

Thekla Sansaridou-Hendrickx

*The World View of the Anonymous Author of the Chronicle
of the Tocco:
Social Aspects of his Ideational System of Thought!*

1. The Chronicle of the Tocco

Edited by G. Schirò² the anonymous *Chronicle of the Tocco* is an epic family chronicle written in 3923 "political verses". It starts with the death of Leonardo I Tocco (ca 1375)³ and ends with the beginning of the war between Carlo I Tocco and the two Palaiologoi despots of the Byzantine Peloponnesos, Theodoros II and Constantinos XI, in 1422⁴. Besides the history of the Tocco family and the deeds of Carlo I Tocco, this chronicle describes the events which took place in the islands of Zakynthos (Zante) Leukas, Cephalonia (Cephalonia), Ithaca and in Western Greece during the years 1375-1422⁵. The text provides a great deal of factual information with regard to the political, economic, cultural and social life in the Epirote cities of Arta and Ioannina⁶.

1. This study results from my Ph. D. thesis (*The World View of the Anonymous Author of the Greek Chronicle of the Tocco*, Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg, 2000), written under promotorship of Prof. F. Bredenkamp, whom I wish to thank for his advise and assistance. I also thank Prof. A. Savvides, Prof. T. Loungis and my husband, Prof. B. Hendrickx. Other parts of my thesis will be published in different periodicals (among others *Ελληνικά, Ekklesiastikos Pharos, Acta Patristica et Byzantiaka*). – See also part published under the title: "The World View of the Anonymous Author of the Chronicle of the Tocco: The antagonists as groups" *Βυζαντιακά* 21 (2001), 193-242.

2. G. Schirò (ed.), *Chronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia di Anonimo, Prolegomeni, testo critico e traduzione*. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, X). Rome, 1975.

3. For the problems of the exact chronology, see Schirò (ed.), *Chronaca dei Tocco*, pp. 25-26. Cf. H.- G. Beck, *Ιστορία της Βυζαντινής δημόδους λογοτεχνίας* (translated by Niki Eideneier), Athens, 1988, p. 253; Elizabeth Zachariadou, "Οι χίλιοι σίχτοι στην αρχή του Χρονικού των Τόκκο", *Epeirotica Chronica* 25 (1983), pp. 158-181.

4. The reason for the conflicts was the occupation of Clarentsa which fell into the hands of the Byzantines in 1426; D. A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, vol. 1 (Athens 1953) and 2 (Paris 1932) (2nd ed., London 1975), vol. 2, pp. 144-145. On the despot, Theodoros II (1408-1443), and the last Byzantine emperor, Constantinos XI Palaiologos (1449-53), see D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261-1453*. London 1972, pp. 357-365, 390ff.

5. *The Chronicle of Ioannina*, which is written in erudite Greek, is dated to the same period: L.Vranousis, "Το Χρονικόν των Ιωαννίνων κατ' ανέκδοτον δημόδην επιτομήν", *Επετηρίς του Μεσαιωνικού Αρχείου* 12 (1962), 57-115, pp. 57-66.

6. For a recent evaluation of the *Chronicle of the Tocco*, see E. Zachariadou, "Το Χρονικό των Τόκκο", p. 158. For factual information, see Alice-Mary Talbot, "Tocco", *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. III. Oxford, 1991, pp. 2090-9; D. Kassapidis, "Ασάνα", pp. 67-69; "Τόκκοι", pp. 379-382 in N. Nikoloudis, (ed.) *Λεξικόν Βυζαντινής Πελοποννήσου*. Athens, 1998. See also Sp. Assonitis, *Συμβολή στην ιστορία της Αιτωλοακαρνανίας και των νησιών του Ιονίου. Από την προσάρτηση της*

2. Ideational system of thought

Assumptions about what kind of world people live in, what forces or entities control it, and what the place of humans is, are shaped through an ideational system of thought⁷. As C. Geertz argues, ideational systems of thought consist of perceptions and concepts created by the human mind in its effort to make sense of its natural and social environment⁸. However, one must bear in mind that culture and social structure are different abstractions of the same phenomenon. As he explains, "culture is the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their action", while "social structure is the form that action takes, the actually existing network of social relations"⁹.

In the *Chronicle of the Tocco*, the author's perceptions, concepts, beliefs and evaluative motives, which constitute his ideational system of thought, refer to both aspects of his contemporary society, i.e. its **social aspect** and its **cultural** one. The former points at *social structure* and *relationships* between individuals and groups, while the latter refers to the author's *aesthetic perceptions*, *social ethics* and his *religious beliefs and normative principles*. In this article, we shall analyse the *social aspect* of the author's ideational system of the thought.

3. Dignities (ἀξιώματα)

In his narrative, the author pays special attention to dignities, their status and functions referring, thereby, indirectly to the *social system* of his contemporary, complex society. He demonstrates his concepts about its *organisation* and *order*, as well as about *social relationships* in terms of social identity roles and interaction

κομητείας της Κεφαλληνίας στο πριγκιπάτο της Αχαΐας μέχρι (sic) το θάνατο του Καρόλου Α΄ Τόκκου (1325-1429), Ph. D. Thesis, Thessaloniki, 1987. As for an overview of the Epirote history under the Tocco, see D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267-1479. A Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, 1984, pp. 157-216.

7. See definition of *world view* in R. M. Keesing, *Cultural Anthropology, a Contemporary Perspective*, Canberra, 1981 (2nd ed.), p. 520.

8. For a more theoretical approach to the interpretation of cultural and social structures, cf. C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, 1973, pp. 127ff; R. M. Keesing, *Anthropology*, pp. 349ff.

9. G. Geertz, *Cultures*, p. 145.

between various heterogeneous social groups and individuals.

If we accept that individual patterns of thought are intertwined with collective pre-existing and dominating patterns¹⁰, the author's perception regarding social stratification should be placed in the general social framework of that period. This approach, I believe, could lead to a better understanding of the author's perception, as well as of the degree of political, social and cultural interaction between Western invaders and the "Byzantine" indigenous population in Western Greece¹¹.

In fact, after the fall of Constantinople to the Latins in 1204, the Byzantine administration experienced certain basic changes, some imposed on them by the invaders¹² and others by their free will. This was the case of many Byzantine archons who decided to offer their services to the Latins¹³. Indeed, as D. Jacoby states, as a result of the conquest, "the relationship between an elite of conquerors, their descendants, and the Latins who joined them, on the one hand, and the indigenous population on the other, had to be defined and a pattern of permanent coexistence between the two groups devised"¹⁴.

In the feudal West, the basic institutions of society were the vassalage and the fief, around which its socio-political and economic system was structured. Thus, society was divided between the ruling and the subject classes¹⁵. In contrast, in

10. On the interaction between individual and group, see G. Gizelis, "Historical Event into Song: the Use of Cultural Perpetual Style", *Folklore* 83 (1972) 302-320, pp. 305-7.

11. Unlike to Southern Greece in that period, the information regarding Western Greece is scarce and incorrect. See G. Schirò (ed.), *Chronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia di Anonimo, Prolegomeni, testo critico e traduzione*. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, X). Rome, 1975, pp. 8-9. Cf. D. Jacoby, "The Encounter of two Societies: Western Conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnesus after the Fourth Crusade", *American Historical Review* 78B (1973), 873-906, pp. 874-5.

12. Indeed, the Byzantine administration was replaced by a Western feudal system of government in all occupied territories. On the Western institutions, see B. Hendrickx, *Οι πολιτικοί και στρατιωτικοί θεσμοί της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατά τους πρώτους χρόνους της υπάρξεώς της*, Thessaloniki, 1970, passim.

13. P. Gounaridis, "Η φεουδαρχία στο Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου", *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου (Αρτα, 27-31 Μαΐου 1990)*, Arta, 1992, 37-45, p. 37.

14. D. Jacoby, "Encounter", p. 874.

15. According to F. A. Cazel, "Feudalism", in *Encyclopedia Americana*, New York, 1972, vol. XI, 138-143, p. 140, a vassal's status depended upon the size of his fief, or the number of fiefs he/she owned. Whether a king or a simple knight, a vassal ruled over the non-feudal population who paid tax in services, kind or money. Only members of the upper, i.e. the feudal class, could become vassals.

Byzantium, the social structure lacked uniformity. Initially, as Jacoby explains, it was based on three factors: (a) bureaucratic centralization, (b) an all-embracing administration, and (c) the basic principles of the political and legal tradition of the Greco-Roman world.

In fact, vassalage made its appearance in Byzantium only "when the emperor established such a relationship with Latins"¹⁶. As a result, after the Latin conquest, social classes became "synonymous with legal classes", while social status was hereditary¹⁷. Later, in the 14th-15th centuries, despite the supreme jurisdiction of the Byzantine emperor over his subjects, the central government was weak. In the provinces the great landowners controlled the administration and exercised imperial authority. Social structure, however, continued to maintain a clear distinction between *free men* and *slaves*. Slaves, *οἱ δοῦλοι*, were all subjects of the emperor and equal before the law. In Byzantium, due to the lack of a rigid stratification system, a certain degree of mobility between social classes was possible. The main criteria for gaining access to the upper classes were *education* and *intellectual achievement*¹⁸, as well as wealth.

According to P. Gounaridis, in Epiros a pragmatic approach to feudality was developed. The Byzantine social system accepted Western feudal influences in function rather than in structure. P. Gounaridis states that feudal institutions were applied both to internal administration and to the external policy of the Byzantine rulers¹⁹. Bearing this in mind, our approach to the *Chronicle of the Tocco* should contribute to our understanding of the nature of the heterogeneous society in Epirus and the Ionian islands and, perhaps, even of its collective mentality.

The 14th and the 15th centuries were an age of political disturbance and

However, his view is incorrect, since the system of feudalism and vassalage concerned the entire society, from top (king) to the peasant, who was the lowest echelon in the system. Thus knights of noble origin and sergeants as well could receive fiefs. The latter is well illustrated in the division of fiefs after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204. See B. Hendrickx, *Θεομοί* passim.

16. D. Jacoby, "Encounter", p. 882.

17. D. Jacoby, "Encounter", p. 880.

18. D. Jacoby, "Encounter", pp. 875ff.

19. P. Gounarides, "Φεουδαρχία", p. 45. For more information on feudalism, its structure and function, see F. L. Ganshof, *Feudalism*. New York 1964, passim; Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*. Translated in English by L. A. Manyon. Vol. I. London, 1978, passim; G. Recoura, *Les Assises de Romanie*. Paris, 1930, passim.

economic instability and military conflicts²⁰. As a matter of fact, the despotate of Epiros was one of many parts into which the once united Roman-Byzantine world was divided²¹. In his narrative, the Anonymous author of the *Chronicle of the Tocco* views his contemporary society as a well-structured entity with two main social strata: the higher, ruling part and the lower, representing the subjects (λαός). Since the central character in the *Chronicle of the Tocco* is a noble warrior, it is indeed to be expected that the author's attention will be centred on issues referring to the ruling social class, holding all military and political power. Often the author's contempt, expectations or praises are qualified by social positions. Consequently, the expression of these feelings will be considered as important clues in comprehending the way the author perceives the organization of an ideal society. Thus, terms and expressions relating to social distances and stereotypes will be analysed as they are reflected in the author's moral value system. The questions to be answered are:

- Do Roman Byzantine archons, Albanian chiefs, the Western feudal warrior nobility and Muslim political and military leaders form an elite social class as opposed to that of the commoners in the mind of the author?
- If yes, which are the factors that form the structures of inequality?
- How is social stratification conceptualised and projected ideologically in the world view of the author?

We thus must define terms which refer to social organisation and titles - functional or honorary - and examine their position in the author's conceptualisation. Such terms are: **1. τάξεις, 2. οικονομία, 3. βασιλεύς, 4. ρήγας, 5. δεσπότης, 6. άρχοντες, 7. κληρός, 8. λαός, 9. χωριάτες**. Moreover, we shall examine the degree of influence the feudal order of life had on the author's world view and the role Byzantine concepts of world order played in the crystallisation of his ideas.

20. See Aneta Ilieva, "The Image of the Morea (Frankish and Byzantine) in the Mentality of the Gianniotis: The Author of the Tocco Chronicle", *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου (Άρτα, 27-31 Μαΐου 1990)*. Άρτα, 1992, 309-312, p. 310.

21. On the division and conflicts, see Alkmene Stavridou-Zafraka, *Νίκαια και Ήπειρος. Ιδεολογική αντιπαράθεση στην προσπάθειά τους να ανακτήσουν την αυτοκρατορία*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1990, passim; D. M. Nicol, *Το Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου*. Ιοάννινα, 1974. On the association between Epiros and Thessaloniki, see F. Bredenkamp, *The Byzantine Empire of Thessaloniki (1224-1242)*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1996, passim and especially pp. 11, 154ff, 236ff.

3. 1 The concepts of τάξις and οἰκονομία

3. 1. 1 τάξις: 1226, 1520, 1954, 3118, 3377.

