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*The World View of the Anonymous Author
of the Chronicle of the Tocco:
the antagonists as groups*

Written in 3923 "political verses", the anonymous *Chronicle of the Tocco* is an epic family chronicle, which describes the history of the Tocco family - mainly the deeds of Carlo I Tocco, as well as the events which took place in Western Greece and the islands of Zakynthos (Zante), Leukas, Cephalonia (Cephallenia) and Ithaca during the years 1375-1422². 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.

Edited by Giuseppe Schiró⁵, 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 Dr 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.

2. *The Chronicle of Ioannina*, which is written in erudite Greek, is dated to the same period: L. Vranousis, "Το Χρονικόν των Ιωαννίνων κατ' ανέκδοτον δημόδη επιτομήν", *Epeteris tou Mesaionikou Archeiou* 12 (1962) 57-115, pp. 57-66.

3. For the problems of the exact chronology, see G. Schiró (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. 25-26. Cf. H.-G. Beck, *Ιστορία της Βυζαντινής δημόδους λογοτεχνίας*. Translated by Nike Eideneier. Athens, 1988, p. 253; E. Zachariadou, "Οι χίλιοι στίχοι στην αρχή του Χρονικού των Τόκκων", *Epirotica 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. Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*.

6. For a recent evaluation of the *Chronicle of the Tocco*, see Zachariadou, "Χρονικό των Τόκκο", p. 158. For factual information, see Alice-Mary Talbot, "Tocco", ODB, vol. III. Oxford, 1991, pp. 2090-9; D. Kasapides, "Ασάνα", pp. 67-69; "Τόκκοι", pp. 379-382 in N. Nikolouides (ed.), *Λεξικόν Βυζαντινής Πελοποννήσου*. Athens, 1998. See also Sp. Asonites, *Συμβολή στην ιστορία της Αιτω-*

1. Defining the term "world view"

Until the middle of the 20th century the concept of world view was examined from two opposed angles: either as reflecting the organisation of society or as a part of a people's acquired, assimilated, shared and transmitted culture. In other words, the concept *world view* was seen as a part either of a social or of a cultural system⁷. Since 1950's, a balance between the *institutional* (social) and the *ideational* (cultural) aspect of human life has been established through a growing rapprochement between these two approaches⁸. At the same time, correlation between linguistic structures and modes of thinking, in other words the relationship between language and culture, introduced another perspective in the study of world view⁹.

On the other hand, Neomarxists, who had as aim the demystification of religious beliefs, myths, rites and ideologies related to the supernatural world, have analysed the issue of *world view* from a *cultural materialistic* point of view. Inspired by Marxism, which had placed cultural concepts strictly in a social and economic context, Neomarxism has identified supernatural cultural concepts with social, political and economic structures and systems of the real world¹⁰.

However, as Keesing cautiously states, we should consider the fact that a culture is an organised system of knowledge, (more or less) shared by most members of a social group. This system enables them to communicate, share ideas

λοακαρνανίας και των νησιών του Ιονίου. Από την προσάρτηση της κομητείας της Κεφαλληνίας στο πριγκιπάτο της Αχαΐας (sic) μέχρι το θάνατο του Καρόλου Α΄ Τόκκου (1325-1429), Ph. D. Thessaloniki, 1987.

7. Cf. H. O. Mönnig, *The Pedi*, Pretoria, 1967, pp. 43-48; R. M. Keesing, *Cultural Anthropology, a Contemporary Perspective*. Canberra, 1981 (2nd ed.), pp. 365-368; F. W. Voget, *A History of Ethnology*. New York-Chicago-San Francisco-Atlanta-Dallas-Montreal-Toronto-London-Sydney, 1975, pp. 748-750; W. R. Cook. and R. B. Herzman, *The Medieval World View*. Oxford, 1983, passim; C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York, 1973, pp. 126-141.

8. Keesing, p. 349.

9. On the relation between language and culture, and world view, see Keesing, *Anthropology*, pp. 86-87.

10. Keesing, *Anthropology*, p. 370; for an analysis of cultural materialism, see Keesing, pp. 150-151. For related theories and an anthropological point of view, see *Ibid.*, pp. 365-369.

and meanings, have common aims and act together. Therefore, one should be careful in making a distinction between a culture as an *ideational system*, and a culture as a social system of human relationships, which is organised by biological and environmental conditions, as well as by socio-political circumstances¹¹. According to Keesing "a people's basic assumptions about what kind of world they live in, what forces or entities control it, and what the place of humans is" define *world view*¹².

The Middle Ages in Byzantium, however, especially during the late Byzantine era, present a pattern of concepts and beliefs with diverse intellectual, institutional, aesthetic and spiritual presuppositions. It is certain, that the encounter between East and West, the creation of complex societies, their conflicts, symbiosis or co-existence brought about unpredictable changes on all aspects of these peoples' world view. According to D. Jacoby, the major changes, which were brought about by the Latin conquest in the newly acquired territories, affected not only the structures of political power and economic interests, but also the meanings and values of both Eastern and Western cultural identities¹³.

In a strictly Byzantine context, H el ene Ahrweiler has identified the original antagonism between Western influences and Byzantine reaction against it as early as the 11th century: thus, the schism between Orthodox and Catholics in 1054 caused not only hostility, but also a new genre of ecclesiastical literature, the *πραγματείες* against the Latins, which were accepted with enthusiasm by the

11. According to Keesing, *Anthropology*, p. 172, viewing the "integration of society and culture" while overlooking the process of change and conflict is as erroneous as considering only vested interests and conflict in "shared commitments to cultural goals". Keesing states that there is a need "... for a conceptual system" that will account "for internal dynamics and conflicts, for cultures as sacred systems of cultural meaning, and for the constraints and pressures imposed by material circumstances of people's lives". See also E. Balibar-I. Wallerstein, *Φυλή, Έθνος, Τάξη· οι διαφορούμενες ταυτότητες*. Translated by A. Elephantes and E. Kalaphates, Athens, 1991, p. 144.

12. Keesing, *Anthropology*, p. 520.

13. As 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, p. 874, states: "in each instance the very nature of the ruling class as well as the structure of the local society determined to a large extent the character of their encounter, which evidently generated changes in both groups"; see also T. Loungis, *Επισκόπηση βυζαντινής ιστορίας, 324-1204*. Athens, 1989. Id. *Βυζαντινή Ιστορία*, pp. 254ff.

Byzantine middle and lower classes. In this time, according to Ahrweiler, the concepts of *Latinitas* as opposed to *Hellenism* were born.

The crusades - in Byzantine eyes - promoted the spiritual, military, political and economic imperialism of the Catholic West. Thus new ideological and practical concepts, such as feudalism, were introduced, even imposed, upon the Byzantine East. This triggered an anti-Latin reaction under the Komnenoi of the 12th century. It also provoked a breach between provincial and Constantinopolitan interests, which, in turn, led - states Ahrweiler - to a regional patriotism and some anti-Constantinopolitan behaviour in the provinces¹⁴.

The conquest of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204 hastened the development of these tendencies, while, on the other hand - according to Ahrweiler¹⁵ - a new ideology was born, which was labelled *Neo-Hellenic patriotism* by A. Vakalopoulos¹⁶. Moreover, after the Roman Byzantines had lost their non-Greek populations, Byzantium became a "Greek" state as opposed to its earlier ecumenical character¹⁷. Finally, Ahrweiler states that the later centuries of Byzantium (1261-1453) were marked by *utopism*, *eschatological* acceptance of fate and *loyalty* to the Orthodox Church¹⁸.

Due to these historical processes and cultural changes, and with regard to the study of the medieval social context of our author, the above mentioned approaches have assisted, in a combined way, in organising the complex and abstract meanings of the author's values, concepts and beliefs into well defined categories¹⁹. These, in turn, I believe, should reflect a significant part of the collective world view of the author's contemporary society²⁰.

14. Helen Glykatzis- Ahrweiler, *Η πολιτική ιδεολογία της βυζαντινής αυτοκρατορίας*. Translated by T. Drakopoulou. Athens, 1977, pp. 87-117.

15. Ahrweiler, *Ιδεολογία*, pp. 118-131.

16. A. E. Vakalopoulos, *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού, Α', Αρχές και διαμόρφωσή του*. Thessaloniki, 1961, pp. 19ff.

17. On the Byzantine ecumenical ideology, see Ahrweiler, *Ιδεολογία*, pp. 11-29; I. E. Karayannopoulos, *Η πολιτική θεωρία των Βυζαντινών*. Thessaloniki, 1988, pp. 7-21.

18. Ahrweiler, *Ιδεολογία*, pp.132-147.

19. Keesing, *Anthropology*, pp. 368-370.

20. On the interaction between the narrator of a historical event and his audience, see G. Gizelis, "Historical Event into Song: the Use of Cultural Perpetual Style", *Folklore* 83 (1972), pp. 302-320, *passim*.

The need to connect the abstract conceptualised world with social structures is also expressed by J. Pocock, who analyses languages and their implications. He argues that language systems are used by men firstly to communicate and secondly to constitute both their conceptual and social worlds related to these systems. Pocock regards those two worlds as closely related and interacting. He states: "each may be seen as a context to the other, so that the picture gains in concreteness"²¹.

Moreover, as G. Gizelis argues, in order to explain a group's world view and formulate its aesthetic taste, one should not concern oneself with whether a presented event "is in concert with the scientific truth", but rather how a given group considers the event *to have probably occurred*. According to his view, people have culturally-bound perceptual styles acquired at a young age. These styles dictate the way "that members of a particular culture conceive of reality and organize and categorize their experience"²².

From a more theoretical view point, and elaborating on the interaction between the conceptualised world of an individual and that of his society, J. Pocock argues that an individual's thinking should be viewed firstly as a social event, in other words as an act of communication and of response within a paradigm system; secondly this "thinking" should be seen as a historical event, a moment in a process of transformation of that paradigm system and of the interacting worlds which both system and act help to constitute and are constituted by²³.

Thus, regarding the events narrated in *The Chronicle of the Tocco*, our main concern will be to reconstruct these events and understand their social and cultural impact from the author's standpoint rather than to examine the degree of their "scientific truth". As Keesing explains, if we are to understand another people's life, their motives and meanings, and explore their "symbolic logic", "there is no alternative...than to immerse ourselves deeply in these symbols and meanings and, in the process, to take them as our realities"²⁴.

21. J. G. A. Pocock, *Politics, Language and Time, Essays on Political Thought and History*. London, 1960, p. 15.

22. Gizelis, "Event into Song", p. 319; see also Pocock, *Politics*, pp. 3-19.

23. Pocock, *Politics*, p. 15.

24. Keesing, *Anthropology*, p. 371.

At the same time, in the process of the analysis of the author's world view, we should remain aware of the following three most important factors:

1. the author's cultural predispositions regarding his society;
2. the continually changing political and social situation in the territory of his interest;
3. the author's political and economic interests, such as his personal connection with his hero, Carlo Tocco.

Finally, as is understood, a community's *world view* is a complex whole of values encoded in an *ordered ideational system* of shared ideas, beliefs, concepts and collective historical memory and represents the fabric of its culture. Regarding the formation of an individual's world view, I believe that this is subject to both internal and external factors. Internal factors are created by *individual traits* (either hereditary or acquired), such as character and personal peculiarities. External factors include both formal and informal education, collective historical memory and cultural tradition, as well as religious and social norms. Thus, in order to reconstruct the author's world view, a distinction has been drawn between those two interrelated and constantly interacting aspects, namely its collective and its individual one.

2. World division in the author's conceptualisation

In the *Chronicle*, due to their Italian origin, the Tocco family politically act according to Western religious norms, social stratification and power relationships. The combination of Christian religious teachings and legal bureaucratic structures were common in the Middle Ages. Western rulers perceived themselves as Christian kings modelled on biblical figures and the emperors of Rome. As H. Kohn states, the political thought of the Western Middle Ages was based on the assumption that mankind was one undivided entity and had to form one community²⁵.

Despite these unifying concepts and policies, segmentation and separatism were common phenomena in the Middle Ages. As L. Poliakov argues, the concept

25. H. Kohn, *Nationalism, its Meaning and History*. Toronto-London, 1965, p. 10.

of separatism among commonality was born out of reaction to the exclusiveness of the feudal nobility of the sword, who claimed a different descent from theirs, namely that of Gallo-Roman ancestry²⁶. According to I. Wallerstein, however, ideas of separatism between social groups, that is 'us' and the 'others', have always existed and often overlapped with racial and social class differences²⁷.

Huizinga, who argues against the crude economic explanation for the social segmentation, states that in the Middle Ages certain sentiments similar to racially ethnic ones were simply expressions of small-party politics. In fact, they were products of the feudal mentality and expressed antagonism, racial pride and passions for revenge, which motivated private wars among families rather than served any other broader and elevated ambitions²⁸.

In this chapter, and with regard to a structural analysis of the unknown author's world view - as it emerges through his expressions of separatism, differentiation and contrasts in the *Chronicle of the Tocco* - I shall try to find answers to the following questions:

- Is there a well-defined world division in the mind of the author?
- What are the dynamics behind the way he divides the world?
- Can one establish the views of the author regarding his contemporary society?

In order to answer these questions, we shall examine a number of relevant terms as used in the lines quoted and listed. The choice of these terms will be based on the vocabulary of the text itself and on the language used by the author to communicate his ideas with his audience²⁹.

