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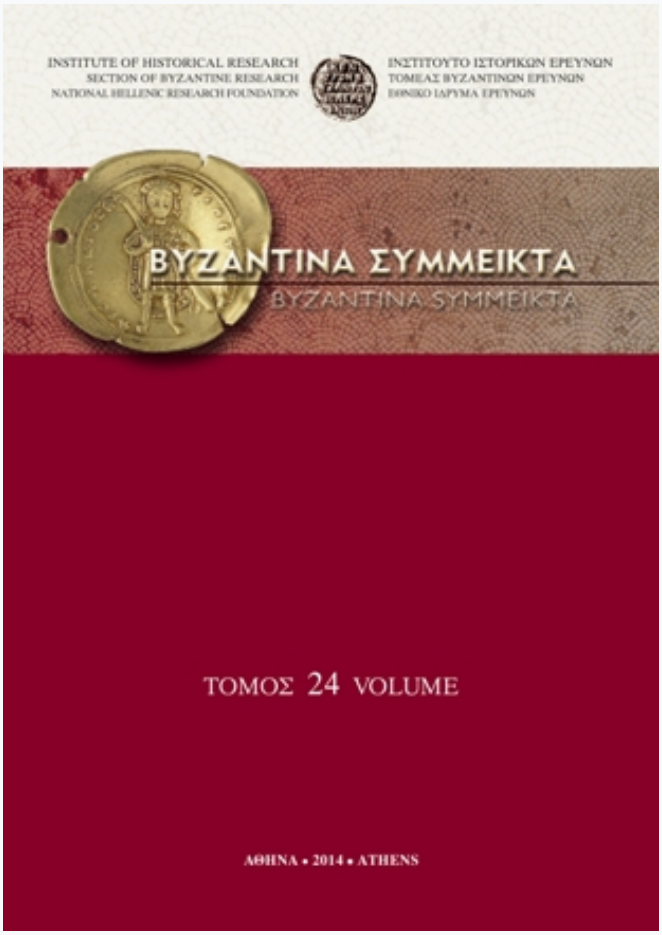
Vol 24, No 1 (2014)

BYZANTINA SYMMEIKTA 24



The Terms Ῥωμαῖος, Ἕλλην, Γραικὸς in the Byzantine Texts of the first Half of the 13th Century

Theodora PAPADOPOULOU

doi: 10.12681/byzsym.1067

To cite this article:

PAPADOPOULOU, T. (2015). The Terms Ῥωμαῖος, Ἕλλην, Γραικὸς in the Byzantine Texts of the first Half of the 13th Century. *Byzantina Symmeikta*, *24*(1), 157–176. https://doi.org/10.12681/byzsym.1067

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ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ
ΤΟΜΕΑΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ
ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ

ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΑ ΣΥΜΜΕΙΚΤΑ
BYZANTINA SYMMEIKTA

Theodora Papadopoulou

The terms *Ῥωμαιος*, *Ελλην*, *Γραικος* in the Byzantine Texts in the First Half of the 13th Century

ΑΘΗΝΑ • 2014 • ATHENS

Theodora Papadopoulou

The terms *Ῥωμαιος*, *Ελλην*, *Γραικος* in the Byzantine Texts in the First Half of the 13th Century*

The Topic

One way to approach the past is by the analysis of words and terms in the texts written at the time, because they carry special semantic load and, thus, help us to understand the way of thinking, the perspective of various social groups. Collective nouns are a special category of such terms, because they are connected to self-definition, namely the identity of various social groups. In Byzantine texts the terms *Ῥωμαῖος*, *Ἕλλην* and *Γραικὸς* are conspicuous and therefore have attracted the attention and interest of modern researchers. Although found in Greek sources already before the Christian era, they are almost continually in use throughout the entire Byzantine period. Consequently, a question about their content and connotations arises as to whether their meaning has changed over time or remained stable.

Before proceeding to the analysis of the names mentioned above, it is necessary to make two comments. The first concerns the terms *Ἕλλην* and *Γραικός*. In the modern era, these words designate specific groups and denote their national identity. Therefore, the modern reader is tempted to

* This article is based on a paper presented in the XXIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Sofia, August 2011, where matters concerning Byzantine identity were the topic of other presentations, as well. See, for instance, J. Koder, Byzantium as seen by itself – images and mechanisms at work, *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Sofia, 22-27 August 2011. v. I, Plenary Papers*, Sofia 2011, 69-81. I am grateful to Professor J. Koder for his valuable advice regarding this presentation.

attribute a similar meaning to the terms as well within their Byzantine context. The issue becomes even trickier, because the term *nation* (ἔθνος) is also attested in Greek sources of pre-Christian as well as those of Christian era. Nevertheless, it would be anachronistic to perceive the meaning of *ἔθνος* in the Byzantine sources in the way it has been defined in the Modern era, an era marked by the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution[1].

The term *ethnicity* could be suggested, collective as it is, to designate a social group denoted in the sources by the terms *Ἕλληνες* and *Γραικοί*. According to anthropological literature, however, this term was introduced with well-founded argumentation a little after the 1970's and is mainly associated with the industrial and post-colonial social contexts, despite the fact that pre-existing cultures have been taken into consideration[2]. Therefore, the term *collective identity*, as it is broader in terms of meaning, is considered more appropriate for use in the present work which describes pre-modern societies and perspectives.

The second comment concerns the origin of the sources. They are part of a literature created by scholars who had ties to the imperial court and quite often held an office, so they express the official line of the state. This is an additional factor that emphasizes the caution that is needed for the interpretation of these terms, as they may have multiple meanings depending on the context of the work in which they appear, the time to which they refer and the audience whom they address. In addition, the conditions of

1. Theorists on nation and nationalism disagree on the conditions and causes which lead to the creation of nationalism and nations. They concur only on the period in which nationalism was born, that is the era of the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution. From the vast bibliography on *nation* and *nationalism* see indicatively, E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford 1983; E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge 1992[2]; B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, New York 1983; A. Smith, *National Identity*, London 1991.

2. *Enyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, eds. A. Barnard – J. Spencer, London - New York 1996/2003 (hereafter: *ESCA*), entry *ethnicity*, where further bibliography is referred. Three different approaches to understanding ethnicity have been formed, the premordialist, the instrumentalist and the constructivist. Although it is argued that all three theories could be integrated into one coherent theory of ethnicity, it is noted that the nucleus of such a synthesis would be the constructivist conceptualization that emphasizes the contingency and fluidity of the ethnic identity (*ESCA*, same entry).

the historical period in question can delineate a collective identity, both of the writers and their audience. In the present study, the authors are scholars and their audience is their immediate circle, the court of the rulers of the State of Nicaea and their environment[3].

The Time

The sources were written in the first half of the 13th century, a period that marked a turning point in the history of Byzantium. After the Fall of Constantinople in 1204, the empire disintegrated[4] and new states were created among its territories[5]. Some of these were states created by Crusaders who belonged to the nobility, the most significant being that which retained Constantinople as its capital. Three states were created by

3. On higher education in Nicaea, see C. N. Constantinides, *Higher education in Byzantium in the 13th and early 14th centuries (1210 - ca. 1310)* [Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus, XI], Nicosia 1982, 5-27; N. G. Wilson (*Scholars of Byzantium*, London 1983/1996, 218-228), makes reference to Nicaea and comments that their main task was to restore the educational system as it had been before 1204, a task in which they succeeded. Generally on literacy, books production and education, see *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium 1971: Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, Washington DC 1975; R. Browning [Byzantine Scholarship, *Past and Present* 28 (1964), 3-20], presents the scholarly production in Byzantium, but makes no reference to the thirteenth century; cf. Id., Literacy in the Byzantine World, *BMGS* 4 (1978), 39-54 [= *History, Language and Literacy in the Byzantine World*, Variorum Reprints, Northampton 1989, VII, 39-54], where he argues that literacy was more widespread in Byzantium than it is usually thought. See also, P. Schreiner, *Byzanz*, München 1994[3], 113, 152-154.

4. On the partition of Byzantium among the Crusaders before its Fall, see A. Carile, Partitio terrarum imperii Romanie, *StVen* 7 (1965), 125- 305.

