, 154 and passim. Cf. Novaković, Zakonik, 36-7 (article 40).

126. Solovjev, Zakonodavstvo, 70. On the expelled bishops, see Danilo, Životi, 381.

127. See Dušan's updated chrysobull, often used as prologue to the code, in Novaković, Zakonik, 4; also S. Radojčić, "Freska Konstantinove pobede u crkvi sv. Nikole Dabarskog," GlSKND, 19 (1938), 96; ref. to Grabar, L'empereur dans l'art byzantin (Paris, 1936), 40, 41, 42, 56.

128. Solovjev, "L'influence de droit," 598.

[129. The author had also intended to treat these topics as is indicated by this outline attached to Chapter III:

1. Greek archons expelled from high administrative positions and replaced by Serbs.

2. Bishops and metropolitans replaced.

3. Lands (pronoia) taken from Greeks and given to Serbian magnates, warriors, etc.

4. Lands returned to monasteries, which had been taken away during the "time of troubles."

5. Conclusion: Serbian conquest of Byzantine lands increased Byzantine influence beyond the religious and cultural aspects.]

CHAPTER IV

1. See Cantacuzenus, III, 314, 12-4; Gregoras, III, 556, 22ff.; Chalcocondyles (Darkó), I, 26, 4ff.

2. For the imperial signature, see Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 228, 239, 256; cf. Dinić, "Carska titula," ZborDuš, 102. Miklosich, MonSerb, 156, 159, 163, 169, 173, 174; Novaković, ZakSpom, 310, 314, 439, 440, 442. For the variants of the title (which never includes the title σαμοαρπαυ), see Stanojević, "Studije" (GlasSAN[U], 106), 43; cf. Ostrogorsky, "Autokrator," 156-7.

3. Stojanović, "Srpski rodoslovi," 12.

4. Orbini, Regno degli Slavi, 270.

5. Cf. Stojanović, "Srpski rodoslovi," 12.

6. Cantacuzenus, II, 314, 12ff.

7. Gregoras, III, 556, 22ff.

8. Chalcocondyles (ed. Darkó), I, 26, 4ff.

9. Symeon was a half-brother of Dušan, since he was the son of Stephen Uroš III and of Maria Palaeologina, daughter of John Palaeologus (son of Emperor Andronicus II) and daughter of Theodore Metochites. See Lascaris, Vizantiske princeze, 88. Gregoras (III, 557, 9) incorrectly calls Symeon Dušan's son. Also incorrectly, the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" (ed. Cirac Estopaňan, p. 36) calls him Dušan's ἀντάδελφον. Symeon was at that time 28 years old, and our sources tell us explicitly that he wanted to seize the Serbian throne for himself. (Cantacuzenus, III, 314, 14ff.; Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" [ed. Cirac Estopaňan]). Thus, Jireček's hypothesis that Symeon wanted to appear "maybe only as co-ruler with his nephew" is not in agreement with our sources. (Jireček, Geschichte, I, 415).

10. Cantacuzenus, III, 314, 23ff.

11. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" (ed. Cirac Estopaňan), 37.

12. For the imperial signature, see Solvojev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 228, 239, 256; cf. Dinić, "Carska titula," ZborDuš, 102.

13. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 37. From a letter of a Ragusan Grgo Skrinjić from Žljeznik in Kučevo, dated 3 February 1359, we learn that anticipation of Symeon's invasion of Serbia had been widespread. (Jireček, "Spomenici srpski," 32-33.

14. Orbini (Regno degli Slavi, 270), writes that Symeon had marched up to Scutari but, unable to capture the fortress, returned home. Orbini does not indicate, however, the source of his information.

15. Cantacuzenus, III, 319, 11ff.; Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" (ed. Cirac Estopaňan), 37.

16. This campaign is treated in detail in Chapter V, the Serbs in Thessaly.

17. See the act of donation by Anne Tornikina, dated August 1358, which has been preserved in the archives of the Russian monastery of St. Panteleimon on Mount Athos (Akty russkago na sv. velikomučenika i čelitelja Panteleimona [Kiev, 1873], 176-83, no. 22. Also published in P. Uspenskij, Istorija Afona [Kiev, 1892], 648-50, and better in L. Petit, Actes du Pantocrator, 4-7, no. 3). Cf. Lemerle, Philippe, 208. Ostrogorsky, Serska oblast, 147ff.

18. See an act of Emperor John V (8 March 1357), preserved only in Italian translation, from which we learn that the Byzantine emperor had granted to the two brothers for life, and with hereditary rights, Chrysopolis, Anaktoropolis and the island of Thasos. (G. Thomas and R. Predelli, Diplomatarium Veneto-latinum, II, 166-7). Cf. K. Mertzius, Μνημεία Μακεδ. Ἰστορίας (Thessalonica, 1947), 24; Petit, Actes du Pantocrator, IXff.; Lemerle, Philippe, 206ff. See also a prostagma of John V, dated February 1358. (Regel, Kurtz, and Korablev, Actes Zographou, 94-5, no. 40. Cf. ibid., 96ff., nos. 41, 42).

19. Gregoras, III, 564, 5-6: ἱσταμένου γὰρ ἤδη τοῦ θέρους, καὶ τῶν ἀσταχῶν προκαλουμένων τοῦς θεριστὰς καὶ ἀμαλλοδέτας.

20. Probably in the summer of 1357. See Ostrogorsky, Serska oblast, 4.

21. Cantacuzenus, III, 322, 17ff.

22. Ibid., 323, 11ff. S. Novaković (Srbi i Turci, 143) believes that the governor of Serres in question is John Uglješa, who had at that time married Vojihna's daughter Euphemia (Jefimija). As far as I know, this is a mere hypothesis, not based on any sources.

23. Gregoras, III, 564, 6-8.

24. Ibid., III, 564, 5ff.

25. For a description of the straits, see Cantacuzenus, III, 328, 15ff. Cf. Lemerle, Philippe, 205.

26. Gregoras, III, 564, 14ff.; cf. R. Guiland, Correspondance de Nicéphore Grégoras (Paris, 1927), 315 (with references to sources).

27. Cantacuzenus, III, 331, 7ff. Gregoras (III, 564, 18ff.) gives a somewhat different account: τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄρας ἐκ Λέσβου, ἔνθα τηνικαῦτα τὴν ναυτικὴν διανέπαυε δύναμιν καὶ τὰ πρὸς πολιορκίαν Ὠκείων συντείνοντα ἠτοιμάζετό τε καὶ προηυτρέπιζε, πλήρεις ἰστίους καταίρει ἐς τὰ πέρας Ἀβδῆρων ἐπίνεα.

28. Cantacuzenus, III, 331, 20ff.; Gregoras, III, 564, 22ff.

29. Chalcocondyles (ed. Darkó, I, 25, 15ff.) gives a list of the Serbian local rulers, appointed by Dušan, who after his death retained their offices. This list, however, is far from being either complete or accurate. For instance Chalcocondyles

confuses Žarko, "Župan of Zeta," who ruled over Bojana, with Dejan (see Srećković, Istorija, II, 723; Jireček, Geschichte, I, 424). V. Makušev (Istoriceskija razyskanija, 47) incorrectly identifies Chalcocondyles's Zarko with Caesar Vojihna, since we know well that Vojihna ruled over Drama and not over the region around the Axios (Vardar) river. Also incorrectly, Chalcocondyles mentions Nikola Altomanović as ruler of Trikkala and Kastoria. We know from many contemporary sources that Trikkala belonged to Preljub and later to Symeon, and that Župan Nikola ruled over the territory between the coast south of Ragusa and the mountains east of Drina. (See M. Dinić, O Nikoli Altomanoviću, in SKA, Posebnja izdanja, 90 [Belgrade, 1932]. There is also a list of the persons among whom Dušan had distributed his conquered lands in a manuscript of the library of Bologna (Anonymous, Annalia Imperatorum et Pontificum usque ad annum 1520, f. 181 t^o), which is, however, based entirely on Chalcocondyles. (See V. Makušev, op. cit., 47, note 2).

30. Cantacuzenus, III, 323, 12; 325, 19; 330, 15ff.; 331, 22ff. According to S. Novaković (Srbi i Turci, 137), he was simply a "vassal" (kletvenik) of Helen, but no reference to sources is given. This may have been true, however, since we know from Cantacuzenus (III, 330, 21ff.) that when Matthew Cantacuzenus was a prisoner of Vojihna, the latter wanted to visit Empress Helen at Serres and have her consent for his plans regarding Matthew.

31. Korablev, Actes slaves de Chilandar, 551. From this source we learn that Vojihna was buried in the monastery of Chilandar on Mount Athos. This is also mentioned in a Slavic inscription, composed by the nun Euphemia, on a diptych at Chilandar. (See L. Marković, "Ikonica sa zapisom monahinje Jefimije u Hilandaru," Godišnjica N. Čupića, 42 [1933], 45-9). For further evidence, see Dj. Radojčić, "O jednom hilendarskom natpisu iz druge polovine CIV veka," Prilozi, 21 (1955), 124. Caesar Vojihna appears also as one of the benefactors of the monastery of Kutlumus on Mount Athos. (See the testament of Chariton, Abbot of Kutlumus, written between 1 January and 31 August 1370 in P. Lemerle, Actes de Kutlumus [Paris, 1945], 112. Cf. P. Lemerle and A. Solovjev, "Trois chartes des souverains serbes conservées au Monastère de Kutlumus," AnnInstKond, 11 [1940], 142).

32. Stojanović, Zapisi i natpisi, I, 42, no. 118. Both Stojanović (*ibid.*), and C. Jireček (Staat u. Gesellschaft, III, 72a) agree that the title kesar in our notice refers to Vojihna.

33. See the important Vatopedi document $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\eta\ \delta\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\iota\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ of Theophylactus Dermokaites (1366), which gives much information on Macedonia under Helen and John Ugljesa (Mošin, "Iz svetogorskih arhiva," 155ff.; cf. Lemerle, "Juge général," 312). Cantacuzenus, III, 325, 21ff.; 330, 21ff. Empress Helen had taken a very active part in political life when Dušan was alive. The influence she could exercise is well illustrated by the role she played when Cantacuzenus sought refuge in Dušan's court in 1342. (See Cantacuzenus II, 262, 13ff.; 306, 15ff.) From Cantacuzenus (II, 354, 11ff.) we learn also that Empress Helen had her own private guard. Later, in 1347, she visited Mount Athos with her husband, and she is mentioned as one of the benefactors of the monastery of Kutlumus in Abbot Chariton's testament. (Lemerle, Actes de Kutlumus, 112; cf.

Lemerle and Solovjev, "Trois chartes," 142). She also accompanied her husband in the military campaigns against Thessalonica and Bosnia, and also visited the latter in 1350. (Cantacuzenus, III, 207, 12-3). Besides Serres, Helen is mentioned in contemporary sources as also possessing Ulcinj (Ducigno) on the Adriatic coast. (See a document by the Dulciniots of 1357 in Ljubić, Listine, 343: donatio nostra, domina imperatrix Sclaugonie). Helen also received revenues from Zeta (see Miklošich, MonSerb, 175). M. Purković's article "Carica Jelena," Sloga (Year-book), 1954, 34-48, I know unfortunately only from the bibliographical notice in BZ, 47 (1954), 233. Cf. R. Grujić, "Carica Jelena i Čelija Sv. Save u Kareji," GLSKND, 14 (1935), 43-57.

34. According to S. Novaković (Srbi i Turci, 138), "the reasons why Empress Helen chose only Serres and the Serres region as her dominion were many. One reason was that Serres was one of the most important cities in the empire. Besides this, one may take into consideration its nearness to Bulgaria (where the empress's brother, Tsar John Alexander, ruled), to the lands of the Dejanovići, cousins of Dušan, and, moreover, near to Mount Athos and its people."

35. G. Ostrogorsky, with good reason, does not accept this possibility. See Serska oblast, 6, n. 17.

36. Cantacuzenus, III, 314, 19ff.: "Helen, his [Uroš's] mother, likewise having disobeyed both her son and Symeon, the brother of her husband, and having put under her jurisdiction many cities and having acquired significant power, kept the authority for herself, fighting against neither of the two, or participating in the war."

37. Cantacuzenus, III, 325, 20-22. Cf. Novaković, Srbi i Turci, 137-8.

38. Novaković, ZakSpom, 308-10.

39. F. Miklošich, MonSerb, 156. Cf. the same document in Italian translation in S. Ljubić, "Rukoviet jugoslavenskih listina," Starine, 10 (1978), 3-4. This was the first savor of Tsar Uroš, convoked in Skoplje on 18 April 1357; see Radojčić, Sabori, 146-50. Also, in a Ragusan document of 1362 it is indicated that Helen was at her son's court; see Ostrogorsky, Serska oblast, 6-8. According to N. Bees (VizVrem, 20 [1913], 311), an unsigned and undated prostagma, first published by Petit and Regel (Actes d'Esphigmenou, 41-2), should be attributed to Helen. The document was issued by one of Uroš's parents (εβσεβέστατος υιόν μου κράλην τὸν Ὀύρεσι), but judging from the fact that Uroš is still called imply kral, one may assume that it was written before Dušan's death. In that case it is more natural to think that the document was issued by Dušan. Therefore A. Solovjev and V. Mošin (Grčke povelje, 148) and D. Anastasijević ("Esfigmenske akty carja Dusana," AnnInstKond, 10 [1938], 68) had good reasons for attributing this document to Stephen Dušan. G. Ostrogorsky (Serska oblast, 6, n. 17), states that the portrait of Helen with Uroš as ktitors of the Matejčca (done before May 1356) disproves Cantacuzenus's account that Helen and Uroš were not on friendly terms (see note 36).

40. The oldest mention of Empress Helen under the monastic

name Elizabeth is Uroš's chrysobull in favor of the bishop of Melnik, dated 1356 (Novaković, ZakSpom, 308). Cf. M. Purković, "Kada se zakaludjerala carica Jelena?" Prilozi, 12 (1932), 167-9. Lj. Kovacević (I po traći put kralj Vukašin nije ubio cara Uroša [Belgrade, 1886], 7-8) incorrectly wrote that Helen took the monastic veil in 1361, after the marriage of her son (1360). Ostrogorsky, Serska oblast, 5. "Already in the decree by Uroš dated May 1356, Helen is mentioned by her monastic name Elisabeth." A. Solovjev, "Povelje cara Uroša u hilendarskom arhiva," Bogoslovlje, 2 (1927), no. [of document] 3, p. 256; cf. Purković, ibid., 167.

41. Cf. a document of 1361 by which Uroš donates a village in Strumica to the monastery of Chilandar. Curiously enough this act is signed both by Стефанъ вѣрнии царь Серблемь и Гръкомъ and by госпожа царица повелѣ сама оу Серрѣ градѣ, which indicates the friendly relations that existed between the two founders. Korablev, Actes slaves de Chilandar, 526. This is also indicated by two contemporary notices. One is in a Greek Synaxarion written for Empress Helen: 'Ρωμαίους· Στέφανον Ούβεριν, (καὶ) τ(ῆν) μ(ητρί)ρα τοῦτου ἀγί(αν) Ἐλισάβετ (L. Politis, "Griechische Handschriften der serbischen Kaiserin Elizabeth," BSlav, 2 [1930], 290. The other is on a Triodion sent to Sinai by the Serbian archbishop of Serres: ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Στεφάνου τοῦ Ούρέση καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς Ἐλισάβετ μοναχῆς (1959). (V. Benešević, Pamjatniki Sinaja, I [Leningrad, 1925], III). We also find Elizabeth (Helen) mentioned in two documents of the church tribunal of Serres, dated November 1360 and August 1365. (Petit and Korablev, Actes Grecs de Chilandar, 307; Petit and Regel, Actes d'Espighmenou, 37ff.). According to S. Novaković (Srbi i Turci, 143), Helen's active participation in political life after she became a nun remains an enigma. In the courtyard of the monastery of St. John Prodromos at Menoikeion there is an old two-storey house in which, according to the local tradition, lived Empress Helen. (See P. N. Papageorgiou, BZ, 3 [1894], 311). G. Ostrogorsky, Serska oblast, 5-6, speaks of Helen's philhellenism and how she tried to imitate Byzantine prototypes. He refers to the Greek inscription over her portrait of Lesnovo (Dušan's inscription is in Slavic). See N. Okunev, "Lesnovo," Recueil Uspensky, I 2 (1930), 222, 263, and S. Radojčić, Portreti, 55ff., and the portrait in Matejca. See also A. Solovjev, "Povelje cara Uroša u hilendarskom arhivu," Bogoslovlje, 2 (1927), no. 1, 256; no. 3, 290-1.

42. Cantacuzenus, III, 323, 13-5. Unfortunately, Cantacuzenus does not give us the name or any other information about this φερῶν ἀρχοντα.

43. Novaković, "Pšinjski pomenik," 9.

44. Cantacuzenus, III, 317, 8ff.

45. Monumenta Ragusina, II, 293. Cf. C. Jireček, Geschichte, I, 414.

46. Cantacuzenus, III, 360-1; Jireček, "Zur Würdigung," 256, n. 2; Ostrogorsky, History, 479; see also Zakythinus, Crise, 127.

47. Cantacuzenus, III, 360, 21ff. See also the Βραχέα

Xpovixá (ed. S. Lampros and C. Amantos). 89, no. 52:

"And toward the beginning of the second indiction [1 September 1363 to 31 August 1364] Patriarch Callistus went to Serbia as ambassador and there he died. With him died also the officials of the church who accompanied him." According to another brief chronicle of the same collection, the embassy left Constantinople on 20 July 1363. (Ibid., 81, 47). Still another (ibid., 31, no. 15) states that Patriarch Callistus left Constantinople two years after the second outbreak of the Black Death in September 1361. There is a reference to Callistus's embassy also in a synodic act of 1365 (Miklošich and Müller, Acta et Diplomata, I, 475ff.) and in the confession of monk Paul Tagares (ibid., II, 266ff.) Callistus was the leader of the party in Constantinople which sought to unite the Orthodox peoples of the Balkans against the Turks; another party under the leadership of Demetrius Cydones favored an alliance with the Latins. (See O. Halecki, Un empereur de Byzance à Rome (Warsaw, 1930), 77-8). When exactly Callistus died is not known but it is certain that he was dead by October 8, 1364, when Patriarch Philotheus was elected to succeed him. (Miklošich and Müller, Acta et Diplomata, I, 448). Cf. Charanis, Βραχέα Χρονικά, 351-2. On Callistus, see also V. Mošin, "Kallist," 192-206.

48. Cantacuzenus, III, 361, 15-7.

49. E, Kourilas and F. Halkin, "Deux Vies de S. Maxime le Kausokalybe, ermite au Mont Athos (XIVe siècle)," AnalBoll, 54 (1936), 48, 94, 106, n. 2.

50. See Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, 211.

51. According to S. Novaković (Srbi i Turci, 137), Uglješa was Empress Helen's vassal. In a document of the church tribunal of Serres, dated October 1366, Empress Elizabeth (Helen) is not mentioned at all, as in a previous document of the same tribunal dated August 1365 (Petit and Regel, Actes d'Esphigmenou, 37ff.), but Despot Uglješa is explicitly mentioned (Petit and Korablev, Actes grecs de Chilandar, 320). This is explained by G. Ostrogorsky (Serska oblast, 6) as meaning that in 1366 Uglješa ruled alone in Serres. G. Ostrogorsky (ibid., 7) concludes that Uglješa must have taken over the governorship of Serres in a peaceful way, not by usurpation.

52. C. Jireček, "Dohodak stronski, koji su Dubrovčani davali srpskome manastiru sv. Arhangjela Mihajila u Jerusalimu i povelje o njemu cara Uroša (1358) i carice Mara (1479)," Jagić-Festschrift (Berlin, 1908), 538. Cf. Jireček, "Spomenici srpski," 8b.

53. Petit and Korablev, Actes grecs de Chilandar, 330.

54. Danilo (ed. Daničić), 382. Cf. M. Lascaris, "Le patriarcat de Peć," 171-2. On the basis of Danilo's information, S. Novaković (Srbi i Turci, 139, note 1) wrote that "according to the text it seems to me that Empress Helen was at that time somewhere in Old Serbia, perhaps in one of the Nemanja possessions in the region of Prizren or Pristina."

55. The exact date of Helen's death was established by Dj. S. Radojčić from the ms. 510 in Hilandar. See his "Stare

srpske povelje i rukopisme knjige u Hilandararu, "Arhivist, 2, fasc. 2 (1952), 72.

56. Stojanović, Zapisi i natpisi, III, 68, 5003. Cf. R. Grujić, "Velika shima kneginje Milice, udovice Lazareve," GlSkND, 11 (1932), 239. According to a Rodosloviya serbskih carei (Glasnik, 21 [1864], 250), three years after her son's death the Empress Elizabeth (Helen) died in the monastery of Bogorodica in the Skoplje region. Du Cange (Familiae byzantinae [Venice, 1729], 229 erroneously placed her death in 1371, without any reference to sources. It is interesting to note that the head of the empress was among the relics of the Savina monastery near Herceg Novi. (See Lj. Stojanović, op. cit., II, 196, no. 3140).

57. In the National Library at Athens there are three codices of Greek liturgical books written between 1360 and 1371, probably by an Athonite monk, for Empress Elizabeth (Helen), as certain notices in them indicate. We have no information as to what she intended to do with these codices. There is a possibility that she wanted to present them to a certain Greek monastery. Perhaps she ordered them for her own private library, following a common practice among Serbian and Bulgarian rulers of that time. (See L. Politis, "Griechische Handschriften der serbischen Kaiserin Elizabeth," BSlav, 2 (1930), 288ff.; and idem, "Paläographische Miscellen vom Heiligen Berg," BZ, 50 [1957], 312ff.). Elizabeth (Helen) seems to have been anti-Catholic if we judge from what Orbini (op. cit., 261) says: "Helena, donna peruersa, che odiaua molto i catholici, spogliasse di tutti gli ori, & argenti con altre cose preciose, le Chiese, & Monasterij, ch'erano de' Latini nelle du Zente." Cf. ibid., 265, 355. Also see Du Cange, Familiae byzantinae (Venice, 1729), 229: "tot scelerum vix poenitens miserandam afflavit animam." In the monastery of St. John at Menoikeion there is a portrait of the empress with Dušan. (See E. Cousinery, Voyage dans la Macédoine [Paris, 1831], I, 220-1; Papageorgiou, Ατ Σέπυατ, 313). For other portraits of the empress, see S. Radojčić, Portreti, and the review by Dj. Bošković in GlSkND, 15-6 (1936), 390-6.

58. Chalcocondyles (ed. Darkó), I, 25, 19-20.

59. On Vukašin and Uglješa, see also H. Grégoire, "Sur les premières chansons épiques des Yougoslaves," AIPHOS, 14 (1954-1957), 399-402.

60. Luccari, Copioso ritratto, 59, 99.

61. Orbini, Regno degli Slavi, 274. Later sources call the two brothers Mrnjavići. See Lj. Stojanović, Rodoslovi i letopisi, 54, no. 90; 119, no. 255. Cf. L. Mirković, "Mrnjavcevići," Starinar, 3rd series, 3 (1924-1925), 11-41; Lemerle and Solovjev, "Trois chartes," 136ff. We know also of Uglješa's sister Helen, who was buried with her two daughters in the chapel of St. Nicholas at the monastery of St. John at Menoikeion. See the text of the Greek inscription in Guillou, Les archives, 196; and more complete in Dj. Radojčić, "Grčki nadgrobní natpis Jelene, sestree despota Jovana Uglješa, i njenih dveju kćeri," Prilozi, 21 (1955), 125.

62. Chalcocondyles (ed. Darkó), I, 25, 20-1.

63. Monumenta Ragusina Libri Reformationum, I, 235. It seems that Uglješa was at that time governor of a territory near Ragusa. He was soon replaced, however, by Župan Stachinić. See C. Jireček, "Srpský cár Uroš, Kral Vlkasin a Dubrovčané," ČasMusKrČes, 60 (1886), 243. For the administration of eastern Macedonia under Uglješa (with many references to contemporary documents), see Lemerle, Philippe, 238-9.

64. G. Luccari, Copioso ristretto (ed. 1790), 99.

65. Stojanović, Zapisi i natpisi, I, 37, no. 97.

66. F. Rački, "Prilozi za zbirku srbskih i bosanskih listina," Rad, I (1867, 148. I. Ruvarac (O knezu Lazaru [Belgrade, 1887], 30) and Jireček ("Srpský cár Uroš," 243) seem to think that this document was written later, during Uroš's reign. The other magnates who are mentioned in this document are Caesar Vojihna, Prince Lazar, Vojevod Mircea, Radić Branković, Župan Nikola, and Radoslav Hlapen.

67. L. Stojanović, "Srpski rodoslovi," 12: Съ же Влькашнь съподоби се отъ ніего уѣсти деспотъскаго сана... по том же и вѣнчаваетъ іего... Cf. Novaković, Srbi i Turci, 144.

68. Ibid., 12-3: и възлагають на се вѣнць краліевства срѣбьскаго, братоу же своіеѹ Оугліешн вѣроуѹаютъ страны земліе грѹбьскіе съ саномъ деспотъскіе уѣсти. From Ragusan sources we learn that in November 1366 there came to Ragusa for the St. Demetrius tribute an embassy sent by Tsar Uroš (dominus imperator Sclavonie) and King Vukasın (dominus rex Sclavonie). See Monumenta Ragusina, Libri Reformatorium, IV, 69. On Saint Demetrius tribute, see M. Dinić, "Dubrovacki tributi," Glas, 168 (1935), 224ff.

69. Uglješa had undoubtedly assumed the title of despot before 1366, the year in which the oldest Serbian rodoslov places the event. (Stojanović, "Srpski rodoslovi," 13). This is indicated by a chrysobull of Uglješa for the monastery of Simopetra on Mount Athos issued in October 1363, in which he calls himself "despot of all Serbia and Romania." (G. Smyrnakis, Τὸ "Ἀγιοῦ Ὁποῦς [Athens, 1903], 93), and also by a decree of Uglješa, dated January 1366 and signed by Despot John Uglješa (Novaković, ZakSpom, 509-10), and before that by a chrysobull of Byzantine Emperor John V, dated September 1365, in which he refers to Uglješa as despot of Serbia (Actes Chilandar, no. 149, 1). See Ostrogorsky, Serska oblast, 6. Cf. Ferjancić, Despoti. It is interesting to note that the origin of the name of the region Dospat in southwestern Bulgaria goes back to the title of Despot Uglješa, who had ruled over these lands. (See Novaković, Srbi i Turci, 129).

70. East of Nestos (Mesta), because in two decrees in favor of Vatopedi, dated November 1369 and April 1371, John Uglješa granted privileges to the monastery at Lake Poros (κατὰ τὴν λίμνην τῆς Ποροῦς). Solovjev and Mošin (Grčke povelje, 280-8) locate Lake Poros in Thrace, southeast of Xanthe (see loc. cit., 533, Index). According to Lascaris's letter, however, it is Lake Boron (Porto Lago). See also Kyriakides, Βυζ. Μελ., 302, n. 1, and 327. See Lascaris, "Actes serbes," document about Porto Lago.

71. From a letter of Patriarch Philotheus (May 1371), in which he gives κατ' ἐπίδοσιν the metropolis of Philippi to the bishop of Drama, we learn that the lands between Drama and Philippi belonged to Uglješa. (Miklošich and Müller, Acta et Diplomata, I, 559). On the use of the term κατ' ἐπίδοσιν, see S. Salaville, "Le titre ecclésiastique de 'Proedros,'" EO, 29 (1930), 423. From another act of the patriarchate of Constantinople (May 1371), we learn that Uglješa had common boundaries with the Byzantines in the eastern part of his lands. (Miklošich and Müller, op. cit., I, 553). A document of Uglješa himself, dated March 1368, informs us that he had only recently acquired his authority over eastern Macedonia βλὸ τῆν ἐμὴν ἔξουσίαν ἀρτίως γεγόνασι. See Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 266. Lascaris, "Actes serbes," 177-8, document 3 and 4, show that "ἡ ἀλμυρῆ τῆς Ποροῦς" (Μποροῦ-Porto Lagos) was under Uglješa.

72. Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, 211.

73. As I have already mentioned, John Uglješa's wife was the daughter of the governor of Drama, Caesar Vojihna. See M. Veselinović, "Srpske kaludjerice," Glas, 80 (1909), 188ff.; L. Marković, Monahinja Jefimija (Sr. Karlovci, 1922). Apparently a remarkable woman of great culture, she is considered to be the first woman writer in Serbian literature. She is usually referred to by the monastic name Jefimija-Euphemia, which she assumed after her husband Uglješa's death. Their only son, called Uglješa Despotović, died as a child and was buried in the monastery of Chilandar. A Slavic inscription composed by Euphemia on a diptychon at the monastery of Chilandar informs us that her son's tomb, and also that of her father Vojihna is in this monastery (L. Mirković, "Ikonica sa zapisom monahinje Jefimije u Hilandaru," Godisnjica Nikole Čupića, 42 (1933), 45-9; Stojanović, Zapisi i natpisi, I, 45, no. 138). Cf. Despot Uglješa's chrysobull of 1371 for Chilandar, in which he writes that he had visited on Mount Athos the tombs of "his father the Caesar [Vojihna]" and of his son. (Korablev, Actes slaves de Chilandar, 532). According to Constantine the Philosopher, Euphemia lived later with Prince Lazar's widow, who was her relative, and became very useful to the Serbs because of her eloquence before Šultan Bayezid. (See V. Jagić, "Konstantin filosofof i njegov život Stefana Lazarevića despota srpskoga," Glasnik, 42 [1875], 266-7. Cf. Novaković, Srbi i Turci, 307ff.). In his life of St. Paraskeve, Grebory Camblak also mentions Euphemia and her trip with Prince Lazar's widow to Sultan Bayezid to obtain permission to transfer St. Paraskeve's relics to Belgrade. (See the text in Melhisédec, "Mitropolitul Grigorie Tsamblac, Viața și operele sale," Revista pentru istorie, arheologie și filologie, 2 [1884], 25). Euphemia is known also as an embroiderer. Besides the curtain (katapetasma) she presented to the monastery of Chilandar, which I have mentioned earlier in connection with her father Vojihna, she embroidered the pokrov (funeral cover) of Prince Lazar, known as "Pohvala knezu Lazaru" (Encomium to Prince Lazar). See the text in Monahinja Jefimija; La moniale Yefimia (Belgrade, 1936). On Euphemia's surviving embroidery works, see G. Millet, Broderies religieuses de style byzantine (Paris, 1947), and L. Mirković, Crkveni umetnički vez (Belgrade, 1940), and D. Stojanović, Umetnički vez u Srbiji od XIV do XIX veka (Belgrade, 1959). Finally, she is mentioned in a Greek inscription on an epitaphios at the monastery of Putna in Romania. See O. Tafrali, Le trésor byzantin et roumain du monastère de Poutna (Paris, 1925); L.

Mirković, "Srpska plaštanica monahinje Jefimije u manastiru Putni (Bukovina)," Starinar, 3rd series 2 (1923), 109-20; M. Lascaris, "A propos d'un épitaphios du monastère de Putna," RHSEE, 2 (1925), 356-61. See also V. Laurent, "La prétendue croix byzantine du trésor de Putna," Bulletin de la Section historique de l'Académie roumaine, 25 (1944), 71ff. (Appendix II: L'épitaphios des princesses serbes du trésor de Putna, 91-6).

