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Theodosios Zygomalas and his Report on a Journey to the Aegean and the coast of Asia Minor: a contribution to the relations between Constantinople and Tübingen in the late 16th century

Since the title of this conference is “The islands of Greece from the Frankokratia until today” I would like to introduce Theodosios Zygomalas, the famous Greek scholar of the second half of the 16th century and his report on a journey to the Aegean and Asia Minor. In this brief paper I mainly would like to investigate this report for its historical and topographical information for the Aegean region in the last decades of the 16th century.

Before speaking in detail about the report I shall give you some information about the author: Theodosios Zygomalas was born in the middle of the 16th century in the Peloponnesian town of Nauplion. His family, however, can be traced back to the 13th century since in 1289 a so-called Basileios Sagomalas is mentioned as the founder of the Theodoroi monastery on the island of Aigina in the Saronic Gulf¹. In the second half of the 14th century we have proof of a Michael Sagomalas, inhabitant of Argos, who was in the service of the Frankish ruler of the same town. This Michael Sagomalas was among other administrative tasks responsible for the control of weights and measures, from which he obtained the surname Zygomalas according to the Greek word for “balance”, ζυγός². The father of our Theodosios Zygomalas, Ioannes Zygomalas was born around 1498 in Nauplion. Having received his education in Italy (Venice, Padua) he moved to Constantinople shortly after 1551 where he became a teacher at the Patriarchal School which was originally founded by Gennadios Scholarios after the fall of Constantinople. His wife and his children, among them Theodosios Zygomalas, followed him a few years later³.

* I deeply thank Nishad Prakash (Univ. of California, Irvine) who was willing to proofread this paper.

1. *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Paläologenzeit*. Addenda zu Faszikel 1-12. Ed. by E.Trapp. Vienna 1995, no. 94490.

2. St. Perentidis, *Théodose Zygomalas et sa Paraphrase de la Synopsis minor*, Athens, 1994, pp. 11-12.

3. Perentidis, *Théodose Zygomalas*, cit., pp. 19, 28.

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Theodosios Zygomalas himself was born around 1544. He grew up in Naulplion⁴ where he spent approximately the first decade of his life. Later, he continued his studies in Constantinople where he also became first *notarios* (1564) and then *protonotarios* (1573/75), a high ranking official, at the Patriarchal Church. He also became, like his father, a professor at the Patriarchal School. Having served as *protonotarios* till 1590/93, and having become *dikaiophylax* (maybe 1596), Zygomalas died soon after 1605⁵.

Apart from his duties for the Greek Patriarchate Theodosios Zygomalas is also known as an author: He wrote a history of Constantinople from 1391 to 1578; he composed "Modern Greek" paraphrases of the Byzantine novel *Stephanites and Ichnelates* and of juridical texts like the *Hexabiblos* of Konstatinos Harmenopoulos; he was also the author of several letters⁶, some of them addressed to the famous German scholar and "first Philhellenist" Martin Crusius⁷; and he also wrote a report on a journey to the Aegean and the coast of Asia Minor which I will examine in detail in this paper⁸.

Furthermore, his different correspondents, especially Crusius and his Tübinger circle, and Stephan Gerlach, chaplain of the imperial ambassador David von Ungnad at the Sublime Port from 1573 to 1578 and student of Martin Crusius, provide us with additional information on his life. Gerlach's diary is of great value for the study of Theodosios Zygomalas' life, since Gerlach was a close personal friend of the Zygomalas family. This diary⁹, describing Ger-

4. Ναύπλιος γὰρ εἶμι (M. Crusius, *Turcograecia libri octo [...] quibus Graecorum status sub imperio Turcico, in Politeia & Ecclesia (conomia & Scholis, iam inde ab abmissa Constanti-nopoli, ad haec usque tempora, luculenter describitur. Cum indice copiosissimo*, Basel 1584 [Reprint Modena 1972], p. 430).

5. Cf. A. Turyn, *De Aelii Aristidis codice Varsoviensi atque de Andrea Taranowski et Theodosio Zygomala*, Krakau 1928, p. 7.