5. *Nicetae Choniatae, Historia* rec. I. A. Van Dieten [CFHB 9], Berlin 1975 (hereafter: Choniates, *Historia*), 638.52-53: *Εἰς τοσαύτας δὲ τυραννίδας διαιρεθείσης τῆς ἑσπέρας τί μὲν τῶν καλῶν οὐκ ἀπῆν, τί δὲ τῶν κακῶν οὐ παρῆν*; cf. his comment about the situation in the eastern byzantine regions and generally about the dissents of the Byzantines among themselves, ibidem, 639.77-83: *Καὶ δέον ὡμονοηκότας προβουλεύσασθαί τι καὶ καταπράξασθαι προφυλακτικὸν μὲν τῶν μήπω κακῶς πεπονθότων τῆς πατρίδος μερῶν, ἀνακλητικὸν δὲ τῶν ἡλωκυιῶν πόλεων, οἱ δὲ εἰς δοξομανίαν ἐκτραχηλισθέντες καὶ καλεῖσθαι τύραννοι θέλοντες καθ' ἑαυτῶν ὥπλιζον τὰς χεῖρας, βακτηρίαν καὶ νῆψιν, εἴπη δ' ἄν τις καὶ πανοπλίαν καὶ τρόπαιον ἐξ ἐφόδου τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολεμίοις τὸ διχονοεῖν ἀλλήλοις καὶ διεστάναι βραβεύοντες.*

Byzantine noblemen, with Nicaea[6], Arta[7] and Trebizond[8] as their capitals,

6. Choniates, *Historia*, 638.62-64: *Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἕω Προυσαῖοι μὲν καὶ Νικαεῖς, Λυδοί τε οἱ φιλόμολποι καὶ Σμύρνη καὶ Ἔφεσος καὶ τὰ μεταξὺ τούτων κείμενα ὡς βασιλεῖ προσανεῖχον Θεοδώρῳ τῷ Λάσκαρι.* About the state of Nicaea in general, see M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea (1204-1261)*, Oxford 1975; Id., The Problem of Unity of the Byzantine World after 1204: The Empire of Nicaea and Cyprus (1204-1261), *Πρακτικὰ 1ου Διεθνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, Nicosia 1972, v.2, 1-6, where the unity of the new state is attributed to the emperor and the patriarch. About the political orientation of Nicaea, see H. Ahrweiler, L'expérience nicéenne, *DOP* 29 (1975), 21-40; A. Stavridou-zafraka, *Νίκαια και Ήπειρος τον 13ο αιώνα. Ιδεολογική αντιπαράθεση στην προσπάθειά τους να ανακτήσουν την αυτοκρατορία*, Thessaloniki 1990 (hereafter: Stavridou-zafraka, *Νίκαια και Ήπειρος*), 102ff. On Theodore I Laskaris in particular, see I. Yarenis, *Η συγκρότηση και η εδραίωση της αυτοκρατορίας της Νίκαιας. Ο αυτοκράτορας Θεόδωρος Α΄ Κομνηνός Λάσκαρις*, EIE/IBE, Athens 2008, and on the strives of his successor John III, see J. S. Langdon, *Byzantium's Last Imperial Offensive in Asia Minor: The Documentary Evidence for and Hagiographical Lore about John III Ducas Vatatzes' Crusade Against the Turks, 1222 or 1225 to 1231*, New Rochelle, New York 1992. For a general overview of the history of Nicaea, see also D. Gonis, *Νίκαια. Ἡ μητρόπολη τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ τῆς Βιθυνίας. Ἱστορικὸ περίγραμμα*, Athens 1989 and C. Foss, *Nicaea: a Byzantine Capital and its Praises*, Brookline Massachussets 1996 (on the period under discussion, 57ff). The works of A. Meliarakes, *Ἱστορία τοῦ βασιλείου τῆς Νικαίας καὶ τοῦ δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἠπείρου (1204-1261)*, Athens / Leipzig 1898 and of A. Gardner, *The Laskarids of Nicaea: The Story of an Empire in Exile*, London 1912 (repr. 1964), although old, are also useful and offer an additional perspective to the study of Nicaea.

7. Choniates, *Historia*, 638.43-45: *Αἰτωλίαν δὲ καὶ τὰ τῇ Νικοπόλει προσοριζόμενα καὶ ὅσα πρόεισιν ἐς Ἐπίδαμνον ὁ Μιχαὴλ ἰδιώσατο, ὃν ἐκ σπερμάτων σκοτίων ὁ σεβαστοκράτωρ ἐφύτευσεν Ἰωάννης ὁ Δούκας*; cf. *Georgii Acropolitae opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg / P. Wirth, Leipzig 1903/Stuttgart 1978, v. I (hereafter: Akropolites I,) 8.29-33: *Μιχαὴλ* [...] *ἦν γὰρ οὗτος τῷ τότε μέρους τινὸς τῆς παλαιᾶς Ἠπείρου κρατήσας καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς πρὸς τὰ ἑκεῖσε μέρη ἀφιγμένοις Ἰταλοῖς παρέχων πράγματα. καὶ ἦν οὗτος δυναστεύων τῆς τοιαύτης χώρας· Ἰωαννίνων γὰρ ἦρχε καὶ Ἄρτης καὶ μέχρι Ναυπάκτου.* On the first period of the Despotate of Epiros, and on Arta becoming Michael's residence and subsequently his capital city see D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, Oxford 1957, mainly 14-15.

8. Choniates, *Historia*, 638.69-639.74: *Δαυὶδ δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξιος οἱ ἐξ υἱέως φύντες τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τυραννήσαντος Ἀνδρονίκου (Μανουὴλ ἐκείνῳ τὸ ὄνομα), ὁ μὲν τὴν κατὰ Πόντον Ἡράκλειαν καὶ Παφλαγόνας διεῖπεν, ὁ δ' Ἀλέξιος Οἰναίου τε καὶ Σινωπέων τῆς πόλεως καὶ Τραπεζοῦντος αὐτῆς τὴν δυναστείαν περιεζώννυτο*; Akropolites I, 7.33-37: *Παφλαγονίας δὲ πάσης ἐγκρατὴς ἦν Δαυίδ, ἀδελφὸς ὢν Ἀλεξίου τοῦ τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος κρατήσαντος, ὃς καὶ Μέγας ὠνομάζετο Κομνηνός· οἳ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀνδρονίκου ὑπῆρχον ἔγγονοι, Μανουὴλ τῷ τούτου τεχθέντες υἱῷ.* On Trebizond, see A. Bryer - D. Winfield,

respectively, whereas at the same time the Bulgarian state with Turnovo as its capital began to emerge as a dynamic power[9]. These rulers, in terms of foreign policy, aspired to either retain Constantinople or make Constantinople their capital city[10].

In the mid-13th century, Byzantine Nicaea fulfilled this ambition. For this reason, the sources on which this study is based derive from the scholarly circle of Nicaea. The conditions during the period delineated by the first Fall of Constantinople and the enthronement of Michael Palaiologos as its ruler constitute a new historical setting. Within this framework, we will examine the Byzantines' self-concepts and self-definitions, in other words, their collective identity.

Collective Identity: the modern theories

First of all, it should be noted that the issue of collective identity is part of theoretical debate concerning the modern period. Therefore, the question of the collective identity of the Byzantines is, of course, expressed through the perspective of contemporary researchers, thus, making it necessary to clarify the meaning of the term.

According to Sociology[11], the definition of the term *collective identity*

The byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos, Washington DC 1985. S. P. Karpov, *Istorija Trapezundskoj imperii*, St. Petersburg 2007 and recently A. G. C. Savvides, *Ιστορία της Αυτοκρατορίας των Μεγάλων Κομνηνών της Τραπεζούντας (1204-1261)*, Thessaloniki 2009.

9. Akropolites I, 13.1 ff.; G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, München 1963[3] (hereafter Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte*), 358 [= *Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους*, transl. J. Panagopoulos, Athens 1993, III, 111]; G. Prinzing, *Die Bedeutung Bulgariens und Serbiens in den Jahren 1204-1219 im Zusammenhang mit der Entstehung und Entwicklung der byzantinischen Teilstaaten nach der Einnahme Konstantinopels infolge des 4. Kreuzzuges* [MBM 12], München 1972, mainly 25-43. About the formation of the second Bulgarian state by the end of the 12th century, see Ph. Malingoudis, Die Entstehung des 2. Bulgarischen Staates, *Βυζαντινά* 10 (1980), 51-148; L. Mavrommatis, La formation du deuxiéme royaume bulgare vue par les intellectuels Byzantins, *Études Balkaniques,* 4 (1985), 30-38.