74. A list of these nine documents of Uglješa is to be found in Lemerle and Solovjev, "Trois chartes," 139-41. Lemerle and Solovjev (loc. cit., 142ff.) are inclined to think that a prostagma in Greek for the monastery of Kutlumus, issued by a certain Vojevod Uglješa, belongs also to John Uglješa. Cf. Lemerle, Actes de Kutlumus, 231. We also know that Uglješa had delivered a Serbian chrysobull to the monastery of Laura in 1371, which has been either lost or not yet discovered. (See S. Binon, "Deux contributions importantes à l'histoire de la Sainte Montagne," RHE, 34 [1938], 313).

75. Chalcocondyles (ed. Darkó, I, 26, 21ff.), however, mentions open hostilities between Uglješa and the Byzantines, and if we are to believe the authorities of Orbini (Regno degli Slavi, 275), Uglješa had levied tributed upon the Greeks of Thessalonica and would have made himself master of the city, had his untimely death not occurred. In certain Byzantine sources Uglješa is mentioned simply as ὁ δεσπότης. (See Lampros and Amantos, Βραχέα Χρονικά, 37, 66). On Uglješa's attitude to Athonite monasteries, see Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, 211. Uglješa had the right of granting pronia.

76. Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 258ff. See M. Lascaris's remarks in "Actes serbes," 165.

77. Solvjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 262-4.

78. See an act of Patriarch Philotheus, dated May 1371: τοῦ εὐτυχεστάτου δεσπότητος τῆς Σερβίας, ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι ποθεινοτάτου υἱοῦ τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος, κϋρ 'Ιωάννου τοῦ Οὐγκλεση. Miklošich and Müller, I, 559). See also another act of Philotheus of the same date: ὁ εὐτυχεστάτος δεσπότης Σερβίας, κϋρις 'Ιωάννης ὁ Οὐγκλέης...ἄνθρωπος ὑπάρχων φρόνιμος καὶ καλός. (Ibid., I, 553).

79. On Uglješa's grants of lands to Athonite monasteries, see documents in Mošin, "Iz svetogorskih arhiva," 13ff.).

80. Lemerle, Actes de Kutlumus, 112.

81. Among the buildings Uglješa built on Mount Athos were the hospitals of the monasteries of Vatopedi and Esphigmenou. See Uglejša's chrysobull for the monastery of Simopetra (October, 1363) in Smyrnakis, "Ἄγιον Ὄρος," 93-4.

82. G. Smyrnakis, op. cit., 93-4. This document should be added to the collection of Greek acts of Serbian rulers published by A. Solvjev and V. Mošin.

83. G. Smyrnakis, op. cit., 93. Cf. ibid., 95-588. See also M. Gedeon, ὁ Ἄθος (Constantinople, 1885). According to the "Life of Saint Simon" (Νέον Λευμωνάρειον [Venice, 1819], 95),

Uglješa had a young daughter who was possessed. One day the demon in her spoke out and said to Uglješa, "You labor in vain, Emperor; I would not come out unless Simon comes from Mount Athos." Despot Uglješa then prayed and asked the intervention of Hosios Simon, who came and cured the young girl. As an appreciation of this miracle, Uglješa rebuilt and enlarged the small monastery of Simon on Mount Athos. For a similar tradition, see V. Barskij, Stranstvovanija po sviatym mestam vostoka, III (St. Petersburg, 1887), 356.

84. G. Smyrnakis, op. cit., 93ff.

85. In the old katholikos of the monastery of Simopetra was an icon of the Virgin that, according to its inscription, was presented by Despot Uglješa. The icon disappeared long ago. Smyrnakis, op. cit., 588; cf. G. Millet, J. Pargoire, and L. Petit, Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes du Mont Athos, I (Paris, 1904), 178, no. 525. For another inscription of Uglješa in the same monastery, see V. Barsky, op. cit., III, 356; cf. G. Millet, J. Pargoire, and L. Petit, op. cit., 179, no. 527.

86. See Uglješa's chrysobull for the monastery of Vatopedi, dated April 1371, in Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 286. This visit is mentioned also in another chrysobull of Uglješa for the monastery of Chilandar (1371). See Korablev, Actes slaves de Chilandar, 532; Novaković, ZakSpom, 445-6. Cf. Solovjev, "Povelje cara Uroša," 291-3.

87. According to a local tradition recorded by V. Barskij (op. cit., II, 356), Uglješa retired to the monastery of Simopetra, became a monk, and died there. G. Smyrnakis (op. cit., writes that after the battle of the Marica, according to local traditions, Uglješa's body was brought to Mount Athos and buried in Chilandar, where the base of his supposed tomb still exists. These traditions apparently confuse Uglješa with his son Uglješa "Despotović," who was buried in the monastery of Chilandar. (See Dj. Radojčić, "O jednom hilendarskom natpisu iz druge polovine XIV veka," Prilozi, 21 [1955], 123-4). Also according to local traditions, the mail coat, the arrows and the quiver to be seen in the library of the monastery of Chilandar belonged to Despot Uglješa. (See G. Smyrnakis, op. cit., 492).

88. Μετὰ τὸ ἀναιρεθῆναι τὸν δεσπότην Οὐγκλεσιν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, θρασυθέντες οἱ τοιαῦτοι Ἰσραηλίται συνῆξαν στόλον μέγαν πλοίων καὶ ἦλθον κατὰ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους καὶ κατὰ πάντων τῶν χριστιανῶν μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν τῶν Σερβῶν...., Vita of St. Niphon (fourteenth century, fl. 1360), ed. F. Halkin, AnalBoll, 58 (1940), 24; Cydones, PG CLIV, 962ff.; Jorga, GOR, I, 240.

89. The champion of this pro-Latin policy was the famous writer Demetrius Cydones. There is quite an extensive bibliography on Cydones listed in Loenertz, Receuil Cydonès, IX-X. Cf. also H.-G. Beck, "Die 'Apologia pro vita sua' des Demetrius Kydones," Ostkirchliche Studien, I (1952), 208-25, 264-82; Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur, 733-7.

90. See Lampros and Amantos, Βραχέα Χρονικά, 81, no. 47; cf. Charanis, Βραχέα Χρονικά, 339; cf. also Halecki, Empereur, 111ff.; Ostrogorsky, History, 479-80.

91. Lampros and Amantos, Βραχέα Χρονικά, 81, no. 47; cf.

Charanis, Βραχέα Χρονικά, 339; idem, "A Note on the Short Chronicle No. 45 of the Lampros-Amantos Collection, AIPHOSIS, 7 (1939-1944), 446-50. On the "conte verde," Amadeo VI of Savoy (1334-1383), see M. G. Canale, Della spedizione in Oriente de Amadeo di Savoia (Genoa, 1887); F. Bollati di Saint-Pierre, Illustrazioni della spedizione in Oriente: Amadeo VI (Turin, 1900); C. Kerophilas, Amadeo VI di Savoia nell'impero bizantino (Rome, 1926); F. Cognasso, Il Conte Verde (Turin, 1927), S. Georgiev, "Amadej VI Savojski zelenijat graf; Pohodite mu sreštu Černomorskoto krajbrežie," in Bŭlgarska istoričeska biblioteka, II, 4 (1929), 72-101. F. Thiriet, "Una proposta di lega antiturca tra Venezia, Genova e Bizanzio nel 1363," ArchStorItal, 113 (1955), 321-30. J.-J. Bouquet, "Remarques sur l'idée de croisade dans l'expédition d'Amadée VI de Savoie à Constantinple," Bulletin annuel Fondation Suisse, 7 (Paris, 1958), 17-33.

92. Cydones, Oratio alia deliverativa de non reddenda Gallipoli petente Amurate, in Patrologia Graeca (Συμβουλευτικὸς ἕτερος περὶ Καλλιπόλεως), CLIV, 1010-35; especially col. 1033: "But also envoys come from the Triballi, requesting to fight together against the common enemy, and asking for marriages and promising money by which they think they can move us. We must consider them as reliable allies, since they have been also harmed by the barbarians [sc. Turks]." Cydones himself had previously rejected any form of alliance with the Serbs and the other Balkan states and had advocated an alliance with the Latin West. (See PG, CLIV, 961ff.) But when conditions became more precarious, he urged the Byzantines to accept the Serbian proposals for a common fight against the Turks. According to P. Charanis ("Strife among the Palaeologi and the Ottoman Turks, 1370-1402" Byzantion, 16 [1942-1943], 297), Cydones delivered the above-mentioned speech against the Turks in 1377. Zakythinos, Crise, 124ff. On the date of Cydones Ρωμαίους συμβουλευτικὸς, see the important note in Zakythinos, Crise, 126, n. 3. "Ambassadeurs serbes et turcs à Constantinople: discours De non reddenda Gallipoli (été). Bataille de la Maritza, 26 sept. 1371," Loenertz, Recueils Cydonès, 112.

93. O. Halecki, op. cit., 163ff.; Vasiliev, "Il viaggio di Giovanni V Paleologo in Italia e l'unione di Roma del 1369," Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, 3 (1931), 153-92.

94. F. Dölger ("Johannes VII, Kaiser der Rhomäer, 1390-1408," BZ, 31 [1931], 22ff.; and later ibid., 33 [1933], 134ff., and 43 [1950], 441) and P. Charanis (Byzantion, 16 [1942-1943], 287ff.) have shown that Halecki's view (op. cit., 335ff.; "Two Palaeologi in Venice, 1370-1371," Byzantion, 17 [1944-1945], 331ff.) that John V's arrest in Venice was a later legend is erroneous.

95. See Uglješa's chrysobull for the monastery of Vatopedi (April 1371) in Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 286: θεεν καὶ ἡ βασιλεία μου τῇ ἐλπίδι αὐτῶν καυχωμένη καὶ ὄπλα κατὰ τῶν ἀθέων Μουσουλμάνων αὔρουσα δεῦν ξγνω, ἕνα καὶ πρὸς τὸ "Ἄγιον Ὄρος παραγίνηται καὶ ἀφοσιώσεται ταύτῃ τῇ Θεομήτορι τὰς ἐβχὰς καὶ τὴν δουλικτὴν προσκυνήσιν, κομίσηται δὲ παρ'αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἀβτῆς πλοῦδιον ἔλεος καὶ δι'αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ ἀβτῆς Λόγου καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

96. F. Rački, Rad I (1867), 148.

97. Monumenta Ragusina, III, 100. Cf. Jireček, "Srbský cár Uroš," 23-6, 241-5, 261. Jireček thinks that this Marko was Vukašin's son, later the famous King Marko. Lj. Kovacević (I po traći put Kralj Vukašin nije ubio cara Uroša [Belgrade, 1886], 13) and V. Ćorović (Narodna enciklopedija, II, 430; Prilozi, 4 [1925], 319) followed Jireček's view. I. Ruvarac, however, has questioned this view in his book, O knezu Lazaru, 121-2, and in a note in his own copy of Jireček's article, mentioned in Mirković, "Mrnjavčevići," 13, note 12. Finally, Kostić ("Kad je rođen Marko Kraljević, GlasSANCU, 171 [1936], 187) has pointed out with good reason that the Marko in question must be Marko Vukašinović.

98. Monumenta Ragusina, III, 192: 19 May 1362: "Prima pars est de mittendo Radosclavum Ćimblich ad Volchasinum et ad imperatricem veterem, cum illa commissione que videbitur." Cf. ibid., III, 193: 20 May 1362: "Prima pars est de dando Radosclavo Ćicurich pro equis et expensis ad eundum in Sclavoniam ad Volchasinum et ad Imperatricem veterem ducatos..."

99. Monumenta Ragusina, IV, 68. Cf. also Vukašin's chrysebull, issued at Skoplje in 1366, where he signs as краль Вълкашинъ влгвѣрны сръвлием и гръном and states that Christ appointed him ruler of the Serbian lands, the whole of Greece and of the littoral regiona, and of the whole West (Movaković, ZakSpom., 508-9).

100. Orbini, Regno degli Slavi, 269.

101. Jireček, Geschichte, I, 430.

102. Jireček, Staat und Gesellschaft, IV, 14-5; Mirković, "Mrnjavčevići," 14.

103. See Monumenta Ragusina, IV, 68-70. There is also a coin in the National Museum at Belgrade bearing on one side the inscription VROIVS [VROSIVS] I-MPERATOR, and on the other кр-ль (sc. Vukašin). See B. Saria, "Iz numismatičke zbirke Narodnog Muzeja u Beogradu," Starinar, 3rd series, 3 (1925). 82.

104. See Ivanov, Bŭlgarski starini, 70, no. 16; 118. no. 33; 119, no. 34; 129, no. 53. For other references to contemporary sources mentioning Vukašin as king, see Mirković, "Mrnjavčevići," 15-6, and V. Ćorović's review in Prilozi, 6 (1926), 135-6. Giovanni Musachi (Breve memoria, 281) says that an ancestor of his, Andrea II Musachi (d. ca. 1373), fought against Vukašin (il signor Andrea Mosachi secondo, lo quale fù Sevastro Crator, il quale combatti col Rè Vucasino ch'era Rè de Bulgaria e dominava quasi insino ad Adrianopoli et era sempre stato inimicissimo del Imperadore de Constantinopoli). King Vukašin seems to have enjoyed a certain recognition also in other parts of Western Macedonia. This seems to be the case in the region of Polog, where a certain Gregory ruled, and also in the region of Lake Prespa, where Caesar Novak ruled. For Gregory, see a contemporary ms. notice by a monk, Michael of Lesnica (Tetovsko), in Stojanović, Zapisi i natpisi, IV, 14, no. 6054, and also in Ivanov, Bŭlgarski starini, 90. The identification of this Gregory with Vuk Branković's brother, Gregory, whose father, Sebastocrator Branko Mladenović, had ruled over the region of Ohrid, seems plausible, but to identify them with Caesar Gregory, who appears in a Greek inscription dated 25 August 1361

as founder of the Zaum Monastery (Bogorodica Zahumska) near the lake of Ohrid, seems most unlikely. One must not overlook the fact that Gregory Branković is never called in the sources Caesar, but only gospodin (dominus). (See Novaković, ZakSpom, 425, 442, 460; Jorga, Notes et extraits, II, 63, no. 8). Dj. Radojčić (Enciklopedija Jugoslavije, II, 183a) expressed the opinion that the founder of Zaum must be identified with Gregory Golubić, who is mentioned as Caesar in a letter of Pope Clement VI, dated March 1347. (Theiner, MonHung, I, 734-5). For Novak, see the Greek inscriptions, dated 1369, in the church of Bogorodica on the island of Mali-Grad in Lake Prespa, where he, his wife, Caesarissa Kale, a Greek (according to Jireček, Geschichte, I, 433), his daughter Maria, and his son Amerales are mentioned. (I. Ivanov, op. cit., 59). P. Miljukov, "Hristianskija drevnosti," I, 70-1) is inclined to think that Caesar Novak might be identified with Novak "Pecija," mentioned in a chrysobull by Dušan from Prizren (ca. 1348); Lj. Kovačević suggested that he might be Novak Mrasorović, mentioned in two chrysobulls issued at Skoplje in 1368 by King Vukašin and Despot Uglješa respectively, although these two Novaks may very well be one and the same person. Amerales apparently succeeded his father as ruler of the same region. A Greek inscription dated 1390 over the entrance of the church of Spas ('Ανάληψις) at Emporia (Borija), near Korytsa, informs us that the church was founded during the rule of Amerales. (P. Miljukov, loc. cit., 74, and H. Gelzer, "Byzantinische Inschriften aus Westmakedonien," Mitteilungen d. Deutschen Archeol. Inst., Athen Abt. 27 [1902], 442, where it is more fully edited). Lj. Kovačević (P. Miljukov, loc. cit., 71) was tempted to associate Amerales with Myrsiotes Amyrakles of the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" (ed. Cirac Estopanān, 40) but any association between the two names seems to me unconvincing. In the church of Παναγίας 'Ελεούσης in Megale Prespa there is a founder's inscription (κτιτορικὴ ἐπιγραφή): 'Ανηγέρθη κ(αὶ) ἀνηστορίθει ὁ Θεῖος κ(αὶ) πάνσεπτος ναδς τῆς βπεραγί(ας) δεσποίνης ἡμ(ῶν) Θε(οτόκου κ(αὶ) δειπαρθένου Μαρί(ας) διὰ συνδρομῆς κόπου τε κ(αὶ) ἐξόδου τοῦ τιμιοτάτου ἐν ἱερομονάχ(οις) κυρ(ίου) Σάβα κ(αὶ) κυρ(ίου) 'Ιακώβου κ(αὶ) Βαρλαάμ τ(ῶν) κτητόρον Αὐθέωτης ὁ Βλουκασῖνος ἐπὶ ἔτους, ρηιή (1410) [Miljukov, 62] S. Pelekanides, Βυζαντινὰ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Πρέσπας, Thessalonica, 1960, 125. On the Marnjavčevići (etymology of name from 'Αμιράλη, etc.), see H. Grégoire, "Sur les Premières chansons épiques des Yougoslaves," AIPHOSIS, 14 (1954-1957), 399ff.

105. The Ragusans paid two annual taxes (tributa) to the Serbs: (1) The "tributum S. Demetrii" (in Slavic documents, dohodak na Dmitrov dan), which consisted of an annual payment of 2,000 hyperperi on St. Demetrius's day; (2) the "tributum Stagni" (Ston) or the "tributum Pasche," which consisted of an annual payment of 500 hyperperi on Easter for the separation of Ston from the Serbian monastery of Archangel in Jerusalem and its donation to Ragusa (1350) by Dušan. See Jireček, "Srbský cář Uroš," 12, and his article "Dohodak stonski," 527ff. Cf. M. Dinić, "Dubrovački tributi," Glas, 168 (1935), 203ff.

106. See Jireček, "Srbský cář Uroš," 253ff., with reference to documents he used from the Ragusan archives.

107. Miklošich, MonSerb, 179ff. This document is preserved in the archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences. See a photograph of it in L. Mirković, "Mrnjavčevići," 17. For

Vukašin's other children, see L. Mirković, *ibid.*, 26. For his wife, see also V. Čorović's review of L. Mirković's article in Prilozi, 6 (1926), 136. Andrew, the second son of Vukašin, is mentioned in an inscription in the church of St. Andrew, which he founded on Treska near Skoplje in 1389. See V. Petković, "Jedna srpska slikarska škola XIV v.," GlSkND, 3 (1928), 51-66.

108. See the Ragusan document dated 6 August 1399, published in part by C. Jireček, "Srbský cár Uroš, 273, note 132. Cf. Jireček, Geschichte, I, 430.

109. See Dinić, O Nikoli Altomanoviću.

110. Monumenta Ragusina, IV, 120, 121.

111. Ibid., IV, 127.

112. Uglješa appears as the originator of the future campaign in the monk Isaias's well-known account of the battle of the Marica. See F. Miklošich, Chrestomathia Palaeoslovenica (Vienna, 1854), 74. See also the Bulgarian chronicles, published by J. Bogdan ("Ein Beitrag," 528), where it is explicitly stated that the assault came from the Serbian side.

113. See Cydones, PG, CLIV, c. 1033.

114. Miklošich and Müller, Acta et Diplomata, I, 553; Halecki, Empereur, 235-60; Lascaris, "Actes serbes," 168-9.

115. Today, Černomen is Ormenion in Greek Thrace. The Byzantine historians called it Τζερνομιάνου (Cantacuzenus, I, 191, 13) or Τζερνομιανόν (Chalcocondyles, ed. Darkó, I, 29, 9). For Slavic sources on battle of the Marica, see I. Dujčev, "La conquête turque et la prise de Constantinople dans la littérature slave contemporaine," BSlav, 14 (1953), 21, 49ff.

116. The exact date is given by a number of small Serbian chronicles. Stojanović, "Srpski rodoslovi," 65-6. See also the chronicles published by Bogdan, "Ein Beitrag," 521, 528. Cf. Lj. Kovacević, "Nekoliko hronoloških ispravaka," Godišnjice Nikole Čupića, 3 (1879), 403ff., where the problem of the date of the battle of the Marica is thoroughly studied. P. Tomac's study "Bitka na Marici 1371," Vojnoistoriski glasnik, 7 (1956), 61-74, was not accessible to me. Cf. G. Škrivanić, "Bitka na Marici (26 septembra 1371. godine)," Vojnoistoriski glasnik, 1963, no. 3, 71-94. For the importance of the battle of the Marica to Byzantium, see Ostrogorsky, History, 482; *idem*, "Byzance, État tributaire de l'Empire turc," ZRVI, 5, 49ff.; Zakythinos, Crise, 125-6.

117. The account of the battle of the Marica by the monk Isaias mentions that Greek troops participated: и повиж деспотъ Углеша всѣхъ сръскихъ и гръцьскихъ вох. (Stojanović, Zapisi i natpisi, III, 43; I. Ivanov, Bŭlgarski starini, 226; cf. M. Lascaris, "Actes serbes," 169, note 16. Ostrogorsky, "État tributaire," 51, n. 8. P. Lemerle (Philippe, 214), commenting on the participation of the Byzantines in the battle of the Marica, writes: "It is possible that a small Greek contingent took part in the battle of the Marica, but some other indications make one think that between the two, the Serbs and the Turks,

Byzantium was rather more favorably inclined to the Turks, thus for some immediate benefit sacrificing the future." Halecki, Empereur, 246, is of the opinion that the Byzantines had delivered Gallipoli (which in 1367 had been restored to the Byzantines by Amadeo of Savoy) to the Turks on the eve of the battle of the Marica. This event seems, however, to have taken place in 1377. See Cydonès, Correspondance, ed. G. Cammelli (Paris, 1930), 59, 16. Cf. P. Charanis, "Strife among the Palaeologi and the Ottoman Turks, 1370-1402," Byzantion, 16 [1942], 298) who discusses the reasons for the failure of the Greeks to cooperate with the Serbs against the Turks; on the basis of a short chronicle (published in S. Lampros and C. Amantos, Βραχέα Χρονικά, 77, no. 45, 6), Charanis puts the surrender of Callipolis in 1377. R. J. Loenertz (Recueils Cydonès, 114) puts it, on the basis of Cydonès's unpublished letters, in September 1376.

118. 26 September 1371: 'Ῥοσάτως καὶ ἡμέρα παρασκευῆ, ἐν τῷ -ς; ἔτος οἱ ἔσκοτώη ὁ Οὐγγελοσις, Loenertz, Cydonès. Correspondance, I, 175 (7) The Athonite traditions that Ugljesa died a monk in the monastery of Simopetra are not corroborated by any of our sources. In the sixteenth century, a tradition developed that Vukašin, having fled after the battle of the Marica, was killed by an unfaithful servant, Nikola Hersović, near a fountain at Harmanli (about twenty-eight kilometers from the battlefield at the Marica). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Vukašin's tomb was shown there. More recent local traditions of the area state that Ugljesa, not Vukašin, was killed by his servant while he was resting by a fountain. (See J. Tomić, "Motivi u predanju o smrti Vukašina," State po Slavjanovēdeniju, I [1904], 170-83). M. Urbini (Regno degli Slavi, 277) seems to have been influenced by this legend when he wrote that Vukašin was killed by Nikola Harsojević near a fountain while he was drinking water. Also the Tronoški Rodoslov (Glasnik, 5 [1853], 76-7) mentions that Vukašin was killed by his servant Arsoje or Arsenije. This name is apparently a corrupt form of the name Harsojević. On the legendary accounts about Vukašin's tomb at the Markov Monastery, see Mirković, "Mrnjavčevići," 21ff. Ugljesa's tomb is mentioned in the autumn of 1682 by Patriarch Arsenius III (see J. Radonić, Rimska kurija i Južnoslovenske Zemlje od XVI do XIX v. [Belgrade, 1950], 378). It is interesting to note that in a funeral inscription of a tomb at Markov Monastery one reads Ugljesa's name. Dj. Bošković ("Nekoliko natpisa i zapisa," Starinar, 3rd series, 13 [1938], 213), who published the inscription, suggests a connection with Vukašin's brother. Finally, according to other legendary accounts, the bodies of the two brothers were not found after the battle of the Marica. (See Jireček, Geschichte, I, 437-8). The tradition that Vukašin had killed Tsar Uroš in 1366 and then assumed the title of king and ruled over Serbia had been proven false. (See Jireček, "Srbský cár Uroš," 275-6). We know, for instance, that the Jerusalemite monk Roman Prkosa (Romanus Pricossa) came to Ragusa in 1371 to receive the "tributum Stagni" with the consent of the "imperator Rassie." This indicates clearly that Uroš was still alive in 1371. The document was published for the first time in Jireček, loc. cit., 265. Cf. Jireček, "Dohodak stonski," 540-1. Uroš's death is explicitly placed by a short Serbian chronicle on 4 December 1371. This chronicle has been published by V. Jagić, "Ein Beitrag zur serbischen Annalistik mit literaturgeschichtlicher Einleitung," ASPh, 2 (1877), 108.

For that short chronicle, see additional notes in section on sources from J. Bogdan's article, ASPh, 13, 482. Other chronicles place the event on 2 December or 9 December, but always on Thursday. (See Lj. Stojanović, "Srpski rodoslovi," 66). All this evidence suffices to show not only that Uroš was not killed by Vukašin, but also that he even survived him. The legend, however, seems to have entered the Serbian chronicles and rodoslovs toward the middle of the fifteenth or in the sixteenth century. See Glasnik, 53 (1883), 39, 66-7; Spomenik, 3 (1890), 105, 125, 154. The legend appears also in ms. no. 144 of the Savina Monastery. Both M. Orbinì and G. Luccari accepted it as historical fact. For the cult of Uroš as a martyr, which grew after his death, there is an article by T. Vukanović, "Kult cara Uroša," Hrišćiansko delo, 4 (1938), inaccessible to me. Cf. Ćorović, "Motivi u predanju," 190-5.

119. See Pope Gregory XI's letter to King Louis of Hungary, dated May 1372, in Theiner, MonHung, II, 115.

120. Ibid., II, 130. In the letter of Pope Gregory XI to King Louis of Hungary, dated 13 November 1372, we read the following: "quod impii Turchi hostes sacris nominis christiani contra nonnullos magnates and populos partium Grecie, Walachie et Regni Rascie obtinuerant grandem victoriam et terris fidelium nimium aporpinquabant... Nuper autem lacrimabili esoposicio Venerabilis fratris nostri Francisci Archiepiscopi Neopatreusis...dolenter audivimus quod ipsorum Turchorum tanta copia de suis finibus est agressa...et sic prevaluerunt, quod nonnullos populos dictarum patrium...usque prope fines... principatus Achaie et ducatus Athenarum...subiugarunt, et tenent astrictos sub sua miserabili servitudine." Thebes was chosen for the assembly for its central location (ad civitatem Thebanam...magis quam alius locus reputatur accommoda...). Cf. ibid., II, 155.

121. See F. Gregorovius, Geschichte der Stadt von Athen im Mittelalter, II (Stuttgart, 1889), 164ff. Also K. M. Setton, Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388 (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), 77.

122. O. Rinaldi, Annales ecclesiastici ad anno 1372, VII, 225-5; P. Girolamo Golubovich, Biblioteca bio-bibliographica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Franceseano, V (Florence, 1927), 186-7.

123. See Prostagma of Manuel II (1408), ed. Mošin, "Iz svetogorskih arhiva," 165-7, speaking explicitly about the collapse of defense in Macedonia after Uglješa's death and the confiscation of monastic lands for pronouia. See also Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, 161-3. On the confiscation of monastic properties mentioned in Manuel's documents, see Ostrogorsky, History, 482. Idem, Féodalité, 291, n. 1.

124. Ostrogorsky, History, 482, n. 1. "The government of Thessalonica and the conquests in Macedonia were then solemnly passed to Manuel for his life; cf. the proemium to the chrysobull drawn up by D. Cydones, ed. Zachariä v. Lingenthal, S.B. Prus. Ak. 1888, II, 1417ff."

125. The Serbian chronicle published by V. Jagić ("Ein Beitrag zur serbischen Annalistik mit literaturgeschichtlicher

Einleitung," ASPh, 2 [1877], 108) states explicitly that Tsar Uroš died on 4 December 1371. See supra, note 118.

126. First published by P. N. Papageorgiou, BZ, 3 (1894), 316, n. 2: ἔτει ςωπ' Ἰνδικτιῶνος ι' μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ [1371] εἰσήλθεν ὁ εὐτυχέστατος Δεσπότης εἰς τὰς Ἔρας (sic), ἐπαράλαβεν ἐβδοκοῦντος Θεοῦ τὴν ἀθῆνταιαν. [ἡλίῳ κύκλῳ κ' καὶ [σελήνης] β'. Cf. also R. J. Loenertz, "Manuel Paléologue et Démétrius Cydonès," EO, 36 (1937), 278; P. Lemerle, Philippes, 214ff. Alexis and John, founders of the Athonite monastery of Pantocrator, are mentioned in "Vita St. Niphon (fl. 1360)," AnalBoll, 58 (1940), 24-5. In documents of the monastery of the Pantocrator there is express testimony to the fact that it was founded by the megas strategedarches Alexios Comnenos and his brother, the megas primicerios John, in 1357. See Actes du Pantocrator, ed. L. Petit, II, 5ff. (1357) and III, 32 (1358). See also the will of John (Comnenos) of 1384: Actes du Pantocrator, VI, 25ff. See M. Gedeon, 'Ο Ἄθως (Constantinople, 1885), 183; Smyrnakis, "Ἄγιον Ὄρος, 503; and Lemerle, Philippes, 207.

127. Zakythinios, Crise, 123ff. Manuel II's prostagma (1408) says that to a large extent, the Macedonian lands after the death of Uglješa became pronoia (Mošin, "Iz svetogorskih arhiva," 165).

128. K. E. Zachariae von Lingenthal, "Prooemien zu Chrysobullen von Demetrius Cydones," Sitzungsberichte der Kön. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Jahrgang 1888, II, 1421. For the problem of the chronology of this chrysobull, see idem, 1416; O. Halecki, op. cit., 247-8.

129. Guillou, Les archives, 155. Cf. Phrantzes, 47, 12; Chalcocondyles (ed. Darkó). I, 33, 3ff.; 42, 9. Cf. also F. Taeschner and P. Wittek, "Die Vezirfamilie der Ğandarlyzade (14/15 Jahdt.) und ihre Denkmäler," Der Islam, 18 (1929), 72, note 1. For a contrary view, see G. T. Dennis, The reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387 (Rome, 1960), 67-8; G. Ostrogorsky, "La prise de Serrès par les turcs," Byzantion, 35 (1965), 316-7.

130. See Lampros and Amantos, Βραχέα Χρονικά, no. 16, 5; no. 20, 4; no. 21, 5; no. 22, 1; no. 28, 23; no. 32, 1; no. 48, 9. Cf. S. Lampros, 'Ισιδώρου ἐπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης ὀκτὼ ἐπιστολαὶ ἀνέκδοτοι, Νέος Ἑλλ., 9 (1912), 403, note 3; Loenertz, "Manuel Paléologue," 278, 478; Lemerle, Philippes, 217-8. See B. Laourdas's edition of the homilies of Isidore, 'Ισιδώρου, ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης, ὁμιλίαι εἰς τὰς ἑορτὰς τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου (Thessalonica, 1954); A. Vakalopoulos, Ὁ θερμοσιευμένες ὁμιλίαι τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης 'Ισιδώρου ὡς ἱστορικὴ πηγὴ γιὰ τὴ γνῶση τῆς πρώτης Τουρκοκρατίας στὴ πρώτη Τουρκοκρατία στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη (1387-1403), Makedonika, 4, 20-34.