6. Only a part of Theodosios' letters have been edited. Some were published in Crusius' *Turcograecia* (cit.), others in Emile Legrand's study "Notice biographique sur Jean et Théodore Zygomalas" (=Rec. de Textes et de Traductions publ. par les Prof. de l'Ecole des Langues Or. Viv. II) (Paris 1889). Some late epistles can be found in the already published material of Crusius' diary (*Diarium Martini Crusii 1596-1597 and 1598-1599*, ed. by W. Göz/E. Conrad, Tübingen 1927-1931; *Diarium Martini Crusii 1600-1605*, ed. by R. Stahlecker/E. Staiger et alii, Tübingen 1958). While working on a list of letters both written by and sent to Theodosios Zygomalas I discovered that he is the author of at least 25-30 epistles and the addressee of some 70 letters.

7. S. Karouzou, *Μαρτίνος Κρούσιος ο πρώτος φιλέλληνας*, Athens, 1973.

8. For information about the œuvre of Theodosios Zygomalas, cf. Perentidis, *Théodore Zygomalas*, cit., pp. 48-59.

9. Stephan Gerlach's diary was published in 1674 by his grandson under the title "Stephan Ger-

lach's journey from Germany to Istanbul and his stay there, is, however, still neither very well known nor profoundly investigated primarily because of its difficult language: Gerlach wrote in German and his 17th century language is, even for German speakers, difficult to understand.

But let us return to Theodosios Zygomalas: I should also mention the reason for both his journey and composing a report. I also would like to inform you about the manuscript in which his report is preserved and about the several attempts of publication which have taken place so far.

The Patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremias II, ordered Theodosios Zygomalas together with the nomophylax Sabbatianos to undertake this journey in order to collect some taxes from the local churches, among them the *πατριαρχική ζητεία*¹⁰, a then still voluntary contribution to the ecumenical Patriarchate and a symbolic reimbursement for their expenses. Stephan Gerlach provides us in his diary with additional information about the tax which he obviously received from Theodosios Zygomalas himself or his father: The metropolitans and bishops collect money from every household, keep a certain amount for themselves and give the rest to the tax collectors - in this case Theodosios Zygomalas and his company¹¹.

Gerlach was also the one who asked Zygomalas before he left for a description of his journey. He told him in what he would be interested: Numbers of churches, numbers of Christians, numbers of clergy men, names of old books etc.¹². He also provided him with some money for the search for old books in the libraries on the island of Patmos, in Pisidia and in Kaisareia¹³. This request was probably made on behalf of Martin Crusius, who had asked his student Gerlach in a letter to look out for some specific books¹⁴. Gerlach himself obviously

lach des Aeltern Tagebuch (...) der an die Ottomanische Pforte zu Constantinopel Abgefertigten (...) Gesandtschaft (...) herfür gegeben durch Seinen Enckel M. Samuelem Gerlachium (...) (Frankfurt/Main 1674).

10. In the encyclical letter of Jeremias II (September 1576) addressed to metropolitans, archbishops but also to all people who were connected with the church the *πατριαρχική ζητεία* is mentioned for the first time (ed. Legrand, Notice, cit., pp. 184-186; cf. P. Konortas, *Les contributions ecclésiastiques "patriarchikè zèteia" et "basilikon charatzion". Contribution à l'histoire économique du patriarcat œcuménique aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, in *Actes du IIe colloque international d'histoire [Athènes, 18-25 septembre 1983]. Économies méditerranéennes, équilibres et intercommunications XIIIe-XIXe siècles*, III, Athens, 1986, pp. 217-255).

11. Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, cit., p. 393 (October 1577).

12. Legrand, Notice, cit., pp. 198-199 (no. 11: 2nd supplement to the itinerary).

13. Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, cit., p. 249 (September 28, 1576).

14. Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 419f.: Crusius wants Gerlach to search for Athanasios of

would have liked to join Zygomalas on his journey but –as he mentions in his diary– this wish could not be fulfilled because it would have caused considerable suscipion among both Turks and Greeks¹⁵.