26. L. Poliakov, *Aryan Myth. A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe*. New York, 1977, p. 26.

27. For the issue of segmentation and separatism in societies deriving from class differentiation, nationalism and racism from a Marxist point of view, see Balibar-Wallerstein, Φυλή, Έθνος, pp. 21, 60-78, 148; See also B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*. London, New York, 1991, pp. 148-151; Chrysa Maltezou, "Η εικόνα του Άλλου στη φραγκοκρατούμενη Κύπρο", in N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith (ed.), *Cyprus and the Crusades*. Nicosia, 1995, 47-57, who discusses the image of the Franks as conquerors, in the collective consciousness of the conquered Cypriots in the 13th century, sees the alienation between the two groups, namely between the "us" and the "others", mainly in terms of religion: see pp. 47-54.

28. According to J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*. New York, 1954, pp. 11-15, the 13th century experienced many such events which took place in France, Italy, Germany England and Holland.

29. Pocock, *Politics*, pp. 25ff.

Since the main issue in the text is the description of human relations through political intrigues and alliances, battles and family affinities, man and mankind stand in the centre of the author's narrative. Based on this element our choice of terms will start from the term *ἄνθρωπος*.

2. 1 'Ο *ἄνθρωπος* as a collective unifying concept

According to Kriaras³⁰, the term *ἄνθρωπος* in medieval Greek had, among others, the following meanings: *ἀνθρώπινο πλῆθος, κάτοικος, κάποιος, κανείς, κάτοχος κυρίαρχος, ἄνδρας, βοηθός, υποτελής, στρατιώτης, πολεμιστής*³¹. As for the *Chronicle of the Tocco*, people (*ἄνθρωποι*) generally seem to form well-defined entities and to occupy fixed positions in the author's consciousness.

2. 1. 1 The term *ἄνθρωπος* in the Chronicle

2. 1. 1. 1	<i>ἄνθρωποι</i> as one entity: 1083, 3420, 3425;
2. 1. 1. 2	<i>ἄνθρωποι</i> as rulers and a ruled entity: 1179, 1270, 1590, 1597, 1941
2. 1. 1. 3	<i>ἄνθρωποι</i> with local identity: 1194, 1213, 1279

2. 1. 1. 1 Οἱ *ἄνθρωποι* as one entity

The first and more general entity, which embraces the human race as a whole and stands above all other structural social divisions, reflects the author's sentiments about the human condition (*condition humaine*) in general. The main unifying factor is *equality*, which places human beings on the same level of weakness and powerlessness to change their common destiny or state of affairs. Thus, regarding the *condition humaine*, the author focuses on the following issues:

- (a) the issue of *life* and *death*;

30. E. Kriaras, *Το Λεξικό της μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής δημόδους γραμματείας (1100-1669)*. Thessaloniki, 1968ff, vol. II, pp. 214-216.

31. For a semantic analysis of the term in the Chronicle of the Morea, see Thekla Sansaridou-Hendrickx, *Το Χρονικόν του Μορέως και η έννοια του εθνικισμού κατά τον Μεσαίωνα*. Athens, 1999, pp. 58-59.

- (b) the subject of *unhappiness*;
- (c) the matter of human *helplessness* in the face of an unknown future, and human *weakness*, demonstrated by *wrong judgement, decisions and actions*;
- (d) the issue of loyalty and betrayal.

(a) Referring to the issue of life and death, the author considers death as a debt to be paid by all people (ἅπαντες, ὅλοι) in exchange for their right to have been born (ὄσοι ἐγενήθησαν). The key word he uses is *χρέος* (or *χρεωστοῦμεν*). Moreover, he stresses human equality in the face of death, because, as he explains, irrespective of authority, identity, power or riches, all people are equal before death (βασιλεῖς, ρηγάδες, αὐθέντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ γονεῖς):

"τοὺς βασιλεῖς τοὺς θαυμαστοὺς, τοὺς φοβεροὺς ρηγάδες
τῆς Ρώμης, τοὺς προπάτορες τῆς Κωνσταντίνου πόλης,
τοὺς κτήτορες ὅπου ἔκτισαν τὰ κάστη τὰ κρατοῦμεν,
τὸν πάμπουν, τὸν προπάμπουν μας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς μας
καὶ ἄλλους αὐθέντας φοβεροὺς, ὅπου ἐφριξεν ὁ κόσμος,
καὶ ἠπῆρεν τους ὁ θάνατος, δὲν εἶχαν τί νὰ κάμουν
Αὐτό χρεωστοῦμεν ἅπαντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοῦ κόσμου
ὄσοι καὶ ἂν ἐγενήθησαν ὅλοι νὰ ἀποθάνουν".

(lines 3414-21)

(b) By commenting on a man's emotional reactions at times of illness, sorrow or great loss, the author generalises human sentiments as he places all people on an equal level (τοῖς ἀνθρώποις):

"ὄτι ἡ λύπη ἢ πολλὴ καὶ ἡ πικρία μεγάλη
προσφέρει καὶ ἀσθένειαν καὶ νόσον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις".

(lines 3425-26)

(c) Another unifying force for the human race has always been the inability and helplessness to predict the future. The author weighs this human powerlessness (θαύμασον, τὰ μέλλοντα, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις) against the Almighty (Θεοῦ δύναμιν, μεγάλην):

"Ἀκουσον, φίλε, τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμιν τὴν μεγάλην
καὶ θαύμασον τὰ μέλλοντα συμβαίνειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις".

(lines 1082-83)

(d) As to the issue of loyalty and trust, in the following case they are treated from a religious point of view. The author condemns the action of Paulos Spatas (or Sgouros)³² for offering Angelocastro to non-Christians, namely the great vizier Evrenos³³ (ca 1406). In exchange, the Turks would assist Paulos to avenge himself upon Carlo Tocco. In generalising, the author commends on people's total blindness (ἀποτύφλωσιν τὴν ἔχουν οἱ ἀνθρώποι) when they place their trust on enemies who do not believe in Christ or are "infidels" (οὐκ ἔχουν πίστι)³⁴. His bitterness is caused rather by the fact that the "others" are impious (ἄσεβεις), than by being plain antagonists:

"Ἰδὲς τὴν ἀποτύφλωσιν τὴν ἔχουν οἱ ἀνθρώποι·
τοὺς ἄσεβεις πιστεύουσιν, ὅπου οὐκ ἔχουν πίστι!"
(lines 496-97)

2. 1. 1. 2 Ἄνθρωποι as rulers and a ruled entity

In his first structural division of the human race, when people are still seen collectively, in principle, the author considers them as an entity to be protected, cared for and treated with respect and politeness by their rulers. The author paints the ideal portrait of a ruler in terms of his relations with his people:

"νὰ δείξῃ πρόσωπον καλὸν καὶ ἀγάπην ἐς τὴν χώραν,
νὰ γλυκανθοῦν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ποσῶς νὰ ἀνασάνουν".
(lines 1269-70)

On another level, the author divides individuals between good and evil in an elementary and simple manner. According to Schiró, the author's "cultura" was "invero limitata"³⁵. In fact, the author's concepts are subject to strategies applied

32. Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, pp. 40-41, 588: Paulos Spatas, lord of Katochi, was the son of Spatas Bouas Sgouros.

33. Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 44, note 2.

34. For the causes and the consequences of the hatred and hostilities between the Christian and Muslim world, see Karen Armstrong, *Holy War. The Crusades and their Impact on Today's World*. London, 1988, pp. 32. Cécile Morrisson, *Les Croisades*, Paris, 1969, pp. 7-22; P. Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*. New York, 1938, pp. 42-43.

35. With regard to the author's personality, see Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 123ff: Schiró, *Ibid.*,

by the ruling classes. According to his perception of society, human beings differ according to political, social and religious norms. But above all, in his final analysis, it is human behaviour that constitutes the main criterion in classifying people morally. As for the behaviour of leaders, political power should be exercised in a controlled manner through direct communication with the people they rule³⁶.

The author's concepts are expressed sometimes directly, e.g. when he praises the Carlo Tocco's generosity (ἐχόρτασεν, ἐνέμπλησεν) towards his own people, together with his will to know them better, in order to open channels of good communication (ἔμαθεν, ἐσυνήθισεν) with them:

"ἐχόρτασεν, ἐνέμπλησεν, τὴν χώραν, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους".

(line 1590)

"Ἐμαθεν, ἐσυνήθισεν, γνῶρισε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους".

(line 1597)

With the same criteria the duke's first son, Hercules, is praised as being:

"ἄνθρωπος φρόνιμος καλὰ, γλυκὺς εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους".

(line 1941)

In another case, the archons of Ioannina are advised to reject the Albanian rulers (Ἀλβανίτας μὴ κομπωθοῦν), who among other unflattering characterisations such as grouchy (κακόγνωμοι), avid (λείξουροι), perjurers (ἐπίορκοι) and thieves (κλέπται) are also defined as cruel people (σκληροί) and oppressors of the Roman Byzantines (δυνάστες τῶν Ρωμαίων). Thus, the author combines two elements, one of socio-religious ethics and another of political nature:

"Ἀλβανίτας μὴ κομπωθοῦν καὶ κάμουν τοὺς ἀφέντες,
ὅτι εἶναι ἀνθρωποὶ σκληροί, δυνάστες τῶν Ρωμαίων,
κακόγνωμοι καὶ λείξουροι, ἐπίορκοι καὶ κλέπται".

(lines 1178-80)

p. 123, maintains: "a) che l'autore fu contemporaneo e spesso testimone dei fatti narrati; b) che era romeo e forse gianiniota; c) la sfera politica nella quale si mosse; d) la cultura, invero limitata, e l'intelligenza molto vivace che gli consentirono di scrivere un'opera tanto impegnativa; e) il periodo in cui la cronaca fu scritta".

36. Regarding obligations and position of the dukes according to the feudal system of ruling, see F. L. Ganshof, *Feudalism*. New York, 1964, pp. 60-61.

On another occasion, the author expresses compassion for the archons and the good people. He condemns the widow Eudokia³⁷ for her plan to offer the land of Ioannina to the Serbs in exchange for a suitable husband, and especially for her being a bad ruler³⁸ (σκληρή στην εξουσία) as well as for the heavy taxes (συνήθεια βαρέα) she imposed on her subjects:

"Κακόγνωμη ἐφάνηκεν, σκληρή στην εξουσία,
πολλά βαρέματα ἔδειξεν καὶ πάθη εἰς τὸν τόπον·
ὠργίζετον τοὺς ἄρχοντες καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς ἀνθρώπους
καὶ ἄσχημα τοὺς ὕβριζεν. Μεγάλως ἔλυποῦνταν".
(lines 1192-95)

"Ἐκεῖ ἦτον τὸ κατάντημα ὄλων τῶν Γιαννινιώτων.
Ἔβαλεν καὶ συνήθεια βαρέα εἰς τὴν χώραν,
ὅπου ἐκάκιζαν πολλὰ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῆς χώρας".
(lines 1211-13)

It must be noted that the author, by connecting the 'archons' with the phrase 'good people', expresses respect and esteem towards the higher social class. This recalls Wallenstein's point of view³⁹, that ideas of separatism often overlap with social class differentiation.

With regard to the description of Eudokia's character, worthwhile noticing is the fact that if her plan were to be realised, the material loss for the duke would be serious enough as to influence the author's objectivity. Indeed, the interference of

37. Eudokia Balšić was the third wife of Esaù dei Buondelmonti Acciaiuoli, despot of Ioannina. According to Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, pp. 54-55, Eudokia was expelled twenty days after Esaù's death. Therefore, her harsh ruling ought to have started when her husband was still alive.

38. Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 314:

"Ἄλλον ὅτι ἐβουλήθηκε καὶ ἄνδρα νὰ ἐπάρη
εἰς τὴν Σερβίαν ἔστειλεν Σέρβους διὰ νὰ φέρουν.
Τῆς χώρας τὰ κρατήματα βούλεται νὰ τοὺς δώση,
νὰ τοὺς δουλώση ἅπαντας τῆς χώρας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους".
(lines 1276-79)

39. See Balibar-Wallerstein, *Φυλὴ, Ἔθνος*, pp. 21, 60-78, 148.

economic interests in a ruler's ethical attitude towards his/her people should not be ignored in our conclusions.

According to a crude economic approach, which overlooks individual choices⁴⁰, we should seek connections between the political power of leaders, and economic control over the ruled. From the author's point of view, however, a leader is valued not only in terms of what he or she will gain out of his/her ruling over a region, but also of what he/she is offering to the ruled. As we have seen, a ruler is good when he/she shows love, friendliness, generosity and, above all, understanding towards his/her people. Thus, besides his/her struggle for power and his/her strategies to maximise and preserve it, he/she is especially praised by the author for being a capable and just leader.

At this point, referring to human power relations, it becomes evident that there is a division between evil and good in the author's world view. Regarding politics, this distinction is subject to the way political power is exercised by leaders and to their skills to communicate with their subjects.

3. The world divided by religion

In the author's mind, the second great division is based on external factors, such as religious differences and antagonism between East and West. The main human rift, which was caused by religious conflicts between *Christians* and *Muslims*⁴¹ is well expressed in the *Chronicle of the Tocco*. It must be noted that in the *Chronicle* the *Turks* are identified by their religious identity, as Μουσουλμά-νοι, as well as by their ethnic name, as Τοῦρκοι.