131. Two Athonite documents may suffice to illustrate this event. They are dated 1373 and 1375 and refer to lands in the region of Kalamaria in Chalcidice and the Strymon area, "which were only recently recovered by the Byzantines along with other territories." See Chr. Ktenas, Χρυσόβουλλοι λόγοι τῆς Μ. Δοχειαρίου, Ἐπ. Ἑτ. Βυζ. Σπ., 4 (1927), 301, 29ff.; and Lemerle, Actes de Kutlumas, 128, 11ff. Cf. Lemerle, Philippes, 215ff.

132. On the two brothers, see Petit, Actes du Pantocrator, VIIff.; Lemerle, Philippes, 208ff. Originally, Alexius's name appears with the title of grand primicerius and that of John with the title of protosebastus. (G. Thomas and R. Predelli, Diplomatarium Veneto-levantinum, II, 166-7; John's act is dated March 1357. Cf. K. Mertzios, Μνημεῖα Μακεδ. Ἱστορίας [Thessalonica, 1947], 24). In February 1358 we find Alexius with the title of grand primicerius. (W. Regel, E. Kurtz, and B. Korablev, Actes de Zographou, 945, no. 40), μέγας πρωμικῆρος Ἰωάννης μέγας στρατοπεδάρχης Ἀλεξίου. On John and Alexius, see the Vatopedi document (1366) in Mošin, "Iz svetogorskih arhiva," 158, n. 16, 160, 161.

133. Thomas and Predelli, Diplomatarium Veneto-levantinum, II, 166-7.

134. Miklošich and Müller, Acta et Diplomata, I, 476. The two brothers are referred to in this document as τῶν Ἀλεξίων. Petit (Actes du Pantocrator, IX) has proved that this word is an erroneous reading of the two words Ἀλεξίου καὶ Ἰωάννου.

135. Cf. the testament by John (1354) in Actes du Pantocrator, VI, 25 καξ. P. Lemerle (Philippes, 209) has convincingly argued that it was John who survived Alexius and not the opposite, as stated in the document published by Thomas and Predelli, Diplomatarium Veneto-levantinum, II, 165-6.

136. On Dejan, see J. Ivanov, "Starinski ćurkvi v jugo-zapadna Bŭlgarija," Izvestija na Bŭlgarskoto arheologičeskoto družestvo, 3 (Sofia, 1912-1913), 64ff. Dujčev, Iz starata bŭlgarska knižnina, 285, 420. M. Rajičić, "Sevastokrator Dejan," IstG1 (1953), pt. 3-4, 17-28. M. Purković, "Theodora fille d'Étienne Decanski," BZ, 45 (1952), 45.

137. On the Dejanović family, see S. Novaković, Srbi i Turci, 131ff.; J. Hadži-Vasiljević, Dragaš i Konstantin Dejanovići (Belgrade, 1902); M. Rajičić, "Osnovno jezgro države Dejanovića," Istčas, 4 (1952-1953), 227-43; Ostrogorsky, Serska oblast, 20-3. See also the inscription in S. Pelekanides, Βυζαντινὰ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Πρέσπας (Thessalonica, 1960). For a genealogical table of Dejanović family, see C. Jireček, "Die Witwe und die Söhne des Despoten Esau von Epirus," BNJbb, 1 (1920), 6.

138. Arh. Leonid, "Stara srpska pisma," Glasnik, 24 (1868), 249ff., 253ff.; Miklošich, MonSerb, 190ff.; Novaković, ZakSpom, 452ff., 765ff.; Korablev, Actes slaves de Chilandar, 535ff. It is interesting to note that the city of Velbužd and its region were known up to the end of the fifteenth century also as the "land of Constantine" (Zemlja Konstantinova). In the sixteenth century the city, which has hot springs, was also called "the baths of Constantine" (Konstantinova banja), from which the Turkish name of the city Kyustendil derives. See Constantine the Philosopher (ed. V. Jagić), "Život Stefana Lazarevića," Glasnik, 42 (1875), 303. Cf. C. Jireček, Das Fürstentum Bulgarien (Prague, 1891), 470ff.; idem, Geschichte, II, 106-7.

139. Cantacuzenus (II, 260, 23-4) informs us that Bogdan was John Oliver's brother. For sources confirming that Dejan was a brother of Bogdan and Oliver, see I. Ivanov, Sěverna

Makedonija (Sofia, 1906), 112. S. Novaković (Srbi i Turci, 132) originally held the view that Dejan was Oliver's brother, but later (Glas, 78 [1908], 238-40, 246) he thought he was his son. N. Iorga, Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, I (Gotha, 1908), 234; Bogdan, "Ein Beitrag," 528; see also Turkish sources: Sadeddin (d. 1599), translation in V. Bratutti, Chronica dell' origine progressione della casa Ottomana (Vienna, 1649) and Nesri (d. ca. 1520) in J. Leunclavius, Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum libri XVIII (Frankfurt, 1591), 262. For Constantine's lands, see also Constantine "Janisar" (Konstantin Mihailovich of Ostrovia, ca. 1435-ca. 1501) Pamietniki janiczara, ed. Jan Loś (Cracow, 1912), Serbian edition: Janicarove uspomene ili Turska hronika, translated by Dj. Živanović (Belgrade, 1959).

140. See Akty Russkago na Sv. Afonje monastyrja sv. velikomučenika i celitelja Panteleimona (Kiev, 1873), 369-77, 388-93. Novaković, Zakšpom, 452-7, 765-8; Korablev, Actes slaves de Chilandar, 536-8, 542-3; V. Laurent, "Un acte grec inédit du despot serbe Constantin Dragaš," REB, 5 (1947), 183-4. These are all written in Slavic, with the exception of the one published by Laurent. There is no indication in any of the contemporary sources that Gospodin Constantine held the title of despot as Laurent assumes.

141. S. Dimitrijević, "Nove vrste srpskog srednjovekovnog novca," Starinar, n.s. 9-10 (Belgrade, 1958-1959), 155.

142. See Saria, "Iz numizmatičke zbirke," 90.

143. See D. Anastasijević's three articles, "Jedina vizantiska carica Srpkinja," Brastvo, 30 (1939), 26-48; "Još jedna beseda povodom smirti Jelene Dragaš," ibid., 31 (1940), 78-84; "Treća posmrtna beseda Jeleni Dragaševoj i još nekoliko grčkih tekstova o Srbima," ibid., 32 (1941), 50-61, which gives all the biographical data on Helen Dragaš and Serbian translations of the funeral orations about her by George Scholarius, John Eugenicus, and George Gemistus Pletho. The ceremony of the marriage of Emperor Manuel II to Helen, which took place at the church of St. Sophia on 11 February 1392, is vividly described in the itinerary of Ignatius of Smolensk. See B. de Khitrowo, Itinéraires russes en Orient (Geneva, 1889), 143-9. The translator, however, incorrectly mentions this description as referring to Manuel's coronation ceremony. See also A. Christophilopoulou, 'Εκλογή, 202, note 3.

144. See Chalcocondyles (ed. Darkó), I, 45, 15. They acquired this name not from their mother's uncle John Dragaš, as D. Anastasijević (Brastvo, 30 [1939], 31) thought, but from their maternal grandfather Constantine, who appears also in the sources as Dragaš (Δραγάσης or Δράγας). See Phrantzes, 58, 9; Stojanović, Zapisi i natpisi, III, 70, no. 5009; V. Mosin, "Krst carice Jelenem kćeri kneza Dragaša," Umetnički pregled, 1 (1937-1938), 136-7.

145. Miklošich and Müller, Acta et diplomata, II, 260ff.

146. Chalcocondyles (ed. Darkó), I, 25, 17-9. The same source (I, 34, 25ff., 45, 16) informs us that after the battle of the Marica, Bogdan was reduced to vassalage along with the other Serbian rulers in Macedonia. As I have mentioned elsewhere, Cantacuzenus (II, 260, 23-4) informs us that Bogdan was John

Oliver's brother, and he was in Dušan's court in 1342. S. Novaković (Srbi i Turci, 192) thinks that the despot mentioned in Jagić (ed. "Stefan Lazarević," 303) is undoubtedly Bogdan Chalcocondyles (ed. Darkó, I, 166, 18; 167, 12) mentions Bogdan also in connection with later events (1410-1413). The name of Bogdan has entered Serbian folk poetry as Jug-Bogdan. See Novaković, Srbi i Turci, 135.

147. See Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" (ed. Cirac Estopaňan), 38, 39. On the basis of a document by Nicholas Bagas Baldovin, which I discuss below (see note 148), one may conclude that Hlapen ruled also over Kastoria for a while, since he had rebuilt the monastery of Mesonesiotissa at Kastoria and granted to it property located in the city itself. See M. Lascaris, "Deux chartes de Jean Uroš," Byzantion, 25-27 (1955-1957), 320. According to a contemporary notice (1371-1394) by the scribe Dobre, Hlapen's daughter was married to the famous Marko Kraljević, who later divorced her for her unbecoming behavior. The same notice informs us that Hlapen had married Theodora, the wife of a certain Gregory, who was living with Marko Kraljević, before she was married to Hlapen. (Stojanović, Zapisi i natpisi, I, 58, no. 189). Theodora's former husband must be identified with Gregory Branković (see Jorga, Notes et extraits, II, 63, no. 8; [Theodora] uxor quondam domini Gregorii Branković, fratris sepedicti domini Volch). From the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" (ed. Cirac Estopaňan, 38) we learn that Hlapen married again, this time to the widow of Caesar Preljub. On Hlapen, see also S. Novaković, Stara srpska vojska. Istorijske skice iz dela "Narod i zemlja u staroj srpskoj državi" (offprint from Ratnik, Belgrade, 1893), 87, 141. Hlapen is also mentioned in a document dated 1385. Cf. J. Müller, "Historische Denkmäler in der Klöstern des Athos," Slavische Bibliothek oder Beiträge zur slavischen Philologie und Geschichte (ed. F. Miklosich), I (1851), 167.

148. Published by Eulogius Hagiopaulites, Τὰ κειμήλια τοῦ Ἀγίου Ὁρους: Ἀποκρατορικὰ χρυσόβουλλα, Νέα Ἐποχή, I (1924-1925), 726-7; also from a photographic copy from Sevastjanov's collection by A. P. Kazhdan, "Dva pozdnevizantijskih akta iz sobranija P. I. Sevanstjanova," VizVrem, 2 (1949), 317-20. Cf. S. Binon, Les origines légendaires et l'histoire de Xéropotamon et de Saint-Paul de l'Athos (Louvain, 1942), 185, 260ff., 265ff. M. Lascaris (Byzantion, 25-27 [1955-1957], 320) has successfully identified "Župan Nicholas," mentioned by Chalcocondyles (ed. Darkó, I, 25, 23) as ruler of the region between Trikkala and Kastoria, with Nicholas Bagas Baldovin. N. K. Moutsopoulos: Καστοριά; Παναγία ἡ Μαυριώτισσα (Athens, 1967).

149. See C. Vlachos, Ἡ Χερσονήσος τοῦ Ἀγίου Ὁρους (Volos, 1903), 270; cf. Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, 129; Binon, op. cit., 260ff. Antony (Arsenius) Bagas (Παρασής) is also mentioned in a 1405 chrysobull of Emperor John VII Palaeologus (see the text in Binon, op. cit., 284-6; and Kazhdan, VizVrem, 2 [1949], 314-5) and in an Athonite document, dated November 1399 (Lj. Stojanović, "Stari srpski hrisovulji i dr.," Spomenik, 3 [1890], 49-50; cf. V. Laurent, "Xeropotamon et Saint-Paul," RHSEE, 22 [1945], 282). S. Binon, op. cit., passim, has gathered all the evidence about Antony. On Antony's personality and the role he played on Mount Athos during the Serbian domination, see S. Binon, op. cit., 183ff., especially

192. On the relations of the Serbian princes with St. Paul and Xeropotamou, see also the additional remarks in V. Laurent, "Xeropotamou et Saint-Paul; histoire et légende à l'Athos," RHSEE, 22 (1945), 281ff.

150. The older literature on Marko Kraljević is mentioned by Velko Iordanov, Kralj Marko v bulgarskata narodna epika in Sbornik na bulgarskoto knižovno družestvo v Sofija, 1 (Sofia, 1901). See also the four-volume work by M. Halanskij, Južno-slavjanskija skazanija o Kraljeviče Marke s svjazi s proizvedenijam i ruskago bylevogo eposa (Warsaw, 1893-1896); cf. the review by I. Stefanovskij, Russkij bylevoj epos v novom osvješćenii (offprint from Filologiceskie Zapiski, Voronež, 1896). Cf. V. Iordanov, Kralj-Marko, Istoriko-literaturen pregled (Sofia, 1916); S. Stojković, Kraljević Marko, literarno istraživanje uzroka njegove slave i popularnosti u srpskom narodu (Belgrade, 1907), and his later book Kraljević Marko (Novi Sad, 1922); N. Tomić, Istorija u narodim epskim psemama o Marku Kraljeviću (Belgrade, 1909); [M. Vukičević], Kraljević Marko in Istoriska biblioteka Nestora Letopisca (Belgrade, [1924]); M. Arnaudov, Kralj-Marko v narodnata poesija (Sofia, 1918); O. Stjepan Grčić, Kraljević Marko (Split, 1932); N. Banasević, Ciklus Marka Kraljevica i odjeci francusko-talijanske viteške knjizevnosti (Skoplje, 1935). Cf. also D. Kostić, "Kad je rođen Marko Kraljević?" GlassAN[U], 171 (1936), 179-90; J. Radonić, O Marku Kraljeviću, in Slike iz istorije (Belgrade, 1938). A. Vaillant, "Marko Kraljević et son frère Andrijaš," AIPHOS, 9 (1949), 569-75.

151. The argument of B. Saria ("Iz numismatičke zbirke," 75), that Marko had assumed the title of king before his father's death, fails to persuade me. From the similarity of the portrait of Christ on two coins from the Kičevo hoard that belong to Vukašin and Marko, as in the inscriptions indicate, he concluded that they were cast in the same mold; this, however, does not necessarily mean that they were issued at the same time.

152. See Iordanov, Kralj-Marko; cf. V. Jagić, "Kraljević Marko kurz skizziert nach der serb. Volksdichtung," ASP, 5 (1881), 452ff. From a report of the governor of Split to the Venetian senate in 1547 we learn that Marko's name had already entered the Serbian epic tradition: "e si parti del mezzo cantando in schiavone de re Marco, e tutto il popolo e circostanti hanno cantato con lui, come per un accordo fatto perche tutti sanno questa canzone." (V. Solitro, Doc. Stor. Venezia [Venice, 1844], 244; cf. Branko Vodnik, Narodne pjesme hrvatsko-srpske [Zagreb, 1909], 9.

153. See supra, note 97.

154. According to M. Vukičević (Kraljević Marko, 49-50), Marko's Prilep is not the same as present-day Prilep; rather, it lay a little northwest of it, where the village Varoš (sometimes Markova Varoš) is located today. Cf. Jireček, Geschichte, II, 104.

155. A good description and a plan of the "Markovi Kuli" can be found in Miljukov, "Hristianskija drevnosti," 121ff. Cf. Deroko, Srednjevekovni gradovi u Srbiji, 191-4; A. Deroko, "Markovi Kuli-Grad Prilep," Starinar, n.s. 5-6 (1954-55), 83-104.

156. The portrait has an inscription (P. Miljukov, loc. cit., 124ff.) which was read by I. Ivanov (Bulgarski starini iz Makedonija [2nd ed., Sofia, 1931], 70) as в(ѣ)рѣнь крѣл Марко (faithful Kral Marko). Cf. S. Novković, "Srpske starine po Makedoniji; Beleške s putovanja arh. Antonina od godine 1865," Spomenik, 9 (1891), 19ff.; Marković, Pravoslavno monaštvo, 119ff.; Mirković, Starinar, 3rd series, 3 (1925), 31-2, where also other inscriptions referring to Marko are mentioned.

157. According to an inscription of 1388 and 1389, this monastery was built by Marko's brother Andrew. Cf. Jireček, Geschichte, II, 105; Marković, Pravoslavno monaštvo, 120. I. Snegarov, "Iz starinite v Makedonija," Godišnik na Duhovnata Akademija Sv. Kliment Ohridski, 6 (32) (Sofia, 1956-1957), 396. The author makes some corrections to the reading of the inscription as published in Ivanov, Bulgarski starini, 129. It mentions "kralica Eleni Elisabeti" and also the metropolitan of Skoplje Ioan.

158. The building of this monastery began under Tsar Stephen but was completed under Vukašin and his son Marko. See L. Mirković and Z. Tatić, Markov Manastir (Novi Sad, 1925). Marko's name appears in an inscription at the monastery. (Ivanov, Bulgarski starini, 118-9).

159. See S. Ljubić, Opis jugoslavenskih novaca (Zagreb, 1875). See also N. Rajić, Illustrovani Katalog novaca srpskih Careva (Belgrade, 1940), 80-2.

160. Ivanov, Bulgarski starini, 39. For a portrait of Ostoja Rajaković and other information about him, see V. Petković, Stari srpski spomenici u Južnoj Srbiji (Belgrade, 1924), 35.

161. See contemporary ms. notice (1371-1394) in Stojanović, Zapisi i natpisi, I, 58-9, no. 189. M. Vukičević (Kraljević Marko, 52) thinks that the marriage took place after the battle of the Marica (1371). As far as I know, his opinion is not supported by any source.

162. Orbini, Regno degli Slavi, 290.

163. Giovanni Musachi, Breve memoria in Hopf, Chroniques gréco-romanes, 281.

164. See a Ragusan document (10 September 1372, first published by C. Jireček ("Srbský cár Uroš," 267, note 111): "determinatum fuit quod coracias III, que fuerunt donate Jure de Balsa, valloris librarum V de argento coracio siue panceria, per mercatores in Prisreno, quando dictur Jura cepit castrum dicti loci, debeant solui per capital domorum mercatorum, qui tunc habitabant in Prisreno, et hoc ad peitonem Dymitri de Benessa tamquam procuratoris Pocre de Benessa." (Div. Canc. 1376). Also M. Orbini (op. cit., 278) says that after Vukašin's death the Balšići took Prizren, Prince Lazar took Pristina and Novo Brdo, and Nikola Altomanović took certain other places: "Imperocche il Conte Lazaro prese loro Pristina, & Nouobardo, con molti altri luoghi vicini. Et dall'altra parte Nicolo d'Altomanno occupò tutto il paese, che coninaua con le sue terre. I figliuoli di Balsa, quantunque fussero loro parenti, leuarono pur loro dalle mani Prisiē, con molte altre regioni

vicine. Non starono ancora i Turchi d'impadronirsi di gran parte del paese, che tenevano in Romania."

165. See Vuk's act (dated 1377) by which he presented to Chilandar the monastery of St. George at Skoplje (Novaković, ZakSpom, 451). For the validity of certain views that Skoplje fell again into Marko's hands sometime between 1377 and 1392, see Dj. Radojičić, "Izbor patriarha Danila III i kanonizacija kneza Lazara," GlSkND, 21 (1940), 69, note 59; Ostrogorsky, History, 484-5.

166. See Vukićević, Kraljević Marko, 55.

167. See Jagić, ed., "Stefan Lazarević," 269-70. It seems that the date of the battle of Rovine (or of Arges) was not 10 October 1394, as formerly believed, but 17 May 1395. See Dj. Radojičić, "Jedna glava iz Života Stefana Lazarevića od Konstantina Filozofa," Hrišćanski život, 6 (1927), 138-44; "La chronologie de la bataille de Rovine," RHSEE, 5 (1928), 136-9; M. Dinić, "Hronika sen-deniskog kaludjera kao izvor za bojeve na Kosovu i Rovinama," Prilozi, 17 (1937), 51ff. Cf. the additional evidence by M. Purković, "Još o godini bitke na Rovinama," GlSkND, 21 (1940), 167. Radojičić and Dinić have conclusively proved that the battle took place on 17 May 1395, since this is, according to the sources, the date of the death of Constantine Dejanović, who fell in the fight. Babinger (Frühgeschichte der Türkenshaft, 15) supports the date of 10 October 1393 because he thinks that Bayezid conducted his campaign against Mircea in 1393, but in my opinion his arguments are not convincing. For Marko's tomb, see Babinger, Frühgeschichte der Türkenshaft, 15, 35; Mirković, "Mrnjačevići," 33ff.; Ostrogorsky, History, 489 and n. 3.

168. See Mirković, "Mrnjačevići," 35-41.

169. See Constantine the Philosopher, "Stefan Lazarević," 303. Constantine describes here events of c. 1413.

170. Cf. Novaković, Srbi i Turci, 192.

171. On the Balšići, see G. Gelcich, La Zedda e la dinastia dei Balšići (Spoleto, 1899).

172. Vuk Branković was the son of Sebastocrator Branko Mladenović, who ruled over Ohrid and was one of the most faithful magnates of Tsar Uroš. (See the 1365 document of Gregory and Vuk Branković in Novaković, ZakSpom, 442). Over what territory Vuk originally ruled is not clear. He appears, however, c. 1370 to have had authority over the Kosovo region, including Pristina, Trepča, Vučitrn, and Zvečan. After the death of King Vukasín he acquired Skoplje, which would indicate that he was not in good relations with King Marko, Vukasín's successor. Vuk Branković finally extended his rule over Prizren. A document of 1377 (Novaković, ZakSpom, 451-2) shows that Vuk was at that time in possession of Skoplje; another of 1387 shows that he controlled Pristina and had under his authority officials bearing the titles vojevod and čelnik. See Novaković, ZakSpom, 451, 203-5. Chalcocondyles (ed. Darkó, I, 49, 8-10) refers to Vuk as ruler of Kastoria and Ohrid. In another instance, however, the same author (I, 25, 22) confuses Vuk Branković with Branko Rastislalić's son Radić Branković, who

ruled in the region of Braničevo near the Danube. (See M. Dinić, "Ratislalići," ZRVI, 2 [1953], 143-4). Vuk Branković displayed great interest in Mount Athos, particularly in the Monastery of Chilandar and the Monastery of Kutlumus. (See B. Korabiev, Actes slaves de Chilandar, 528, 534, 545, 546, 550; Lemerle, Actes de Kutlumus, 112, 120, 136. Cf. Lemerle and Solovjev, "Trois chartes," 141-2). Vuk had married Prince Lazar's daughter Mara and fought on Lazar's side in the battle of Kosovo (1389). A few years later (1392) Vuk became a vassal of the sultan, paying tribute to the Turks, who had that year seized Skoplje. (See Vuk's decree dated 21 November 1392 and issued at Priština, in which he promises to pay tribute to the Turks. Novaković, ZakSpom, 459. The Turkish occupation of Skoplje in 1392 is recorded in a notice published by Lj. Stojanović, Zapisi i natpisi, I, 56, no. 177). In 1396, however, Sultan Bayezid chased Vuk out of his lands, and he died two years later, on 6 October 1398. His lands were given by Bayezid to the children and the widow of Prince Lazar, except for Vučitrn and Trepča and the adjoining territory, which remained under Vuk's widow Mara. Cf. Lj. Kovačević, "Vuk Branković," Godišnjica Nikole Čupića, 10 (1888)-188ff.; V. Čorović, Narodna Enciklopedija, I, 294b; and Dj. Radojčić, "Izbor patrijarha Danila III i kanonizacija kneza Lazara," GlSkND, 21 (1940), 69ff. M. Dinić, Enciklopedija Jugoslavija, II, 184b. For the last Brankovići, see V. Laurent, "Le Vaticanus Latinus 4789, histoire et alliances des Cantacuzènes aux XIV-XVe siècles," REB, 9 (1951), 47-105. See also D. Nicol, The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100-1460 (Washington, 1968). Idem, Church and Society in the Last Centuries of Byzantium (Cambridge, 1977).

173. On Prince Lazar, see I. Ruvarac, O knezu Lazaru (Novi Sad, 1888); cf. Dj. Radojčić, loc. cit., 33-80. The title of tsar, often attributed to him, is to be found only in folk poetry and never in any contemporary source or document. Cf. Dinić, "Vladarska titula," 13. M. Vukičević, "Vreme despota Stevana (od 1389 do 1427 god.)," Novi Sad, 1925.

174. On Nikola Altomanović, see M. Dinić, O Nikoli Altomanoviću.

175. On Tvrtko, see V. Čorović, Kralj Tvrtko I Kotromanić in SKA, Posebna izdanja, 56 (Belgrade, 1925). On his coronation, see the special study by M. Dinić, "O krunisanju Tvrtka I za kralja," Glas, 147 (1932), 133-45; N. Radojčić, Obred krunisanja bosanskog kralja Turtka I in SKA, Posebna izdanja, 143 (Belgrade, 1948).

176. See Ostrogorsky, History, 485.

177. A sister of Lazar, called Draginja, was married to Čelnik Musa, who ruled over the mountainous region of Kopaonik. (See A. Popović, Godišnjica Nikole Čupića, 26 [1907], 162; Jireček, Geschichte, I, 436; II, 114; and Novaković, ZakSpom, 316, 516). His daughter Mara married Vuk Branković (see supra, note 172); another daughter, Helen, married George Stracimirović Balšić; a third married the Bulgarian Tsar Šisman; and a fourth wed the Hungarian magnate Nicholas of Gara (Garević in the Serbian chronicles). Cf. Jireček, Geschichte, II, 114ff. M. Purković, Kćeri kneza Lazara (Melbourne, 1957), includes good genealogical table.

178. C. Jireček, op. cit., II, 115.

179. Cf. Ostrogorsky, "Dušan i vlastela," 158-9, who considers reconciliation as a compromise.

180. Danilo, Životi, 381.

181. The Life of Isaias, who had seen Dušan on Mount Athos, has been published by N. Ducić, "Starine hilendarske," Glasnik, 56 (1884), 63-77.

182. They were the protos of Athos, Theophanes, his pupils Silvester and Niphon, and Nikodim Grčić from Kastoria, who is known as the founder of the first monastery in Wallachia. (Danilo, Životi, 381). On Nikodim, see J. Ruvarac, "Pop Nikodim, der erste Klöstergründer in der Walachei, 1406," ASPh, 11 (1888), 354-63.

183. Danilo, Životi, 381. On the Serbian monk Isaias, whom Tsar Dušan appointed abbot of the monastery of Saint Panteleimon, see G. Soulis, "Tsar Stephen Dušan and Mount Athos," Harvard Slavic Studies, 2 (1954), 137.

184. It is interesting to note that according to Danilo (Životi, 381), after the reconciliation was accomplished the Byzantine envoys conducted a church service together with Serbian clerics in Prizren. Before the Byzantine embassy arrived in Serbia, the Serbian patriarch Sava had died (29 April 1375). A sabor was convoked in Peć, which elected Jefrem, a Bulgarian Athonite monk, as his successor (30 October 1375). See Danilo, Životi. Jefrem's Life has been edited by S. Novaković, "Život srpskogo patrijarha Jefrema," Starine, 16 (1884), 35-40.

185. See the Chronicle of George Branković, known under the title Rodoslovlje serbskij carei, Glasnik, 21 (1867), 255. Cf. ibid., 253-4, note 1.

186. M. Lascaris, "Le Patriarcat de Peć," I, 171-5. Among other scholars who hesitated to accept Danilo's account were N. Golubinskij (Kratkij očerk istorii pravoslavnyh cerkvej [Moscow, 1871], 475) and I. Ruvarac (O knezu Lazaru, 141).

187. The most convenient edition of this manual is in Migne, PG, CVII, 401-18. The latest, which is far from free of error, is by Jean Fernel, Un manuel de Chancellerie du XIVe siècle. Étude philologique et historique, attached to the Rapport du Gymnase de la Chaux-de-Fonds sur l'exercice 1911-1912 (La Chaux-de-Fonds, 1912).

188. In his review of M. Lascaris's article, "Le patriarcat de Peć" ("Bibliografija," SemKond, 5 [1932], 323-4). Cf. Ostrogorsky, History, 485. Also F. Dvornik (BSlav, 3 [1931], 186-7) expressed doubts about Lascaris's thesis. Cf. also the further reservations in V. Laurent, "L'archevêque de Peć et le titre de patriarche après l'union de 1375," Balkanica, 7 (1944), 303-10. Lascaris's thesis was also criticized by M. Dinčić, "Carska titula," 95-6.

189. See Stojanović, Zapisi i natpisi, I, 92, no. 293; Novaković, ZakSpom, 458, 520, 521, 764. Cf. Jireček, Staat und

Gesellschaft, IV, 46, note 3.

190. Lascaris, loc. cit., 174.

191. Ostrogorsky, History, 485-6.

192. According to the Ottoman historian Nešri, Prince Lazar was defeated by the Turks and became their vassal, promising to pay tribute and provide them with an auxiliary force of a thousand men, but he soon revolted. See Nešri in Leunclavius, Historiae, 26.

193. A great panic was spread among the local population as a result of this invasion. Great masses of people sought refuge in Ston, held by the Ragusans. See an act of the senate of Ragusa (23 October 1386) in ASPh, 14 (1892), 266.

194. Nešri tells us that the vassal George Stracimirović, who ruled over Scutari, betrayed the Turks and led them in a campaign against Bosnia, where Shain and his army were unexpectedly confronted in a mountainous place by a large Christian army. The Turks were defeated, and only Shain with a few others escaped death. See Nešri in Leunclavius, Historiae, 262ff. On this battle (27 August 1388), see also Annales Ragusini, 48. Cf. M. Vesnić, "Froasar o bitci na Pločniku," Letopis Matice Srpske, 300 (1921); M. Dinić, "Žan Froasar i boj na Pločniku," Prilozi, 18 (1938), 361-5.

195. On the Kosovo battle, see indications in D. Cydonēs' letters, Loenertz, Recueils Cydonès, 119. For the main bibliography on the battle of Kosovo, see C. Jireček, Istorija Srba, I (Belgrade, 1952), 326, note 72; Istorija naroda Jugoslavije, I (Belgrade, 1953), 507-8; Ostrogorsky, History, 486, note 1; G. Škrivanić, Kosovska bitka 15 juna 1389 (Cetinje, 1956). See also the articles mentioned by Dujčev, Iz starata bŭlgarska knižina, II, 408.

CHAPTER V

1. Thessaly, country of great landed magnates, cf. Ostrogorsky, "History," 460 and passim. Idem, "Féodalité," 210. See Dušan's chrysobulls of November 1348 to the Lykoumos and Zablantia monasteries, restoring lands taken away by John Angelus. Solvojev and Mošin, "Grčke povelje," 152, 162. Byzantine feudalism was best developed in Thessaly. See Zakythinos, Crise, 58ff. F. Stätlin, E. Meyer, and A. Heidner, Pagasai und Demetrias (Berlin, 1934), 160-250; Thessaly during the Byzantine period. See also B. Ferjančić, Despoti u Vizantiji i južnoslovenskim zemljama (Belgrade, 1960); D. Nicol, Meteora: The Rock Monasteries of Thessaly (London, 1963).

2. The date of Preljub's appointment as governor of Thessaly has been the subject of controversy. C. Hopf (Chroniques gréco-romanes, 530) proposed 1340, but this apparently is a misprint, and he means rather 1350, where he places the Serbian conquest of Thessaly. Following Hopf, N. Bees (Συμβολή εις τήν ιστορίαν τῶν μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων, Βυζαντις, 1 [1909-1910], 236a) suggested 1340, without noticing that this is an obvious misprint. M. Goudas (Βυζαντις, 2 [1911-1912], 241) also proposed 1350. A. Adamantiou (Ἐργασία, 225, note 1, misinterpreting Hopf (Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des

bis auf unsere Zeit [Leipzig, 1867-1868], I, 446b), suggested 1353-1354. J. Voyatzidis (Τὸ Χρονικὸν τῶν Μετεώρων, 'Επ. 'Ετ. Βυζ. Σπ., I [1924], 167) proposed 1348, although in an earlier publication ('Αθηνᾶ, 24 [1912], 352-3) he had accepted 1350. From a Venetian document dated 14 March 1350 we learn that Preljub was governor of Thessaly at that time. (See Ljubić, Listine, III, 169). In my opinion the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 35-6, leaves no doubt that the appointment of Preljub must have taken place soon after the conquest of Thessaly.