When Zygomalas returned from his journey (October 1577) he did not hand over his itinerary to Gerlach immediately. The German did not receive his desired report until May 1578, one month before he left Constantinople (June 4, 1578). Back in Germany, Gerlach made this report, among other documents, available to Martin Crusius who copied it on September 4, 1579, on the folios 19-26 of the manuscript *Tybingenensis Mb 37*¹⁶.

The first edition of Zygomalas' περιήγησις was provided by Emile Legrand in his biographical study *Notice biographique sur Jean et Théodose Zygomalas* (Paris 1889, pp. 187-198). In addition to the actual report, Legrand also published a list with the signatures of some church officials (preserved in Cod. *Tyb. Mb 37*, fol. 10r-11v) whom Zygomalas met during his journey and whose signatures he also made available to Stephan Gerlach (pp. 198f.). The report was edited a second time by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus as no. 5 in the collection *Ἔγκυκλιον ἑλληνικαὶ περιγραφαὶ τῶν ἁγίων τόπων ἐκ τοῦ ἰδ. ἰε' καὶ ις' αἰῶνος* in the series *Pravoslavnij Palestinskij Sbornik* (no. 56, St. Petersburg 1903, pp. 51-54). Papadopoulos-Kerameus' edition also contains a description of Mt. Sinai (Cod. *Tyb. Mb 37*, fol. 13-15) which was originally part of a letter addressed to Gerlach in March 1578; however, it lacks the already mentioned list of signatures and the end of the Legrand text (fol. 25v-26v) where additional material to the περιήγησις is preserved. Another text also addressed to Gerlach which mostly deals with Mt. Athos, the names of its monasteries, the numbers of monks but also with the number of monasteries and priests in different parts of Greece¹⁷ was copied by Crusius

Alexandria. John Chrysostomos, Gregory of Nyssa, Theophylactos of Ohrid, Theophrastos (because his copy is full of mistakes), some books of Aristoteles, Phlegon, Myrsilos and Laonicos Chalcocondyles.

15. Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, cit., p. 248 (September 1576). The close connections between Gerlach and the Zygomalas family had already caused some hostile attitudes against Ioannes Zygomalas (Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, cit., p. 200 [May 1576]).
16. Cf. A. Külzer, *Peregrinatio graeca in Terram Sanctam. Studien zu Pilgerführern und Reisebeschreibungen über Syrien, Palästina und den Sinai aus byzantinischer und metabyzantinischer Zeit*, Frankfurt/Main, 1994, pp. 29-31. In parenthesis I should mention that the famous French scholar Du Cange also possessed a copy of Zygomalas' report which originally belonged to the library of a certain Ulrich Obrecht (cf. K.I. Dyobouniotes, «Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς», *Θεολογία*, 1, 1923, pp. 18-40 and pp. 141-166, here p. 39f).
17. Cf. M. G. Fantucci Orlando, "Su le chiese e i monasteri ortodossi sotto dominazione turca. Le notizie di Teodosio Zygomalas e di Pierre Belon", *Aevum*, 46, 1972, pp. 37-48.

in June 1579 (fol. 16-19) and published by K.I. Dyobouniotes in the first volume of the journal *Θεολογία* (1923, pp. 157-161¹⁸). Apart from the description of Mt. Athos, this text also contains a drawing of the same mountain by Theodosios Zygomalas¹⁹.

In the following investigation of Zygomalas' report I will quote Papadopoulos-Kerameus' publication (because of its better quality), for the missing parts, however, I will switch to Legrand's edition²⁰.

The report starts as follows: Zygomalas' journey began on October 10, 1576²¹. He was accompanied by the above mentioned *nomophylax* Sabbatianos and as Gerlach tells us by some ten servants and two Janissaries²². They departed from Constantinople at noon and headed for their first station, the island of Chalke in the Marmara Sea. There they spent two days, visited two monasteries, continued their journey to Kallioupolis (Gallipoli), landed in Sestos and Abydos²³ and inspected their fortresses²⁴ before finally sailing through the Hellespont²⁵.

Having told us only about the first four to five days of their journey, Zygomalas suddenly stops with his detailed description. Instead, he simply starts to list some places along the coast of Asia Minor down to Attaleia such as Nea and Palaia Phokaia, Smyrna and Marmaras²⁶. He neither tells us if he actually went there nor does he provide us with topographical details. Only Troja is described in a couple of lines: He mentions that it must have been a megalopolis once but that its glory has vanished by now²⁷.