10. On the rivalry between Nicaea and Arta in particular, see Stavridou-Zafraka, *Νίκαια και Ήπειρος*; A. D. Karpozilos, *The Ecclesiastical Controversy between the kingdom of Nicaea and the Principality of Epiros (1217-1233)* [Βυζαντινὰ Κείμενα καὶ Μελέται 7], Thessaloniki 1973.

11. For a brief and cohesive presentation of *identity* see *ESCA*, entry *identity*, where also

is the awareness of any individual belonging to a particular social group, from which he derives his values and worth[12]. In addition, the members of this group are bound together in a complex environment of common beliefs and values, seeing themselves as sharing ideals and, simultaneously, differentiating themselves from other groups and their members[13].

At this point, it would be only natural for some reservations to be expressed concerning the validity of a modern theory being used to interprete historical phenomena from a pre-modern era. However, this theoretical pattern of interpretation can also be applied to pre-modern societies, because it has a broader scope, and, as already mentioned, takes into account the common beliefs and values of any social group, characteristics which are not restricted to modern societies. It is these beliefs and values that constitute the self-image of the Byzantines during the first half of the 13th century that are the subject of this paper; more specifically, it is the self-concept of the Byzantines as delineated by the names *Ῥωμαῖος - Ἕλλην - Γραικός*[14].

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bibliography on the subject; C. Dion Smythe, Byzantine Identity and Labelling Theory, in: *XIX International Congress of Byzantine Studies. University of Copenhagen 18-24 August 1996. Byzantium: Identity, Image, Influence*, *v. II, Major Papers*, Copenhagen 1996, 28, [hereafter *XIX ICBS*], where it is clarified that historians are interested in the sociological and anthropological aspects of identity, not the psychological; J. Koder, Byzantinische Identität - einleitende Bemerkungen, in: *XIX ICBS*, v. II, 3, where identity is connected with the 'Sich-Erinnern', which in turn depends on the dimensions of historical thought; it is also shown how this theory can be applied on byzantine history.

12. D. Abrams - M. A. Hogg, An introduction to the social identity approach, in: *Social identity theory. Constructive and Critical Advances*, eds. D. Abrams - M. A. Hogg, New York 1990, (hereafter Abrams - Hogg, Social identity), 2.

13. Abrams - Hogg, Social identity, 9.

14. See the discussion of the same subject by P. Gounaridis, 'Grecs', 'Hellènes' et 'Romains' dans l'état de Nicée, *Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Νίκο Σβορῶνο,* v. 1, Rethymno 1986, 248-257. The author asserts that the identity of the Byzantines in Nicaea consisted of two contradictory elements, the ethnic Hellenic element and its rejection, the Roman element, this last referring to the Greek-speaking Orthodox. The name *Γραικός*, according to Gounaridis, was imposed by the Latins, so it could not be identified with *Ἕλλην*. He concludes that Nicaea was aiming at the restoration of the empire, which naturally was the opposite of a national idea, a conclusion which is correct since nationalism and the idea of the nation-state belong to the modern era.

The Terms in the Sources

Ῥωμαῖος

It is commonplace to note that the Byzantines called themselves *Romans (Ῥωμαῖοι)* and their state the Roman State (*Ῥωμαίων πολιτεία*). Their laws and institutions derived from ancient Rome, although there were occasional reforms, according to the needs of the times[15]. Similarly, the ecumenical ideology of the state was also of Roman origin, but in the Byzantine period it had the additional feature of being Christian. Thus, the political connotation of the term *Ῥωμαῖος* was inextricably connected with the religious element[16].

Looking into the meaning of the term in the sources of the period under study, we note that it is primarily linked to the state and the government. Initially, we shall mention two characteristic excerpts that mark the beginning and the end of the Nicaean state. The first comes from the early years of the Nicaean state, on a document dated June 1207, and refers to the title of the ruler of Nicaea: *Ὁ ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς Βασιλεὺς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων* (Faithful in Christ *Basileus* and Emperor of the Romans). This is the earliest example of the signature of Theodore I Laskaris[17], addressed to the *πράκτωρ* of the theme of Thrakesion Basileios Blatteros[18]. Laskaris and his successors use the same title as did the rulers of Byzantium, and in fact in Greek, since the time of Heraclius, *Πιστὸς ἐν*

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15. F. Dölger, Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner, in: Idem, *Byzanz und die Europäische Staatenwelt*, Darmstadt 1964, 70-115; H.-G. Beck, *Res publica romana. Vom Staatsdenken der Byzantiner* [Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie d. Wissenschaften. Phil. hist. Kl. 1970, 2], München 1970.

16. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte*, 22-42; H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris 1975; H.-G. Beck, *Die byzantinische Jahrtausend*, München 1978/1994², 11-29, 34-45, 87-108 [=*Ἡ βυζαντινὴ χιλιετία,* μτφ. Δημ. Κουρτοβικ, Αθήνα 1992, 15ff., 47ff., 119ff.]; J. Karayannopoulos, *Ἡ πολιτικὴ θεωρία τῶν Βυζαντινῶν,* Thessaloniki 1988; D. A. Zakythinos, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἱστορία 324-1071* , Athens 1989, 9-18.

17. Theodore had left Constantinople a few months before its capture by the Crusaders and was crowned emperor in Nicaea in spring or summer of 1205: N. Oikonomides, La décomposition de l'Empire byzantin à la vieille de 1204 et les origines de l'Empire de Nicèe: à propos de la "Partitio Romaniae", in: *XV Congrès International d'Études byzantines, Athènes 1976. Rapports et Co -Rapports*, Athènes 1980, 22-26.

18. MM IV, 217-218; Dölger, Reg. 1676; Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 37; Yarenis, *Θεόδωρος Λάσκαρις*, 296ff.

Χριστῷ βασιλεὺς (faithful in Christ *Basileus*)[19]. They also continue to use the term *αὐτοκράτωρ* (*emperor*) which was formally adopted as a title at the second half of the 9th century[20].

The second excerpt marks the transfer of Constantinople to the emperor of Nicaea. More specifically, George Akropolites[21] notes that *ἡ Κωνσταντίνου προνοίᾳ θεοῦ καὶ αὖθις ὑπὸ χεῖρα τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο κατὰ λόγον δίκαιόν τε καὶ προσήκοντα.* The historian ascertains that it was justifiable that Constantinople should come into the hands of the king of the Romans, meaning the emperor of Nicaea, with the help of God and be freed from their enemies, the Latins[22]. In this

19. *JGR*, I, Nov. XXV (year 629); P. A. Yannopoulos, *La société profane dans l'empire byzantin des VIIe, VIIIe et IXe siècles*, Louvain 1975, 97-100; W. E. Kaegi, *Heraclius. Emperor of Byzantium*, Cambridge 2003, 186, 194.

20. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte*, 89-91, A. Christophilopoulou, Περὶ τὸ πρόβλημα τῆς ἀναδείξεως τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, *ΕΕΦΣΠΑ* 12 (1961-1962), 458-497, particularly 472ff; Ead., *Βυζαντινὴ Ἱστορία*, v. II/1 *(610-867)*, Athens 1981, 250-252; Yannopoulos, *Société profane*, 98; Beck, *Jahrtausend*, 60-70, 78-80; R. - J. Lilie, *Byzanz. Kaiser und Reich*, Köln - Weimar -Wien 1994, 31-44. Regarding the continuation and revival of the imperial tradition and imagery during the last centuries of Byzantium, as traced through orations, see R. Macrides, From the Komnenoi to the Palaiologoi: imperial models in decline and exile, in: *New Constantines: Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th centuries. Papers fron the Twenty-sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St Andrews, March 1992*, ed. P. Magdalino, Variorum 1994, 269-282 [mainly 280-282], where it is argued that in Nicaea only Theodore I Laskaris followed the type of the imperial image of renewal, introduced by the Comnenian dynasty, whereas John III and his son Theodore II, forced by the dire reality of their times, strived for the survival of the state rather than its revival.

21. On George Akropolites, his life and work, see the introduction in R. Macrides, *George Akropolites. The History. Introduction, translation and commentary*, Oxford 2007, esp. 5-65.