3. See Cantacuzenus, II, 423, 15ff.; III, 130, 10ff. Cf. Novaković, Stara srpska vojska, 141-2. For the various forms of Preljub's name in the Byzantine sources, see Cirac Estopañan, Bizancio y España: El legado de la basilissa María y de los déspotas Thomas y Esaú de Joannina, I (Barcelona, 1943), 189, note 99. One may also add the following forms found in Western sources: Prelubo (Theiner, MonHung, II, 16), Prealipo (Ljubić, Listine, III, 110, 169), Prilup (Orbini, Regno degli Slavi, 271). The theory that Preljub's wife, Irene was Dušan's daughter must be dismissed after M. Purković's conclusive articles "Uroševa 'sestra' Irina," Prilozi, 12 (1932), 167-8, and "Byzantinoserbica," BZ, 45 (1952), 43ff., where he proved that Dušan did not have a daughter. A. Solovjev ("Fessalijskie arhonty," 166, n. 33) expressed the view that Irene was simply related to Dušan and that she probably belonged to the Byzantine family of Ducas. R. J. Loenertz ("Une page de Jérôme Zurita relative aux duchés catalans de Grèce," REB, 14 [1956], 167, note 2) has unjustly challenged Solovjev's view without taking into account M. Purković's convincing conclusions.

4. Cantacuzenus, III, 130, 8ff.; also II, 355, 6ff. Περὶ τὰ μεθόρια Θεσσαλίας κειμένη πόλις. Cf. Heuzey, Le mont Olympe, 208; A. Xyngopoulos, Τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν Σερβίων (Athens, 1957). On Preljub and his Albanian soldiers in Thessaly, see the Venetian document of 14 March 1350 (Ljubić, Listine, 169; summary also in Thiriet, Régestes, II).

5. Novaković, ZakSpom, 313, 792. Cf. Jireček, Staat und Gesellschaft, II, 32, 73.

6. See above, Chapter I, note 204.

7. See G. Soulis, Βλαχία-Μεγάλη Βλαχία. ἡ ἐν Ἑλλάδι Βλαχία, Γέρας Α. Κεραμοπούλου (Athens, 1953), 497.

8. Hopf, Geschichte, I, 446b, 458a; also in his Chroniques gréco-romanes, 530.

9. E. Muralt, Essai de chronographie byzantine, II (St. Petersburg, 1871), 624.

10. F. Rački, "Pokret na slavenskom jugu koncem XIV i početkom IV stoljeca," Rad, 2 (1868), 85.

11. W. Miller, The Latins in the Levant (London, 1908), 281; also his Essays on the Latin Orient (Cambridge, 1921), 451.

12. Bees, Συμβολή, 236a, and Μετεώρου πίναξ ἀφιερωθεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείσσης Παλαιολογίνης, 'Αρχαιολογικὴ ἐφημερίς (1911), 182b.

13. G. Ostrogorsky and P. Schweinfurth, "Das Reliquar der

Despoten von Epeiros," SemKond, 4 (1931), 167.

14. Epirotica (ed. Bekker), 210, 7-10; εἶτα καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἑλλάδι Βλαχίαν ἐπισηδῆ, καὶ ταύτην ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ποιησάμενος σὺν τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἰωαννίνων ἕνα τῶν αὐτοῦ σατραπῶν, Πρέλουμπον καλούμενον, ἄρχοντα ἀναδείκυσσι. Cf. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 35, where the various readings of this passage are given.

15. Chalcocondyles (ed. Darkó), I, 25, 22ff.

16. Ainian's edition appeared in Ἀθηνᾶ (Nauplia, 1831), 52-91. The synopsis has been published in P. Uspenskij's posthumous work Putesestvie v meteorskie i osoolimpijskie monastyri v Fessalii (St. Petersburg, 1896), 422-6.

17. See G. Soulis, Βλαχία, 496-7.

18. See Chalcocondyles (ed. Darkó), I, 25, 14-5: ἦλασε μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ Αἰτωλίαν, καὶ Ἰωαννίνων τὴν πόλιν εἴλε. Cf. ibid., II, 15, 2: ἐπὶ Ἰωάννινα πόλιν τῆς Αἰτωλίας. Cf. C. Sathas, Ἑλληνικά ἀνέκδοτα, I (Athens, 1867), XXIII, note 3; C. Amantos, Παρατηρήσεις τινὲς εἰς τὴν μεσαιωνικὴν γεωγραφίαν, Ἐτ. Ἐπ. Βυζ. Σπ., 1 (1924), 46.

19. See G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica, I (Budapest, 1942), 232.

20. See Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 35-6; Cantacuzenus, III, 130, 9ff., 315, 15ff.

21. Orbini, Regno degli Slavi, 271; cf. ibid., 267; Etolia fù data à Prialupo.

22. Ibid., 270.

23. Hopf, Geschichte, I, 446b.

24. P. Aravantinos, Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἠπειροῦ (Athens, 1856), I, 132.

25. G. Destunis, Istoričeskoe skazanie inoka Komnina i inoka Prokla o raznyh despotah epirskih i o tiranne Fome Prelumbove Komnine, despoté (St. Petersburg, 1858), 7, 21.

26. Uspenskij, Putesetvie v Fessalii, 121.

27. L. Heuzey, Excursion dans la Thessalie turque en 1858 (Paris, 1927), 84.

28. Adamantiou, Εργασίαι, 225, note 1.

29. M. Goudas's review of A. Adamantiou's article in Βυζαντίς, 2 (1911-1912), 231.

30. Cirac Estopañan, El legado, I, 116, 118.

31. Voyatzidis, Τὸ χρονικὸν, 168.

32. Cantacuzenus, III, 130, 9-10.

33. Ibid., III, 131, 3-4.

34. On the strategic location of Serbia, see Cantacuzenus, III, 131, 20: εἰ ταύτης περιγένετο, καὶ Θεσσαλίαν πᾶσαν καθέξοντος βασιλέως [i.e., Cantacuzenus] ἀσφαλῶς. Cf. Heuzey, Le Mont Olympe, 208; Cirac Estopaňan, El legado, I, 151; A. Xyngopoulos; Tὰ μνημεῖα τῶν Σερβῶν (Athens, 1957).

35. M. Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, I (London, 1835), 426ff; ibid., IV, 258ff.

36. See Life of St. Athanasius (ed. N. Bees), Βυζαντίς, I (1909-1910), 258-9; cf. S. Lampros's edition in Νέος Ἑλλ., II (1905), 84. Cf. also Voyatzidis, κριτική, Ἀθηνᾶ, 24 (1912), 352-4, and Tὸ Χρονικόν, 169.

37. On Preljub's wife Irene, see Purković, "Byzantinoserbica," 48-9; N. Jorga, Histoire des Roumains de la Peninsule des Balcans (Bucharest, 1919), 25, n. 2; Novaković, ZakSpom, 312-4.

38. See Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 38.

39. Ibid., 37. Cf. also the Chronicle of Meteora (L. Heuzey and H. Daumet, Mission archéologique de Macédoine [Paris, 1876], 440), and the oldest Serbian letopis, the Koporinski letopis (Stojanović, Rodoslovi i letopisi, no. 129, 80-82, coll. 1, 3, and 4) which explicitly mention that Symeon had established his headquarters at Trikkala.

40. For this reason Thessaly was often Βλαχία, Μεγάλη Βλαχία, or ἡ ἐν Ἑλλάδι Βλαχία. On these names and the Vlachs in medieval Thessaly in general, see my article, Βλαχία, 489-97.

41. "Deus misit hanc pestem patriae Blachiae supradictae, quia miserat quoddam genus, Albanensium gentis nomine, in tanta quantitate numerosa; quae gens omnia, quae erant extra castra, penitus destruxerunt, tam eorum, quam Catellanorum fuerunt, quam etiam eorum quae tenebantur à Graecis; et ad praesens consumunt et destruunt taliter, quòd quasinihil remansit penitus extra castra. Catellani et Graeci fuerunt quandoque simul ad expellendum Albanenses illos; sed nullatenus potuerunt. Dicitur etiam, quòd Albanenses illi volebant recedere à patria supradicta, scilicet Blachiae. quibus recedentibus occurebant alii eiusdem gentis plurimi, dicentes illis: Quare hinc receditis? Responderunt: quianon potuimus hic aliquod fortilitum obtinere. quibus illi addierunt dicentes: nolite hoc facere, quia multi cum uxoribus et filiis in vestrum adjutorium huc venimus; et idè omnes simul ad partes Blachiae redeamus. Et sic omnes pariter sunt reversi." Continuing, Sanudo remarks that the Albanian invasion was profitable for those who were neighbors of the Catalans, and who would be exposed now to great danger. He concludes as follows: "Nam felix est, quem faciunt aliena pericula cantum." See J. Bongars, Gesta Dei per Francos, sive orientalium expeditionum.. II (Hanover, 1611), 293. The text of Sanudo's letter is also available in T. L. F. Tafel and G. Thomas, Urkunden zur Alteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig, I (Vienna, 1856), 500-1.

42. Cantacuzenus, I, 450, 16-7. Cf. also ibid., I, 450, 17-9, where it is stated that Syrgiannes had established a

friendship with the Albanians from the time when he served as governor in the western provinces of the empire. We know from Gregoras (I, 297, 5ff.) that at the age of twenty-five Syrgiannes had been appointed στρατηγὸς καὶ διοικητῆς μιᾶς τῶν περὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐπαρχιῶν. ἢ τοὺς ἰλλυριοὺς μάλιστα ὁμοροῦντας ἔλαχε. If we accept the view of S. Binon ("À propos d'un Prostagma d'Andronic III Paléologue," BZ, 38 [1938], 141) that Syrgiannes was born around 1290, then we may conclude that his acquaintance with the Albanians must have begun around 1315. Cf. J. Poulos, 'Η ἐποίκησις τῶν Ἀλβανῶν εἰς Κορινθίαν, Ἑπετηρὶς Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχεῖου, 3 (1950), 44.

43. Cantacuzenus, I, 474, 10ff. Cf. G. Soulis, Περὶ τῶν μεσαιωνικῶν ἀλβανικῶν φυλῶν τῶν Μαλακασίων, Μπουίων καὶ Μεσσηριῶν, Ἑπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ., 23 (1953), 213-6. The presence of Albanians on the Pindus mountains is attested also by the existing place-names of the area. See T. Capidan, "Toponymie macédonroumaine," Académie Roumaine, Langue et littérature, Bulletin de la section littéraire, 3 (1946), 24.

44. Cantacuzenus, III, 130, 5ff.

45. Theiner, MonHung, II, 16.

46. Life of St. Athanasius (ed. N. Bees), Βυζαντις, 1 (1909-1910), 258. A later version of this life, edited by S. Lampros, appeared in Νέος Ἑλλ., 2 (1905), 61-87.

47. Ibid., 258-9.

48. Cantacuzenus, III, 315, 15ff.

49. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 36.

50. M. Orбини (Regno degli Slavi, 268), places Preljub's death in 1354, since he mentions Dusan's death as having taken place in 1354. Without reference to sources, C. Hopf (Geschichte, I, 446b) expressed the opinion that Preljub died before Dusan. On the other hand, C. Jireček (ASPh, 33 [1911-1912], 589) believed that Preljub died in 1356.

51. On Nicephorus, see A. Moustoxidis's Ἑλληνομνήμων, 8 (1845), 494ff.; K. Nikolović, "Srbksi Komneni," Glasnik, 13 (1861), 324ff.; G. Grimaldi, Origine e storia degli Angelo-Comneno Imperatori Orientali e Despoti Epiroti, e delle familie cognatizia degli Angelo-Comneno (San Giorgio...a San Stefano) e con tavole genealogiche (Naples, 1906), 112-9. A. Angotti's study La genealogia della casa Angelo-Comneno di Tessaglia (Rome, 1956), was inaccessible to me. I know it only from a bibliographical notice in Ἑπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ., 26 (1956), 424.

52. Cantacuzenus, I, 534, 6ff.; Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 36.

53. Cantacuzenus, II, 195, 6; Gregoras, I, 63, 5; III, 557, 3. Cf. J. Romanos, Γρατιανὸς Ζῶρξης, 266.

54. Cantacuzenus, III, 33, 3; III, 211, 12ff.; III, 310, 11.

55. Gregoras, III, 556, 22ff. Cf. Hopf, Geschichte, I, 458b; Jireček, Geschichte, I, 416; Voyatzidis, Τὸ Χρονικόν,

wrote that the expedition took place in 1355. This date cannot be accepted, since Cantacuzenus (III, 315, 13), Gregoras (III, 557, 3), and the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" (36), clearly state that Nicephorus's expedition took place after the deaths of Dušan and Preljub.

56. Cantacuzenus, III, 315, 17. The Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" (36-8) states that Nicephorus sailed to Thessaly from Constantinople (ἐκ τῆς βασιλείδος τῶν πόλεων, and ἐκ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐλθὼν). Cantacuzenus's evidence seems to me more plausible, since we know that Nicephorus lived at Aenos, and he had left his wife there when he departed for Thessaly. Aenos has been accepted as the place of Nicephorus's departure also by Hopf, Geschichte, I, 458b, and by Jireček, Geschichte, I, 416.

57. Cantacuzenus, IV, 315, 20ff. Cf. Gregoras, III, 557, 7ff.

58. Gregoras, III, 557, 8. It is interesting to note that neither Cantacuzenus nor the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" corroborates Gregoras's evidence that Symeon Uroš helped Nicephorus in this campaign. Soon after his appointment as governor of Epirus and Aetoloacarnania, Symeon married Nicephorus's sister, Thomais. See Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 36. Cf. R. de Widmann Buonocore, "I Nemagni-Paleologo-Ducas-Angelo-Comneno," Studi Bizantini, 2 (1927), 252.

59. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 38.

60. Muralt (Chronographie byzantine, II, 650) places this event in 1359, which seems to me a very late date. On the other hand, the date proposed by J. Voyatzidis (Τὸ Χρονικόν, 173), 1355, must be rejected for the simple reason that all these events occurred after the deaths of Dušan and Preljub.

61. Hopf, Geschichte, II, 35; Idem, "Giorgi," Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste, herausg. von J. S. Krach and J. G. Gruber, LXVII, 384a. (A Greek translation is in J. Romanos, op. cit., 305).

62. Cantacuzenus, III, 315, 18.

63. Cantacuzenus, III, 317, 1ff.: ἔπειτα εἰς Θεσσαλίαν ἀπῆρε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, ἤδη πάσης κύριον γεγεννημένον καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν πόλεων. There is no doubt that Cantacuzenus means by Acarnania Symeon's territory. In the same paragraph he says: Ἄρταν τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας πόλιν. In the Byzantine sources, both Aetolia and Acarnania were used frequently to designate the same geographical area. See the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 37-8, where Arta is included in Aetolia, while in the above-mentioned passage by Cantacuzenus, Arta is included in Acarnania. As to whether Maria arrived at Thessaly before or after the expulsion of Symeon and Thomais from Epirus, C. Hopf (Geschichte, I, 458b) and Cirac Estopañan (El legado, I, 119), wrote that the conquest of Symeon's territory and his expulsion from it by Nicephorus took place after Maria's arrival from Constantinople. Their opinion, however, seems to be incorrect, since the passage of Cantacuzenus that was quoted at the beginning of this footnote says clearly that when Maria arrived in Thessaly, her husband was already master of Acarnania. The Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 38) confirms Cantacuzenus's

statement by saying that Symeon's expulsion occurred soon after the expulsion of Preljub's widow with her son from Thessaly.

64. Our sole source for these details is the memoirs of Maria's father, Cantacuzenus (III, 317, 3ff.), who naturally has good reason to be partial.

65. Cantacuzenus, III, 318, 15ff.

66. According to Cantacuzenus, III, 319, 7ff: ὁ δὲ [Nicephorus] ἔπειθ' ἐκείνην, ἵνα μὴ δοκοῖται τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' ἐκείνης [Maria] καθίστασθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρων ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀποστάτου Ἀλβανοῦς πρὶν ἐκείνην [Maria] ἤκειν καταδουλώσασθαι πολέμῳ, but according to the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 37: τοῦς δὲ Ἀλβανίτας τέλειον ἐκδιώξαι τοῦ τόπου οὐκ ἔρθη τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.

67. Cantacuzenus, III, 319, 10; Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 37. Cf. Sathas, Ἑλληνικὰ ἀνέκδοτα, I, XXIII. Sathas wrote that this expedition was directed against the districts of Aetolia dominated by the Albanian chieftain Peter Boua. As far as I know, his view is not supported by any sources.

68. On the town of Acheloos, see T. L. F. Tafel, De Thessalonica, 484-6; Aravantinos, Χρονογραφία, II, 26; Sathas, op. cit., I, XXIII. The town Acheloos had a bishopric depending on the Metropolis of Naupactos. Cf. Miklošich and Müller, Acta et Diplomata, I, 534; H. Gelzer, Ungedruckte und ungenügend veröffentlichte Texte der Notitiae Episcopatum; ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Kirchen- und Verwaltungsgeschichte, in Abhandlungen Wissenschaften, 21 (1899-1901), 70, 618.

69. This victory of the Albanians had a great effect on the history of Epirus, on the rise of Albanian small states, and also on the Albanian migration in Greece. Cf. J. Ph. Fallmerayer, Das albanische Element in Griechenland, in Abhandlungen des hist. class. der kön. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 8 (1860), 657-736; 9 (1866), 1-110; J. G. v. Hahn, Albanische Studien, 1 (Jena, 1854), 317, 318; Makušev, Istoriceksija razyskanija, 48; G. Hertzberg, Geschichte Griechenlands seit dem Absterben des antiken Lebens bis zur Gegenwart, II (Gotha, 1876), 314-5, 341, 418.

70. Cantacuzenus, III, 319, 18-20.

71. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 37.

72. Voyatzidis, Τὸ Χρονικόν, 170.

73. Hopf, Geschichte, I, 459a. Cf. Hopf, Chroniques gréco-romanes, 532; and Romanos, Γρατιανὸς Ζωρζης, 280, who follows Hopf.

74. Hopf, Geschichte, I, 458b. In an earlier article, C. Hopf ("Giorgi," 384a; Greek translation in J. Romanos, op. cit., 305) gives a different date, stating that Nicephorus fell in a bloody battle at Acheloos against Charles Thopia in 1357. It may be, however, simply a typographical error. Romanos, op. cit., in the geneological table at the end of his book, also gives 1357, undoubtedly following Hopf.

75. Cirac Estopañan, El legado, I, 120, 139.

76. 'Ακολουθία τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου βασιλέως καὶ μεγαλομάρτυρος Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βλαδιμήρου καὶ θαυματουργοῦ (Venice, 1858), 43. Cf. Hopf, "Giorgi," 284a; Hopf, Geschichte, I, 459a; Romanos, op. cit., 280, 1.

77. Cirac Estopañan, op. cit., I, 120.

78. Ibid., I, 120, 139.

79. Chalcocondyles, I, 196, 22-197, 8.

80. C. Sathas ('Ελληνικά Ἀνέκδοτα, I, XXXIII) interpreted Chalcocondyles's passage the same way as Cirac Estopañan: He identified Isaac with Nicephorus. He differs from Cirac Estopañan in regard to Spata, however, expressing the opinion that the Spata mentioned by Chalcocondyles is Peter Boua Spata; Cirac Estopañan said that he was Peter's son, John (Ghin).

81. Cantacuzenus, III, 319, 12ff.

82. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 37.

83. Cantacuzenus, III

84. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 36, 37, 38.

85. John (Ghin) Boua Spata is usually known as Ghin Boua. For the identification and the coexistence of the two names, see S. Lampros, 'Η ὀνοματολογία τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ ἡ εἰς τῆν χώραν ἐποίκησις τῶν Ἀλβανῶν, 'Επετηρίς Παρνασσῶς, 1 (1896), 178. P. Aravantinos (Χρονογραφία, I, 136-7) says that Isaac's death occurred some time after Nicephorus's death. Since there is no evidence on that in our sources, we may say that Isaac's death occurred before Nicephorus's, since we know that Albanian bands existed in Acarnania before the events of Acheloos under the leadership of Boua. Cf. Sathas, op. cit., I, XXII; Halh, Albanische Studien, I, 318.

86. The Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," which is our chief source for the events following Nicephorus's death, says (ed. Cirac Estopañan, 37) that a great number of Greek, Serbian, and Albanian soldiers joined Symeon in Kastoria. There Symeon was proclaimed basileus by an army of four thousand to five thousand men. The date of the proclamation differs among the scholars. E. Muralt (Chronographie byzantine, II, 662) places the event in 1359; J. Voyatzidis, Τὸ Χρονικόν, 173, puts it in the years 1355-1358. Describing the event, the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" insinuates that the proclamation took place shortly before Symeon made his campaign against Serbia, that is, during the last month of Nicephorus's life or shortly thereafter. A. Solovjev and V. Mošin (Grčke povelje, 208ff.) include in their corpus six decrees by Symeon, two of which (nos. XXIX and XXX, 208-15) have been attributed by M. Lascaris, "Deux chartes," 277ff.) to his son John Uroš. One may add that we possess two portraits of Symeon, at Peć and Dečani, and possibly a third one as well, at Dečani. See Radojčić, Portreti, 49, 58; Purković, "Byzantinoserbica," 49. Symeon was the son of Stephen Uroš III and Maria, the daughter of John

Palaeologus and granddaughter of Theodore Metochites. See Lascaris, Vizantiske princeze, 88. Gregoras (III, 557), refers erroneously to Symeon as Dušan's son; the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" (36) calls him Dušan's brother (ὄσων ἀδελφόν). On Symeon, see mainly K. Nikolajević, "Srpski Komneni," Glasnik, 12 (1860), 397-473; 13 (1861), 283-357; P. Srećković, "Car Siniša Paleolog Nemanjić i despot Janjinski Toma," Glasnik, 27 (1870), 226-40 (the same material is included in his Istorijska, II, 738-44); and R. Agatonović, Car Simeon-Siniša Nemanjić Paleolog (Belgrade, 1893), which has been inaccessible to me. Symeon (of Thessaly) is also called Siniša. See Jireček, Geschichte, I, 415; and Orbini (Regno degli Slavi, 270-71): Sinissa.

87. C. Jireček (Geschichte, I, 415) thinks that Symeon wanted to succeed his brother perhaps only as co-ruler with his nephew. This opinion does not seem to me to be correct. The Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" (37) clearly states that Symeon planned to take the Serbian throne for himself.

88. The panic that Symeon's march to Serbia caused is illustrated in a letter of a Ragusan from Željeznik in Kučevo, dated 3 February 1359 (Jireček, "Spomenici srpski," 33). How far Symeon had penetrated into the north we do not know, except from what M. Orbini (op. cit., 270) tells us concerning Scutari: "Costui vedendo adunque, ch'ogno'vno de' Baroni occupava li paesi del detto suo fratello, fatto alquanto d'essercito di Greci, & Albanesi, venne con esso in Zenta, & cominciò dare assalto alla fortezza di Scutari: Ma non potè fare cosa alcuna; sì perche il detto castello era ben forte per il suo sito naturale, & guardato da humonin prodi in arme; sì ancora, perche niuno Barone di Zenta, & di Rassia, venendole debile, e di poco valore, lo volle seguire." Cf. Jireček, Geschichte, I, 419, note 2.

89. Apparently, various groups in Thessaly, especially clergymen, supported Symeon and Thomais. Cf. Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 218, 1-5, where we find the following statement in a chrysobull issued by Symeon in August 1359 for the Thessalian monastery of St. George at Zablantia: 'Επειὶ ὁ τιμιώτατος κληρονομούμενος...καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἀσκοῦμενοι μοναχοὶ ἔσπευσαν καὶ [ἐνήργη]σαν τὸ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ δύναμιν αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ [γενέσθαι] τὴν φυσικὴν μου κληρονομίαν, τὰ τριῖκαλλα, εἰς τὴν δουλοσύνην καὶ ἡποταγήν τῆς βασιλείας μου. Cf. also Symeon's chrysobull, issued in May 1366, for the same monastery (Solovjev and Mošin, ibid., 252, 13ff.).

90. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 37. R. J. Loenertz ("Une page de Jérôme Zurita relative aux duchés catalans de Grèce," REB, 14 [1956], 159ff.) and M. Lascaris ("Deux chartes," 310ff.) have shown, on the basis of the Aragonese historian Jerónimo Zurita y Castro (Annales de la Corona de Aragon, II [Saragossa, 1668], 386v-387v, 1512-1580) and M. Orbini (op. cit., 243, 270), that besides Maria-Angelina and John (Joasaph), Symeon also had a second son, Stephen, who ruled over the region of Pharsala. Stephen was expected to marry the daughter of Luis Fadrique of Aragon, Count of Salona (Amphissa), Maria. Symeon's second son is also mentioned by the Koporinski letopis (Stojanović, Rodoslvi i letopisi, no. 129, 80ff.) and a document by his sister, Maria-Angelina, dated May 1386 (Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 294, 53-4: ὁ ἀδελφός μας, which is

incorrectly translated as "moj brat" instead of "naš brat"). According to Cirac Estopaňan (El legado, I, 189, note 95) "el año 1414 vivía, según Bees, Tables généalogiques, 211 ss., Stephanos con su hermano Joasaph, también en Meteora como monje." Cirac Estopaňan has apparently mininterpreted Bees's statement, which does not say that Stephano ever became a monk. One may also add here that Massarelus (Dell' Imperadori Constantinopolitani, mss. Vat. Lat. 12127: fol. 352; quoted by de Widmann Buonocore, "Nemagni-Paleologo-Ducas-Angelos-Comneno," 262 mentions a certain Demetrius as Symeon's son, who is identified by de Widmann Buonocore with Orbini's Stephen.

91. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 27-38.

92. The wedding must have taken place sometime after April 1357, since we possess a document of Uroš V, dated 15 April 1357, in which Irene appears as Preljub's widow. (In this document Uroš confirms the land possessions of Preljub's wife and her son Thomas and grants them annually five hundred Venetian perpers or one thousand buckets of salt from Kitros on the Aegean coast of Thessaly. See S. Novaković, ZakSpom, 312-4; the more complete edition by D. Anastasijević, "Srpski arhiv Lavre Atonske," Spomenik, 56 [1922], 6-7. Cf. Jireček, Staat und Gesellschaft, II, 73). Continuing the proposed date is the statement in the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" (38) that Hlapen invaded Thessaly "a year or even more than a year" after his marriage to Preljub's widow.

93. Dušan's local governors had the right to pass on their office and their possessions to their sons and other relatives. See Solovjev, Zakonodavstvo, 136-7. Besides Uroš V, in his act mentioned in the preceding note, had confirmed to Thomas and his mother the privilege Dušan had granted to Gregory Preljub in Thessaly.

94. For a detailed account of Hlapen's expedition, see N. Nikolajević, Glasnik, 13 (1861), 330-1. According to the statement of the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," Hlapen's expedition must have taken place definitely at the end of 1358 or in 1359. C. Hopf (Geschichte, 459a) proposed 1359; J. Romanos (Γρατιανός Ζάβρης, 281) also suggested 1359; J. Voyatzidis (Τὸ Χρονικόν, 172, 2) proposed the end of 1358; and Cirac Estopaňan (op. cit., I, 123) placed the event before August 1359.

95. Damasis seems to have been an important fortress in Thessaly during the later Byzantine period. Cf. Cantacuzenus, I, 474, 2. C. Jireček (Geschichte, I, 419, note 3) identified it with present day Dhamasi, a village northwest of Larissa. Cirac Estopaňan, op. cit., I, 123; cf. Leake, Travels, IV, 554, 1; Aravantinos, Χρονογραφία, II, 42.

96. On the engagements, see R. Guillard, "A propos d'un texte de Psellos," BSlav, 21 (1960), 1-26.

97. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 38-9.

98. The Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" says nothing about whether Hlapen and Thomas's mother were present at the wedding ceremonies. It is strange to think that neither of them would have been present. Cirac Estopaňan's explanation is

that the author of the Chronicle concentrated his attention solely on Thomas, whose history he wanted to relate, not precluding the possibility that Hlapen also entered Trikkala. Op. cit., I, 124.

99. Since Symeon did not marry Thomais before the Serbian occupation of Epirus in 1348, Maria could not have been born before 1349.

100. Voyatzidis, *Tò χρονικόν*, 174.

101. Cirac Estopañan, op. cit., I, 124.

102. See Demetrius Chomatianos, in J. Pitra, Analecta Sacra (Paris, 1891), col. 60-1.

103. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 48.

104. See M. Dinić, "Carska titula," 101-4. Symeon signed documents βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Σερβῶν, Ῥωμαίων first, indicative of the Greek character of his state.

105. Jerónimo Zurita y Castro, Anales de la Corona de Aragón, II (Saragossa, 1668), f. 386v-387v.

106. Orbini, Regno degli Slavi, 270. C. Jireček (Geschichte, I, 415), based apparently on Orbini, wrote with some exaggeration that Symeon "had no military or political talent." Symeon is also mentioned in a Greek inscription from Kastoria, dated 1359-1360; and in two others from Thessaly, of which one is dated 1366-1367. For a full discussion of these inscriptions, see Lascaris, "Deux chartes," 279ff.

107. See the documents from Meteora published by N. Bees, *Σερβικά καὶ Βυζαντινά γράμματα Μετεώρου, Βυζαντίς*, II (1911-1912), 40, 47, 87. Cf. Jireček, Geschichte, 420; idem, Staat und Gesellschaft, II, 25a.

108. A. Solovjev and V. Mošin (Grčke povelje, 208-57) published six documents in Greek attributed to Symeon. M. Lascaris ("Deux chartes," 277ff.) has proved that the two prostigmata (nos. XXIX-XXX) for Nilus, protos of the skete of the Stagoi monastery in Thessaly, could not have been issued by Symeon but were issued by his son John.

109. On Meteora, see mainly the studies by N. Bees, *Συμβολή* (191-331) and "Geschichtliche Forschungsergebnisse und Mönchs- und Volkssagen über die Gründer der Metorenklöster" (BNJbb, 3 [1922], 364-403), where further bibliography is mentioned. Cf. also D. Zakythinos, "Ἀνέκδοτα πατριαρχικά καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικά γράμματα περὶ τῶν μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων, Ἑλληνικά, 10 (1938), 281-306. See also H.-G. Beck, Kirche und Theologische Literatur, 255, note 2. J. Dräseke, "Die neuen Handschriftenfunde in den MeteoraKlöstern," Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Alterum, 15 (1912), 542-53.

110. See Symeon's chrysobull for the monastery of St. George at Zablantia, dated January 1361, in A. Solovjev and V. Mošin, Grčke povelje, 216-28.

111. See Lemerle, "Le juge général," 311.

112. See N. Bees, "Zur Schriftstellerei des Antonios von Larissa," BNJbb, 12 (1936), 300-19.

113. Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 250ff. C. Jireček, in his review of N. Bees's articles on Meteora in ASPh, 33 (1911-1912), 588, expressed the opinion that Symeon died around 1371. This view does not seem to be supported by any sources. See Lascaris, "Deux chartes," 278ff.

