

COLLÈGE DE FRANCE – CNRS  
CENTRE DE RECHERCHE D’HISTOIRE  
ET CIVILISATION DE BYZANCE

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TRAVAUX ET MÉMOIRES  
25/1

LE MONDE BYZANTIN  
DU XIII<sup>e</sup> AU XV<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE  
ANCIENNES OU NOUVELLES  
FORMES D’IMPÉRIALITÉ

édité par  
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&  
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52, rue du Cardinal-Lemoine – 75005 Paris  
2021

ORIENT ET MÉDITERRANÉE (UMR 8167) / MONDE BYZANTIN  
COLLÈGE DE FRANCE / INSTITUT D'ÉTUDES BYZANTINES

## TRAVAUX ET MÉMOIRES

– publication annuelle paraissant en un ou deux fascicules –

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ISBN 978-2-916716-83-1

ISSN 0577-1471

## AVANT-PROPOS

La période dont traite ce volume est encadrée par deux chutes, celle de 1204 et celle de 1453. Ces événements retentissants ont polarisé l'attention des historiens, suscitant des études nombreuses qui sont allées, pour certaines, jusqu'à mettre en doute la pérennité de l'Empire byzantin après 1204, en considérant ces deux siècles et demi comme l'épilogue d'une longue histoire impériale. La prise de Constantinople par les croisés en 1204 a, de fait, ouvert une période marquée par des crises multiples, que la conquête de la capitale en 1261 par la dynastie des Paléologues n'a pas résolues, tandis que d'autres périls se sont surajoutés : rivalités avec d'autres puissances régionales (en Épire, en Bulgarie, en Serbie, dans le Péloponnèse), prosélytisme de l'Église latine d'un côté et conversions à l'islam de l'autre, chute des rendements agricoles, bouleversements démographiques suscités par l'irruption de la peste noire ou l'arrivée de nouvelles populations turques acculées par l'expansion mongole... La conquête ottomane de Constantinople en 1453 a ainsi pu apparaître comme la conséquence logique d'un long processus d'affaiblissement entamé au début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

L'historiographie récente a pourtant montré que les transformations à l'œuvre durant la période sont loin de refléter seulement un processus de désagrégation de l'Empire. Certains travaux pionniers des années 1970-1980 menés par Klaus-Peter Matschke<sup>1</sup>, Michel Balard<sup>2</sup>, Nicolas Oikonomidès<sup>3</sup> et Angéliki Laiou<sup>4</sup> ont largement contribué à mettre en évidence le dynamisme économique du monde byzantin, corrigeant les anciens clichés liés à la domination des républiques italiennes dans le commerce méditerranéen. Des études ultérieures ont souligné l'extrême complexité des processus qui touchent le monde byzantin de la fin du Moyen Âge, caractérisé par la fragmentation politique. À partir du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les antagonismes entre souverains, ainsi que les conflits au sein de l'Église, témoignent certes d'un contexte de forte instabilité, mais nullement d'une rupture avec l'idée d'empire. Celle-ci continue de fournir aux différents États issus de l'éclatement de l'ancien Empire byzantin la légitimation nécessaire à l'exercice de l'autorité

1. Une bonne partie de ses articles ont été réédités dans K.-P. MATSCHKE, *Das spätbyzantinische Konstantinopel : alte und neue Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte zwischen 1261 und 1453*, Hamburg 2008.

2. M. BALARD, *La Romanie génoise (XII<sup>e</sup>-début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 235), 2 vol., Rome 1978.

3. N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Montréal – Paris 1979.

4. A. LAIOU, The Byzantine economy in the Mediterranean trade system, thirteenth-fifteenth centuries, *DOP* 34-35, 1980-1981, p. 177-222, et EAD., The Greek merchant of the Palaeologan period : a collective portrait, *Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 57, 1982, p. 97-132.

et permet de justifier des formes de domination sociale. L'émergence d'un grand nombre de souverains portant le titre d'empereur (*basileus*, tsar ou *imperator*) ou la multiplication d'Églises autocéphales au sein de l'orthodoxie révèlent l'attachement de ces États au système hérité de l'organisation impériale byzantine. La circulation des personnes, des produits ou des idées et le degré d'interaction au sein du monde byzantin reflètent une unité et une cohésion qui dépassent les différences linguistiques et ethniques. Grecs, Slaves, Occidentaux et Turcs, mais aussi Juifs, Arméniens, Géorgiens, Roms, Albanais, Vlaques, Arabes... – c'est-à-dire l'ensemble de ces populations qui sont catégorisées à l'aide de dénominations ethniques contemporaines, mais qui composaient entre le XIII<sup>e</sup> et le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle la mosaïque multi-ethnique des habitants de l'Europe orientale – prennent part à un même monde social, qui peut être interprété comme impérial.

