

THE VIEW OF THE MODERN GREEKS THROUGH THE MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY TRAVELLERS' ACCOUNTS*

Travellers' accounts are among the important sources reflecting the attitude of Western Europe vis à vis the Ottoman Empire. Whereas, during the first phase, up to the reign of Suleiman I, such sources repeatedly emphasize "the Turkish Threat"¹ in the following years, new Western motives dictated changes in the initial views towards the vigorous Eastern neighbour.

Franco-German rivalry on the Continent, Catholic-Lutheran clashes, and competition for the trade of the East, all substantially influenced the attitudes of European powers, not only among themselves but also towards the Ottomans.

Based on the known and so far published travel accounts, one notes that, in the quarter-century following 1530, there is a proliferation of focus on the Ottoman Turks, their administrative system, their military organization, their ways and customs and in general their daily life. Correspondingly, during the same period, there is also a scarcity of travel accounts dealing primarily or exclusively with the Holy Land. Therefore, one may conclude that there has been a translocation of interest. The Holy Land has ceased to be the centre of attraction for travellers as was the case in earlier times and as was destined to recur later in the end of the 16th c., when religious interest was revived and new waves of pilgrims flocked to Palestine.

Fear, born of the unknown and out of acute religious controversy as well as from frequent tales of fratricidal feuds over succession to the Ottoman Imperial Throne, which echoed the brutality of the régime, coupled with Ottoman expansionist ambitions in the Mediterranean, the Balkans and even

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1. Sydney H. Moore, "The Turkish Menace in the Sixteenth Century", *The Modern Language Review*, XL (1945), 30, 301, believes that "the entire history of the Reformation was linked up with the Turkish menace" and points out "that the effect of the Reformation would have been greatly circumscribed had not this fear of the Turks loomed so large in the eyes of the rulers of Germany". Cf. also the recent article by Carl Göllner, "Die Türkenfrage im Spannungsfeld der Reformation", *Südost-Forschungen*, XXXIV (1975), 61-78 and the respective bibliography it contains. I thank Dr. John C. Alexander for the bibliographical information he willingly put at my disposition.

further afield, combined to cultivate deep anxiety. This anxiety was visible in the large number of pamphlets which circulated in the days before newspapers were known as a means for keeping Europeans informed on the activities of the Ottomans.

The siege of Rhodes (1480), the capture of Belgrade (1521), Rhodes (1522), Buda, after the fierce battle of Mohács (1526) and the climax attained with the siege of Vienna in 1529, were described in numerous contemporary editions. Besides, the fact that the Ottomans made their appearance on the European scene at the very period when printing was invented in Western Europe, was the cause for many incunabula to be directly related to this subject. Side by side with pamphlets on the campaign against the "infidel" and on news about actual military operations, works were also composed on the history of the Ottomans and on contemporary Ottoman Government and Society².

The new empire with its renowned capital, now in the second quarter of the 16th century, attracts increasing interest. Fear of the Turks is gradually dissipated, especially in France, while simultaneous efforts are made for a rapprochement in the economic sector. Legitimacy of the Ottoman State, ratified by the Alliance between Francis I and the Sultan, bringing as its natural consequence development of diplomatic and commercial relations as well as active cooperation against a common rival, Charles the Fifth, brought the Balkans back into the limelight, almost a century after the fall of Byzantium.

Information on the Greek element begins to seep through in extracts from accounts given by travellers who had gone out to admire the renowned city of Constantinople, to make the acquaintance of the Turks at close quarters and, above all, to satisfy the curiosity of the spirit of the Renaissance which demanded that true knowledge should rely on seeing things on the spot.

Accounts given by the former type of traveller, whose main interest lay in the Ottoman State, contained very little information on the Greeks, but those given by the latter type of traveller contained more frequent reference.

2. The detailed bibliography by Carl Göllner, *Turcica: die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Vol. I-II, Bucarest-Leipzig-Baden-Baden, 1961-1968, gives a very complete picture of the existing literature on this subject. Of the 2540 references to the entire century, roughly 500 cover the period which is of interest to us here. See also Albert Howe Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, New York 1966, Appendix II: "The Ottoman government in the Sixteenth Century", p. 307-322; Marcel Bataillon, "Mythe et connaissance de la Turquie en Occident au milieu du 16^e s.", in *Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento* a cura di Agostino Pertusi, Venice, 1966, p. 451-452.