40. Cf. Keesing, *Anthropology*, p. 295; Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*. Translated in English by L. A. Manyon. Vol. I. London, 1978, pp. 160-162. For a comparative view of different approaches regarding the bonds between rulers and ruled in Byzantine society, see Loungis, *Βυζαντινή ιστορία*, pp. 16ff.

41. Armstrong, *Holy War*, pp. 47-49, who analyses the origins of the religious hatred between the East and the West, connects the hostile sentiments of the West against the Muslims with the development of their Christian identity. Being no Christians, the Muslims were considered as 'pagans' and represented the image of the 'perfect enemy'. They had been labelled as 'infidels' and 'uncivilised barbarians' since the campaign of Urban II for the first Crusade in 1095. For the conflicts between Christians and Muslims as an aftermath of the Crusades, see H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*. Oxford 1972, pp. 276-286.

Christians versus Muslims:

3. 1 Χριστιανοί: 424, 425, 499, 3287, 3409, 3433
 3. 2 Μουσουλμάνοι: 951, 1685, 3155, 3070, 3299

3. 1 Οἱ Χριστιανοί

The term Χριστιανοί is mainly used in contrast with that of Μουσουλμάνοι. Being at constant war with the Muslim Turks, Christians are collectively presented (τοὺς Χριστιανούς, χριστιανικὸν ἀφέντην, πάντα) either as enemies or victims of Muslim Turks (ἄλλοι τὸν Χριστιανόν, πνίγουσίν τον, ἐχάλασάν τους)⁴²:

"τοὺς Χριστιανούς νὰ μάχωνται, πάντα νὰ τοὺς κομπώνουν,
 – καὶ ἄλλοι τὸν Χριστιανὸν τὸν βοηθοῦν οἱ Τοῦρκοι
 ἂν βοηθήσουν δαμινόν, ὕστερα πνίγουσίν τον".

(lines 424-26)

"ὅπου καὶ ἂν ὀρμήσουσιν 'ς χριστιανικὸν ἀφέντην,
 ἀραῖα τοὺς ἐγλύτωσεν, ὅλους ἐχάλασάν τους".

(lines 3157-58)

This religious hatred, however, does not prevail over social differentiation. The author draws a clear distinction between Christian rulers and subjects. Though all Christian souls, who happen to fall into Turkish hands should be equally pitied, yet, the position of a ruler (ἀφέντη χριστιανόν) who depends on Turkish assistance (οἱ Τοῦρκοι νὰ βοηθήσουν) is considered worse misfortune:

"Πούπετε ἠκούσθηκεν οἱ Τοῦρκοι νὰ βοηθήσουν
 κανεῖν ἀφέντη χριστιανόν, εἰ μὴ νὰ μὴ τὸν κομπώνουν".

(lines 498-99)

Elsewhere the author condemns (ἐδὲ ἁμαρτίαν), both from ethnic and

42. For the loss of Christian strongholds in the East and the unsuccessful plans of the West to restore Christian rule in Palestine, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Atlas of the Crusades*. London, 1991, p. 122.

religious point of view, the Albanian chief, Simon Zenevesi, son of Gjin Zenevesi, for having offered the castle of Argirocastro to the Turks in 1419, abandoning, thus, Christian people in the hands of Muslims:

"Ἐδέ ἁμαρτίαν τὴν ἔκαμεν, ἔδέ ἀγνωσίαν μεγάλη,
νὰ παραδώσῃ Χριστιανούς εἰς τῶν Τουρκῶν τὰ χέρια!"

(lines 3286-87)

3. 2 Οἱ Μουσουλμάνοι⁴³

Due to the same religious hatred, when the author praises for his qualities the leader of the duke's army, Mono Meliaresi, he stresses his victory in the war against the Muslims (Turks):

"Ἐκαμεν προτερήματα καλά εἰς τὸν καιρὸν του,
πόλεμον ἕναν θαυμαστὸν μετὰ τοὺς Μουσουλμάνους".

(lines 950-51)

Moreover, it is with a certain nostalgia that the author refers to the time when some chiefs were strong enough to spread fear among the Muslims (εἶχαν δύναμιν πολλήν, ἐφοβήθησαν):

"τότε ἀκόμη ἠύρισκονταν τοῦ τόπου οἱ ἀφέντες
ἀνέγγιστοι, ἀσπάραγοι ἀπὲ τοὺς Μουσουλμάνους
καὶ εἶχαν δύναμιν πολλήν καὶ ἐφοβήθησάν τους".

(lines 1684-86)

At that stage, however, collective fear and terror of the Muslims were dominating the thoughts of all Christian people (εἶχαν πάντα λογισμόν). These sentiments are clearly illustrated when the duke organises his defence against the Turks in Ioannina (νὰ διορθώσῃ, κτίζουν τόπον, κάστρη, πύργους):

"Καὶ αὐτὸς ἔκαβαλλίκευσεν, εἰς τὰ Ἰωάννινα ἐδιάβη
νὰ διορθώσῃ καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸν τόπον καὶ τὰ κάστρη
νὰ κτίσουν, νὰ εὐτειάνουσιν τὰ κάστρη καὶ τοὺς πύργους,

43. On the term 'Mousoulmano'/Muslims, see A. Savvides, *Από το Βυζάντιο στην Τουρκοκρατία*, Athens, 1997, pp. 97-98.

ὅτι εἶχαν πάντα λογισμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦς Μουσουλμάνους".
(lines 3152-55)

In order to muster resistance against the Muslims, the duke does not hesitate to approach his Albanian enemies and even use flattery (*ἐκολάκευσέν τους*), as a means to reach his goal:

"οἱ Ἀλβανῖται νὰ συνελθοῦν νὰ εἶναι δουλωμένοι,
νὰ ἔχουσιν ἀλήθειαν, πάντες νὰ εἰρηνεύουν.
Καὶ οὕτως τοῦς ἰλάρωσεν καὶ ἐκολάκευσέν τους,
ὥστε νὰ κάμουν ὀρθωσιν κατὰ τοῦς Μουσουλμάνους".
(lines 3067-70)

However, the fear, which the arrival of the Muslims inspired in the inhabitants of the region of Epiros (τοῦς ἐφοβήθησαν πολλά), chased away the Albanian population, who found refuge in Morea (ἔφυγαν, εἰς τὸν Μορέα ὑπῆγαν):

"Μόνον Ἀλβανῖται ἔφυγαν εἰς τὸν Μορέαν ὑπῆγαν,
τοῦς ἐφοβήθησαν πολλά τοῦς Μουσουλμάνους".
(lines 3298-99)

4. Ethnic world division

The term *ethnic* may be defined - *sensu stricto* - as *one's own*⁴⁴. It is also connected with, or forms characteristic of, a *race*⁴⁵. Though the author himself does not identify with any specific ethnic group⁴⁶, he often views other peoples' ways of life in terms of *race* or *clan* differentiation, putting, thus, a distance between "him" and the "others". In modern terms, this attitude could be labelled as "ethnocentric"⁴⁷. For instance, the author expresses indignation when he

44. *Webster Universal Dictionary*, H. C. Wyld and E. H. Partridge (ed.), New York-Toronto, 1968, p. 478.

45. For an analysis of the connection between ethnicity, nationalism and race, see Balibar-Wallerstein, *Φυλή, Ἔθνος, Φυλή, Ἔθνος*, passim; Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth*, passim.

46. On the issue of nationalism in the Chronicle of the Tocco, see Maria Preka, "Ἡ ἐθνικότητα στο Χρονικό των Τόκκο" *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου (Αρτα, 27-31 Μαΐου 1990)*. Arta, 1992, 303-308, pp. 303ff.

47. Keesing, *Anthropology*, p. 69; Alki Kyriakidou-Nestoros, *Ἡ θεωρία της ελληνικής λαογρα-*

describes favours of Eudokia⁴⁸, widow of Esaù dei Buondelmonti, towards her own people (τὰ πράγματα, κληρονομιές ἔδιδε τῶν σερβιῶν της) and her unjust treatment towards her late husband's followers (ἔξώρισε, ἐφυλάκισεν ἄρχοντες):

"ἔξώρισε, ἐφυλάκισεν ἄρχοντες ἐκ τὴν χώραν,
τὰ πράγματα, κληρονομιές ἔδιδε τῶν σερβιῶν της".

(lines 1196-97)

The author's world, thus, as perceived through his conceptual prism, appears to be divided into ethnic groups. In the *Chronicle of the Tocco* these groups, which consist of Turks, Albanians, Roman Byzantines, Franks⁴⁹ and, though to a lesser degree, Serbs, are seen as a mosaic of different cultures⁵⁰.

4. 1 Οἱ Τούρκοι

4. 1. 1 Τούρκοι as an ethnic entity: 354, 422, 429, 2183-4, 2860
 4. 1. 2 Τούρκοι as a primordial enemy: 425, 444, 447, 448, 452, 498, 503, 680, 682, 741, 763, 952, 2411, 2425, 3287
 4. 1. 3 Τούρκοι as a military power: 459, 963, 1133, 1904, 2189-90, 2201, 2235-6, 2299, 2373, 2376, 2389, 2397, 2400, 2416, 2422, 2425, 3043, 3156, 3160, 3165, 3185, 3292;
 4. 1. 4 as a political power: 418, 1957, 2029, 3090-96, 3249, 3264, 3310-12

φίας. *Κριτική ἀνάλυση*. Athens, 1978, pp. 20ff. See also Preka, "Χρονικό των Τόκκο", pp. 303ff.

48. On the personality of Eudokia, see Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, pp. 53-54.

49. The value of the *Chronicle* as a primary source of information on the relationships between the various ethnic groups has been underlined by Preka, "Χρονικό των Τόκκο", pp. 303ff.

50. Mosaic stereotypes of cultures have been criticized and rejected as one-sided views. However, the human mind needs to rely on well shaped structures in order to understand its natural environment and its reason for existence. For a critical overview, see C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York, 1973, pp. 126ff.

4. 1. 1 Οἱ Τούρκοι as an ethnic entity

In the following lines, in praising the Albanian marshal, Mourikis Bouas⁵¹, the author identifies the Turks as a separate ethnic entity (γένος)⁵²:

"Μουρίκη Μπούας, ὄπου ἠκοῦς, μέγας στρατάρχης ἦτον
πολέμους εἶδεν δυνατοῦς μέ Τούρκους, μέ ἄλλα γένη".
(lines 353-54)

In the following case, when the author expresses his consent for the execution of Ya'qūb Spata, son of Irene Spata⁵³, by Carlo Tocco, he indirectly illustrates his view on the issue of vengeance. By presenting it as a consequence of ethnic (ὡς Τούρκος) and religious solidarity, he seems to accept a natural phenomenon. Besides having been brought up and educated by the Turks, Ya'qūb - bearing a turkish name - also became Muslim (τούρκικα ὠμολόγησε)⁵⁴, and, therefore, he was considered as one of them. Being afraid that the sultan might well seek revenge for Ya'qūb's capture, the duke chooses to execute him:

"Διαγούπην τὸν ἐλέγασιν· τούρκικα ὠμολόγει".
(line 2028)

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

51. Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 578: Bouas Mourikis was the head of the Bouas family. He accompanied Carlo Tocco to Vodizza as 'μέγας στρατάρχης' to assist him in the siege of Arta (ca 1404-1406).

52. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. IV, p. 257, among other meanings defines the term γένος, as a) καταγωγή, γενιά, οικογένεια; b) φυλή, ἔθνος; c) σύνολο προσώπων που τα χαρακτηρίζει μια κοινή ιδιότητα. For an analysis of the ethnic divisions in the 14th century, see Thekla Sansaridou-Hendrickx, *The Awakening of Greek National Consciousness during the Thirteenth Century: A Study of related Theories and Problems*, Unpubl. M.A. dissertation. Bloemfontein, 1997, pp. 121-127.

53. Ya'qūb, who has a Turkish name, was the second son of Irene Spata; see Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, pp. 71 note 1, 72, 586.

54. According to Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. XII, pp. 312-14, the term ὁμολογῶ, among others, is defined as ἀναγνωρίζω ὡς ἔγκυρον, ἀληθινό, especially referring to religion.

It must be noted, however, that in defining their collective character, the author sees the Turks as wise and cunning⁵⁵ people:

"Οἱ Τούρκοι δὲ ὡς φρόνιμοι καὶ πονηροὶ τὸ πλεόν".
(line 422)

In most societies the measuring of human behaviour through stereotypes has been an accepted social norm⁵⁶. In describing an individual character, the author expresses a certain stereotype which collectively corresponds to the Turkish character. Ya'qub is characterised as an uncontrollable man (ἄνθρωπον ἀνυπόστατον)⁵⁷, therefore, "through-and-through Turk" (e.g. ὅλως διόλου τοῦρκον):

"Ἐβλεπε δὲ καὶ ἐγνώριζε ἐκεῖνον τὸν Γιαγούπην,
ἄνθρωπον ἀνυπόστατον, ὅλως διόλου τοῦρκον".
(lines 2182-83)

This description may help us to understand how people may acquire various cultural concepts and predispositions, especially when they relate to their natural and supernatural environment in their collective consciousness. Thus, the author's predisposition against the Ottomans, individual or based on collective belief, could be considered as a contradiction to the general policy of the Byzantines, who not only continued to maintain diplomatic relations with the Turks during the 14th century⁵⁸, but also involved the Turks in the Byzantine internal affairs. It is also an indication of a changing public opinion among the Byzantines against the invading Turks. Possibly, our author was judging the events more as a Frank than as a Roman Byzantine. Being, therefore, in favour of the Pope and the Catholic Church, it is natural that he would hate the Muslims⁵⁹.