On connaît mieux aujourd'hui la plasticité et la diversité des empires<sup>5</sup>. La définition traditionnelle selon laquelle il s'agirait de formes étatiques centralisées et hégémoniques contrôlant des vastes territoires est sans doute valable pour certaines périodes de l'histoire, mais elle est incomplète et inopérante pour saisir la réelle complexité et la nature de ces systèmes politiques au Moyen Âge. Les travaux de ces dernières décennies sur l'Islam en tant que système impérial ont permis d'approfondir l'analyse conceptuelle de la notion d'empire<sup>6</sup>, suscitant des réflexions qui peuvent être appliquées à d'autres contextes, en l'occurrence à celui de la chrétienté. Le projet *Imperialiter : le gouvernement et la gloire de l'Empire à l'échelle des royaumes chrétiens (XII<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (2017-2021), conduit par plusieurs spécialistes en France, en Italie et en Espagne, a porté sur l'usage de références impériales par des États qui n'étaient pas considérés comme des empires<sup>7</sup>. Les conclusions de ces recherches montrent à quel point l'idéologie impériale a servi d'horizon politique à nombre de constructions étatiques médiévales, en particulier des monarchies, et mettent en garde contre la tendance consistant à appliquer le concept d'empire à un seul type de forme politique.

Le présent volume, qui a pour titre *Le monde byzantin du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle : anciennes ou nouvelles formes d'impérialité*, vise précisément à ouvrir le débat sur la continuité et le maintien du modèle impérial byzantin jusqu'en 1453. Devant l'incertitude liée à la qualification d'empire pour désigner la construction politique dont Constantinople reste à la fois le centre et la référence idéologique entre le XIII<sup>e</sup> et le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, nous avons opté pour le terme « impérialité ». Le mot a été introduit par Roland Barthes dans un essai portant sur le mythe, ou plus exactement sur les mythologies contemporaines qu'il débusquait à l'époque de la rédaction de son texte, c'est-à-dire en 1956<sup>8</sup>. Parmi d'autres

5. J. BURBANK & F. COOPER, *Empires : de la Chine ancienne à nos jours*, Paris 2011 (trad. française de l'original anglais : *Empires in world history : power and the politics of difference*, Princeton 2010).

6. Contentons-nous de citer les volumes de la collection « Late antiquity and early Islam » dirigée par Averil Cameron et Lawrence I. Conrad, publiée depuis 1992 ; voir aussi *Le polycentrisme dans l'Islam médiéval*, [dir. par] A. Nef & M. Tillier, Le Caire 2012 (= *Annales islamologiques* 45, 2011) ou encore P. SIJPESTEIJN, *Shaping a Muslim state : the world of a mid-eighth-century Egyptian official*, Oxford 2013.

7. Ce projet est dirigé par Annick Peters-Custot, Fulvio Delle Donne, Bernardo García García, Yann Lignereux, Francesco Panarelli, Corinne Leveleux-Teixeira et Benoît Grévin. Il a réuni des spécialistes lors de plusieurs rencontres scientifiques à l'École française de Rome et ailleurs : voir <https://www.efrome.it/imperialiter> (consulté le 26 octobre 2021).

8. R. BARTHES, *Mythologies*, Paris 1957 (voir en particulier la partie théorique intitulée « Le mythe, aujourd'hui », p. 193-247).

exemples, il envisageait le « mythe de l'impérialité française », examinant les ressorts du fonctionnement et du maintien de l'idée d'empire colonial à un moment où elle apparaissait de plus en plus comme une fiction, une mystification, un mythe moderne. L'analyse sémiologique de Barthes ne pourrait être sérieusement appliquée à l'histoire byzantine du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle qu'au prix d'un travail théorique hors de propos ici. Qu'on nous permette seulement d'emprunter le terme « impérialité » chargé du sens que lui conférait Barthes : il ne désigne pas l'empire, mais l'idée d'empire, justement lorsque son caractère fictionnel, ou « mythique », devient de plus en plus perceptible.