Thus, for example, in the book written by Bernardo Ramberti, who reached Constantinople overland from Ragusa in 1534, mention is made of Greeks who "in the past held sway but now, deprived of all power, have resorted to Adrianople where they live on their memories of ancient glory"³. It is the same when he refers to the inhabitants of Constantinople among whom, apart from Turks, were included Jews, Franks (the name given to the Christian merchant class in the Pera quarter), and Greeks whose origin was from Pera, the Greek mainland and the island of Chios. He records that there was very little sympathy between these three communities, each of which observed its own laws and customs in such manner that, "if a Frank should marry a Greek woman or a Greek marry a Frankish woman, unless the woman agreed to her creed, there was no understanding between them"⁴. Luigi Bassano de Zara, with particular reference to the manner in which the Turks handled the various Christian communities (Maronites, Armenians, Greeks, etc.), noted "that they were allowed each to have its churches but without bells. The Greeks were allowed a Patriarch in Constantinople but he had to pay the Sultan an annual tithe (reportedly) amounting to 1000 Escudos". De Zara also learned that the Patriarch's favourite monk usually became his successor⁵. The Italian traveller Giovan Antonio Menavino refers to Greeks only when mentioning the social and military structure of the Ottoman State. He describes the occupations and classes of the people in the Sultan's service. "There are always in the service of the Grand Turk two hundred persons, some of them Greeks, some Christians and some slaves, known as meimargiler, which means stone carvers"⁶. He also mentions recruitment to the Turkish army and writes: "There are perhaps five hundred Janissar cadets training to become Janissars. These lads have been kidnapped from their mothers and fathers in Greece and cannot speak Turkish"⁷.

3. *Libri tre delle cose de Turchi. Nel primo si describe il viaggio da Venetia à Constantino-poli, con gli nomi de luoghi antichi e moderni; nel secondo la Porta, cioè la corte de Soltan Soleymano, Signor de Turchi: nel terzo il modo del reggere il stato et imperio suo* (Vinegia, 1539), f. 9^v.

4. *Ibid.* f. 10^r-10^v.

5. *I costumi, et i modo particolari de la vita de Turchi, descritta da M. Luigi Bassano da Zara* (Roma, 1545), f. 14.

6. *I cinque libri della legge, religione, et vita de' Turchi, et della Corte, et d'alcune guerre del Gran Turco; de giovanantonio Menavino... oltre cio, Una prophetia de' Mahometani et altre cose Turchesche non piu vedute, tradotte da M. Lodovico Domenichi* (Venezia, 1548), p. 123.

7. *Ibid.*

The Hungarian pilgrim Bartholomaeus Georgievic, who remained a captive of the Turks for 13 years, wrote on the same subject and said the Greeks referred to these children as "fatherless" and "motherless"⁸. Quite a few travellers, often without knowing the full facts, comment on these children kidnapped from their Christian parents. The French scholar Guillaume Postel, who made several trips to the Levant, takes care in his book "De La République des Turcs" to correct what the Italian Cardinal Paolo Giovio had written about the children of the Christians in his book on the Turks. Postel underlines that the children of Greeks or those of other Christian people subjected to the Turks (agemoglan), were not allowed inside the Serai in order to be educated as Giovio relates, but only if they enjoyed some major privilege and warm recommendations from the master who employed them could they be let in to work in the gardens⁹.

To a large extent, one of the difficulties in tracing any mention of the Greek element in travellers' accounts, which had as their object an analysis of the Ottoman State, is that those subjected to the Turks were not distinguished by the narrators according to their various nationalities but according to their religion, i.e. Christians, Jews, etc. Greek Orthodox Christians, for whom Catholic travellers felt no particular sympathy, naturally came under the broader classification of "Christians". The feeling was reciprocal, as witnessed by the epigrammatic phrase attributed to Loukas Notaras, in the days of the fall of Byzantium¹⁰. Furthermore, internal bickering among Christians is now at an acute stage¹¹ while similar events are taking place in