18. Misnumbered pp. 257-261.

19. This drawn map, however, contains some mistakes (cf. Fantucci Orlando, "Chiese", cit., p. 43).

20. In the following I will use the Greek names for the places mentioned by Zygomalas.

21. A list of places mentioned by Zygomalas was produced by St. Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs dans l'empire ottoman (XVe-XVIIe siècles). Bibliographie, itinéraires et inventaires des lieux habités*, Ankara, 1991, p. 314. This list, however, is incomplete and not very informative because it does not reflect the incoherence in Zygomalas' description.

22. Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, cit., p. 248: Gerlach also informs us that while travelling on land the expenses of the journey have to be covered by the local metropolitans.

23. Zygomalas quotes Mousaios (v. 16-17) in order to present the special position of these towns opposite each other, whereas the traveller Reinhold Lubenau (*Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau*, ed. by W. Sahn, Königsberg i. Pr., II, p. 152) quotes Ovid.

24. Cf. Lubenau, cit., II, pp. 153ff.

25. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Περιγραφαί*, cit., pp. 42,8-43,21.

26. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Περιγραφαί*, cit., pp. 43,22-44,20.

27. Cf. Lubenau (cit., II, p. 141) who visited Troja a few years later (1588) describing the remainders of this town in a similar way.

After this short description of the remains of Troja he continues with the same brief listing of places west of the Hellespont: He starts with the holy Mt. Athos, mentions among others Kassandreia, Salonica, the Tempe Valley, Thebes, Athens, Megara and finally the Hexamilion at the isthmus of Corinth²⁸. It is also merely a list of place names with barely any additional information. Again, we also do not know if he actually stopped at all of these places, and if so, when he arrived there.

The third part of this listing covers the “middle” –as Zygomalas calls it –, the islands of the Aegean. Unsurprisingly it is again just a list. Only some island are mentioned together with the number of their houses, priests, and Christian inhabitants. He starts with Tenedos, continues with Lesbos and mentions Chios where he knows some wise doctors and teachers (ἄνδρες σοφοί, ἰατροί καὶ διδάσκαλοι), students²⁹ of Michael Hermodoros, a correspondent and friend of his family. Then he switches to Andros and Tinos and “other islands”. He does not record even the names of the Cycladic islands but summarizes them under “tiny islands lying in a circle” (ἄλλα νησίδια μερίδια καὶ κυκληδὸν κείμενα) and finally lists the names of the Dodecanese islands. The rest of the not yet mentioned islands are summarized under the expression “islands west (of Abydos)”: These are Lemnos –known for its specific soil, the Λημνία σφραγίς³⁰–, the Northern Sporades and, surprisingly, Keos which should rather belong to his κυκληδὸν κείμενα category. Finally, this passage is completed by mentioning Salamis and Aigina³¹.

After that, Zygomalas attempts to bring some more system in his report. In the introductory sentence to the following part he tells us that he now has to speak (in more detail) about some of the places that he mentioned before. He first mentions Mt. Athos, and provides us with a short overview of the history of the Holy Mountain by describing the foundation of its first monastery –the Megiste Laura– by St. Athanasios in the 10th century. Unfortunately, however, the Holy Mountain is the only place about which Zygomalas writes in some length. The following lines are again only devoted to a list of place names (Kassandreia, Salonica, Thebes, Euboea, Athens etc.). This time, however, they are at least consistently accompanied by the numbers of priest and Christian households³².

28. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Περιγραφαί*, cit., p. 44, 21-31.

29. Cf. the letters of Theodosios' friends from Chios published in Crusius, *Turcogræcia*, cit., 306ff.

30. Cf. also Lubenau, cit., II, p. 160.

31. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Περιγραφαί*, cit., pp. 45,1-46,9.

32. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Περιγραφαί*, cit., pp. 46,26-47,21.