3. 2. 2 οἰκονομία: 1538; ὁ Θεός οἰκονομεῖ: 733.

3. 1. 1 The term τάξις

Though the term *τάξις* does not often occur, its use, combined with other terms, gives an insight into the author's concept of social stratification and function. According to the Christian definition, *τάξις* means "a kind or type of entity, implying a contrast-comparison to other similar entities", an "ordered or arranged sequence" and, more important, "a proper and correct order"²². On the other hand, it is well known that since antiquity *taxis*, in a military context, has indicated a military battle formation²³. The author uses the term *τάξις* in different contexts, thus illustrating three different meanings:

(a) the term describes a certain social status, as in the case of Stefano Voisava. He was appointed leader of the Albanian troops, that had gathered in *Ἀραχοβιτσαν* to offer homage to Carlo Tocco, who had become the new lord of Arta:

"ὁ λόγος του καὶ ἡ τάξις του ἔμορφα παιδευμένος".

(line 1520)

In fact, combined with *τάξις* (social status), the words *λόγος* (language)²⁴ and *παιδευμένος* (educated)²⁵ show balance between education, eloquence and social status. From the author's point of view, concord between these three factors constitutes an essential quality in a person's nature. The same correlation between *τάξις* and a person's *πράξις* (deed)²⁶ appears when the author describes the

22. J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains* (vol. I. II). New York, 1988, pp. 588, 610, 613.

23. See H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford, 1968, p. 1756; cf. B. Hendrickx, "The politico-ideological concepts of 'oikonomia' and 'taxis' as illustrated in the *Epistle to Diognetos*", in *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 73 (New Series 2) (ἐκδ. Αφρικῆς) (1991), pp. 44-49.

24. E. Kriaras, *Το Λεξικό της μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής δημόδους γραμματείας* (1100-1669), Thessaloniki, 1968ff., vol. IX, p. 15.

25. E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. XIV, p. 205.

26. Louw and Nida, *Lexicon*, pp. 511, 512, define the term as follows: (a) "*πράξις* = function, implying sustained activity and/or responsibility - function-task", (b) "*πράσσω*; *πράξις* = to do, to

personality of the duke's third son, Μενούνου:

"ἡ τάξις του, ἡ προῶξις του βασιλικῆς ὁμοιάζουν".

(line 1954)

The term *προῶξις* - also meaning 'function', 'responsibility' or 'deed' - combined with royal social status (*βασιλικῆς*) expresses the author's expectation of persons in higher ranks to act according to their social positions; in other words, the higher the position, the greater the expectations: *βασιλικῆς ὁμοιάζουν*.

(b) In another instance, in his lament for Leonardo Tocco's death, the author considers the count as the personification of order (*ἡ τάξις*) and ordinance (*ἡ κατάστασις*) among all troops. Here the term *τάξις* is used in combination with *κατάστασις*:

"ἡ τάξις, ἡ κατάστασις εἰς ὅλα τὰ φουσαῖτα

Ἄλλοι, κακὸν τὸ ἐγίνετον, ὧ συμφορὰ μεγάλη!

Ὁ θάνατος τὸν ἄρπαξεν ὡς τὸ πουλὶν γεράκι".

(lines 3377-79)

G. Schirò translates the term *κατάστασις* as *discipline*. This definition, however, does not appear in Kriaras' dictionary. In its ancient meaning, however, the term is defined, among others, as *ordinance* or *decree*²⁸.

(c) In the following lines, however, *τάξις* takes on a more abstract meaning. It expresses the author's wish for a well-ordered society without *δυνάστειες* (dominations) and *ἄδικα τὰ μεγάλα* (great injustices):

"ὁ καθεὶς νὰ ἡστέκεται εἰς τάξιν ὅπου πρέπει

νὰ λείφουν οἱ δυνάστειες, τὰ ἄδικα τὰ μεγάλα".

(lines 1226-27)

In her study on the social system in Byzantium, H. Ahrweiler argues that the Byzantine collective conscience was based on two principles: *τάξις* and *οἰκονομία*. The term *τάξις* (analogous to ancient *μέτρον*), meant the existing moral

carry out, to perform, deed'.

27. Louw and Nida, *Lexicon*, pp. 511, 512.

28. Cf. E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. VIII, pp. 56-57, G. Schirò, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 471; Liddell and Scott, p. 913.

ethics and norms which, for the common interest, ought to be respected without any reservation. The preservation of the cultural and social *status quo* depended on *τάξις*. Its holy nature was bestowed on the emperor who was responsible for its maintenance. The duty of the Byzantine people was to act according to God's wishes, since they considered themselves to be His instruments on earth²⁹.

3. 1. 2 The term *οίκονομία*

According to H. Ahrweiler, the term *οίκονομία* is comparable to the ancient *σοφία*. She defines *οίκονομία* as the spiritual principle and power which organizes what happens³⁰. Social and celestial hierarchy, defined as *τάξις*, were legitimised by the concept of *οίκονομία*, being Divine Planning and Providence. I believe our author's thoughts correspond with Ahrweiler's interpretation of the Byzantine collective belief about *τάξις* and *οίκονομία*, especially when he refers to the moral obligation everybody (*καθεείς*) has in maintaining *order* (*τάξιν*) and *duty* (*ὄπου πρέπει*):

"ὁ καθεείς νά ἡστέκεται εἰς τάξιν ὄπου πρέπει".

(line 1226)

For our author there are two worlds, one divine and the other earthly. The divine, or spiritual world is a projection (or duplication) of his material world. The hierarchy of beings is reflected in the author's concept about the higher, invisible world where God is the only authority:

"μέ τοῦ Θεοῦ τήν δύναμιν καί μέ τὸ δίκαιόν του".

(line 1624)

"Ἄλλ' ὁ Θεὸς ἀπέστειλεν ἄλλα ἐκ πλαγιόθεν".

(line 1981)

"Ἄλλ' ὁ Θεὸς ὁ δίκαιος καί μέγας δικαιοκρίτης,
τά βούλονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἐνθυμοῦνται,

29. Héléne Ahrweiler, *Η πολιτική ιδεολογία της βυζαντινής αυτοκρατορίας*, Translated by Toula Drakopoulou. Athens 1977, pp. 124ff.

30. H. Ahrweiler, *Ιδεολογία*, pp. 153-54, 160; cf. B. Hendrickx, "Concepts of 'oikonomia' and 'taxis'", pp. 45-48.

ἐκεῖνος ἄλλα οἰκονομεῖ, οἷα καὶ μόνος οἶδεν".
(lines 731-33)

The above argument is substantiated by the use of both terms, *τάξεις* and *οἰκονομία*, in the *Chronicle of the Tocco*. The author in his description of life in the city of Ioannina narrates:

"Ἐκεῖ εὐρίσκεις ἄρχοντες ἔντιμους καὶ ἀξιούς
νὰ δώσουν λόγον καὶ βουλήν ἐξ ὅ,τι τοὺς γυρεύσης·
καὶ πάλιν καὶ κλήρα ἔντιμη ὡσάν τῆς Σαλονίκης·
ὁμοίως ἔναι κατάστασις ἐς τὸ κοινὸν τῆς χώρας
καὶ τάξεις, ἐπιστήμια, καθὼς πρόπει νὰ ἔναι".
(lines 3114-18)

In the above lines the author shows knowledge of the life in Thessaloniki, and even more, a deep esteem for its political (*ἄρχοντες*) and religious (*κλήρα*) leaders³¹. As we see, in describing the social and political life in Ioannina, the author expresses his appreciation for honour (*ἔντιμους*), ability (*ἀξιούς*)³² among the higher social ranks (*ἄρχοντες*) and the clergy (*κλήρα*), and especially for law and order (*τάξεις*) and education (*ἐπιστήμια*)³³ in society (*ἐς τὸ κοινὸν τῆς χώρας*). The expression **as it ought to be** (*καθὼς πρόπει νὰ ἔναι*), expresses his perception of an ideal society. In fact, social structure with fixed social positions is his main concern.

These concepts were not far from the tradition of order and culture which tempered and sometimes controlled "the savagery of fourteenth-century Europe"³⁴. The guardians of this tradition, as G. Brereton states, "were precisely the same knightly class which on occasion massacred its prisoners and tortured its enemies in public"³⁵.

In a similar way, the author's high opinion of the higher class is not shaken in the face of brutal acts committed by those people he admired the most, a fact

31. See also G. Schirò, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, pp. 130-31.

32. E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. VI, p. 75; *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 299.

33. E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. VI, p. 233.

34. On the mentality in Medieval Europe through the Chronicles, see G. Brereton, *Froissart Chronicles*. Middlesex, 1968, pp.15ff.

35. G. Brereton, *Chronicles*, pp. 18-19.

which will be discussed at a later stage. As to the author's or Byzantine collective concept of *οικονομία*, its meaning is well defined when he comments on the way human actions are validated and regulated by God; as the duke tries to explain the cause of his sudden illness, he associates it with God, who gives everything, *πάντα*, according to His providence, *κατ' οἰκονομίαν*:

"Καὶ ἰδὲ τί ἐπροξένεσεν σύμβαμα διαβόλου.
 Διανυκτοῦ τὸν ἔδωκεν πόνος εἰς τὰ νεφράν του,
 τίτιος μέγας, δυνατός· ἐκόπην, ἐκρατήθη·
 καὶ τί νὰ γένη οὐκ ἠμπορεῖ κανεὶς νὰ ὀρμηνεύσῃ.
 Ὁ θαυμαστός, ὁ ἠκουστός πῶς νὰ καβαλλικέψῃ
 ὅπου ὁ κόσμος καρτερεῖ πότε νὰ ἐξημερώσῃ,
 νὰ τὸν ἐβλέπουν ἅπαντες, νὰ τὸν κατεχορταίνου;
 Πίστευσε, ὅτι ἐγίνετον καὶ κατ' οἰκονομίαν·
 ἵνα <τυχαῖα> μὴ ἐπηρῶθῃ ὁ νοῦς του ἀπὸ τὴν δόξαν,
 νὰ ἐνθυμῆται τὸν Θεὸν ὅπου τὰ δίδει πάντα".

(lines 1531-40)

A matter of interest is the difference between the author's explanation and of Carlo Tocco himself, regarding the unexpected illness of the duke; whereas the author considers the event as Satan's intervention (*σύμβαμα διαβόλου*), the duke sees it as God's providence (*Θεῖα Πρόνοια*).

At this point, another analogue between uncontrolled human pride, "*μὴ ἐπηρῶθῃ ὁ νοῦς του ἀπὸ τὴν δόξαν*", and the ancient concept of *hybris* should not escape our attention. There is, however, a fundamental difference between the pagan concept of *hybris* and the Christian belief of God's intervention, which prevents the duke from committing a sin of arrogance (*ὑβρις*). In either case, however, *pagan* or *Christian*, the inability to explain, "*οὐκ ἠμπορεῖ κανεὶς νὰ ὀρμηνεύσῃ*", a natural event such as the sudden illness which befell the duke, "*πόνος εἰς τὰ νεφράν του*", denotes metaphysical causes.

3. 2 The dignity of βασιλεύς

βασιλεύς: 1236, 2122, 2131, 2136, 2138, 2140, 2147, 2154, 2162, 2167-68, 2172, 2899, 3093, 3414, 3494, 3501, 3520, 3528, 3530, 3534, 3536, 3540, 3567, 3574, 3578, 3581, 3587, 3638, 3840.

Initially, the term *βασιλεύς* refers to the Byzantine emperor³⁶. Accompanied by expressions such as *τιμητικά* (with honour) and *ὡς πρέπει* (as it should), the term *βασιλεύς* indicates the highest hierarchical position in power and authority, the position held by the emperor in the author's concept of social organisation:

"Σ βασιλέα τὸν ἔστειλεν τιμητικά, ὡς πρέπει".
(line 2131)

Elsewhere, however, the word *Βασιλέα*, is used to indicate the superiority of the duke compared to the Byzantine emperor. Thus, the following lines demonstrate, firstly, that the duke occupied a superior position in the mind of the author; secondly, that the author was convinced that the Latin noble enjoyed greater popularity among the Ioaninniotēs than the Byzantine emperor himself did (*να μὴ ἀλλάξουσιν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸν Βασιλέα*):

"Ἀλήθεια ἐδῶκαν τοῦ ἐλπίδα νὰ ἔχη πάντα,
ὄτι, ἂν ἔτυχεν καιρὸς ἀφέντην νὰ γυρῆσουν,
νὰ μὴ ἀλλάξουσιν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸν Βασιλέα".
(lines 1234-36)

Apparently, the above lines contradict the concept that the Byzantine *βασιλεύς* was representing Christ on earth. Because, as Helen Ahrweiler correctly states, in the collective conscience of the Byzantines, a *βασιλεύς/ αὐτοκράτωρ* was indeed the representative of Christ on earth, who, as "*παμβασιλεύς* and *παντοκράτωρ*" could only be the same person³⁷. Besides, the statement *να μὴ ἀλλάξουσιν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸν Βασιλέα*, also challenges the general belief, stated by Helen Saradi, that in the 14th-15th centuries "the common people of Byzantium were animated by an anti-Latin feeling nourished by the Orthodox Church"³⁸.