8. I have used the French translation; Bartholomaeus Georgievic, *Les misères et tribulations que les Chrestiens tributaires et esclaves tenuz par les Turcs seuffrent et sont contraincts endurer...*—Anvers, 1544, f. 15. In his book, Georgievic quotes the words "apateras" and "ameteras" in the Greek original: ἀπάτερας, ἀμήτερας

9. G. Postel, *De la Republique des Turcs*...Poitiers, 1560, part III, p. 22-23. It must be noted that books dealing with subjects pertaining to the Ottoman Turks, their History, their administrative system, the Sultan's court, religion etc. gather most of their information from the work of Teodoro Spandugino Cantacuzino. First published anonymously in French, in Paris 1519, (*Petit Traicté de l'Origine des Turcqz*) it was published later under the title *La Généalogie du Grant Turc à Présent Régnant*, see A. H. Lybyer, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

10. Michael Ducas, *Historia Byzantina*, XXXVII, Bonn ed. p. 264. Cf. also Hélène Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantine*, PUF 1975, and especially Chapter V: "A la recherche des valeurs nouvelles", Chap. VI: "Le patriotisme grec et orthodoxe", and Chap. VII: "L'utopie nationale".

11. Despite efforts to achieve religious harmony in the West and to organize a crusade against the Turks, interchristian antithesis could not be easily eliminated. "We are occupied with the negotiations for the general war against the Turk and for that particular war against

the East where the expansionist advances to the East and South by Selim I reveal ambitions for religious preponderance over the heretic Persian Shiites and the orthodox Mamelouk Sunnites. I would recall that by capturing the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, Selim succeeds in being acclaimed spiritual leader of all Mohamedans in 1517, a feat which no Western sovereign or religious leader succeeded in doing in Christendom.

Interchristian squabbles, however, did not prevent travellers visiting Constantinople from locating and describing in admiring terms its various monuments among which the Church of Saint Sophia which symbolized, the Greek Orthodox Faith. Even if certain travellers, such as Menavino, did not deviate from their original target which was to become acquainted with the Ottoman State and its society, the majority, whether in prose or in verse, gave descriptions of this fine 6th century Byzantine edifice. Nor did they omit mention of damage suffered by it at the hands of various conquerors belonging to other religions. Differences of opinions as to forms of worship caused obliteration of ikons and this resulted in damage to mosaics and frescoes. Luigi Bassano calls Saint Sophia not only "the most beautiful church in Turkey but of all Christian churches in the world, for its age and because it had been built by Christians and was dedicated to Saint Sophia or the Holy Wisdom of Our Saviour"¹². Indeed, the church of Saint Sophia whose fame had spread far beyond the bounds of the old Empire, remained during this period also a centre of attraction for visitors to Constantinople. Although converted into a mosque, it remained in the eyes of all Westerners a resplendent Christian temple worthy of the worship of the Saviour. Jérôme Maurand, a French army chaplain was spurred to undertake a visit to Constantinople and the "marvellous edifice of Saint Sophia", after hearing accounts given by his brother about the remarkable things to be seen on a visit to the Levant¹³. Detailed descriptions of this stately temple follow in quick succession in travellers' accounts. Some draw comparisons with monuments in Western countries but hasten to assert that it is even more beautiful. Belon draws

that nefarious Martin Luther, who is a greater evil to Christendom than the Turk", wrote the papal nuncio Francesco Chiericati in a letter dated 10th January 1523, to the Marquis Federico Gonzaga of Mantua, cited by Kenneth M. Setton, "Lutheranism and the Turkish Peril", in *Europe and the Levant in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Variorum Reprints*, London 1974, (reprinted from *Balkan Studies*, III, Thessaloniki, 1962), p. 147.

12. Luigi Bassano da Zara, *op. cit.*, f. 8.

13. *Itinéraire de Jérôme Maurand d'Antibes à Constantinople (1544)*: texte Italien publié pour la première fois avec une introduction et une traduction, par Léon Dorez, Paris, 1901, p. 23-25.