22. Akropolites I, 85.68-73: *καὶ ἡ Κωνσταντίνου προνοίᾳ θεοῦ καὶ αὖθις ὑπὸ χεῖρα τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο κατὰ λόγον δίκαιόν τε καὶ προσήκοντα, Ἰουλίου εἰκοστὴν καὶ πέμπτην ἄγοντος, οὔσης ἐπινεμήσεως τετάρτης καὶ ἀπὸ γενέσεως κόσμου ἔτους ὄντος ,ςψξθ΄, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κρατουμένη χρόνους πεντήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ*; cf. the way the nun Eulogia, sister of Michael Palaiologos, announces to her brother the victorious news: Akropolites I, 86.15-16: *ἀνάστηθι βασιλεῦ· ὁ γὰρ Χριστὸς ἀπεχαρίσατό σοι τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν.* About the *πρόνοια* of God intervening in the enthronement of the new emperor, see the acclamations for Justin I, in: Constantini Porphyrogeniti, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J. J. Reiske, v. 1, Bonn 1829, 429.18-20: *τῇ τοῦ παντοδυνάμου Θεοῦ κρίσει, τῇ τε ὑμετέρα κοινῇ ἐκλογῇ πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν χωρήσαντες, τὴν οὐράνιον πρόνοιαν ἐπικαλούμεθα* [= J. P. Migne, *PG* 112, c. 792]; see also Ahrweiler, *Idéologie politique*, 9-14; Karayannopoulos, *Πολιτικὴ θεωρία*, 7-8. About the rejoicing of the common people due

quotation, the state terminology (*βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων*), the religious faith (*προνοίᾳ Θεοῦ*) and the significance of this event (*κατὰ λόγον δίκαιον καὶ προσήκοντα*) are intertwined.

If we focus on the scholarly works, such as historiography, orations, letters and court poetry, rather than on official documents, we observe that the term *Ῥωμαῖος* is primarily linked to the emperor and refers to administrative matters. Needless to say, that the formal title of the ruler of Nicaea is *emperor of the Romans* (*βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων*)[23], even if his reign was only over the eastern parts of the former Roman Empire[24]. He is also addressed as the protector of the Romans, as Akropolites writes in his funeral oration for John III Vatatzes[25].

Ῥωμαῖος can also refer to the people of ancient Rome. Thus, Blemmydes in his work on the ideal sovereign writes about Cato who was a Roman general. Blemmydes makes no distinction between the pre-Christian Romans and the Romans of his time, as if he considers them to belong to the same people, just in different eras[26].

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to the return of the Byzantines to Constantinople, see how it is presented by Akropolites I, 88.35-39: *ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ γοῦν καὶ θυμηδίᾳ πολλῇ καὶ ἁπλέτῳ χαρᾷ τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν τῷ τότε γεγένηται πλήρωμα· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν ὁ μὴ σκιρτῶν τε καὶ ἀγαλλόμενος καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν τῷ πράγματι ἀπιστῶν διὰ τὸ ἀπροσδόκητον τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς ἡδονῆς.*

23. **Nikolaos Mesarites, ed.** A. Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion*: II. Die Unionsverhandlungen vom 30. August 1206. Patriarchenwahl und Kaiserkrönung in Nikaia 1208[=*Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte. Gesammelte Arbeiten ausgewählt von H.-G. Beck*, Variorum Reprints, London 1973, I] (hereafter: Mesarites II), 25.14-15: *Δεητήριον ἀπὸ τῶν Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων τὸν Κομνηνὸν κῦρ Θεόδωρον τὸν Λάσκαριν* [...].

24. *Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et Epistulae*, ed. J. Van Dieten, Berlin-New York 1972, 120.1-5: *Σελέντιον γραφὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναγνωσθῆναι ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Λάσκαρι κῦρ Θεοδώρου κρατοῦντος τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἀνατολικῶν χωρῶν, ἡνίκα ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις ἑάλω ὑπὸ Λατίνων καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῶν ὡς δορύκτητος κατείχετο μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἑσπερίων Ῥωμαϊκῶν χωρῶν*; cf. ibidem, 129.1-4: *Λόγος ἐκδοθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναγνωσθῆναι εἰς τὸν Λάσκαριν κῦρ Θεόδωρον βασιλεύοντα τῶν ἑῴων Ῥωμαϊκῶν πόλεων, ὅτε οἱ Λατῖνοι κατεῖχον τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν, ὁ δὲ ἐκ Μυσίας Ἰωάννης κατέτρεχε μετὰ Σκυθῶν τὰς δυσικὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς χώρας.*

25. *Georgii Acropolitae opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg / P. Wirth, Leipzig 1903/Stuttgart 1978, v. II, (hereafter: Akropolites II), Epitaphius in Joannem Ducam 21.1-2: *Ἂν οὖν ὡς στύλον ὄντα Ῥωμαίοις αὐτῶν εἰς ὕψος αἴροντα τὰ φρονήματα κλάειν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα βουληθείημεν;* cf. a verse from Nikolaos Eirinikos' poetry written for a happy occasion, the engagement of John III Vatatzes and Konstanze/Anna: Heisenberg, *Quellen und Studien* [as in n. 23], I, 104.103: *τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀφθαλμὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων λύχνε.*

26. H. Hunger - I. Ševčenko, *Des Nikephoros Blemmydes Βασιλικὸς Ἀνδριὰς und*

In theological or ecclesiastical context, however, the term *Ῥωμαῖος* acquires yet another meaning, definining a person who comes from Old Rome in Italy or is connected to it in some way, such as the Pope himself[27]. It can also obtain a more specific connotation, that being a member of the Western Christian Church, a meaning which is attested primarily when referring to dialogues and disputes between the two Churches[28]. Mesarites' quotation about the old and the new Rome is enlightening on this matter, as it explains the reason by which Constantinople was named New Rome; the City was lavished with the same ecclesiastical honours as ancient Rome[29].

It should be taken into account that during the negotiations between the two Churches, and despite disputes, the Byzantine authors emphasize that the common name, Rome, underlines the common descent of both peoples, which in turn should lead to concord and unity[30].

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dessen Metaphrase von Georgios Galesiotes und Georgios Oinaiotes. Ein weiterer Beitrag zum Verständnis der byzantinischen Schrift-Koine [WBS XVIII] Wien1986, 68, 83.1-2: *πρὸς δέ γε Κάτωνα Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸν οἱ τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὑπὲρ φιλίας διαπρεσβευσάμενοι βασιλεῖς*; cf. *ibidem* 60, ch. 59.1-4: *ἐπαινῶ τοὺς προγενέστερον βεβασιλευκότας Ῥωμαίων, ὅτι τὸ «ἡ γαληνότης ἡμῶν» πᾶσιν αὐτῶν ἐνετίθουν τοῖς διατάγμασιν ἀντὶ τοῦ γράφειν «ἡ βασιλεία μου», δηλοῦντες ὅτι τὸ γαληνόν τε καὶ ἥμερον ἀφωσιωμένον τῷ καὶ ἐξαίρετον καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν τὴν ἁλουργίδα καὶ τὸ διάδημα.* Blemmydes follows the chronographical tradition that starts enumerating the rulers of Byzantium since the times of Rome in Italy, even though his work is of a different type, cf. Zonaras, I, 12.11-13: *ἀναγκαῖόν μοι ἐνομίσθη καὶ περὶ τούτων συγγράψασθαι, καὶ παραδοῦναι πόθεν τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔθνος κἀκ τίνος ἔσχηκε τὴν ἀρχὴν.*

27. **Mesarites II, 49.5-8:** *ἐκεῖθεν οἱ τῆς πρεσβύτιδος Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοποι τὴν ἐφ' ἁπάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις εἴληχον κυριότητα.*

28. *Nicephori Blemmydae Autobiographia sive curriculum vitae; necnon Epistula universalior*, ed. J. A. Munitiz, [CCSG 13], Brepols – Leuven 1984, p. 57 §25.6-8: *Καὶ δὴ τῶν μερῶν ἑκατέρων ἐς ταὐτὸ συνεληλυθότων, ὁ τῶν φιλοσόφων ὕπατος ὁ Καρύκης, αὐτουργὸς τοῦ μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλόγου καθίσταται*, [...]; cf. *ibidem* 67 §50.10-11: *μετὰ τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης διάλογος γίνεται, μενόντων ἡμῶν*, [...].