55. Cf. Sansaridou-Hendrickx, *Χρονικόν του Μορέως*, p. 159. It must be noted that in the Greek Chronicle the term φρόνιμος and πονηρός are not combined: see *Ibid.* passim.

56. Keesing, *Anthropology*, pp. 111ff.

57. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. II, p. 285.

58. On the diplomatic relations between the Byzantines and the Ottomans during the 14th century, see G. Metallinos, *Τουρκοκρατία*, pp. 38-40.

59. Cf. the Frankish attitude towards Turks, as opposed to the Greek attitude, in P. P. Kalonaros (ed.), *Το Χρονικόν του Μορέως*. Athens (no date), lines: 758-69:

"Τίς νά πιστέψη εἰς Ρωμαίων εἰς λόγον εἴτε εἰς ὄρκον;
λέγουσιν ὅτι εἶναι Χριστιανοὶ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν πιστεύουν·

4. 1. 2 Οἱ Τούρκοι as primordial enemy

From a religious point of view, the Turks as Muslims are considered by the author as the primordial enemies of the Christians (ἀπό νόμου⁶⁰, φυσικόν = natural, πάντα = always, πούποτε οὐκ = anywhere, never):

"καὶ ἔχουν το καὶ φυσικόν, καὶ λέγουν, καὶ ἀπὸ νόμου
τοὺς Χριστιανούς νὰ μάχωνται, πάντα νὰ τοὺς κομπώνουν,
καὶ ἄλλοι τὸν Χριστιανὸν τὸν βοηθοῦν οἱ Τοῦρκοι
ἂν βοηθήσουν δαμινόν, ὕστερα πνίγουσίν τον
μὲ δύναμιν, μὲ πονηριάν, μὲ ὅσον ἠμποροῦσιν,
καθὼς τὸ εἶδες εἰς πολλούς, ὁποῦ τὸ ἐκάμαν τώρα".
(lines 423-28)

"Πούποτε οὐκ ἠκούσθηκεν οἱ Τοῦρκοι νὰ βοηθήσουν
κανεῖν ἀφέντη χριστιανόν, εἰ μὴ νὰ τὸν κομπώνουν".
(lines 498-99)

The same hatred⁶¹ is also expressed when the author explains how merciless the Turks are towards any Christian leader (χριστιανικὸν ἀφέντην):

ἐμᾶς τοὺς Φράγκους μέμφονται, λέγουν, κατηγοροῦν μας.
σκύλους μας ὀνομάζουσι, ἀτοὶ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦνται·
λέγουν ὅτι εἶναι Χριστιανοὶ καὶ βάπτισμα φοροῦσιν·
αὐτοὶ καὶ μόνοι λέγουσιν ὅτι εἰς Χριστὸν πιστεύουν.
Μετὰ τοὺς Τούρκους κάθονται, πίνουν καὶ ἐστιάζουν
καὶ τίποτε οὐκ ἐλέγουσιν οὐδὲ κατηγοροῦν τους".

For a comparison related to these collective predispositions, see also Sansaridou-Hendrickx, *Χρο- νικὸν του Μογέως*, pp. 55-57.

60. Κριaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. II, p. 273: νόμος = θεσμός πατροπαράδοτος.

61. For the evolution of the relations between the Turks and the Byzantines, see Wittek, *Ottoman Empire*, pp. 42-43; Hussey, *Byzantine World*, pp. 79-80. According to Nicol, *Byzantium*, pp. 86-90, 217-257, the Turkish participation in Byzantine civil wars initiated their settlement in Europe. On the period of the Ottoman incursions until the final conquest of 1458/60, see relevant references in Nicol, *Byzantium*, pp. 150-156; A. E. Vakalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation. The Byzantine Period. 1204-1461*. Translated in English by J. Moles. New Jersey, 1970, pp. 64-78; A. Savvides, "Mora (Morea)", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VII, fasc. 117-118 (1991), 236-241, pp. 236-238.

"ὄπου καὶ ἂν ὀρμήσουσιν'ς χριστιανικὸν ἀφέντην,
ἀραῖα τοὺς ἐγλύτωσησεν, ὄλους ἐχάλασάν τους".
(lines 3157-58)

Moreover, the author expresses sentiments of separatism, hatred and power relationships between the Turks and the Albanians (δύνονται εἰς πάσας), when he describes the war between Zenevesi's son, Simon, and Bayezid Pasha:

"ἀλλὰ οἱ Τοῦρκοι, ὡς φθονεροὶ καὶ δύνονται τὰς πάσας,
ἐζήλωσαν, ἐφθόνησαν τὸν τόπον του νὰ ἐπάρουν".
(lines 3183-84)

Simon Zenevesi married one of Mourikis Spatas's daughters, but was not on good terms with his father-in-law. Despite the help he received from the Turks, his military operations failed. Having abandoned Argirokastro and his Christian subjects in the hands of the Turks, Simon found refuge in Corfu. Bayezid Pasha became related to Carlo Tocco through marriage. As a consequence, Bayezid received gifts and gave the insurance to Tocco that no attempt to conquer Arta would ever take place in future.

Furthermore, sentiments of disdain and fear for the Turks are manifested, especially when they are defined as non-Christians. The action of Simon Zenevesi, who offered the castle of Argyrocastro to the Turks, is viewed by the author as immoral and sinful (comp. ἁμαρτία, Χριστιανούς)⁶²:

"Ἐδέ ἁμαρτίαν τὴν ἔκαμεν, ἐδὲ ἀγνωσίαν μεγάλη,
νὰ παραδῶση Χριστιανούς εἰς τῶν Τουρκῶν τὰ χέρια!"
(lines 3286-87)

Indeed, the author especially laments the fall of Christian souls into the hands of the Muslim Turks. And even more, he does not hide his pleasure when Turks are taken prisoner by Christian warriors⁶³. In fact, according to medieval

62. For a semantic analysis of the term ἁμαρτία, see Thekla Sansaridou-Hendrickx, "Ἡ χρήση τοῦ ὀρου ἁμαρτία στο ἐλληνικὸ χρονικὸ του Μορέως", *Ekkles. Pharos* 74 (N.Σ. 3) (1992) (ἐκδ. Αφρικῆς), pp. 57-67.

63. Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 252:

"ἐπήραν ἄλογα πολλὰ, ἐτίασαν καὶ Τοῦρκους"
(line 444)

tradition, both in the West and in the East, prisoners were considered as valuable hostages, depending, of course, on their social status⁶⁴.

4. 1. 3 Οἱ Τούρκοι as a military power

Besides its political role, as F. Hertz states, war fulfils two opposed social functions: it unifies individuals behind a common aim and a common destiny, while at the same time it separates them from enemy groups⁶⁵. However, in Epiros, as well as in the other regions of the Byzantine West, the fact that Franks, Roman Byzantines and even Albanians were often employed as mercenaries undermined group unity and stimulated the spirit of adventure⁶⁶.

In fact, as we often see in the *Chronicle of Tocco*, the same group, which in one instance opposes the enemy, in another, is fighting alongside the enemy. The questions which arise, are:

- How does the author interpret the successive changes of identity which take place in the collective conscience of a military group at war?
- To what degree was the author's judgement influenced by the conflicts and by

"ἔσέβασαν καὶ τὰ ἄλογα καὶ τοὺς πιασμένους Τούρκους".
(line 447)

64. Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 272:

"Ἦφεραν καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν, τοὺς Τούρκους τοὺς πιασμένους.
Χαρὰν ἐκάμασι πολλήν, κανεῖς μὴδὲν ἐρώτα.
Τοὺς Τούρκους ἐφυλάκισαν νὰ ἐξαγοραστοῦσιν.
Πράγματα ἔδωσαν πολλὰ, ὥστε νὰ ἐξεβοῦσιν".
(lines 680-83)

Ibid., p. 276:

"Καὶ Τούρκον ἔπιασαν καλόν, Ναῖπην τὸν ἐλέγαν
καὶ ἔμπροσθεν τὸν ἤφεραν ἵς τὸν δούκαν τὸν ἀφέντη".
(lines 764-5)

For the importance of the socio-political position of the hostages in negotiating their exchange with the opposite party, see Sansaridou-Hendrickx, "Ἀμαρτία", pp. 57-67.

65. F. Hertz, "War and the Formations of National Traditions", in C. L. Tipton (ed.), *Nationalism in the Middle Ages*. Toronto-London-Sydney, 1972, 54-58, p. 54.

66. C. Sathas, "Ἕλληνες στρατιῶται ἐν τῇ Δύσει. Athens, ανατ. 1993, pp. 51-55. See also P. Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*. Oxford-New York, 1984, p. 119.

the war spirit of the period⁶⁷ in which he was living?

Personal sentiments are expressed on several occasions by the author which, we hope, will allow us to draw a clear enough picture of his value system, its structure and function. On one occasion, when Yūsuf-beg⁶⁸ invaded Vodizza (1404-05) with an army of 20000 men, most of his troops were drawn into the river during the operation, and the rest were taken prisoner by Carlo Tocco. The author highly appreciated the victory of the duke in the battle of Vodizza which led to a treaty between the two enemies⁶⁹.

As previously mentioned, captain ("capo") Mano Meliaresi⁷⁰ is praised for being an excellent warrior, especially for his victorious war against the Turks. By stressing this fact as cause for Mano's fame, the author expresses two facts: (a) he shows, though indirectly, his satisfaction with the defeat of the Turks;

(b) he underlines the strength of the Turkish army⁷¹:

"καὶ ἐνίκησεν τὸν πόλεμον, ἐτζάκισεν τοὺς Τούρκους".

67. On the period of the Ottoman incursions and influences about their superiority, military or religious, in Byzantium, see Nicol, *Byzantium*, pp. 310-355. Vakalopoulos, *Origins*, pp. 136-144. Savvides, "Mora", pp. 236-238. S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*. Cambridge, 1965, pp. 38-44. Bréhier, *Byzantium*, pp. 329-340.

68. Yūsuf-beg or Jūsuf-beg was the Lord of Vlachia (Thessalia): for more information about the semi-independent territory (1213/1222-1454/1470), see A. Savvides, "Περὶ τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ κρατιδίου τῆς Θεσσαλίας", Πρακτικά Β' Συνεδρίου (Λάρισα 1994), 73-80.

69. See Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 252:

"Ὡς ἤκουσε ὁ Γιοσοῦ-μπεκης πῶς ἐπίασεν τοὺς Τούρκους,
πολλὰ ἐχολομάνησεν, μεγάλως ἐλυπήθη.
'Εβλέποντας ὅτι ἔχασεν τόσους ἐκ τὸν λαόν του,
καὶ τίποτα δὲν ἐκέρδεσεν, μᾶλλον καὶ ἐζημιώθη,
τοῦ δούκα ἔστειλε ἄρχοντα τοὺς Τούρκους νὰ τοῦ στρέψη,
καὶ νὰ γενοῦν ἀχώριστοι φίλοι εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τους".

(lines 448-53)

70. *Ibid.*, p. 583: Mano Meliaresi applied Turkish methods in his fighting against Sgouros Bouas. Meliaresi witnessed an act of transaction between Carlo Tocco and Venice, stipulated in Cephalonia on the 12th May 1409, with regard to the possession of the Anatolico castle, as well as the rights and revenue from neighbouring regions.

71. According to A. Clot, *Soliman le Magnifique*. Paris, 1983, p. 29: "Les Ottomans furent aussi les seuls à opposer aux chevaliers, aussi braves que désordonnés, et à leurs piétailles indisciplinées des forces militaires puissantes, entraînées d'armes modernes".

(line 952)

Worthwhile noticing too is the fact that, despite the existing cultural differences between Christian and Muslims, Carlo Tocco adopts the cruel methods of the Turks in dealing with his defeated enemies and his Albanian war prisoners. Since this kind of attitude and action succeeded in spreading fear among his enemies, our author expresses his approval of the initiative. His excitement, due to the successful result, is illustrated by the use of terms such as αἰχμαλωσίαν μεγάλην, ἐτρόμαξαν, φόβον πολύν:

"Ρυμπαρικά ἐμάζωσεν τὸν τόπον νὰ ἀνατρέχουν
αἰχμαλωσίαν ἔκαμναν μεγάλην ὡσπερ Τοῦρκοι.
Ὁ τρόπος τοὺς ἐτρόμαξεν ὅλους τοῦ Σγούρου Μπούα,
ὅπου ἐβλέπαν τούρκικα νὰ πιάνουν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
καὶ ὅλοι ἐκατέφυγαν ἀπέσω ἐκ τὰ κάστρη
ἀπὸ τὸν φόβον τὸν πολὺν τῶν ρυμπαραίων τοῦ δούκα".

(lines 962-67)

According to the author, about four hundred Turks invaded the territory of the duke's son, Hercules⁷², and plundered Angelocastro and the surrounding villages. Hercules with sixty men decided to fight against them and the battle took place on the plain of the Ofidari River (ca 1413). In the description of this battle, the superiority of the Turkish army in numbers (four hundred against sixty) is repeated and stressed by the author⁷³. In fact, he marvels how Hercules with his small

72. Hercules was the first bastard son of the duke: for more information, see Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 127.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 396:

"Καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν ἔδραμεν τὸ τούρκικον φουσσάτο,
ἀπὸ τὸν Σάλωνα ὀρθὰ καὶ ἐκ τὸν Λοιδωρίκι
– κρατῶ καὶ ἐκ τὴν Λειβαδιά νὰ εἶναι τετρακόσιοι".