It becomes evident that in our author's perception neither the emperor occupied such an absolute and holy position, nor was public opinion in Ioannina against the Franks. In fact, on another occasion, the Byzantine emperor could almost be identified with a Western feudal lord, when he bestowed the title of

36. G. Schirò, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 379 (line 2122): "καὶ ἑκατέβη ὁ βασιλεύς τῆς Κωνσταντινου πόλης".

37. H. Ahrweiler, *Ιδεολογία*, p. 54.

38. Helen Saradi, *Byzantium and the Origin of the Modern Greek National Consciousness*. Toronto-Ontario, 1992, p. 33.

constable (κοντόσταβλος)³⁹ on the count Leonardo Tocco for his military services⁴⁰ (ἔδούλευσεν... τὸν βασιλέα). It should be noted that, although the author considers the bestowing of the title of κοντόσταβλος as a justified act of recognition (ἔπρεπέν του ἡ τιμῆ, με δίκαιον) for the services rendered to the emperor by Leonardo, he finds it insufficient (καὶ ἔπρεπέν του ἡ τιμῆ ἀκόμη πλεωτέρα):

"μέγαν κοντόσταβλον αὐτὸν ἔστεψεν βασιλείας του".

(line 2140)

"καὶ ἔπρεπέν του ἡ τιμῆ ἀκόμη πλεωτέρα,
ὅτι ἔδούλευσεν καλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν βασιλέα".

(lines 2146-47)

"Καὶ δ' ἔτοῦτο ὁ βασιλεὺς με δίκαιον τὸν ἡγάπα".

(line 2154)

Actually, as A. Kazhdan argues, "the idea of the Constantinopolitan universalism is completely alien to the *Chronicle of the Tocco*: though Epirote lords kept connections with the emperor (vers. 2899), the basileus was treated (*sic!*) by the anonymous poet as one among seigneurs on the Balkans rather than an autocrat and nominal ruler of the *oecumene*". According to A. Kazhdan, the author is influenced by Renaissance tendencies, which "have been eagerly inaugurated into the feudal world of the Epirote despotate". Therefore, when our author praises political consolidation he does not promote universal unification, but only a territorial unity⁴¹.

In fact, absence of universal concepts and lack of metaphysical features are also betrayed in the following lines, where Byzantine emperors are collectively presented as commoners, who, like every body else, have their own problems (καὶ

39. A constable was governor or warden of royal fortresses or castles. Equivalent to the Latin *comestabulus*, the title κοντόσταβλος - also κοντόσταυλος, κονόσταβλος, κονοστάβλος, κοντοσταύβλος - was established by Ἰωάννης Βατάτζης (1222-1254) in Nicaea: see N. Beis, "Κοντόσταβλος", in *Εγκυκλοπαιδικόν Λεξικόν Ἐλευθερουδάκη*. Athens, 1927, vol. 7, p. 903.

40. On the services of the vassal due to the lord, see F. L. Ganshof, *Feudalism*, pp. 86ff.

41. A. P. Kazhdan, "Some Notes on the *Chronicle of the Tocco*", in *Bisanzio e Italia, accolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi*. Milano, 1982, 168-176, p. 174.

αὐτοὶ τὰ ἐδικὰ τους). In addition, the author's words demonstrate irony and criticism since emperors deceive people (λανθάνουν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους)⁴²:

"Ἐχουν γὰρ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ ἐδικὰ τους·
ποιοῦν δουλειεὶς θαυμαστές, λανθάνουν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους".
(lines 3534-35)

As for the ceremony of promotion (*προαγωγή*), in his description the author seems impressed by the royal garments (*ροῦχα τὸν ἐφόρεσε βασιλικά ἐδικὰ του*), and the honours bestowed on the count Leonardo (*οἰκείον τὸν ἐποίησεν*):

"Ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς ὄρθωσεν· ἐπίασαν ἀγάπην,
(... ...)
Τὸν κόντον γὰρ ἐτίμησεν, ἐδόξασεν μεγάλως,
οἰκείον τὸν ἐποίησεν, ἕναν ἐκ τοὺς υἱούς του,
μέγαν κοντόσταυλον αὐτὸν ἔστεψεν βασιλειᾶς του
καὶ ροῦχα τὸν ἐφόρεσε βασιλικά ἐδικὰ του
καὶ τὸ ραβδὶν τοῦ ἔδωσεν εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν του χέριν.
"Ὅλοι τὸν ἐπροσκύνησαν μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι".
(lines 2136-43)

The purpose of the solemn ceremony of *προαγωγή*, *πρόβλησις* was the introduction of a new-created dignitary to the court (*εἰς τὸ σέκρετον*) by the Byzantine emperor⁴³. According to the Byzantine ceremonial customs⁴⁴, the royal

42. E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. VII, p. 151: τὰ ἐδικὰ τους = their own problems; *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 106. Cf. G. Schirò, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 483: λανθάνω = ingannare; *Ibid.*, τὰ ἐδικὰ τους = speciali vedute; it must be noted, that G. Schirò's translation brings the emperor's position closer to this of God:

"Anche i sovrani hanno le lorro speciali vedute
compiere gesta mirabili e ingnare gli uomini".

43. L. Bréhier, *Les institutions de l'empire byzantin*. Paris, 1970, p. 131, writes: "La cérémonie consiste dans l'adoration de l'empereur, qui à l'origine tenait lieu d'investiture, et dans la remise des insignes et des codicilles...".

44. On the official ceremonies, L. Bréhier, *Les institutions*, pp.133-134 states: "L'importance politique et sociale des dignitaires se manifestaient extérieurement par des costumes d'une grande richesse qu'ils ne portaient que dans les cérémonies et dont la couleur et l'ornement variaient suivant les fêtes, ce qui leur donnait, comme à ceux du basileus, le caractère de costumes liturgiques.... Leur luxe est encore plus éclatant aux époques de Philothée et de Constantin Porphyrogénète.... Des règlements très stricts déterminaient l'emploi de ces vêtements de parade (ἀλλάξιμον), qui étaient conservés au palais et n'étaient pas individuels, mais passaient d'un dignitaire à son successeur".

garments⁴⁵ were preserved at the palace to be used successively by one promoted dignitary after another (*ἀλλάξιμα*).

The author appears impressed by the fact that the emperor used his own garments (*ροῦχα, βασιλικά ἔδικά του*) for the sole purpose of the ceremony. However, since the ceremony of *προαγωγή* took place far from the capital, at *Examili* in the Morea in 1415, the possibility remains that the emperor, Manuel Palaiologos (1391-1425), used his own garments for the completion of the ceremony. As a matter of fact, the crown used for the investiture of Carlo Tocco as despot, had also to be brought from the capital:

"᾽ς τὴν Πόλιν νὰ ἀποστείλουσιν τὸ στέμμα νὰ τοῦ φέρουν".
(line 2119)

3. 3 The dignity of *ρῆγας*

ρῆγας (ρῆξ): 20, 3330, 3338, 3340, 3343, 3414.

The author uses the title *ρῆγας* to define royal authority in Italy. In the following lines, the term *ρῆγας* (= king)⁴⁶ refers to Charles III of Durazzo, king of Naples (1381-1386)⁴⁷, to whom the widow of count Leonardo I, Maddalena of Buondelmonti⁴⁸, went in order to obtain reconfirmation of the titles and status of her late husband in favour of her two minor sons, Carlo and Leonardo⁴⁹:

45. As an example, see L. Bréhier, *Les institutions*, p. 133: "Le jour de sa promotion, le recteur recevait comme insignes un *himation* blanc pourvu d'une cape tissée d'or tombant sur les épaules avec manches brodées d'or, un manteau, mant...on, brodé d'or, un *maphorion*, voile de pourpre, semé de roses tissées d'or".

46. The title *ρῆγας*, from the Latin *rex*, was used by the Byzantines in order to indicate Western kings. The term *rex* expresses inferiority vis-à-vis the title *basileus*, reserved for the Byzantine emperor.

47. On the way Charles became king: see E. G. Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*. Paris, 1954, pp. 464-469. See also Elisabeth Zachariadou, "Οἱ χίλιοι στίχοι στην αρχή του Χρονικού των Τόκκο", *Epeirotica Chronica* 25 (1983), 158-181, pp. 170-71, n. 17.

48. As G. Schirò, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 12, states, the period between 1375 and 1400, which corresponds to the adolescence and prime youth of Tocco, is obscure and lacks information. See also *Ibid.*, pp. 582-83. On the issue of the dates, see E. Zachariadou, "Χρονικό των Τόκκο", pp. 170-71, n. 17. For an historical overview, see D. N. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros. 1267-1479. A Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, 1984, pp. 139-156.

49. Indeed, in case of death, regarding the succession to a fief, see G. Recoura (ed.), *Les Assises*, p. 178, art. 32, "dans les fiefs, en vérité, ou les baronnies, ou la principauté, l'aîné succède au père ou à la mère".

"ἔδιέβηκε εἰς τὴν Φράγκιαν τοῦ ρήγαν Ἰταλίας
 μὲ δῶρα, μὲ χαρίσματα, μὲ θησαυροὺς μεγάλους,
 νὰ στερεώσῃ τὴν ἀρχὴν, τὸ κράτος τοῦ πατροῦ τους.
 Ὡρ<ισε καὶ ἐξέβηκε> μετὰ τιμῆς μεγάλης
 καὶ <ἐβεβαίωσε τὴν ἀρχὴν> τοῦ δούκα καὶ τοῦ κόντου".

(lines 20-24)

Although the author uses the title *ρήγας* with the same respect as when he refers to *βασιλέας*, he expresses special admiration for the king of Naples, Ladislaos (1386-1414), firstly for his invasion of Rome in 1413, and secondly, for his superiority over other kings (*ἀπὸ ὅλους τοὺς ρηγᾶδες*). It must be added that this comparison illustrates the author's admiration for fearless warriors. It should also be noted that the use of the terms *ρηγᾶτα* (= kingdoms) and *κουμούνια* (=governments, states)⁵⁰, indicates political and national separatism⁵¹ in the Western European territories:

"Τὸν εἶδε ὁ ρήγας τῆς Φραγκιᾶς, τῆς Ρώμης ὁ κατάρχων,
 ἐκείνος ὅπου ἔφριξεν Ἰτάλιαν καὶ Ρώμην,
 ὁ Λατζελάος ὁ φοικτός, ὁ δυνατός, ὁ μέγας,
 ὅπου εἶχεν προτερήματα ἀπὸ ὅλους τοὺς ρηγᾶδες.
 Ἐκ τὰ ρηγᾶτα τῆς Φραγκιᾶς καὶ ἐξ ὅλα τὰ κουμούνια".

(lines 3330-34)

Moreover, despite his respect for both rulers, in the author's conception of authority and power, a king (*ρήγας*) does not appear as absolute monarch as does the Byzantine emperor (*βασιλεύς*). While a *βασιλεύς* appears as beyond any comparison, a *ρήγας* is comparable with other kings.

3. 4 The dignity of *δεσπότης*

3. 4. 1 *δεσπότης*: 51, 1164, 1190, 1199, 1208, 1247, 1523-24, 2022, 2111-12, 2120,

50. From the Latin *communis*. Thus Venice (as state with its own government) is indicated as *communis Venetiae*, see e.g. the *Partitio Romaniae*: A. Carile, "Partitio Terrarum Imperii Romaniae", *Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965), 125-305, pp. 205 and passim.

51. E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. VIII, p. 325.

3027, 3282, 3314, 3614, 3620, 3634, 3639, 3651, 3690, 3706, 3724, 3742, 3746, 3753, 3839, 3866.

3. 4. 2 δεσπότης (δούκας): 2109, 2169, 2175, 2217, 2226, 2237, 2241, 2271, 2278, 2290-91, 2335, 2340, 2342, 2360, 2370, 2373, 2375, 2410, 2429, 2431, 2439, 2442, 2448, 2473, 2478, 2491, 2504, 2521, 2527-28, 2531, 2544, 2546, 2552, 2562, 2568, 2584, 2597, 2602, 2610, 2612, 2618, 2624, 2627, 2634, 2641, 2644-45, 2662, 2664, 2669, 2684, 2686, 2692, 2720, 2746, 2748, 2765, 2779, 2815, 2820, 2824, 2830, 2833, 2836, 2842, 2844-45, 2852, 2858, 2875, 2877, 2896, 2901, 2907, 2917, 2920, 2922, 2926, 2933, 2946, 2950, 2954, 2961, 2968, 2977, 2979, 2984, 2993, 3004, 3020, 3033, 3059, 3074, 3079, 3081, 3088, 3097, 3123, 3125, 3127, 3129, 3132, 3134, 3146, 3159, 3167, 3185, 3209, 3224, 3246, 3250, 3255, 3258, 3266, 3304, 3376, 3384, 3404, 3440, 3473-74, 3477, 3485, 3487-88, 3497, 3597, 3604, 3627, 3644, 3649, 3793, 3842.