29. **Nikolaos Mesarites, ed.** A. Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen* [as in n. 23] ... I. Der Epitaphios des Nikolaos Mesarites auf seinen Bruder Johannes (hereafter: Mesarites I), 56.18-20: *καὶ ἡ Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν αὕτη ἐκκλησία προεκρίθη τῆς Ἀλεξανδρίνης ἐκκλησίας καὶ ταῖς ἴσαις τιμαῖς ἐτιμήθη τῇ πρώτῃ Ῥώμῃ καὶ πρεσβυτέρᾳ καὶ νέα Ῥώμῃ κατωνομάσθη*; cf. Akropolites II, Contra Latinos B, 27.19-23: *κἀντεῦθεν ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἐθνικοῖς τούτοις ὀνόμασι περιγράφωνται, τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ Ῥώμῃ ἑτέρα νέα ἀντῳκοδόμηται, ἵνα ἐξ οὕτω μεγίστων πόλεων κοινὸν ἔχουσῶν τοὔνομα Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες κατονομάζοιντο καὶ ὡς τὸ τῆς πίστεως κοινὸν οὕτως ἔχοιεν καὶ τὸ τῆς κλήσεως.*

30. **Akropolites II, Contra Latinos A, 1, 4-6:** *Ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, οἱ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας*

Nevertheless, the name *Ῥωμαῖος* retains its primary explication, denoting the Byzantine Empire, the emperor and his subjects, as is attested in various sources such as state documents and scholarly literature[31]. In order to define its various meanings, the term should be examined within its own context.

Ἕλλην[32]

The second term to be examined is the name *Ἕλλην* and its derivatives. The study of the sources of the period under consideration leads to the

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Ῥώμης ὁρμώμενοι, ἐβουλόμην μὲν καλεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀδελφοὺς ὡς ὁμογνώμονας καὶ ὁμόφρονας [...].

31. See, for instance, Akropolites I, 14.1-2: *Ὁ δὲ Μιχαήλ, ὃν ἱστορήσας ὁ λόγος πέφθακε τῆς Ἠπείρου κατάρξαι καί τινος μέρους τῆς χώρας Ῥωμαίων* [...]; cf. also ibidem, 14.4-6: *τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων συνῆν Θεοδώρῳ τῷ Λάσκαρι, ὑπηρετῶν αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων.*

32. Modern research on the subject of the Greek element in Byzantium has resulted in two trains of thought. The first accepts the presence of the Greek (or Hellenic) element as an integral part of the Byzantine identity and even traces it back to the pre-Christian past; the other tendency views it as a "mimesis" or as an intentional revival, serving the needs of a specific historical period. From the relevant bibliography see indicatively C. Mango, Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror, *Inaugural Lecture, University of Oxford, May 1974.* Oxford 1975, 3-18; P. Magdalino, Hellenism and Nationalism in Byzantium, in: *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Byzantium,* First Publication Variorum, Norfolk Aldershot 1991, XIV; Sp. Vryonis, Greek Identity in the Middle Ages, *Études Balkaniques - Cahiers Pierre Belon* 6 (1999), 19-36; J. Koder, Griechische Identitäten im Mittelalter - Aspekte einer Entwicklung, in: *Βυζάντιο Κράτος καὶ Κοινωνία, μνήμη Νίκου Οἰκονομίδη* (eds. A. Avramea, A. Laiou, Ev. Chrysos), Athens 2003, 297-319; R. Beaton, Antique nation? Hellenes on the eve of Greek independence and in twelfth century Byzantium, *BMGS* 31 (2007), 76-95; A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium. The Transformation of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition*, Cambridge University Press 2007; G. Page, *Being Byzantine. Greek Identity before Ottomans*, Cambridge University Press 2008; C. Rapp, Hellenic Identity, Romanitas, and Christianity, in: *Hellenisms. Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, (ed. K. Zacharia), Ashgate Variorum 2008, 127-147; Chr. Malatras, The making of an ethnic group: the Romaioi in the 12th-13th centuries, *4th European Congress of Modern Greek Studies, Granada, 9-12 September 2010. Identities in the Greek World (from 1204 to the present day)*, v. 3, ed. K. A. Dimadis, Athens 2011, 419-430. For an analytical presentation of the modern literature on the matter, see Th. Papadopoulou, *Συλλογικὴ ταυτότητα καὶ αὐτογνωσία στὸ Βυζάντιο. Συμβολὴ στὸν προσδιορισμὸ τῆς αὐτοαντίληψης τῶν Βυζαντινῶν μέσα ἀπὸ τὴν λόγια γραμματεία τους (11ος-ἀρχὲς 13ου αἰ.)*, (diss. in press: Σύλλογος πρὸς Διάδοσιν Ὠφελίμων Βιβλίων, Athens), 45-53.

conclusion that the meaning of the term varies depending on the context of the text. Niketas Choniates refers by it to the ancient Greeks[33], a connotation which is already known from the sources of the previous centuries. In Choniates' work, however, the term also refers, quite often, to the author's contemporaries, whom he usually designates by the name *Ῥωμαῖοι*. A passage from his "History" is quite illuminating on the matter: the author narrates the march of the Crusaders and laments the collapse of Byzantium. In poetic style, he personifies the river Alphaeus, who is Greek (or rather, *Ἕλλην*) and flows into Sicily. Choniates then implores him not to tell the inhabitants of the island the misfortunes of the Greeks (*Ἕλληνες*); nor the sufferings that the Hellenes have inflicted upon other Hellenes[34]. Using the phrase "sufferings of the Hellenes" the Byzantine scholar refers to the conflicts between the Angeloi emperor brothers, who led the Crusaders into Constantinople. Elsewhere in his narrative, Choniates states that he has no intention of wasting History, "the most beautiful invention of the ancient Hellenes" (*τὸ κάλλιστον εὕρημα τῶν Ἑλλήνων*)[35], recounting deeds in which barbarians were victorious instead of the Hellenes[36]. Through the *locus communis* "Hellenes-barbarians", Choniates' contemporary Romans are identified with the Hellenes.

Choniates uses the expression *ἑλληνὶς φωνὴ* (Hellenic voice), known from other sources, as well[37], to denote the Greek language. For instance, he

33. Choniates, *Historia*, 144.83: *ὁποῖα πάλαι τοῦ Περσέως λογοποιοῦντες κατηγόρευον Ἕλληνες.*

34. Choniates, *Historia*, 610.16-611.21: *Ἀλλ' ὦ Ἕλλην ποταμὲ Ἀλφειέ, ῥεῦμα ῥέον δι' ἅλμης πότιμον, ξενίζον ἄκουσμα, ἐμπύρευμα ἔρωτος, μὴ δὴ τὰ Ἑλλήνια δυσπραγήματα τοῖς ἐν Σικελίᾳ βαρβάροις διατρανώσειας, μηδ' ἔκπυστα θείης ὅσα οἱ ἐκ σφῶν ἐπιστρατεύσαντες Ἕλλησι καθ' Ἑλλήνων ἐμεγαλούργησαν, ἵνα μὴ χοροὶ στῶσι καὶ παιᾶνες ᾄσθῶσι καὶ πλείους κατάρωσιν οἱ διάφοροι.*

35. Choniates, *Historia*, 580.94-95.

36. Choniates, *Historia*, 580.94-1: *πῶς ἂν ἔγωγε εἴην τὸ βέλτιστον χρῆμα, τὴν ἱστορίαν, καὶ κάλλιστον εὕρημα τῶν Ἑλλήνων βαρβαρικαῖς καθ' Ἑλλήνων πράξεσι χαριζόμενος.*

37. See, for instance, Michael Psellus, *Oratoria minora*, ed. A. R. Littlewood, Leipzig 1985, orat. 14.31-32: *Καὶ Αἰγύπτιος μέν τις ἀνὴρ Ἑλληνικὴν ἑρμηνεῦσαι προστεταγμένος φωνήν*; *Ioannis Zonarae Annales*, ed. M. Pinder - Th. Büttner-Wobst, vol. II, Bonn 1841-97, 2.376.3-5: *καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἐπαίδευε Ὀκταβιανὸν] λόγοις ῥητορικοῖς τῇ τε τῶν Λατίνων καὶ τῇ Ἑλληνίδι φωνῇ*; cf. Théophylacte d'Achrida, *Lettres*. (Introduction, texte, traduction et notes) ed. P. Gautier, Thessaloniki 1986, 227.31-32: *ἡμῖν δὲ συνεύχου τὸ μὴ καὶ τὸν ἕλληνα φθόγγον ἀποβαλεῖν* [...].

accuses Andronikos I that his personal guard consisted of barbarians who barely spoke Greek[38].