Then, for the second time after the more or less detailed description of the first days after their departure from Constantinople we are in the lucky position to read about the cities that Zygomalas really saw during his journey: He admits that he has seen the places lying east of Sestos and Abydos himself, but that he, however, consulted other sources for regions further east (Palestine, Sinai, Egypt). Therefore we can assume that he stopped in a by then deserted town whose remains he describes in a few lines and which was perhaps the city of Milet, and that he also visited the island of Rhodes. Calling it the “president of the Cyclads” (ἡ προκαθημένη τῶν Κυκλάδων)³³ he speaks about its harbours and fortresses. He also stopped at Kastellorizo, the Kakava-islands, Myra and Phoinike, which he describes together with its surroundings in a few more lines before finally speaking about Attaleia³⁴. There they must have spent at least a couple of days because Zygomalas is well informed about the habits of the town's inhabitants. He also knows about the town's dwelling system and mentions the fertility of its surrounding³⁵.

It is quite likely that Attaleia was Zygomalas' most eastern station during his journey³⁶. Perhaps he also went to Anamourion which is mentioned next in his report but from then onwards it is quite unlikely that he reached to the places he lists. The last lines of his report are again just a simple mention of the most important towns and regions of the Levant till Alexandria. No details are provided.

33. The term προκαθημένη is part of a long tradition of laudes of places which goes back to Antiquity and which was continued in Byzantium. Athens, for example, bears the name προκαθημένη τῆς Ἀχαΐας (Asterios of Amaseia, Hom. 8 [*Patrologia Graeca*, 40, 293A]) and Constantinople προκαθημένη τῆς Ἐφῶας (Gregory of Nazianz, Orat. 43 [*Patrologia Graeca*, 36, 513A]). Besides, one could also wonder why Rhodes is referred to as the president of the Cyclads (and not of the Dodecanese): This is probably the result of the inconsistent naming of island groups in the Aegean which existed since the Antiquity and continued in Byzantine sources (for further reference cf. A. Rhopy, Ein Aristeides-Zitat bei Michael Choniates, “Göttinger Beiträge zur byzantinischen und neugriechischen Philologie” 2, 2002, forthcoming). However, we have also to keep in mind that it was the metropolitan of Rhodos who had to take care for the Cycladic islands (cf. G. Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft [1453-1821]. Die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens*, München, 1988, p. 212f.). This fact perhaps gave rise to Zygomalas' term προκαθημένη τῶν Κυκλάδων. Besides, more than a decade later (1588) also the German traveller Reinhold Lubenau (cit., II, p. 156) considers Rhodos to belong to the Cycladic islands: “Unter diesen Cicladischen Inseln ist Tenedo die erste von Constantinopel, Rhodis die letzte nach Cypem...”

34. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Περιγραφαί*, cit., pp. 47,22-50,6.

35. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Περιγραφαί*, cit., p. 50,7-28.

36. Cf. Yerasimos, *Voyageurs*, cit., p. 314.

The next thing we know for certain although it is not part of his report, is that Zygomalas returned to Constantinople on October 17, 1577, one year and one week after his departure. The source for this detail is again Gerlach who was informed about Zygomalas' arrival by his father Ioannes³⁷. Gerlach also reports Zygomalas' return immediately to the learned theologians in Tübingen³⁸.

Additional documents but obviously not part of the actual report –as already mentioned above– are a description of Mt. Sinai for which Gerlach must have asked as well³⁹. Secondly, other small documents, one of them with the signatures of different ecclesiastical officials whom Zygomalas met during his journey are because of their incoherence with the rest of the text rather addenda to the report than part of it⁴⁰.

Generally speaking, Zygomalas' περιήγησις is not a "report" in the classical sense. The major part of it is only a list of placenames, sometimes with the numbers of Christian households and priests, but we do not even know when or if he really went to these places. Unfortunately, Zygomalas does not tell us anything about his experiences as a tax collector.

Collecting and considering all the information with which Zygomalas provides us we obtain the following results: The first days of his journey, hence his stay in Chalke, Kallioupolis, Sestos and Abydos are proved. We also know for certain that he visited a deserted town on the coast of Asia Minor (Milet?), Rhodos, Kastellorizo, the islands of Kakava, Myra and the whole region down to Attaleia. It is quite likely that he also stopped in Kaisareia since he was provided with money by Gerlach for investigating the local library⁴¹.