Le recours à cette terminologie nous permet d'échapper à un positionnement historiographique univoque en faveur de la notion d'empire, alors même que se développent les travaux dans le domaine de l'« impériologie » et les discussions sur la nature du système politique byzantin. Il nous offre en revanche un cadre conceptuel pour penser le maintien de l'idéologie impériale en tant qu'outil politique plus ou moins efficace, créant un lien à la fois mémoriel et fonctionnel avec le régime impérial élaboré dans le cadre de l'Empire romain chrétien. C'est de cette approche que procède l'organisation thématique de ce volume. Les articles qui y sont réunis ont été regroupés en quatre grands thèmes qui reflètent la richesse et la complexité des recherches en cours : 1) la manière dont empereurs et souverains conçoivent et exercent leur pouvoir ; 2) les transformations qui s'opèrent dans le fonctionnement de l'État ; 3) l'évolution et l'infléchissement de certaines formes de culture qui servent aux élites d'empire pour se (re)définir ; 4) enfin les débats et conflits autour de l'orthodoxie, principe fondamental de légitimation de la fonction impériale.

Ces articles sont pour partie issus de contributions présentées ces dernières années dans le cadre du séminaire sur l'*Histoire de la période paléologue (1261-1453) : Byzance, Orient latin, monde slave*, organisé au sein du laboratoire *Monde byzantin* de l'UMR 8167 Orient et Méditerranée (Paris). Ce séminaire a débuté en 2015 et se tient une fois par mois à l'IRBIMMA (Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne). Avec la parution de cet ouvrage, nous avons voulu partager le fruit de cette première étape de la vie du séminaire, qui a bénéficié de la participation et de la collaboration de nombreux spécialistes de la période : nous tenons à les remercier tous chaleureusement, particulièrement les auteurs qui nous ont fait confiance et ont accepté de nous livrer le résultat d'une recherche nouvelle et substantielle, ainsi que nous le leur avons demandé. Nous avons également plaisir à exprimer notre gratitude à Constantin Zuckerman, qui a bien voulu accueillir ce recueil au sein de la revue *Travaux et mémoires*. Nous sommes particulièrement redevables à Emmanuelle Capet pour son remarquable travail de relecture et de mise en page, et plus encore pour sa disponibilité et ses précieux conseils. Nos remerciements vont aussi à Sarah Novak, relectrice des textes anglais. Le soutien de l'UMR Orient et Méditerranée a permis tant l'organisation du « séminaire paléologue » que la réalisation de cette publication, et nous tenons à témoigner notre reconnaissance à l'un de ses directeurs, Vincent Déroche.

Au moment d'achever cet ouvrage, nous souhaitons avoir une pensée pour notre collègue Ruth Macrides (1949-2019), trop tôt disparue. Ses travaux ont beaucoup contribué à approfondir nos connaissances sur le monde byzantin du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et à infléchir notre vision de la période. Nous regrettons profondément qu'elle n'ait pas eu le temps de participer à ce volume, comme elle avait entrepris de le faire avec enthousiasme.

## ABSTRACTS/RÉSUMÉS

Panagiotis Ch. ATHANASOPOULOS, *Religious polyarchy and its consequences: a hitherto unknown Consilium ad Graecos in Demetrios Kydones' unedited De processione Spiritus sancti ad amicum*

p. 761

Demetrios Kydones' *De processione Spiritus sancti ad amicum* is a (still unedited) epistolary discourse in defense of the *Filioque*, addressed to one of his friends. Towards the end of this treatise, in chapter 42, the author cites a quite lengthy *Oratio*, which, he claims, was given by a Latin in a meeting of Byzantines and Latins, in Kydones' presence. The second part of the *Oratio* (*Consilium ad Graecos*) includes a critique of the Byzantine Church and exhibits the situation in Constantinople ca. 1384–1386/7. In this paper, I present a provisional critical edition of this interesting source, an English translation and an interpretation of the text. On this basis, I attempt to date Kydones' treatise and to trace the identity of this unknown Latin speaker. Last, I present our limited knowledge regarding the unknown addressee's identity.

