



Athens Journal of History

Quarterly Academic Periodical, Volume 8, Issue 4 October 2022

URL: <https://www.athensjournals.gr/ajhis>

Email: journals@atiner.gr

e-ISSN: 2407-9677 DOI: 10.30958/ajhis



Front Pages

KEN MOORE

[“Ther cam a Privee Theef, Men Clepeth Deeth”:
A Tale of Two Plagues and of Altered Perspectives](#)

OLIVER R. BAKER

[Queen Atossa: Adamantine Achaemenid Apron-Strings \[Hdt. 2.1.1–2, Hdt. 3.66.2, 3.88.2, 3.133–134, Hdt.7.2.1–3, and 7.3.4\]](#)

KARINE BAZEYAN & GRIGOR AGHANYAN

[The Greek Population of the Province of Alexandropol during the Turkish
Invasions of 1918-1920: An Analysis based on Oral History](#)

STEFAN STARETU

[The Vlachs - People Formed Around a Dynasty](#)

Athens Journal of History

Published by the Athens Institute for Education and Research (ATINER)

Editors

- Dr. Steven Oberhelman, Vice President of International Programs, ATINER & Professor of Classics, Holder of the George Sumey Jr Endowed Professorship of Liberal Arts, and Associate Dean, Texas A&M University, USA.

Editorial & Reviewers' Board

<https://www.athensjournals.gr/ajhis/eb>

Administration of the Journal

1. Vice President of Publications: Dr Zoe Boutsioli
2. General Managing Editor of all ATINER's Publications: Ms. Afrodete Papanikou
3. ICT Managing Editor of all ATINER's Publications: Mr. Kostas Spyropoulos
4. Managing Editor of this Journal: Dr. Aleksandra Tryniecka

ATINER is an Athens-based World Association of Academics and Researchers based in Athens. ATINER is an independent and non-profit Association with a Mission to become a forum where Academics and Researchers from all over the world can meet in Athens, exchange ideas on their research and discuss future developments in their disciplines, as well as engage with professionals from other fields. Athens was chosen because of its long history of academic gatherings, which go back thousands of years to Plato's Academy and Aristotle's Lyceum. Both these historic places are within walking distance from ATINER's downtown offices. Since antiquity, Athens was an open city. In the words of Pericles, Athens "...is open to the world, we never expel a foreigner from learning or seeing". ("Pericles' Funeral Oration", in Thucydides, The History of the Peloponnesian War). It is ATINER's mission to revive the glory of Ancient Athens by inviting the World Academic Community to the city, to learn from each other in an environment of freedom and respect for other people's opinions and beliefs. After all, the free expression of one's opinion formed the basis for the development of democracy, and Athens was its cradle. As it turned out, the Golden Age of Athens was in fact, the Golden Age of the Western Civilization. Education and (Re)searching for the 'truth' are the pillars of any free (democratic) society. This is the reason why Education and Research are the two core words in ATINER's name.

The *Athens Journal of History (AJHIS)* is an Open Access quarterly double-blind peer reviewed journal and considers papers from all areas of history. Many of the papers published in this journal have been presented at the various conferences sponsored by the [History Unit](#) of the Athens Institute for Education and Research (ATINER). All papers are subject to ATINER's [Publication Ethical Policy and Statement](#).

The Athens Journal of History

ISSN NUMBER: 2407-9677 - DOI: 10.30958/ajhis

Volume 8, Issue 4, October 2022

Download the entire issue ([PDF](#))

<u>Front Pages</u>	i-viii
<u>“Ther cam a Privee Theef, Men Clepeth Deeth”: A Tale of Two Plagues and of Altered Perspectives</u> <i>Ken Moore</i>	261
<u>Queen Atossa: Adamantine Achaemenid Apron- Strings [Hdt. 2.1.1–2, Hdt. 3.66.2, 3.88.2, 3.133–134, Hdt.7.2.1–3, and 7.3.4]</u> <i>Oliver R. Baker</i>	293
<u>The Greek Population of the Province of Alexandropol during the Turkish Invasions of 1918- 1920: An Analysis based on Oral History</u> <i>Karine Bazeyan & Grigor Aghanyan</i>	321
<u>The Vlachs - People Formed Around a Dynasty</u> <i>Stefan Staretu</i>	333

Athens Journal of History

Editorial and Reviewers' Board

Editors

- **Dr. Steven Oberhelman**, Vice President of International Programs, ATINER & Professor of Classics, Holder of the George Sumey Jr Endowed Professorship of Liberal Arts, and Associate Dean, Texas A&M University.

Editorial Board

- Dr. Nicholas Pappas, Vice President of Academic Membership, ATINER & Professor of History, Sam Houston University, USA.
- Dr. David Philip Wick, Director, Humanities & Education Division, ATINER & Professor of History, Gordon College, USA.
- Dr. Jayoung Che, Head, History Unit, ATINER & Deputy Director of Research, Korean Academy of Greek Studies, South Korea.
- Dr. Edward Anson, Academic Member, ATINER & Professor, University of Arkansas, USA.
- Dr. Romeo-Victor Ionescu, Academic Member, ATINER & Professor, Dunarea de Jos University, Romania.
- Dr. George Kaloudis, Academic Member, ATINER & Professor, Rivier College, USA.
- Dr. Sara Estrella Gil-Ramos, Academic Member, ATINER & Adjunct Professor, Art & History Department, New Jersey City University, USA.
- Dr. Michael Eisman, Academic Member, ATINER & Associate Professor, Temple University, USA.
- Dr. Margit Linder, Academic Member, ATINER & Assistant Professor, Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Graz, Austria.
- Dr. Moshe Gat, Professor Emeritus, Bar Ilan University, Israel.

- **General Managing Editor of all ATINER's Publications:** Ms. Afrodete Papanikou
- **ICT Managing Editor of all ATINER's Publications:** Mr. Kostas Spyropoulos
- **Managing Editor of this Journal:** Dr. Aleksandra Tryniecka ([bio](#))

Reviewers' Board

[Click Here](#)

President's Message

All ATINER's publications including its e-journals are open access without any costs (submission, processing, publishing, open access paid by authors, open access paid by readers etc.) and is independent of presentations at any of the many small events (conferences, symposiums, forums, colloquiums, courses, roundtable discussions) organized by ATINER throughout the year and entail significant costs of participating. The intellectual property rights of the submitting papers remain with the author. Before you submit, please make sure your paper meets the [basic academic standards](#), which includes proper English. Some articles will be selected from the numerous papers that have been presented at the various annual international academic conferences organized by the different divisions and units of the Athens Institute for Education and Research. The plethora of papers presented every year will enable the editorial board of each journal to select the best, and in so doing produce a top-quality academic journal. In addition to papers presented, ATINER will encourage the independent submission of papers to be evaluated for publication.

The current issue is the fourth of the eighth volume of the *Athens Journal of History (AJHIS)*, published by the [History Unit](#) of ATINER.

Gregory T. Papanikos
President
ATINER



Athens Institute for Education and Research

A World Association of Academics and Researchers

21st Annual International Conference on History & Archaeology: From Ancient to Modern, 29-31 May & 1 June 2023, Athens, Greece

The [History Unit](#) of ATINER, will hold its **21st Annual International Conference on History & Archaeology: From Ancient to Modern, 29-31 May & 1 June 2023, Athens, Greece** sponsored by the [Athens Journal of History](#). The aim of the conference is to bring together scholars and students of all areas of history, archaeology and other related disciplines. You may participate as a stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair of a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (<https://www.atiner.gr/2023/FORM-HIS.doc>).

Important Dates

- Abstract Submission: **31 October 2022**
- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
- Submission of Paper: **1 May 2023**

Academic Members Responsible for the Conference

- Dr. Steven Oberhelman, Professor of Classics, Holder of the George Sumey Jr Endowed Professorship of Liberal Arts, and Associate Dean, Texas A&M University, USA, USA, Vice President of International Programs, ATINER and Editor of the Athens Journal of History.
- Dr. Nicholas Pappas, Vice President of Academic Membership, ATINER & Professor of History, Sam Houston University, USA.
- Dr. David Philip Wick, Director, Arts and Humanities Division & Professor of History, Gordon College, USA.
- Dr. Jayoung Che, Head, History Unit, ATINER & Deputy Director of Research, Korean Academy of Greek Studies, South Korea.
- Dr. Tatiana Tsakirpoulou-Summers, Director, Athens Center for Classical & Byzantine Studies (ACCBS) & Associate Professor, The University of Alabama, USA.

Social and Educational Program

The Social Program Emphasizes the Educational Aspect of the Academic Meetings of Atiner.

- Greek Night Entertainment (This is the official dinner of the conference)
- Athens Sightseeing: Old and New-An Educational Urban Walk
- Social Dinner
- Mycenae Visit
- Exploration of the Aegean Islands
- Delphi Visit
- Ancient Corinth and Cape Sounion

Conference Fees

Conference fees vary from 400€ to 2000€
Details can be found at: <https://www.atiner.gr/fees>



**Athens Institute for Education and
Research**
*A World Association of Academics and
Researchers*

**16th Annual International Conference on Literature
29-31 May & 1 June 2023**

The [Literature Unit](#) of ATINER is organizing its **16th Annual International Conference on Literature, 29-31 May & 1 June 2023, Athens, Greece** sponsored by the [Athens Journal of Philology](#). The aim of the conference is to bring together academics and researchers from all areas of literature and other related disciplines. You may participate as stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair of a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (<https://www.atiner.gr/2023/FORM-LIT.doc>).

Important Dates

- Abstract Submission: **31 October 2022**
- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
- Submission of Paper: **1 May 2023**

Academic Member Responsible for the Conference

- **Dr. Stamos Metzidakis**, Head, [Literature Research Unit](#), ATINER & Emeritus Professor of French and Comparative Literature, Washington University in Saint Louis, USA.

Social and Educational Program

The Social Program Emphasizes the Educational Aspect of the Academic Meetings of Atiner.

- Greek Night Entertainment (This is the official dinner of the conference)
- Athens Sightseeing: Old and New-An Educational Urban Walk
- Social Dinner
- Mycenae Visit
- Exploration of the Aegean Islands
- Delphi Visit
- Ancient Corinth and Cape Sounion

More information can be found here: <https://www.atiner.gr/social-program>

Conference Fees

Conference fees vary from 400€ to 2000€

Details can be found at: <https://www.atiner.gr/fees>

“Ther cam a Privee Theef, Men Clepeth Deeth”: A Tale of Two Plagues and of Altered Perspectives

By Ken Moore^{*1}

This article contrasts the 14th century Black Death (Bubonic Plague), particularly in England where its effects are well-attested, with the contemporary COVID-19 pandemic, in terms of similarities and (potential) consequences. The two pandemics, as the paper will argue, have much in common. They are also very different in terms of the death toll as well as, in particular, how modern technology and medical science have been able to deal with COVID-19 arguably much better than 14th century Europe was able to cope with the Black Death. Even so, both plagues have demonstrably impacted society and, in the case of the recent pandemic, we have yet to witness all of its effects. Some careful analysis will be made of the rather dramatic impact of the Black Death in England which, in particular, resulted in the decline of feudalism. I argue that this was the result of a changed perspective. Drawing on that example, this article considers how the current plague may also be changing perspectives in order to make some tentative, longer term predictions about our future.

Who can know the future? Historians undoubtedly cannot. However, with the privilege of extensive hindsight, we can observe certain parallels and trends from which broader predictions may be ventured. It is likely that events will not turn out precisely as predicted by such a method; but, the past can serve as a guide for the future, if only in a general sense. This article examines such parallels as may be observed between the multiple crises of the 14th Century and those of the present with special regard to the medieval pandemic, known as the Black Death, particularly in England. The article compares that with the more recent COVID-19 pandemic which still holds the world in its grip, albeit seemingly loosening, at the time of composition. This work asks a fairly straightforward question: are there parallels between these two eras and what can we learn from that earlier one which may allow tentative predictions about how the current situation might play out? The answer to that question is, in the broadest sense, a change of perspective and attitude among the survivors. In order to illustrate this point, the article will consider details and arguments about the Black Death and the changed attitude resulting from it, most notably the eventual demise of the feudal order in England, if not everywhere. Parallels will be drawn between those (contested) alterations of society at the time and those occurring now or which may yet come. Similarities and differences between the two pandemics will be noted and projections made where possible. A number of other crises transpiring

^{*Senior Lecturer, Teesside University, UK.}

1. Trans: “There came a subtle thief that men call Death”, from Geoffrey Chaucer’s “Pardoner’s Tale”, in the *Canterbury Tales*; see below for the full reference.

in close temporal proximity will also be explored. If these parallels hold true to any extent, then we may expect some interesting changes in our own future. Plagues in particular have traditionally been seen by historians as far back as Thucydides as resulting in profound "social and political consequences".² Whether these are deemed to be for better or for worse in the present age shall remain to be seen.

The medieval era under consideration here, through which this article finds parallels with the modern one, has been rightly called the 'Calamitous 14th Century'. And the Black Death was not the only factor in earning it such an endearing epithet. Europe experienced famine due to climate change, which was also a factor in the spread of the plague; there were two major schisms in the Catholic Church, brought about in no small part by the other pressures facing society at the time; and the Hundred Years War between England and France began. Economic and societal crises occurred that were related to these other factors. We shall range through these in order to compare their effects with their modern equivalents in the age of COVID-19. And yet it is compelling to note that, in the early 21st century, we are also faced with the devastating effects of climate change, religious anxieties (especially, but not exclusively, in places such as the U.S.A.) and scandals, plague, famine, economic crises and now also a war in Europe. The Russian invasion of Ukraine had not begun when the author of this article envisioned its theme; however, not unlike the Hundred Years War, it too is effectively a war of irredentism, entailing a dispute over regional hegemony between ethnically similar groups. And the parallels are more than a little striking. Before we approach that, however, let us consider some of the other issues in order.