114. See Stojanović, Rodoslovi i letopisi, 80-1: "And this third Uroš [Stephen Dečanski, 1321-1331] had two sons, Stephen, the first tsar, and the powerful Symeon, who was emperor in the Greek lands, in the city of Trikkala, and there he died. The Koporinski letopis is considered by V. Čorović (Narodna enciklopedija, II, 705v) as "the oldest of the letopisi; although it has been preserved in a copy of 1453, it stops with the battle of the Marica (1371). It must have been written before 1381, since it does not say that John Uroš had become a monk, while it speaks with sympathy about Symeon and his children."

115. See the Greek inscription at the church of the Archangels at Kastoria, dated 6868 (1359-1360), ind. XIII, where one reads: βασιλεύοντος Συμεῶν τοῦ [Οὔρεσι] καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ [Ἰωάννου τοῦ Διοῦκα. The best edition of the inscription is provided by M. Lascaris ("Deux chartes," 283-4), who also thinks that it is possible to presume that at the same time Symeon proclaimed himself emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks in Kastoria in the beginning of 1356, he also proclaimed as co-regent his son John Dukas, still a child.

116. See Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 208-15. M. Lascaris ("Deux chartes," 277-323) has studied these two contemporary prostagmata with incomplete dating (only month and indiction: November, ind. X) for Nilus, protos of the skete of the Stagoi monastery in Thessaly, and on the basis of the contents and the indiction he came to the convincing conclusion that they should be dated 1372 and attributed to John, not to his father Symeon, as the editors of these documents (F. Uspenskij, N. Bees, S. Novaković, A. Solovjev, and V. Mošin) suggested.

117. Jireček, Geschichte, I, 442. On John, see V. Laurent, "Mélanges," REB, 13 (1955), 134.

118. Hopf, Geschichte, II, 40a, has written that John "spent his youth on Mount Athos...." As far as I know the information that John spent his youth on Mount Athos is not based on any of the sources.

119. On St. Athanasius, see N. Bees, "Geschichtliche Forschungsergebnisse," 364ff., where all the literature on him is mentioned. S. Lampros, Νέος Ἑλλ., 1 (1904), 368-9 refers to a ms. containing poems and a metrical chronicle. He refers to an edition by Todd of a catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of R. Curzon.

120. A synodical act for the monastery of the Great Gates (τῶν μεγάλων Πυλῶν) in Thessaly, issued in November 1381, was signed among others by John Uroš: † Ἰωάννης Οὔρεσης ὁ Παλαολόγος ὁ διὰ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος ὀνομασθεὶ Ἰωάσαφ μοναχός. This document has been published by L. Heuzey,

"Jugement synodal en faveur du couvent de la Panaghia des Grandes-Portes, REG, 32 (1919), 306-12. A facsimile of John's signature can be found in Bees, "Geschichtliche Forschungsresultate," 371, and Lascaris, "Deux chartes," 294. On the monastery of the Great Gates, see A. Orlandos, 'Η Πόρτα-Παναγιά τῆς Θεσσαλίας, 'Αρχεῖον Βυζ. μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος (1935), 5-10.

121. John Uroš has often been confused with Emperor John Cantacuzenus, who also took the name Joasaph when he became a monk. See Bees, "Geschichtliche Forschungsresultate," 386ff., and Lascaris, "Deux chartes," 294, note 1.

122. The Life of St. Athanasius the Meteorite, which according to internal evidence must have been written shortly after the saint's death in 1383, has been published by Bees, Συμβολή, 237-60. A later version in the vernacular has been published by S. Lampros, Life of Athanasius, 61-87.

123. Bees, Συμβολή, 253. St. Athanasius died in 1383, according to Bees, ibid., 215, who has studied this problem thoroughly.

124. Bees, Συμβολή, 254.

125. It has been suggested by G. Soteriou (Βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Θεσσαλίας ΙΓ' καὶ ΙΔ' αἰῶνος, Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ., 9 [1932], 388) that Joasaph returned to Meteora from Yanina. The Chronicle of Meteora (Heuzey and Daumet, Mission, 44) however, explicitly says that Joasaph "came [to Meteora] from his exile on Mount Athos." The Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" (49, 50) tells us that Joasaph was in Yanina immediately after the death of Thomas Preljubović (at the end of 1384 or the beginning of 1385), and he was present at his sister's marriage to Esau Buondelmonti. J. Voyatzidis's view, in Ἀθηνᾶ, 24 (1912), 355, that Joasaph was in Yanina on the day of Thomas's assassination (23 December 1384) has been convincingly refuted by N. Bees ("Geschichtliche Forschungsresultate," 375). It is more plausible that Joasaph came to Yanina from Meteora, as Bees (Συμβολή, 236) has suggested.

126. † ἐγράφη ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος τοῦ Μετεώρου. διὰ συνδρομῆς καὶ ἐξόδου βασιλέως, τοῦ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν μοναχοῦς ὀσιωτάτου κύρ Ἰωάσαφ διὰ χειρὸς χαρτοφύλακος τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἐπισκοπῆς Τρικκάλ(ων) ἱερέως Θυμᾶ τοῦ Ἐξροῦ. ἐπὶ ἔτους, ςω δ (1385/86) ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ς Θ'. There is a photographic reproduction of this manuscript notice in Bees, Συμβολή, 236, and "Geschichtliche Forschungsresultate," 374. There is also another codex from Meteora now at the National Library at Athens, copied by the well-known scribe, John Ducas Neokaisarites, which belonged to John-Joasaph Uroš, as L. Politis has shown (Σημείωμα περὶ τοῦ βιβλιογράφου Ἰωάννου Δούκα τοῦ Νεοκαισαρείτου, Εἰς μνήμην Λάμπρου [Athens, 1935], 595). Joasaph's name (probably written by himself) appears on the cover and has been reproduced by M. Lascaris, "Deux chartes," 295. For other codices from Meteora in which Joasaph's name is mentioned, see Bees, Συμβολή, 236 λθ. M. Lascaris (ibid., 294, note 1) suspects that a number of the codices of Vatopedi mentioned as gifts of John-Joasaph Cantacuzenus by L. Politis ("Jean-Joasaph Cantacuzène fut-il copiste?" REB, 14 [1956], 194-9) belonged in reality to John-Joasaph Uroš, who has often been confused with John Cantacuzenus, and who had connections with

with Vatopedi. (In 1394 he had bought some ἀδελοφάτα at Vatopedi. See Act of Vatopedi, dated October 1394, published by Bees, Συμβολή, 271-3.

127. The view that Joasaph visited Yanina again, toward the end of 1389, has been rejected with good reason by Bees, Συμβολή, 236; "Geschichtliche Forschungsergebnisse," 376).

128. See Chronicle of Meteora (Heuzey and Daumet, Mission, 444) and Life of St. Athanasius (Συμβολή, 250; cf. ibid., 215). See also the contemporary inscription on the column of one of the windows of the church of the monastery of the Transfiguration, which records the date of the reconstruction as 6896 (1387-1388). The same date for the reconstruction by Joasaph is also given in another inscription, dated 21 November 1483, from the same church. (Both inscriptions have been recently studied anew and reproduced by Lascaris, "Deux chartes," 285, note 1). Maria-Angelina had been a donor of Meteora. See her letter (May 1386) addressed to her brother Joasaph, by which she donates to him and the Meteorite monks a number of church objects. (Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 290-7). Cf. also the Chronicle of Meteora (Heuzey and Daumet, Mission, 444), where it is mentioned that Maria-Angelina had donated to her brother church objects that belonged to the monastery at Yanina and to her husband Thomas; she also gave cattle.

129. Both portraits, with the inscription ὁ ὅσιος πατήρ ἡμῶν Ἰωασάφ, are in the church of the monastery of the Transfiguration. (M. Lascaris reproduced them in "Deux chartes," facing page 286). There is also a miniature portraying Joasaph-John Uroš. (See Bees, "Geschichtliche Forschungsergebnisse," 397).

130. See the patria of the monastery of the Hypselotera (ed. N. Bees, Συμβολή, 274-6). Cf. also an undated document of the Hypselotera, where Joasaph is also mentioned (ibid., 277). According to N. Bees, Μετεώρα, Ἐγκυκλ. Λεξικὸν Ἐλευθερουδάκη, 9, 380a, this happened around 1390.

131. See a document from Vatopedi, dated October 1394, informing us that Joasaph had entered that monastery. The text of this document is published by N. Bees, Συμβολή, 271-3. Bees ("Geschichtliche Forschungsergebnisse," 378) and M. Lascaris (Ναὸι καὶ μοναὶ Θεσσαλονίκης τὸ 1405 εἰς τὸ Ὀδοπορικὸν τοῦ ἐκ Σμολῆνσκ Ἰγνατίου, Τόμος Ἀρμενοπούλου. Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, 6 [Thessalonica, 1952], 337-9; and "Deux chartes," 294, note 1) suggest that Joasaph left this time from Meteora as a refugee to Thessalonica, following Caesar Alexis Angelus Philanthropenus, who had succeeded him as governor of Thessaly as a result of the Turkish conquest of Thessaly at the beginning of 1394.

132. See two letters by the metropolitan of Larissa, Joasaph, dated February 1401 and 1401, ind. X, which testify to the presence of Joasaph (John Uroš) at Meteora. For the text of the documents, see Bees, Γράμματα Μετεώρου, 42ff., 45ff.

133. See a document from Meteora, dated 6931 (1422-1423), in which Joasaph is mentioned as deceased. (Bees, Γράμματα Μετεώρου, 52ff.). Cf. Bees, "Geschichtliche Forschungsergebnisse," 379. C. Hopf (Geschichte, II, 40), C. Jireček (Geschichte, I,

442), and others who followed Hopf have placed Joasaph's death on 20 November 1410. N. Bees (Συμβολή, 236) has convincingly proved that the manuscript notice on which Hopf based his argument refers not to John-Joasaph Uroš but to the son of Emperor Andronicus III, John Palaeologus, who also died as monk Joasaph. N. Bees, Καταστατικὸν γράμμα τῆς Μονῆς τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐν τῷ Σηηλαίῳ τοῦ Γραδιστίου. Ἀπελύθη ἐντολῆ τοῦ Σεβαστοκράτορος τῆς Θεσσαλίας Στεφάνου Γαβριηλοπούλου, BNJbb, 18 (1945-1949), (1960), 79-96. Binon, Origines légendaires, 270.

134. R. de Widmann Buonocore ("Nemagni-Paleologo-Ducas-Angelo-Comneno") advanced the theory that John Uroš and his wife Helen Hlapena Tornikes had a son called Theodore, who ruled in Thessaly from 1385 to 1396, and who, after the invading Turks expelled him, found refuge in Terra d'Otranto. This theory does not seem to be based on any source evidence and should be rejected. For a critical review of de Widmann Buonocore's theories, see N. Radojčić, "O Nemanjićima. Taljanske hipoteze o početku i koncu slavne dinastije," Prilozi Letopisu Matice Srpske, 1 (1928), 1-14. On Alexis Angelus, see V. Laurent, "Acte de donation du César Alexis Ange," REB, 13-14 (1955-1956), 128. R. J. Loenertz, "Un prostagma perdu de Théodore Ier Paléologue regardant Thessalonique (1380/1382)," Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ., 25 (1955), 170ff.

135. J. v. Hammer (Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches, I [Pest, 1827], 249) proposed the date 1396-1397, but C. Jireček (BZ, 18 [1909], 585; ASPh, 33 [1911-1912], 588) has shown that Thessaly must have been conquered early in 1394. On the Turkish conquest of Thessaly, see N. Beldiceanu, "Les Roumains à la bataille d'Ankara; quelques données sur leur organization militaire dans la péninsule balkanique," Südost-Forschungen, 14 (1955), 441-9. Ostrogorsky, History, 488.

136. See documents mentioning Serbs in Thessaly published by Bees, Γράμματα Μετεώρου, 40, 41, 47, 87. Cf. Jireček, Staat und Gesellschaft, II, 25a, and ASPh, 33 (1911-1912), 591.

CHAPTER VI

1. Cf. Cantacuzenus, I, 474, 9ff.

2. See Tsar Symeon's chrysobull for John Tsapahas Orsini Ducas, dated January 1361. Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 234ff. Cf. Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, 208ff.

3. See Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 36. By the geographical term Aetolia the chroniclers mean the territory of the despotate of Epirus. See Sathas, Ἑλληνικὰ ἀνέκδοτα, I, XXIII.

4. This idea of legality after the conquest of Byzantine lands had preoccupied Serbian rulers since Stephen Dušan.

5. A nationalistic feeling existed in Epirus, a local feudal desire for independence, which was expressed in 1339 by the revolts of Nicholas Basilites in Arta and Alexius Kabasides in Rogoi against the authority of Constantinople (Cantacuzenus, II, 509, 10ff.). Symeon seems to have been aware of this feeling, and he therefore tried to win the support of the

local population by connecting his name with that of the Epirote dynasty.

6. The Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" was in all probability written by several authors. The time of composition of the text as it is preserved today seems to be 1400-1401. This chronicle has been edited and analyzed in detail by Sebastian Cirac Estopañan in his two-volume work, El legado. Cf. review by G. Soulis in 'Αθηνᾶ, 54 (1950), 340-9. On the fictitious monks Proclus and Comnenus, see L. Vranousis, Χρόνικὰ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς καὶ τουροκρατουμένης Ἡπείρου· Ἐκδόσεις καὶ χειρόγραφα (Ioannina, 1962) and G. Soulis's review of this book in BZ, 58 (1965), 105-6.

7. We know, for example, that when later in 1358 Symeon returned to Epirus after Nicephorus's death, οὗ γὰρ Αἰτωλοὶ ἀσμένως αὐτὸν προσεδέξαντο, καὶ ὡς βασιλεῖα ἐβόηθησαν (Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 37).

8. See Ljubić, Listine, III, 175. Cf. Hopf, Geschichte, I, 446.

9. Dinić, "Carska titula," 102.

10. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 37.

11. Ostrogorsky, History, 476. Nicephorus's expedition was the only attempt to recapture former Byzantine territories after Dušan's death.

12. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 37.

13. Ibid., 37-8.

14. John Tsaphas was a descendant of Guido, the brother of John II, count of Cephallonia. He apparently lived in Epirus before the Serbian conquest. Of John Tsaphas Orsini we hear again in the sixteenth century, when in 1588 a descendant of his sent a letter in Latin from Cythera to the Austrian emperor, Rudolph, whom he incidentally calls a relative, asking assistance to recover the old possessions of his family. The letter was brought to the emperor by his elder brother George, who had also composed an ἱκετήριος λόγος addressed to Rudolph for the same purpose. In this latter document we read the following concerning John Tsaphas Orsini: Τὰς καθολικὰς σοὶ τῶν γραφῶν προσεκόμισα, χρυσαῖς ἐγκεχαραγμέναις σφραγίσιν, ἐν αἷς τοῖς ἐμοῖς δισπάλλοις, ἄλλως τε ἰωάννη ζάφω τῷ Οὐρσίνω μεγάλῳ τῆς τῶν Σέρβων ἀρχῆς κοντοσταύλῳ, παρὰ τῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος τε καὶ Σερβίας ἀρχόντων, καὶ Δεσποτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν τόπων, ἡ ἀρχὴ μετὰ καὶ τοῦ τίτλου τοῦ Δούκα, δίδοται τε καὶ ἐπιβεβαιοῦται, ὡσπερ ἐξ αὐτῶν, τῶν γραφῶν καταφανὲς ἐστίν, Λόγος ἱκετήριος εἰς τὸν Θεόσεπτον καὶ πανσεβαστὸν βασιλεῖα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἄριστον καὶ μέγιστον Ροδοῦλφον δεύτερον, τὸν καίσαρα (Venice, 1588), 16. (Georgii Ursini Ducatarii, Oratio ad Rudolphum II, D. G. Roman, Imp., Venetiis, Apud I. A. Rampazettum, 1588, 14). Cf. Epistola Nicolai Ursini Ducatarii et universae eius familiae ad ill. et excell. D. Gulielmum Ursinum regnantem D. Rossembergi et Crumai, Venetiis, Apud I. A. Rampazettum, 1588, 8. Cf. Hopf, op. cit., II, 36b; Romanos, Γρατιανὸς Ζώρξης, 284, note 1. See also the interesting document from the Archivio Orsini by S. Lampros, "Ἐγγραφα ἐκ τοῦ Archivio Capitolino," Νέος Ἑλλ., 20 (1926). 303ff.

15. See Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 230-9. On this chrysobull, see also S. K. Oikonomos, Περὶ τινος χρυσοβούλλου, Πανδώρα, 17 (1867), 490-1. This is an important document because it reveals the extent of Symeon-Šiniša's powers. He had the right to bestow titles (like grand constable) and to grant pronoias.

16. On the Tsaphas document, see Ostrogorsky, Féodalité, 208-10.

17. On the Rogoi, see Aravantinos, Χρονογραφία, II, 143ff. Cf. G. Soteriou, Τὸ κάστρον τῶν Ῥωγῶν, Ἡπειρ. Χρονικά, 2 (1927), 98-109.

18. On Vagenetia, see M. Lascaris, "Vagenetia," RHSEE, 19 (1942), 423-37.

19. In 1361 the island of Leukas was ruled by Graziano Giorgi, nominally a Venetian subject, but he placed himself under the authority of the French house of Angevin. After Graziano's death in 1362, the people of Leukas, wishing to be relieved from the oppressive rule of the Giorgi family, offered the island to the count of Cephallonia and Zakynthos, Leonardo Tocco, who thus became also the duke of Leukas. See Hopf, "Giorgi," 38; Romanos, Γρατιανὸς Ζῶρζης, 285, 295-307. A. Luttrell, "Vonitza in Epirus and its lords," RSDN, n. s. 1 (11), 1964, 140-1.

20. C. Hopf (Geschichte, II, 32) placed this event in 1360, but later in his Chroniques gréco-romanes, he proposed the date of 1358. Both dates are entirely arbitrary, for they are not based on any source. The only thing we know is that this event took place before Thomas Preljubović's appointment as governor of Yanina in 1366-1367. See Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 39.

21. On the site of the ancient Arsinoe, Angelokastron took its name from the Angelo-Comneni. See Sathas, Ἑλληνικά ἀνάκτορα, I, XXII, note 2.

22. C. Sathas (op. cit., I, XXXL) rejected the evidence of the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 39, and declared that Symeon had appointed Peter Boua, and not his son Ghin, as governor of the Acheloos. Sathas, however, failed to give any reference to the sources for his statement. On the Boua-Spata-Sgouros family, see Musachi, Breve memoria, in Hopf, Chroniques gréco-romanes, 270ff.; Hopf, Geschichte, II, 37a ff.; C. Sathas, op. cit., I, SVIIff.; A. Gegaj, L'Albanie et l'invasion turque au XVe siècle (Paris, 1937), 27-8. Gegaj erroneously made Ghin Boua despot of Argyrokastron instead of Angelokastron. Cf. Also R. Paribeni, "Venti anni combattimenti di un bellicoso Epirota in Italia," Revista d'Albanie, 1 (1940), 24-31. Cirac Estopaňan, El legado, I, 127, 217. According to N. Jorga (Brève histoire de l'Albanie, 36), the Boua family was not of Albanian but of Vlach origin; however, he offered no convincing evidence. For the various forms of the name of the Boua family, see Cirac Estopaňan, op. cit., I, 127.

23. On the Ljosha family, see Musachi, Breve memoria, 270ff.; Hopf, op. cit., 37aff.; Sathas, op. cit., I, passim, especially λβ; Gegaj, op. cit., 28; Cirac Estopaňan, op. cit., I, 126; according to N. Jorga (op. cit., 37) the Ljosha family was

also of Vlach origin. C. Hopf (op. cit., II, 378) expressed the opinion that Peter Ljoshka was the leader of the tribes of the Mazarakaioi and of the Malakassaioi. Most of these Albanian tribes had apparently served in the ranks of Dušan's armies. Cf. Hopf, ibid., 37a. On the various Albanian Despots of Epirus see also V. Makusev, Istoriceskija razyskanija, 48ff.; P. Phourikis, Μικρά συμβολή εἰς τὴν ἡπειρωτικὴν ἱστορίαν: Νικόπολις-Πρέβεζα, Ἡπειρ. Χρονικά, 4 (1929), 269-70.

24. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 39.

25. Ibid., 39-40. A later summarizer of the chronicle added that Thomas brought with him to Yannina a Serbian army of fifty thousand men. This is undoubtedly an exaggeration. On the other hand, A. Moustoxidis ('Ελληνομνήμων, VIII, 510, note 30) has arbitrarily expressed the opinion that Thomas entered Yanina with troops equal in number to those who proclaimed Symeon tsar in Kastoria, namely, four thousand or five thousand men. In my opinion the expression στρατὸν ἀναρίθμητον of the chronicle does not mean necessarily a huge army, as Cirac Estopañan (El legado, I, 128) is inclined to think. It may be merely a rhetorical exaggeration.

26. Thomas acquired these names from his wife, who was through her mother a descendant of the Greek despots of Epirus. See Ostrogorsky and Schweinfurth, "Das Reliquar," 166, note 1. Cf. Bees, Γράμματα Μετεώρου, 23; and Μετεώρου πίναξ ἀφιερωθεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλείας Παλαιολογίνης, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. (1911), 178b.

27. See the long discussion by Cirac Estopañan, op. cit., I, 74ff. Cf. G. Soulis, Ἀθηνᾶ, 54 (1950), 345-6. P. Aravantinos (op. cit., 148, note 2) was the first to point out the partiality of the authors of the chronicle.

28. On Bishop Sebastianus, see Metropolitan Athenagoras, Ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶν Ἰωαννίνων, Ἡπειρ. Χρονικά, 3 (1928), 20. Cf. Cirac Estopañan, op. cit., I, 129.

29. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 40.

30. Hopf, Geschichte, II, 38a.

31. Cirac Estopañan, op. cit., I, 129.

32. See Miklošich and Müller, Acta et Diplomata, I, 413ff., 493ff.

33. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 47, 48. On Bishop Matthew, see Metropolitan Athenagoras, loc. cit., 20-1.

34. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 48.

35. Cirac Estopañan, El legado, I, 79, 157-8.

36. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 40, 46.

37. Ruins of this fortress have been preserved near the city of Paramythia. See Cirac Estopañan, op. cit., I, 128-9.

38. In his revolt Bardas has been interpreted by C. Hopf (op. cit., II, 38a) as having joined the side of the Angevins.

Cf. Hahn, Albanische Studien, 324.

39. Cirac Estopaňan (op. cit., I, 129) identified Arachovitsa with present-day Sarkivitsa or Tserkovitsa in Epirus.

40. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 41.

41. On this family, see N. Bees, *Ot Aψapάδeς τῆς 'Ηπειρου*, II (1911), nos. 85-88.

42. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 41, 46.

43. Ibid., 40.

44. Ibid., 41.

45. For an explanatory note on all these taxes, see Cirac Estopaňan, El legado, I, 131-5.

46. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 41-2.

47. Miklošich and Müller, Acta et Diplomata, V, 77ff.

48. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 45.

49. On the Albanian tribes of the Mazarakaioi and the Malakassaioi, see Cirac Estopaňan, op. cit., I, 136-7. N. Jorga (Brève histoire, 37) considers both as Vlach and not Albanian tribes. The Malakassaioi are mentioned also by Cantacuzenus (I, 474, 10ff.) as living in the mountains of Thessaly. Cirac Estopaňan (op. cit., 135-6) has with good reason identified the attack of the Albanians with that of Peter Ljoshka, each of which is described in the chronicle as a separate event.

50. Unfortunately, our information about Irene is scanty. The same source informs us also that Irene died in 1374-1375, a victim of the plague, in Yanina where she had lived after her husband's death in 1373-1374. See Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 43. According to Chalcocondyles (ed. Darkó, I, 199, 12ff.) Thomas had a son also called Preljub (Πρεαλούπης).

51. Hopf, Geschichte, II, 37b.

52. Cirac Estopaňan, op. cit., I, 137; cf. ibid., 198-9.

53. For this Albanian family, see Gegaj, L'Albanie, 27-8.

54. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 43.

55. Whether this marriage ever took place--as C. Hopf (op. cit., II, 102a), C. Sathas (*Ἑλληνικά ἀνέκδοτα*, I, XLIV), and other scholars have thought--is not clear. We know, however, that Helen later became the wife of Marko Kraljević, and still later of Balša II. See Orbiní, Regno degli slavi, 290.

56. According to C. Hopf (op. cit., II, 38), Ghin Ljoshka became a priest after his wife's death, hence his name Phrates. It is most probable that Ghin died in Yanina as a prisoner.

57. According to the epitomizer of the chronicle, Thomas

had an army of 6,000 men with heavy and 9,000 with light armor. In the battle field he lost 2,568 men, while Phrates lost 6,393 men. (See Aravantinos, *Χρονολογία*, I, 141, note 2). These numbers are apparently much exaggerated, since the chronicle (44) specifically states that Thomas's forces in this war were very small.

58. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 44; Chalcocondyles (ed. Darkó), I, 197ff. Cf. Cirac Estopañan, op. cit., I, 142-6.

59. Chalcocondyles, ibid., 197ff.

60. According to C. Hopf's speculation (op. cit., II, 38b), the Malakassaioi made this expedition in order to free Ghin Phrates from captivity.

61. C. Hopf (op. cit., II, 38b) writes--but without quoting any source--that the number of the Albanians who crossed the lake in Nicephorus's boat was two hundred.

62. On this naval battle, see N. Georgitsis, 'Η ἐν τῷ λίμνῃ τῶν Ἰωαννίνων ναυμαχία, "Ἠπειρος, nos. 3303-1493, June 25, 1929.

63. Aravantinos, op. cit., I, 143, note 1.

64. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 46. The village Boursina still exists in the region of Paramythia in Epirus. See Aravantinos, op. cit., II, 38.

65. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 47.

66. Isaim (Saym, Shahin, Shain) of Liaskovik was, according to C. Hopf (op. cit., II, 39a, 31), an Albanian renegade. The epitomizer of the chronicle informs us that Thomas gave to Isaim important lands, which had belonged previously to the church of Yanina. In Yanina Isaim gathered an army of about three thousand men and attacked Bela and other cities. See P. Aravantinos, op. cit., I, 145, note 1.

67. According to the epitomizer, Thomas bought Hagios Donatus for two thousand pieces of gold. P. Aravantinos, op. cit., I, 146, note 1.

68. According to P. Aravantinos (op. cit., II, 60), the Zoulanaioi lived in the region of Konitsa.

69. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 47; F. Pouqueville (*Voyage dans la Grèce*, I, 436; V, 249, note 2) and Leake (*Travels*, IV, 557) identified Reunekon with present-day Ravene or Ravana.

70. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 43.

71. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 48-9.

72. According to the epitomizer, the bodyguards assassinated Thomas after they were bribed by a certain citizen. Besides, he says that one of the assassins was from Pelagonia and another from Kastoria. See Aravantinos, op. cit., I, 148, note 1.

73. Chalcocondyles (ed. Darkó), I, 199, 2ff.
74. Ibid., I, 199ff.; Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus,"
43. Cf. Cirac Estopañan, El legado, I, 81-5.
75. Chalcocondyles (ed. Darkó), I, 199, 13.
76. Jorga, Brève histoire, 37.
77. A. Orlandos, 'Εκ τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ κάστρου τῶν Ἰωαννίνων, 'Ημερ. Χρονικά, 5 (1930), 7-8.
78. See the article of G. Ostrogorsky and P. Schweinfurth, "El relicario de los despotas del Epiro," Archivo español de arte y arqueología, 6 (1930), 214, and the German revised version, "Das Reliquar," 167. This monument has been more recently and more thoroughly studied by Cirac Estopañan, op. cit., I, 1-56.
79. This tombstone was discovered in 1789 when Ali Pasha was tearing down a number of old buildings where the old cathedral of Yanina stood. It was not preserved, but it was described by Kosmas Balanos, who had seen it at the beginning of the nineteenth century. See τὸ μυστικὸ τοῦ κάστρου, Ἐλευθερία, 2 (1924), nos. 37, 38, 41; cf. T. S. Hughes, Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania (London, 1820), II, 9; Aravantinos, op. cit., I, 148, note 2.
80. For the various forms of his name, see Cirac Estopañan, op. cit., 191, note 116.
81. See Bees, "Tables généalogiques," 215.
82. The Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" (49) mentions only κατὰρσισα, but it is with good reason that N. Bees (loc. cit., 212) suggested that Maria, the wife of Caesar Alexius Angelus Philanthropenus, is meant here.
83. Gabriel remained hypopsephios until 23 April 1388 and only then became bishop. See Metropolitan Athenagoras, 'Ημερ. Χρονικά, 3 (1928), 21.
84. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 50.
85. Ibid., 50.
86. Cf. Cirac Estopañan, op. cit., I, 167.
87. According to C. Hopf (Geschichte, II, 40a), at this very period the Spatas were scheming against Yanina. Hopf refers to Venetian unpublished documents in Misti XL, fol. 141.
88. The Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" (51) does not give the name of the Caesar, but he must be either Alexius or Manuel Angelus Philanthropenus. We know that Alexius issued in August 1388 a horismos for Meteora, but again we know that in 1392-1393 Manuel was caesar of Thessaly. See P. Marc, Plan eines Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neuren Zeit (Munich, 1903), 42, no. 10; Bees, Γράμματα Μετεώρου, 27, 22. Cf. Voyatzidis, τὸ χρονικόν, 175. J. Romanos (Γρατιανὸς Ζώρζης) was mistaken when he identified the caesar or the passage

in question with monk John (Joasaph). John had abdicated and retired to the monasteries of Meteora, where he lived from at least 1381 to the end of his life under the name of Joasaph. See Bees, Συμβολή, 236; "Tables généalogiques," 212; "Geschichtliche Forschungsresultate," 376ff.

89. See Bees, "Tables généalogiques, 215. Cf. Cirac Estopañan, op. cit., I, 171. R. T. Kahane, Maria Rosa Liba de Maíkiel, "Doña Angelina de Grecia," NRFH, 14 (1960), 89-97. "Zur Geschichte der Basilissa Maria Angelina, Gattin von Thomas Preljub und Esau Buondelmonte (†1394) aus den zeitgenössischen Gedichten." [The editors found this title in G. Soulis's manuscript without further identification.]

90. Hopf, op. cit., II, 39b.

91. Such as Aravantinos, op. cit., I, 141, note 1.

92. A study of this icon with illustration has been published by Bees, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1911, 177-85. Cf. A. Xyngopoulos, Βυζαντινά εικόνες ἐν Μετεώροις, 'Αρχ. Δελτ., 10 (1926), 35ff.

93. The most convenient edition is in Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 290ff.

94. Maria is mentioned as a donor to the monasteries of Meteora also in the Σύγραμμα ἱστορικόν, Heuzeu and Daumet, Mission, 444; Uspenskiĵ, Putešestvie v Fessalii, 410-1. Cf. Bees, Συμβολή, 236λ.

95. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 52.

96. C. Hopf (II, 39a) arbitrarily identifies Ghin Zenebisses, sebastokrator of Vagenetia and lord of Argyrokastron and Parakolo, with Myrses Matzanus. Cirac Estopañan (op. cit., I, 172) with good reason contends that they are two persons. Ghin Zenebisses was related to Esau, as his wife was Spata's second daughter. See the letter of the Florentines to Spata in G. Lami, Deliciae eruditorum seu veterum ἀνέκδοτον Opusculorum collectanea (Florence, 1738), CXVIff.