3. 4. 1 Δεσπότης

It was in 1163 that the dignity of *δεσπότης* was created by the emperor, Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180), in favour of his son-in-law, the Hungarian prince Béla, to whom he intended to leave his throne, connecting thus the title of *δεσπότης* with the Byzantine throne. As L. Bréhier states, it was with this implication in mind, that Michael I Angelos (ca 1204-1215) of Epiros carried the title *δεσπότης* after 1204. But, while during the Komnenoi's rule this title was exceptional and related to the Byzantine throne itself, it was commonly used under the Palaiologoi. Finally, in 1348, Manuel Kantacouzenos, who was the first ruler of Peloponnesos to receive the title of *δεσπότης*, transmitted to his successors who held it until 1461. Actually, this royal title which was bestowed on princes of royal blood, was used by the last Palaiologoi as a means to put an end to centrifugal tendencies in the Empire⁵².

Returning to our *Chronicle*, we see, that the title *despot* is used by Albanian rulers. Originally, the Albanian chiefs, who supported the despot of Epiros, Michael II Angelos (ca 1237-1271) against the emperor of Nicaea, Theodoros II

52. L. Bréhier, *Institutions*, pp. 118, 121ff.

Laskaris (1254-1258), were rewarded with land and court titles. Consequently, the traditional Albanian patriarchal social system underwent a radical change when chiefs suddenly became "ἄρχοντες". In addition, due to Italian influences too, the Albanian higher class was established, and certain families, such as of the Zenevesi clan, became representatives of this new, though in small scale, class differentiation⁵³. The use of the Byzantine title by the Albanians is illustrated in the following lines:

"Ὁ πρῶτος γὰρ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀφέντευεν τὴν Ἄρταν
δεσπότην τὸν ἐτίμησαν τὸ γένος τὸ ἀλβάνι".

(lines 50-51)

"τὰ Ἄλβανα τὰ ἄπειρα, μὲ τὸν δεσπότην, πάντα".

(line 68)

"Ἀφούτου γὰρ ἀπόθανεν ὁ Ἡζαοῦ ὁ δεσπότης".

(line 1190)

In the following lines the author stresses the importance of the title *despot* by making an allusion about its Byzantine origin and its historical connection with Ioannina. His emphasis could be interpreted as an effort to legitimise Carlo Tocco's title. In any case, the author makes use of the title as often as possible when he refers to Carlo Tocco:

"τὴν Ἄρταν καὶ τὰ Ἰωάννινα, ὅπου ἦσαν χωρισμένα
ἐκ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν Ρωμαίων".

(lines 3026-27)

Moreover, the fact that title *δεσπότης* was initially used by Michael II Angelos in Epiros seems to have created the concept that the legitimate seat of the despots was Ioannina:

"ὡς δεσπότην τὸν φήμισαν. – Συνήθειαν τὸ εἶχαν
καὶ τὸ σαμνὶ τῶν δεσποτῶν τὰ Γιάννινα <νά> εἶναι".

(lines 1523-24)

"ὅτι εἰς τὰ Ἰωάννινα δεσπότες ἀφεντεύαν

53. A. Ducelier, *Οι Άλβανοί στην Ελλάδα (13ος-15ος αι.). Η μετανάστευση μιας κοινότητας*. Translated by Katerina Nikolaou. Athens, 1995, pp. 10ff.

καὶ τὸ σκαμνὶ τῶν δεσποτῶν ᾗς τὰ Γιάννινα ἦτον πάντα".
(lines 2111-12)

3. 4. 2 Δεσπότης δούκας

The investiture of the duke as despot with all its prerogatives, its exclusive rights and privileges (*τέλειος δεσπότης*), also gives great satisfaction to the author. He considers it as a well justified act of appreciation by the Byzantine emperor (*ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ ἔφριξεν, μεγάλως ἔθαυμάστη, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀτός του*) for the successful war expeditions of the duke in the Peloponnesos (*εἰς τὸν Μορεῶν*):

"Ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ ἔφριξεν, οἱ ἄρχοντες ὁμοίως,
ὅτι ἔκαμεν καὶ εἰς τὸν Μορεῶν ἄλλους <πολλούς> πολέμους,
ᾗς τὸν Σάλωνα, εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον, εἰς τὸ Ἄργος καὶ εἰς τ' Ἀνάπλι
καὶ εἰς ἄλλα κατατόπια, ὅπου οὐδὲν τὰ γράφω,
ὅπου τὸ ἤξεύρουσιν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι ἐκείνου τοῦ Μορεῶς.
Καὶ ἤκουσέν τους ὁ βασιλεὺς, μεγάλως ἔθαυμάστη.
Καὶ εἶπαν το οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀτός του·
"Ἄξιός ἐστι νὰ στεφθῆ καὶ τέλειος δεσπότης,
ἥπειν ἡ ἀφεντία του τὸ Δεσποτᾶτο ἔναι...".

(lines 2162-70)

Contrary to his brother's *προαγωγή*, which took place in the presence of the emperor himself, Carlo Tocco was crowned despot with the *στέμμα* which was sent to him in Ioannina (*καὶ στέμμαν τοῦ ἀπέστειλεν καὶ ἔστεψέν τον δεσπότην*). By furnishing this detail, the author creates the impression that he self was present at the ceremony of Leonardo's *προαγωγή*⁵⁴. Thus, the two brothers were

54. In fact, though based on another incident, G. Schirò argues that the author, besides being contemporary with the events he narrates, was also present at most of them Schirò, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 128 (lines 1500-1503):

"καὶ εἶδα πρᾶγμα φοβερόν, καὶ εἶδα πρᾶγμα ξένον·
ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες τὰ παιδιὰ, μειράκια, τὰ βρέφη,
οἱ πάντες νὰ φωνάζουσιν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ δούκα,
ὄλοι νὰ τρέχουν ὀμπροστά καὶ νὰ τὸν προσκυνοῦσιν".

Based especially on these lines, G. Schirò, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 126, argues: "La frase tanto

elevated to the rank of Kantakouzenoi (ἐδιώρθωσεν, τὸν κοντόσταβλον, ἄρχοντα συγγενῆν του, Κατακουζηνάτους). Another important detail in the narrative is the stress on the noble origin of the Kantakouzenoi⁵⁵ family (γνησίους ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦς Κατακουζηνάτους). By this emphasis, the author illustrates his admiration for people placed on higher social strata:

"Εἰς τοῦτο ἐδιώρθωσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐθέως
τὸν μέγαν τὸν κοντόσταβλον καὶ ἄρχονταν συγγενῆν του
γνησίους ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦς Κατακουζηνάτους.
Καὶ στέμμαν τοῦ ἀπέστειλεν καὶ ἔστεψέν τον δεσπότην".

(lines 2172-75)

3. 4. 3 The Sultan (σουλτᾶνος)

3. 4. 3 σουλτᾶνος: 1930, 1929, 1962, 1964, 1967, 1971, 2229, 2231, 2240, 2861, 3071-72, 3094, 3731, 3735.

3. 4. 3 The Sultan

Attributed to a Muslim sovereign the term *sultān* in Arabic defines *power, ruler*⁵⁶. When the author refers to sultan Mehmed I (Kirişci) (1413-1421) he expresses a sentiment of fear rather than respect or admiration. In order to maintain his rule (*ἀφεντία*), Carlo Tocco offers his tribute (*χαράτζι*) to the new sultan:

"Ἀφοῦ γὰρ ἐπαράλαβε τὴν ἀφεντίαν σουλτᾶνος".

(line 1962)

spontanea e chiara, convalida la tesi non solo della contemporaneità, ma anche della presenza dell'autore all' avvenimento narrato".

55. On the history of the Kantakouzenoi family, see D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos, ca. 1100-1460*. Washington, 1968, passim. - See also D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267-1479*, p. 183: "In Carlo's case the link with the crown was emphasised in a unique fashion; for the chronicler records that the Tocco brothers were enrolled as "Kantakouzenatoi", as honorary blood relations of the imperial family".

56. *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (7th ed.), N. York, 1982, p. 1068.

"Ο δούκας πάλιν ἔστειλεν ἄρχοντες ἕς τὸν σουλτᾶνον
 νὰ δίδῃ τὸ χαράτζιν του, νὰ ἔναι ἐδικὸς του.
 Καὶ ὤρισεν νὰ στέκεται ἕς τὴν ἀφεντίαν τὴν εἶχεν".
 (lines 1964-66)

Elsewhere, when the author refers to the support Ya'qūb received from the sultan, the bad mood of the Turkish sovereign is described in detail (ὁ σουλτᾶνος ἐχολομάνησε, ἐθυμώθηκεν μεγάλως):

"Ἐχολομάνησε, ἐθυμώθηκεν μεγάλως ὁ σουλτᾶνος,
 καὶ σκλάβον ἕναν ὤρισεν, Ἰσμαήλ τὸν ἐλέγαν,
 φουσσᾶτο τοῦ ἐδώκασιν νὰ κατεβῆ εἰς τὴν Ἄρταν,
 τὸν Κάρουλαν νὰ ἐβγάλουσιν, νὰ βάλουν τὸν Γιαγούπη".
 (lines 2231-34)

The author's mixed feelings of fear and awe for the sovereign sultan are expressed by the way he narrates Carlo Tocco's efforts (ἐμήνησεν καταλεπτῶς, με δῶρα με χαρίσματα, νὰ πέσουν ἕς τὸν σουλτᾶνον) to alter the sultan's mood in favour of himself and of his son-in-law, Carlo (Κάρουλας), son of Irene Spatas and baron Marchesano:

"Ο δεσπότης προήκουσεν, ἔμαθε τὰ μανδᾶτα,
 τὸν Κάρουλαν ἐμήνησεν καταλεπτῶς τὰ πάντα,
 νὰ ἀφήσῃ τὴν κακογνωμιὰ καὶ νὰ γενοῦν τὸ ἕναν·
 με δῶρα, με χαρίσματα νὰ πέσουν ἕς τὸν σουλτᾶνον".
 (lines 2237-2240)

The same fear of the sultan is expressed (μὴ τύχη καὶ γυρέψη τον) when Carlo Tocco executes Ya'qūb and further on, when he tries to organise resistance against the Turks through an alliance with the Albanians:

"αὐθὺς γὰρ ἐδιώρθωσεν καὶ ἐθανάτωσάν τον,
 μὴ τύχη καὶ γυρέψη τον, ὡς τοῦρκον, ὁ σουλτᾶνος".
 (lines 2860-61)

"ὥστε νὰ κάμουν ὄρθωσιν κατὰ τοὺς Μουσουλμάνους
 – ὅτι εἶχεν μέγαν κόπικα τὸν φόβον τοῦ σουλτάνου".
 (lines 3070-71)

4. The ruling and the ruled classes

4. 1 The ruling class: οἱ ἄρχοντες

4. 1. 1 ἄρχοντες (as notables): 71, 1176, 1184, 1194, 1196, 1206, 1223, 1232, 1242, 1298, 1327, 1329, 1351, 1356, 1444, 1506, 1545, 1562, 1584, 1604, 1775, 1791, 1900, 1964, 1967, 2026, 2162, 2168, 2173, 2194, 2228, 2289, 2918, 2938, 2983, 2995, 3001, 3105, 3114, 3149, 3164, 3210, 3418, 3450, 3504, 3657, 3669; δεσποτάτοι (ἄρχοντες): 1841, 2114, 3627, 3651, 3680, 3813, 3817, 3823, 3825, 3913;
4. 1. 2 αὐθέντης or ἀφέντης (lord, seigneur): 13, 121, 151, 168, 172, 282, 310, 433, 462, 499, 699, 702, 764, 775, 782, 809, 817, 829, 843, 853, 864, 921, 933, 969, 984, 1018, 1037, 1086, 1143, 1165, 1168, 1173, 1178, 1183, 1228-29, 1235, 1238, 1292, 1295, 1323, 1343, 1346, 1359, 1368, 1402, 1431, 1436, 1439, 1442, 1445, 1466, 1480, 1504, 1545, 1790, 1932, 2178, 2191, 2217, 2265, 2289, 2853, 2990, 3013, 3106, 3404, 3565, 3694, 3838, 3841, 3845; αὐθεντία or ἀφεντία (rule, authority, power): 9, 18, 37, 281, 386, 477, 823, 856, 1047, 1117, 1253, 1259, 1370, 1468, 1574, 1607, 1667, 1832, 1851, 1962, 1966, 2258, 2917, 2949, 3103, 3149, 3176, 3182, 3182, 3190, 3337.
4. 1. 3 ἀμωῶς (Turkish title equivalent to ἄρχων): 1915, 1917, 192-22, 1929, 1960, 1968, 2029, 2229, 2374, 3075, 3077, 3080, 3084, 3187, 3269, 3731, 3735, 3737.
4. 1. 4 Ἡ κλήρα: 1221, 1315, 1562, 3116; μητροπολίτης: 3807; μητρόπολις: 1350.