Climate change, as any geologist or climatologist will tell us, is not a modern phenomenon. That instance of it which impacted northern Europe so extensively during the medieval period is often referred to as the 'Little Ice Age'. And this term has been employed widely by different authors as there seems actually to have been at least two cooling episodes: the earlier one, in which we are most interested, from the late 1200s to about 1600, and a later one in the 1700s and 1800s.³ During the earlier event, the Baltic Sea froze in 1303, 1306 and 1307, which had never before been recorded, and the Alpine glaciers advanced. The Norse settlements in Greenland were cut off and grain cultivation became untenable in Iceland. The last ship to set sail from Iceland to Greenland did so in the early 1400s; travel there would not be resumed until the 1700s, after those settlements had been long abandoned. Starvation, disease, raids by English pirates and

2. G. T. Papanikos, "Thucydides and the Synchronous Pandemic," *Athens Journal of History* 7, no. 1 (2021): 71.

3. M. Mann "Little Ice Age," in Michael C. MacCracken, and John S. Perry (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Global Environmental Change, Volume 1, The Earth System: Physical and Chemical Dimensions of Global Environmental Change* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 2003).

conflicts with natives have all been suggested as causes, and all probably played a role in the demise of those colonies; but none nearly so much as climate change.⁴ Elsewhere, crops failed in France after heavy rains in 1315; widespread famines, reports of cannibalism and epidemics followed. There was flooding in England and Wales and crop failures as marginal lands, which had been heavily cultivated during the population boom of the previous century, no longer yielded produce.⁵ Wet, rainy winters and cool summers became the norm.

Scientists have tentatively identified a number of likely causes of this climate change. They include shifting orbital cycles, decreasing solar activity, increasing volcanic activity, altered ocean current flows, the naturally inherent changeability of global climate as well as the impacts of reforestation following subsequent decreases in the human population and abandonment of marginal lands. That is to say, some consequences of the Little Ice Age may have actually exacerbated its effects with human activity being a factor, though less than perhaps today. A study found that an especially massive volcanic eruption in 1258 somewhere in the tropics, possibly of Mount Rinjani in Indonesia, may have caused the initial cooling. Three lesser eruptions followed in 1268, 1275 and 1284 that hindered the climate's ability to recover. The eruption of Kuwae in Vanuatu, 1452–1453, likely triggered the second, longer phase of cooling.⁶

From 1315 to 1322, a catastrophic food crisis known as the 'Great Famine' hit all of Northern Europe. It came about in many respects as a direct result of the hefty population growth in previous centuries coming into conflict with the climate change of the Little Ice Age, with Europe becoming overpopulated beyond what its agriculture could reasonably sustain in the early fourteenth century. With climate change being a concomitant factor, the number of people began to exceed the reduced productive capacity of the land.⁷ New technological innovations such as the heavy plough and the rotational, three-field system had facilitated the previous population boom; however, these methods were less effective in clearing new fields for harvest in Northern Europe as they were in the Mediterranean due to the north having poorer, clay-filled soil and also being affected more negatively due to climate change.⁸ So, marginal lands failed to yield in the altered climatic conditions. Food shortages had become increasingly common and prices were steadily rising for nearly a century prior to the coming

4. Ibid. See too: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Little_Ice_Age.

5. E. L. R. Ladurie, *Times of Feast, Times of Famine: a History of Climate since the Year 1000* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971).

6. G. H. Miller, Áslaug Geirsdóttir, Yafang Zhong, Darren J. Larsen, Bette L. Otto-Bliesner, Marika M. Holland, et al. "Abrupt Onset of the Little Ice Age Triggered by Volcanism and Sustained by Sea-ice/Ocean Feedbacks," *Geophysical Research Letters* 39, no. 2 (2012): 1-5.

7. J. M. Bennett, and C. W. Hollister, *Medieval Europe: A Short History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2006), 326.

8. Ibid.

plague. Such staples as wheat, oats, hay and, as a consequence, livestock that depended on them were all in short supply (issues also facing the world of 2022). Their scarcity naturally resulted in hunger and malnutrition. Large numbers of human beings were therefore more vulnerable to disease on account of the resulting weakening of their immune systems. The European economy entered a vicious circle in which hunger and chronic, low-level debilitating diseases reduced their already benighted productivity. The output of grain and staples suffered, which caused prices to increase. This situation was worsened when elite landowners and rulers, such as Edward I of England (r. 1272-1307) and Philip IV of France (r. 1285-1314), raised the fines and rents of their manorial tenants, probably out of the fear that their own higher standard of living would decline.⁹ Standards of living did fall considerably for most; diets became more limited and less healthy; and Europeans on the whole suffered a general increase in health problems. The looming pandemic would find easy pickings.

The Little Ice Age and the Great Famine had thus weakened Europe's agricultural productivity and made life increasingly difficult: whole villages were abandoned and, as indicated, people resorted to cannibalism in some particularly hard-hit localities.¹⁰ The stage was set for the next calamity: the Bubonic Plague, which was facilitated by these and other factors.¹¹ Its symptoms were described in 1348 by the poet Boccaccio who lived in Florence, Italy:

The first signs of the plague were lumps in the groin or armpits. After this, livid black spots appeared on the arms and thighs and other parts of the body. Few recovered. Almost all died within three days, usually without any fever.¹²

The rest of the passage will be omitted here for want of space; but it paints a bleak and horrific picture. The events leading to the plague may be observed chronologically and make the subject of many a scientific and historical study. In October of 1347, Genoese trading ships put into the harbour of Messina in Sicily with many dead and some dying men still at the oars. They had come from the Black Sea port of Caffa (now Feodosiya) in Crimea, which had been a Genoese trading post. The plague had come along the Silk Road from the east and infected the Genoese who, taking advantage of the premier travel-technologies at the time and the increasing of trade routes, distributed the bacterium to a much wider population than would have been possible in previous centuries. The ailing

9. Ibid, 327.

10. As, for example, observed at Wharram Percy in NE England. See S. Mays, R. Fryer, A. W. G. Pike, M. J. Cooper, and P. Marshall, "A Multidisciplinary Study of a Burnt and Mutilated Assemblage of Human Remains from a Deserted Mediaeval Village in England," *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 16 (2017): 441-455.

11. B. Handwerk, "Little Ice Age Shrank Europeans, Sparked Wars Study Aims to Scientifically Link Climate Change to Societal Upheaval," *National Geographic News* 5 (2011).

12. G. Boccaccio, *The Decameron* (London: David Campbell, 1921), Vol. 1, 5-11.

sailors on that fateful voyage had strange black swellings about the size of an egg or apple in their armpits and groin. The swellings oozed blood and puss and were followed by spreading boils and black blotches on the skin, which was the result of internal bleeding. The infected suffered intense pain and died quickly, usually within five days of the first symptoms. As the disease spread, other symptoms began to emerge in victims such as a continuous fever and spitting of blood, instead of swellings or buboes. The victims coughed and sweated heavily, dying even more quickly, within three days or fewer, sometimes within twenty-four hours from infection. In both manifestations of the disease, everything that issued from the body (breath, sweat, blood from the buboes and lungs, bloody urine, and blood-blackened excrement) was described as having a foul odour. All of it helped to spread the infection through contact with healthy victims. Depression and despair accompanied the physical symptoms, and before the end, we are told, "death is seen seated on the face."¹³

This was arguably the deadliest pandemic in history. Since this article deals primarily with Europe, as has much of the scholarship on this topic, we perhaps miss the wider picture of a more universal pestilence; though it was certainly that. The disease is generally considered to have been *Yersinia pestis*, present in two forms: one that infected the bloodstream, causing the buboes and internal bleeding (hence "bubonic"), and was spread by contact; a second, more virulent (pneumonic) type was a respiratory infection spread through the air. The presence of both at once caused the high mortality rate and speed of contagion. The disease was so lethal that cases were reported of individuals going to bed well and dying before they awoke, of doctors catching the illness at the bedside of the sick they were attempting to treat and dying before the patient did. It spread so quickly between people that to a French physician, Simon de Covino, it seemed as if one sick person "could infect the whole world."¹⁴ The malignity and virulence of the pestilence appeared more terrible because its victims had no knowledge of how to either prevent it or to treat it. The Church maintained that the plague was sent by God to punish sin; although, they were never especially specific about what sins were being punished nor could they offer any remedy. And clergy themselves died in droves as they caught the plague often as a consequence of offering the last rites to its victims. Their ranks were so depleted that the pope issued a decree that, if no priests could be found, ordinary men and even women could render the last rites in these exceptional circumstances.¹⁵ This is an apt illustration of just how such a condition *in extremis* could result in the

13. Ibid.

14. See B. Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous Fourteenth Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 93.

15. D. Cybulskie, *Priests and the Black Death*.

violation of societal norms.¹⁶ It contrasts well with how, in the modern pandemic, harsh restrictions were imposed on visiting the sick and dying or on numbers of mourners allowed to attend funerals.

The first wave of the Black Death swept through Europe in 1347-1350, and there were six more waves between 1350 and 1400 as each new generation of potential victims, not immune to the plague, appeared. Will COVID-19, or some variant thereof, return with such force in our own future? This remains to be seen. However, in terms of the medieval plague, there are no accurate figures on the death rate, but it is reckoned that the population of Europe was likely cut in half by 1400. This is probably the closest approach to the effects of a thermonuclear war that human beings have experienced in the whole of recorded history. The recovery was slow but dramatic. Social changes and, as this article argues, changes in perception and attitude especially as a direct result of the Plague, but almost certainly on account of the compounded crises, led Western European society to take on a more "modern" appearance. By 1400, the worst of the pandemic had passed and society was on the mend. The term 'Renaissance' ('Rebirth') was first used in the late 14th century by Italian scholars who saw themselves as the vanguard of a period of improved conditions.¹⁷

The Middle English quote used in the title of this article comes from Geoffrey Chaucer's "Pardoner's Tale", in the *Canterbury Tales*, which illustrates the deadly sins of Gluttony and Greed through the characters of three drunken youths who decide to hunt down and kill Death himself who has slain one of their friends. Chaucer directly references the Black Death in this passage. Apart from a more oblique reference in the "Knight's Tale", this is the only such example in the *Canterbury Tales* which, being a rather glaring omission, perhaps suggests the degree of trepidation that contemporaries felt about this calamity and thus were reluctant to mention it any more than necessary. In the "Pardoner's Tale", first a boy in the tavern where the youths are drinking, and then the publican, both describe events as follows (rendered into modern English here):

"...And suddenly last night the man was slain,
Upon his bench, face up, dead drunk again.
There came a privy thief, they call him Death
Who kills us all round here, and in a breath
He speared him through the heart, he never stirred.
And then Death went his way without a word.
He's killed a thousand in the present plague..."
The publican joined in with, "By St. Mary,
What the child says is right; you'd best be wary,

16. See Papanikos "Thucydides and the Synchronous Pandemic," 17 for comparable "social violations" in relation to burials during the ancient Athenian plague.

17. See P. Burke, *The European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998).

This very year he killed, in a large village,
 A mile away, man, woman, serf at tillage,
 Page in the household, children – all there were.
 Yes, I imagine he lives round there..."¹⁸

Chaucer's allusions to the Black Death in the "Pardoner's Tale" would have been painfully familiar to his audience at the time. As indicated, there had been a steady population expansion in the century before the Black Death—at its height, the population in England and Wales was estimated to have been around 6 or 7 million. The Black Death is thought to have killed between 45% and 60% of the total.¹⁹

Around 3,000+ abandoned medieval villages have been identified, often either as a direct result of the plague or due to the collapse of marginal agriculture on account of the Little Ice Age, or both. Although many, such as Wharram Percy in North Yorkshire, while badly affected by plague and famine, were ultimately abandoned by the beginning of the 15th century due to their landlords eventually deciding that sheep farming was more profitable than the traditional, manorial system.²⁰ Perhaps this change would have happened more gradually were it not for the Black Death. But that is uncertain and, at best, speculative. Platt refers to the situation at the beginning of the 14th century as a "Malthusian" crisis largely brought about through overpopulation, though somewhat ignoring, as much 20th century scholarship has tended to do, the impacts of climate change.²¹ He, like many other scholars of this era, regarded the Black Death as some kind of "set-back" to a steadily developing progress; though it is unclear as to what that progress would have looked like were it not for the plague and other convergent calamities. While some contemporaries claimed that only "the dregs of society lived to tell the tale",²² the sheer loss of life resulting has been referred to, rather coolly, in modern scholarship as "more purgative than toxic".²³ Again the onus is here placed on the economic and social woes that were becoming apparent in the era of Edward I, at the beginning of the century, as being due more to

18. G. Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales* (London: Penguin, 2003), 250-251.

19. S. Barry, and N. Gualde, "The Greatest Epidemic of History," in *L'Histoire* 310 (2006): 45-46, say "between one-third and two-thirds"; Robert Gottfried (1983). R.S. Gottfried, s.v. "Black Death," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*. Vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), 257-267, says "between 25 and 45 percent".

20. J. M. Eaton, *An Archaeological History of Britain: Continuity and Change from Prehistory to the Present* (London: Pen & Sword, 2014), 151.

21. C. Platt, *Medieval England: A Social History and Archaeology from Conquest to 1600 AD* (London and Henley: Routledge and Paul Kegan, 1978), 91 ff.

22. V. Pritchard, *English Medieval Graffiti* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 182-182.

23. A. R. Bridbury, "The Black Death," *The Economic History Review* 2nd series 26 (1973): 592.

overpopulation than anything else. Indeed, the loss of life was not insignificant, as we have seen. And while it was not the only factor in effecting the paradigm shift, the pandemic's impact should not be under-rated.

The plague also sparked a crisis in religion; although, it too had been building prior to this time. The church suffered heavy losses during the Black Death with the result that there were far fewer, well-educated and competent officials within it for some time afterwards.²⁴ Priests were ordained who were illiterate and boys were allowed to take holy orders as young as fifteen in a hasty attempt to fill vacant offices. The lack of piety and intellect among a large section of the clergy in consequence led to their being subject to criticism (termed 'anticlericalism', which is very much represented in Chaucer) and this probably also facilitated further, significant issues within the Church. Anticlericalism was implicitly not being critical of the Church itself or its doctrines, as the Lollards would be in the latter half of the century. It was aimed at specific individuals whose corruption became known. However it did serve to undermine faith in the wider institution and facilitated further criticism of the Church.

A crisis that began prior to the Black Death, but following hard on the heels of the Great Famine, was the so-called 'Great Schism'. This began with the Avignon Papacy, which refers to a period in the history of the Roman Catholic Church from 1309 to 1378, in which the seat of the Pope was relocated from Rome to Avignon, France. It has also been called the 'Babylonian Captivity' (or 'Babylonish Captivity') of the Popes (or the Church), particularly later in the criticisms of Martin Luther. This polemical term refers to the claim by critics that the excessive wealth of the church at this time was accompanied by a profound compromise of its spiritual integrity, especially in the alleged subordination of the powers of the Church to the ambitions of the Frankish monarchy. Coincidentally, the 'captivity' of the popes at Avignon lasted around the same duration as the biblical exile of the Jews in Babylon, making the analogy to that event both convenient and rhetorically potent.²⁵

In 1378, the papacy was restored to Rome, while a disputing party continued to honour the bishop in Avignon as the head of the Church. From 1378 to 1414 was a time of difficulty which Catholic scholars refer to as the 'Papal Schism' or, 'the great controversy of the antipopes' (also called the 'Second Great Schism' by some secular and Protestant historians), when parties within the Catholic Church, indeed whole nations, were divided in their allegiances over the various, 'phantom' popes.²⁶ During this thirty six year period, there were two and, at one point, three claimants to the office of the Vicar of Christ. The Council of

24. See M. H. Zentner, *The Black Death and its Impact on the Church and Popular Religion* (Oxford, Mississippi May 2015), *passim*.