97. Cf. Cirac Estopañan, op. cit., I, 173.

98. Dibra is in the area of Delbinon in present-day southern Albania.

99. See Lami, op. cit., CXVIff.

100. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 53.

101. Concerning the debatable question of this date, see Cirac Estopañan, op. cit., I, 176.

102. Hopf, Geschichte, II, 38; Romanos, op. cit., 167. On Maurikius, see Sathas, 'Ελληνικά ἀνέκδοτα, I, LX; Cirac Estopañan, op. cit., I, 175-6.

103. The name of Bongoes, who is called by the chronicle (54) Σερβοαρβανιτοβουλγαρόβλαχος, is considered by Cirac Estopañan (op. cit., I, 176-7) as a corruption of the name Boua. Cirac Estopañan also suspects that he was a descendant of Ghin

Boua Spata and therefore claimed Arta as inheritance. According to N. Jorga (Brève histoire, 39). Bongoes was a Vlach, whose name must be reconstructed to Văgăiu.

104. See J. Romanos, 'Ιστορία τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἠλείρου (Corfu, 1895), 168, where he refers to Ambasciaria 1542; cf. Jireček, "Witwe und Söhne," 3.

105. This document has never been published, only summarized by J. Romanos (op. cit., 168-9), who owned the original.

106. The most convenient edition is in Lj. Stojanović, op. cit., I, p. 68, no. 216. There is a German translation in C. Jireček, loc. cit., 12-3. M. Leake (Travels, IV, 204, note 1) arbitrarily expressed the opinion that Esau was still alive in Yanina during the reign of Sultan Murad II (1421-1451).

107. Stojanović, op. cit., I, p. 68, no. 216; Jireček, loc. cit., 12-3.

108. George is mentioned in the above-cited notice and also in Ragusan documents of 1427 to 1453; the other two children, whose names are not given, are mentioned in Ragusan documents of 1427 to 1428. See these documents in Jireček, loc. cit., 13-6. See also B. Krekić, Dubrovnik i Levant (1280-1450) (Belgrade, 1956), 35-6.

109. Venetian document about Spata, despot of Arta, of 27 September 1410 in Sathas, Documents, I, 34-6.

110. See Hopf, op. cit., II, 105a, who refers to Misti XLVI, fol. 320v. Cf. Romanos, op. cit., 169.

111. Ostrogorsky, History, 489.

112. Charles Tocco was related to Esau, as he was the son of Magdalena Buondelmonti, and he had married Francesca, daughter of Mario Acciajuoli. See Cirac Estopaňan, op. cit., I, 192, note 120.

113. See Hopf, op. cit., II, 106, note 67; Chroniques gréco-romanes, 531. Sathas, op. cit., I, LX. It is interesting to note that Chalcocondyles (I, 199) does not know any other ruler in Epirus between Esau and Charles Tocco.

114. See Lampros, 'Η ὀνοματολογία, 192. F. Babinger, Mehmed der Erober und seine Zeit [Munich, 1953], 421. For the treaty between Alphonse V and Charles Tocco, see F. S. Noli (George Castrioti Scanderbeg [New York, n. d.], 49). On Tocco, despot of Arta, see documents in N. Jorga, Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XVe siècle (Paris, 1899), II (Index s. v. Tocco); ibid., v. I, 266. On Ciriaco d'Ancona and Memnon, the illegitimate son of Charles Tocco, see F. Pall, "Ciriaco d'Ancona e la crociata contro i Turchi," Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de la Section historique, 20 (1938), 13, 16, 52. For the conquest of Yanina and Epirus by the Turks, see the Venetian document dated 18 May 1430 in C. Jireček and L. v. Thallóczy, "Zwei Urkunden," Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen, 140-2. The text is reproduced in Noli, Scanderbeg, 113. On the fall of Yanina (1430) and despot Memnon, etc., see documents in Jorga, Notes et extraits, II, 267, n. 3;

273; 319, n. 3. Ibid., III, index s. v. Janina. See also C. Marinescu, "Le Pape Nicolas V et son attitude envers l'Empire byzantin," Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare, 9 (1935), 340. F. Cerone, "La politica orientale di Alfonso di Aragona," ASTNap, 27 (1902), 836, doc. C. Marinescu, "Le Pape Calixte III (1455-1458), Alfonse V d'Aragon, roi de Naples, et l'offensive contre les Turcs," Bulletin de la Section historique de l'Académie roumaine, 19 (1935), 81. E. Gerland, Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistums Patras (Leipzig, 1903), 227. C. Marinescu, "Le Pape Nicolas V et son attitude envers l'Empire byzantin," Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare, 9 (1935), 340. There is much information on Epirus in T. Spandugino, C. Sathas, Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge (Paris, 1880-1890), vol. IX.

115. Cf. Hopf, Chroniques gréco-romanes, 344ff.; W. Miller, The Latins in the Levant (London, 1908), 483ff. Babinger (Mehmed, 282).

CHAPTER VII

1. On the boundaries of medieval Albania, see Acta Albaniae, I, IV, and M. v. Šufflay, "Die Grenzen Albanien im Mittelalter," Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen, I, 292. [These references were found attached to the manuscript and are here reproduced as they were found--Ed.]: Pietro Sella e Giuseppe Vale, Rationes decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII e XIV, Venetiae-Historia. Dalmatia, a cura - Città del Vaticano 1941-1942 (Studi e testi, 96). Pp. XLVIII, 522 (with two folded maps at the back). G. M. Monti, Rivista d'Albania, 3 (1942), 61-2; idem, "La Storia dell' Albania et le sue fonti vatopetane," Studi Albanesi, 1 (1931), 535-45; idem, Da Carlo I a Roberto di Angiò: ricerche e documenti (Trani, 1936); idem, Nuovi studi Angioini (Trani, 1937); idem, "Ricerche sul Dominio Angioino in Albania," Studi Albanesi, 6 (1935-1936); idem, "Les Angevins de Naples dans les études du dernier demi siècle," Revue des questions historiques, 62 (1934). On the ecclesiastical geography of Albania, see L. M. Ugolini, "Il Cristianesimo e l'organizzazione ecclesiastica a Butrinto (Albania)," OCP, 2 (1936), 309-29.

2. The Angevins also controlled Butrinto and Lepanto. For the Angevin policy in Albania during this period, see Gennaro Maria Monti, La espansione mediterranea del mezzogiorno d'Italia e della Sicilia (Bologna, 1942), 155ff. Previously, under Dusan's grandfather, King Milutin (1282-1321), the Serbs had captured Durazzo, then held by the Byzantines, but Philip of Tarentum reoccupied it in 1306. See Ostrogorsky, History, 435.

3. Dinić, "Za hronologiju," 5ff., proves that Berat was conquered in 1342-1343 by the sebastokrator of Serbia, kyr Nicephorus Isaakios (Chiersacchio), sovereign of Ohrid, who became governor of a section of Albania, including Berat and Valona.

4. The conquest of Kroja, Berat, and Kanina in 1342-1343 (a Venetian document dated May 1344 mentions dealings with Chiersacchio, probably in Valona) shows that most of Albania was

conquered in 1342-1343. Soon after the alliance with Cantacuzenus (1342), the Serbs moved into Albania and conquered the entire land, with the exception of Durazzo held by the Angevins. Dinić, *ibid.*, 9.

5. See Cantacuzenus, I, 495, 4ff.

6. L. v. Thallóczy and C. Jireček, "Zwei Urkunden aus Nordalbanien," 78ff., and Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen (Munich-Leipzig, 1916), I, 132.

7. This chrysobull, issued in June 1343, has been preserved only in a Latin translation inserted in a diploma of King Alphonse V of Aragon from Naples, dated 19 April 1457. It confirms this chrysobull and one by the Byzantine Emperor Andronicus II. By this chrysobull Dušan exempted the citizens of Kroja from corvées, taxes, and custom duties and protected them from arrest without charges and previous investigation. The text of the chrysobull is also included in Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 310ff.

8. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 36. That John was Dušan's relative is mentioned also in a Venetian document dated 13 April 1350. (S. Ljubić, Listine, III, 176). According to C. Hopf (Geschichte, I, 458b), John ruled only over Kanina, and Valona was ruled by Alexander Giorić. In a Ragusan document of 30 January 1359, we read "despotus Comnenus de Valona," which proves Hopf's statement to be incorrect. (Monumenta Ragusina, II, 263). Cf. the above-mentioned Venetian document, which implies that the "cognatus domini imperatoris," who was undoubtedly John Comnenus, controlled the coast of Valona. (Ljubić, op. cit., III, 176). According to W. Miller ("Valona," in Essays on the Latin Orient [Cambridge, 1921], 434), John adopted the title of despot borne by the Greek despots of Epirus, whose successor he pretended to be. In a Venetian document he is even called "Romanie despotus" (Venetian Archives Grazie XIII, f. 15, quoted by C. Jireček, "Spomenici srpski," II, note 4). Cf. A. Solovjev, "Un beau-frère du tsar Douchan," RIEB, 1 (1934-1935), 180-7.

9. Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus," 36.

10. The documents have been published by C. Jireček, "Spomenici srpski," 29, no. 12; 30, no. 13.

11. On medieval Valona, see C. Jireček, "Valona im Mittelalter," 168-87, and W. Miller, "Valona," in Essays on the Latin Orient (Cambridge, 1921), 429-40. It is interesting that a Venetian nobleman called Giannino Giogi, who was in trade relations with despot John Comnenus, bore the title of "Armiraia de la Uallona et Cauallarius eiusdem loci." Jireček, "Spomenici srpski," 30, no. 12. The port of Valona was usually a "porto-franco" for the Ragusan merchants. (See Monumenta Ragusina, II, 290; III, 28, 150). As a matter of fact, the name of Porto Raguseo (Pasha Liman of the Turks), at the mouth of the Doukayi valley on the bay of Valona, still preserves the memory of this connection. See Miller, op. cit., 434-5.

12. These three documents are preserved only in copies made in 1350 by a certain John de Parmigiano, a notary of Ragusa. The texts may be found in Jireček, *ibid.*, 29-30.

13. Ibid., 30.

14. Solovjev, loc. cit., 180ff. A Serbian translation of the complete Arabic text in question has been published by V. Bogišić, "Prilozi za historiju," Rad, 3 (1878), 176-8. Solovjev's point is very convincing. Cf. also Gaudefroy-Demombynes, "Une ambassade serbo-bulgare au Caire," Mélanges offerts à N. Iorga (Paris, 1933), 279-94, for another Arabic text, which probably refers to the Volga Bulgars.

15. S. Ljubić, Listine, III, 174. A. Solvojev, loc. cit., 183, note 1.

16. See the Venetian document published by Jireček, "Spomenici srpski," 11, note 4. C. Hopf (Geschichte, II, 446) also mentions this document, but he dates it 20 March 1353.

17. See a contemporary notice published by Anthimus Alexoudis, Δύο σημειώματα ἐκ χειρογράφων, Δελατ. Έτ. Έλλ., 4 (1892), 276.

18. Ljubić, Listine, III, 352 (5 September 1357); Acta Albaniae, II, 33, no. 128.

19. The Venetians consented to send Venetian noblemen to the "locus Avlone et alia loca despotatus" as "rectores vel capitanei aut officialles." (Acta Albaniae, II, 33, no. 127; 31 August 1357). A little later Venice allowed John to maintain an armed ship against the Sicilian pirates and other harmful persons (possit tenere armatum et cum eo exire pro dampificando cursarios cecilianos et alias malas gentes). Ljubić, Listine, IV, 3 (14 June 1358); Acta Albaniae, II, 34 no. 131.

20. Monumenta Ragusina, II, 263.

21. Ljubić, Listine, IV, 58.

22. C. Hopf (Geschichte, I, 458b) calls him Alexander Giorić, and he thinks that he ruled over Valona and, after John Comnenus's death, also over Kanina. For the incorrectness of this opinion, see supra, note 8. According to C. Jireček (Geschichte, I, 426, note 3), Hopf has by mistake given the name Giorić to Alexander.

23. See I. Ruvarac, O knezu Lazaru (Novi Sad, 1888), 118.

24. Acta Albaniae, II, 57, no. 249: господинъ канинъ и авлону. Cf. ibid., 44, No. 186: "Alexandro sebasto...de Valona." There exists also a seal of Alexander with the following inscriptions: [αλε ανατορα ρνα αυλωνε]. See A. Ivić, Stari srpski pečati i grbovi (Novi Sad, 1910); cf. Jireček, ASPh, 33 (1911-1912), 291.

25. Miklošich, MonSerb, 178-9.

26. Hopf, Geschichte, I, 458b, II, 43a. C. Jireček (Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen, I, 179) and A. Solovjev ("Un beaufrère de Tsar Douchan," RIEB, I [1934-1935], 185) are inclined to think that Balša received Valona and Kanina as the dowry of his wife Comnina, who most probably was the daughter of Despot John Comnenus. According to Giovanni Musachi (Hopf, Chroniques

gréco-romanes, 281ff.), Comnina was the daughter of Andrew Musachi, a relationship which has been accepted also by C. Hopf (*ibid.*, 532). C. Jireček (Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen, I, 179) maintained that Comnina was the daughter of John Comnenus, and that Giovanni Musachi wrote that she was Andrew Musachi's daughter in order to prove the rights of his family in this territory. M. Orbini (*op. cit.*, 290), on the basis of popular traditions, wrote that Balsa expelled "la figliuola del despota di Belgradi" in order to marry Marko Kraljević's wife Helen. Cf. Acta Albaniae, II, 49, no. 211.

27. Ljubić, Listine, IV, 219. Cf. Jireček, "Spomenici srpski," 11.

28. Ljubić, *op. cit.*, 101-2. On the island of Saseno, see S. Lampros, 'Η νῆσος Σάσων, Νέος 'Ελλ., 11 (1914), 57ff.

29. On the Balšići family, see G. Gelcich, La Zedda e la dinastia dei Balšidi (Split, 1899). Cf. Gegaj, *op. cit.*, 16ff., where all the important works on the subject are mentioned. Various opinions have been expressed concerning the national origin of the Balšići family. They have been considered of Vlach, Albanian, Serbian, and even French origin. See the various views quoted by Gegaj, *op. cit.*, 16, note 4. The Balšići were apparently a product of the mingling of nationalities that characterized the Balkans at that period. O. Halecki, "Župani Zety a Urban V," Šišićev Zbornik (Zagreb, 1929), 625-30 (with French résumé): Many authors mention the conversion of the Balšići rulers of Zeta to Catholicism in 1369 based only on documents published by A. Theiner. Halecki published some more documents from Vatican archives (bulls of Urban V) that inform us of the relations of the pope with the Balšići, and more particularly his role as mediator in their conflict with Stephen Uroš, king of Serbia, and the city of Kotor. [For a detailed history of the Balšić family, see Doba Balšića, in Istorija Crne Gore, v. 2, part 2 (Titograd, 1970), 3-133--Ed.].

30. Inter marriages between the Balšići and the Serbian dynasts took place on a large scale. See A. Ivić, Rodoslovne tablice srpskih dinastija i vlastele (2nd ed., Belgrade, 1923), Table 6.

31. On the date of Balša's death, see mss. notice in Νέος 'Ελλ., 7, 145. Cf. RISEE, 10 (1933), 104.

32. George Balšić had originally married a daughter of Vukašin, called Olivera. His second wife was Theodora, a daughter of Dejan and consequently Dušan's niece, who was previously Žarko's wife. See Jireček, Geschichte, I, 423.

33. Ljubić, *op. cit.*, IV, 100.

34. Ibid., 219-20.

35. See S. Lampros, 'Ενθημήσεων καὶ χρονικῶν συμειωμάτων συλλογή πρώτη, Νέος 'Ελλ., 7 (1910), 145.

36. Pyrgos was located at the mouth of the river Semeni. See Acta Albaniae, II, 107, 111.

37. Ljubić, Listine, IV, 226-7. The document is dated 1 May

1386.

38. Ibid., IV, 263, 266.

39. Ibid., IV, 308.

40. Ibid., 349. The document is dated 5 October 1395.

41. On Mrkša, see Makušev, op. cit., 56; Jireček, "Spomenici srpski," 45-50, and BZ 13 (1904), 197-8; and Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen, I, 180ff. J. G. v. Hahn (Albanische Studien, I, 72) has confused Mrkša with Marko Kraljević. The correspondence between Mrkša and the Venetians and the Ragusans has been published by S. Ljubić, N. Jorga, Pucić, and C. Jireček. For these documents see Acta Albaniae, II, 296, under the name Žarković Mrkša. (On Μύρας, see. M. Lascaris, "Joachim, métropolitite de Moldavie et les relations de l'église moldave après le patriarcat de Peć et l'archevêque d'Achris au XV siècle," Bulletin de la Section Historique de l'Académie Roumaine, 13 [1927], 12, 25).

42. Chalcocondyles (ed. Darkó), II, 29, 8.

43. Giovanni Musachi in Hopf, Chroniques gréco-romanes, 290.

44. Mrkša is mentioned as the son of Žarko in an act of his dated 24 June 1402. See Jireček, "Spomenici srpski," 49, no. 37. Chalcocondyles (ed. Darkó, I, 25, 16) wrote by mistake that Žarko was appointed by Dusan as governor of the Axios region in Macedonia. According to Chalcocondyles (I, 74, 23), Žarko had a son called Constantine. Cf. Jireček, ibid., 12.

45. Mrkša's mother was Theodora, who received the name Xenia when she became a nun. She was a sister of Constantine Dejanović. George Balšić was her second husband, and she had by him a son, Constantine Balšić, and a daughter called Eudocia, who became the third wife of the Florentine despot of Yanina, Esau de Buondelmonti. See Jireček, "Witwe und Söhne," 3ff.

46. In the contemporary documents we find the spelling Rugina; the form Regine occurs only in the later sources. See Acta Albaniae, II, 114, no. 461; 139, no. 528.

47. Miklošich and Müller, Acta et Diplomata, II, 230ff.

48. Ljubić, Listine, IV, 384.

49. Ibid., IV, 412.

50. Ibid., IV, 423.

51. Jireček, "Spomenici srpski," 49.

52. Mrkša and his wife had been citizens of Ragusa since 29 August 1397. See the Ragusan document published by Jireček, ibid., 14.

53. See Jireček, "Valona im Mittelalter," 181.

54. Ljubić, Listine, VII, 198-9. Jorga, Notes et extraits, I, 257-8. Mrkša appears for the last time in the Ragusan

documents in 1412. (See Jireček, ibid., 182). According to C. Hopf, who drew on unpublished Venetian documents, Mrkša died in 1414. Cf. Jireček, "Spomenici srpski," 15.

55. This document has been published by N. Jorga, op. cit., II, 160-1. Cf. Jireček, ibid., 15. Cf. a Venetian document of 21 July 1418, which informs us that Valona had fallen into the hands of the Turks. Ljubić, Listine, VII, 263. For the visits of Rugina, wife of Markša Žarković, to Dubrovnik in 1417 and 1421, see B. Krekić, Dubrovnik i Levant, 35, n. 4. As far as Rugina is concerned, we know that she had deposited her treasures in Ragusa and that she went personally to Ragusa once in 1421, but after this date we hear nothing of her. See Pucić, op. cit., II, 73. Cf. Jireček, Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen, I, 182.

56. Ljubić, Listine, VII, 263.

57. For a detailed history of Zeta, see Istorija Crne Gore, v. 2, part 2, Crna Gora u doba oblasnih gospodara (Titograd, 1970).

58. Miklošich, MonSerb, 566.

59. Pucić, op. cit., II, 29, no. 38.

60. Jorga, Notes et extraits, I, 506, 507, 510, 512-3. Ljubić, Listine, IX, 123.

61. Ibid., VIII, 304-5.

62. Ibid., VIII, 95, 109, 112. Cf. Luccari, Annali di Ragusa, III, 85-6.

63. On the Gropa family, see Jireček, Geschichte, I, 433; II, 107. Gegaj, L'Albanie, 29-30.

64. Hopf, Chroniques gréco-romanes, 290, 532. Cf. Makušev, op. cit., 55.

65. Ivanov, Bulgarski starini, 39, no. 10.

66. It was published for the first time by B. Mušić, Kraj obala Ohridskog jezera (Belgrade, 1894). Cf. VizVrem, 1 (1894), 764. There have been later editions, one by Miljukov, "Hristianskija drevnosti," 95, and a more accurate edition by Ivanov, op. cit., 42, no. 17. See also C. Jireček, BZ, 13 (1904), 195.

67. See G. Balasčev, "Izdanijata, prěpisitě i značienieto na kodeksa ot Ohridskata Arhiepiskopija za neinata istorija," Periodičesko spisanie na Bŭlg. Kniz. Druž., 55-6 (1898), 205.

68. The main source on the Musachi is the work by Giovanni (Ghin) Musachi, Breve memorie de li discendenti de nostra casa Musachi. It was composed in exile at Naples in 1510, when a crusade against the Turks was under preparation--a crusade that never took place. The author's purpose in writing was to tell his three sons what parts of Albania belonged to their ancient family and how those parts should be divided among themselves in case the Turks were driven out of Albania. The manuscript was discovered in the Biblioteca Brancacciana at Naples by C. Hopf, who first published it completely in his Chroniques

gréco-romanes. For the importance of this Genealogia for the history of Albania, see V. Makušev, Nekoliko novih izvora za historiju južnikh Slovena (reprinted from Rad, Zagreb, 1868), 5ff.; J. C. v. Hahn, "Reise durch die Gebiete des Drin und Wardar," Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 16, Section II, 96ff. See F. S. Noli, George Castrioti Scanderbeg (New York, n. d.), 80. On the Musachi family, see also Acta Albaniae, I, 195-6.

69. See Hopf, Chroniques gréco-romanes, 281.

70. Andrew Musachi possessed the title of "dispotus Albanie" before his victory over Vukašin, according to a document of 30 December 1336 referring to Andrew, in which this title is mentioned. See Acta Albaniae, I, 241-2; cf. ibid., 196.

71. See C. Jireček, Časopis Českého Musea, 60 (1886), 250-1.

72. See Hahn, loc. cit., 106ff.; Gegaj, op. cit., 8ff. For the various forms of the name Thopia, see Gegaj, op. cit., 8, note 1.

73. See Hahn, Albanische Studien, I, 119-20; S. Aristarchis, 'Επιγραφαὶ Ἐλληνικαὶ Λατινικαὶ καὶ σερβικαὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας Βελεγράδων, 'Ο ἐν Κων/πόλει Ἑλλ. Φιλ. Σύλλογος, 13 (1878-1879), 98ff., where a number of inscriptions that mention Charles Thopia are published.

74. Cf. T. Ippen, "Contributions à l'histoire de l'Albanie du XIIIe au XVe siècle, 1204-1444," Albanie, 4 (1932), 28-35. According to Barlettius, Charles Thopia built Kroja in the fourteenth century. This information must refer to a rebuilding of the city in 1366, since Kroja was already an important military fortress in the thirteenth century (Acropolites-Bonn, 49, 50). On Kroja, see I. Jastrebov, "Stara Srbija i Albanija," Spomenik, 41 (1904).

75. Cf. Gegaj, op. cit., 10.

76. Cf. Gennaro Maria Monti, La espansione mediterranea del mezzogiorno d'Italia e della Sicilia (Bologna, 1942), 155.

77. See the Neapolitan document dated 20 March 1372 in V. Makušev, "Italjanske arhivi i hranjaščiesja v nih materialy dlja slavjanskoj istorii," Zapiski Imper. Akademii Nauk, 19 (1871), Priloženie, no. 3, 3ff. Cf. A. Rubiō y Lluch, "Conquista de Tebas en 1379 por Juan de Utrubia," Acad. Roumaine, Bulletin de la Section Historique, 11 (1924), 171-3.

78. See Acta Albaniae, II, 73, no. 317.

79. Unpublished Ragusan document quoted by Jireček, Geschichte, II, 109, note 3.

80. See Acta Albaniae, II, 93, no. 388.

81. See Venetian document dated August 17, 1386, where Charles Thopia is mentioned as "dominus Durachii." Acta Albaniae, II, 96, no. 401.

82. See Acta Albaniae, II, 96, nos. 401, 402. Cf. Hopf,

Geschichte, II, 41bb. For further information on Charles Thopia, see Jastrebov, ibid., 338; S. Lampros, Νέος 'Ελλ., 19 (1925), 298; Theopfan Popa, in Buletin i Universitetit Shtetedor te Tirane, I (1958), referred to through M. Lambertz, Südost-Forschungen, 18 (1959), 238; T. Popa, "Te dhana zubi princet mesjetare shqiptare ve mbishrimet e kishkave tova," Buletin i Universitetit Shtetror te Tiranes. Seria Shkencat Shogerore, II, 2 (1957), 185-205.

83. Theiner, MonHung, II, 165.

84. Ljubić, Listine, IV, 290ff., nos. 418, 420, 423, 424, 426. Jorga, Notes et extraits, I, 99, note 1. Cf. Hopf, Geschichte, II, 42, 92-4.

85. The information from the well-known Bulgarian chronicle (ed. I. Bogdan) that the Turks had conquered Durazzo during their campaign in 1371-1389 is considered incorrect by C. Jireček. See I. Bogdan, "Ein Beitrag zur bulgarischen und serbischen Geschichtsschreibung," ASPh, 13 (1891), 49; and C. Jireček, "Zur Würdigung," 266.

86. See C. Jireček, "Die Lage und Vergangenheit der Stadt Durazzo in Albanien," Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen, I, 165.

87. See Jireček, "Spomenici srpski," 15ff. His quotations are from unpublished Venetian documents.

88. In 1403 Kroja was governed by Count Niketa Thopia, who was a Venetian vassal. After Niketa's death in 1415 Kroja was ruled by a Turkish governor called Balabanbeg. Later in the fifteenth century Kroja became the center of Scanderbeg's resistance. See Jireček, Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen, I, 134.

89. See I. Božić, "Sredjovekovni Paštrovići," IstČas, 9-10 (1959), 151-85.

90. On the Ducagin family, see Hahn, Reise, 121ff.; cf. Gegaj, op. cit., 12ff., where he also lists the various opinions for the non-Albanian origin of his family. [See also a more recent study on the Ducagins by I. Božić, "O Dukadjinima," in his Nemirao Pomorje XV veka (Belgrade, 1979), 332-84].

91. Jorga, Notes et extraits, II, 261.

APPENDIX I

1. Cantacuzenus calls him Μομτζίλος; Gregoras uses the form Μομτζίλας. It is interesting to note that Momcilo (Μομτζίλας) is mentioned also in Manuel Philes's poems, written ca. 1305 on Protostrator Michael Glabas. Manuelis Philae, *Carmina* (ed. E. Miller, Paris, 1854), II, 249, l.203. The Turkish poet Enveri (Mélikoff-Sayar, *Destan d'Umur Pacha*, 101, l.1569ff.) also gives considerable information about Momcilo (Mumcila). Srećković (*Istorija*, II, 466, note 1) incorrectly thinks that Hopf (*op. cit.*, II, 42a) has identified the Momcilo in question with the Albanian princeling Ghin I Musachi because the latter refers to Domenigo Momscilo, mentioned by Mauro Orbini (*Il regno degli Slavi*, 273). On Momcilo, see S. Novaković, *Stara srpska vojska*, 88-93, 168-9, and his "Strumska oblast u XIV veku i car Stefan Dušan," *Glasnik SANU*, 38 (1893), 26-34; S. Kyriakidis, Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται VII: 'Ο Μομτζίλος καὶ τὸ κράτος του, Μακεδονικά, 2 (1950), 332-45; Lemerle, *Aydin*, 168-9, 214-5. Kyriakidis, Περὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Θράκης. 'Ο Ἑλληνισμός τῶν συγχρόνων Θρακῶν. Αἱ πόλεις Ἐάνθη καὶ Κομοτινὴ (Thessalonica, 1960), 37-42, 58-62. V. Zlatarski, "Ivajlo i Momcil. Sravnitelna karateristika," *BülgPreg*, 5 (1899), kn. 7, pp. 103-15. R. Tunguz-Perović, "Despot Momcilo," *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 47 (1935), 35-48. M. Karanović. "O mramorju vojvode Momcila," *ibid.*, 52 (1940), 69-76. D. Angelov, "Antifeodalni dvizheniia v Trakiiia i Madeoniia prez sredata na XIV vek," *IstPreg*, 8 (1951-1952), 439-56.

2. Cantacuzenus, II, 402, 24-5.

3. *Ibid.*, II, 402, 13ff.; Enveri (tr. Mélikoff-Sayar, 101, l. 1569) places him "dans le pays serbe"; cf. Kyriakidis, *ibid.*, 334.

4. Cantacuzenus, II, 403, 9ff.

5. *Ibid.*, II, 402, 20-5.

6. *Ibid.*, II, 421, 16ff.; Gregoras, II, 704, 22ff.

7. Gratianou is present-day Gritzen Asar. See Kyriakidis, *op. cit.*, 40ff. Cf. C. Jireček, "Das christliche Element in der topographischen Nomenclatur der Balkanländer," *SBWien, Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, 136 (1897), 72.

8. Momcilo became Omur's vassal. See Lemerle, *Aydin*, p. 205, n. 1; 246.

9. Cantacuzenus, II, 436, 21ff.; cf. *ibid.*, 530, 22ff.; Gregoras, II, 727, 24ff.

10. Lemerle, *Aydin*, 214.

11. On the close ties between Momcilo and Omur, see Lemerle, *Aydin*, 214, n. 3.

12. Lemerle, *Aydin*, 217.

13. He even succeeded in conquering Xanthe, where he established his headquarters. See Cantacuzenus, II, 530, 22ff.

14. Cantacuzenus, III, 606; ἀδελφιδούβ, Cantacuzenus, II, 531.
15. Gregoras, II, 728, 3ff.; Enveri (Mélihoff-Sayar, Destan d'Umur Pacha, 124, 1, 2321ff.) mentions also this event. Gregoras (II, 729, 14ff.) informs us that Momčilo died four days before Apocaucus's assassination (11 July 1345). There are also several short Serbian notices concerning the battle at Peritheorion and Momčilo's death, but their historical value is negligible. C. Jireček (Geschichte der Bulgaren [Prague, 1876], 304) called them "plumpes Falsum." The text of these short chronicles is available in Stojanović, Rodoslovi i letopisi, 207. See also the mention of Momčilo's death, though incorrectly dated in the sixteenth-century short Bulgarian chronicle edited by J. Bogdan in ASPh, 13 (1890-1891), 520. Enveri (loc. cit., 124, 1, 2321ff.) gives the credit for Momčilo's defeat to Omur alone. On the basis of Enveri's account about Momčilo, one may assume that for a while there existed close personal ties between Omur and the Bulgarian rebel. See Lemerle, Aydin, 214, note 3.
16. See I. Ruvarac, Dve studentske rasprave (Novi Sad, 1884), 47-9; V. Džurinskij, "Bulgarskija pesni o Doičine i Momcile," Kievskija Universitetskija Izvēstija, 32, No. 4 (April 1893), 1-64 (not accessible to me); M. Halanskij, Južno-slavjanskija skazanija o Kraljeviče Marke s svjazi s proizvedenijam i russkago bylevogo eposa (Warsaw, 1893-1896), I, 6ff.; according to tradition, Momčilo's sister was Kraljević Marko's mother. See V. Jagić, "Kraljević Marko kurz skizziert nach der serb. Volksdichtung," ASPh, 5 (1881), 439. Folk traditions about Momčilo also recorded in Prilozi za književnost, 4 (1924), 265-6.