From the list with the signatures of some high rank ecclesiastical officials his visit is assured for Rhodos, Karpathos, Kos, Patmos, Leros, Smyrna, Chios, Lesbos, Lemnos, Imbros, probably Paros and Naxos⁴² and Andros. We even know when he spent some time on the last island: A manuscript from the monastery τῆς Ἁγίας at Andros contains an autographical note of Zygomalas composed for the memory of his stay in May 1577⁴³. Andros, Naxos and/or Paros were probably the only Cycladic island where he stopped because he does

37. Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, cit., p. 393.

38. G. E. Zachariades, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel. Martin Crusius und seine Verhandlungen mit der Griechisch-Orthodoxen Kirche*. Göttingen, 1941, p. 104 (no. 35).

39. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Περιγραφαί*, pp. 51-54.

40. Documents no. 10 and 11 at Legrand, *Notice*, cit., pp. 197-199.

41. Cf. above.

42. Zygomalas lists a metropolitan Athanasios Παροναξίτης.

43. Document no. 12 at Legrand, *Notice*, cit., p. 200.

not mention others: Though he does not list Naxos/Paros in his report, we can assume that he stopped there since he collected the signature of its metropolitan although Naxos/Paros were still under half-Frankish influence while beginning a gradual process of integration within the Ottoman empire⁴⁴. Some of the Aegean islands, however, were at this time still completely under Frankish rule, like the islands in the west and southwest of the Aegean (Kythnos, Sifnos etc.) and Tinos. He does, however, mention Tinos in his report although this island was still under total Venetian control (till 1715) and therefore its Church was not subject to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. If he indeed went to this island his visit was perhaps private rather than official, since Tinos obviously could not contribute a lot to the patriarchal request. The *protopapas* of Tinos informed Zygomalas in a letter that Tinos was very poor (πολλά πτωχῶς), its inhabitants uneducated (οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀμαθεῖς), and that he would not be able to collect very much⁴⁵.

The other Cycladic bishop seats belong at this time to the Latin church⁴⁶ –except for Andros which had its own 'Greek' bishop⁴⁷ and Naxos where we have proof for a Greek metropolitan next to his Latin equivalent⁴⁸. In parentheses, I should, however, mention that after the complete decline of Frankish power in the Aegean archipelago Greek bishops returned to the Cyclads and obtained seats on the islands of Santorin, Keos and Milos⁴⁹.

Generally speaking, Zygomalas' report is composed in a very simple style. For the most part it consists of short sentences with little variation. Due to this compressed style only few quotations occur in this text. He sometimes quotes the Bible, Homer, the 5th or 6th century author Mousaios when dealing with Sestos and Abydos, and he modifies a quotation from Euripides⁵⁰. Zygomalas' report lacks personal statements: Other than the introductory part where he

44. B. Slot, "The Frankish Archipelago", *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 16, 1991, pp. 195-207 and B. Slot, *Archipelagus turbatus. Les Cyclades entre colonisation latine et occupation ottomane. 1500-1718*, Leiden, 1982, I, pp. 78ff. and 113ff.

45. Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 319.

46. Cf. Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, cit., p. 12f.

47. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Περιγραφαί*, p. 45, 15f.

48. Cf. above; Slot, *Archipelagus*, cit., I, p. 57f.

49. Slot, *Archipelagus*, cit., I, p. 108.

50. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Περιγραφαί*, cit., p. 49, 12: βεβαρβάρωνται χρόνιοι πάντες ἐν βαρβάρους after Eur. Or. 485: βεβαρβάρωμαι χρόνιος ὢν ἐν Ἑλλάδι. For the tradition of this quotation and its use in ancient and byzantine authors cf. A. Rhoby, "Studien zur Antrittsrede des Michael Choniates in Athen", *Göttinger Beiträge zur byzantinischen und neugriechischen Philologie*, 2, 2002, forthcoming.

addresses Gerlach, and statements about the weather and the disturbing mosquitos in Attaleia, his writing is completely unemotional. His report was probably composed in a hurry, perhaps soon before Gerlach left Constantinople.