25. G. Goyau, and Guillaume Mollat, "Avignon," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 2 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907).

26. *Ibid*.

Constance finally brought this embarrassing episode to an end with the agreed election of a single pope, Martin V, in 1417. These matters would fuel dissent among the followers of John Wycliff, known as the Lollards, who may be characterised as representative of a kind of 'proto-Reformation' movement. The arguments of the Lollards (e.g. limiting the power and wealth of the Church and questioning of transubstantiation, among others) would be picked up again with renewed vigour at the time of Martin Luther and the actual Reformation; although, the seeds were planted at the time of the 14th century crises.

It is not the intention of this article to dwell overmuch on these religious topics as they could be, and have been, the subject of multiple treatises devoted exclusively to them. However, there are several parallel points here worth noting. One is that, in the 14th century as now, the Catholic Church was shaken by controversy, albeit of a mostly different type. Sexual misconduct of significant numbers of clergy was indeed a target of medieval anticlericalism, and is frequently featured in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*; though, it was neither the only complaint against them nor even the most significant one.²⁷ In the modern era, sexual misconduct, along with subsequent attempts to conceal that misconduct, apparently at the highest levels, feature more prominently in the present crises faced by the Catholic Church. The other rather striking parallel is that, then as now, there is more than one pope, albeit for different reasons. Granted, Benedict XVI is the "Pope Emeritus" (whatever that actually means), and Pope Francis is the official head of the Catholic Church and the sovereign of Vatican City State since 2013. There is no actual schism today; but there are still two popes and this has not been the case at any other time in history since that of the Papal Schism. But, ultimately, if we regard the medieval Church as a political institution, which it certainly was, the corruption and controversies at that time bear more than a passing resemblance to those of the present leadership of many western governments.

It must also be acknowledged that the present crises in the Church, along with the unusual presence of two popes, began prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. The Great Schism (if not the Papal Schism) also began prior to the Black Death, and these were part of broader historical processes that would be nonetheless affected by the medieval pandemic. Even so, both the Black Death and the Great Schism, alongside other pressures on society, prompted some demonstrable advances in architectural design and technology, culminating in the Perpendicular Gothic style. In an interesting reversal of the earlier Romanesque styles of

27. See, for example, "The Shipman's Tale" (involving a randy monk given to Ovidian levels of adultery), "The Friar's Tale" (about a corrupt summoner), "The Summoner's Tale" (about a corrupt friar), "The Reeve's Tale" (in which a woman is identified as the daughter of a parish priest) and the "General Prologue" in which numerous members of the clergy are identified as more worldly in their ways than spiritual. And this list is by no means exhaustive.

architecture that had been borrowed from France, the English Perpendicular style was widely copied on the continent.²⁸ Again, these were technological and artistic innovations whose origins can be plainly observed prior to the Black Death but which were exacerbated and encouraged along certain lines as a response to that plague. The emergence of the Perpendicular Gothic style, as with Lollardy, both indicate a significant shift in perspective.

This unique and impactful period (sometimes simply called the *Perpendicular*) is the third chronological division of English Gothic architecture, and is so named because it is characterised by an emphasis on vertical lines and elaborations; it is also known as 'International Gothic', the 'Rectilinear style', or the 'Late Gothic'. The Perpendicular style began to emerge in its fullest form c. 1350, immediately following the first wave of the Black Death. Though, it had been evolving earlier and possibly as a response in part to the Great Famine. The earliest example of this style is at the chapter house of Old St Paul's Cathedral, by William Ramsey in 1332.²⁹ It had developed out of the Decorated style of the late 13th century and early 14th century, and lasted into the mid-16th century (with its notable revival in the 19th century--another time of dramatic social and technological change). The English Perpendicular Gothic style has been considered a specifically English reaction to the Black Death, with its emphasis on verticality in higher church structures seen to be metaphorically reaching up to God, craving divine assistance in a time of great anxiety. An appeal to divine assistance was understandable, given the circumstances, and the era of the Plague saw a flurry of donations by elites to the Church (in no small part to pay for the new, Perpendicular Gothic renovations) as well as the increased establishment of private chapels in castles and manor houses. Doom paintings that graphically depicted the biblical Apocalypse and Final Judgement also became much more common in parish churches and chapels.

Alongside this, and in part due to the squeeze on incomes following the Great Famine, was a reduction in charitable donations and hospital foundations.³⁰ The latter was perhaps also indicative of an elite withdrawal to the relative safety of their demesnes. But appeals to the divine during such a crisis are not new to the medieval era, as earlier pandemics have demonstrated.³¹ What was different

28. J. S. Curl, and S. Wilson (Eds.) s.v. "Gothic," in *A Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

29. M. C. Schurr and R. E. Bork (Eds.) s.v. "art and architecture: Gothic," in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). The developments were as follows: Early to High Gothic and Early English (c.1130–c.1240) Rayonnant Gothic and Decorated Style (c.1240–c.1350) Late Gothic: flamboyant and perpendicular (c.1350–c.1500).

30. M. Baily, "Peasant Welfare in England, 1290-1348," *Economic History Review* New Series 51, no. 2 (1998): 21-23.

31. See Papanikos, "Thucydides and the Synchronous Pandemic," 15, for Pericles' reported turn to religion when he suffered from the 5th century B.C. plague in Athens,

here was the sheer scale and duration, spurring on further changes in both technology and in perspective. Will there be a new architecture in response to the Covid-19 pandemic? A flurry of architectural articles appeared from 2020 onwards ranging from redesigning spaces for better ventilation to prevent infection and promote social distancing to Keynesian-style building programmes to encourage economic recovery.³² This is an emerging relationship with space and architecture that remains to be seen as it is ongoing.

Architecture and art were not alone in changing as a result of the tumultuous events of the 14th Century. Turning from the ecclesiastical to the secular realm, one additional, if more subtle, shift in perspective, may be observed in changing styles of clothing. In the modern era, we hardly think twice about such things as trends come and go at a sometimes dizzying pace. However, medieval fashion in Europe had changed relatively little for nearly a thousand years, since the fall of the Western Roman Empire--that is, until the Calamitous 14th Century. At that time, clothing became more "modern" and form-fitting.³³ The cotehardie and tight-fitting hose seem to prefigure contemporary styles such as the hoodie and skinny jeans. Shoe styles too, especially those worn by men, metamorphosed into a bizarre array of forms that usually entailed elongated, pointed arrangements at the toe-end. This culminated in the unwieldy and excessively pointed Krakow shoe which was almost too cumbersome to actually be useful for walking.³⁴ The sudden and dramatic shift in clothing styles must be indicative of a profounder alteration going on in wider society--again, a society that had changed relatively little for the better part of a millennium. Obsession with fashion among the survivors of the plague was so extensive that the English Crown instituted a number of sumptuary laws in an attempt to reinforce the *status quo* of the medieval hierarchy.³⁵ As with the Statute of Labourers, to be presently considered, these proved impossible to enforce. And we may deduce that the sudden and marked revision of clothing styles represented, as with the Perpendicular Gothic architecture, a shift in perspective. Potentially it compares well with a contemporary favouring of more comfortable clothing styles (which arguably was already happening) as a result of so many working from home during the

along with more modern parallels in modern, Orthodox Greek society in the throes of COVID-19.

32. See, e.g., K. Chayka, "How the Coronavirus Will Reshape Architecture: What kinds of space are we willing to live and work in now?" in *The New Yorker*, 17 June 2020; Z. ElZein, and Y. ElSemary, "Re-Thinking Post-Pandemic Home Design: How COVID-19 Affected the Perception and Use of Residential Balconies in Egypt," *Future Cities and Environment* 8, no. 1 (2022): 2.

33. J. Laver, *The Concise History of Costume and Fashion* (New York: H.N. Abram, 1979), 62.

34. L. Pratt and L. Woolley, *Shoes* (London: V&A Publications, 2008), 12-13.

35. I. Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide to Medieval England* (London: Vintage Books, 2008), 103 ff.

current pandemic; though, this is perhaps somewhat less dramatic and it remains to be seen how permanent it will be.³⁶ The fact remains that many of us put on extra weight during the protracted periods of lockdown. Some of us used that time to work out and put on more muscle mass. And the prevailing fashion trend in mid-/late-2022 has seen a return to the more loose-fitting styles of the 1990s. Would this have happened anyway due to the cyclical nature of nostalgia and the normal recycling of past trends? Or has that cycle now been disrupted due to the intervention of the pandemic? Time will tell.

The 'micro-relationship' with fashion in society, then or now, is one feature of this change in response to crises that we can observe. Another catastrophe would redefine multiple such relationships and it bears even stronger comparison with the modern world in terms of similitude and consequences. This major crisis of the 14th century which is being alluded to here was the Hundred Years War. The author had not thought to include it in any considerable detail except that, in February of 2022, the (modern) Russians unfortunately provided another curious parallel to that earlier era. As with Ukraine, the Hundred Years War was irredentist in nature, albeit effectively a succession crisis. And Edward III's motives compare reasonably well with Russia's in the current war. Vladimir Putin wrote, in a very public essay in 2021, "that Russians and Ukrainians were one people – a single whole", making his intentions clear throughout the essay that he would actively seek to bring Ukraine back into Russia.³⁷ Both Putin and Edward III would take advantage of internal issues and claims to territorial sovereignty in their targets in order to justify involvement. The Plantagenet monarch was ethnically similar to his French counterpart, even if the English people, on the whole, were Saxon rather than Norman or Frankish. These are effectively just different types of Germans, really, if one may be somewhat reductive, and thence comparable to Russians and Ukrainians being ethnically very similar. The case could nevertheless be made that the two medieval combatants were more or less "one people" to varying degrees both culturally and ethnically, at least at the beginning of the war--both Franko-Norman states ruling comparable populations. It would not be so by the end when English-ness and French-ness became much more sharply defined as a result of the protracted conflict and one wonders if a similar galvanisation of separate identities will also obtain between the two Slavic populaces of Russians and Ukrainians, who have been until now very closely related peoples, both in terms of ethnicity and culture. The stamps and images issued following the sinking of the Moscow suggest divergence is already progressing apace.

36. A. de Klerk, "Will the Experience of Lockdown Change the Way we Dress for ever? As Consumer Trends Shift in Response to the Crisis, a New Outlook on Shopping and Style May be Emerging," in *Bazaar*, 7 May 2020.

37. V. Putin, "On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians," in *Website of the President of the Russian Federation*, www.kremlin.ru 2021.

The Hundred Years War was also characterised by periods of conflict interspersed with periods of relative peace, not unlike the wider Russian conflicts in Eastern Europe and western Eurasia in such places as Nagorno-Karabakh, Chechnya, South Ossetia and Crimea, spanning from arguably even prior to 2014 (if we include Russian support for the breakaway Transnistria region of Moldova in 2004), up to the present war in Ukraine. We shall see if these last for more than a century; but they do appear to be part of a larger, protracted conflict. It is also the case that the timing of the present and medieval pandemics is comparable in relation to these wars, given that the medieval war and the modern one in Europe both began prior to their respective pandemics. The medieval one will have helped spread the plague. It is yet to be determined how the present war will affect, or will be affected by, COVID-19. As with the current conflict, the main impact on the wider world of the Hundred Years War was also economic. And it should not be surprising that two irredentist wars, separated by so many centuries, nevertheless have much in common. What is perhaps more surprising is that they both came amidst a wider backdrop of multiple crises of a comparable nature.

A little more detail is necessary in order to illustrate some further parallels and differences. The Hundred Years War was precipitated by the fact that in 1328, Charles IV of France passed away, leaving no sons or brothers to take over his kingdom. He did have a sister named Isabella. And she happened to have been the mother of Edward III who was then able to assert (eventually) that, because of this royal connection, he should be the next king of France. However, the French nobles decided that a cousin of Charles, by name of Philip, the Count of Valois, should be crowned king instead. He would be thereafter known as Philip IV, called 'Philip le Bel' (Philip the Fair). Edward was furious but the seventeen-year-old monarch was in no position to do anything about the matter in the late 1320s; he even paid homage to Philip at the latter's coronation, appropriate to Edward's status as Duke of Aquitaine. This act of medieval fealty bears more than a little passing resemblance to the "Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Partnership between Ukraine and the Russian Federation" signed in 1997.³⁸ That treaty was broken in 2014 by a resurgent Russia under Putin with the annexation of Crimea, and subsequently not renewed by Ukraine in 2018 when it officially expired. *Real Politik* and political ambition trumped diplomatic oaths. Similarly, by 1337, Edward was better poised to act and, like Putin, likely had been planning his moves in advance. At that time, French aggression against English holdings on the continent, along with a diplomatic row over an exiled French noble, one of Edward's influential advisers, Robert III of Artois, prompted the English monarch

38. See D. B. Stewart, *The Russian-Ukrainian Friendship Treaty and the Search for Regional Stability in Eastern Europe* (Monterey, CA, December 1997). The treaty was not renewed in 2018 following the annexation of Crimea by Russia.

to declare war.³⁹ Edward was not only seeking the crown of France, which he believed to be his (not unlike Putin's position over Ukraine), but he also feared that Philip was a threat to his possessions in France, including Aquitaine, Gascony and Ponthieu.⁴⁰ Again, one is tempted to draw a parallel here between these disputed territories and the so-called 'Donbas republics' that sought aid and recognition from Russia, and got it. The comparison is not 100% true as Edward already controlled his French holdings; but, clearly Philip, not unlike Ukraine with those breakaway republics, evidently disputed the English Crown's right to control continental territory that was seemingly deemed to be French.

So, Edward needed an army and armies cost money. The feudal system required knights to provide the king with soldiers when demanded. However, the technology of war had advanced since the Battle of Hastings and the longbow was now more feared than the knight on horseback. Arrows fired by longbows could pierce armour at range. All male youths in medieval villages were expected to practice archery and so there were many skilled archers to be found. It was left to a village to decide who would actually fight but the village as a whole had to then look after the family or families affected by departing archers. In England, the latter were paid three pence a day by the Crown.⁴¹ Longbows and cannons would spell the effective end of the medieval cavalry, itself a bastion of the feudal system. Indeed, the obsolescence of the knight was a severe blow to the established social order. The Hundred Years war had begun seemingly as a classic, chivalric tale, as many such conflicts had done between the English and French crowns over previous centuries. But the apparent romance ended in an early-modern tragedy, with much loss of life thanks to the new arms in play, heralding considerably more change to come.