APPENDIX II

1. See A. Solovjev, "Grečeskie arhonty," 275-87.
2. On the meaning of this title, see K. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts (third edition, Berlin, 1892), 387; also Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 456-7.
3. Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 74. (Dušan's prostagma to the magnate kyr George Phokopoulos, dated April 1346). Cf. Solovjev, "Grečeskie arhonty," 279. One may mention here that at the same time the governor of the neighboring Trilision and Brontos (northeast of Serres) was a Serb, Raiko (Solovjev and Mošin, op. cit., 22ff.).
4. He signed a document of the ecclesiastical tribunal at Serres, dated November 1360, as Grand Papias Doukas Nestongus. (Petit, Actes grecs de Chilandar, 310). There is no doubt that he is the same person as "Nestegus cephalia Serenus," who was sent by Dušan with an embassy to Avignon in 1354, as earlier mentioned. Doukas Nestongus seems also to have been the author of "un chronique abrégé allant du commencement du monde à son époque." (Petit, op. cit., II). Cf. Solovjev, "Grečeskie arhonty," 282; also R. Guillard, "Etudes de titulature byzantine: les titres auliques réservés aux eunuques. Le primicier," REB, 14 (1956), 139-40.

5. He signed the document mentioned in the previous note as kephale of Serres (Petit, Actes grecs de Chilandar, 310). Cf. Solovjev, loc. cit., 283.
6. Lemerle, "Juge général," 313.
7. His name appears for the first time in the inscription on the tower of Serres, dated 1350, which I discuss in the following Appendix. For references to Orestes in contemporary documents, see Solovjev, "Greceskie arhonty," 280-1. One may also mention here two other persons of considerable influence in Serres during the Serbian domination. The first is the magnate George Phokopoulos, whose privileges were confirmed by Dusan in three decrees, dated April 1346, April 1348, and May 1352. (Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 72ff., 138ff., 178ff.). The second is the Serb Radoslav Pović, brother of Logothete George. (Jireček, "Spomenici srpski," 9, 35; Radoslao Pouicha in domo sua in civitate Serrarum [15 May 1368]).
8. Cyprian is mentioned in a prostagma of Dušan (issued between September and December 1345) to Raiko, governor of Trilisos and Brontos. See Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje, 24.
9. On Jacob, see Stanojević, "Serskiĳ mitropolit Iakov," 95-8.
10. Novaković, ZakSpom, 687.
11. Cf. Dušan's chrysobull for the monastery of the Archangels at Prizren, issued between 1348 and 1353. (Novaković, ZakSpom, 687).
12. It is interesting to note that he always signed the Greek acts in Serbian. Cf. Joacob's letter, dated December 1359, granting privileges to the Athonite monastery of Espigmenou. (T. Florinskiĳ, Afonskie Akty i fotograficheskie snimki s nih v sobranijah P. I. Sevastjanova [St. Petersburg, 1880], 87-8; Petit and Regel, Actes d'Espigmenou, 37). See also an act of the monastery of Zographou (June 1357), in Regel, Kurz and Korablev, Actes de Zographou, 92, 94, and a letter of the ecclesiastical tribunal of Serres (November 1360), in Petit and Korablev, Actes grecs de Chilandar, 309.
13. On ecclesiastical status of eastern Macedonia, see Lemerle, Philippe, 265ff.
14. Danilo (ed. Daničić), 381.
15. Lemerle, "Juge général," 305, 315. Dennis, Manuel II Palaeologus, 66.
16. Solovjev, "Sudije," 153ff.
17. Novaković, ZakSpom, 701-8.
18. Cf. an act of the bishop of Caesaropolis, dated June 1357, by which (confirming the decision of the metropolitan of Serres) he deprived the monastery of Caracalla of the church of St. Nicholas, located in his diocese, and gave it to the monastery

of Zographou on the condition that the monastery pay eight golden pieces to the church annually. (Regel, Kurz, and Korablev, Actes de Zographou, 92ff.).

19. This is recorded in a mss. notice dated 1359. V. Benešević, Pamiatniki Sinaja arheologičeskie i paleograficeskie, I (Leningrad, 1925), III. See also the notice dated 1355 of the Slavic gospel manuscript of Lord Zouche in Stojanović, Zapisi i natpisi, I, 38, no. 103. Cf. V. Rozov, "Srpski rukopisi Jerusalima i Sinaja," Jugoslavenski Filolog, 5 (1925-1926), 118-29; M. Speranskij, "Slavjanskaja pis'mennost' XI-XIV na Sinaj i u Palestine," Izvestija Otd. russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Akad. nauk SSSR, 31 (1927), 93ff.; Stanojević, "Serskiij mitropolit Iakov," 97.

20. Cf. the letter of the ecclesiastical tribunal of Serres dated November 1360. (Petit, Actes grecs de Chilandar, 309). We do not know exactly when Jacob died, but it must have been between November 1360 and August 1365 because we find in August 1365 another Serbian, named Sava, signing as metropolitan of Serres. (Petit and Regel, Actes d'Esphigmenou, 40).

APPENDIX III

1. The best description of the tower is to be found in E. M. Cousinery, Voyage dans la Macédoine (Paris, 1831), I, 159ff.; P. N. Papageorgiou, Ατ Σέρραι, 236-41, Kondakov, Makedonija (St. Petersburg, 1909); and A. Deroko, "Neki spomenici iz srpskog vremena u Serezu i okolini," Spomenik, 106 (1956), 61-6. For the other monuments in Serres and the surrounding area connected with the Serbian domination (church of St. Theodore, church of St. Nicholas, and the monastery of St. John Prodromus on Mount Menoikeion), see V. Marković, Pravoslavno monaštvo i manastiri u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji (Sr. Karlovic, 1920), 106; A. Deroko, "Neki spomenici u Turskoj i Grčkoj u vezi sa istorijom srednjovekovne Srbije," Matica Srpska, Zbornik za drustvene nauke, 13-4 (1956), 297.

2. P. N. Papageorgiou, 'Αρχαιολογικὰ Σερρῶν, Κωνσταντινούπολις (newspaper) no. 267 (Constantinople, 3 May 1889).

3. P. N. Papageorgiou, Ατ Σέρραι καὶ τὰ προάστεια, BZ, 3 (1894), 239.

4. A. Papadopoulos Kerameus's review of the above-mentioned article of P. N. Papageorgiou in VizVrem, 1 (1894), 675.

5. P. N. Papageorgiou, 'Ο ἐν Σέρραις, Πύργος ἀγούστου βασιλέως, BZ, 10 (1901), 545. The first reading of Papageorgiou was reproduced by M. Dimitzas in his Μακεδονικῶν μέρος Γ'. 'Η Μακεδονία ἐν λίθους φθεγγόμενοις (Athens, 1896), 74ff. I. Ivanov (Bŭlgarski starini iz Makedonija [Sofia, 1908], 265) published a facsimile of the inscription, which he read only as ἰπύργος...ἐκκτησεν, and refers to Papageorgiou's second reading. In the second edition of his work, published in Sofia in 1931, Ivanov does not mention the inscription at all. A. Solovjev ("Car Dušan u Serezu," 474ff.) incorrectly attributes the reading ΠΥΡΓΟΣ ΑΓΙ ΒΑCΙΑΕΙ to Papageorgiou.

6. E. Stratis, 'Ιστορία τῆς πόλεως Σερρών, 2nd ed. (Serres, 1926), 33. He identifies Orestes with a person of the same name who appears in the times of Basil II Bulgaroktonus. Cf. C. Paparregopoulos, 'Ιστορία τοῦ Ἑλλ. Ἔθνους, 4 (Athens, 1925), 252, 270.

7. N. Bees, VizVrem, 20 (1913), 302.

8. A. Xyngopoulos, "Recherches archéologiques à Serres," Comptes-rendus du II Congrès Intern. des Études Byzantines (Belgrade, 1929), 189; A. Xyngopoulos, Τὰ βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῶν Σερρών, Γρηγόριος Παλαμᾶς, 3 (1919), 912-7. Inscription discussed on pp. 915-6; Byzantinoslavica, 2 (1930), 292, note 11.

9. A. Solovjev, "Car Dušan u Serezu," 474ff.

10. N. Bees (loc. cit., 314ff.) was the first to identify Orestes correctly. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (loc. cit., 675) expressed the opinion that the name Orestes in the inscription is a hellenized form of the name of Dušan's son Uroš. On Orestes, see A. Solovjev, "Grečeskie arhonty," 280-1.

11. See the act of the ecclesiastical court of Serres for the monastery of Esphigmenou (August 1365) in Petit and Korablev, Actes d'Esphigmenou, 38, 1.40; and another of October 1366, in Petit, Actes de Chilandar, 316.

12. A. Solovjev, "Car Dušan u Serezu," 477.

13. A. Deroko, "Neki spomenici u Turskoj i Grčkoj u vezi sa istorijom srednjovekovne Srbije," Matice Srpska, Zbornik za društvene nauke, 13-4 (1956), 293-300, and "Neki Spomenici iz srpskog vremena u Serezu i okolini," Spomenik, 106 (1956), 61-6 (with plans and photographs of the tower and the inscriptions).

APPENDIX IV

1. Ostrogorsky, History, 478-9.

2. H. A. Gibbons, The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire (Oxford, 1916), 138.

3. C. Jireček, Geschichte der Bulgaren (Prague, 1876), 317.

4. A notable example is the Bulgarian Chronicle of the fourteenth century, discovered and published by the Rumanian scholar Bogdan ("Ein Beitrag," 497ff. Cf. C. Jireček, "Zur Würdigung," 267ff.); the so-called younger group of Serbian chronicles (Stojanović, Rodoslovi i letopisi, and the Βραχέα Χρονικά, an important collection of short Byzantine chronicles, published by S. Lampros and C. Amantos (Athens, 1933), to which another chronicle published by Gorianov ("Hronograf XIV v.," 276ff.) must be added. Cf. Charanis, "Βραχέα Χρονικά," 335-62.

5. S. Novaković, Srbi i Turci.

6. A list as well as an evaluation of N. Jorga's articles on the problem of the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans may be found in the article of Maria Matilda Alexandrescu Dersca,

"N. Iorga, historien de l'Empire Ottoman," Balcanica, 6 (1943), 101ff.

7. P. Nikov, "Turskoto zavladevane na Bŭlgarija i sadbata na poslednite Ŗismanovci," Izvestija na istoričesko druŖestvo v Sofija, 7-8 (1928), 41-112. A more popular version of this article was published by P. Nikov in Bŭlgarska istoričeska biblioteka, 1 (1928), 112-59.

8. F. Taeschner and P. Wittek, "Die Vezirfamilie der Ğandarlyzade (14-15 Jhdt.) and ihre Denkmäler," Der Islam, 18 (1929), 71ff. P. Wittek, "De la d efaitte d'Ankara   la prise de Constantinople (Un demi-si ecle d'histoire ottomane," REI, 12 (1938), 1ff.

9. Babinger, Frŭhgeschichte der Tŭrkenherrschaft.

10. Lemerle, Aydin. J. Dr eseke's article "Die  bergang der Osmanen nach Europa im XIV. Jahrhundert," Neue Jahrb ucher f ur klassische Altertum, 21 (1913), 476ff., is a mere summary of the accounts of Cantacuzenus and Gregoras.

11. Stojanovi , Zapisi i natpisi, III, 43-4.

12. See Sadeddin, Tag et-tewarikh (Istanbul, 1279/80), I, 91, 103; Italian translation by B. Bratutti (Vienna, 1649, 107ff. Cf. Taeschner and Wittek, loc. cit., 71ff.

13. This becomes evident from a document of Sultan Murad I for the Monastery of St. John Prodromos on Mount Menoikeion (not Serres itself), dated July 1372. (Guillou, Les archives, 155). Cf. Taeschner and Wittek, Der Islam, 18 (1929), 72, note 1; Loenertz,  chos d'Orient, 36 (1937), 278; Lemerle, Philippe, 217ff. Cf. my remarks in Chapter IV, notes 126 and 129. G. T. Dennis, The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387 (Rome, 1960), 67.

14. On the capture of Serres see the letter of Cydones, ed. G. Cammelli, D m trius Cydon s, Correspondance (Paris, 1930), letter no. 40. Also Loenertz, Recueils Cydon s, p. 116.

15. We know about this event from three manuscript colophons first published by S. Lampros, Ν ος 'Ελλ., 9 (1912), 403, note 3; 407. Cf. Loenertz, Recueils Cydon s, 116. We know that Haireddin Pasha resided in Serres, where he built a mosque in 787 AH (beginning 12 February 1385). He died there between 22 January and 15 May 1387. See Taeschner and Wittek, Der Islam, 18 (1929), 78, 84.

16. Phrantzes, 47, 10ff.

17. Chalcocondyles (ed. Dark ), I, 42, 5ff.

18. G. Zoras, 'Η βασιλεία τ ων σουλτάνων Μουρ τ Α', Βαγιαζ τ Α', Μουσουλμ νου, Μουσ  και Μεχμ ετ, 'Επιστ.  πετ. φιλοσ. Σχολ ς Παν/μίου Αθην , 2nd series, 4 (1953-1954), 221, 15ff. Cf. Ŗerif Bastav, "Les sources d'une histoire de l'Empire Ottoman r dig e par un auteur anonyme grec," Bulleten, 21 (1957), 162.

19. Cf. Vakalopoulos, Makedonika, IV.

20. Cf. Chapter IV, 23-4.

21. See a notice from cod. Marcianus 408, f. 144^r (Müller, Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der Kais. Akad. d. Wiss., 9 [1852], 393; Mertzius, Μνημεῖα, 29). R. J. Loenertz, "Pour l'histoire du Péloponèse au XIVE siècle (1382-1404)," Études Byzantines, 1 (1943), 167, note 5: Quia facit pro honore nostro et bono galearum nostrarum viagii Romanie habere provisionem et securitatem earum, consideratis dubiis et casibus que possent facilius occurrere, presertim habito respectu ad negotia Morati qui habet Christopolim et Salonichi... (From an act of the Venetian Senate, dated 22 July 1387. Venice, Archivio di Stato, Senato, Misti 40, fol. 82v.) On the problem of the chronology of the capture of Thessalonica, cf. Loenertz, "Manuel Paléologue," 478ff.; Charanis, "Βραχέα Χρονικά," 359-61; Loenertz, Recueils Cydonès, 117, where the date 9 April 1387 is proposed with some hesitation, on the basis of the short chronicle of Cod. Berolinen. gr. 173, f., 138, and of Cod. Paris. suppl. gr. 1148, f. 138-138v. It seems that Thessalonica freed itself from the Turks again and then was taken by storm by Bayezid I on 12 April 1394 (Loenertz, "Manuel Paléologue," 483). For evidence that Thessalonica was in Byzantine hands in January 1394, see M. Lascaris, Ναοὶ καὶ μοναὶ, 339-40. Cf. also A. Vakalopoulos, Οἱ κημοσιωμένεες ὁμιλίεες τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης Ἰσιδώρου ὡς ἱστορικὴ πηγὴ γιὰ τὴν γνώση τῆς πρώτης τουροκρατίας στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη (1387-1404), Makedonika, 4, 22-34. R. J. Loenertz, "Études sur les chroniques brèves byzantines," OCP, 24 (1958), 155-64. This is an important article for the dates of conquest of Gallipoli, Adrianopole, Thessalonica, and others). On the conquest of Macedonian Serbia, see Ostrogorsky, History, 485, 489; Vakalopoulos, Makedonika, 4.

22. R. J. Loenertz, "L'histoire du Péloponèse," 167, note 5. Christopolis apparently was later given as fief to Manuel Palaeologus sometime between 1387 and 1391. See Loenertz, "L'histoire du Péloponèse," 167, note 6. Loenertz based his theory on a contemporary source (Βραχέα Χρονικά, 35-37, no. 15). In 1391 Christopolis was taken again by the Turks. See ms. notice in cod. Athous 6208 (St. Panteleimon, no. 701), fol. 498v. (Lampros, Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos, II, 418. Cf. Νέος Ἑλλ., 7 [1910], 148, no. 86). From a letter of the Venetian captain Pietro Zen, sent from Christopolis on 23 July 1425, to his father in Venice, we learn in detail of the Venetian capture of Christopolis and the surrounding area from the Turks in July 1425. Shortly thereafter, however, the Turks recovered Christopolis. For this letter and other contemporary Venetian sources, see Mertzius, Μνημεῖα, 25-8.

23. Hadji Kalfa, Rumeli und Bosna (ed. J. von Hammer, Vienna, 1812), 96. Cf. Babinger, Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft, 77. Skoplje was conquered in 1392. See a Serbian ms. notice in Ivanov, Bŭlgarski starini iz Makedonija (2nd ed., Sofia, 1931), 115, no. 24.

24. See the document by Nicholas Bagaš Baldovin, dated 1385, where allusion most probably is made to the Turkish conquest of the city. The latest edition of the document is by Kazhdan, "Dva pozdnevizantijskih akta," 318, 20; 320, 59. Cf. Lascaris, "Deux chartes," 319, note 2.

25. L. Sophronios, 'Αγιορειτικῶν κωδίκων σημειώματα, Γρηγόριος Παλαμᾶς, 3 (1919), 565.

25. See the ms. notice published by N. Bees, Συμβολή, 236ζ, 236η, and Lampros (Νέος Ἑλλ., 7 [1911], 146, no. 79), where the event is placed in 1386; the Βραχέα Χρονικά, 44, 69, 85, give 8 May 1387 as the date of Berrhoia's capture. Berrhoia must have returned to Byzantine hands again, since we possess documentary evidence that the final conquest of the city by the Turks, assisted by a magnate of Berrhoia, John Charitipoulos, took place in 1448. J. Vasdravellis, Ἱστορικὰ ἀρχεῖα Μακεδονίας: Β'. Ἀρχεῖον Βεροίας-Ναούσης, 1598-1866 (Thessalonica, 1954), 2.

27. See C. F. Seybold, "Nesři's Notiz über die Eroberung von Vodena-Edessa und Citros-Kitros-Pydna durch Bāyezid I. Jildirim 1389," ZDMG, 74 (1920), 289-92.

APPENDIX V

1. On the monastery and its history, see P. Papageorgiou's article in Νεόλογος, no. 6443 (Constantinople, 1891); P. Papageorgiou, Αἱ Σέρραι καὶ τὰ προάστεια, 308-29. E. Stratis, Ἡ ἑρὰ μονὴ τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου παρὰ τὰς Σέρρας, Δελτ. Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἑτ., 3 (1926), 1-14. Hegoumenos Christophorus, Προσκυνητάριον τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ παρὰ τὰς Σέρρας ἑρᾶς σταυροπηγιακῆς καὶ πατριαρχικῆς μονῆς τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου (Leipzig [actually Serres], 1904). For the typicon of the monastery, see C. Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, I, 202ff. M. Jugie, "Typicon du monastère du Prodrome au mont Ménécée, près de Serrès. Introduction, texte et remarques," Byzantion, 12 (1937), 25-69. I. Dujčev, "L'ancien cartulaire du monastère de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le Mont Ménécée," ZRVI, 6 (1960), 171-85. A. Guillou, Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée (Bibliothèque byzantine, Document 3), Paris, 1955.

2. Cf. Tryphon Evangelidis, Γεννάδιος Β' ὁ Σχολάριος, πρῶτος μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν οἰκουμενικὸς πατριάρχης (Athens, 1896), 66-7; L. Petit-X. Sideridis-M. Jugie, Oeuvres Complètes de Georges Scholarios, I (Paris, 1928), XIV.

3. A catalogue of the parchment codices of the monastery library has been compiled and published by Bishop Germanus of Seleukeia, Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς παρὰ τὰς Σέρρας ἑρᾶς καὶ σταυροπηγιακῆς μονῆς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου, Ὁ Νέος Πολιμῆν, 2 (1920), 193-208; 338-53; 3 (1921), 83-94, 325-34. A large number of manuscripts and documents were taken to Sofia by the Bulgarians during their occupation of eastern Macedonia in 1917. The Treaty of Neuilly (1919) provided that these manuscripts be returned to the monastery of St. John. The returned manuscripts are now deposited in the manuscript division of the National Library in Athens. Cf. L. Politis, Τὰ ἐκ Σερρῶν χειρόγραφα ἐν τῇ Ἑθνικῇ Βιβλιοθήκῃ, Ἑλληνικά, 4 (1931), 525-6.

4. Christophorus (op. cit., lff.), writing in 1904, informs us that two great codices written in the middle of the fourteenth century were preserved in the monastery of St. John Prodromus and have since disappeared. Dölger ("Die Urkunden des Johannes-Prodromos-Klosters bei Serrai," in Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Abteilung,

Jahrgang 1935, Heft 9 [Munich, 1935], 6ff.) expresses the opinion that these two codices were the ones in which the monks had copied the important documents they possessed. Dölger was informed that these two codices might have been taken to Bulgaria in 1917-1918, but his inquiries in Sofia were fruitless. A Solovjev (JugIstČas, 3 [1937], 449) believes that the two codices with the copies of the Menoikeion documents were not destroyed in the 1860s or in 1918 and that they will be found some day.

5. Sathas, Μεσαιωνικῆ Βιβλιοθήκη, I.

6. M. Petronijević, "Hrisovulje Stefana kralja i cara Srbije i Romanije," Glasnik, 26 (1869), 20-43; 32 (1871), 278-95.

7. Florinskij, Pamjatniki.

8. Miklošich and Müller, Acta et Diplomata, V, 88ff.

9. Florinskij, Pamjatniki, 131-45; cf. Florinskij, Južnye Slavjane, II, 112ff.

10. Novaković, Strumska oblast, 2-8, 44-9. C. Jireček (ASPh, 17 [1895], 266), in reviewing Novaković's book, proves that two more documents (Acta et Diplomata, nos. XV and XIX) cannot belong to Dušan.

11. Novaković, ZakSpom.

12. A. Solovjev means by "un procédé assez simple" the addition by the copist of Dušan's name to Byzantine decrees. T. Florinskij had suspected that Ioannides, who did the copies, had attached by mistake Dušan's signature to decrees of Byzantine emperors. The definite solution of the problem has been given by A. Solovjev on the basis of information supplied by S. Novaković (Strumska oblast, 45); Janko Šafarik (nephew of the great Slavic scholar P. Šafarik) had told him that the codices of the National Library at Belgrade were made at the order of S. Verković. S. Verković, a well-known amateur scholar and merchant of Slavic antiquities with strong Slavophile tendencies, lived in Serres from 1858 on, and his name is connected with the celebrated hoax of the "Slavic Veda." (See Louis Leger, "Un essai de mystification littéraire, Le Veda slave," in his Nouvelles tudes Slaves [Paris, 1880], 49-74; J. Šišmanov, "Glück und Ende einer berühmten litterarischen Mystifikation," ASPh, 25 [1903], 580-611). Thus, writes Solovjev ("Les diplômes grecs de Menoikeon attribués aux souverains byzantins et serbs," Byzantion, 9 [1934], 323), Ioannides's procedure was very simple. Verković wanted from him Greek documents of the Serbian rulers. He got (with Italian translations) several chrysobulls signed by Dušan as well as all the prostagmata without signatures that could be found. Some of these prostagmata indeed belonged to Dušan, but most of them did not. Audaciously, various signatures of King or Tsar Dušan were put on them, sometimes quite badly edited. However, these latter prostagmata were also attributed to Dušan.

13. Solovjev, "Les diplômes grecs de Ménoikeon," 325.

14. S. Kyriakidis, Τὰ χρυσόβουλλα τῆς παρὰ τὰς Σέρρας μονῆς

τοῦ Προδρομοῦ, Εἰς μνήμην Σπ. Λάμπρου (Athens, 1935), 529-44.

15. F. Dölger, "Die Urkunden des Johannes-Prodomos-Klosters bei Serrai," Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abteilung, Jahrgang 1935, Heft 9 (Munich, 1935), 30-42. Cf. V. Laurent's review in EO, 35 (1936), 241-5.

16. A. Solovjev, "Encore un recueil des diplômes grecs de Ménoikeon," Byzantion, 11 (1936), 59-80.

17. F. Dölger's review of Solovjev's above-mentioned article in BZ, 37 (1937), 193.

18. Solovjev, JugIstČas, 3 (1937), 449.

TABLES

The genealogical tables on the following pages were compiled to facilitate reading of the text and to establish complicated family relationships. The Tables include mostly those persons mentioned in the text. In Table I of the Nemanjid dynasty, the direct lineage of Stephen Dušan's ancestry is given. [ed.]

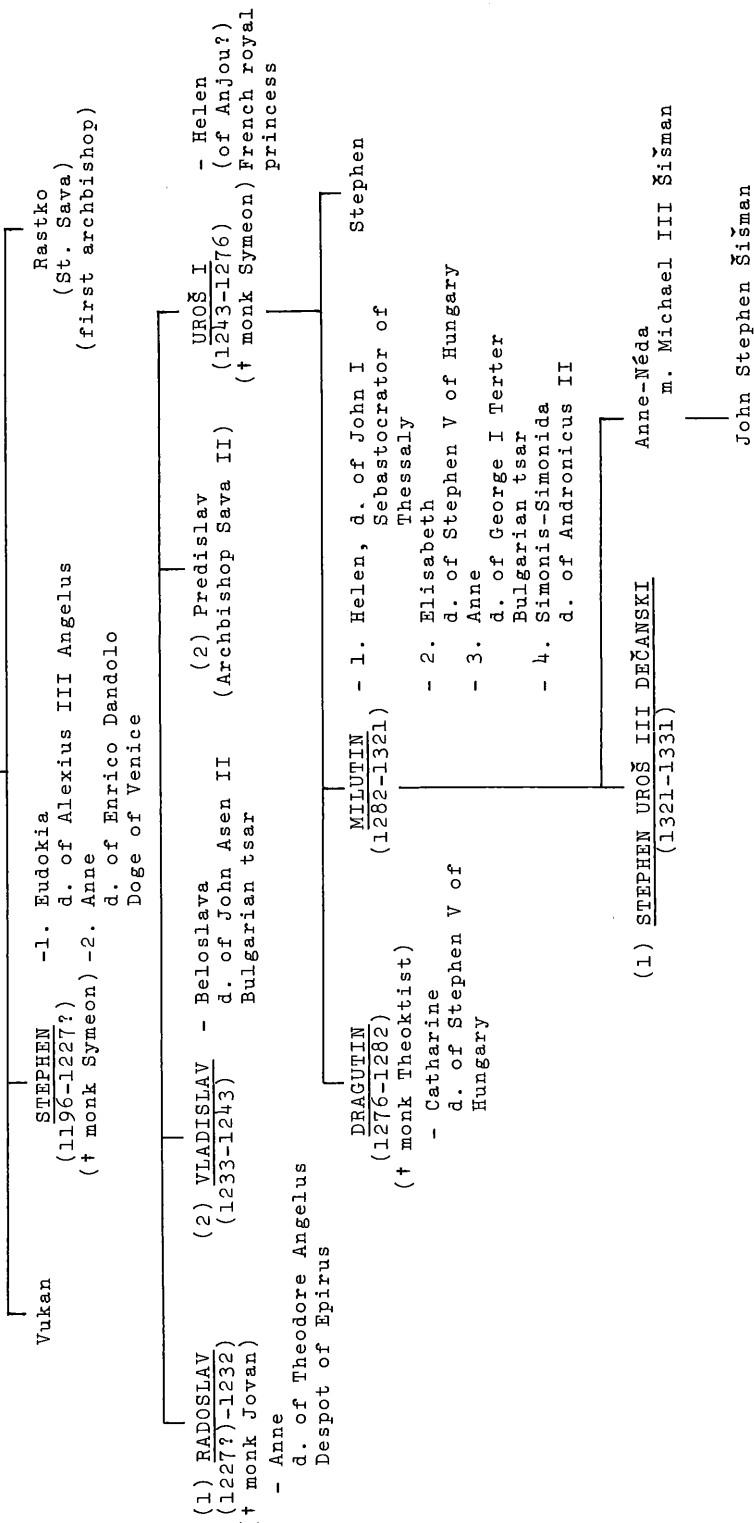
THE RULERS OF THE NEMANJID DYNASTY 1167-1371

Stephen Nemanja	ca. 1167-1196
Stephen the First-Crowned (Prvovenčani)	župan 1196-1217 king 1217-ca. 1228
Stephen Radoslav	ca. 1228-ca. 1233
Stephen Vladislav	ca. 1233-1242
Stephen Uroš I	1242-1276
Stephen Dragutin	1276-1282
Stephen Uroš II Milutin	1282-1321
Stephen Uroš III Dečanski	1321-1331
Stephen Uroš IV Dušan	king 1331-1345 tsar 1345-1355
Stephen Uroš V	1355-1371

I

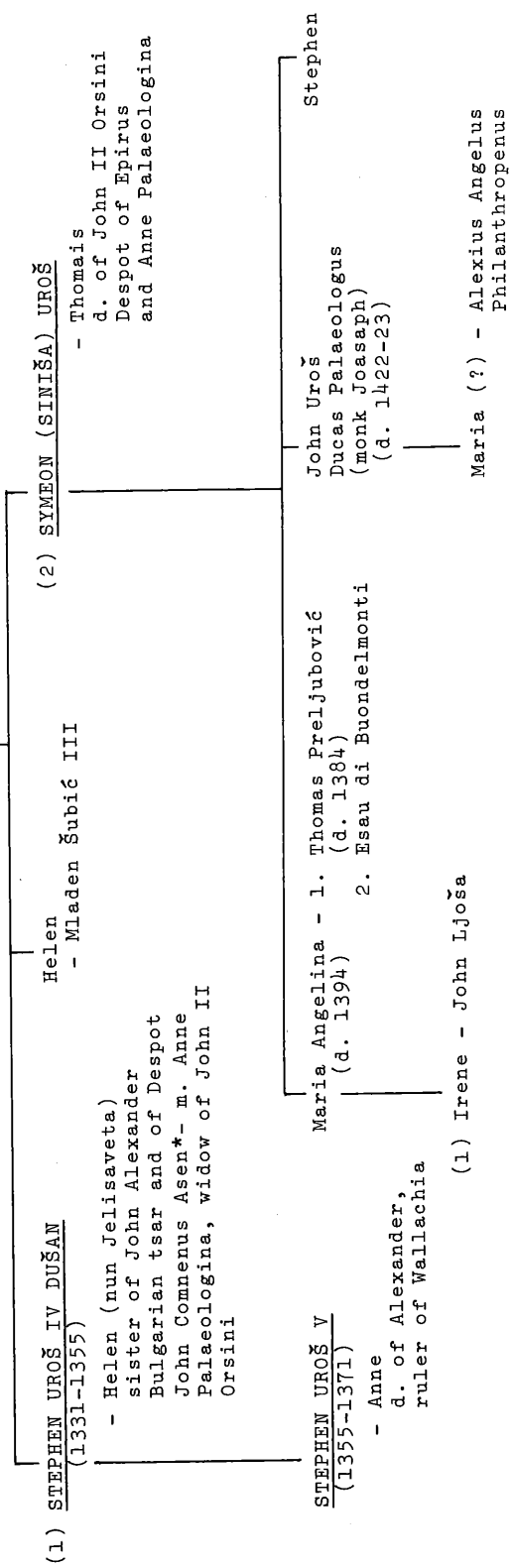
NEMANJID DYNASTY

Stephen NEMANJA -Anne
(ca. 1167-1196; † monk Symeon 1200)