Nicholaos Mesarites was also an eyewitness of the first Fall of Constantinople, like Choniates. However, he does not use the term *Ἕλλην* as often as Choniates; and when he does, it is primarily to denote the ancient Greeks and moreover their non-Christian faith[39]. The emphasis on the religious connotation of the term is not surprising, as Mesarites was a clergyman, bishop of Ephesus and head of the delegation that conducted the theological discussions with the Latins. As far as dogma is concerned, his disagreement with them emerges in his work, as does his opinion about them, that they were barbarians and frauds[40]. Moreover, he witnessed the Latin Capture of 1204, which he very eloquently describes in the funeral oration for his brother John[41]. Nevertheless, despite his being a cleric, when commenting on the Greek language (*ἑλληνίδα γλῶτταν*)[42], he emphasizes that this is inspired by the Holy Spirit. So, he concludes, it is appropriate to express the Christian doctrines; and for this comment, he quotes Gregory of Nazianzos[43]. In the same context, referring to language, Mesarites uses the

38. Choniates, *Historia*, 322.42-45: *Κατὰ δὲ τὰ ἀρχεῖα γινόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν διατριβῶν τε καὶ διαχύσεων οὐκ ὀλίγον μὲν καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε δορυφορικόν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ βαρβάρων ἰλῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν λοιμῶν χαιρόντων ἀπαιδευσίᾳ καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα μηδ' ἐπαϊόντων Ἑλληνίδος φωνῆς.*

39. Mesarites I, 42.3-4: *ὁποῖα παῖδες Ἑλλήνων τερθρεύονται;* Mesarites II, 22.27-28*: ἱστόρηται γὰρ ὡς Γαλιήνου τοῦ καὶ Αὐρηλίου τὰ Ἑλλήνων θρησκεύοντος.*

40. A. Kazhdan - S. Franklin, *Studies in Byzantine Literature of the 12th century*, Cambridge 1984, 238, 242.

41. Nikolaos Mesarites I, 46.5ff.

42. See above, footnotes 37 and 38.

43. Nikolaos Mesarites, ed. A. Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen* ... [as in n. 23] III. Der Bericht des Nikolaos Mesarites über die politischen und kirchlichen Ereignisse des Jahres 1214 (hereafter: Mesarites III), 33.1-6: *Ὁ δὲ μὴ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιφερίσας, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀκροαματισθέντα μόνον καὶ ἐκθειάσας καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνίδα γλῶτταν ὡς καταρρητορευμένην κατάκρως, ἅτε ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ἐμπνεομένην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ πεπλατυσμένην πλατεῖ στόματι μεγαλύνας, εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἀπολέλυκεν ἀνακωχὴν δοῦναι τῷ σώματι ὡς κεκοπιακότας ἐφ' ἱκανόν· ἀρίστου γὰρ ἐκάλει καιρός.* Mesarites alludes to Gregory's of Nazianzos strong conviction that the Greek language should be studied by the Christians. Gregory makes a clear distinction between the Greek language and the Greek religion, whereas he accuses the emperor Julian of identifying the two on purpose. See, for instance, *Κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ βασιλέως στηλιτευτικὸς πρῶτος*, *PG* 35, col. 536 A: *Πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι κακούργως τὴν προσηγορίαν*

verb *hellenize* when referring to πρωτοασηκρῆτις, the Greek equivalent of an office of Latin origin[44].

In the work of George Akropolites the term *Ἕλληνες* denotes either the ancient Greeks[45] or emphasizes their non-Christian religion, depending on the context in which the term is used[46]. In this way, he seems to make a distinction between Hellenes and Romans, as stated in the introductory lines of his historiographical work[47]. The derivative *Hellenic* (*ἑλληνικῶς*) refers to the Greek language[48] and the expression *Hellenic land* (*ἑλληνὶς γῆ*) delineates the Byzantine land[49], as a synonym for the expression *Roman land* (*Ῥωμαΐς*)[50]. Thus, although Akropolites avoids calling his contemporary Romans *Ἕλληνες*, he names their Roman land Hellenic, with a subtle touch of emotionality, caused by the use of the possessive pronoun "our", "our

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μετέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸ δοκοῦν, ὥσπερ τῆς θρησκείας ὄντα τὸν Ἕλληνα λόγον, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τῆς γλώσσης.

44. Mesarites III, 12.13-14: *οὕτω γὰρ ἐξελληνιζόμενον ἐφερμήνευται φυλακὴν ἐνθεῖναι τῷ στόματι*; about the translation of this office into Greek, see also the commentary of the editor, ibidem 74-75.

45. Akropolites I, 1.12-17: *οἱ μὲν οὖν τὰ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἱστορικῶς συγγραψάμενοι ἄλλην ἄλλος πεποίηνται τὴν ἀρχήν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως ἤρξαντο, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀξιολόγου τινὸς ἀρχῆς, ἢ Περσῶν ἢ Ἑλλήνων ἢ Ῥωμαίων ἢ ἄλλου οὑτινοσοῦν τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σκοπὸν τὸ οἰκεῖον καταρτιζόμενος σύγγραμμα.* In this context, Akropolites uses the term *Roman* with the meaning of the *ancient Roman*, whereas he usually identifies it with the term *Byzantine*, e.g. op. cit., 19.2: *ἐπιλαμβάνεται τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν σκήπτρων Ἰωάννης ὁ Δούκας.*

46. Akropolites II, Contra Latinos B, 1.14-20: *ἤκουσα καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς θεολόγους μὴ πάντα τὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν παριστῶντας ταῖς ἀποδείξεσι, καίτοι γε πλάσματα ὄντα τούτοις τὰ τῶν θεῶν, ὧν τῆς διανοίας ἀναποχὴ ἡ οὐσία καὶ οἷς ἡ λήθη φθορά, ἀλλὰ καὶ θέσεις προάγουσιν ἀμέσους καὶ ἀναποδείκτους καὶ θεσπίζουσιν αὐτὰς ὡς ἀληθεῖς παραδέχεσθαι.*

47. See above, note 45.

48. Akropolites, I, 76.46-49: *ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ Σκυθικὸν ἤροντο γένος, οὐ βαρβαρικῶς ἀπεκρίνοντο ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς τε καὶ συνετῶς, καὶ οὐ κρεῖττονα ἄλλον εἰδέναι διισχυρίζοντο εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν ἁπάντων τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ Μιχαήλ.*

49. Akropolites I, 80.19-21: *συνεστάλησαν οὖν μέχρι τῶν οἰκείων ὅρων, εἴτουν τῶν Πυρρηναίων ὀρῶν, ἃ δὴ διορίζει τὴν παλαιάν τε καὶ τὴν νέαν Ἤπειρον τῆς Ἑλληνίδος καὶ ἡμετέρας γῆς.*

50. Akropolites I, 21.3-4: [ὁ Θεόδωρος Ἄγγελος Κομνηνὸς τῆς Ἠπείρου] *ἐπειδὴ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης γέγονεν ἐγκρατὴς πολλήν τε χώραν τῆς Ῥωμαΐδος ...*

Hellenic land"[51]. It should be noted that the *Hellenic land* functions as a symbol in the thought and works of the Byzantine scholars, as they were educated in ancient Greek literature. This Hellenic land, however, is not only a locus literatus, an imaginary homeland, but it is described as an actual land designated by the Pyrenees, the Pindos mountain chain in Epiros[52].