As with the medieval revolution in medieval military affairs, new technologies have also been brought to bear on the war in Ukraine.⁴² The modern equivalent of the long-bowman and early gunpowder weapons is perhaps the extensive use of drone warfare and 'smart weapons' in the present conflict, 'switchblade' and 'loitering' drones in particular, which have effectively levelled the playing field between one of the largest national armies in the world versus a significantly smaller defence force.⁴³ This is similar to the change witnessed by Henry V and the survivors of Agincourt (part of the Hundred Years War) when a smaller band of English soldiers, armed with the most modern weapons of the time, laid waste the "Flower of Chivalry" of France. Apposite to events unfolding

39. This material is mostly covered in Book I of Froissart's *Chronicles*.

40. C. N. Trueman, "The Hundred Years War," in *The History Learning Site*, 5 March 2015.

41. Ibid.

42. K. D. Atherton, "How Technology, Both Old and New, Has Shaped the War in Ukraine so Far" in *Popular Science*, 7 April 2022.

43. K. Mizokami, "Self-Destructing 'Kamikaze Drones' Are Hunting Down Targets in Ukraine" in *Popular Mechanics*, 28 March 2022.

in our own era, the main battle tank, along with many of its relations, may soon go the way of the medieval knight on horseback. What had begun as some kind of extension of a programme of Cold War-era irredentism is looking to turn into a game-changing, futuristic conflict that will likely define the shape of wars hereafter, just as the Hundred Years War did in its own time. One could write a whole monograph comparing these two conflicts and their similarities; but, this short analysis will have to suffice for the purposes of this article and its aims. The most immediate effects were and are economic, experienced by all sides and in varying ways, and have had and will continue to have an enduring legacy. Notably however, the repercussions of both of these wars include technological as well as economic changes which then, in turn, made and will make significant impacts on more globally.

The Hundred Years War, then, which lasted somewhat longer than its name suggests, ended in 1453, raging on and off until then and providing a kind of backdrop of interspersed violence for Geoffrey Chaucer, his era and beyond. More relevant here, however, is the economic impact of the War and its mortal losses in concert with the economic devastation caused by the loss of nearly half of the population due to the pandemic. Certainly most of the technological and economic changes were inevitable but they were also impacted by the plague in ways that they would not have been had it not happened. Income and population, as we have seen, had been in decline since the Great Famine. From that time into the era of the Black Death, there was a movement of population from villages to towns and cities. What is more, with so much loss of labour both as a consequence of plague and war, serfs who had been formerly tied to their manors by law and custom would often go to other localities where the lords, in need of work, would hire them for pay. That, alongside the constant need to pay soldiers (and archers), transformed the medieval economy, which had for centuries been based on fealty, goods and services bartered in exchange for a place to live and feudal 'protection', toward a more modern, cash-based system. Again, this article argues that the rapid developments in this era are indicative of a change of perspective and attitude at the cultural level. And this economic change of perspective was significant.

Economic pressures brought about by the Hundred Years War, along with the convergence of the other crises already discussed, led to further changes in people's thinking. The manifest reality of this altered perspective came to a head most profoundly during the deeply troubled reign of Richard II, and in no small part thanks to the heavy-handed taxation imposed by his government, largely to pay for the costs of the ongoing conflicts that had outlived his grandfather, Edward III. The medieval French chronicler, Jean Froissart (c. 1337 – c. 1405), who had spent considerable time at the English court, wrote the following in 1395:

It is the custom in England, as in other countries, for the nobility to have great power over the common people, who are their serfs. This means that they are bound by law

and custom to plough the field of their masters, harvest the corn, gather it into barns, and thresh and winnow the grain; they must also mow and carry home the hay, cut and collect wood, and perform all manner of tasks of this kind. Thus the nobility and clergy are served by right... (II.73)⁴⁴

This is how Froissart prefaces his account of the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. The rest of the passage seethes with his barely-contained outrage at such a monumental upsetting of the accepted 'apple cart'.

Why did the Peasants revolt? This is too complex a subject to be adequately treated here; however, some details will be canvassed as relevant. Firstly, wages had increased because of the need for workers since the decline in population due to the Great Famine, Black Death and Hundred Years War, with serfs effectively 'playing the market' by quitting their manors to seek out higher pay.⁴⁵ It is difficult to determine actual figures based on the limited evidence available; however, the response of elites clearly points to a wider phenomenon in English society. Maurice Keen has argued that the measurable change in wages was mostly long term and that its ability to effect meaningful change was initially curtailed by the government of King Edward III.⁴⁶ Landholders were set to lose out as a result of increasing wages and so the Ordinance of Labourers was enacted on 18 June 1349, passed into statutory law in 1351. This statute set wages at 1346 levels, prior to the plague when prices were already depressed due to the Great Famine and the high taxes imposed by Edward II, and further forbade employers from hiring workers who had failed to fulfil their contracts with previous lords (such as manorial obligations). Of some historical interest is the fact that the Statute first set a precedent distinguishing labourers who were "able in body" to work and those who could not work for whatever reasons. The Statute officially limited wage increases until around 1370, and it was rigidly enforced by judges when cases actually came to trial; however, it proved difficult to impose on the whole, with many ignoring what was regarded as an unfair law.⁴⁷ Its failure, as Chrystal argues, demonstrated the "redefinition of societal roles" which had been accelerated by the Black Death.⁴⁸ By the end of the 14th century, elites were no longer able to utilise labour legislation to enforce lower wages as the competition between landlords, due to basic principles of supply

44. Jean Froissart, *Froissart's Chronicle* (London: The History Book Club, 1968), 236.

45. The average pay of a "Tiller and Helper" rose from roughly 4 pence in 1349 to around 8 pence in 1399, according to W. Beveridge, "Wages in the Winchester Manors," *The Economic History Review* 7, no. 1 (1936): 43.

46. M. Keen, *England in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 137.

47. *Ibid.*, 146.

48. P. Chrystal, *The History of the World in 100 Pandemics, Plagues and Epidemics* (Yorkshire and Philadelphia: Pen & Sword History, 2021), 97.

and demand, had become too intense.⁴⁹ This situation gives us a key insight into the timeframe in which the Black Death may be observed to have impacted English Society. It had a measurably positive effect on the economies of commoners in the last decades of the 14th century, even if the Black Death itself was not necessarily the sole trigger for immediate socio-economic change.

Improving wages served to alter perspectives about life and work. It can be observed, then, that attempts to curtail the new prosperity were met with greater resistance than had previously occurred. Something similar may be playing out today with the present Cost of Living crisis. As this is unfolding even as these words are being written, it is too soon to tell. However, it is almost unanimously agreed among scholars, that the poll taxes instituted by the government of Richard II were the final 'straws' that sparked the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.⁵⁰ The discontent ranged across social, economic, religious and political spaces. Previous governments had been reluctant to impose much direct taxation owing to its inherent unpopularity; however, the Hundred Years War with France saw the English army suffering a number of costly military failures. This, along with a reduced tax base due to the sheer number of deaths from famine, plague and war, resulted in the government's demand for ever more increases in taxation from the 1370s onward.⁵¹ A poll tax may be described as a 'flat tax', applying equally to all but unequally affecting all. The poorest in society understandably resented this fact the most as the tax impacted upon them much more than upon the wealthy. The rate for everyone was set at 4 shillings and 5 pence in the first and third poll taxes, regardless of income. This represents approximately 11 days' worth of work for a skilled tradesman and would have been a painfully high tax burden for poorer workers, given that it was applied unilaterally.⁵² Even so, Kesteven has argued that it was the clumsy way in which the third poll tax in particular was assessed in 1380, and the harshness with which it was collected, that sparked the revolt, and not necessarily the tax by itself.⁵³ And it proved a difficult tax to collect, despite strenuous efforts. Tax records were destroyed; tax collectors were assaulted; when they returned with armed guards, even these were overwhelmed by armed commoners who saw them off in Kent and Essex. An official inquiry into the resulting shortfall was undertaken due to the fact 450,000 taxpayers had somehow 'disappeared' off the official register since the 1377 poll tax.⁵⁴

49. S. J. Borsch, *The Black Death in Egypt and England: A Comparative Study* (Austin, TX, USA: University of Texas Press, 2005), 61.

50. See M. Keen, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages 1348-1500* (London: Penguin, 1990), 41; W. M. Ormrod, *Political Life in Medieval England, 1300-1450* (London: Palgrave, 1995), 106.

51. R. Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381* (London: Routledge, 1973), 162.

52. The National Archives, Currency Converter 1270-2017.

53. G. R. Kesteven, *The Peasants' Revolt* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1965), 31.

54. *Ibid*, 30.

Many other factors may be adduced as causes of the Peasants' Revolt and these include religious discontent and likely some middle-class agitation over what must have been perceived as attempts to reduce their new-found prosperity alongside that of the poorer classes. Some modern scholars, such as Aston, even consider the Revolt to have been almost wholly a response to religious oppression tied to feudal control, arguing that the aim was to completely demolish the Church as an institution.⁵⁵ Indeed, the rebel leader, Wat Tyler, had demanded that the Church give up its landholdings to parishioners, however realistic or otherwise such a demand may have been.⁵⁶ The Lollards had complained of the Church's greed and wealth, holding doctrinal views compatible with Tyler's position on Church property, and a Lollard Priest named John Ball was one of the leaders of the uprising, later executed by the Crown. At any rate, in May of 1381, an army of commoners mainly from Kent and Essex marched on London. They did what no one had done before or since, capturing the Tower of London and executing the Archbishop of Canterbury along with the royal treasurer. Richard II, who was only fourteen at the time, met the peasants at a place called Mile End. Initially he agreed to all of their demands, including that "no man should be in serfdom" thereafter.⁵⁷ He would later renege on this, claiming that he had been under duress at the time. The leaders of the revolt would be executed and no real gains for the peasants can be evidenced in the immediate aftermath of the revolt.

The official reaction to the Peasants' Revolt, along with the laws and taxes that had in no small part led to it, reveal the attitudes of elites seeking to preserve the *status quo*, while ignoring the fact that the *status quo* no longer applied nor could be made to apply in this changed environment. An *apropos* example of this sort of attitudinal blinkeredness may be seen in an illustration conveniently supplied from the biography of one Geoffrey Chaucer, the son of a successful vintner who supplied wine to royalty. Chaucer was married to a lady-in-waiting to Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III. He had also boosted his career by becoming a courtier to the Countess of Ulster. This aspiring commoner (whose granddaughter would become the Duchess of Suffolk through a sequence of arranged marriages) made a careful study of the medieval art and traditions of heraldry, that uniquely feudal way of identifying a noble house through its elaborately designed, symbolic corporate logo. In 1386, Chaucer even gave evidence as an expert before the Court of Chivalry in a dispute between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor, cousins who were both claiming the

55. M. Aston, "Corpus Christi and Corpus Regni: Heresy and the Peasants Revolt," *Past & Present* 143 (1994): 3-47, 4.

56. See A. Harding, "The Revolt Against the Justices," in R. H. Hilton and T. H. Aston (eds.), *The English Rising of 1381* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987), 165. And see C. W. Hollister, *The Making of England 55B.c. to 1399* (Boston: Heath, 2001), 341.

57. "The Anonimal Chronicle," in C. Oman, *The Great Revolt of 1381* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), 198.

same heraldic device.⁵⁸ This was one of many such cases fought over heraldry and it illustrates the importance of such symbolism in identifying status and its inherent privileges within the feudal hierarchy. The Scrope and Grosvenor case had turned violent at times, with fighting taking place between the rivals' supporters and even involving other nobles allied with the contestants. Such disputes demonstrate how vehemently elites clung to this system, even as it was passing away, while remaining seemingly oblivious to the fact of its passing.

The Peasants' Revolt, then, aptly marks the point at which we can definitively say that something fundamental had changed. And feudalism, in England at any rate, would be effectively dead within a century. Even by the time of the Peasants' Revolt, it was on its way out the metaphorical door. Was this an inevitable process? Critics who embrace the gradualist approach have asserted that the self-sufficient manor was already in decline due to the rise of trade and growth of urban spaces with the concurrent increase in a cash-based economy, which led to gradually improving conditions for the serfs of fourteenth century England.⁵⁹ McKisack has argued that the end of the manorial village was prefigured prior to the Black Death.⁶⁰ Engels' famous Marxian critique of the change focuses almost entirely on the economic shift toward the use of currency in primarily urban environments. He virtually ignored the impact of the Black Death, declaring that "by the fifteenth century... an economy based on money was emerging fully fledged and this marked the decline of feudal authority and the old order".⁶¹ Certainly the gradualist view is not without some merits as technological and social changes were indeed occurring and can be demonstrated. Yet these and other sources are seemingly unable to offer satisfactory evidence to support their theory of definitive manorial decline until *after* the pandemic, possibly as a result of such a significant shift in the demographics. While one can choose to focus entirely on demographics and economics, the role of an altered perspective appears to be perhaps the most significant.

Very little of what has been presented so far is new, nor would it come as any surprise to medieval historians who have most definitely dealt with these subjects in much greater detail and depth than has this article. The aim of the above material is not simply to rehash the history of the 'Calamitous 14th Century'. So far, it has demonstrate how multiple catastrophic events, occurring in relatively close temporal proximity, have interfered with and influenced an historical process that was arguably already underway. Any single crisis, or even

58. See D. A. Pearsall, *The Life of Geoffrey Chaucer: A Critical Biography* (London: Blackwell, 1995), *passim*.

59. S. Rigby, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages* (London and New York: MacMillan Press, 1995), 62.

60. M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century 1307-1399* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), 328.

61. Friedrich Engels, "The Decline of Feudalism and the Rise of the Bourgeoisie," in *Monthly Review*, April 1957, 445-454.

a couple of them, might not have had nearly so much impact. Elites almost invariably seek to preserve the *status quo* (as it preserves their positions, wealth etc.) and they might have been able to do so in the 14th century with fewer crises at play. But too many jinn were loosed from too many bottles, so to speak. Too many perspectives were changed; too much of the demographic, and crucially its mind-set, was altered. Technological and artistic innovations that were already progressing became intensified. Perspectives shifted. The world had turned and, as Robinson Jeffers fittingly put into the mouth of Euripides' Medea in his rendition of that eponymous play, written during the darkest days of the Second World War, it had "turned sharp too".⁶² It is now worthwhile to consider some further parallels with the modern era and ask how our own world is turning, or if it has already turned 'sharp', with us largely being unaware of the fact, caught up as we are in the flow of events.