4. 1. 1 Ἄρχοντες, αὐθέντες or ἀφέντες

The author makes frequent use of the term *ἄρχων*, but with different meanings⁵⁷. In this study we shall examine the term in the plural form, *ἄρχοντες*, defining *notables* with political power. In describing the extermination of the noble Frank citizens of Leukas by the Albanian invaders (ca 1378-85), the author characterises them as *πλούσιοι, ἔντιμοι, εὐγενεῖς, ἀπὸ μεγάλα γένη*. By

57. E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. III, pp. 243-44, gives the following meanings: *ruler, leader, officer, notable, rich, owner*.

expressing deep sorrow for the misfortune (*κρίμα, άμαρτία*)⁵⁸ that caused their loss, the author demonstrates great respect and admiration for them. In fact, for him, the *άρχοντες* represented an ideal high social status: the term *έντιμοι* indicates honour, while the expression *εύγενείς, από μεγάλα γένη*, points at hereditary rights of the Western nobility occupying the higher social rank:

"Άλλοί, κρίμα όπου έγινετον, έδε άμαρτία μεγάλη!
Έκούρσευσαν, έπήρασιν, έρήμαξαν τον τόπον.
Ήσαν γάρ άρχοντες πολλοί πλούσιοι της Λευκάδας
καί έντιμοι καί εύγενείς από μεγάλα γένη".

(lines 69-72)

There is no doubt that the position of the *άρχοντες* in the author's concept of social hierarchy is that of power, responsibility and authority; indeed, it was Arta's *άρχοντες*, in this case its *Albanian* rulers, who, together with their own people, set their conditions to their new despot, Carlo Tocco, before their submission in 1416:

"Καί έξέβηκαν οί άρχοντες καί τό κοινόν της χώρας,
κατάσταςες έγύρεψαν ίνα τον προσκυνήσουν".

(lines 2995-96)

The author's concept of an archon's social position and function correlates with D. Jacoby's definition and explanations. According to D. Jacoby, in Byzantium the term *άρχων* defines an imperial public servant who exercises his civilian or military authority in a certain district being a town and its surroundings. As to foreign populations living in the Empire, such as the Albanian people, the title *άρχων* defined a tribal chief. In that case, the authority and the traditional status attached to the title were recognised and approved by the Byzantine emperor⁵⁹. The connection between the dignity of *άρχων* with clan origin is expressed in the following lines⁶⁰:

58. Cf. E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. VIII, p. 390-91, vol. II, pp. 32-4; cf. Thekla Sansaridou-Hendrickx, "Η χρήση του όρου *άμαρτία* στο ελληνικό χρονικό του Μορέως", *Ekkles. Pharos* 74 (N.Σ. 3) (1992) (έκδ. Αφροίτης), 57-67, passim.

59. D. Jacoby, "Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque", *Travaux et Mémoires* 2. Paris, 1967, 421-481, p. 465.

60. On the Albanian social system and function, see A. Ducellier, *Άλβανοί*, passim.

"τὴν Κατοχὴν τοῦ ἔδωκε Δήμου Μπούα τοῦ ἀλβανίτου,
 ἄρχοντος ἔντιμου πολλὰ ἐκ τὸ γένος τῶν Μπούάδων".
 (lines 2288-89)

The social status of the Albanian *ἄρχοντες*⁶¹ is also underlined by the author when they appear before Carlo Tocco to beg for his forgiveness, since in the past they have acted against him. After the death of their Albanian despot, Mouriki Spata, the seigneurie (*ἀφεντιά*) of Arta was in the hands of his Serbian mother, Nerata. According to the author, Carlo Tocco proposed to the Albanian *archontes* to be their new despot through negotiations (*ἐπάσχισεν διὰ λόγου του*) and thus to avoid conflict, but they refused him (*ἐκεῖνοι ἐπεισμάτισαν, δὲν ἤθελαν κανέναν*):

"ὕπόμεινεν ἡ ἀφεντιά εἰς χεῖρας τῆς μητρὸς του".
 (line 2021)

"Ἐπάσχισεν διὰ λόγου του καὶ οὐδὲν τὸ ἐδυνήθη".
 (line 2035)

"Ἐκεῖνοι ἐπεισμάτισαν, δὲν ἤθελαν κανέναν".
 (line 2037)

Indeed, according to the author's view point, the *archontes'* fear of reprisal proves that their social status, besides providing privileges, also rendered them more vulnerable in the hands of their new despot:

"Ἐμεῖς φοβούμεθα πολλὰ ἀπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν σου,
 διότι σὲ ἐπταίσαμεν καὶ ἐπικράναμέ σε...".
 (lines 2985-86)

61. As A. Ducelier, "Les Albanais à Venise aux XIVe et XVe siècles", in *Travaux et Mémoires* 2, Paris, 1967, 405-420, p. 405, states, in the Byzantine historiography of the 13th century, Albanian people seem to occupy isolated and almost inaccessible mountainous regions, while their participation in the economic and political life in Byzantium appears to be "plus que problématique". Only in the 14th century, in Epirus, Albanian chiefs appear to interact with other ethnic groups such as Greeks, Latins and Serbs by engaging themselves either in commerce or in military conflicts: on these activities, see Elisabeth Zachariadou, "Παραγωγή και εμπόριο στο δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου", *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου (Αρτα 27-31 Μαΐου 1990)*, Arta, 1992, 87-93, pp. 88-89.

Since Ioannina was in the hands of the Byzantines, the author uses the same terms (*ἄρχοντες*) to define the Byzantine notables who welcome the duke officially when he enters the city. Placed next to clergymen, these *ἄρχοντες* seem to impress the author both by their rank (*ἀρχιερεύς*) and their costumes (*ἔμορφα φορεμένοι*):

"Ἐκεῖ τὸν ἀποδέχθησαν οἱ ἄρχοντες, ἡ κλήρα,
ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἔμορφα φορεμένοι".

(lines 1562-63)

In the following lines social position (*ἄρχοντες*) and political power (*ἀφέντες*) coincide, as Carlo Tocco gives his men equal rights and privileges (*ὑψωσεν, ἐτίμησεν, ἰσόρροπους*), with those of the previous rulers of Arta (*τῶν ἀφεντῶν τῶν πρώην*):

"Τοὺς ἄρχοντές του ὑψωσεν, ἐτίμησεν μεγάλως,
ἰσόρροπους τοὺς ἔκαμεν τῶν ἀφεντῶν τῶν πρώην".

(lines 3105-06)

4. 1. 2 Αἰθέντης or ἀφέντης

In order to win the support of the Ioanniniotes, Carlo Tocco sends a man of his own to campaign for him. The approach and the words used in this political rhetoric do not defer much from the self projecting propaganda applied by our contemporary politicians. The Ioanniniotes should accept Carlo Tocco as their leader because it would be impossible to find a better one in the whole world (*τὸν κόσμον ἂν γυρίσετε, ἀνατολή και δύσι*):

"ἀφέντην νὰ τὸν φέρουσιν, τὸν δούκα νὰ τὸν ἔχουν".

(line 1359)

"ἔναι <γενναῖος> καὶ εὐγενικὸς καὶ φυσικὸς ἀφέντης".

(line 1365)

"τὸν κόσμον ἂν γυρίσετε, ἀνατολή και δύσι,
πούπετε ἀξιώτερον ἀφέντην νὰ εὐρῆτε".

(lines 1401-02)

"καὶ αὐτὸς νὰ ἔναι κεφαλὴ καὶ ἀφέντης εἰς τὸν τόπον".

(line 2191)

Despite the author's effort to show democratic political views, when he refers

to Carlo Tocco's popularity among the Ioanniniotes, in Western Greece political authority was nearly always imposed by means of violence, as in the case of Zenevezi, who tried to impose his rule over the city of Ioannina through destruction (*ἐρήμαξαν τελείως*) (ca. 1411):

"Φουσσᾶτα ἐσύναξεν πολλὰ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ Ζενεβέσης·
καὶ ἦλθαν εἰς τὰ Ἰωάννινα, γυρεῦουν ἀφεντίαν.
Τὰ ἀμπέλια ἐκατέλυσαν, ἐρήμαξαν τελείως".

(lines 1258-60)

"Καὶ ἡ βουλή ἀπόκοψεν· τὰ σύνορα γυρεῦουν
τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῆς ἀφεντιᾶς ὅπου εἶχαν ἐξαρχῆθεν".

(lines 1606-07)

Supported by the Turks and again through violence Ya'qub Pasha tries to occupy Arta:

"Τὸν Κάρουλον φυλάκισεν, τοὺς ἄρχοντες ὁμοίως·
ἠπῆρεν, ἐπαράλαβεν τὴν ἀφεντίαν ὅλην".

(lines 2257-58)

4. 1. 3 The title of ἀμιράς

This Turkish title of ἀμιράς, which means *archon, general or governor*⁶², is also used by the author in a way expressing both awe and respect. The author does not hide his admiration for the political movement of Carlo Tocco to arrange the marriage between his daughter and the Turkish amiral, Mūsa-Bey, brother of the sultan, Mehmed I (*ἐξέβην, σουλτᾶνος ὁ ἀδελφός του*)⁶³:

"τὴν προᾶξιν <του>, τὴν γνῶσιν του νὰ ἠκούσης, νὰ θαυμάσης
Τὴν θυγατέραν του ἔδωκε τοῦ ἀμιρᾶ γυναῖκα".

(lines 1914-15)

"Καὶ ἐξέβην εἰς τὸν ἀμιρᾶν σουλτᾶνος ὁ ἀδελφός του".

(line 1929)

62. E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. II, pp. 18-19.

63 Mūsa-bey, was killed in the battle against his brother: G. Schirò, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 65. See also D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*. 1267-1479, pp. 180-181.

The author stresses the fact that as a result of this match, Carlo Tocco and the amiras became close friends. It is clear that for the author, when dynastic interests are at stake, religious and ethnic barriers seem unimportant:

"Καὶ φίλος του ἐγίνετον τοῦ ἀμιρᾶ ὁ δούκας·
ἠγάπησέν τον καὶ πολλὰ ὁ ἀμιρᾶς τὸν δούκα".
(lines 1921-22)

The author approves the relations between Carlo Tocco and the amiras in other fields too: Carlo Tocco sent his four illegitimate sons, who were serving the amiras at the Sublime Porte (the Ottoman court at Constantinople):

"Ἐν τὸν ἀμιρᾶν τοὺς ἄλαξεν καθεστηκῶς νὰ εἶναι,
᾿ς τὴν Πόρταν νὰ δουλεύουσιν, βοήθειαν νὰ ἔχη".
(lines 1960-61)

4. 1. 4 Ἡ κλήρα

The author expresses his respect for the clergy on every given occasion. When he presents captain Simon Strategopoulos⁶⁴, he emphasises the fact that he was related to clergy men through his wife:

"Τὴν κλήραν εἶχεν συγγενεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς του".
(line 1221)

As to the clergymen (*κλήρα*) themselves, the author does not ignore their presence on the official platform set for the welcoming of Carlo Tocco:

"Ἐκεῖ τὸν ἀποδέχθησαν οἱ ἄρχοντες, ἡ κλήρα
ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἔμορφα φορεμένοι".
(lines 1562-63)

Furthermore, when the author expresses his appreciation for the stability and prosperity in Ioannina he compares the situation of this region with that of

64. G. Schirò, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 589: Simon Strategopoulos was in the service of Esau.

Thessaloniki⁶⁵. In this comparison he refers to the clergy as a very significant factor in maintaining order:

"καὶ πάλιν καὶ κλήρα ἔντιμη ὡσάν τῆς Σαλονίκης·
ὁμοίως ἔναι κατάστασις εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τῆς χώρας".

(lines 3116-17)

Moreover, the cathedral (*μητρόπολις*) is the place where the gathering of the archontes and the people (*ἄρχοντες, μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι*) takes place to listen to the duke's man who brings them political messages:

"Αὔριον εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν σύναξις θέλει γένει,
οἱ ἄρχοντες θέλουν συναχθῆ, μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι·
καὶ ἔλα ἐκεῖ, εἰς αὐτεινοὺς σύντυχε παρρησία,
καὶ τότε θέλομεν ἰδεῖ ποῖος ἀγαπᾷ τὸν δούκα".

(lines 1350-53)

In another instance too, the author appears impressed by the ceremonious reception Hercules and his troops received at the hands of the *μητροπολίτης* of Patras on their way to Clarenza in 1422:

"Χάρησαν ἅπαντες ἐκεῖ μὲ τὸν μητροπολίτην.
Τιμὴν τοὺς ἔκαμεν πολλὴν καὶ ἀποδέχθηκέν τους.
Καλέστρα τοὺς ἐποίησαν εἰς τὸ παλάτι ἅπάνω,
τιμητικὰ ὡς ἔπρεπε καὶ ἀποχαιρέτισέν τους".