(lines 2376-78)

Ibid., p. 398:

" Ἐρχοῦλιος ἀκούλιθα ἐξέβην εἰς τὸν κάμπον
καὶ εἶδεν καταπρόσωπα τὸ τουρκικὸν φουσσάτο
Ὅλιγον ἐδειλίασαν οἱ ἐδικοὶ τοῦ ὄλοι,
ὅπου εἶδαν τόσοις περισσοῦς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ὀλίγοι.
Ἐξήντα ἦσαν μοναχοί· οἱ Τοῦρκοι τετρακόσιοι".

(lines 2396-2400)

army⁷⁴ succeeded in emerging victorious from this battle:

"Ἐνίκησαν τὸν πόλεμον καὶ χαίρονται μεγάλως
ἔστράφηκαν χαιρόμενοι, ὑπῆγαν εἰς τὸ κάστρο".
(lines 2423-24)

In order to explain this victory, the author emphasises some factors which, he believes, promoted solidarity and strength among Hercules's warriors before their battle. According to the author, homogeneity among warriors is a very important agent in inspiring courage, fortitude, bravery and heroism. Thus, before the battle of Ofidari, since the numbers were not favourable for Hercules vis-à-vis the Turkish army, in order to inspire his men against their adversaries, he uses certain factors of uniformity as an argument in his address. For the author, in this case homogeneity is founded on the following three factors:

(a) religious: Christians were faced by Muslim enemies (God=Θεόν, Holy Mother of God=Παναγίαν Θεοτόκον, prayer=εὐχὴν);

(b) social: noble and virtuous men, were fighting against socially unworthy adversaries: virtuous despot (τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ δεσπότη) against cast-offs (περιμαζώματα), and shepherds (προβαταραῖοι);

(c) military: according to the author, the men of the Tocco were trained soldiers fighting against unskilled men (ἀμάθητοι πολέμου):

"Ἐσεῖς ἐβλέπετε, ἀδελφοί, περιμαζώματα εἶναι,
προβαταραῖοι, ἀπίρατοι, ἀμάθητοι πολέμου·
ἐβλέπετέ τους· ἔτοιμοι εἶναι ὅτι νὰ φεύγουν·

... ..

ἐλπίδες ἔχω εἰς τὸν Θεόν, ἵς τὴν Παναγίαν Θεοτόκον,
εἰς τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ ἀφεντὸς τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ δεσπότη".

(lines 2403-08)

Furthermore, special admiration and wonder are expressed by the author for the fact that, despite the strong military presence of their enemies, the duke's

74. Ibid., p. 398:

"Τὰ ἄρματα τοῦ ἐφόρεσεν, πηδᾶ καβαλλικεύει·
καὶ ὁ λαὸς του μετ' αὐτὸν – νὰ ἦσαν ὡς ἐξῆντα".
(lines 2385-86)

forces defeated both the Turks and the Albanians⁷⁵. On the contrary, he does not hide his bitterness when he admits the strength of the Turks⁷⁶. In the following lines, the author's resentment is expressed by the contrast between δύναμιν πολλή and ἀσεβείς, as well as by the repeated use of the term φόβος:

"Δύναμιν ἔχουσιν πολλή οἱ ἀσεβεῖς οἱ Τούρκοι".

(line 3156)

"Ἐλείπεν τὸ κίνδυνον καὶ τῶν Τουρκῶν ὁ φόβος".

(line 3160)

"Ἄμῃ ὁ φόβος τῶν Τουρκῶν ἐκοντοκράτησέν τον".

(line 3165)

Despite his contemptuous attitude towards the Turks, the author admits their superiority on the battlefield. The fact that he recognises their prudence in military strategy and manoeuvres⁷⁷ offers a certain degree of credibility to his objectivity:

"Μεγάλες [τέχνες ἔχουσιν οἱ ἀσεβεῖς] <οἱ> Τούρκοι".

(line 3249)

4. 1. 4 Οἱ Τούρκοι as a political power

In the following case, according to the author's view point, by his act of submission to the Turks, the Albanian chief, Paulos Spatas⁷⁸, expresses two

75. Ibid., p. 444:

"Μά τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀπορῶ, καθάρια ἐξεπλήττω,
τὸ πῶς ἐκλωθογύρισαν καὶ κάτω καὶ ἀπάνω
καὶ ἐσέβησαν εἰς ἐμπλαστὲς μὲ Τούρκους, μὲ Ἀλβανίτες,
... ..

Μὲ ὄλα ἐνισχύσασιν, Θεοῦ τῆ βοηθεία".

(lines 3041-45)

76. Ibid., p. 460:

"Οἱ Τούρκοι, ὡς ἦσαν περισσοί, τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ φουσσάτου
ἐσκόρπισαν καταπαντοῦ νὰ διώχνουν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους".

(lines 3234-35)

77. According to Clot, *Soliman*, p. 29, "Tous les contemporains en ont témoigné: l'armée turque fut pendant deux siècles au moins la première du monde".

78. Schiró, ed., *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 588: Paulos Spatas, the son of Sgouros and cousin of the

factors: on the one hand Paulos's hatred of Carlo Tocco and on the other the political power of the Turks gained through military superiority and operations. Once again the excellence of the Turkish army is underlined. After he had bought the freedom of his sister, who was kept hostage by Carlo Tocco in the Dragamestro (ca 1404/6), Paulos offered his services to the Turks (ἐδουλώθηκεν) in exchange for their support (φουσσατο τοὺς ἐγύρευεν):

"Ἀφοῦ τὴν ἐξαγόρασεν καὶ ἐλευθέρωσέν τὴν,
<ς> τοὺς Τούρκους ἐδουλώθηκεν καὶ δύνανται γυρεύει
Πράγματα ἔταξεν πολλά, δωρήματα μεγάλα·
φουσσατο τοὺς ἐγύρευεν νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὸν δούκα
εἰς τὴν Λευχάδα ἔλεγεν μέσα νὰ τοὺς σεβάσῃ".
(lines 417-21)

"οἱ Τοῦρκοι τοῦ ἐτάχθησαν ἵνα τὸν βοηθήσουν".
(line 429)

Due to the military superiority of the Turks and the fear they inspired, an alliance between Carlo and the Albanian leaders was concluded. Thus, according to the author's view point, it is the military strength of the Turks which dictates the diplomatic processes and structural order of the opposing forces, when they choose to defend themselves. As a result, Carlo Tocco, who tries to build a fleet and seeks to win time and support, approaches his Albanian enemies with utmost diplomacy. The author, in referring to the duke's diplomatic approach, uses linguistic embellishments to illustrate his friendly style:

"Ὁ δούκας ὡς παμφρόνιμος ἔς ὅλες τὶς ἐνθυμήσεις
ἄρχισεν μὲ γλυκύτητες, μὲ ζαχαράτους λόγους
ἂν εὖρην πρᾶξιν καὶ ὁρμὴν εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην μέσον·
... ..
κεῖνα τὰ ψευδοκάτιργα μήνα τὰ ἀνησπάσῃ,
μὴ τύχη πῶποτε καιρὸ καὶ κατεβοῦσιν Τοῦρκοι
καὶ εὖρουν τα καὶ σέβουσιν καὶ κάμουν τοῦ ζημίαν
Κοντόν, ἐσυβιάσθησαν νὰ κάμουν τὴν ἀγάπην".
(lines 1129-35)

By referring with appreciation to these acts of political diplomacy, the author shows, firstly, his approval of the duke's initiatives to build political power and,

secondly, a certain maturity with regard to the role of diplomacy in political relations in general.

The superiority of the Turkish forces is also illustrated in another field: despite his hostility to the Turks, the author appreciates the value of Turkish education (καλά ἦτον παιδευμένος), since the fourth son of the duke, Trianos, was sent to them to be brought up according to their customs:

"παιδίον ἦτον ἀκομή, ἔμορφον παλληκάρι.
 'ς τοὺς Τούρκους ἀναθράφετον, καλά ἦτον παιδευμένος".
 (lines 1956-57)

This choice of education for the son of a noble man like the duke was not an exception. The philosopher, Georgios Plethon Gemistos (1355-1452) received his higher education at the Sultan's court in Adrianoupolis. The advantage of this school, as Kavvadias states⁷⁹, was the combined knowledge students received on Christian and Eastern philosophical concepts.

There is no doubt that in the mind of our author, in accordance with feudal tradition, the number of the troops each leader has at his disposition, plays the decisive role for the degree of authority and power he exhibits either on the battlefield or during political negotiations⁸⁰. Equally, however, the author values ethnic and social homogeneity, since he does not miss any given occasion to stress its significance in unifying and inspiring troops, especially before battles.

Muriki Spata, was the lord of Κατοχή, which fell in the hands of the duke (ca 1401). He freed his sister who was kept hostage by the duke after the fall of the Dragamestro (ca 1404/6).

79. G. Kavvadias, Γεωργίου Πλήθωνος Γεμιστού η σοσιαλιστική πολιτεία. Athens, 1987, pp. 15-16, praising the superior education of Πλήθων mentions: "Γόνος καλής οικογένειας έτυχε σπουδαίας παιδείας... μεταβαίνει στην Αδριανούπολη, στη Μουσουλμανική αυλή, όπου δέχεται τη διδασκαλία του Ελισσαίου του οποίου υπήρξε μαθητής. Σπουδάζει έτσι την ελληνοχριστιανική παράδοση, αλλά μνείται επίσης και τις φιλοσοφικές και θρησκευτικές αντιλήψεις της Ανατολής". According to Vakalopoulos, *Origins*, p. 144, Gemistos studied in Bursa (Prusa) under a Jewish teacher, Elissaeus, a fact which may well have influenced the formulation of his social reforms. According to B. Tatakis, *La philosophie byzantine*. Paris 1959, p. 282, "il est certain" that Gemistos studied in Constantinople and spent a certain time in the Muslim court of Adrianoupolis.

80. For this feudal tradition, see B. Hendrickx, "A propos du nombre des troupes de la quatrième croisade et de l'empereur Baudouin I", *Byzantina* 3 (1971), pp. 31-41. See also K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*. Philadelphia, 1976, vol. I, p. 8.

Furthermore, despite his great admiration for the duke and his hostile concepts with regard to his enemies, the author does not hide facts which give credit rather to them than his own people.

4. 2 Οἱ Ἀλβανῖται in the Chronicle

4. 2. 1 Ἀλβανῖται (or Ἄλβανα) as a separate ethnic entity (or a territory occupied by Albanians): 45, 51, 53, 57, 87, 176, 194, 202, 210, 349, 360, 482-89), 549, 1106, 1251, 1333, 1438, 1448, 1482, 1497, 1646, 1650, 2288, 2303, 2343, 2346, 2503, 3043, 3180, 3200, 3201, 3298, 3659, 3670
4. 2. 2 Ἀλβανῖται (Ἄλβανα) as enemies: 74, 80, 83, 137, 189, 210, 791, 1178, 1184, 1189, 1392, 1682, 1708, 1817, 1824, 1826, 1907, 1911, 1926, 1931, 1933, 1978, 1980, 2348, 2362; Ἀλβανίτικο: 1784, Ἀλβανιτσέλια (of Albanian origin): 1424 (both with negative meaning)
4. 2. 3 Ἀλβανῖται (Ἄλβανα) as allies: 549, 636, 739, 909, 1071, 1511, 2337, 3067, 3076, 3819

4. 2. 1 Οἱ Ἀλβανῖται as a separate ethnic entity

According to A. Vakalopoulos, the settlement of the Albanians in the mountainous Western Thessaly may have begun during the twelfth century. Sporadic and peaceful at first, their infiltration into Greece was often officially sanctioned, even without the approval of the indigenous inhabitants⁸¹. After 1318, aggressive raids replaced the peaceful migration of the Albanians to the South. The three tribes of the Βουῖοι, Μαλακασιοί, and Μεσαριταί invaded Thessaly and "ravaged the countryside"⁸². Greek and Catalan authorities in this area were forced to withdraw to the immediate vicinity of castle strongholds. Nikephoros II, despot of Epiros (1356-1359), who tried to stop the invaders, was defeated and killed at the battle of the Achelous (Spring 1359). As a result, Albanian colonisation was further extended. As Vakalopoulos states, "thereafter, Serbs and Albanians held undisputed sway throughout the whole of north-western Greece, virtually as far as

81. Vakalopoulos, *Origins*, pp. 6ff.

82. Zakythinis, *Despotat*, vol. I, p. 103, and II, pp. 30-31.

the Gulf of Corinth. Only the castles of Naupactus and Vonitsa were still in the hands of the Angevins and the Tocco⁸³.