Perhaps the most obvious parallel with the Calamitous 14th Century is the current pandemic. Yet here there are major differences that need to be acknowledged. If the medieval Black Death killed nearly half of the population of Europe (this being a rough figure at best, with even less accuracy for the rest of the world), then the demographic shift at that time would have been much more significant than that of today. The estimated, global population in 1400 has been reckoned to be about 360 million, which is tiny compared with the current population, which is closer to about 7 billion.⁶³ At the time of writing, the current, official, worldwide death toll due to Covid-19 stood at roughly 6,134,555, which is a 'drop in the bucket' when compared with the medieval death toll, though still not an insignificant demographic shift.⁶⁴ Of course, these are official, government figures which may not be wholly accurate and which may not take into account the actual number of deaths associated with, but not caused directly by, the pandemic such as the lack of accessibility to medical treatment during lockdown, impact on immunity to other diseases, suicides due to depression caused by the pandemic, long term mental illness, as well as a potential obesity crisis on account of lockdown and its alteration of eating and exercise habits.⁶⁵ The figure might even be double the officially reported one but that is still relatively small by comparison to that of the Black Death in the 14th Century. It seems that our technological advancements have allowed the modern world to deal with our plague much better, in terms of loss of life, than our medieval forebears. Although, it is worth pointing out that we have not yet seen the end of this

62. R. Jeffers, *The Medea* (New York: Samuel French, Inc., 1942), 380 ff. It is perhaps best known from the 1982, Kennedy Center production of that play.

63. C. McEvedy, and R. Jones, *Atlas of World Population History, Facts on File* (Penguin: New York, 1978); and data from the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division.

64. Worldometer info (Delaware, U.S.A.)

65. M. Senthilingam, "COVID-19 Has Made the Obesity Epidemic Worse, but Failed to Ignite Enough Action," *British Medical Journal* (2021): 372.

pandemic and neither can we say for certain as to whether or not others might follow fast on its heels (Will the monkeypox become a contender?). So there is still scope for a comparable demographic shift.

Since this article has focused somewhat more on the U.K., we can look at the figures there a little more closely and perhaps draw some conclusions about how these deaths might impact that specific society, at least. Out of a population of 68,500,576, Britain has officially lost, at time of writing, 164,282 to COVID-19 (or 2,398 per 1 million people), which is the highest death toll in Europe.⁶⁶ This figure equates to approximately 2.4 people dead per thousand. By contrast, and with a much smaller population of somewhere between 4-7 million, the death toll of medieval England due to the Black Death was closer to 50-60 people per thousand.⁶⁷ Again, some latitude for error must be given here as the medieval demographics are much less accurately recorded; but, even taking that into account, we can see a considerably greater impact on the population than in the current pandemic. However, we can also break down the modern demographics somewhat more and perhaps determine how that might impact society in the near future. For example, in England in that same time-period, there have been officially reported 43,256 deaths of elderly care-home residents involving Covid-19 since the start of the coronavirus pandemic and that is a significant portion of the 164,282 deaths, accounting for nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total.⁶⁸ Those with pre-existing medical conditions also suffered a high rate of attrition. Of deaths in England and Wales where COVID-19 was the underlying cause, diabetes was the most common pre-existing condition recorded on the death certificate (October to December of 2021). This was identified in almost a quarter (22.5%) of the Covid-19 deaths. Chronic lower respiratory diseases were the second most common condition at 18.7% of deaths. Overall, the proportion of COVID-19 deaths with no pre-existing conditions remained comparable in October to December of 2021 (16.8%), and with July to September of 2021 (17.4%).⁶⁹

These raw figures do suggest something about one kind of potential change resulting from these deaths. It appears that a third to half of the deaths in the U.K. were among the elderly and those with pre-existing conditions (who also tend to be among the elderly to no small extent). And, again, the actual figures may be significantly higher. Assuming those people would not have died when they did, and in such numbers, then their sudden absence from the population should have some measureable impact, this article predicts, that will likely be most apparent during future elections, and especially in marginal seats. This hinges on

66. Worldometer info (Delaware, U.S.A.); bearing in mind that the actual figure might be double this official one.

67. C. Platt, *King Death: The Black Death and its Aftermath in Late-Medieval England* (London: UCL Press, 1996), 17-18.

68. U.K. Office of National Statistics, *Coronavirus (COVID-19) Latest Insights: Deaths*, 24 March 2022.

69. Ibid.

the assumption that older voters tend to favour the Conservative Party and that their sudden reduction in numbers will translate to a paradigm shift at the polls. This remains to be seen and it does not take into account other factors affecting voting behaviour that might also obtain. Certainly earlier pandemics also saw political upheavals; although, these may be difficult to predict *in media res*.⁷⁰ However, the more interesting parallel with the medieval era in question, and one that relies less on speculation, is a change in perspective and attitude.

The years from early 2020 to 2022 have witnessed considerable violations of societal norms. People had to become accustomed to many restrictions ranging from limits on normal social mixing to the number of family/friends who would be permitted to attend the funeral of a loved one. One more obvious such change brought about by the pandemic was with regard to employment and employers. It seems less likely today that we might expect another Peasants' Revolt, although a General Strike is not off the cards, given the various economic pressures being experienced by households. Even so, there has been, and continues to be a change in perspective in this regard. The most obvious example of this was the sudden possibility (for the middle classes, at least) of working from home, when that had mostly not been an option before. There has been, unsurprisingly, considerable resistance on the part of our managerial class to allow this new model of work, even during the height of the pandemic; yet the latter "rendered those objections irrelevant".⁷¹ This attitude persists and has been recently illustrated by Jacob Rees Mogg, the so-called U.K. Minister of State for Brexit Opportunities and Government Efficiency, who had a well-publicised walk around the civil service offices in Whitehall, leaving notes encouraging people to return to their desks.⁷² He even wrote an article to that effect in the *Mail on Sunday* declaring that "Working from home is a bad habit. And it's ruining the economy".⁷³ The U.K. prime minister (at time of writing), Boris Johnson, even weighed into this debate telling the *Daily Mail* (13/05/2022) that "working from home doesn't work".

These and others are clear examples of modern elites clinging to an outmoded *status quo* even as the world is turning before their eyes. Such *doctrinaire*, managerialist dogma that had obtained for most of the 20th century, however, has been debunked almost overnight by hard-core reality. While some debate will doubtless persist, objections about the impact that working from

70. See Papanikos, "Thucydides and the Synchronous Pandemic," 18 ff. for such political changes in consequence of the 5th century, Athenian plague.

71. L. Colley, and S. Williamson, "With Management Resistance Overcome, Working from Home May be Here to Stay," in *The Conversation*, 23 August 2020.

72. See I. Hislop (Ed.) "Brush with Death," *Private Eye* 1572 (29 April - 12 May 2022): 7.

73. J. R. Mogg, "Working from Home is a Bad Habit. And it's Ruining the Economy," in *The Mail on Sunday*, 24 April 2022. He compared them with the cleaners in Whitehall who came in to work during the pandemic; though, he failed to mention that they had no choice in the matter due to their contracts and number of them caught COVID-19 and died as a result.

home would have on productivity may be quickly silenced by ample evidence to the contrary.⁷⁴ Efficiency was not negatively impacted; it even improved in some instances. Indeed, working from home has also been observed to reduce worker inequality, resisting the need to relocate to expensive urban areas and resulting in workers spending more of their income in smaller localities. What is more, this may reverse the trend of city growth that began in Chaucer's era, with a concurrent alteration to the voting demographics as cities would no longer be the exclusive bastions of so-called 'liberal elitism'. A more equitable spread of the voting spectrum might obtain in both city and countryside, upsetting the boat, so to speak, of established politics in which cities typically prefer more liberal candidates and rural areas more conservative ones, with the latter being somewhat more privileged due to the present, gerrymandered structure of the constituencies. The U.K Office for National Statistics has predicted that 57% of British workers will work at least partially from home by the autumn of 2022, and that two thirds of Britons are already working flexibly in some way.⁷⁵ While many of our leaders seem stuck in the past, they would do well to note that, "as all post-industrial towns know, if you don't go out and meet the future, eventually it simply moves on without you."⁷⁶ Will a new Statute of Labourers now be rushed through Parliament in a vain attempt to force workers back into the office?

As if working from home were not dramatic enough, also to the horror of neo-Liberal thinkers, many of those workers whose jobs did not permit working from home, or whose work was not deemed "essential", were furloughed for a time at state expense. The world of work was forever turned on its head as we have now seen what was always possible, if previously unthinkable. That shift in the paradigm, in all likelihood coupled with large numbers of people (whether in work or not) being made to stay at home as a result of the public health crisis has led to another change in perspective. We had time and space to reflect on our lives and were given pause to consider what really matters in life. And many came to realise that the previous *status quo* had been, in fact, quite toxic and exploitative—call it 'neo-feudalism', perhaps, with the staggeringly increasing gap in pay between workers, management and chief executives along with the troubling rise of 'zero-hours contracts', which might be regarded as tantamount to perpetuating a kind of serfdom. In the U.S. and the U.K., there has been an almost unprecedented increase in union membership and strikes alongside other

74. Colley and Williamson, "With Management Resistance Overcome, Working from Home May be Here to Stay," 2020.

75. The U.K Office for National Statistics, "Business and Individual Attitudes Towards the Future of Homeworking, UK: April to May 2021: Analysis of the Effects of the Coronavirus (COVID-19) Pandemic on Office Working and of Business and Individual Attitudes to Future Working Practices".

76. G. Hinsliff, "Remote Working is Making the UK a More Equal Place – However Much Jacob Rees-Mogg May Sneer," in *The Guardian*, Sun 15 May 2022.

emerging labour-related phenomena.⁷⁷ Thus, in Europe and America, the so-called 'Great Resignation' began and continues apace. People would no longer tolerate oppressive environments for low pay and few benefits. In Britain alone, a "survey of 1,000 UK workers reveals that almost a third (29%)...are considering moving to a new job this year".⁷⁸ Interestingly, the figure is rather lower for those companies offering the 'hybrid' (working from home) approach. In the U.S., in November of 2021, "a record 4.5 million workers left their jobs, according to the Labor Department's latest Job Openings and Labor Turnover report".⁷⁹ This trend is expected to slow down somewhat in 2022, but by no means to cease altogether as workers seek better pay and a healthier home/work life-balance. As if to highlight the altered perspective, this condition has also been called 'The Great Reimagination,' 'The Great Reset' and 'The Great Realization'.⁸⁰

This is not to say that we have, or shall soon have, achieved utopia. Far from it. And many who resigned from their posts have regretted doing so.⁸¹ Nevertheless, this appears to have been another societal change that was likely coming at some point anyway, but which has been accelerated by the pandemic. Many of us could have worked from home all along, just as soon as technology allowed (since the mid-90s? Possibly even the 80s); however, it took a shock to the system to demolish the established *status quo* and to inaugurate the emerging paradigm. There will be those elites who want to reassert the old order, much as with their counterparts in 14th century England following the Black Death. Like them, they will likely be unsuccessful and will probably just encourage more rapid change through their vain efforts. An example of this in the U.K. may come in the form of a modern 'poll tax' (or 'flat tax'). The Conservative government was compelled to behave in ways that were utterly contrary to their normative ideological positions during the pandemic. This included, as indicated, the furloughing of many workers (at 80% of their pay), housing all of the homeless (which was accomplished almost overnight, as it turns out) and other massive state expenditures. The Tory government has attempted to pay for some of this, again uncharacteristically for them, by raising National Insurance tax. Therefore, "From 6 April 2022 to 5 April 2023 National Insurance contributions will increase by 1.25 percentage points", and we are told that this "will be spent on the NHS, health and social care".⁸² The primary threshold at which this tax applies will rise

77. H. Rosenkrantz, "Pandemic-Related Rise in Unionization Means Managers Need to Watch Workplace Dynamics," in *SHRM*, 9 March 2021.

78. C. Mills, "Great Resignation Continues – A Third of UK Workers Considering Career Change in 2022," in *the HR Director*, 31 January 2022.

79. M. Smith, "Professor who Predicted 'The Great Resignation' Shares the 3 Trends that Will Dominate Work in 2022," in *CNBC Make It*, Friday, Jan 14 2022. And see too US Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Job Openings and Labor Turnover Summary*, 29 March 2022.

80. *Ibid.*

81. *Ibid.*

82. H. M. Government, Gov.uk.

to £9,880 per year in April of 2022 and it will then increase again to £12,570 in July, slightly moderating the impact on very low earners.⁸³ This is a somewhat stealthy poll tax; but its greatest impact will likely be felt by those in the lower income range but who are still earning above £12,570.

This modern take on the poll tax comes alongside the revocation of a temporary increase in Universal Credit (welfare) by £20 per week during lockdown, again most affecting the poorest and the working classes.⁸⁴ Add this to a cost of living crisis, higher council tax bills (in the U.K.), higher fuel bills, with the latter being in no small part, but not exclusively, due to the Russian irredentist war with its concomitant economic sanctions. These, along with supply-chain issues emerging post-lockdown, are having a measureable 'knock-on' effect of higher food prices. It is also abundantly clear that the U.K.'s approach to leaving the EU has made an already tricky situation much worse.⁸⁵ And climate change too is playing its part with poor harvests due to the summer heatwave of 2022 affecting both food prices and availability, not dissimilar to the Great Famine of the early 14th Century. If such economic and other trends persist, then something like a modern Peasants' Revolt may become more possible, even inevitable. The cost of living crisis and an apparently supine government that is ideologically disinclined to adopt the measures necessary to improve the situation may yet provoke a General Strike in the U.K.⁸⁶ Indeed, multiple unions have gone on strike since the spring of 2022 and more are set to follow.

Might this result in an implementation of some kind of Universal Basic Income for many, given that automation has already been for some time now removing many jobs from the economy (and also given that robots do not currently buy the products that they make)? There could be UBI for the 'masses' and 'hybrid' or 'flexible' working for those who are fortunate enough to still have jobs. Some kind of dispensation will need to be reached in which the vast profits garnered by wealthy corporations are redistributed in some way to the poor—else they will not be able to purchase the goods that are being mass produced by automation. And the only apparent alternative is to let them starve, which would be unconscionable. This article has suggested that we may be seen to have already been subject to a kind of neo-feudalism for some time. Has the modern pandemic sounded its death-knell, parallel to the impacts of the medieval plague? To be replaced by what? 'Star Trek Socialism'? Or something in between? Is some

83. F. Archer, "National Insurance Changes: How They Will Affect You" in *The Times Money Mentor*, 30 March 2022.

84. A. Jones, and C. Long, "Universal Credit: Removing £20 uplift 'Has Made Every Day a Worry'" in *BBC News*, 10 December 2021.