a parallel with the Pantheon of Rome but declares his preference for the Byzantine temple¹⁴. However, all this admiration and descriptions of Saint Sophia and of other Byzantine monuments add nothing to what is known of the modern Greek 16th century community. The French scholar and naturalist Pierre Gilles, after studying ichthyology also studied on the spot and described in detail the monuments and topography of Constantinople but took no interest in the contemporary descendants of the people who had constructed those works of art. In fact, to the contrary, in his books, after bitter attacks on the Mohamedan "barbarians", as he calls them, for having ventured to erect buildings of their own on top of the old, thereby burying and eradicating specimens of Byzantine civilization, he also turns upon the Greeks for their ignorance; "consider farther" he notes "the profound ignorance of the Greeks at present. There is scarce a man of them who either knows or has so much of an inclination to know where their antiquities are. Nay, their Priests are so heedless and negligent in this respect that they will not make the least enquiry themselves about those places where, but a few years since, very magnificent Temples were standing and so very censorious are they, as to condemn those that do"¹⁵. An ardent lover of antiquities himself, it is obvious that from an early stage Gilles had realised the need for drawing up an inventory of ancient monuments. He had delved in the works of classical and Byzantine authors, in order to prepare himself and, at the same time, had proposed to Francis I, that learned men should be appointed to explore and describe countries which, in times past, had been the scene of ancient civilizations and had since fallen back into the hands of barbarian rule¹⁶.

The period lent itself to such missions. Military and naval expeditions, even diplomatic missions offered opportunities for more persons to venture abroad. Diplomatic missions during this period, noted for its humanistic spirit, included learned men and scientists who gave them added weight and prestige. The French king not only favoured travelling for scientific purposes but even entrusted learned men with the collection of ancient manuscripts,

14. *Les Observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses mémorables, trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie et autres pays estranges, rédigées en trois livres par Pierre Belon du Mans. Revez de nouveau et augmentez de figures*, Paris, 1554, f. 72^v.

15. I have used the English edition of Pierre Gilles, *The Antiquities of Constantinople...*, London, 1729, p. 74.

16. Gilles expresses these thoughts in his dedicatory epigram to Francis I in his work entitled *De Vi et Natura Animalium*. I have taken this information from the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Paris 1857 (photographie reprint Copenhagen 1966), p. 542.

coins, etc. Contemporary Western monarchs copied him. Travelling, as an essential means for acquiring and increasing knowledge, is stressed more and more. Thévet writes "premièrement voir, puis savoir" in the foreword to his traveller's accounts, in line with what Aristotle believed¹⁷. For his part, Belon reminds his readers that Democritus sold his fortune in order to be able to visit distant lands¹⁸. Thus it was that travellers during that period, who had been brought up in a classical education and had a profound religious sense, no matter how much influenced by their opposition to the Greek Orthodox Church, found themselves unable to remain indifferent towards an enslaved Christian people who had a glorious past.

The first to express himself on the modern Greeks was Pierre Belon du Mans who toured the East in 1546-1549. Although his interest focussed mainly upon natural history, Belon devoted several pages in the first part of his "Observations" to the Greeks and to their customs. Belon visited a broad portion of the Greek area having been to several of the Aegean Islands, Macedonia, Thrace and Constantinople. In his narration, he refers constantly to texts by ancient authors, to ancient names of plants and animals and to methods used by the ancients in medicine, cookery, etc. His interest in the modern Greeks appears to have stemmed from this close association with antiquity and from his endeavour to indentify their survival into modern times. This may account for his frequently harsh judgement of modern Greeks, especially when touching upon matters of education, their ignorance, lack of universities, indifference about educating their children, illiteracy among the clergy, which impressed him particularly since, as he notes... "the authors of all good sciences and disciplines which we respect in the present day, originate mostly from Greece"¹⁹. Defining in the beginning of his book the political status of the modern Greeks, at that time subjugated to two conquerors, the Turks and the Venetians, he mentions their religion which had suffered no change, some of their customs, their language and dress. Commenting on the last two, he observes that they varied according to district and to the social class of the individual but retained features from antiquity, as for example, in the costume of the peasants. As regards customs, Belon appears to describe those which echo some survival from ancient times: "women do not attend banquets nor are present when men are drinking and eating in company. This

17. *Cosmographie de Levant, par André Thevet d'Angoulesme*, Lion, 1556, p. 13 (first edition Lyons, 1554).