In the *Chronicle of the Tocco* the Albanians are considered as a separate ethnic group (γένος τὸ Ἀλβάνι). They dominated not only Ἄρτα, but also Ναύπακτος and Ἀγγελόκαστρον⁸⁴ until the death of Gjijn Spatas (1399). The death of this Albanian despot brought about the decline of the Spata clan (ἔσκόνταψεν τὸ γένος τῶν Σπαταίων):

"ἔτυχε καὶ συνέβηκεν ἀπέθανεν ὁ Σπάτας,
ὁ δυνατός, ὁ θαυμαστός, τὸ φοῦμος τοῦ Ἀλβάνι
καὶ παρευθὺς ἔσκόνταψεν τὸ γένος τῶν Σπαταίων".
(lines 174-76)

Collectively, Albanian people are presented by the author in unfavourable, even degrading, manner. In the following lines, the Albanians (τὰ Ἄλβανα) are described as rich and powerful while, at the same time, they are collectively defined as socially inexperienced (ἀμάθητοι εἰς πράγματα)⁸⁵ and always greedy

83. See Vakalopoulos, *Origins*, pp.7-8; A. Ducelier, *Οἱ Ἀλβανοὶ στὴν Ελλάδα (13ος-15ος αἰ.)*. *Ἡ μετανάστευση μιᾶς κοινότητας*. Translated by Katerina Nikolaou. Athens, 1995, passim.

84. See Schiró, ed., *Cronaca dei Tocco*, pp. 223-24:

"Ἐν δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ καιροῖς ἐκείνοις ὅπου ἀκούεις
οἱ Ἀλβανῖται ἀφέντευον τὸν τόπον Δεσποτάτου
τὴν Ἄρταν καὶ τὸν Ἀχελῶν σὺν τὰ τῶν ἀχρομέρων,
μετὰ τὸ Ἀγγελόκαστρον καὶ Ναύπακτον ὁμοίως
Ὁ πρῶτος γὰρ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀφέντευεν τὴν Ἄρταν
δεσπότην τὸν ἐτίμησαν τὸ γένος τὸ Ἀλβάνι".
(lines 44-49)

"Τὸν ἕτερον αὐτάδελφον κὺρ Σγοῦρον ὠνομάζαν·
ἀφέντευεν τὸν Εὐπακτον, τὸν Ἀχελῶν ὁμοίως
μὲ ὄλα τὰ Ξερόμερα, καθὼς διεκρατοῦσαν".
(lines 54-56)

For the confusion of the correct dates in the historiography of the Epirotic territory during the second half of the 14th century, see Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, pp. 8-9.

85. According to Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. I, pp. 244-45, the term ἀμάθητος maintains its ancient meaning, ἀδίδακτος, ἄπειρος, ἄδαής. These terms, in Divry's Dictionary, are defined as untought, inexperienced. However, according to H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford, 1968, p.76, the term ἀμάθητος as synonym of ἀμαθής, means ignorant, stupid.

(πάντα λείξουροι)⁸⁶:

"Ἐπλούτηναν τὰ Ἄλβανα, ἐγίνοντα μεγάλα,
καὶ ἐδυνάμωσαν πολλὰ τὸ γένος τῶν Σπαταίων".
(lines 87-88)

"Καὶ ὡς εἶναι πάντα λεύξευροι ὄλοι οἱ Ἄλβανῖται
καὶ ἀμάθητοι εἰς πράγματα, εἰς ροῦχα νὰ φοροῦσιν
ἐλείξεψαν εἰς πράγματα, εἰς ροῦχαν νὰ φοροῦσιν".
(lines 194-96)

Besides being greedy, the Albanians are also described by the author as cruel (σκληροί), sullen (κακόγνωμοι), perjurers (ἐπίορκοι), and thieves (κλέπται). The author paints this negative image on the occasion of an act of diplomacy applied by Carlo Tocco; in trying to gain the support of the Roman Byzantine population in Ioannina and to convince the archons to resist Albanian domination, the duke sends a member of his own family to them with the following message:

"Ἄλβανίτας μὴ κομπωθοῦν καὶ κάμουν τους ἀφέντες,
ὅτι εἶναι ἄνθρωποι σκληροί, δυνάστες τῶν Ρωμαίων,
κακόγνωμοι καὶ λείξουροι, ἐπίορκοι καὶ κλέπται".
(lines 1176-80)

On another occasion, while the author describes an individual person, Gjin Zenevesi, seigneur of Adrianoupolis (= Dryinoupolis)⁸⁷, he uses a collective expression to characterise (Zenevesi's) Albanian nature (τὸ φυσικόν του τὸ ἀλβανίτικόν του)⁸⁸. Throughout the narrative, the author expresses his contempt

86. Κριαράς, *Λεξικό*, does not mention the term. According to Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 565, the term λείξουρία is defined as "avidità". See also S. Papadakis, in *Εγκυκλοπαιδικόν Λεξικόν Ἐλευθερουδάκη*. Athens, 1927, vol. 8, p. 572, λειξιάρης = greedy, as well as Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, p. 1035, λείξουρος = gluttonous.

87. Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 54, note 2: The Zenevesi, seigneurs of Adrianoupolis played a significant role during the second half of the 14th century. See also Vranousis, *Χρονικόν τῶν Ἰωαννίνων*, paragr. 23.39).

88. Κριαράς, *Λεξικό*, vol. I, does not give any definition. However, E. Κριαράς, *Λεξικό της σύγχρονης ἐλληνικῆς δημοτικῆς γλώσσας*. Athens, 1994, p. 174, defines the phrase "τον ἐπίασε το αρβανίτικὸ του" as "he is obstinate = πείσμωνσε πολύ". Κριαράς gives the following synonyms: το αρβανί-

for the Albanian people. Therefore, when the phrase τὸ φυσικόν του ἔδειξεν τὸ ἀλβανίτικόν του is connected with other contemptuous terms, such as χονδρότητα, ἀγνωσία and ἀπαιδευσία, our assumption will be that the term ἀλβανίτικον, combined with φυσικόν, has a negative connotation, expressing contempt and low opinion:

"Τὸ φυσικόν του ἔδειξεν τὸ ἀλβανίτικόν του".
(line 1784)

"Καὶ ἰδὲς τὸ τί χονδρότηταν καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν τὴν εἶχεν".
(line 1778)

"Ἡ ἀγνωσία ἢ πολλὴ καὶ ἡ χονδρότητά του".
(line 1786)

A. Ducellier identifies the Albanians as "peuple solide et guerrier" who were used by the Venetians as "quasi-esclaves". He states that in a text of the 22 May 1391 "la façon méprisante dont on parle des Albanais est déjà en elle-même significative. ... Les conditions de traversée ne devaient donc être guère différentes de celles qu'imposaient les négriers du XVIIIe siècle"⁸⁹. According to Ducellier, their social level was low; they were poor, and sometimes socially people without roots, increasing the numbers of vagabonds and criminals. In his conclusion, Ducellier, writes, that the Albanian people are known to us mostly through legal documents, "qui nous représentent des individus peu recommandables, mais il est bien évident qu'à côté de ceux-ci, et en nombre bien plus grand, devait vivre une masse albanaise laborieuse et honnête qui, pour cette raison, n'a pas laissé de traces"⁹⁰.

4. 2. 2 Οἱ Ἄλβανῖται (τὰ Ἄλβανα) as enemies

Since the very beginning of the narrative, Albanians have been considered by

τικο = αρναούτικο (from the Turkish arna(v)ut) = άξεστος, αγροίκος (rude): see Ibid., p. 180.

89. A. Ducellier, "Les Albanais à Venise aux XIVe et XVe siècles", in *Travaux et Mémoires* 2. Paris, 1967, 405-420, pp. 408. See also Id., A. Ducellier, "Les Albanais dans l'empire byzantin", in *Οἱ Ἄλβανοὶ στο Μεσαίωνα*, E.I.E., I.B.E. Athens, 1998, 17-57, pp.38-39.

90. Ducellier, " Les Albanais", p. 420.

the author as the main enemies of the Tocco family. As the author explains, due to Carlo's young age (νέος, πολλά παιδάκι), the Albanians hoped to occupy his territories without any difficulty. Thus, in continuing their policy of expansion, they decided to invade Levkas (βουλὴν ἐπήρασιν):

"Βουλὴν ἐπήρασιν ὁμοίως τὸ γένος τὸ ἀλβάνι
νὰ κάμουν πρᾶξιν καὶ ὀρμὴν νὰ μποῦν εἰς τὴν Λευχάδα
ὄπως νὰ τὴν κουρσεύσουσιν καὶ νὰ τὴν ἐρημάξουν".
(lines 57-59)

"Ὁ δούκας ἦτον ἀκομὴ νέος, πολλά παιδάκι".
(line 81)

As it will be noted, throughout the narrative, regarding aggression and violent behaviour in general, the Albanians are illustrated by the author in a defaming manner, as in the case of their invasion in Levkas and Vodizza (1378/85)⁹¹:

"Καὶ ἐτζάκισαν ἐσέβησαν εἰς τὴν Λευχάδα μέσα".
(line 67)

"Καὶ ἐξ αὐτὸ ἐπλάκωσαν τὸν τόπον οἱ Ἀλβανῖται".
(line 83)

"τὴν Βόδιτζαν ἐρήμαξαν, ἀνήλωσαν τελείως".
(line 123)

In his narrative, the author explains how the Albanians turned extremely violent (μέγαν κακόν, ἐκατέκαυσαν) and destructive while plundering the island (οὐδὲν ἀφῆκαν πούπετε):

"Μέγαν κακόν ἐποίησαν τότε οἱ Ἀλβανῖται
οὐδὲν ἀφῆκαν πούπετε εἰς ὅλην τὴν Λευχάδα
ἢ <τῶν>ζώων ἢ <τῶν> κτηνῶν· ὄλα τοὺς τὰ ἠπῆραν·
ὁμοίως ἐκατέκαυσαν τὰ σπίτια τῆς χώρας".
(lines 74-77)

91. For factual information, see Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, pp. 33ff.

According to the anonymous author, their aggression and violent actions of destruction created profound feelings of hostility, animosity and deep hatred between the two clans, the Albanian Spatas and the Italian Tocco (μέσον τα δύο γένη), which instigated the war between them:

"Καὶ ἀπὸ τότε ἄρχισεν ἡ μάχη, ἡ κακία,
καὶ ἔχθρα ἐγένη δυνατὴ μέσον τὰ δύο γένη
Σπαταίων τῶν ἄλβανιτῶν μετὰ ἀφεντὸς τοῦ δούκα".

(lines 78-80)

According to the author, with regard to the methods and tactics the Albanians apply in organising their defence, they appear less organised and less meticulous than Carlo Tocco. Comparing the two approaches, the author sees, or rather wishes to see, the superiority of his patron, Carlo Tocco, regarding the issue of perception and prevention of danger:

"ὅτι ἀλλέως ἤξευρεν ὁ δούκας νὰ φυλάγη
τὰ κάστρη καὶ τοὺς πύργους του παρὰ τοὺς Ἀρβανίτας".

(lines 209-10)

Despite cultural differences, however, as the author explains, Carlo Tocco succeeds in gathering a multi-ethnic army consisting of Franks, Roman Byzantines, Serbs, and even (μᾶλλον)⁹² Albanians:

"ἐκίνησεν καὶ ἄρχισεν φουσσᾶτο νὰ ρογεύσῃ,
Φράγκους, Ρωμαίους, Σέρβους τε, μᾶλλον τοὺς Ἀλβανίτας".

(lines 136-37)

The emphasis - (μᾶλλον) - the author places on the inclusion of Albanian warriors in the duke's army, expresses either a certain surprise at the fact that Albanian fighters could be included in the army of the duke, or a certainty about their ability to fight as good warriors. Both explanations derive from the author's

92. Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 231, translates the word μᾶλλον as *soprattutto*. According to Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, vol. IX, p. 311, in the *Chronaca dei Tocco*, p.231, the term is used with the meaning "and even". Kriaras's definition appears more logic and fits better in the context, since the author has previously condemned the Albanians for their aggressive behaviour in Vodizza: see lines 87-114.

expressions of contempt and distrust of the Albanian people, which he showed with regard to their violent fighting methods and aggression. On the other hand, he might have preferred to consider them rather as allies, fighting at Carlo Tocco's side rather than against him.

Moreover, the existence of distrust between Carlo Tocco and the Albanians, as well as the fear of the duke for their return⁹³, again gives an occasion to the author to express his views. Indeed, although the author refers to local circumstances (Γιαννινιώται, τὸν τόπον, τὰ χωρία, τὰ κτήματά τους), he describes the hostility between the Albanians and the people of Ioannina as a primordial situation (ἀντίδικους, ἐχθροὺς τοὺς εἶχαν ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς) which has never ceased to exist (πάντα)⁹⁴.

"Οἱ Γιαννινιώται οἱ ἄρχοντες πάντα τοὺς Ἄλβανίτας
ἐχθροὺς τοῦ εἶχαν ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς, ἀντίδικους μεγάλους,
διότι ἐδυνάστευαν τὸν τόπον, τὰ χωρία·
τὰ κτήματά τους ἅπαντα τὰ πλέα ἐκρατοῦσαν.
Καὶ δι' αὐτὸν ἐκάκιζαν εἰς αὐτοὺς ὑπερμέτρου·
καλὸν οὐκ ἤθελαν ποτὲ ἀνθρώπου ἄλβανίτου".

(lines 1184-89)

Power relations based on military superiority are underlined as the author describes the total submission of the local population to the authority of Mourikis Spatas after the conquest of Riniasa (ca 1403)⁹⁵:

93. Schiró, *Chronaca dei Tocco*, p. 234:

"μὴ τύχη καὶ πλακῶση τὸν εἰς τὴν ἀχαμνοσύνην
καὶ ἐπάρουν τὸν τόπον τοὺς ὀπίσω οἱ Ἄλβανῖται".