85. R. Partington, "Brexit is Making Cost of Living Crisis Worse, New Study Claims EU Withdrawal Fuelling Higher Import Costs and Costing British Workers Nearly £500 a Year, Says Resolution Foundation," in *The Guardian* 22/06/2022.

86. See H. Ward-Glenton, "A Tragedy: Britain's Cost-of-Living Crisis Worsens as Rents Soar and Energy Bills Top \$5,000," in *CNBC, Europe Economy*, 11/08/2022.

kind of Malthusian disaster imminent, with a global population approaching unsustainable numbers, as it perhaps did at the end of the 13th Century? Maybe our technology will solve that problem too. And it must be conceded that other possibilities not considered here could also come to pass; only time will tell. But, as with the Calamitous 14th Century, the convergence of crises has both altered many perspectives and sped up the pace of change.

The author of this article asserts that most historians would likely prefer not to be so intimately present within a major 'historical moment', but to observe it from a safe distance in both space and time. We have been living through a succession of major historical moments since at least the 11th of September 2001. What seems certain is that we are set for more such upheavals as the Twenty-First Century unfolds. Climate change, with its inherent concomitants of famine, plague, war and impact on population will take its toll—unless we can somehow find a workable solution. Unlike our medieval forebears, we could actually create our own Little Ice Age, either by design or by accident, as recent events in Ukraine have worryingly implied.⁸⁷ With or without nuclear winter, there will almost certainly be other pandemics and of a sort that may not be easily predicted or addressed, encouraged by climate change and human infringement on ecosystems. It is remarkable that we have not had more of them already, having apparently learned few lessons from the SARS 'almost-pandemic' back in 2003.⁸⁸

As stated, our technology may allow us to mitigate some of the harshness but technological advancement is itself a major driver of transformation at multiple levels. We are supposedly on the verge of nuclear fusion, with its promise of pollution-free and near-limitless energy, and potentially even a workable 'warp drive' to send us hurtling through the cosmos, circumventing the light-speed barrier.⁸⁹ Who can say how those things may change our world and, more crucially, our perspective of how the world should work, if they come to pass? It is also a possibility that, by the end of the century, we may bear witness to comparable demographic and societal shifts to those of the medieval plague era. It is the author's sincerest hope that future historians will not apply to the current

87. e.g., Delegation of the European Union to the International Organisations in Vienna, "Joint Statement dated 12 August 2022 on the situation at the Zaporizhzhia Nuclear Power Plant" by the Press and information team of the Delegation to UN and OSCE in Vienna.

88. See M. H. Green, "Taking 'Pandemic' Seriously: Making the Black Death Global," in M. H. Green (ed.), *Pandemic Disease in the Medieval World: Rethinking the Black Death* (Yorkshire: Arc Humanities Press, 2015), 27-61, for an almost prescient warning about global pandemics that no one appears to have heeded.

89. C. Young, "Physicists Say We're Officially at the 'Threshold of Nuclear Fusion Ignition,'" in *Interesting Engineering*, 18 August 2021; and see R. Ghast, "Star Trek's Warp Drive Leads to New Physics: Researchers are Taking a Closer Look at This Science-fiction Staple—And Bringing the Idea a Little Closer to Reality," in *Scientific American*, 13 July 2021.

era the notorious epithet of the 'Calamitous Twenty-First Century'; but, *ceteris paribus*, we might be fortunate if that term, and the survivability that it implies in comparison to that earlier century of upheavals, defines the extent of our own potential grief. The alternative does not bear contemplation: should there happen to be no one in such a hypothetical future to apply that or any other epithet to our times.

It is no accident, then, that the Death Card in the traditional Tarot deck represents change. That "privee thief" has always been a major driver of change and continues to be. This article has demonstrated that significant parallels exist between the multiple crises faced by the 14th Century, Black Death era and the contemporary age of COVID-19, as well as some parallels in the responses to those respective crises. If the argument for these phenomena producing an altered perspective and increasing the pace of change is correct, then our world must be on the cusp of a new age; likely the point of no return has already passed. Technology that is even now developing will probably be sent into overdrive by the impact of the multiple crises. Consider how quickly vaccines were rolled out compared with earlier in the 20th Century. These technological changes, in turn, will both affect and be affected by changing attitudes. We can predict that the changes will be no less dramatic for us as they were for Chaucer's England: that is, at least as profound as the shift from medieval feudalism to early-modern capitalism, with a clear sense of 'before' and 'after', if only clearly discerned in hindsight. The metamorphosis is already upon us and it is too late to put the jinni back into its bottle, even if we wanted to do so. And while we may prognosticate with perhaps some accuracy, based on past examples, it remains unclear as to precisely what shape this 'New Normal' will have, except that it will likely upset many of our cherished paradigms and violate numerous societal norms, for worse or for better.

The author of this article is aware that it has made a number of tentative conclusions throughout about shifting relationships in our society as a result of crises. These are little more than informed speculation as, to reiterate, historians cannot predict the future; even so, it should be clear by now that these attempted prognostications are informed by some rather striking historical precedents. Of course it is difficult to define an historical moment while immersed within it. However, one thing is absolutely clear: we are living through unequivocally interesting times. And they are probably set to become even more interesting as the era unfolds. If the Calamitous 14th Century has taught us anything about humankind's ability to survive multiple existential and philosophical upheavals, it is that the most important driver of change is that within our own minds and perspectives. As the Buddha reportedly said: "We are what we think./All that we are arises with our thoughts./With our thoughts we make the world."⁹⁰ And we

90. The Buddha, *The Dhammapada* (Pasadena, California: Theosophical University Press, 1980), 2.

shall soon see what sort of world our thoughts, altered by the impact of these and perhaps other multiple crises, will make. Historical insights permit some limited projections based on comparatively similar trends. The only thing that we can say for certain, however, is that our relatively near future is likely to be dramatically different from our recent past. Even so, it is heartening to observe that, at the end of the Middle Ages, our civilisation suffered an arguably worse crisis than we are presently experiencing, however comparable. As we have seen, they faced climate change, plague, war, famine, technological transformation, societal upheaval and, to quote Shea and Wilson, "many megadeaths";⁹¹ yet humanity not only endured but eventually prospered. Thus our forebears of that era have demonstrated just how resilient and adaptable human beings can be when faced with overwhelming adversity. One can but hope that we shall repeat that aspect of their history as well.

Bibliography

- Archer, F. "National insurance Changes: How They Will Affect You." In *The Times Money Mentor*, 30 March 2022. Retrieved from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/money-mentor/article/national-insurance-increase-2022/>. [Accessed 1 April 2022.]
- Aston, M. "Corpus Christi and Corpus Regni: Heresy and the Peasants Revolt." *Past & Present* 143 (1994): 3-47.
- Atherton, K. D. "How Technology, Both Old and New, Has Shaped the War in Ukraine so Far." In *Popular Science*, 7 April 2022. Retrieved from: <https://www.popsoci.com/technology/technology-russia-ukraine-war/>. [Accessed 27 April 2022.]
- Baily, M. "Peasant Welfare in England, 1290-1348." *Economic History Review* New Series, 51, no. 2 (1998): 223-251.
- Barry, S., and N. Gualde, "The Greatest Epidemic of History." *L'Histoire* 310 (2006): 45-46.
- Bennett, J. M., and C. W. Hollister. *Medieval Europe: A Short History*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2006.
- Beveridge, W. "Wages in the Winchester Manors." *The Economic History Review* 7, no. 1 (1936): 22-43.
- Boccaccio, Giovanni. *The Decameron*. Translated by M. Rigg. London: David Campbell, 1921.
- Borsch, S. J. *The Black Death in Egypt and England: A Comparative Study*. Austin, TX, USA: University of Texas Press, 2005.
- Bridbury, A. R. "The Black Death." *The Economic History Review* 2nd Series, 26 (1973): 577-592.
- Buddha. *The Dhammapada*. Translated by T. Byrom, Foreword of H. Kaviratna, with Minor Adaptations. Pasadena, California: Theosophical University Press, 1980.
- Burke, P. *The European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Canterbury Tales*. Edited and Translated by N. Coghill. London: Penguin, 2003.
- Chayka, K. "How the Coronavirus Will Reshape Architecture: What Kinds of Space are we Willing to Live and Work in Now?" In *The New Yorker*, 17 June 2020. Retrieved from: <https://bit.ly/3RCxZwH>. [Accessed 30 June 2022.]

91. R. A. Wilson, and R. Shea, *The Illuminatus Trilogy* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1975), *passim*.

- Chrystal, P. *The History of the World in 100 Pandemics, Plagues and Epidemics*. Yorkshire and Philadelphia, PA: Pen & Sword History, 2021.
- Colley, L., and S. Williamson, "With Management Resistance Overcome, Working from Home May be Here to Stay." In *The Conversation*, 23 August 2020. Retrieved from: <https://theconversation.com/with-management-resistance-overcome-working-from-home-may-be-here-to-stay-144850>. [Accessed 1 April 2022.]
- Curl, J. S., and S. Wilson (Eds.) *A Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture*. 3rd Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Cybulskie, D. *Priests and the Black Death*. Retrieved from: <https://www.medievalists.net/2015/02/priests-black-death/>. [Accessed 11 March 2022.]
- de Klerk, A. "Will the Experience of Lockdown Change the Way we Dress for Ever? As Consumer Trends Shift in Response to the Crisis, a New Outlook on Shopping and Style May be Emerging." In *Bazaar*, 7 May 2020. Retrieved from: <https://www.harpersbazaar.com/uk/fashion/fashion-news/a32400342/fashion-post-lockdown/>. [Accessed 1 April 2022.]
- Delegation of the European Union to the International Organisations in Vienna. "Joint Statement Dated 12 August 2022 on the Situation at the Zaporizhzhia Nuclear Power Plant" by the Press and Information Team of the Delegation to UN and OSCE in Vienna. Retrieved from: <https://bit.ly/3cTelrZ>. [Accessed 23 August 2022.]
- Eaton, J. M. *An Archaeological History of Britain: Continuity and Change from Prehistory to the Present*. London: Pen & Sword, 2014.
- ElZein, Z., and Y. ElSemary. "Re-Thinking Post-Pandemic Home Design: How COVID-19 Affected the Perception and Use of Residential Balconies in Egypt." *Future Cities and Environment* 8, no. 1 (2022).
- Engels, Friedrich. "The Decline of Feudalism and the Rise of the Bourgeoisie." In *Monthly Review*, April 1957, 445-454. Retrieved from: <https://bit.ly/3evlwwI>. [Accessed 10 March 2022.]
- Froissart, Jean. *Froissart's Chronicle*. Edited and Translated by J. Jolliffe. London: The History Book Club, 1968.
- Ghast, R. "Star Trek's Warp Drive Leads to New Physics: Researchers are Taking a Closer Look at This Science-fiction Staple—And Bringing the Idea a Little Closer to Reality." In *Scientific American*, 13 July 2021. Retrieved from: <https://bit.ly/3TPal1N>. [Accessed 1 April 2022.]
- Gottfried, R. S. *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*. Vol. 2. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983.
- Goyau, G., and G. Mollat. "Avignon." In *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 2. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907.
- Green, M. H. "Taking 'Pandemic' Seriously: Making the Black Death Global." In M. H. Green (ed.), *Pandemic Disease in the Medieval World: Rethinking the Black Death*, 27-61. Yorkshire: Arc Humanities Press, 2015.
- Green, M. H. (Ed.) *Pandemic Disease in the Medieval World: Rethinking the Black Death*. Yorkshire: Arc Humanities Press, 2015.
- H. M. Government, Gov.uk Retrieved from: <https://bit.ly/3AV748q>. [Accessed 1 April 2022.]
- Handwerk, B. "Little Ice Age Shrank Europeans, Sparked Wars Study Aims to Scientifically Link Climate Change to Societal Upheaval." In *National Geographic News*, 5. October 2011. Retrieved from: <https://on.natgeo.com/3Bh9ShF>. [Accessed 11 March 2022.]

- Harding, A. "The Revolt Against the Justices." In R. H. Hilton and T. H. Aston (eds.), *The English Rising of 1381*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987.
- Hilton, R. *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381*. 2nd Edition. London: Routledge, 1973.
- Hilton, R. H., and T. H. Aston. *The English Rising of 1381*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987.
- Hinsliff, G. "Remote Working is Making the UK a More Equal Place – However Much Jacob Rees-Mogg May Sneer." In *The Guardian*, Sunday, 15 May 2022.
- Hislop, I. (Ed.) "Brush with Death." *Private Eye* 1572 (29 April - 12 May 2022): 7.
- Hollister, C. W. *The Making of England 55B.c. to 1399*. Boston, MA: Heath, 2001.
- Jeffers, R. (Trans.) *The Medea*. New York: Samuel French, Inc., 1942.
- Jones, A., and C. Long. "Universal Credit: Removing £20 Uplift 'Has Made Every Day a Worry.'" In *BBC News*, 10 December 2021. Retrieved from: <https://bbc.in/3TM76In>. [Accessed 1 April 2022.]
- Keen, M. *English Society in the Later Middle Ages 1348-1500*. London: Penguin, 1990.
- _____. *England in the Later Middle Ages*. 2nd Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Kesteven, G. R. *The Peasants' Revolt*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1965.
- Ladurie, Emmanuel Le Roy. *Times of Feast, Times of Famine: A History of Climate Since the Year 1000*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971.
- Laver, J. *The Concise History of Costume and Fashion*. New York: H.N. Abram, 1979.
- MacCracken, M.C., and John S Perry (Eds.). *Encyclopedia of Global Environmental Change, Volume 1, The Earth System: Physical and Chemical Dimensions of Global Environmental Change*. London: John Wiley & Sons, 2003.
- Mann, M. "Little Ice Age" (PDF). In Michael C. MacCracken and John S. Perry (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Global Environmental Change, Volume 1, The Earth System: Physical and Chemical Dimensions of Global Environmental Change*. London: John Wiley & Sons, 2003.
- Mays, S., R. Fryer, A. W. G. Pike, M. J. Cooper, and P. Marshall. "A Multidisciplinary Study of a Burnt and Mutilated Assemblage of Human Remains from a Deserted Mediaeval Village in England." *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 16 (2017): 441-455.
- McEvedy, C., and R. Jones. *Atlas of World Population History, Facts on File*. New York: Penguin, 1978.
- McKisack, M. *The Fourteenth Century 1307-1399*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- Miller, G. H., Áslaug Geirsdóttir, Yafang Zhong, Darren J. Larsen, Bette L. Otto-Bliesner, Marika M. Holland, et al. "Abrupt Onset of the Little Ice Age Triggered by Volcanism and Sustained by Sea-ice/Ocean Feedbacks." *Geophysical Research Letters* 39, no. 2 (2012): 1-5.
- Mills, C. "Great Resignation Continues – A Third of UK Workers Considering Career Change in 2022." in *the HR Director*, 31 January 2022.
- Mizokami, K. "Self-Destructing 'Kamikaze Drones' Are Hunting Down Targets in Ukraine." In *Popular Mechanics*, 28 March 2022. Retrieved from: <https://bit.ly/3Qi6QxR>. [Accessed 29 April 22.]
- Mogg, J. R. "Working from Home is a Bad Habit. And it's Ruining the Economy." In *The Mail on Sunday*, 24 April 2022. Retrieved from: <https://bit.ly/3Bhqcz2>. [Accessed 6 May 2022.]
- Mortimer, I. *The Time Traveller's Guide to Medieval England*. London: Vintage Books, 2008.