18. Belon, *op. cit.*, Praeface (without pagination, p. [1]).

19. Belon, *op. cit.*, f. 4.

is an old habit with them. A similar way of life existed in the days of Macrobius in Rome and Plato in Greece". As regards laments at funerals, Belon notes... "the ancient habit of wailing for the dead still applies in Greek villages". Speaking of Crete and the Cretans, he makes constant reference to antiquity. "As in ancient times, the wines of Crete are sweet" or "that Cretan dance when they brandish their weapons, seems to remind me of the dance of the Kourites". Several similar references run through his text.

Naturally, it is not easy to include in this discourse everything that was mentioned by Belon. One must, however, dwell upon those chapters which concern the island of Lemnos and the quarrying of its "terra sigillata", Constantinople with its monuments, the islands of Crete, Mytilene and Chios with the tapping of its mastic gum trees and its beautiful women and, above all, Mt. Athos. The monastic communities of Mt. Athos form the subject of careful description by the French traveller who, penetratingly observant, gives the reader a very vivid image of the monastic life and religious views which prevailed in those times. Here, again, educational matters are seen to occupy his mind. Lack of any intellectual life, mistrust of the Greek Church towards poetry and philosophy and the poor standard of education among the monks all draw comment from him. He does not, however, omit praise for their diligence and he lists the various arts and crafts practiced by the monks and underlines their trend towards leading a genuinely ascetic life. The information he gives about Mt. Athos and, later, about Macedonia and Thrace, though often containing geographical inaccuracies, is a precious source of knowledge on conditions in those areas in the mid-sixteenth century. Belon's work was widely appreciated in his time, a fact proved by its frequent editions.

Other humanist scholars who accompanied diplomatic missions to Constantinople and wrote travellers' accounts were: André Thevet and Nicolas de Nicolay who belonged to the entourage of the French Ambassador Gabriel d'Aramon, as well as the Dutch Hugo Favolius. Favolius accompanied Gerard de Veltwyck who went out as Ambassador for Charles V and Ferdinand. In a lengthy latin poem entitled "*Hodoeporicum Byzantini*"²⁰ which, as the title implies, covers his journey to Constantinople he relates all that he saw and heard during his journey from Ragusa overland and back through the Aegean isles in order to visit Greek lands on the way. Favolius

20. *Hodoeporicum Byzantini lib(ri) III, auctore Hugone Favolio Lovanii, Excudebat Servatius Sassenus 1563*. Cf. André Deisser, "Entre Constantinople et Venise. L'Hodoeporicum de Favoli et son escale au Ténare (début 1546), *Thesaurismata*, 15 (1978), p. 246-259.

referred at length to Athens which, by then, unknown and forgotten, had dwindled into nothing more than an insignificant township. Other travellers also have described the state into which Athens had declined. The French traveller La Borderie, who had gone to Constantinople with the French fleet in 1537, presents the dismal picture of Athens and the distress of its inhabitants... "impoverished and miserable Greeks who were made to pay incredibly high taxes amounting in each hearth to one Sultanin per head and one Aspre per beast"²¹.

Acquaintance of West Europeans with the Greek element, to which Belon contributed so much, was supplemented by Nicolas Nicolay's work which contained numerous engravings²². Among the various characters depicted and costumes worn in the Ottoman Empire, persons of Greek descent were shown in their characteristic dress in accordance with their social class or their occupation: ladies from the Pera quarter of the City, from Adrianople, Paros or Chios, a Greek nobleman, a merchant and peasants. The sketches drawn by Nicolay are a precious collection, not only from the Turkish aspect but also from the Greek because, previously, pictures of Greeks had been very rare. As specimens, we might mention Breydenbach's "Itinerarium" (1486) which contains a small sketch of "Greek monks and Telchines (Cretans)", or engravings made from sketches by Pierre Coech d'Alost which show a caravan with Greek characters²³. In a passage of the text by André Thevet, which deals with Greek Orthodox Patriarchs, there is a picture of a Patriarch in his clerical robes.

It is not expedient to list on this occasion all the data which concerns us, given by travellers during the second quarter of the 16th century. Closer

21. Cf. *Athènes au XVe, XVIe, et XVIIe siècles, par le comte de Laborde* which contains extensive passages from the "Discours du voyage de Constantinople, par le Seigneur de Borderie" (1537), p. 263. The voyage was made in 1537 by order of the King. The Gennadeion Library, Athens contains a ms of the poem which was first printed in 1542.