As far as the numbers of inhabitants are concerned, Zygomalas himself admits that these numbers are not always accurate because he does not know them exactly or his source is not very reliable⁵¹, or else he has had to rely on information provided by others⁵². At Gerlach's request, he mentions only the number of Christian households, hence we have no information about the absolute number of inhabitants who consisted e.g. on the Aegean islands of Greeks, Turks, Jews, Albanians and others⁵³. But even Zygomalas' numbers of Christian households are suspicious because they are always rounded to hundreds and thousands⁵⁴, or seem to be exaggerated: He mentions for example on the islands of Tinos 2.000 households –which would mean about 7.000-10.000 (Christian) inhabitants⁵⁵– whereas the estimated number of all inhabitants of this island at the end of the 16th century is not higher than 5.000⁵⁶. On the other hand, however, we should not forget that a lot of Aegean islands were greatly repopulated throughout the 16th century after the Turkish conquest, which stopped the devastating threat brought to these islands by sea pirates⁵⁷.

In two instances Martin Crusius while copying Zygomalas' itinerary added some marginalia to this report concerning the number of inhabitants of Athens and Corinth⁵⁸. He states that Athens now has οικήματα ἕως χίλια but even this number is unlikely to be accurate: A Turkish census from 1571 to 1580 mentions for Athens 17616 inhabitants in 3203 households⁵⁹.

To sum up: Despite Zygomalas' compressed style and his inaccuracies his report is an interesting document. It is another example of the close connection

51. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Περιογραφίαι*, cit., p. 45.30ff. and 47,1.

52. Cf. Dyobouniotes, *Θεοδόσιος Ζυγομαλάς*, cit., p. 160 (wrongly numbered 260).

53. For the actual number of inhabitants of some of the Greek islands cf. J.Koder, "Topographie und Bevölkerung der Ägäis-Inseln in spätbyzantinischer Zeit", *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 5, 1977, pp. 217-234, pp. 230ff.; Slot, *Archipelagus*, I, pp. 281ff.

54. Cf. J. Koder, "Überlegungen zur Bevölkerungsdichte des byzantinischen Raumes in Spätmittelalter und Frühneuzeit", *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 12, 1987, pp. 291-305, 297f.

55. Koder, *Überlegungen*, cit., p. 298.

56. Slot, *Archipelagus*, cit., I, p. 289.

57. A. E. Vacalopoulos, *The Greek Nation, 1453-1669. The Cultural and Economic Background of Modern Greek Society*, New Brunswick, 1976, pp. 70-99.

58. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Περιογραφίαι*, cit., p. 47.

59. D.Gerontas/N.Nikoloudis, *Η προσωπογραφία μιας πόλης. Αθήνα 1456-1686*, Athens, 1997, p. 42f.

between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the German scholars, especially Martin Crusius, in Tübingen. The contact between Tübingen and Constantinople originated in the idea of a unification of the Protestant and Orthodox Church. But even after the failure of this goal – illusory from its beginning– friendly connections continued between Tübingen and Constantinople⁶⁰. Crusius was still interested in everything Greek⁶¹ and Zygomalas' report was composed in order to fulfill his curiosity and to maintain their friendly relations. As another example may serve a letter of Crusius addressed to Zygomalas from the end of June 1578: He asks Zygomalas to write to him about the experiences of his year-long journey, as well as such topics as churches, number of priests, scholars, schools etc⁶².

Zygomalas report is therefore only a small piece within the huge amount of documents that were exchanged between Constantinople and Tübingen. A considerable part of this material is unfortunately still unpublished, e.g. the first volumes of Crusius' diary, or still awaits detailed investigation.

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60. This was the explicit wish of Patriarch Jeremias in his last theological letter sent to Tübingen (φιλίας δε μόνης ἔνεκα). Cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 50.

61. Cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., passim; A.Rhoby, "Beitrag zur Geschichte Athens im späten 16. Jahrhundert: Untersuchung der Briefe des Theodosios Zygomalas und Symeon Kabasilas an Martin Crusius", *Medioevo Greco. Rivista di storia e filologia bizantina*, 2, 2002, forthcoming.

62. Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 463.