The term *Ἕλλην* appears in the work of Theodore II Laskaris much more often as compared with those of the aforementioned scholars. The term denotes, again, either the ancient Greeks[53] or particularly their non-Christian faith[54]. It refers to the education of the Byzantines that was based on ancient Greek literature[55], and to the Greek language, which Laskaris loved more than "breathing", as he clearly states in one of his letters[56]. Furthermore, he very clearly links the name *Ἕλλην* with his Byzantine contemporaries, as well. Thus, he speaks of the "Hellenic troops"[57] and the "Hellenic spear" which liberated the Roman towns and castles[58]. In one of his letters, he narrates a

51. Akropolites I, 80.21: *τῆς Ἑλληνίδος καὶ ἡμετέρας γῆς.*

52. *ODB* (Oxford 1991), entry *Pindos.*

53. *Theodorus II Ducas Lascaris, Opuscula Rhetorica*, ed. A. Tartaglia, München-Leipzig 2000, (hereafter: Lascaris, *Opuscula*) 53.685-6: *Ἀλλὰ δεῦρο δὴ ἄναξ Ἑλλήνων Ἀλέξανδρε, ὃς δὴ πρώην βασιλείαν Ἑλλήνων τετίμηκας.*

54. *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. N. Festa, Firenze 1898, (hereafter: Lascaris, *Epistulae*) epist. CXLV, 26-32: *τίς ἄρα διὰ ταῦτα τὸ γλαφυρὸν τῆς θεολογίας κοινώσει ἁπλῶς καὶ θήσει τὰς ἀνευρέτους ἀρχὰς εἰς τὸ ῥᾴδιον καὶ θεολογήσει κοινῶς; εἴπερ ἐπιστήμης ἐστί, τοῦτο γὰρ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου ἐγγύς· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἑλληνικῶς, οὐ θεολογεῖ, ὅτι αἱ ἀρχαὶ σαθραὶ καὶ ἀνίσχυροι. εἰ δὲ θείως, μὴ πειράζῃ θεολογῶν· Θεὸς γὰρ ἀπείραστος κατὰ φύσιν· καὶ τίς ἡ ἐξέτασις; ἀρχὴ τοίνυν τὸ λέγειν περὶ Θεοῦ τὸ ἀπείραστον, καὶ τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἀρχή.*

55. Lascaris, *Epistulae*, epist. CXXV, 13-14: *τῇ Ἰταλικῇ παιδείᾳ πεπαιδευμένος, ψαύων δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς*; cf. Lascaris *Epistulae*, epist. CIX, 47-48: *οἱ πόρρω φιλοσοφήσαντες Ἕλληνες, τὸ εὖ καὶ σφόδρα νοοῦν γένος.*

56. Lascaris, *Epistulae*· epist. CCXVI, 4-5: *τῇ Ἑλληνίδι διαλέξομαί σοι διάλεκτον, ἣν καὶ <μᾶλλον> ἠσπασάμην ἢ τὸ ἀναπνεῖν.*

57. Lascaris, *Epistulae*· epist. CCIV, 56-59: *καλῶς γὰρ ᾠκονομήθη τὰ Βουλγαρικὰ παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ [ἡ] τούτων ὑπ' αὐχένος ἔπαρσις διὰ τὰς πρὸς τὰ ὄρη διατριβὰς τοῖς πολλοῖς κειμένη καὶ γέγονε, καὶ κλιτο[τρ]άχηλο[ι] οἱ ἀκαμπεῖς τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἀπεφάνθησαν.*

58. Lascaris, *Opuscula*, 34.225-228: *ὁμοῦ πάντων ἐθνῶν κατεκράτησας, καὶ τοὺς πρώην τῷ δόρατι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν οὐτάζοντας στῆθος ποδοκάκῃ συνέδησας καὶ ὡς ἀνδράποδα ἔδειξας, καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν πόλεων καὶ φρουρίων οἰκοδομαῖς τῶν θριγγίων τούτων τε καὶ τῶν πυργωμάτων ταπεινοὺς ὑπηρέτας τοὺς πρὶν καρτεροὺς*

philosophical debate that took place between him and a noble scholar from the West in which he emerged victorious[59], an event that was a cause for rejoicing and glory not only for those who witnessed it, but for all the Hellenes in general[60]. As far as concerns the land where his contemporary *Hellenes* live, he uses the phrases "Roman land" (*ῥωμαΐς γῆ*),[61] "Hellas" (*Ἑλλάς*)[62] and "Hellenikon" (*τὸ Ἑλληνικόν*), alternately[63].

It should be emphasized, though, that Laskaris makes derogatory comments about the ancient Greeks and rejects their philosophy, which he studied and admired, when this does not abide with Christian doctrines[64].

Γραικὸς

The name *Γραικὸς* does not appear for the first time in the Byzantine sources of the 13th century. Although the relevant quotations are limited, they are quite clear in their content; they refer to the Greek language and culture as well as to the people of Greek (Hellenic) origin[65]. In the sources of this

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αἰχμητὰς ἀπετέλεσας; cf. the quotation by his teacher Blemmydes, where he is referring to the Byzantine rule over the valley of Skamandros in Northwestern Asia Minor by the term 'Hellenic sceptres', *Nicephori Blemmydae Autobiographia* ...[as in n. 28]. 6.11-12: *οὐ γὰρ ὑπὸ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τωτότε σκῆπτρα ἡ Σκάμανδρος*. The name *Ἕλλην* referring to the government is used in a scholarly text that does not address directly to the ruler of the state, as an oration would, or a state document.

59. Lascaris, *Epistulae*· epist. CXXV, 49-51: *ἔχεις τοίνυν οἶδα χαράν, ἐπειδὴ καλῶς ξυνίης τὸν οὕτως φιλοσοφήσαντα καὶ τὸ τῆς νίκης κῦρος τοῖς Ἕλλησι χορηγήσαντα.*

60. Lascaris, *Epistulae*· epist. CXXV, 38: *μέγα ὅραμα τοῖς ὁρῶσι καὶ δόξα πολλὴ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.*

61. Lascaris, *Epistulae*· epist. CCXIV, 39-40: *οἵα εὐφροσύνη τῇ Ῥωμαΐδι τὴν σήμερον; cf*. Lascaris, *Opuscula, 27.92-28.94: καὶ τὸν αὐτῶν ψευδοταινίωτον ἀρχηγὸν δειρεκτομήσας τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς γῆς ἠλλοτρίωσας.*

62. Lascaris, *Epistulae*· epist. CXXV, 52-54: *Σὺ δὲ πότ' ἂν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀνέλθῃς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα; πότ' ἂν δὲ καὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην διελθὼν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον διαπεράσῃς καὶ τὴν ἔσω Ἀσίαν κατίδῃς;.*

63. Lascaris, *Epistulae*, epist. XLIV, 83-84: *μόνον δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν αὐτὸ βοηθεῖ ἑαυτῷ οἴκοθεν λαμβάνον τὰς ἀφορμάς.*

64. **Θεοδώρου Λασκάρεως,** *Κοσμικὴ δήλωσις, Λόγοι Α΄-Δ΄*, ed. N. Festa, *Giornale della società asiatica italiana*, Firenze 1898 (hereafter: Lascaris, *Κοσμικὴ δήλωσις*), 112.23-25: *πῶς δὲ καὶ τὸ σέβεσθαι ἠξιώθησαν, εἰ αὐτὰ εἰς αὐτὰ φθορᾶς γεγόνασιν αἴτια, εἰ μὴ παρὰ τῶν ὄντως καὶ ἐναργῶς φρονούντων Ἑλληνικῶς;*

65. *Prisci Panitae fragmenta*, ed. F. Bornmann, Florence 1979, fr. 8.474- 478: *ἐγὼ δὲ ἔφην*

period, the term is used within the context of conflicts between 'Latins' and 'Greeks', mainly concerning their religious conflicts[66], but sometimes also referring to their character or moral matters[67]. Moreover, in some passages, the term refers to the Greek language, as in older texts[68].

It should be noted that the term is more often found in texts written at a time when the Byzantines came into closer contact, or even conflict, with the Westerners than in previous centuries. As has been documented, the western sources use the term *Graecus* to refer to the Byzantine emperor instead of the term *Roman*; so, the term *Γραικὸς* in Byzantine texts shows

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αἰτίαν πολυπραγμοσύνης εἶναι μοι τὴν Ἑλλήνων φωνήν. τότε δὴ γελάσας ἔλεγε Γραικὸς μὲν εἶναι τὸ γένος [...]; Const. Porph. *Πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν Ῥωμανόν*, ed. G. Moravcsik, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De Administrando Imperio* (translation-commentary R. H. Jenkins) [CFHB 1], Washington D.C. 1967², 49.4-7: *οὗτοι [οἱ Σκλάβοι] ἐν τῷ θέματι ὄντες Πελοποννήσου ἀπόστασιν ἐννοήσαντες, πρῶτον μὲν τὰς τῶν γειτόνων οἰκίας τῶν Γραικῶν ἐξεπόρθουν καὶ εἰς ἁρπαγὴν ἐτίθεντο, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ κατὰ τῶν οἰκητόρων τῆς τῶν Πατρῶν ὁρμήσαντες πόλεως.*