STEPHEN UROŠ III DEČANSKI - 1. Theodora
(1321-1331)
d. of Smilets
Bulgarian tsar

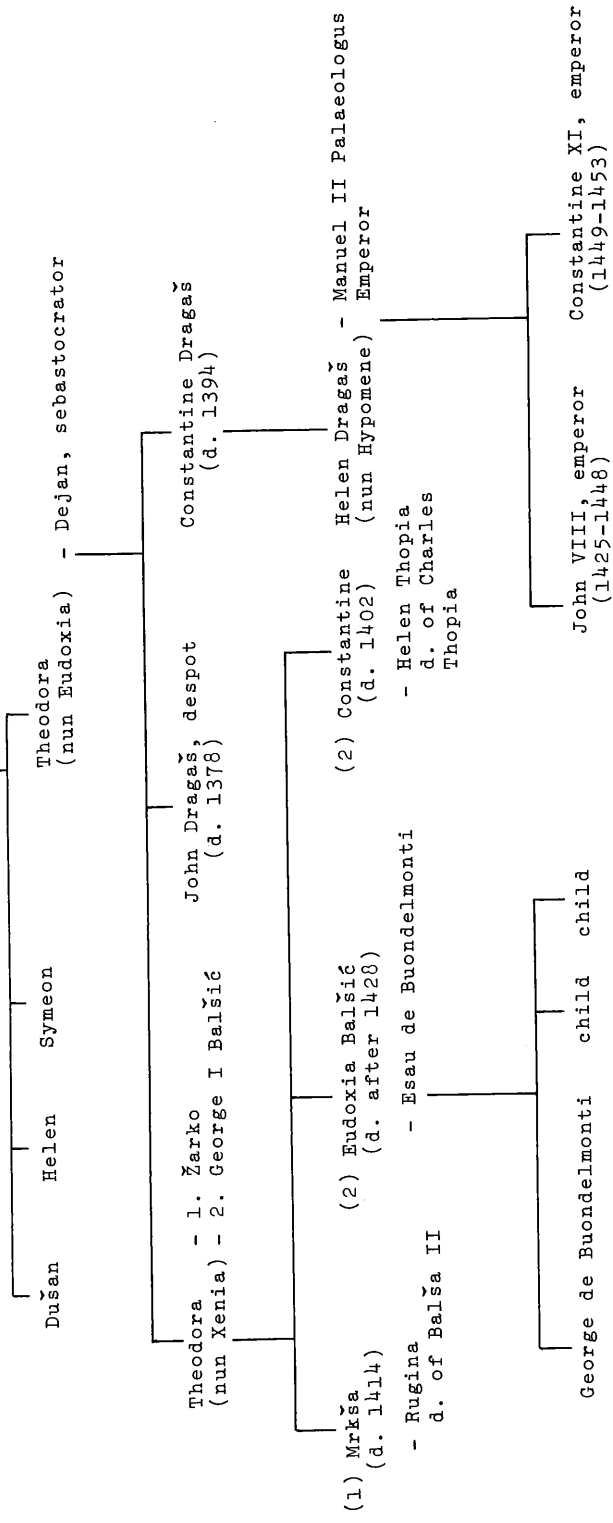
- 2. Maria Palaeologina
d. of John Palaeologus and
Irene Metochites



* (son) Alexander, ruler of Kanina and Valona

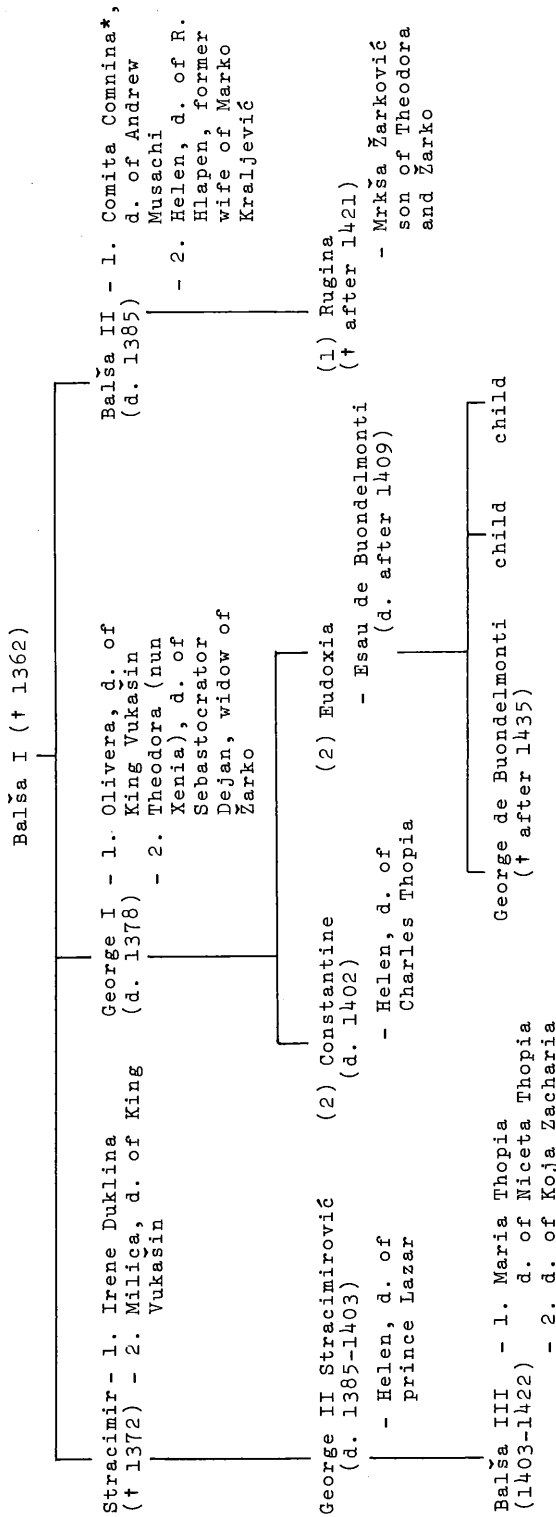
George (Giureš Illić)

STEPHEN UROŠ III DEČANSKI



IV

Balšići, rulers of Zeta,
independent state
after Dušan's death



*In Yugoslav historical literature she is considered to be the daughter of John Comnenus Asen. Cf. Istorija Crne Gore, Titograd, v. 2, p. 29, 44, 51

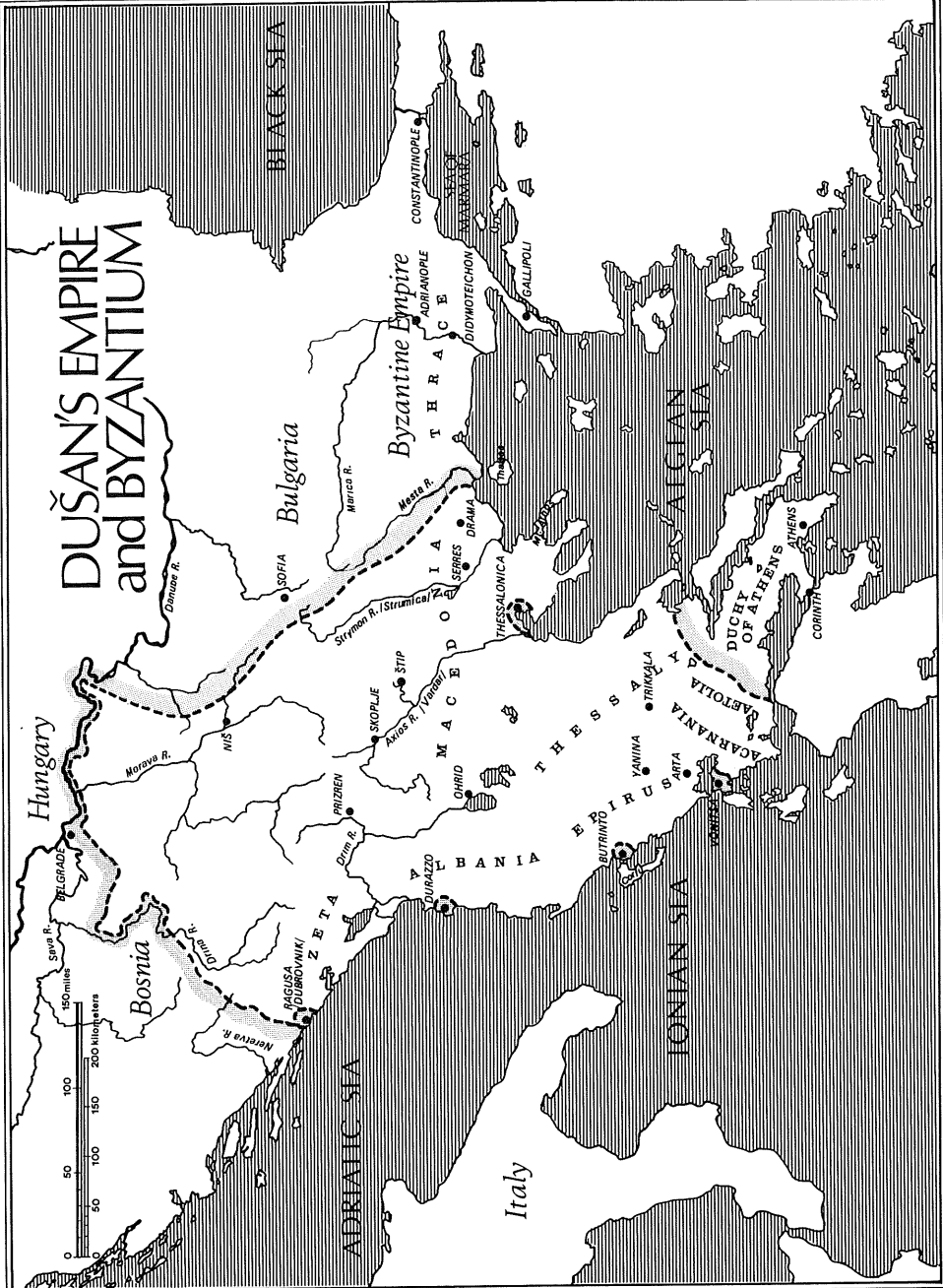
DUŠAN'S EMPIRE



POLITICAL CHANGES 1355-1371



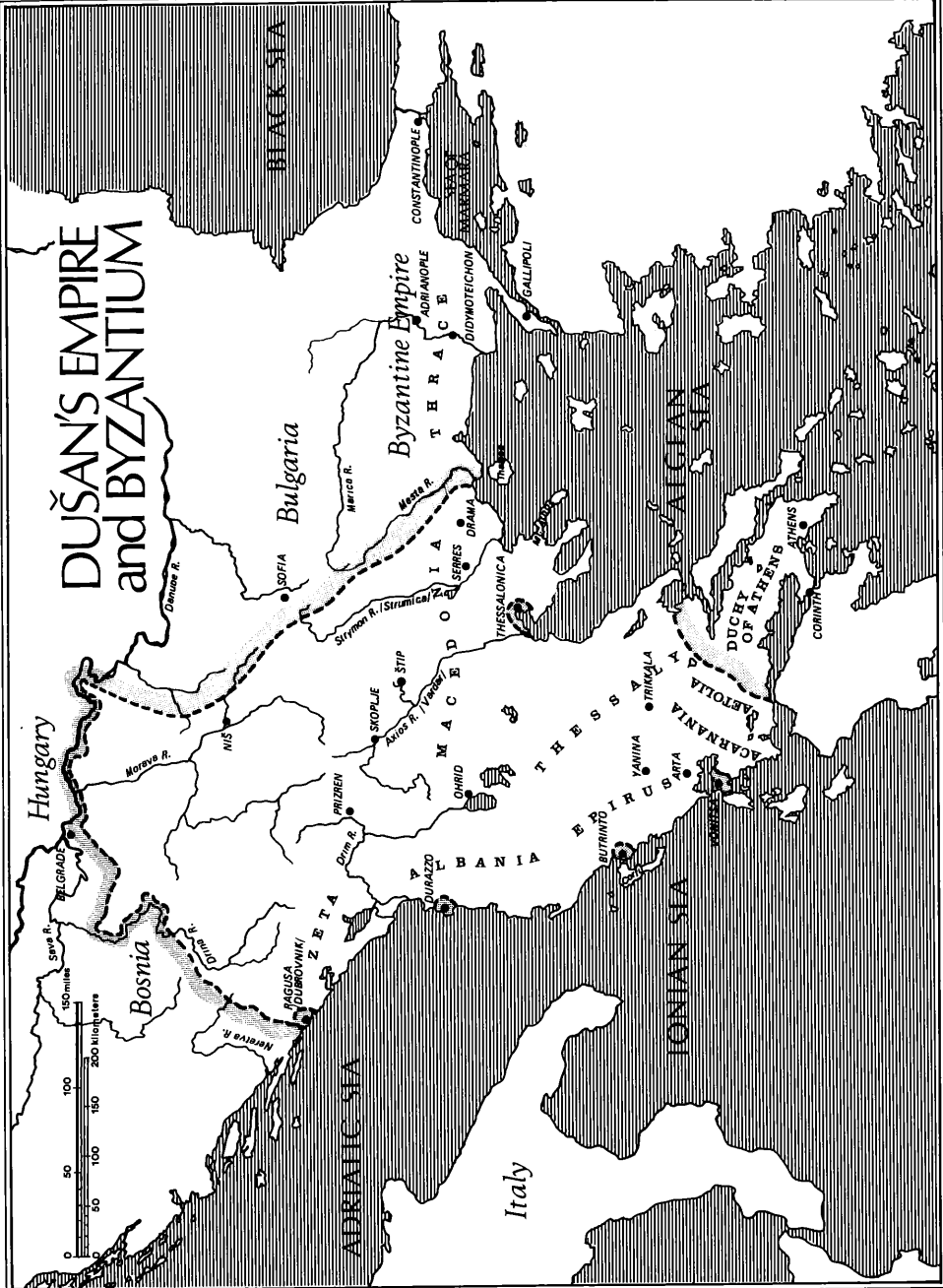
DUŠAN'S EMPIRE and BYZANTIUM



BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Chapter Bibliography was brought up to date by the additions of the sources published since the author's death to the section Primary Sources, and by the compilation of the section Additional Secondary Sources [-Ed.].

DUŠAN'S EMPIRE and BYZANTIUM



BIBLIOGRAPHY

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

The purpose of the following pages is to put the reader in touch with the chief original sources used in preparing the foregoing chapters.

1. Byzantine

Of the Byzantine historians, both Nicephorus Gregoras (ed. L. Schopen; 3 vols. [Bonn, 1829-1855]) and John Cantacuzenus (ed. L. Schopen and E. Bekker; 3 vols. [Bonn, 1828-1832]) are constant sources of information and reference for every student of the period covered in the present study. Gregoras's presentation, which covers the period to 1359, is on the whole reliable except for his treatment of contemporary theological issues, where his anti-Hesychastic feelings are clearly manifested. It is, however, unfortunate that his information about important political events is often brief and vague. Of great value as a source is also Gregoras's correspondence. (See R. Guillard, Correspondance de Nicéphore Grégoras [Paris, 1927]).

On the other hand, Cantacuzenus's memoirs, which end a few years after the abdication of the author from the Byzantine throne (1354) are the apologia of a retired ruler. His statements must therefore be treated with great caution. The facts are reported faithfully in most cases, but it is the interpretation of the author that is often tendentious.

Three almost-contemporary historians of the fifteenth century--Laonicus Chalcocondyles (ed. E. Darkó, 2 vols., in 3 [Budapest, 1922-1927]), Michael Ducas (ed. E. Bekker [Bonn, 1834], V. Grecu [Bucharest, 1958]), and George Phrantzes, or more correctly, Sphrantzes (ed. E. Bekker [Bonn, 1838])--deal also with events of the preceding century but not always in a reliable way. The same holds true for the anonymous vernacular Greek history of the Turkish sultans, which goes to 1512 and also contains important information on the late Byzantine period (G. Zoras, Χρονικόν περί τῶν τούρκων σουλτάνων [κατά τὸν Βαρβερινὸν ἑλληνικὸν κώδικα III], Athens, 1958). See also the study by Elisabet A. Zachariadou, Τὸ Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων σουλτάνων (τοῦ Βαρβερινοῦ 'Ελλην. Κώδικα III) καὶ τὸ Ἰταλικὸ του πρότυπο. [Ἑλληνικά, Παράρτημα 14] Thessalonica, Ἑταιρεία Μακεδον. Σπουδῶν 1960.

The second half of the fourteenth century in Byzantium has no contemporary historians. Therefore any source material from this period is of great value. Such is the extensive correspondence--450 letters--and the rhetorical writings of Demetrius Cydones; one of the leading figures of the pro-Latin group in Constantinople, he in several instances urged the Byzantines to unite with the Latins and resist the Turks. R. J. Loenertz published Cydones's letters (Les recueils de lettres de Démétrius Cydonès [Vatican City, 1947], with a full bibliography on Cydones, and Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance, I [Vatican City, 1956]). On Cydones, see Zakythinos, Crise monétaire, 123ff. Useful information has been drawn also from Nilus's Panegyricus and Philotheus's Encomium of Gregory Palamas (Migne, PG, CLI, 551-655, 655-78). The same holds true for R. J. Loenertz, Correspondance de Manuel Calécas (Studi e Testi, 152 [Vatican, 1950]).

Another valuable source, although not always reliable, for the same period is the anonymous short chronicles collected by S. Lampros and edited posthumously by C. Amantos (Βραχέα Χρονικά [Athens, 1933]. Valuable critical comments on this edition are given by P. Wittek (Byzantion, 12 [1937], 309ff.), and a historical commentary has been published by P. Charanis (Byzantion, 13 [1938], 335-62). To Lampros's collection one must add the short chronicle published from a Moscow manuscript by B. Gorjanov ("Neizdannyy anonimyy vizantijskiy hronograf XIV v.," VizVrem, 2 [1949], 276ff.; cf. the comments of V. Laurent, REB, 7 [1950], 207ff.) Still another short chronicle, Chronicon breve Thessalonicense is available in Loenertz's Démétrius Cydonès. Correspondance, I, 174-5 (R. J. Loenertz, "Chronicon Breve de Graecorum imperatoribus, ab anno 1341 usque ad annum 1453 e codice Vaticano graeco 162," 'Επ. 'Ετ. Βυζ.Σπ., 28 [1958], 204-15). Also of interest is the short chronicle by N. B. Tomadakes, 'Η 'εν τῷ πατριαρχῷ κώδικι 287 μικρὰ χρονογραφία, 'Επ. 'Ετ.Βυζ.Σπ., 25 (1955), 21-37. For the history of Epirus and Thessaly during the period of the Serbian domination, the basic sources are the Chronicle of "Proclus and Comnenus" (ed. S. Cirac Estopañan, El legado, II, 35ff.), the Chronicle of Meteora (ed. L. Heuzey and H. Daumet, Mission archéologique, 440ff.), and the Life of St. Athanasius of Meteora, given in N. Bees, Συμβολή εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων, Βυζαντίς, 1 (1909), 237-70, and S. Lampros,

Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων, Νέος Ἑλλ., 2 (1905), 61-87.

A number of manuscript notices like those published by S. Lampros (A Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos, 2 fols., Cambridge, 1895-1900) and Anthimos Alexoudis, Δύο σημειώματα ἐκ χειρογράφων, Δελτίον ἱστορ. καὶ ἔθν. ἐταιρίας, 4 (1892), 275-81, occasionally provide information unknown from other sources. The same can be said also for the surviving contemporary inscriptions included mainly in the collections of I. Ivanov (Bŭlgarski starini iz Makedonija, 2nd ed. [Sofia, 1931], N. Bees (Βυζαντις, 1 [1909-1910], 557-626), and G. Millet, J. Pargoire and L. Petit (Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes du Mont Athos, I [Paris, 1904]).

One can hardly overestimate the importance of the various surviving documents, both imperial and ecclesiastical, as a source. Of great value for the study of this period are the famous collection of documents by F. Miklošich and I. Müller (Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana, 6 vols. [Vienna, 1860-1890]); the documents of the monastery of St. John Prodromos at Serres in the fine edition by A. Guillou (Les archives de Saint Jean Prodrome sur le Mont Ménécée [Paris, 1955]; see also articles by I. Dujčev, "Le cartulaire A du monastère de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le Mont Ménécée retrouvé," REB, 16 [1958], 169-71 [Mélanges S. Salaville], and "L'ancien cartulaire du monastère de Saint-Jean Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée," ZRVI, 6 [1960], 171-85); the documents from the Monasteries of Meteora published by N. Bees, Σεβικὰ καὶ Βυζαντικὰ γράμματα Μετεώρου, Βυζαντις, 2 (1911-1912), 1-100. The Athonite documents were published in the following collections: Actes de Chilandar (Actes de l'Athos, 5). Part 1. L. Petit, Actes grecs (supplement to VizVrem, 17, 1911, iv, 369; Actes de Kutlumus: P. Lemerle, Actes de Kutlumus, Archives de l'Athos, II (Paris, 1945); Actes de Pantocrator (Actes de l'Athos, 2), ed. L. Petit (supplement to VizVrem, 10, 1903), xix-77; Actes d'Esphigménou (Actes de l'Athos, 3), ed. L. Petit and W. Regel (supplement to VizVrem, 12, 1906), xxxiv-122; Actes de Zographou (Actes de l'Athos, 4), ed. W. Regel, E. Kurtz and B. Korablev (supplement to VizVrem, 13, 1907) and by: Binon, S., Les origines légendaires et l'histoire de Xéropotamou et de Saint-Paul de l'Athos. Étude diplomatique et critique, ed. F. Halkin (Louvain, 1942);

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Mošin, V., "Akti iz svetogorskih arhiva (Actes des archives de la Sainte-Montagne)," Spomenik, 91, 2nd series 70 (Belgrade, 1939), 153-260. Reviewed by F. Dölger in BZ, 40 (1940), 125-41.

Of even greater importance than any of the above-mentioned collections of documents has been the corpus of the decrees issued by the Serbian rulers in Greek, published by A. Solovjev and V. Mošin (Grčke povelje srpskih vladara, Belgrade, 1936; London, 1974), which must be always consulted along with the instructive reviews by D. Anastasijević (Bogoslovlje, 12 [1937], 325ff.; and the shorter French version in Byzantion, 12 [1937], 625-38), M. Lascaris (RIEB, 3 [1937], 268-72; cf. Byzantion, 25-27 [1955-1957], 277ff.), F. Dölger (Historische Zeitschrift, 157 [1937], 170-72; BZ, 37 [1937], 510-12), and S. Binon (RHE, 34 [1938], 299ff.) F. Dölger, in his Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges (Munich, 1948), 335-42, and "Intervenienten-vermerke in graecoslavischen Urkunden," Die Welt der Slaven, 5 (1960), 260-5, after seeing the originals, has proposed many emendations to a number of Serbian documents concerning Athonite monasteries published in Solovjev and Mošin, Grčke povelje.

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2. Slavic

Among the Serbian narrative sources of great value is the collection of lives of Serbian kings and archbishops (Životi kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih, ed. Dj. Daničić [Zagreb, 1866]), which is attributed to Archbishop Danilo and his continuators. Danilo administered the Serbian church from 1223 to 1338. Although this is not a very reliable source, it provides considerable help, since it often contains historical data unknown from other sources. In this collection a biography of Stephen Dušan is included, but unfortunately it does not go beyond the first four years of his reign (1331-1335). Of great importance for the period covered in this study are the lives of the first Serbian patriarchs (Joanikije, Sava, and Jefrem). On Danilo and the Životi there is an extensive bibliography, the most important of which is mentioned in V. Mošin and M. Purković, Hilandarski igumani srednjega veka (Skoplje, 1940), 18, and Dj. Radojičić's article in Enciklopedija Jugoslavije, II 662b-663a.

A source rich in historical detail and set in a wider historical framework, is the biography of Stephen Lazarević (1389-1427), written after 1433 by Constantine of Kosteneč, known as the Philosopher, which is considered the most important historical work of old Serbian literature. (Edited by V. Jagić, Glasnik, 42 [1875], 223-8, 373-7; and in selections translated by M. Braun, Lebensbeschreibung des Despoten Stefan Lazarević von Konstantin dem Philosophen [The Hague, 1956]. See also S. Stanojević, "Die Biographie Stefan Lazarević's von Konstantin dem Philosophen als Geschichtsquelle," ASPh, 18 [1896], 409-72).

An important study of Slavic sources is by I. Dujčev, "La conquête turque et la prise de Constantinople dans la littérature slave contemporaine," Bslav, 14 (1953), 13-54, in which the author reviews all Slavic sources on the Turkish conquest of the Balkans and Constantinople.

The old Serbian genealogies (rodoslovi) and short chronicles (letopisi); which contain much contradictory but often useful information, have been conveniently assembled by Lj. Stojanović, Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi (Belgrade, Sr. Karlovci, 1937). (On rodoslovi, see the article by Dj. S. Radojičić, "Doba postanka i razvoj starih srpskih rodoslova," IstGlas, 1948, no. 2, 21-36, reviewed by J. Radonić, IstČas, 2 [1949], 222-3). Lj. Stojanović has also published the famous collection of old Serbian inscriptions and manuscript notices Stari srpski zapisi i

natpisi (Belgrade, 1902-1926), 6 vols. One should mention here also the collection of inscriptions from Macedonia by I. Ivanov, quoted earlier in connection with the Byzantine sources.

The most important Serbian official and other documents are included in the collections of F. Miklošich, Monumenta serbica spectantia historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Ragusii (Vienna, 1858); M. Pucić, Spomenici Srbski (Belgrade, 1858); T. Florinskij, Pamjatniki zakonodatel'noj dējatel'nosti Dušana; cara Serbov i Grekov (Kiev, 1888); S. Novaković, Zakonski spomenici srpskih država srednjega veka (Belgrade, 1912); A. Solovjev, Odabrani spomenici srpskog prava (od XII do kraja XV veka) (Belgrade, 1926); and Lj. Stojanović, Stare srpske povelje i pisma (Belgrade-Sr. Karlovci, 1929-1934), 1 vol. in 2 parts.

One should mention here also the famous Zakonik--the Code of Stephen Dušan (ed. S. Novaković [Belgrade, 1898]; and ed. N. Radojčić, Zakonik cara Stefana Dušana 1349 i 1354 [Belgrade, 1960]; English translation by M. Burr, SlEERev, 28 (1950), 198-217, 516-39).

A considerable number of Slavic documents, including many from the fourteenth century, have been preserved in the Athonite monasteries, especially in the Slavic monasteries of Chilandar, Zographou, and St. Panteleimon, which have been published by T. Florinskij, B. Korablev, D. Anastasijević, M. Lascaris, and others.

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Finally, one must mention the Serbian annals and the Bulgarian chronicle composed during the early years of Mohamed I (1413-1421), covering the period from 1296 to 1413; they are published by J. Bogdan in his article, "Ein Beitrag zur bulgarischen und serbischen Geschichtsschreibung," ASPh, 13 (1891), 481-543, "B. Serbische Annalen von 1355-1490," 520-25; "C. Bulgarische Chronik von 1296-1413," 526-35. The important comments are in C. Jireček's "Zur Würdigung der neuentdeckten bulgarischen Chronik," ibid., 14 (1892), 255ff., and in E. Turdeanu's La littérature bulgare de XVe siècle et sa diffusion

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3. Latin

Of special importance for medieval Serbian history are the various collections of documents from the Ragusan archives. Besides the works of M. Pucić (Spomenici srbski), Lj. Stojanović (Stare srpske povelje), 2 vols. [Belgrade, 1929 and 1934] and C. Jireček ("Spomenici srpski," Spomenik, 11 [1892], 1-117), which contains Serbian documents drawn from the Ragusan archives, there are the following collections of Ragusan documents in Latin: J. Radonić, Acta et Diplomata Ragusina, 4 vols. (Belgrade, 1934-39); Monumenta Ragusina (Zagreb, 1877-1897), 5 vols, which includes the proceedings of the council of the republic from 1301 to 1379. A continuation of this collection is M. Dinić's Odluke veća Dubrovačke Republike, I-II (Belgrade, 1951, 1964). Before World War II, J. Tadić had undertaken to publish systematically the existing official correspondence of the Republic. Only the first volume of his work, covering the years 1359 to 1380, has appeared so far (J. Tadić, Pisma i uputstva Dubrovačke Republike, I [Belgrade, 1935]). Important Latin sources for this period are contained in the Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae, collegit et digessit T. Smičiklas, 17 vols. (Zagreb, 1904-1982). One should also mention here N. Jorga's Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XVe siècle (Paris and Bucharest, 1899-1916), 6 vols., where many Ragusan documents are included.

The Italian archives throw considerable light on Byzantine

and Balkan history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Indispensable for the study of the Venetian connections with Byzantium and Serbia are G. M. Thomas and R. Predelli, Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum, sive Acta det diplomata res Venetas, Graecas atque Levantis illustrantia (1300-1454), 2 vols.; and S. Ljubić, Listine o odnošajih izmedju Južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike (Zagreb, 1868-1891), 10 vols. (Tafel and Thomas's famous collection, continued by G. M. Thomas, does not go beyond the thirteenth century). Important publications of the Venetian archives are the works of F. Thiriet: "Les chroniques vénitiennes de la Marcienne et leur importance pour l'histoire de la Romanie gréco-vénitienne," Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'histoire, 64 (1954), 241-92, and Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie, I (1329-1399) (Paris-La Haye, 1958).

Of great importance are also the Angevin archives, with which time has dealt harshly. In 1585 there were only 444, and World War II completed the destruction. (See ed. Filangieri di Candida Gonzaga, R., I registri della Cancelleria angioina, 12 vols. [Naples, 1950-1959]). The well-known collections by Del Giudice and Minieri Riccio unfortunately do not cover our period. Thus most of the documents used in the present study come in a fragmentary fashion from the works of C. Hopf, who had made extensive but not always careful use of these archives, and from the fine collection of Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia, by L. v. Thallóczy, C. Jireček, and M. Šufflay (Vienna, 1913-1918), 2 vols. This collection, along with Giovanni Musachi's Breve memoria de la discendenti de nostra casa Musachi (ed. C. Hopf, Chroniques gréco-romanes [Berlin, 1873], 270-340), is the basic source for the history of Albania under the Serbs.

The papal documents that refer to medieval Serbian history are conveniently available in the two works by A. Theiner, Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia (Rome and Zagreb, 1863-1875), 2 vols., and Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia (Rome, 1860).

Documents referring to the Catalans in the Levant are of interest to the student of the Byzantine provinces under Serbian rule. See the corpus prepared by A. Rubió i Lluch (Diplomatari de l'Orient català, 1301-1409) [Barcelona, 1947]; cf. R. J.

Loenertz, "Athènes et Néopatras. Regestes et Notices pour servir à l'histoire des duchés catalans, 1311-1394," Archivum Fratrum Predicatorum, 25 [1955], 100-212, 428-31).

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Thiriet, F., Délibérations des assemblées vénitiennes concernant la Roumanie, Vol. I: 1160-1363 (Paris, 1966); Vol. II: 1364-1463 (Paris-La Haye, 1971).

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---, Acta Albaniae Veneta saeculorum XIV et XV (Milan, 1967-1979), 25 vols. Pars I. Saeculum XIV complectens; t. I. Ab initio ad usque annum MCCCLXXXIV; t. II. Ab anno MCCCLXXXIV ad annum MCCCXCVI.

4. Turkish

Some Turkish sources are occasionally of importance, since they contain information not available in other sources. Their veracity, however, must be accepted with great reservation. For an appreciation of the various Turkish sources, see F. Babinger, Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke (Leipzig, 1927); H. Inalcik, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography," in

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