

of the anonymous author are not distinctively characteristic of this author but reflect the views of the originals from which they were drawn as well as traditional opinion.

The chronographer is characterized also by a sincere and firm reverence for the Christian religion and the Orthodox Faith and Church, oftentimes attributing the destruction of the Empire to divine punishment for the lack of faith and for the sins of the people. He conspicuously avoids discussions of church dogma. He is not concerned with the Uniates or their position, but is remarkable for his exceptional Western orientation: he is especially impressed by Venice and the Venetians. Recognizing and underlining the achievements of the West, he emphasizes the failure of the West to help the East and prevent the ensuing spread of Turkish power to the West.

With respect to the Turks the author stresses their deceitful, bloody, and savage politicking. He does not hesitate to point out the cruel misdeeds performed on the members of their own families for the sake of political power. In addition, he shows how brutally Turkish military might asserted itself against the Christian population, and he reviews painfully the Turkish institution of the Janissaries.

Though not unmarred by historical and other errors (which Professor Zoras is careful to point out), the author of the *Chronicle* was as objective as could be expected under the circumstances. Even though there are inaccuracies, confusions, and often incomplete statements in his text as we have it, it remains a valuable source for the study of the 16th century. We are in Professor Zoras' debt for making available this very useful, well-planned and carefully exacted edition of *The Chronicle concerning the Turkish Sultans*.

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Γεωργίου Γ. Ζώρα, *Περί τῆν Ἄλωσιν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*. Athens: Spoudastêrion Byzantinês kai Neoellênikês Philologias tou Panepistimiou Athenôn, 1959. Pp. 305.

This book is a collection of fourteen essays on subjects related to the periods before and after the capitulation of Constantinople and the period of Turkish occupation. All the essays have appeared in print elsewhere in one form or another and have now been published in one single volume for easy access and reference. None of the essays constitutes more than a preliminary introduction to the subjects involved and many of the articles repeat what the author has said in other articles. There has been no attempt to reorganize the essays in the form of a unified book but rather the articles are presented pretty much as they were originally published in various journals or books. Many of the articles are far from scholarly; much of what Professor Zoras has to say can be just as easily culled from reading the original documents

that he discusses. In many cases he does no more than give an obvious summary or outline of the original with profuse (oftentimes unnecessary) quotation. The collection of articles, however, as presented is valuable and useful as an introduction to a field that deserves deeper and further interpretation. Professor Zoras is obviously doing some pioneer work in this direction but his work is limited by historical exegesis and philological *explication du texte*. What is now needed is a deeper investigation in terms of the philosophy of history and literary criticism. Professor D. J. Geanakoplos has given us an admirable example of what can be done in one phase of this area, in intellectual history, in his recent book, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962).\*

The first article (11-70) is the longest and one of the best of Professor Zoras' contributions. Entitled "Ideological and Political Directions Formed before and after the Capture of Constantinople," the article shows the various attitudes and directions taken by the Greeks, such as their deterministic expectation of liberation (the East thinks the capture of Constantinople is attributed to divine punishment for sins, while the Latins and Uniates think the schism is the cause); the view that help and liberation will come from abroad from fellow Christians; the unfruitful, sometimes expedient attempts at cooperation with the Turks; the attempts, some of them naive, at Christianization of Mohammed and the Muslims; the efforts to demonstrate that Mohammedanism and Orthodox Christianity are basically the same, but that misinterpretation and misunderstanding have caused them to appear to be different; and, finally, the realization that the Greeks must have faith in their own powers, not that of foreign powers; that philhellenism must be promoted abroad and education must be cultivated among the Greeks themselves to preserve and maintain ethnic unity and culture. This article is an excellent introduction to the period.

The second article (73-101) is a detailed, even scholarly, investigation of "The Last Orations of Constantine Palaiologos and Mohammed the Conqueror before the Capture of Constantinople." The evidence is shown to be non-existent for showing that such orations were ever made in any Greek or Turkish sources. Zoras argues that Leonardus of Chios invented the speech of Constantine that we do have in his work and this was followed by later writers and paralleled by Critoboulos, who invented a similar speech for the Sultan. Zoras makes a substantial contribution here by showing how an historian can invent or color history.

The third article, "The Capture of Constantinople according to the Codex Barberinus Graecus 111 of the Vatican Library" (105-122), though it does make reference to other sources, is a popular exposition that could be easily and more profitably superseded by reading the

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\* Reviewed by this writer in VOL. 3, No. 1, 1962, pp. 225-229 of this periodical.

original; while the fourth article, "The Last Moments of Constantine Palaiologos and of Mohammed the Conqueror according to the Codex Barberinus Graecus 111" (125-133) and the fifth article, "The last Years of the Frankish Occupation and the Capture of Athens by the Turks according to the Codex Barberinus Graecus 111" (137-147), are the same type of article as the third, with the latter revealing to the reader the end of Duchy of Athens under the Acciavoli and the intrigues of Bartholomew Contarini and Nerius' wife Kiara. The sixth article is again based on a reading of the Codex Barberinus Graecus 111 (151-155). Entitled "The Capture of Methone in 1500", it reveals the triumph of Bayazit II over the inhabitants of Methone, a triumph that was unusually bloody and brutal for the conquered and rich for the conquerors.