- National Archives. *Currency Converter 1270-2017*. Retrieved from: <https://bit.ly/3RdKQpj>. [Accessed 30 August 2022.]
- Oman, C. *The Great Revolt of 1381*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906.
- Ormrod, W. M. *Political Life in Medieval England, 1300-1450*. London: Palgrave, 1995.
- Papanikos, G. T. "Thucydides and the Synchronous Pandemic." *Athens Journal of History* 7, no. 1 (2021): 71-94.
- Partington, R. "Brexit is Making Cost of Living Crisis Worse, New Study Claims EU Withdrawal Fuelling Higher Import Costs and Costing British Workers Nearly £500 a Year, Says Resolution Foundation." In *The Guardian* 22/06/2022. Retrieved from: <https://bit.ly/3evmJ7e>. [Accessed 24 August 2022.]
- Pearsall, D. A. *The Life of Geoffrey Chaucer: A Critical Biography* (Blackwell Critical Biographies). 1st Edition. London: Blackwell, 1995.
- Platt, C. *Medieval England: A Social History and Archaeology from Conquest to 1600 AD*. London and Henley: Routledge and Paul Kegan, 1978.
- _____. *King Death: The Black Death and its Aftermath in Late-Medieval England*. London: UCL Press, 1996.
- Pratt, L., and L. Woolley. *Shoes*. London: V&A Publications, 2008.
- Pritchard, V. *English Medieval Graffiti*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.
- Putin, V. "On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians" in *Website of the President of the Russian Federation*, www.kremlin.ru 2021. Qtd from: https://en.wiki source.org/wiki/On_the_Historical_Unity_of_Russians_and_Ukrainians. [Accessed 2 April 2022.]
- Rigby, S. *English Society in the Later Middle Ages*. London and New York: MacMillan Press, 1995.
- Rosenkrantz, H. "Pandemic-Related Rise in Unionization Means Managers Need to Watch Workplace Dynamics." In *SHRM*, 9 March 2021. Retrieved from: <https://bit.ly/3CZf8HY>. [Accessed 1 April 2022.]
- Senthilingam, M. "COVID-19 Has Made the Obesity Epidemic Worse, but Failed to Ignite Enough Action." *British Medical Journal* (2021): 372.
- Schurr, M. C., and R. E. Bork (Eds.). *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Smith, M. "Professor who Predicted 'The Great Resignation' Shares the 3 Trends that Will Dominate Work in 2022." In *CNBC Make It*, Published Friday, January 14 2022. Retrieved from: <https://cnb.cx/3qfnunf>. [Accessed 1 April 2022.]
- Stewart, D. B. *The Russian-Ukrainian Friendship Treaty and the Search for Regional Stability in Eastern Europe*. Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in National Security Affairs from the Naval Postgraduate School. Monterey, CA, December 1997.
- Trueman, C. N. "The Hundred Years War." In *The History Learning Site*, 5 March 2015. Retrieved from: [https:// www.historylearningsite.co.uk/medieval-england/the-hundred-years-war/](https://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/medieval-england/the-hundred-years-war/). [Accessed 11 March 2022.]
- Tuchman, Barbara. *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous Fourteenth Century*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978.
- U.K. Office for National Statistics. "Business and Individual Attitudes Towards the Future of Homeworking, UK: April to May 2021: Analysis of the Effects of the Coronavirus (COVID-19) Pandemic on Office Working and of Business and Individual Attitudes to Future Working Practices." Retrieved from: <https://bit.ly/3BeJ2a4>. [Accessed 16 May 2022.]

- _____. "Coronavirus (COVID-19) Latest Insights: Deaths, 24 March 2022." Retrieved from: <https://bit.ly/3x1Xj7r>. [Accessed 25 March 2022.]
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. Retrieved from: [https:// population.un.org/wpp/](https://population.un.org/wpp/). [Accessed 25 March 2022.]
- US Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Job Openings and Labor Turnover Summary*, 29 March 2022. Retrieved from: <https://www.bls.gov/news.release/jolts.nr0.htm>. [Accessed 1 April 2022.]
- Ward-Glenton, H. "'A Tragedy': Britain's Cost-of-Living Crisis Worsens as Rents Soar and Energy Bills top \$5,000." In *CNBC, Europe Economy*, 11/08/2022. Retrieved from: <https://cnb.cx/3QsvOek>. [Accessed 23 August 2022.]
- Wilson, R. A., and R. Shea. *The Illuminatus Trilogy*. New York: Dell Publishing, 1975.
- Worldometer info. Delaware, U.S.A. Retrieved from: <https://bit.ly/3AUK9dw>. [Accessed 25 March 2022.]
- Young, C. "Physicists Say We're Officially at the 'Threshold of Nuclear Fusion Ignition.'" in *Interesting Engineering*, 18 August 2021.
- Zentner, M. H. *The Black Death and its Impact on the Church and Popular Religion*. Thesis submitted to the faculty of The University of Mississippi in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honours College. Oxford, Mississippi May 2015.

Queen Atossa: Adamantine Achaemenid Apron-Strings [Hdt. 2.1.1–2, Hdt. 3.66.2, 3.88.2, 3.133–134, Hdt.7.2.1–3, and 7.3.4]

By Oliver R. Baker*

Claims that Herodotus reveals himself as a proto-biographer, let alone as a proto-feminist, are not yet widely accepted. To help advance these claims, I have selected one remarkable, non-Greek, barbarian woman—Queen Atossa of Persia, the daughter of Cyrus the Great, and the spouse of three Achaemenid kings—whose exploits during their reigns are recounted in his Histories. It is to Heraclitus—a near contemporary—to whom we attribute the maxim êthos anthropôi daimôn (ἦθος ἀνθρώπῳ δαίμων)—character is human destiny—and it is the truth of this maxim—implying effective human agency—that makes Herodotus’ creation of historical narrative possible. From his many vignettes, which, without advancing the narrative, Herodotus is able to color-in the character of some of the more notable individuals he identifies in his Histories. Although never the cradle to grave accounts typical of Plutarch centuries later, by leap-frogging through three of the nine books, we can assemble a partially continuous narrative, and thus gauge Atossa’s character. Arguably this lets us attribute both credit and moral responsibility. This implied causation demonstrates that Herodotus’ writings include not only proto-biography but in several instances—one of which is given here—proto-feminism.

Introduction

What Herodotus principally tells us about Atossa’s life is that as a daughter of Cyrus the Great she actively participates in rather than just witnesses the reigns of the first four Achaemenid kings—Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, and Xerxes—and plays a critical role during this long period of dynastic turbulence influencing both the succession and the direction and pace of Persian empire building during the late sixth and early fifth centuries.¹ Given that under the Achaemenid Empire polygamy is the conventional practice, and where for dynastic and diplomatic reasons Persian monarchs take multiple official wives for legitimate progeny and

*Tutor-Marker, and Graduate Student, Simon Fraser University, Canada.

1. Herodotus frequently records the matrimonial practices of other cultures occasionally pointing out the differences between these and Hellenic serial monogamy with its double standard for male infidelity. This companionate marriage is in the same sense that Odysseus wishes for Nausicaa (*Od.* 6.201–202). Herodotus notes that the sixth-century Egyptian king, Amasis, refuses to send his daughter to Cambyses because he knows that she will be used only as one of many royal concubines and not honored as an official wife (Hdt. 3.1.2–5). From time to time, even royal concubines could be “assigned” to pleasure visiting dignitaries as a mark of their high esteem.

any number of concubines for pleasure and progeny, at first sight, the likelihood of an enduring companionate marriage appears to be remote. Generally, in his *Histories*, whether of noble birth or not, women are given virtually no role beyond the purely domestic. Nonetheless, one Herodotean scholar has noted fifty-three instances in the *Histories* where women or femininity play a decisive role in the outcome of a particular event.² Although this seldom seen or heard domestic restriction is particularly true for Athenian women, Herodotus shows that Spartan women are a surprising and noteworthy exception.³ This exception applies even more dramatically in the case for well-born women whose ethnicity and culture are distinctly other than Greek—non-Greek—or as Herodotus puts it, Barbarian. Xerxes' mother, Atossa, is such an exception.

The Last of the Asian Heraclids

In fact, Herodotus' *Histories* are book-ended with lurid, prurient tales of two remarkably strong-minded, non-Greek women—Candaules' queen Nyssia and Xerxes' queen Amestris—not that we should surmise that Herodotus is remotely suggesting either consort should serve as a suitable role model even for barbarian women to emulate.⁴ Although silent about the exercise of male sexuality, Herodotus lets both remarkable women vigorously defend not only their own dignity, but the dignity of the monarchy in general.⁵ However, both women elect

2. In an appendix to his article "La femme et le pouvoir chez Herodote" Alexandre Tourraix lists the passages from all nine books of the *Histories*: Hdt. 1.1–5, 1.7–14, 1.34, 1.60, 1.73–74, 1.84, 1.91, 1.93, 1.105, 1.107–120, 1.184, 1.185, 1.201; Hdt. 2.1, 2.35, 2.54.2.104, 2.111, 2.121, 2.151; Hdt. 3.1, 3.31–32, 3.50, 3.68–69, 3.84–88, 3.118–119, 3.124, 3.133–134, 3.150–159; Hdt. 4.1, 4.60, 4.145, 4.154–155; Hdt. 5.12–15, 5.20, 5.39–42, 5.92, 5.126; Hdt. 6.43, 6.51–52, 6.61, 6.107, 6.137–140; Hdt. 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 7.5, 7.75, 7.61–62, 7.205; Hdt. 8.137, Hdt. 9.108–102, 9.122. Alexandre Tourraix, "La femme et le pouvoir chez Hérodote," *Dialogues d'histoire Ancienne [DHA]* 2 (1976): 385–386.

3. Arguably, both Gorgo and Artemisia are Spartan / Dorian exceptions to this largely Athenocentric observation. Although she is never named by Herodotus, Nyssia's first husband is the somewhat strange Lydian king, Candaules. In stark contrast, Amestris, who is named by Herodotus and indeed becomes Xerxes' queen, is a daughter of the Persian nobleman and kingmaker Otanes. For the woeful Nyssia story in full see book 1 (Hdt. 1.8.1–1.14.4), and for that of Amestris see book 9 (Hdt. 9.109.1–9.113.2).

4. Scholars have unearthed a number of names for Candaules' wife from other sources: including: Nyssia, Clytia, Habro, and Toudo. Likely facing such a cornucopia, or plethora of possible names, Herodotus elects not to privilege any particular one, David Ashiri, Alan Lloyd, and Aldo Corcella (Eds.) Oswyn Murray and Alfonso Moreno, *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I–IV* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 81.

5. See Josine Block, *Brill's Companion to Herodotus* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2002): 230–231.

to use what one scholar describes as “royal barbaric power.”⁶ The story of the late eighth-century Lydian king, Candaules; his queen, and a favored royal bodyguard, Gyges son of Daskylos, is quickly told (Hdt. 1.7.4–1.14.4).

Candaules son of Myrsos is so proud of his exceedingly beautiful wife, to the extent that he even wants to show her off completely naked to his bodyguard.⁷ Although assured that this viewing can take place without her knowledge, the bodyguard, Gyges, initially wants nothing to do with this impropriety and carefully explains why:⁸

“My Lord, what are you saying? Insanity! You order me to see your mistress naked? When a woman’s dress is removed so is her dignity. [4] People long ago recognized what principles are noble and good, and we should learn from them. Among them is this one: ‘Look only at what belongs to you.’ I do believe that she is the most beautiful of all women, and I beg you not to ask for what is against all decency” (Hdt. 1.8.3–4).⁹

Woefully lacking the courage of his convictions Gyges eventually decides that he must comply with his king’s wishes, and one evening Candaules conceals his bodyguard behind an open door in the royal bedchamber before withdrawing himself.¹⁰ Later, Gyges watches as the queen enters, prepares herself for bed, and undresses in front of him. He silently slips out of the bedchamber; alas not unseen, and so ends this compulsory introduction to voyeurism by his monarch.

6. For this phrase and its ambiguous if not confusing word order I am indebted to Vivienne Gray, “Herodotus and the Rhetoric of Otherness,” *The American Journal of Philology* 116, no. 2 (1995): 200.

7. Gyges may well be a bachelor and his sexual experience limited to amorous liaisons with accommodating widows and *pornai*. One speculation is that Candaules is a voyeur and assumes everyone else is, too. Evidently it is a short step from voyeurism to insisting that the vicarious observer becomes the observed performer.

8. All quotations from the *Histories* are from the Andrea Purvis translation presented in Robert Strassler (Ed.), *The Landmark Herodotus* (New York, NY: Random House, 2007).

9. Although speaking through a Barbarian, this is a rare instance of Herodotus revealing his own take on morally acceptable behavior. Far beyond covetousness, let alone a proto-feminist rejection of treating women as objects of sexual desire and twenty-three hundred years before Kant, Herodotus is firmly rejecting the notion of using any person as a means to an end. He also shows how the exercise of *royal barbaric power* can turn even an aristocrat into a slave.

10. Exploiting a very different variant of this story, Plato has Gyges as a simple shepherd. There is no reason to presume that Herodotus’ Gyges is a peasant, he is more probably an aristocrat, and such social status will make his future marriage to the widowed queen more plausible and less problematic; in any case—pauper or prince—he reluctantly obeys. Herodotus writes, “Since Gyges could not escape, he was won over” (Hdt. 1.10.1). He may not be executed if he declines, but he will lose favor and might be dismissed—instead of following his conscience and accepting any consequences, he complies, becoming less than upright and somewhat a slave.