(lines 3807-10)

Besides the author's high regard for the church and the clergy, these examples also manifest his views about social etiquette and ecclesiastical hierarchy. It is quite evident that the author makes deliberate use of religious symbols, such as the church (*μητρόπολις*) and religious representatives (*ἀρχιερεὺς, ἱερεῖς*) to legitimise political aims.

65. On the Western Greek Orthodox clergy and the ideological and political association between Epiros and Thessaloniki, see F. Bredenkamp, *Thessaloniki*, passim and especially pp. 166-177, 239, 249. See also Alk. Stavridou-Zafraka, *Νίκαια καὶ Ἡπειρος*, pp. 102ff, 119ff.

4. 2 The lower social class: ο λαός

4. 2. 1 λαός as subjects: 570, 701, 1224, 1648, 2073, 2251; κόσμος: 1656; κοινό: 2251; μικροί τε και μεγάλοι: 1242, 1288, 1351, 1406, 1429, 1554, 2177, 3110, 3812, 3867, 3310; χωριάτες: 2055.
4. 2. 2 λαός as soldiers: 233, 238, 336, 381, 388, 801, 917, 1648, 2051, 2245, 2512, 2514, 2518, 2808;

For the author, social hierarchy is based on a social differentiation (or social inequality) created mainly by a clear-cut division between the elite and the commoners. People are ranked in terms of prestige, based on noble origin, as well as on economic and military power. In accordance with the feudal social organisation *λαός* and *χωριάτες* - when they are mentioned - constitute the lower social class.

4. 2. 1 Λαός as subjects

Though not often, the term *λαός* (or *κόσμος*) often also refers to a ruler's subjects. Moreover, in his narrative our author draws a clear distinction between *greater* (*μεγάλοι*) and *lesser* (*μικροί*) notables. It must be noted, that despite the existing social division, the two social strata maintain a strong political alliance, at least in the author's conceptualisation. Indeed, when Carlo Tocco's messenger discusses with the captain of the army the duke's offer to become the new ruler in Ioannina, he (the captain) explains that this issue had to be openly discussed in front of everybody (*ἄρχοντες, μικροί τε και μεγάλοι*), at a public place (*μητρό-πολιν*):

"Αὔριον εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν σύναξις θέλει γένει,
οἱ ἄρχοντες θέλουν συναχθῆ, μικροί τε και μεγάλοι
και ἔλα ἐκεῖ, εἰς αὐτεινοὺς σύντυχε παρρησία,
και τότε θέλομεν ἰδεῖ ποῖος ἀγαπᾷ τὸν δούκα".

(lines 1350-53)

From a political, as well as social point of view, the importance of this case in decision-making is undeniable. Likewise, still through the author's conceptualisation, the above example illustrates that besides other virtues, the

popularity of a leader among his subjects (*ποῖος ἀγαπᾷ τὸν δούκα*) is absolutely essential.

Taking common decisions is evident in certain instances. In fact, such a common decision (*ἄρχοντες, μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι*) seems to have been taken in the following two cases where all Ianniniotes from all social strata decide who will be their ruler:

"Οἱ γιαννινῶται οἱ ἄρχοντες, μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι,
εἰς τὸν γουλᾶν ἀνέβησαν καὶ ὄρθωσαν ἐτοῦτοι
᾿ς τὸν Σπάταν νὰ ἀποστείλουσιν, ἐκείνον τὸν Μουρίκη,
θυγατέραν νὰ φέρουσιν, εἰς τὰ Ἰωάννινα νὰ ἔνι,
κυρᾶν τοὺς νὰ τὴν κάμουσιν ἢ χῶρα καὶ ὁ τόπος,
καθὼς τοὺς ὄρκους ἔχασιν με ἐκείνον τὸν δεσπότην".

(lines 1242-47)

"Καὶ νῦν βουλὴν ἠπήρασιν μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι
καὶ ἐβγάλλουν τὴν βασίλισσα ᾿ς τὸν τόπον τῆς νὰ ὑπάη".

(lines 1288-89)

Apparently, the author tries to create an impression of sharing and participation when he refers to decisions taken in common by higher and lower social classes. In spite of this effort, however, he does draw a clear cultural distinction between the two strata. For instance, the kind of language Carlo Tocco uses to console his defeated Albanian enemies is interpreted as a code of communication traditionally used among leaders (*καθὼς ἔναι οἱ συνήθειες τῶν ἀφεντῶν νὰ λέγουν*):

"καὶ ἄρχισεν νὰ τοὺς λαλῆ λόγους παρηγορίες
καθὼς ἔναι οἱ συνήθειες τῶν ἀφεντῶν νὰ λέγουν".

(lines 816-17)

As a matter of fact, the author seems to have full consciousness of class differentiation. This is expressed through the words of Carlo Tocco, who, in order to hearten his soldiers during the siege of Vobliana defines their adversaries, Albanians under the leadership of Ya'qub Pasha, as peasants (*χωριάτες*). This identification illustrates sentiments of strong class distinction, since it is used in contrast to the term *ἄρχοντες*:

"Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐλάλησεν ὁ δούκας ὁ ἀφέντης·

“Αρχοντες παλληκάρια μου, ὄσοι μὲ ἀγαπᾶτε,
ἔσεῖς ἐβλέπετε καλὰ, χωριάτες εἶναι ἀπέσω...”
(lines 2053-55)

4. 2. 2 Λαός as soldiers

In the *Chronicle*, *λαός* also identifies soldiers belonging to lower army ranks:

"καὶ ὁ λαός του μετ' αὐτοῦ, πεζοί, καβαλλαρέοι".
(line 233)

"ὁ Παῦλος Σπάτας μὲ λαόν, πεζοί, καβαλλαρέοι".
(line 238)

5. Social relationships

In his narrative the author often refers to the ways people interact, their ideas about their relationships, their strategies in establishing new ones as well as their expectations and interests that guide their social behaviour. Since the author tries to promote the image of his patron and the interests of the ruling class through his narrative, social relationships in the *Chronicle* are mainly based on political power and control.

5. 1 Power relationships

Regardless of certain social bonds, which the author perceives to exist between the two social ranks, the ruling and the ruled classes were interacting through power relationships. This statement conforms with the Marxist model of a society, where there is a clear division between a ruling class and subject classes. At the same time, the idealised conception of a ruling class was supported by a powerful church. In this medieval pattern of society, *power relationships* were based on the ownership of land, military force and political authority⁶⁶.

The author strikes a fair balance between two main sides of a leader's policy: political and economical strength is built on the one hand through expansion and

66. On a comparative perspective of classes, see R. M. Kessing, *Anthropology*, pp. 312ff.

plunder and, on the other hand, through generosity. Since political power⁶⁷ was built on military achievements, the more victorious a leader was in his military operations of expansion, the greater his political power among his subjects. Besides, it was by means of military operations, that fortunes were made, which allowed a leader to practise generosity among his/her subjects. Often, it was through generosity that significant political support was obtained:

"Πάντα αὐξάνει ἡ δύναμις, τὰ πλούτη ἀνεβαίνουν.
Χαίρεται καὶ ἀγάλλεται αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ λαὸς του".
(lines 700-01)

"φιλοδωρίες ἄρχισεν, δωρήματα νὰ δίδῃ,
τοὺς πάντας νὰ φιλοτιμᾷ, ὡς πρέπει τὸν καθένα.
Ρούχα ἐρρόγευσεν πολλά, δουκᾶτα καὶ φλωρία·
ἐχόρτασεν, ἐνέμπλησεν τὴν χώραν, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους".
(lines 1586-89)

Indeed, since in feudal society social relations were by nature power relations, it appears natural, for the author, that a leader should try every possible way, especially through violence, to gain more land, and therefore more political power. This is evident in the case of Carlo Tocco, who as a political leader, in the author's perception, possessed exceptional qualities. According to our author, the ability of Tocco to influence decision making of the Byzantine *archontes* or the Albanian leaders, was based on two, though fundamentally opposed, main operations:

(a) military expansion through violence, and (b) the diplomatic approach.

5. 1. 1 Exercise of power and authority

5. 1. 1. 1 violence: military expansion: 70ff, 91, 105ff, 123, 164ff., 262, 365, 374, 658ff, 747-8, 779, 703, 748, 954-57, 966, 1016, 1074, 1104ff.

5. 1. 1. 2 diplomacy: 124, 140, 191ff., 2940; δῶρα, χαρίσματα: 21, 143, 192, 416, 419, 508, 2126, 2240, 1357, 1852, 2126, 2145, 2240, 3736, 3821; δωρή-

67. On an analysis of power and politics, see R. M. Keesing, *Anthropology*, pp. 281ff.

ματα: 742, 913, 1577, 1586, 3082, 3085; φιλοδοωρία: 153, 1357, 1414, 1456, 1577, 1586.

5. 1. 1. 1 Violence: military expansion

In principle, the author disapproves of actions of violence. His disapproval is expressed by direct condemnation⁶⁸:

"ἀλλ' ὁ Θεὸς ἠθέλησεν ἄνθρωπος δὲν ἐβλάβη".
(line 627)

Further on, he expresses his disapproval by trying to distance his protagonists, Carlo and Leonardo Tocco from acts of violence:

"Ἄρχισαν ἐτζακίσασιν τὰ σπίτια, τὰ σεντούκια.
Κόντος πολλὰ χολομανεῖ, ὀργίζεται εἰς αὐτοὺς,
ἀλλὰ ποσῶς οὐκ ἔμπορεῖ ἵνα τοὺς περικόψη.
Κοινὴ βουλή τὸν ἄρχισεν, μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι,
καὶ ποῖον θέλει ἀπαντᾶ καὶ ποῖον θέλει διώχνει.
Ἄκων καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος ἀφῆκεν τοὺς, καὶ κάμνου
ὁ καθεὶς ὡς βούλεται εἰς τὸ σπίτι ὅπου ἐπιάσεν.
Ἔω κρῖμα, ὅπου ἐγένετον· ἐδὲ ἁμαρτία μεγάλη·
εἰς τίτοιαν χώραν θαυμαστὴν ἐρήμαξαν τὴν οὕτως!
Ἐκούρσευσαν, ἀνήλωσαν, ἐρήμαξαν τελείως.
Οὐ δύναμαι νὰ σὲ εἰπῶ τὸ τί κακὸν ἐγένη".
(lines 658-668)

Elsewhere, the author identifies God's wishes with Tocco's policy by combining the Christian principle of forgiveness (*συγγνώμη*) with political strategy (*εἰρήνη*). It is better for the Albanian seigniors of Arta to surrender to Carlo Tocco and accept him as their lord in a peaceful way (*συγγνώμης με εἰρήνην*) than resist him:

68. The author expresses his desperation, especially at the fact that victims of violence were Latin nobles: G. Schirò, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 224 (lines 67-70):

"Καὶ ἐτζακίζαν ἐσέβησαν εἰς τὴν Λευχάδα μέσα
τὰ Ἄλβανα τὰ ἄπειρα, μὲ τὸν δεσπότην, πάντα.
Ἄλλοι, κρῖμα ὅπου ἐγένετον, ἔδε ἁμαρτία μεγάλη!
Ἐκούρσευσαν ἐπήρασιν ἐρήμαξαν τὸν τόπον".

"Ἐπεὶν ἐβλέπον το καλὰ ὁ Θεὸς ἐδῶκεν τοῦτο,
 κάλλιον <ἔναι> νὰ ὀρθωθοῦν συγγνώμης μὲ εἰρήνην,
 παροῦ νὰ τὸν πικρᾶνουσιν, νὰ γένη μὲ πικρίαν".

(lines 2940-42)

In order to acquire political power, however, Carlo Tocco uses both tactics, the one of violence and the other of peaceful negotiations. In either case, as long as their aim is to increase their power as rulers, Carlo Tocco and his brother, Leonardo, though indirectly, gain the author's approval:

"Καὶ τὰ κεφάλια ἔκοψαν ἐκείνων τῶν πιασμένων,
 εἰς τὸν δούκαν τὰ ἀπέστειλαν εἰς τὴν Κεφαλονίαν.
 Πολλὰ τῶν εὐκαρίστησεν ὁ δούκας ὁ αὐθέντης".

(lines 107-109)

5. 1. 1. 2 Diplomacy

Noteworthy, too, is that the author shows special appreciation for cases where violence is replaced by diplomacy. Such is the case of match-making between the Spata and Tocco families. Indeed, the duke is praised by the author as an extremely sensible (*παμφρόνιμος*) person, since he tries to find a solution to his problems (created by the presence of the Turks in the Gulf of Arta), by means of love (*ἀγάπην μέσον*):

"Ὁ δούκας ὡς παμφρόνιμος ἔδλες τις ἐνθυμήσεις
 ἄρχισεν μὲ γλυκύτητες, μὲ ζαχαράτους λόγους
 ἂν εὔρην προᾶξιν καὶ ὀρμὴν εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην μέσον·
 (... ..)

μὴ τύχη πώποτε καιρὸ καὶ κατεβοῦσιν Τοῦρκοι".