(lines 188-89)

94. Cf. *Ibid.* p. 452, the expression "ὁ τόπος εἶναι τῶν Ρωμαίων" in the following lines:

"Ὁ Ζενεβέσης πάντοτε ἔτρεμε, ἐφοβᾶτον,
ἀφοῦ εἶδεν ὅτι ἀφέντεψεν τὴν Ἄρταν ὁ Δεσπότης
Καθάρια τὸ ἔλεγεν καὶ μὲ τοὺς ἐδικούς του,
ὅτι ἐδυνάμωσεν πολλὰ καὶ θέλει μᾶς χαλάσει
ὁ τόπος εἶναι τῶν Ρωμαίων, σύνορον τῶν Γιαννίνων
καὶ εὐχολα μὲ ἀφορμὴν μᾶς θέλουν ἐξορίσει".

(lines 3166-3171)

95. See Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 51.

"εὐθὺς τὸν ἐπροσκύνησαν, γίνονται ἔδικοι του".

(line 1103)

Still through the prism of the author, the way in which the victorious event is celebrated among the Albanian invaders expresses both separatism from their enemies (Roman Byzantines and Franks) as well as solidarity among themselves:

"Χαρὰν μεγάλην ἔκαμε μετὰ τοὺς Ἀλβανίτας".

(line 1106)

4. 2. 3 Οἱ Ἀλβανῖται (τὰ Ἄλβανα) as allies

Despite the conflicts between Carlo Tocco and the Albanian chiefs, Albanian mercenaries often helped the duke to win battles against their own fellow men. Though the author recognises the reasons for the duke of Levkas to form an alliance with the Albanian, Mourikis Bouas⁹⁶, against his brother, Paulos Spatas Mourikis, he does not hide his distrust (τάχα) and contempt for them:

"Ἀγάπην τάχα ἐποίησαν, χρόνος οὐδὲν ἐστέρχθη".

(line 199)

The alliance between Albanians and other groups is also demonstrated during the duke's expedition in the Peloponnesos with the purpose to conquer Clarenza⁹⁷:

"Εἰς τοῦτον ἐδιώρθωσαν ἐποίησαν ἄρμάτα
 μὲ στρατιῶτες, ἄρχοντες ρωμαίους καὶ ἄλβανίτας".

(lines 548-49)

96. Ibid., p. 234:

"Ἀπαύτου πάλιν ἄρχισεν ὁ δούκας νὰ συνάζη
 φοσσᾶτον ρογατόρους τε πεζοὺς, καβαλλαρέους,
 Φράγκους, Ρωμαίους, Σέρβους τε, τὸ πλεόν Ἀλβανίτας·
 καὶ ἄρχισεν νὰ μάχεται μετὰ τοῦ Παύλου Σπάτα".

(lines 200-203)

97. For the expedition, and the related events of 1404-1414, see A. Bon, *La Morée franque. Recherches historiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205-1430)*. Texte. Paris, 1969, pp. 282-284. See also Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, pp. 85-92.

It must be noted that all negative characterisations used by the author to identify Albanians are omitted when they are acting as allies of Carlo Tocco⁹⁸. However, before labelling the author's position as partial, we should consider the distinction that Sanudo makes regarding the Albanians in Thessaly. Sanudo divides Albanians in three categories: (a) those who acted by and for themselves; (b) those who sided with the Greeks, and (c) those who joined the Catalans. Consequently, we should not reject the possibility that, perhaps, in the author's mind Albanians were also classified in the same way⁹⁹.

4. 3 Οἱ Ρωμαῖοι in the Chronicle

4. 3. 1 οἱ Ρωμαῖοι as ethnic entity: 1179, 1426; ἡ Ρωμανία: 3092
 4. 3. 2 οἱ Ρωμαῖοι as an army force: 137, 202, 549, 3113, 3170, 3506, 3511, 3645, 3745, 3815, 3819, 3828, 3885, 3894, 3916
 4. 3. 3 οἱ Ρωμαῖοι with local identity: 2166, 3027, 3030, 3430

4. 3. 1 Οἱ Ρωμαῖοι as an ethnic identity

The author uses the name Ρωμανία to identify the country of the Roman Byzantines, since in the Middle Ages Greece was connected to the Roman state. Considered as the continuation of the Roman period, geographically it bears the name Ρωμανία¹⁰⁰ (imperium Romanum), while emperors and subjects were officially called Ρωμαῖοι:

"Ἐξέβηκεν ὁ Μουσταφᾶς ἐκ τὴν Οὐγγροβλαχίαν
καὶ ἔσχισεν τὴν Ρωμανίαν, 'ς τὴν Σαλονίκη ἐσέβη".
(lines 3091-92)

98. See Preka, "Χρονικό των Τόκκο", p. 307.

99. P. Magdalino, "Between Romaniae: Thessaly and Epirus in the Later Middle Ages", *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4 (1), 1989, 87-110, p. 103.

100. N. Bees, "Ἡ Ἑλλάς κατὰ τοὺς μέσους χρόνους", in *Εγκυκλοπαιδικόν Λεξικόν Ἐλευθερουδάκη*. Athens, 1927, vol. 5, 290-304, pp. 290-91; Cf. Sansaridou-Hendrickx, *Χρονικόν του Μορέως*, pp. 61, 108ff.

Sentiments of solidarity are considered as important ethnic unifying factors in a homogeneous society. This may form part of the dynamics in the racial distinction between different groups, namely the collective concept of the "we" and the "others"¹⁰¹. Our author's world view reflects these differences. On every given occasion he also draws a clear distinction between groups. Thus, he underlines the decision of the emperor, Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1402) (ἐδόθη του καὶ ἡ βουλή), to replace the inhabitants of Morea¹⁰² (νὰ ἐβγάλη τοὺς ἀφέντες, ὅπου ἠύρισκοντον ᾿ς τὸν Μορέαν) by his own people (καὶ ἄλλους Ρωμαίους, ἤφεραν ἀπάνω ἐκ τὴν Πόλιν). As a matter of fact, after the construction of the Hexamilion wall in Corinthos, Roman Byzantine soldiers were brought from Constantinople by the emperor to settle there¹⁰³. At the same time the author expresses bitterness since Frankish feudal lords (ἀφέντες, ᾿ς τὸν Μορέαν εἶχαν ἀφεντία) were replaced by Roman Byzantines (ἄλλους Ρωμαίους αὐτουνηῶν) (whose social rank is not even mentioned by the author):

"ἐδόθη του καὶ ἡ βουλή νὰ ἐβγάλη τοὺς ἀφέντες,
ὅπου ἠύρισκονταν ᾿ς τὸν Μορέαν καὶ εἶχαν ἀφεντία,
καὶ ἄλλους Ρωμαίους ἤφεραν ἀπάνω ἐκ τὴν Πόλιν
νὰ τοὺς τὸν δῶση αὐτουνηῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ Μορέως".

(lines 3504-07)

As we have already mentioned, Kazhdan disagrees with Schiró, who believes that the author was Roman and maybe Ioanniniote¹⁰⁴. According to Kazhdan, who uses the above lines to support his argument, the idea of the Constantinopolitan universalism was completely alien to the Chronicle of the Tocco. Kazhdan states

101. See Kyriakidou, *Θεωρία*, pp. 26-27.

102. For more details, see Bon, *Morée franque*, pp. 279ff. Cf. *An Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Seventeenth Century (Codex Barberinus Graecus 111)*, in *Byzantium, Europe, and the Early Ottoman Sultans 1373-1513*. Translated and annotated by M. Philippides. New York, 1990, p. 41.

103. Cf. Zakythinos, *Despotat*, vol. II, pp. 140ff.

104. Schiró's thesis is followed by Nicol and very recently by Athena Kovani: D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267-1479*. Cambridge, p. 165 and passim; Athena Kovani, "Στοιχεία ιστορικής γεωγραφίας στα δημώδη κείμενα: (α) Ιστορία του Βελισαρίου· (β) Χρονικό των Τόκων", *Byzantinos Domos 10-11 (1999-2000)*, p. 138.

that though the anonymous author praises political consolidation, he does so at a territorial and not at a universal scale, since the decision by Manuel to replace the Frankish lords with Romans from Constantinople "led to a righteous resistance, that created for Charles Tocco opportune circumstances to seize Clarentza"¹⁰⁵.

Another factor which has been considered as a strong ethnically binding force among the Byzantines is the Greek language¹⁰⁶. In describing the deadly illness, i.e. plague (έλεμική), which caused a great deal of suffering to Carlo Tocco (ἀκούμπισεν ὅτι νά ἀποθάνη), the author uses the expression "τὴν λέγουσιν έλεμική ἢ γλῶσσα τῶν Ρωμαίων", as if he was referring to other people's language:

"Τόσον τὸν ἐπανεβηκεν καὶ ἀσθένειαν μεγάλη,
τὴν λέγουσιν <έλεμική> ἢ γλῶσσα τῶν Ρωμαίων,
καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ ἀκούμπισεν ὅτι νά ἀποθάνη".

(lines 3430-32)

Actually, in order to substantiate his argument regarding the author's identity, Kazhdan, who refers to the above lines, wonders: "is it feasible to admit that a Greek could have expressed himself in such a manner while speaking of his native language? Would it not be more natural to suppose that the Chronicle, whose author, by the way, is very sympathetic with Italian supporters of Tocco, had as been created either in Italophone circles or in a mixed Greco-Italian milieu?"¹⁰⁷.

105. 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. See also Aneta Ilieva, "The Image of the Morea (Frankish and Byzantine) in the Mentality of the Gianniotes: The Author of the Tocco Chronicle", *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου (Αρτα, 27-31 Μαΐου 1990)*. Arta, 1992, pp. 308-312.

106. Referring to the origin of the modern Greek national consciousness Helen Saradi, *Byzantium and the Origin of the Modern Greek National Consciousness*. Toronto-Ontario, 1992, p. 24, states: "in their writings the intellectual elite of the Byzantines promoted the idea that this new Greco-Byzantine national identity, namely the Greekness of the Byzantines, was expressed by and based upon the Greek language. They started to define their national origin not in terms of the political inheritance of Rome, but in terms of continuity of Greek language and cultural tradition".

107. Kazhdan, "Chronicle of the Tocco", p. 170. - H. G. Beck, *Ιστορία της Βυζαντινής δημόδους λογοτεχνίας*. Athens, 1988, p. 253, states that the author belongs to the entourage of the Tocco family, a statement, with which all agree.

4. 3. 2 Οἱ Ρωμαῖοι as an army force

Together with other ethnic groups, such as the Albanians, Franks and Serbs, the Roman Byzantines usually form part of the duke's troops¹⁰⁸. Indeed, for the expedition against Clarenza, the duke relies especially on Roman Byzantines (ἄρχοντες ρωμαίους) and Albanian archons. The use of the term archon, however, must remind us of the author's sensitivity for the higher social classes:

"μὲ στρατιῶτες, ἄρχοντες ρωμαίους καὶ ἀλβανίτας".

(line 549)

The author's sensitivity for the ruling classes together with expressions of "ethnocentrism" are also illustrated in the following example: on the one hand, the author expresses disdain, irony and sarcasm for the Albanian warriors (ἄρβανιτσέλια, χοιροβοσκοὶ παρόμοιοί τους), and on the other, admiration and respect for the Roman Byzantines (στρατιῶτες ἀνδρειωμένοι), especially when he compares them to their Albanian enemies who, despite their political power (δύναμιν εἶχαν περισσὴν), were completely ignorant (γνώσιν οὐδὲ καθόλου):

"Δύναμιν εἶχαν περισσὴν, γνώσιν οὐδὲ καθόλου.

Ἐπίστευσαν ἔς τὰ Ἰωάννινα εἶναι ἄρβανιτζέλια,

χοιροβοσκοὶ παρόμοιοι τους καὶ νὰ τοὺς προσκυνήσουν·

καὶ ἐκεῖ ἦσαν ἄρχοντες ρωμαῖοι, στρατιῶτες ἀνδρειωμένοι".

(lines 1423-26)

4. 3. 3 Οἱ Ρωμαῖοι with local identity

In addition, as the author demonstrates his conviction about the benefits of peace, unity and stability in a society, he does not hide his appreciation for the agreement of collaboration between Ioannina and Arta. Thus, the traditional

108. Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 234:

"Ἀπ'αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἄρχισεν ὁ δούκας νὰ συνάξῃ
φοσσαῖτον ρογατόρους τε πεζοὺς, καβαλλαρέους,
Φράγκους, Ρωμαίους, Σέρβους τε, τὸ πλεόν Ἀλβανίτας".

(lines 200-202)

segmentation of the Byzantine regions was defeated by the formation of a local "union" between the two regions, sanctioned by treaty. Due to the political and economic power both regions were to gain, the author stresses the benefit of this agreement:

"Τὴν Ἄρταν καὶ τὰ Ἰωάννινα, ὅπου ἦσαν χωρισμένα
ἐκ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν Ρωμαίων,
... ..
νὰ συναχθοῦσιν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι ὅλοι τοῦ Δεσποτάτου
κληρονομίαι, κτήματα οἱ πάντες νὰ τὰ ἔχουν,
ὅπου τοὺς ἔλειψαν καλὰ χρόνους διακοσίους,
καὶ τῶρα τὰ ὑπόταξαν ὅλοι μὲ τὸν δεσπότην
Καὶ ἔπρεπε νὰ χαίρωνται, νὰ ἀγάλλωνται οἱ πάντες".
(lines 3026-34)

Nevertheless, the author expresses his support for Carlo Tocco and his brother to become the sole beneficiaries and to obtain full political authority and power over these regions. Therefore, his sincerity, regarding the well-being of the local people, should be questioned¹⁰⁹.