Ivan BILIARSKY, *La transmission et la légitimation du pouvoir des derniers souverains bulgares de la dynastie des Assénides (1323-1396)*

p. 89

The article is dedicated to a problem that was for a long time viewed as naturally clear insofar as the ruler's power was supposed to be hereditary. The idea of the study is to examine the transmission of power among the last rulers of the last century before the Ottoman conquest of Bulgaria and to project it onto the background of the whole mediaeval history of Bulgaria and neighbouring countries. This panorama begins with the pagan period and continues up to the Second Bulgarian Empire. The following part of the study presents case studies on the transmission of power in the framework of the Asen family in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. After the historical cases, the study presents the different models of legitimation of the imperial power in Bulgaria as follows: 1) Charisma of the family and the heritage with its variants: *corpus fratrum*, primogeniture, *porphyrogeniture*, the title of "Young tsar;" 2) Election; 3) Association with the power and choice of the father, representing God. In conclusion, we can say that the manner is complex but was certainly based on God's choice of the future lieutenant of Divine power on the earth. The people of that period sought ways to legitimate the ruler's power inasmuch as God does not contact humans directly. These ways differed but the usual one was the will of the former ruler as the lieutenant of the Lord God in his realm.

Marie-Hélène BLANCHET & Raúl ESTANGÜI GÓMEZ, *L'Empire byzantin sous les Paléologues, entre déclin et ruine : révision en six étapes d'un legs historiographique ancien*

p. 7

The history of the Palaiologan period (1261–1453) has traditionally been understood as an era of decadence and decline heralding the end of Byzantium. This view is very old and goes back to eighteenth-century authors such as Charles de Montesquieu and Edward Gibbon. Despite more

nuanced narratives, this pattern is still widely in use in the current historiography. In this article, we discuss this declinist approach to the period through six questions that we consider particularly significant in the construction of this interpretative scheme:

1. Roman identity, Hellenic identity, Greek (protonational) identity?
2. An Empire that was no longer one: the end of the universalist ideology?
3. The project for union between the Churches: a red herring?
4. The strengthening of the Patriarchate of Constantinople's authority versus the weakening of the imperial power?
5. The decadence of the State?
6. Byzantines and Ottomans, two rival empires?

The aim of this historiographical review is to highlight the basis of the teleological approach applied to the Empire's history during the last centuries of the Middle Ages.

Marie-Hélène CONGOURDEAU, *Le discours de Nicolas Kabasilas Sur les audaces contre les biens sacrés commises par les archontes en enfreignant la loi* p. 391

Nicolas Kabasilas' *Discourse against the archons*, edited by I. Ševčenko in 1957 in the *Dumbarton Oaks papers*, from *Paris. gr.* 1213, continues to raise questions and hypotheses. Who are these archons whom he accuses of committing illegalities? Under what circumstances did he write it? We propose here a full translation of the Greek text edited by Ševčenko, to which we have added some variants appearing in the critical apparatus established by Ševčenko in 1960 from *Paris. gr.* 1276 (identified as a draft of the discourse). This first full translation into a modern language will hopefully allow researchers to unravel some of the mysteries of a text that appears fundamental for the understanding of many legal, economic and social issues of the fourteenth century.

John A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, *Scholarios' Inserta thomistica in his Compendium of Demetrios Kydones' translation of Thomas Aquinas' Summa theologiae, I<sup>a</sup>: a re-edition and its textual setting* p. 803

MS. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 1273 contains two autograph Thomistic *Compendia* by George Scholarios-Gennadios II: an abridgment of Demetrios Kydones' translation of the *Summa contra Gentiles* and an abridgment of Kydones' translation of *Summa theologiae*, I<sup>a</sup>. An interpolation by Scholarios himself (*Inserta thomistica*) occurs between *Quaestiones* 45 and 46 of the latter. Item I derives from *Summa contra Gentiles*, Book II, Chapter 31, Item II derives from Chapters 46, 49, 50, 51, 55, 68, 69 and 79, whereas Item III is identical to a passage from *Summa theologiae*, I<sup>a</sup>, *Quaestio* 32, *Articulus* 3, *Respondeo*. The study offers a critical edition of the *Inserta thomistica*, identifies its exact provenance and discusses why and how Scholarios inserted this material at the precise point of his abridgment of the *Summa theologiae*. Part of the material of Item II fully coincides with parts from Scholarios' *Florilegium thomisticum I* in a way that shows direct dependence on it.