(lines 1129-33)

In the following passage the author does not hide his love of peace (*ἀγάπην στερεωμένην*) nor his resentment of war (*μάχη θλιβερὴ, πικρὴ, φαρμακωμένη*). The arranged marriage between the daughter of Carlo and the brother of Mouriki Spata, Philip, unfortunately, according to the author did not bring the desired peace:

"Τὴν θυγατέραν του ὤρθωσεν ὁ δούκας ὁ ἀφέντης,
 τὸ κάτιργο οἰκονόμησεν τιμητικά, ὡς πρέπει,
 καὶ τὸν Μανθαῖον ὤρισεν μετ' αὐτὴν νὰ ὑπηγαίνη.

Εἰς τοὺς Ρωγοὺς τὴν ἔστειλεν τὸν γάμον νὰ ποιήσουν,
κατὰ λόγον καὶ συμφωνιάν, ἦν ἔστησαν ἀλλήλως.
Ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐδιάβηκαν, ἐπλήρωσαν τὸν γάμον·
ἔχαίρονταν καὶ ἀγάλλονταν καὶ ἐκ τὰ δύο μέρη,
ἐβλέποντας πῶς ἔκαμαν ἀγάπην στερεωμένην.
Παντέχουν καὶ ἐλπίζουσιν ὅλοι νὰ ἀναπαυθοῦσιν
ἀπὸ τὲς μάχης τὲς πολλὰς τὲς εἶχαν διὰ μέσον.
Ἄλλὰ ἔδὲ μάχη θλιβερή, πικρὴ, φαρμακωμένη,
ὅπου ἐγένην ὕστερα ἀνάμεσα τοὺς δύο!"

(lines 1143-54)

In order to create an equilibrium between the two opposed tactics, i.e. between violence and diplomacy, the author stresses Tocco's virtues, such as *wisdom*, *generosity*, and *prudence*. As the author narrates, as an answer to the violent attacks by his Albanian enemies, Carlo Tocco wisely decides to do nothing:

"Ἐβάλαθι μὲ τὴν γνώσιν τοῦ τίποτε νὰ ποιήσῃ".

(line 124)

Due to the epic nature of his narrative, the author is inclined to stress heroic actions connected with war, conflict and martial arts. However, he does not miss any given occasion to point to gestures of generosity which promote cordial feelings of friendliness, goodwill and fellowship. In the following lines the offer of gifts is considered as a gesture of courtesy, since Maddalena offers gifts to win the support of the king of Naples in order to establish the territorial rights of her two sons:

"ἔδιέβηκε εἰς τὴν Φράγκικαν τοῦ ρήγαν Ἰταλίας
μὲ δῶρα, μὲ χαρίσματα, μὲ θησαυροὺς μεγάλους,
νὰ στερεώσῃ τὴν ἀρχὴν, τὸ κράτος τοῦ πατροῦ τους".

(lines 20-22)

In the following passage the gifts are used to promote the political interests of Carlo Tocco: to make it impossible for someone to harm him (*οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶχαν δυνατὸν ποτέ τοὺς νὰ τὸν βλάψουν*). In trying to build up his power he offered land (*προνοίεσ*)⁶⁹ and other donations (*χαρίσματα*) to people of both higher and lower

69. The term *πρόνοια* defines a piece of land given by the emperor to soldiers in exchange for their

ranks (*μικροί τε και μεγάλοι*). (The author approves and praises these actions of the duke by characterising him as a wise man, *φρόνιμον*):

"ἐκίνησεν και ἄρχισεν φουσσᾶτο νὰ ρογεύση,
 Φράγκους, Ρωμαίους Σέρβους τε, μᾶλλον τοὺς Ἴαλβανίτας.
 Καὶ ἄκουσε τὸ φρόνιμον, τὸ ἐπιδέξιόν του.
 Εἰς τὸ νησὶν τοὺς ἔβανεν, ἀπέσω τῆς Λευχάδος,
 κρατήματα τοὺς ἔδιδε, προνοίεσ τῶν ἀρχόντων.
 Τὸν τόπον γὰρ οἰκείωνε, εἶχε και πιστοσύνην,
 Οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶχαν δυνατὸν ποτέ τους νὰ τὸν βλάψουν.
 Καὶ ἄρξετο χαρίσματα, εὐεργεσίεσ νὰ δίδῃ
 τὰ ροῦχα τοῦ κουρμίου του ὄλα τὰ εὐεργέτα.
 Ὡς σύντροφον τὸν εἶχασιν μικροὶ τε και μεγάλοι".

(lines 136-145)

The author approves of the duke's gestures of generosity, firstly because they express wisdom (*φρόνιμον*), and secondly because he believes that such political moves demonstrate a legitimate manner in which to manipulate people's sentiments, such as gratitude and self interest, which he expects the beneficiaries to feel towards the donor. The author's special attention to gestures of generosity⁷⁰ also points to an ideal concept of a society, where relationships between the powerful and weaker members are based on goodness, charity and benevolence. At the same time, the weaker should use the same gestures of material offers out of cordiality towards their superiors.

services. For a comparison between the Western fief and *πρόνοια*, see *Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως*, pp. 78-82, Angeliki Laïou, *Η αγροτική κοινωνία στην ύστερη βυζαντινή εποχή*. Translated by Aglaïa Kasdali. Athens, 1987, pp. 143ff, and Ead., *Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II 1282-1328*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1972. Ead. *Constantinople and the Latins*, p. 4; Triantafyllitsa Maniati-Kokkini, *Ο Βυζαντινὸς θεσμὸς τῆς πρόνοιας. Συμβολή στη μελέτη του χαρακτήρα του*. Unpublished D. Phil. Diss. Thessaloniki, 1990, p. 69; P. Zepos, "Το δίκαιον εἰς τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως", *E.E.B.S.* XVIII (1968), 202-220, pp. 214-215, 217-19; D. Jacoby, "Les Archontes", *passim*.

70. Cf. G. Brereton, *Chronicles*, p. 18: "Froissard has always been regarded as an admirer of chivalry and as a spokesman to an over-exclusive degree of the ruling and knightly class... He respects high rank, admires the knight for his fighting qualities in particular, and praises generosity in money and other matters".

5. 2 The author's social moral ethics

Regarding social interaction, the author often becomes personal in his comments, especially when he refers to human social relationships. Human actions are either highly praised or severely condemned. We should, however, be warned that due to his admiration for the duke and his unconditional loyalty to the higher ruling class, there is not much room left in his mind for impartial and unprejudiced opinions. Consequently, when the author's subjectivity is apparent, his statements will be analysed, both through his prism and from a historical point of view. In other words, we shall analyse his evaluative system by referring to what he considers right or wrong in relation to a broader historical context.

Consisting of the warrior nobility of feudal Europe⁷¹ and supported by a powerful church, the ruling class had securely in its hands the ownership of land, military force and political authority. The main elements which bound the ruler to his subjects were:

- a subject peasantry;
- use of the service tenement (i.e. fief);
- supremacy of a class of specialised warriors;
- ties of obedience and protection binding man to man;
- fragmentation of authority;
- association between family and lord.

According to R. Garner's definition of *ethics*, the term refers to the values or rules of conduct held by a group or individual⁷². For the sake of our analysis, a distinction should be drawn between the religious moral ethics – which refer to metaphysical normative principles and will be examined at a later stage – and the social moral ethics - which is an empirical, etiquette-centred value system⁷³.

Thus, when we refer to the author's social moral ethics we intend to examine his *social moral evaluative system*, by which human activities, attitude,

71. F. L. Ganshof, *Feudalism*, passim.

72. On the philosophy and history of *ethics*, see R. T. Garner, "Ethics", in *Encyclopedia Americana*. New York, 1972, vol. X, pp. 610-619. On the Byzantine concept of *ethics*, an integration of ancient philosophy and Christian concepts, see Dominic J. O' Meara, "Ethics", *ODB*, vol. II. Oxford, 1991, p. 732.

73. Cf. G. Geertz, *Cultures*, pp.126ff; R. T. Garner, "Ethics", pp. 610ff.

performance in certain situations and state of mind are judged, weighed and classified in his world view. In the author's evaluative system social behaviour plays a crucial role. For the author, the image of ideal behaviour, seems to be based on personal, individual characteristics, such as intelligence, common sense, good manners, education, and military prowess. These factors are discernible through the author's expressions of appreciation or contempt regarding people's social behaviour.

5. 3 Social behaviour

In order to understand the author's concepts about social conduct, we shall consider both the Western and the Byzantine ideal of good behaviour, since, as it has been argued at the beginning of our chapter, he was under the influence of both cultures. The Byzantine secular ideal of good behaviour had various forms. A. Kazhdan states that, for the Byzantines, ideal behaviour was based "on tolerance and *οἰκονομία*, with developed bonds of *friendship* and values such as education and moderate enjoyment of life; the knightly ideal, with stress on military prowess and personal fealty"⁷⁴.

Regarding the Western standards for ideal behaviour, if we accept that "in the fifteenth century chivalry was still, after religion, the strongest of all the ethical conceptions which dominated the mind and the heart"⁷⁵, we need to analyse the concept of *chivalry*. According to D. Waley, "chivalry", which literally means "horsiness", was the code of the men who fought on horseback and belonged to the knightly class. The exclusive nature of chivalry was subject to a knight's conduct. "The virtues most prized by the chivalrous were military prowess, loyalty to the feudal overlord, and 'courtesy' - considerate manners, that is, towards other members of the chivalrous class"⁷⁶.

74. A. Kazhdan, "Beauty", *ODB*, vol. I. Oxford, 1991, 274-275, p. 277.

75. J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*. New York, 1954, p. 57.

76. D. Waley, *Later Medieval Europe*. London, New York, 1978, pp.148, 151. See also F. Kottenkamp, *The History of the Chivalry and Armour*. Translated by A. Löwy. London, 1988, pp. 27ff. According to F. Kottenkamp, p. 30, considered from a military and social point of view, in time of war, chivalry offered to the feudal nobles of all countries the advantage of placing them on an equal footing with one another. Thus, it was not uncommon for indigent knights of inferior descent to possess certain privileges, which were denied to those nobles who had not been admitted to the honours of knighthood.

With regard to our author, besides his admiration for physical external features and appearance, his appreciation is also caused by *social behaviour*, which he considers as being the result of proper education. Indeed, as F. Kottenkamp⁷⁷ states, the military achievements of chivalry were due to the "strict discipline and rigid forms" upon which the training of a beginner, called "tyro", was based.

For the author good "social breeding" is an issue which refers almost exclusively to Frankish leaders. Therefore, the influence of Western culture appears stronger in his selection of factors based on the ideal behaviour in **chivalry**. Indeed, in the narrative the following factors, though often overlapping each other, are identical with those which define knighthood⁷⁸:

- education;
- politeness;
- linguistic style;
- ability to handle arms;
- generosity; contempt of money;
- ability to rule with wisdom and sagacity.

5. 3. 1 Terms used to praise a leader's good "breeding"

5. 3. 1. 1 ἄξιος: 838, 1063, 1237, 1346, 1372, 1479, 1937, 1939, 3114.
5. 3. 1. 2 ἐπιδέξιος: 138, 377, 932, 948, 1312, 1942, 2080, 2453, 2691 (τόπος) 1698, 2666; ἐπιδέξια: 2746, 2796; ἐπιτήδειος: 1312, 1321, 2690, 2694; ὑπερδέξιος: 949.
5. 3. 1. 3 γλυκός: 1360, 1941; γλυκασμένα: 1344; γλυκασμός: 1474; γλυκύτητα: 147, 1130, 1273, 1317, 1953.
5. 3. 1. 4 παιδευμένος (παιδεμένος): 1272, 1320, 1520 (παιδευσις) 1268, 1274, 3212; εὐγενικός: 72, 834, 1365, 1775 (εὐγενεῖς) 1776, 1869, 2500; κουρτέσης: 1519; 1520; περιχαρής / ἄστεϊος: 146;

77. F. Kottenkamp, *Chivalry*, p. 30.

78. On chivalry, see F. Kottenkamp, *Chivalry*, passim; C. T. Wood, *The Age of Chivalry. Manners and Morals 1000-1450*. London, 1970, pp. 44-56, 111-124; H. Loyn, "Chivalry", in H. R. Loyn (ed.), *The Middle Ages: a Concise Encyclopaedia*. London, 1989, pp. 84-85.

5. 3. 1. 1 The term ἄξιος

According to E. Kriaras⁷⁹, the term ἄξιος has the following meanings: ἱκανός, ἔμπειρος, ἐπιδέξιος, γενναῖος, δυνατός as well as ἀξιοσέβαστος, ἀξιότιμος, πιστός, ἔμπιστος and συνετός. In the Chronicle the term ἄξιος is used in association with one's ability in martial arts (στρατιώτης = soldier), one's daring attitude (ἀπόκοτος or ἀπόκουτος⁸⁰ = courageous, daredevil) or one's harshness (αὐστηρός = harsh, rough)⁸¹. Moreover, the term ἄξιος will be considered as an ability which has been acquired through suitable training since early age (ἀρχοντόπουλα = young nobles):

"εἶχαν καὶ ἀρχοντόπουλα, ἀξίους στρατιώτες".
(line 838)

Regarding the education of a knight, F. Kottenkamp⁸² explains, that a boy "in his seventh year, was removed from his home, or at least, from the supervision of females, and entered the service of some superior or inferior nobleman. There, he was chiefly occupied with bodily exercises of a severe character. His services consisted in attendance upon his master, or the family, and he was but little distinguished from the domestics of the household. This method of training young noblemen prevailed in France and many other countries as late as the 16th, and was only gradually discontinued at the end of the 17th century. Between the ages of fourteen and seventeen, the "tyro" was made squire. This promotion was distinguished by a religious solemnity".