The seventh article, "Pains and Hopes of the Enslaved according to the Dirges concerning the Capture of Constantinople" (159-189), is a solid piece of exposition. It deals systematically with the Greeks' recollection of the past glory of Byzantine magnificence, the disillusionment by the West, the causes of destruction (envy, miserliness, lack of faith), an estimate of Turkish power (an attempt to convince the West that the Turks were not as many or as powerful as the West thought), the destruction of Constantinople and the disasters of Hellenism; the misfortune of the Emperor Constantine; the hopes of liberation based on foreign aid with the imploring of Christian help based on Christian concern (the Turkish danger is a common concern to the West); and faith in God and in the Greeks' own power for liberation without outside help. These themes are very well outlined as they occur in the laments.

The eighth article (193-211) deals with a very interesting topic and an important one for the history of Greek aspirations in the West. It is called "Charles the Fifth of Germany and the Efforts toward Liberation according to Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1624." The author of this codex, a mediocre poet who wrote in demotic Greek in decasyllabic homoiokatalectic verse (around 1530?) introduces us, in the First Part, to Charles V, describes his descent, his ascent to the throne, his successful expeditions and struggles against the Turkish Sultan Suleiman, Barbarossa, the French, his activity against infidels in general and, in the Second Part, tries to arouse the Emperor by revealing the tragic tribulation in which the Greeks are living and tries to persuade him to liberate them. The author claims genuine respect and devotion to Charles the Fifth and asks for his intervention against the Turks. He stresses that Charles can extend his own Empire in the East and West; that divine signs warn that this course should be pursued and that the Greeks will help. Victory is sure, says the poet, and he goes on to envision Charles triumphant on the Byzantine throne in full glory. Jews and Moslems become Christians in a supreme achievement, East and West are united under a single Christian Emperor. Professor Zoras has quoted the whole section on

liberation of the East (973-1325) from the original. This article is a very convenient place for the Eastern view of Charles V.

The ninth article, "Lament of Constantinople according to Codex Barberinus Graecus 15" (215-231), is based on a 17th Century MS in decapentasyllabic homoiokatalectic verse. Zoras shows that it is a simple imitation of Metropolitan Matthew Myreôn's "History of Vlachia" (written before 1618) but a syncopated version. The popularity of Michael the Noble is shown in this piece, his victory against the Turks in Transylvania and Moldavia but Greek hopes are dashed; they must fend for themselves.

The tenth article, "An Unknown Variant of the Lament of Constantinople according to Codex Athenaicus 3113" (235-253), analyzes one of the finest poems of its kind. Written in decapentasyllabic poetic verse in *dénotikê*, at an unknown date in the 16th century, the poem was found in two MSS, one in the Library in Jerusalem, the other in the Museum of Antiquities in Bucharest. The MS. that Zoras now publishes is the fullest extant. Zoras includes a supplement with comments of the Variant of Païsios Ligaridês.

"The Song of Roumeli" (257-265) is the eleventh article in the collection under review and records with comment the song that two scholarly gentlemen of a distinguished old Greek family heard when they visited occupied Greece at the request of Napoleon who was eager to find out the social and political condition of the Greeks. In the song, personified Greece answers the foreign visitors. The material Professor Zoras draws from is the work *Voyage de Dimo et Nicolo Stephanopoli en Grece* (Paris, 1800 in 2 volumes), reissued by Légrand in 1870 in revised and corrected form in octasyllabic verse. Zoras restores the verse to decapentasyllabic.

The twelfth article, "Popular Laments on the Capture of Constantinople" (269-283), is a section from the introduction of Zoras' book *Byzantine Poetry* (Athens, 1956). It includes samplings and very brief discussions of the following with bibliographic notes: "The Capture of Constantinople," "The Recall of Constantinople," "The Lament of Constantinople," "Lament on the Capture of the City," "Lament of the Four Patriarchs," "Lament and Plaint concerning Constantinople," "Papa Synadênou's," "Lament of Constantinople," and "John Axagiolou's Concise Narrative of Charles the Fifth." This article is a swift, general survey.

The thirteenth (287-295) is based on Patrick Leigh Fermor's book, *The Traveller's Tree: A Journey through the Caribbean Islands* (London, 1950) and is confessedly a translation, for the most part, of this English writer's work on the mysterious Ferdinand Palaiologos, who is believed to have been a descendant of the famous Byzantine family. Why not read the original Fermor instead of Zoras? Zoras dramatically entitles this article "A Descendant of the Palaiologoi in the Caribbean Islands: Between History and Legend."

The final article, the fourteenth, is a very sketchy outline called

"The City and Constantine Palaiologos in Modern Greek Poetry" (299 - 305). Professor Zoras claims no more for this article than outline status since he hopes to publish an extended study on the topic at an undisclosed later date.

The book lacks an index and the table of contents is at the end rather than the beginning. Still there can be no doubt that this collection of articles by Professor Zoras of the Universities of Athens and Rome is a rich source of little known material that deserves attention. Much of the material that Professor Zoras has brought to light (some of it for the first time) and republished needs further intensive study and clarification. He is to be congratulated for his diligence and industry.

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