Marco FANELLI, *L'Islam dans la vie et l'œuvre du patriarche Kallistos I<sup>er</sup> (ca 1290 – † 1364)* p. 727

Patriarch Kallistos I is one of the most relevant figures of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Although he was a leading character during the troubled decades of the civil wars and the Palamite controversy, a definitive study on his life and his works has to be published, excluding Gones' dated monograph.

Moreover, Kallistos' pastoral activity took place in the years of the Ottoman occupation of Gallipoli and other cities in western Anatolia.

The article aims at providing an overall evaluation of Kallistos' perception of Islamic matters (Muhammad's role and preaching, Muslim practises, cases of apostasy). We start from a biographical episode during which Kallistos was captured by Turkish pirates. We then provide an in-depth analysis of passages from his edited and unedited works (homilies and prayers) in order to retrace the knowledge and reactions of a key figure in the Byzantine religious and intellectual *milieu* facing the Turkish (and Islamic) threat.

Christian GASTGEBER, *Anti-Palamism in the chancery of Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos (second term: 1364–75): the case of Demetrios Chloros* p. 695

After the official recognition of the doctrine of Gregory Palamas, anti-Palamite opponents were no longer accepted and ran the risk of being accused of heresy. Besides the famous trial against Prochoros Kydones (April 1368), the so-called Register of the patriarchate of Constantinople provides insight into still-active anti-Palamites under the Palamite patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos. On the one hand, some confessions of faith, required from clerics, attest that they felt attracted by the doctrines of Barlaam and Gregory Akindynos; on the other hand, so-called "latinophrones" were generally suspected of adhering to Barlaam's doctrine. At the beginning of Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos' second term, the drafters of rhetorical documents were indicated in the register; we can thus follow the engagement of the officials in the chancery of the patriarchate to some extent. One of these officials is Demetrios Chloros. A biographical summary is included in one of the biggest show trials in the patriarchate of Constantinople, against magical practices by clerics and doctors; its final judgements date from May 1370. Chloros, just promoted to *protonotarios*, is the key figure of this trial; this former anti-Palamite was not only degraded, but nearly anathematized. The article investigates the circumstances and the persons supporting or opposing him.

Mihai-D. GRIGORE, *Eastern Orthodoxy as confession: an essay on principles or Bringing the Synodikon of Orthodoxy into discussion of paradigms* p. 827

Every confession is a Church, but not every Church is a confession. The inclusion of the Orthodox world in the integrative confessional history of Europe is long overdue. The following contribution addresses this *desideratum*. It describes the Orthodoxy as being a confession because it fulfills the three momenta defining any confession: the universal, the temporal, and the confessional momentum. Using a complex approach combining ecclesiology, theory of history, and historical analysis, it shows that Eastern Orthodoxy is a Christian confession, just as Catholicism, Lutheranism, the Reformed faith, and Anglicanism are confessions. To this end, I contrast, on the one hand, the dogmatic-traditionalist paradigm of the neopatristic synthesis developed by the Russian theologian Georges Florovsky with a historiographical paradigm of the historical presence of Orthodoxy in the world and history. For this purpose, I comment abundantly on the concepts of confessionality developed by the German hermeneutics of history in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, I point out how Orthodoxy historically became a confession by possessing in the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* its *Bekennnisschrift* and thus a confessional identifier. In conclusion, I maintain that only that study of the Eastern Church which is based on historical methodology and on the historical observation of plurality can guarantee the integration of Orthodoxy into the pan-European history of Christianity, into a fair Ecumenism, and thus overcome the East-West polarity.



Martin HINTERBERGER, *Passions in Paleologan spiritual writing: affection, vanity and sorrow in Eulogia Choumnaina's correspondence and other contemporary texts* p. 565

Next to journals and memoirs, letters have been the source material of choice for the study of the emotions of the past. The letters of Eirene/Eulogia Choumnaina (1291–1355) constitute one of the few examples of such intimate writings preserved from the Byzantine era. Through Eulogia's own letters as well as letters and other texts addressed to her and other women (in particular by Theoleptos of Philadelphia and Gregory Palamas), the modern scholar is in a privileged position to gain a certain insight into Choumnaina's inner life and the emotional environment within which it unfolded. After an overview of the "theories" about emotions that underly these writings, particular emphasis is given to the following emotions: διάθεσις "(spiritual) affection," κενοδοξία "vanity" and οἷησις "conceit" as well as λύπη "pain/sorrow/distress" and ἀκηδία "listlessness/dejection."