66. Choniates, *Historia*, 575.68-70: *καὶ τῶν Γραϊκῶν ἡμῶν εὐσεβέστεροί τε καὶ δικαιότεροι καὶ τῶν Χριστοῦ διαταγμάτων φύλακες ἀκριβέστεροι*; see also Akropolites, who uses the term as an alternative to *Ἕλλην* and a differentiation to *Italian*, whereas (as he writes) they both have a common name, i.e. *Roman*, Akropolites II, Contra Latinos B, 27.16-22: *οὐκ ἄλλα ἄττα τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰς τοσαύτην προέβη τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν σύμπνοιαν ὡς Γραικοί τε καὶ Ἰταλοί. καὶ εἰκότως· ἐκ Γραικῶν γὰρ τοῖς Ἰταλοῖς καὶ αἱ λογικαὶ ἐπιστῆμαι καὶ τὰ μαθήματα. κἀντεῦθεν ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἐθνικοῖς τούτοις ὀνόμασι περιγράφωνται, τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ Ῥώμῃ ἑτέρα νέα ἀντῳκοδόμηται, ἵνα ἐξ οὕτω μεγίστων πόλεων κοινὸν ἐχουσῶν τοὔνομα Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες κατονομάζοιντο.*

67. Boniface of Montferrat considers Baldwin to be deceitful, unreliable and fickle, even more than the Greeks (*Γραικοί*), writes Choniates, *Historia*, 599.14-15: *Γραϊκῶν ἀπατηλότερον καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἄπιστον καὶ παλίμβολον ὑπὲρ ὄστρακον καὶ κύβον τὸν Βαλδουῖνον ἀποκαλῶν*; cf. Choniates' comment that Germans believed they would easily defeat Romans, because Greeks (*Graikoi*, as alternative to *Romans*) were inexperienced in war matters and indulged into luxuries, Choniates, *Historia*, 477.9-20: *οἱ δ' Ἀλαμανοὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπεῖχον ἔκθαμβοι τοῖς ὁρωμένοις τούτοις φανῆναι, ὥστε καὶ ἀνέθαλπον μᾶλλον τὸν ἔρωτα, ὃν ὑπέτυφον ταῖς λαμπρειμονίαις τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐνανόμενον, καὶ ηὔχοντο τάχιον κρατῆσαι Γραικῶν ὡς ἀγεννῶν τὰ ἐς πόλεμον καὶ περισπουδαζόντων τὰς ἀνδραποδώδεις χλιδάς*; Nikolaos Mesarites, I, 47.27-30: *καταμεμήνυτο γὰρ ὡς ἔστι τις τῶν μονοτρόπων ἐνταῦθα κρείττων τῆς ἐπενεχθείσης τοῖς Γραικοῖς συμφορᾶς, φρόνημα πλουτῶν ἀκλινὲς καὶ πρὸς πειρασμοὺς ἀδαμαντίνου λίθου στερρότερος.*

68. Mesarites III, 47.14-15: *καὶ οὐ Λιβύη Εὐρώπη τὲ καὶ Ἀσία τῆς τῶν Γραικῶν διαλέκτου πεπλήρωται*;

either an allusion or direct reference to the Latins. Nevertheless, it is hard to believe that the Byzantine scholars were unaware of the Greek, not Latin (at least, not necessarily Latin) origin of the word *Γραικός*, since it is mentioned for the first time in Aristotle's *Meteorology* as a synonym for *Ἕλλην*[69]. Besides, the words *γραικὸς* and *γραικόω* were already in use in certain sources of the 9th and 10th centuries (in Theophanes and in Leo VI), in which they are connected to the Greek language[70] and are not used either in contexts of controversy or to allude to the Latins.

However, it should be noted that in all the above-mentioned texts the name Roman is used when referring to the Byzantines. Furthermore, this is the name which carries political weight and is linked to the State.

Conclusions

In the first half of the 13th century, the meaning of each of the three terms – *Ῥωμαῖος*, *Ἕλλην*, *Γραικὸς* – is susceptible to different interpretations,

69. **Aristotle,** *Meteorologica* A, 352b.1-3: *οὗτος γὰρ* [ὁ ποταμὸς Ἀχελῶος] *πολλαχοῦ τὸ ῥεῦμα μεταβέβληκεν ὤκουν γὰρ οἱ Σελλοὶ ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι τότε μὲν Γραικοὶ νῦν δ' Ἕλληνες*; cf. *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, ed. K. Latte, vol. 1, Copenhagen 1953, γάμμα 881.1: *Γραικιστί· Ἑλληνιστὶ*; *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, Leipzig 1928-1935/ Stuttgart 1967-71), γάμμα 447.1: *Γραικοί· οἱ Ἕλληνες. ἀπὸ κώμης τινὸς ἢ ἀπὸ Γραικοῦ τινος; Etymologicon magnum*, ed. T. Gaisford, Oxford 1848/Amsterdam 1962, 241.15: *Γραικός Ῥαικός, Ἕλλην Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, τὸ γ προσθέντες, Γραικὸν φασί.*

70. *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. De Boor, Lipsiae 1883, 455.19–25: *Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἀπέστειλεν Εἰρήνη Κωνστάνη τὸν σακελλάριον καὶ Μάμαλον τὸν πριμικήριον πρὸς Κάρουλον τὸν ῥῆγα τῶν Φράγγων, ὅπως τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα, Ἐρυθρὼ λεγομένην, νυμφεύσηται τῷ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ, τῷ υἱῷ αὐτῆς. καὶ γενομένης συμφωνίας καὶ ὅρκων ἀναμεταξὺ ἀλλήλων, κατέλιπον Ἐλισσαῖον τὸν εὐνοῦχον καὶ νοτάριον πρὸς τὸ διδάξαι αὐτὴν τά τε τῶν Γραικῶν γράμματα καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν, καὶ παιδεῦσαι αὐτὴν τὰ ἤθη τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας*; Leon VI *Taktika*, PG 107, sp. 969, Diataxis 18, §95 (=*The Taktika of Leo VI*. Text, translation and commentary G. T. Dennis [CFHB XLIX], Washington 2010,470): *Ταῦτα* (τὰ ἔθνη) *δὲ ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐν θείᾳ τῇ λήξει γενόμενος πατὴρ καὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ Βασίλειος τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐθῶν ἔπεισε μεταστῆναι, καὶ γραικώσας καὶ ἄρχουσι κατὰ τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν τύπον ὑποτάξας, καὶ βαπτίσματι τιμήσας, τῆς τε δουλείας ἠλευθέρωσε τῶν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ στρατεύεσθαι κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίοις πολεμούντων ἐθνῶν ἐξεπαίδευσεν*; J. Koder, Anmerkungen zu γραικόω, *Βυζαντινά* 21 (2000), 199-202, where the verb in question is interpreted as the activity of propagating the Greek language; see also G. Tsaras, Τὸ νόημα τοῦ *γραικώσας* στὰ Τακτικὰ Λέοντος ΣΤ΄ τοῦ Σοφοῦ, *Βυζαντινὰ* 1(1969), 135-157, according to whom 'Γραικὸς' means the 'Orthodox Christian Greek'; see also above, footnote 66.

depending on the context in which they are used. The term which particularly presents semantic diversity is the term *Ἕλλην*.

1. All three collective nouns signify specific convictions and values of the social group that authored the texts, in which the terms appear. These convictions and values can be classified into three categories, namely political, educational and that of faith. A. Politically, the members of this social group are *Romans*. B. As far as the language, the education, the ethos and the culture are concerned, they are *Hellenes*. C. As far as their faith is concerned, they are Greek-speaking Christians, i.e. 'Graikoi'.
2. These three terms compose a unified set. A set with distinct but strong and integral components, each implying and defining one another, without, however, altering their individual connotations. These are the elements that constitute the self-image of the scholar and nobleman in Nicaea.

Οι οροι *Ῥωμαιος*, *Ελλην*, *Γραικος* στα βυζαντινα κειμενα του πρωτου μισου του 13ου αι.

Στο άρθρο εξετάζονται οι σημασίες και οι συνυποδηλώσεις των συλλογικών ονομάτων *Ῥωμαῖος*, *Ἕλλην* και *Γραικὸς* κατά την περίοδο της αυτοκρατορίας της Νικαίας, οι οποίες ποικίλλουν ανάλογα με τα συμφραζόμενα εντός των οποίων αυτά απαντούν. Καθένα από τα ονόματα συνδέεται με συγκεκριμένες αξίες της πολιτικής, της παιδείας και της θρησκείας. Αποτελούν ένα ενιαίο σύνολο με διακριτά, αλλά ταυτοχρόνως αναπόσπαστα συστατικά μέρη, και δηλώνουν την συλλογική ταυτότητα του ευγενούς και του λογίου στην Νίκαια.