It must be stated that the element of provincialism shown in the following lines is characteristic for that period. In spite of that, we have to take note of the author's knowledge regarding the history of Ioannina. Moreover, he stresses the role of Ioannina in the Roman Byzantine history, expressing respect (τιμὴν) and admiration for this city (καλύτερα ἀπὸ τὸν τόπον ὅλον):

"Τὰ Ἰωάννινα ἔχουν τὴν τιμὴν ἐξ ὅλων τοῦ κράτους
αὐτοῦ ἔναι ἡ ρίζα τῶν Ρωμαίων, τὸ Δεσποτάτο ὅλο".
(lines 3112-13)

"Καὶ ἀπὸ τότε ἀνέβηκεν ἡ πόλις <τῶν> Γιαννίνων,
καὶ στέκεται καλύτερα ἀπὸ τὸν τόπον ὅλον".
(lines 3119-20)

109. Ibid., p.442:

"νὰ τὰ ἐνώσωσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ νὰ γένοῦν τὸ ἓνα,
μὲ τὰ νησιά νὰ γένοῦν ὅλα μοναφεντία".
(lines 3028-29)

In addition, the reference to Ioannina as the place where the Roman Byzantine civilisation was rooted, reminds us of the causes of the civil war between Nicaea and Epiros at the beginning of the 13th century¹¹⁰.

4. 4 Οἱ Φράγχοι in the Chronicle

4. 4. 1 οἱ Φράγχοι as an ethnic entity: 863, 875, 890, 894, 908, 931, 934, 2717, 2863;
 ἡ Φραγκιά: 2582, 3330, 3334, 3589
4. 4. 2 οἱ Φράγχοι as a military force: 137, 197, 202, 300, 304, 360, 863, 875, 793, 985, 994, 1000, 1015, 1071, 1078, 1094, 1097, 1102, 1631, 1755, 2703, 3548, 3856

4. 4. 1 Οἱ Φράγχοι as an ethnic entity

Maria Preka, who analyses the concept of ethnicity in the Chronicle of the Tocco, states that, in comparison to a plethora of characterisations, positive or negative, attributed to Roman Byzantines, Albanians and Turks by the author, there are less remarks, though positive, when he collectively refers to Franks¹¹¹. According to Preka, these limited but positive comments about the Franks betray the author's partiality, since he was in the service of a Frank, Carlo Tocco. At the same time, in comparison to the attention paid to the author's perception of the Roman Byzantines and the Turks in ethnic terms¹¹², Preka fails to analyse the image of the Franks in the Chronicle as a separate ethnic entity. Yet, from our view point, the Franks, except of being designated as a separate ethnic group, are also identified as brave warriors and, as it will be discussed at a later stage, for the

110. See Alkmeni Stavridou-Zafraka, *Νίκαια και Ἡπειρος· ιδεολογική αντιπαράθεση στην προοπθειά τους να ανακτήσουν την αυτοκρατορία*. Thessaloniki 1990, pp. 91-124.

111. Preka, "Χρονικό των Τόκκο", pp. 306-307.

112. Preka, "Χρονικό των Τόκκο", p. 308, places the awakening of the Greek national consciousness in the 15th century, mainly as a result of the Turkish invasion in Greece. This awakening, however, started much earlier as a consequence of the Latin occupation in 1204. For more details, see Sansaridou-Hendrickx, *Χρονικόν του Μορέως*, pp. 44, 177ff, 197-198.

author they are as close as possible to the Western ideal image of a knight.

In the following lines the author expresses ethnic distinction, as he repeatedly replaces the proper name of a character in the Chronicle, Philippos, by his ethnic identity, Φράγκος:

"Ένας δὲ Φράγκος τοῦ δουκός, ὀνόματι Φιλίππος".

(line 863)

"Ἐκείνη, μὴ ἠξεύροντας τὴν πονηρίαν τοῦ Φράγκου".

(line 890)

"Οὕτως γὰρ ἑκατέστησεν ὁ Φράγκος τὴν δουλείαν".

(line 875)

"Ὁ Φράγκος τὸν ἐγκόμπωσεν νὰ ἔβγη νὰ συντύχη",

(line 908)

"τὸ πῶς ὁ Φράγκος ἔπιασεν τὸν πύργον καὶ κρατεῖ τον".

(line 908)

"Πολλὰ τὸν εὐεργέτησεν ὁ δούκας ὁ ἀφέντης
τὸν Φράγκον, ὅπου ἔκαμεν τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅπου ἀκούεις".

(lines 933-34)

Elsewhere the term Φράγκος is used collectively with distinct ethnic meaning. In the following episode a spy of Carlo Tocco tries to gain the confidence of Ya'cūb Pasha¹¹³ by expressing dissatisfaction with the Franks in Arta: "on the other hand, we are fed up with the evil presence of the Franks":

"καὶ πάλιν ἐβαρέθημεν καὶ τὸ κακὸν τοῦ Φράγκου
καὶ θέλομεν νὰ γένωμεν δοῦλοι τῆς ἀφεντιᾶς σου".

(lines 2717-18)

On another occasion, regarding the execution of Ya'cūb Pasha (1416) by Carlo Tocco, the author tries to justify this violent action, by referring to a Frankish proverb. In this case, the term Φράγκοι is again used collectively with ethnic connotation, since this proverb designates a certain geographic and linguistic origin:

"καὶ πάλι <διότι> λέγουσιν <τόν> πρόλογον οἱ Φράγκοι

113. On Ya'cūb Pasha, see Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, pp. 95-96, note 5.

ἄνθρωπος ἀποθαμένος ἢ μάχη τελειωμένη"
(lines 2863-64)

In our *Chronicle* the term Φραγκία appears both with geographic and ethnic connotations. A nephew of Carlo Tocco was brought from his home in Napoli, from the Frankish kingdom (Φραγκία, ρηγᾶτο), in order to receive the castle of Riniasa from his two uncles, Carlo and Leonardo Tocco¹¹⁴:

"Καὶ εἶχαν <δέ> ἀνηψιὸν κάτω ἐκ τὴν Φραγκίαν
ἐκεῖ ἐκ τὴν Ἀνάπολην μέσα ἐκ τὸ ρηγᾶτο"
(lines 2582-83)

Frankish ethnic identity is also expressed by the use of terms ρήγας, ρήξ, ρηγᾶτα, κουμούνια together with geographic location in the following lines, which describe the personality of Ladislaos, king of Napoli (ca 1384-1414)¹¹⁵:

"Τὸν εἶδε ὁ ρήγας τῆς Φραγκιᾶς, τῆς Ρώμης ὁ κατάρχων
ἐκεῖνος ὅπου ἐφριξεν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Ρώμην,
ὁ Λατζελάος ὁ φρικτός, ὁ δυνατὸς ὁ μέγας,
ὅπου εἶχεν προτερήματα ἀπὸ ὅλους τοὺς ρηγᾶδες.
Ἐκ τὰ ρηγᾶτα τῆς Φραγκιᾶς καὶ ἐξ ὅλα τὰ κουμούνια
κανεῖς δὲν ἀποκότησεν νὰ μαχιστῆ τὴν Ρώμην·
καὶ αὐτὸς τὴ ἐμαχίστηκεν ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἐπῆρεν,
καὶ πάντα τὴν ἀφέντευεν, εἰς τὴν ζωὴν του ὅλην.
Τέως <γάρ> ἦτον φοβερός ὁ ρήξ ὁ Λατζελάος".
(lines 3330-39)

4. 4. 2 Οἱ Φράγκοι as a military force

Actually, the role of the Franks, according to our author, is limited to military operations. They mostly serve as mercenaries fighting for Carló Tocco¹¹⁶. The

114. Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 411, has wrongly translated the subject of the verb εἶχαν as Carlo Tocco and his wife, Francesca, instead of Carlo and Leonardo Tocco. On this issue and the identity of this nephew, see Asonitis, "Χρονικό των Τόκκων", pp. 137-139.

115. Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 29; cf. Zachariadou, "Χρονικό των Τόκκο", pp. 170-171.

116. Schiró, *Cronaca dei Tocco*, p. 234:

next line illustrates how ethnic barriers between different groups were overcome on the battlefield by the common interest to win. Influenced by this spirit, the author finds it natural that Franks and Albanians should fight side by side (ἐκατέβησαν ὁμοῦ):

"πεζοί, καβαλλαρέοι τε Φράγκοι καὶ Ἀλβανῖται
καὶ ἐκατέβησαν ὁμοῦ πλησίον εἰς τὴν Ἄρταν".
(lines 360-61)

"Ἡμέρες ἔκαμαν πολλὰς ἐντάμα τὰ φουσσᾶτα
ὥσόντου ἐκατέλυσαν τὸν τόπον κατὰ κράτος".
(lines 372-73)

At another point of the narrative, however, Franks assist Carlo Tocco in his operation for the conquest of the Cantiles castle which was in the hands of the Albanians. The author does not hide his preference for the Franks through expressions of admiration, as he marvels at their actions, swiftness and skilful movements. He expresses his sentiments with contrasted terms: in relation with the Albanians he uses terms, such as unfortunately (ἄτυχᾶ), insufficient guards (φύλαξιν ὀλιγὴν), without sentry (βίγλα οὐδὲ ὄλωσ), while, when he refers to the Franks, we can hear him saying: they climbed (ἀνέβησαν), reached (ἔσέβησαν), took (ἠπῆραν), and, referring to Tocco, great joy (χαρὲς μεγάλας):

"Ἄτυχᾶ ἐφυλάγονταν τότε οἱ Ἀλβανῖται,
φύλαξιν εἶχαν ὀλιγὴν καὶ βίγλα οὐδὲ ὄλωσ.
Οἱ Φράγκοι γὰρ ἀπώσωσαν τὴν νύχτα εἰς τὸ κάστρο
ἐκεῖ πλησίον ἔστειλαν τὰς σκάλας εἰς τὸν πύργον.
ἀνέβησαν, ἐσέβησαν, ἠπῆραν καὶ τὸν πύργον".
(lines 791-95)

"Χαρὲς μεγάλας ἔκαμεν ὁ δούκας ὁ ἀφέντης".
(line 809)

The author's sentiments of sorrow are clearly expressed when the people of Carlo Tocco are defeated and become prisoners in the hands of the Albanians. It is noticeable, however, that his distress is proportioned by the victims' social rank (ἄρχοντες, εὐγενικοί, εὐγενεῖς) or their ethical social behaviour (ἔντιμοι). This is expressed by the use of terms such as κρῖμα, συμφορὰ μεγάλη, and ἁμαρτία με-

γάλη:

"Ἄμῃ ἐπιάσασιν πολλοὺς ἄρχοντες γιαννινιῶτες
καὶ ἔντιμους εὐγενικοὺς Φράγκους ἀπὲ τοῦ δοῦκα".
(lines 1754-55)

"ὦ κρῖμα, ὅπου ἐγένετον, ἐδὲ ἁμαρτία μεγάλη!
Νὰ πιάσουν τέτοιους ἄρχοντες εὐγενικοὺς, μεγάλους,
τοὺς εὐγενεῖς, τοὺς ἔντιμους. ὦ συμφορὰ μεγάλη!"
(lines 1774-76)

The author's preference for the Franks above the other ethnic groups is also evident on another occasion. The interest in the following lines lies in the lively description of the Frankish attitude during the battle for the occupation of the Dragamestro castle (ca 1404/6). Added to other similar expressions, e.g. the use of the verb λάμπω, this description can be interpreted as an expression of the author's general - and typically feudal - admiration for arms and warfare:

"καὶ ἠβλέπε Φράγκους μὲ σπαθιά καὶ λάμπουν 'ς τὸ κουλούρι

...

Οἱ Φράγκοι ἀπετάχθησαν, ἐπῆραν τὰ σπαθία,
ἐφώναξαν, ἐφήμισαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ δοῦκα".
(lines 300-05)

"ἀρμαρωμένους ὄμορφα καὶ Φράγκους καὶ Ρωμαίους".
(line 985)

"ἀρματωμένοι ὄμορφα, Φράγκοι καὶ Ἀλβανῖται".
(line 1071)

"εἶχεν καὶ Φράγκους διαλεκτοὺς, ἔμορφα παληκάρια".
(line 1631)

In conclusion, we can state that in fact the author's world is divided ethnically into distinct parts. However, this division is neither rigid nor strictly racial, since it is subject to the political interests of his patron. With regard to the Turks, the distance is the result of historical, political and religious factors. In the case of the Albanian people, ethnic segmentation is overlapping with class differentiation. As for the Franks, despite the distinction from the other groups, the author seems to identify with them on a cultural level, namely their warfare skills. Indeed, one of the features, which the author admires the most, is their combined splendid

appearance and ferocity on the battlefield. It must also be noted, that provincialism has proved to be a stronger factor for social segmentation than ethnic racial separatism. This is especially evident when the author refers to the people of Ioannina, whom, as we have mentioned above, considers with admiration and esteem.

"Απαύτου πάλιν ἄρχισεν ὁ δοῦκας νὰ συνάξη
φουσσᾶτον ρογατόρους τε πεζούς, καβαλλαρέους,
Φράγκους, Ρωμαίους, Σέρβους τε, τὸ πλεόν Ἴλβανίτας".
(lines 200-02)