Tonia KIOUSOPOULOU, *Une approche du pouvoir impérial au début du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* p. 159

This article examines the weakening of the imperial power in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century in relation to the coexistence and the conflict between the two powerful social groups, the aristocracy and the middle class (the *mesoi*). My hypothesis is that Andronikos II Palaiologos, through the activity of his *mesazon* Theodoros Metochites, sought to give political power to the most prominent of the middle class as compensation for the groups of the aristocracy that were hostile to him, since the most important for him was to maintain the political power of his family.

Sebastian KOLDITZ, *Opposition, conspiracy, révolte : quelques remarques pour une histoire de la contestation politique à l'époque des Paléologues* p. 169

The systematic study of rebellion, revolt and political unrest in late Byzantium is still a major *desideratum* in research. Proceeding from a recent study on coups in Palaiologan times, the present article combines some general and methodological remarks with a number of case studies, which illuminate various forms of political contestation and problems of their interpretation. The rebellion of Alexios Philanthropenos is analyzed with regard to the significant differences in the main historiographical accounts of this event. The abdication of John VI shows the crucial role the people of Constantinople still played for maintaining and disputing political stability in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Finally, the career of Despot Demetrios in the 15<sup>th</sup> century is discussed in order to question the construction of continually unruly and treacherous political behaviour. We finally make some suggestions for the categorization and comparative evaluation of phenomena of political unrest and opposition.

Anastasia KONTOGIANNOPOULOU, *Autonomy, apostasy and the administration of Macedonia and Thrace in the Palaiologan period (mid-14<sup>th</sup> – mid-15<sup>th</sup> century)* p. 333

The Palaiologan emperors were called to face the precarious political reality of Byzantium's external enemies and its internal rivalries and this determined their handling of the provincial administration. More specifically, the progressive loss of Byzantine territory due to hostile attacks and the internal disruption caused by civil strife led Andronikos II, initially, and John VI, subsequently, to form large administrative agglomerates in the provinces, where members of the imperial family or the court aristocracy were appointed as governors. Modern research does

not delve into the institutional nature of these regions nor does it answer questions about the relationship between the heads of these administrative entities and the central authority. This paper investigates the formation and the institutional features of the administrative agglomerations governed, whether by imperial command or arbitrarily, by descendants of the imperial family from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth century and the relationship between these rulers and the central authority. It studies their degree of autonomy, the organization of the local administration and its relationship with the imperial governors. It also examines the existence of an advisory body supporting the administrator in charge of a city council, as well as its social composition. The regions under investigation are Macedonia and Thrace, which formed the backbone of the Palaiologan state.

Florin LEONTE, *Ethos in late Byzantine court rhetoric (ca. 1350–1453)*

p. 625

This article provides a discussion of *ethos* as one of the rhetoricians' main persuasive devices in late Byzantine encomiastic rhetoric (ca. 1350 – ca. 1450). First, I consider the markers of *ethos* and the conditions of its formation in a selection of the most representative texts of praise written in the last hundred years of Byzantine history. Second, I explore how the combinations of personal and impersonal perspectives generated two main types of *ethos*: on the one hand, a static one that privileged contemplation and awe for the object of praise; and on the other hand, a dynamic kind of *ethos* whereby authors enacted calls for public action. And third, I look at the functions of *ethos* in the social and intellectual landscape of late Byzantium.

Smilja MARJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIĆ, *La représentation du souverain serbe dans les Histoires de Jean VI Cantacuzène*

p. 133

This paper analyzes the representation of the Serbian ruler in the *Histories* of Emperor John Kantakouzenos and gives an account of the political context in which this portrait was composed. But it also attempts to retrace the stages through which Stefan Dušan, the future emperor, went to achieve his imperial project. The elevation of the Serbian kingdom to the dignity of empire found its direct justification in the world of ideas, which of course is not to say that it was seen as a straightforward realization of a conceptual blueprint. The authors within Dušan's entourage were divided: some saw the emerging empire as a single coherent whole, while others sought to preserve the dynastic traditions and organizational continuity of the Serbian kingdom within this new entity. Despite the weaknesses, real or apparent, of Dušan's offensive military and political policy, the Serbian ruler saw himself as a participant in the Byzantine civil war and a candidate for the imperial throne. The testimonies analyzed here show that Dušan was consciously aiming to achieve his universalist claims and that he had carefully prepared the ideological model of his eventual reign by presenting himself as a New Constantine. Kantakouzenos's portrait of Dušan clearly shows that he was aware both of the threat that the Serbian king presented to Constantinople and of his complex role in the Byzantine civil war. By writing his memoirs with the overall intention of justifying his actions and presenting himself in the best possible light, the emperor-author had little choice but to portray Stefan Dušan as the main anti-hero of his narrative. This representation of the "other," while being characteristic of Kantakouzenos as a historian, also clearly reveals the weaknesses of Kantakouzenos as an emperor and of the empire over which he ruled.