22. *Les Navigations, peregrinations et voyages, faicts en la Turquie, par Nicolas Nicolay Daulphinois Seigneur d'Arfeville, valet de chambre et géographe ordinaire du Roy de France, contenant plusieurs singularitez que l'auteur y a veu et observé, le tout distingué en quatre livres; avec soixante figyres au naturel tant d'hommes, que de femmes selon la diversité des nations, leur port, maintien, habits, loyx, religion et façon de vivre tant en temps de paix comme de guerre, avec plusieurs belles et memorables histoires advenues en nostre temps.* En Anvers, 1577 (first edition, Lyon 1567).

23. The pictorial representations of Greek subjects are rather sporadic during the first years in works containing engravings concerning the Ottoman Empire, Cf. Clarence Dana Rouillard, *The Turk in French history, thought and literature (1520-1660)*, Paris, 1938, the chapter on "Pictorial representations of the Turk", p. 271-286.

scrutiny of their works reveals frequent repetition. Although the authors did in fact make the journeys to the East, they seemed to have copied out of each other's works. For example, what Thevet has written about devastated Athens appears to have been taken, almost verbatim, out of texts by La Borderie. Nicolay, in turn, has certainly copied Thevet's writings on a subject very dear to the latter — "Greek Patriarchs and the errors committed by them". Nevertheless, although André Thevet blames the Greek Church and people generally for their negative attitude towards Catholics, in his belief that they were misguided over many points in their religious worship, he was among the first of these visitors to the East, who in the 16th century appealed to Christian monarchs to free the classical lands from the yoke of the infidel. Believing that the Greeks had been deprived of their homeland, their laws and their liberty because "God had so willed it for the great errors they had committed and for their blindness which continued to this day", he adds "I pray unto the Lord that He shines His light upon the hearts of our Christian rulers that they may make every effort to recover the aforesaid lands (i.e. Greece) which once stood as the fountain of philosophy and the teacher of every good science"²⁴.

It is obvious that Thevet had failed to realise that the Christian monarchs to whom he was addressing his appeal were the very rulers who, while purporting to be humanists and worshippers of antiquity, were engaged in inter-European quarrels and through alliances or peace treaties with the Sultan, put the seal of legality on the Ottoman Empire's presence on European soil, thus prolonging the subjugation of all the Balkan nations. Among these, of course, were the Greeks on whose behalf he was protesting.

Thoughts similar to those of Thevet were expressed a few years later by the diplomatic representative of Ferdinand of Austria, Augier Ghiselin de Busbecq, in his much-read "Letters" about his journey to the East in 1551²⁵. Busbecq, likewise permeated by the ideas of the Renaissance, became very active in the collection of ancient manuscripts and inscriptions. In his person, we discover one of the early philhellenes who expresses himself with emotion

24. A. Thevet, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

25. Busbecq's work was frequently published in various languages: Latin, German, English, Hungarian, French, Flemish and Spanish; seven editions are recorded in the 16th century and 14 more in the 17th. The first edition was in Latin and contained the 1st Epistle. It was entitled *Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasiam et De Acie contra Turca Instruenda Consilium* Antwerp, Plantin, 1581. See list of editions in: *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, by Charles Thornton Forster and F. H. Blackburne Daniell, London, 1881, vol. II, Appendix III. Editions, p. 288-291. I have used the English edition entitled. *The Four Epistles of A. G. Busbequius concerning his embassy in Turkey...* London, 1694.

over the enslavement of Greece which "being heretofore, the most flourishing country in the world, is now woefully enslaved by Barbarians"²⁶.

We have made no attempt to check the accuracy or credibility of these travellers'accounts nor have we relied on similar texts which have remained unpublished, in their time. Our aim was not to restore truth by probing into comparative research. We did, however, wish to discover the information on which the 16th century Europe was fed on the subject of the modern Greek element. These travellers'accounts provided evidence which played a major part in promoting acquaintance with the modern Greeks and in drawing up their image, not only in the mid-sixteenth century but also in subsequent centuries. Travellers' relations, itineraries and other texts dealing with travel, form almost the exclusive source of information on the Greek element covering that period.

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26. Busbequius, *op. cit.*, p. 65.