When the term ἄξιος is used to describe one's capacity to rule it appears in its

79. E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. II, p. 299.

80. E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. III, p. 49, does not include the variation ἀπόκουτος.

81. G. Schirò, *Cronaca dei Tocco*:

"Καὶ στρατεῖαν ἐχώρισεν, ὅλους διαλεγμένους,
ἀπόκουτους καὶ αὐστηρούς, ἀξίους τοῦ πολέμου".
(lines 1062-63)

"Ἔως ἑκατὸν ἐσέβησαν ἀξιοὶ στρατιώτες".
(line 1479)

"Ἡπέμεινάν του τέσσερεις, ἀξιοὶ στρατιώται".
(line 1937)

82. F. Kottenkamp, *Chivalry*, pp. 30-31.

comparative form so as to illustrate the duke's superior ability to be a good ruler⁸³. According to the author's view, a capable ruler, should possess, among other qualities, *power* (νά εἶναι εἰς τὸ χέρινον του) and *authority* (ὀρίζη):

"τὴν ἀφεντίαν, τὰ νησιά, τοὺς ἄρχοντες τοῦ τόπου
νά εἶναι εἰς τὸ χέρινον του ὄλους νά τοὺς ὀρίζη".
(lines 3149-50)

It should be noticed that each time the word ἄξιος is accompanied by other adjectives, such as *πρακτικός*, *καλός* or *ἐντιμος*, it correlates with other social values and norms⁸⁴.

5. 3. 1. 2 The term ἐπιδέξιος

In describing one's leadership skills, the author does make use of the terms ἐπιδέξιος⁸⁵ and ἐπιτήδειος⁸⁶. Moreover, in order to praise the ability of the duke to organise his heterogeneous forces, consisting of Franks, Roman Byzantines, Serbs and Albanians, he uses the term φρόνιμον (meaning *prudent*) together with ἐπιδέξιον⁸⁷ (cleverness):

83. G. Schirò, *Cronaca dei Tocco*:

"Νά εἰποῦμεν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀξιώτερος δὲν ἦτον
εἰς τόπον ποῦπετε ἀλλοῦ ἀφέντη νά ποιήσουν".
(lines 1237-38)

"ἀφέντης ἀξιώτερος δὲν ἠμπορεῖ νά ἐναί
νά ἀφεντέψη ὡσάν ἐμᾶς εἰ μὴ αὐτός ὁ δούκας".
(lines 1346-47)

84. G. Schirò, *Cronaca dei Tocco*:

"καὶ πρακτικούς καὶ ἄξιους, ρίζα τοῦ Δεσποτάτου".
(line 1372)

"Ἐτοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ τέσσερεις ἦσαν καλοὶ καὶ ἄξιοι".
(line 1939)

"Ἐκεῖ εὐρίσκεις ἄρχοντες ἐντιμούς καὶ ἄξιους".
(line 3114)

Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, p. 1458: *πρακτικός* = concerned with action, practical, active, effective. E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. VII, pp. 291-92: *καλός* = *ἐπιτήδειος*, *ικανός*, *γενναῖος* (fit, capable, brave); *Ibid.*, VI, p. 75: *ἐντιμος* = *πολύτιμος*, *ἀξιότιμος*, *τιμημένος* (precious, honourable, honoured).

85. E. Kriaras, *ἐπιδέξιος* = *ικανός*, *ἐπιτήδειος*, *ἔξυπνος*, *κατάλληλος* (capable, fit, clever, suitable).

86. See E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. VII, pp. 291-92.

87. E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, pp. 206.

"Καὶ ἄκουσε τὸ φρόνιμον, τὸ ἐπιδέξιόν του".
(line 138)

Furthermore, when the duke organises his attack for the conquest of the Anatolico castle he is praised as an experienced warrior (*ἐπιδέξιος*):

"Ὁ δούκας γοῦν ὡς δόκιμος καὶ πάντα ἐπιδέξιος".
(line 377)

Elsewhere the term *ἐπιδέξια* is used to praise the spying abilities of a Frankish agent in the service of the duke:

"τὸ πῶς τοῦ τὴν εὐτύχησεν ὁ Φράγκος τὴν δουλείαν
εὐκόλα, ἐπιδέξια καὶ ἔποικεν τέτοια τέχνην".
(lines 931-32)

The term *ἐπιδέξιος*, supported by other related adjectives, points to the importance of the martial arts and experience on the battlefield:

"ἄνθρωπον δόκιμον πολλὰ καὶ τεχνημένον πλέον,
πανοῦργον, ἐπιδέξιον, ὀρμητικόν εἰς μάχην,
κατὰ χεῖρα καὶ φρόνιμον ᾗ τὴν τέχνην τῆς στρατείας".
(lines 2079-81)

In another instance, the term *ἐπιτήδειος* is used as a synonym of the term *ἐπιδέξιος*:

"Ἄλλὰ ὁ καπετάνιος, αὐτὸς ὅπου ἀκούεις,
– πολλὰ ἦτον ἐπιτήδειος, εἰς τὰ πάντα ἐπιδέξιος–".
(lines 1311-12)

In the following verses the term *ἐπιδέξιος* changes to *ἐπιδεξιοκάματος*⁸⁸ for emphasis and is accompanied by other descriptive adjectives. The association between the adjectives *φρόνιμος*, *γλυκὺς*, *ἐπιδεξιοκάματος*, *τεχνημένος*, *ἀνδρειωμένος*, *ἀπόκοτος* and *ὑπερδεξιότατος* expresses most of the qualities the author admires and expects a leader to possess:

88. In E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, p.206, the spelling of the word has been corrected to *ἐπιδεξιοκάματος* = *δραστήριος* (active): from the adjective *ἐπιδέξιος* and *καμωτός*.

"Ἐρκοῦλιον ὠνόμαζαν τὸν πρῶτον ἀπὸ ὄλους·
 ἄνθρωπος φρόνιμος καλὰ, γλυκὺς εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,
 ἐπιδεξιοκάματος, ἄνθρωπος τεχνημένος,
 ἀνδρειωμένος ᾿ς τὰ ἄρματα, ἀπόκοτος καρδίαν·
 ὀλίγον ἦτον χαμαδός, εἶχεν ψυχὴν μεγάλην".
 (lines 1940-44)

"Μάνον τὸν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐπίκλην Μελιαρέση,
 ἀπόκοτος καὶ δόκιμος πάνυ καὶ ὑπερδέξιος".
 (lines 948-49)

5. 3. 1. 3 The term *γλυκὺς* and derivations

Strangely enough, for the author certain terms such as *γλυκὺς*, *γλυκύτης* καὶ *γλυκασμός*⁸⁹ are explained rather as an acquired ability through "good breeding" than as an inherited agreeable disposition of one's personality towards other people. The author often comments on good "sweet" manners (*γλυκύτητα* *στοὺς τρόπους*), or one's nice way of talking to people (*εὐγένεια*)⁹⁰:

"Μέλιτος εἶχαν γλυκασμὸν οἱ λόγοι ὅπου ἐλάλει".
 (line 1473)

Furthermore, in dealing with people, especially as a leader, one is expected to be calm and nice in manners. Indeed, in order to win the support of the Ioaninniotēs and to convince them to accept him as their leader, the duke is presented by his agents as *ἄνθρωπος γλυκὺς*:

"ἄνθρωπος ἐν' καλόγνωμος, γλυκὺς ὑπὲρ τὸ μέλι".
 (line 1360)

It is evident that besides linguistic style, for the author, social status is determined by social position, hereditary or otherwise, and status, such as the title of duke (*δοῦκας*)⁹¹, wealth (*πλούσιος*) and power (*διαφεντίζει*):

89. E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. IV, pp. 322-24.

90. E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. IV, p. 324.

91. According to E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. V, p. 201, the term *δοῦξ* indicates (a) military or civil

"ἀφέντην νὰ τὸν φέρουσιν, τὸν δούκα νὰ τὸν ἔχουν·
 ἄνθρωπος ἔν' καλόγνωμος, γλυκὺς ὑπὲρ τὸ μέλι,
 πλούσιος ἔναι, δυνατός, θέλει σᾶς διαφεντίζει".

(lines 1359-61)

5. 3. 1. 4 The term παιδευμένος

It is certain that his appreciation of members of the ruling social strata is subject to the degree of a person's education (*παιδευμένος*). This is displayed through one's gratifying and courteous manners (*χαροποιός, κουρτέσης*⁹²), language (*λόγος*), and social status (*τάξις*):

"ἄνθρωπος καλοπρόσωπος, χαροποιός, κουρτέσης·
 ὁ λόγος του καὶ ἡ τάξις του ἔμορφα παιδευμένος".

(lines 1519-20)

Basically, according to the information provided by our author, what is involved in the social relationship between a speaker and a listener is based on social status and linguistic style. The author's appreciation of a graceful and cultured language (*παιδευσιν τῆς γλώσσης*) is especially stressed in the following lines:

"Διὰ τοῦτο πάντα ἐπαινῶ τὸν δούκαν τὸν ἀφέντη,
 ἐκ τὴν πολλὴν γλυκύτητα, τὴν παιδευσιν τῆς γλώσσης".

(lines 1273-74)

In fact, from the author's view point, a ruler's first virtue is the ability to use his language in an educated, learned manner (*παιδεμένην*):

"ὅτι ἤξευρε ἐκ τὲς χάριτες τὲς ἔχουν οἱ ἀφέντες
 ἢ πρώτη ἔναι νὰ ἔχουσιν τὴν γλώσσαν παιδεμένην".

(lines 1271-72)

In parenthesis, it must be noted that the author's contemporary pattern of

governor, *ἄρχοντας*; (b) the duke of Venice: *δόγης*; (c) admiral of the fleet: *μέγας δούξ* or *δούκας*.

92. See E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. VIII, p. 344: *κουρτέσης* = polite, refine in manners (from the medieval French term *corteis*)

speech behaviour cannot be defined, since no specific examples of "good" or "bad" vocabulary are given in the Chronicle. However, due to his admiration for "educated stylish language", it can be presumed that the language spoken by educated people in the Ionian islands and Epirus ought to be *understandable* to listeners, *informal* and *rich* in vocabulary and expressions. Moreover, one should bear in mind that the Ionian islands were linguistically under the influence of the Venetian dialect. Despite the efforts of the Palaiologoi to re-establish the Byzantine empire to its previous glory, the archaic language of the Byzantine Court lost its prestige in the late Byzantine era, since the archaic education was no longer a social prerequisite⁹³. Another association between the term *φρόνιμος* and *ἐπιτήδειος* appears in the following verses and in combination with the term *παιδευμένος* = educated:

"Παῦλον τὸν ὀνομάζουσιν· καλὰ ἦτον παιδευμένος,
φρόνιμος, ἐπιτήδειος, ἡμερος εἰς τὸν λόγον".

(lines 1320-21)

The positive impression which the above terms create is underlined by the use of their opposites, when, regarding human behaviour, the author expresses his contempt. According to the narrator's viewpoint, the negative aspect of human conduct, especially of leaders, is manifested by bad manners, use of bad language and bad faith; as an example, queen Eudokia is condemned for her bad character and language (*γλῶσσα ἀπαιδευτη*):

"Καὶ ἀφήση ἡ βασίλισσα ἐκείνη ἡ Εὐδοκία,
καὶ ἀφήση τὰ κακόγνωμα καὶ τὴν ἀραθυμίαν,
τὴν γλῶσσαν τὴν ἀπαιδευτὴν νὰ τὴν καταδουλώσῃ".

(lines 1266-68)

6. Conclusion

To summarise, so far as the social aspect of the author's ideational system is concerned, we gather that there is a certain distance between his ideal model of a

93. R. Browning, *Η Ελληνική γλώσσα μεσαιωνική και νέα*. Translated by D. Sotiropoulou. Athens, 1972, pp.106ff.

society and reality. This distance is created by the difference between the author's perceptions and his loyalty towards his employer, Carlo Tocco. For the author, *ideationally* perceived, a well-organised society should be based on hierarchically structured social positions. In his concept, social status plays the most important role in maintaining social order, balance of political power together with class differentiation. Consequently, the author condemns abuse of political power and praises those who succeed in maintaining it mainly by means of good social behaviour, justice and generosity. Finally, according to the author, duties and behaviour of a ruler are not inherited but acquired through proper education.

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