Brendan OSSWALD, *La Chronique de Ioannina : introduction, traduction et notes* p. 277

The so-called *Chronicle of Ioannina*, first published in 1821 by François Pouqueville, constitutes a major source for the history of Epirus in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is notably the main source of information about historical characters such as Emperor of Trikala Symeon Uroš Palaiologos, Despot of Arta John Spatas (Shpata) and Despot of Ioannina Thomas Prealoumpos (Preljub). The present paper provides the reader with an introduction to the text, presenting various themes such as content, manuscripts, editions and translations, title, genre, date, author, redactional context, historical value and posterity. Then it gives a new French translation, based on the edition by Leandros Vranoussis, whose version stops in 1399, completed with variants from the Oxford manuscript including some additional notes up to 1418. The translation is accompanied by historical, literary and philological notes, in order to facilitate the understanding of the text and of its historical and literary significance and to give bibliographical indications.

Inmaculada PÉREZ MARTÍN, *Enseignement et service impérial à l'époque paléologue* p. 451

The contribution considers an aspect of Byzantine culture never studied as a whole until now, namely the training acquired by the Byzantines who were in the service of the Palaiologan emperors, both in the army and in the restoration of fortifications, and of course in the offices of the administration, especially the tax office. From the sources we can deduce a panorama of little specialization and great versatility in the tasks entrusted to the emperor's officials and servants. In this context, only the trades linked to the bureaucracy, accustomed to the use of writing materials, have left treatises and other manuscript testimonies, while the trades far from the offices of the treasury and the imperial secretaries, such as the sailors or the builders, seem to have transmitted orally the knowledge required for their work. Our study also stresses the importance of the model offered by Nicaea for the education sponsored by Michael VIII Palaiologos after 1261, the absence of an imperial or patriarchal school that was more than just teaching organized around the figure of a teacher, and the lack of a fixed program of disciplines that responded to the scheme inherited from the seven liberal arts (*trivium* and *quadrivium*). Likewise, we have seen how it was the very social group that benefited from its proximity to the emperor that was concerned with facilitating the training of future servants and transmitting the privileges granted by education to their descendants.

Efi RAGIA, *Agrarian policy in the early Palaeologan period, ca. 1259–1300 from the archives of Mt. Athos and West Asia Minor* p. 503

Perspectives on the reigns of Michael VIII and Andronikos II Palaeologos have so far been influenced by the information and the commentary, mostly negative, provided by George Pachymeres in his *History*. By taking into consideration the evidence of the archives of Mt. Athos and West Asia Minor in particular, the present research attempts to reinterpret this early period of the Palaeologan dynasty through its fiscal and financial aspects. Important changes of a fiscal nature had already taken place long before Michael VIII ascended the throne of the empire. A comparison with evidence from the archives dated to after 1259 brings out the novelties of the new regime, with particular reference to the fiscal measures of Michael VIII and Andronikos II and analysis of the renewed managerial role of the Byzantine administration and the methods followed, which aimed at registering and re-allocating the wealth produced in the provinces by re-claiming it for the state. By enhancing the state's control of its diminishing possessions, Byzantium remained attached to its resources and this enabled its survival after 1302.

Alexander RIEHLE, *Literature, politics and manuscripts in early Palaiologan Byzantium: towards a reassessment of the Choumnos-Metochites controversy* p. 591

The present essay offers a critical response to Ihor Ševčenko's assessment of the controversy between Theodore Metochites and Nikephoros Choumnos, which has had a lasting impact on scholarship on these two important political and intellectual figures in the reign of Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos. While Ševčenko contended that the feud was an outgrowth of a personal rivalry originating with Metochites' replacement of Choumnos as the right-hand man of the emperor, this essay argues that it should instead be understood as a conflict of diametrically opposed ideas about the role of literature and philosophy in civic life and society. To this end, first the evidence about the date and background of Metochites' assumption of the office of *mesazōn* is reevaluated. This is followed by a fresh look at the "dossier polémique" comprising four successive treatises by Choumnos and Metochites, which, as is shown, bears striking affinities to their previous, "friendly" correspondence. The final part of the essay focuses on the first text of the "dossier" which triggered the quarrel: Choumnos' Discourse 27, *On literary criticism and composition*. An earlier version of this text, which was unknown to Ševčenko, supports the view that it was not intended as an attack on Metochites but rather continued their prior letter exchange. In an appendix, Discourse 27 is for the first time critically edited based on both the earlier and later redactions and rendered into English.

Antonio RIGO, *Le séjour de Grégoire Palamas au monastère de Saint-Michel de Sôsthénion (octobre 1341 – 24 mars 1342)* p. 667

The article, which emphasizes the need for a new biography of Gregory Palamas, deals with a brief span of time (a little more than six months) of his life, showing how the direct analysis of his works, as well as of the rest of the available documentation, sheds light not only on some events of his life, but also on his work and his feelings. These six months are a decisive moment, during which Gregory Palamas was confronted with the civil war, a conflict that profoundly influenced the destiny of Byzantium.

Oliver Jens SCHMITT, *Traîtres ou champions de la survie? Les seigneurs de tendance ottomane dans les Balkans à l'époque de la conquête ottomane* p. 213

As an explanation for the success of the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans, it is repeatedly claimed that important nobles of the region cooperated with the Ottomans and thus facilitated their conquest. The present study aims to shed critical light on this claim by examining it in several steps. First, region by region, the policies of regional nobles towards Ottoman actors are examined. It is particularly significant that on the Ottoman side it was less a question of a power bloc centrally controlled by the sultan, but rather until the time of Mehmed II, Ottoman marcher lords represented the counterpart of regional Christian nobles. In the late medieval Balkans, we can therefore observe an unstable mix of Christian and Muslim actors who often knew each other well and, in some cases, entered into alliances with each other. In a second step, we will examine how the selective cooperation of Christian and Muslim regional actors in the late medieval Balkans was interpreted. In a third step, the results of the detailed investigations are evaluated and the following conclusion is drawn. Until the final conquest by the Ottomans, the regional Christian lords tried to secure as much political leeway as possible. In the first hundred years of the presence of Ottoman actors in the Balkans, regional Christian lords repeatedly called in troops of marcher lords to help in regional feuds. But nowhere is it actually apparent that a regional lord wanted to give up his independence in favour of submission to the Ottoman Empire. This also applies to princes who had recognised Ottoman suzerainty as vassals or who had been set up as counter-kings by the marcher lords or the sultan.

Mariyana TSIBRANSKA-KOSTOVA & Desislava NAYDENOVA, *From the Nomocanon Cotelerii to the Slavonic Pseudo-Zonaras' Nomocanon: the history and reception of compilations of canon law among the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Balkan Slavs* p. 361

This study focuses on the written tradition of the so-called Slavonic Pseudo-Zonaras' *Nomocanon (PsZ)*, one of the most widespread juridical texts among Slavs in the Balkans, in Russia, and in the contact zones between Orthodoxy and Catholicism in Central Europe from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. It aims at providing consistent and up-to-date information about its connection with the possible Greek prototype called *Nomocanon Cotelerii*. It is paradoxical that the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Slavonic tradition turned a peripheral Greek text that for all intents and purposes lacked imperial ideology, and was not distinctly valued in Byzantine legal literature, into a popular legal corrective that was passed down through the centuries and became well known in different languages and among different ethnic groups. The purpose of the present study is to offer an explanation for this phenomenon by examining the history and typological features of the *PsZ* in the context of the Byzantine legal literature of the Palaiologan era. The authors analyze some peculiarities in its textual structure, as well as its special emphasis on degrees of kinship and legal marriages, its strong anti-heretical line in two directions—against dualist heresies and against the Latins—, its penal provisions from secular law, and the predominance of canonical norms covering different social strata. The large number of rules for monks, priests, women, and for relations with representatives of other religious communities, fit into the political and literary trends of the Balkans during the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

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