The queen, although hopping mad about the lewd affront, realizes that this must be all her degenerate husband's doing, pretends not to notice.¹¹ The next day she summons Gyges and delivers her murderous ultimatum:

"Now, Gyges, there are two roads before you, and I shall let you choose which you want to take. Either kill Candaules and have me and the kingdom of the Lydians, or you yourself must die at once so that in the future you will never see things you should not see in your complete obedience to Candaules. [2] At any rate, either he should die, since he planned the deed, or you should, since you saw me naked, which violated all decency" (Hdt. 1.11.2–3).

Herodotus is telling a story. Of course, just like his contemporary audience, we all know that reported direct speech—especially in another language, and certainly not in any fifth-century Greek dialect—has not been preserved over several centuries for any of the characters in his *Histories*, so we momentarily and willingly suspend our disbelief. There is no way Candaules' queen is going to let him get out of this one; and when faced with one of history's more obvious of Hobson's choices if not the classic definition and an example of an *aporia*, Gyges the king's bodyguard meekly asks the king's consort how best the assassination might unfold—to which she replies with savage, if poetic, justice:

"The attack will be made from the very place he revealed me naked, and the assault will be made upon him in his sleep" (Hdt. 1.11.5).

The queen even provides the dagger—doubtless a keen heirloom—Gyges kills Candaules exactly as directed, and now with bedchamber and throne vacated promptly claims the dowager queen and the kingdom.¹² Perturbed over this violent dynastic change, the Lydian people request the Delphic Oracle to pronounce final judgement.¹³ Candaules is, of course, a Heraclid, but Cyrus, a

11. You do not have to be a late nineteenth-century Austro-German psychiatrist to divine that Candaules' behavior—after whom the psychiatric disorder *candaulism* is named—is aberrant. The term was first coined by [Richard Freiherr von Krafft-Ebing](#) in his book *Psychopathia sexualis: Eine klinisch-forensische Studie* first published in 1886. There must be more desirable ways to get your name into a Psychology handbook such as the APA's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Psychiatric Disorders* (DSM-5).

12. There is no mention of regency; so perhaps at this time Nyssia is childless and her *faits accomplis* with Gyges diminish any potential claims to the Lydian throne by others. The Lydians use the mythical name Tylon for Heracles and his descendants; Tylonids are therefore synonymous with Heraclids. Candaules was the last Lydian king of this long dynasty of twenty-two descendants. Gyges is the first king of the Memnad, or Gygid, dynasty.

13. Gyges' kingship is confirmed, but with a weasel clause to the effect that Heraclid retribution will come to his fourth descendent. Of course, by the middle of the sixth century when Croesus—who turns out to be the last king of Lydia—reaches the throne, everyone

Persian and not a Heraclid at all, is the unwitting instrument of the Heraclids bringing retribution for the earlier regicide.¹⁴ No good deed should go unpunished.¹⁵

Never far from a Homeric and mythological link, this introduces a number of interpretive challenges as a number of Greek city-states also claim Heraclitan descent.¹⁶ The Heraclid kings of Lydia stem from the union of Heracles and Omphale, whereas the Heraclid kings of Sparta stem from the union of Heracles and Deianira. But in a strange role reversal at one time Omphale owns Heracles' body if not his soul, outright as a slave, but the slave-owner quickly becomes her own slave's mistress and even later his second spouse. Gyges is not the Lydian queen's slave at all, just one of husband's court appointees but likely a noble. Furthermore, Candaules' self-satisfaction is a similar pathology but much more severe than that demonstrated by Croesus with Solon.¹⁷ We might also note that possession of a *Playboy Centerfold* spouse is not among Solon's happiness criteria. Both Candaules and Croesus are saying, "Look at how lucky I am." From an Athenian viewpoint, where even the names of their wives and daughters remain unmentioned outside the home and the immediate family, Candaules' transgression is unbelievably vile. Nyssia may take great delight in being admired by her subjects, but not in that demeaning way; knowing how easily sex is commodified, she has no interest in being commodified herself. We can readily concede that she

has forgotten about this part of the Pythia's pronouncement. Croesus is defeated by the Persian king, Cyrus, in 547/546 (Hdt. 1.91.1). Cyrus had already defeated Croesus' brother-in-law, Astyages—the last king of the Medes—in 550 (Hdt. 1.130.1–3).

14. Actually, Candaules is the twenty-second in a continuous line of father-to-son Asian Heraclids (Hdt. 1.7.4). Perhaps the point is that after that number of generations only the primitive and least desirable aspects of Heracles' character endure—namely a weakness for and propensity to succumb to two of the basest of male urges—an unbridled appetite for sex and extreme violence. This brings us back to Heraclitus' maxim—character is destiny.

15. Not part of that oracle, but the argument can be made that the victories of Pausanias at Plataea and Leotychidas at Mycale are also the (Spartan) descendants of the Heraclids getting even with the ultimate successors to, or perhaps usurpers of Candaules' kingdom.

16. In terms of heritage, we should not forget the Thirteenth Labor of Heracles where, at their own father's insistence in one, seven, or perhaps fifty nights of prodigious hymen-snapping, the eighteen-year-old Heracles deflowers and impregnates forty-nine of King Thespius of Thespia's fifty daughters producing fifty-one offspring. The punishment for disobedience meted out to the one unnamed daughter, who refuses to go along with her father's selfish plan of producing sons with the hero, is forthwith to serve as a temple priestess and thereafter lead a life of strict chastity, Timothy Gantz, *Early Greek Myth*. (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1993), 379.

17. Recall that Croesus was displeased with, if not incapable of comprehending, either of Solon's judgements that immeasurable wealth does not necessarily translate into great happiness, and that good luck does not endure forever (Hdt. 1.32.8–9, and 1.33).

is provoked, while not conceding that her reactions are justified.¹⁸ Fifth-century Athenians might extol a youthful naked male body in athletic competition and in sculpture, but their women are covered from their shoulders to their ankles to the extent that the skimpy off-shoulder, slit-skirt tunics favored by young Spartan women are considered shamelessly indecent.¹⁹

Royal Barbaric Power

For Herodotus' audience, the Queen's reaction is understandable, albeit extreme. It is also in line with the precedent set by more than one Olympian goddess for similar transgressions.²⁰ However, the principal issue is not her behavior; it is Candaules'. He authors his own demise. In many respects Candaules is exhibiting a more extreme variant of Croesus' narcissistic and histrionic personality disorder. Does he wish to create envy in a loyal and trusted subject? Does he want to torment Gyges, his chief bodyguard, with an arousal where fulfillment is forbidden? In this instance the queen, in turn, has no hesitation in showing Gyges how these newly unleashed desires can be gratified with a kingdom thrown in to boot.²¹

In short, both kings are so grossly insecure to the extent that they crave being envied for their possessions and reinforce this with the wish to flaunt everything—"Look at what a lucky dog I am!"—"Look at with whom I enjoy ecstasy in my bedchamber, whenever I wish"—or—"Look at all these amphora, each filled to the top with gold"—"And, it is all mine, mine, mine!" The Amestris story from early in the fifth century, to be discussed later, similarly explores the unforgiving nature of an absolute monarchy in terms of the dignity of women in a polygamous, potentially carnally competitive and factious, royal household harboring barely governed ambitions and sexual desires. In her 1995 article, Vivienne Gray argues:²²

The tendency to read these two stories [involving Nyssia and Amestris] exclusively in terms of the otherness of women seems unjustified, however. The vengeful queen

18. This is much more than the "I've looked . . . with lust . . . and God forgives me for it" confession by then Democratic presidential candidate James Earl Carter, see the Robert Scheer interview in *Playboy Magazine* 23, no. 11 (1976): 63-86.

19. Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1975), 83.

20. In one myth variant Athena blinds the seer Tiresias, and in another, Artemis turns Actaeon into a stag which is soon torn into pieces by his own hunting dogs.

21. Throwing either monarch on the psychoanalyst's couch is far beyond the scope of this study, let alone this author's interests—but both rulers display elements of the narcissistic and the attention seeking pathology of the histrionic. Neither trait is ever particularly endearing.

22. Gray, "Herodotus and Rhetoric," 1995.

represents “other” for an audience used to nonactive women, but so does the king [Astyages] who serves up a dismembered child. The stories can also be read in terms of the rhetoric of the otherness of royal barbaric power, in which rulers demonstrate their otherness by coercing and oppressing their subjects to their despotic will. The role of women in the stories is better understood in this broader context, in which Herodotus constructs images of royal barbaric power—where queens are partners of kings, sharing in the “otherness” of barbaric royalty.

Gray’s important phrase here, or gallows pun, is *royal barbaric power*; indeed, she goes on to argue that “the Greeks constructed barbaric royal otherness to affirm their Greekness.”²³ Precisely why Herodotus should insert the Lydian link to Heracles and the Heraclids—one of the greatest of Greek heroes—is open to speculation. Part of the reasoning involves the structure of book 1 of the *Histories*. Herodotus draws a sharp line between myth and those events that can be affirmed. In the *Iliad*, Homer refers to the Lydians, who fought with the Trojans, as Maeones, with their capital city in the Hermus river valley.²⁴ Despite the gap of some five-hundred years Herodotus is able to show that there is an historical connection and that the chronologies of the various Anatolian kingdoms can be related in Homeric terms to those used in mainland Greece.²⁵

Herodotus’ audience will note that although strictly non-Greek, the Lydians, among others, will approach oracles across the Hellenic world for guidance.²⁶ The

23. Spoiling her contrast somewhat, Gray appears to forget that Astyages, the last king of the Median Empire, is not the only ancient monarch with revolting culinary practices (Hdt. 1.119.3–7). Atreus, the king of Mycenae, famously goes even one or two better and serves his estranged twin brother, Thyestes, an entrée containing the boiled flesh of two or three of his sons—their heads and hands saved for a taunting dessert. Aerope, Atreus’ adulterous spouse who also rather “liked” his twin and demonstrated this affection in the usual way, is the mother of Agamemnon and Menelaus—and everyone knows how their stories all ended up. Gray, “Herodotus and the Rhetoric of Otherness,” 1995, 201.

24. The Lydian city of Sardis is not mentioned by Homer, their capital is given as Hyde, but it is in the Hermus valley, as is Sardis, in sight of snowy Mount Tmolus (*Il.* 2.976–979, 5.49–53. and 20.439).

25. Arguably it is this same *royal barbaric power* that the Trojan prince Paris exercises when he visits Menelaus’ palace in Sparta. He sees and desires Helen of Sparta—the most beautiful woman in the world—so he abducts her and also makes off with the bulk of Sparta’s treasury to boot. His sense of entitlement is boundless, but it is others who ultimately must pay for his personal carnal gratification.

26. Arguably Herodotus has two audiences. The first comprises his performance audiences, where he presents portions of his work to the public. Here reactions might engender expansions, deletions, or subtle revisions. Finally, there are the more well-heeled reading audiences who have both leisure and access to his written work. Lacunae not evident in Herodotus’ earlier oral presentations will be evident to these readers and some will ponder over his omissions. However, *ex silentio* arguments cut both ways—why write down a commonplace and bore your audience?

Greeks, whatever the squabbles and petty differences among themselves—and this is where Herodotus' embryonic Pan-Hellenism creeps in—share a value system, religion, and culture that is completely incongruous with that accepted as normal by the Persians. The Achaemenid kings are absolute monarchs—they can do whatever they like, to whomever they like or dislike, whenever they like with impunity; and, to a certain extent this absolute power extends to their spouses. Not only can this absolute power be used capriciously, it can be used without restraint irrespective of good or evil intent.²⁷ Consequently, temptation has no meaning, for Persian royalty it is solely a matter of appetite—sociopathy does not even enter into it.²⁸ Once again, we must bear in mind Herodotus' general rider to all his writings—that he refuses to vouch for the truth of any of it and does not feel obliged to believe any of it himself (Hdt. 2.123 and 7.152.3). Furthermore, we must separate *why* from *what*. Rejecting Herodotus' assessment about some particular motivation or objective is one thing, but a very different thing from questioning his narrative about events—*why* is always the tougher question of the two to address and often fraught with speculation or perhaps even insight.

Widowed Twice

Not quite bookended, but exceptional none-the-less, Atossa, Cyrus' daughter by Cassandane, is in all probability also a full sister to the Persian king Cambyses II—her first husband. Atossa is quoted directly twice in the *Histories* and is mentioned obliquely another five times in passages from the third and the seventh books. Nevertheless, by playing hop-scotch through three of the nine books we can piece together an almost complete narrative. She is born sometime around 550 and dies in about 475, during which period she becomes the queen to three kings and the mother of Darius' successor, Xerxes. Cyrus' open-mindedness on the one hand and the advanced trend practiced by the Persians in educating their children and youth is decisive.²⁹ One of the things that Herodotus does is show

27. We have to allow for some ambivalence here. Herodotus is often careful not to judge when it comes to customs. He famously lets Darius give a comparative example of the appropriate rites for disposal of the dead (Hdt. 3.38.2–4).

28. See Arther Ferrill's article "Herodotus on Tyranny" where in a similar vein to that taken by Vivienne Gray, Ferrill argues that in Herodotus' view (and certainly Plato's and Aristotle's) "an oriental monarch was a legitimate *basileus*, but the *hybris* of the Persian king made him a *tyrannos*" Arther Ferrill, "Herodotus on Tyranny," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 27, H. 3 (3rd Qtr. 1978): 392.

29. Whether actually true or not, Herodotus goes out of his way to show that after their military defeats Cyrus does not put to death either the last king of the Medes (Astyages) or the last king of the Lydians (Croesus). We infer that they are permitted to live out their days under tight surveillance, but under considerable luxury (Hdt. 1.130.3).

that although Atossa has this absolute *royal barbaric power* she never uses it for downright evil or personal retribution. Elsewhere—again, showing rather than just telling—Herodotus demonstrates that neither the Athenian leadership nor the Spartan dyarchy have this absolute power, not that some individuals do not seek it, or at least wish for it, from time to time. For Herodotus any particular individual, regardless of personal merit, is quite simply either Greek or non-Greek.

Rightly dismissed by Gray, notions of *otherness* are often not helpful and need not be pursued further here—Greek or non-Greek is enough without introducing the now pejorative term *Barbarian*. Part of Herodotus' purpose is to uncritically show rather than judge or evaluate differences—difference is enough—and this includes differences among Persian, Spartan, and by inference Athenian women. But to begin at the beginning, we know that Cyrus the Great—sometimes identified as Cyrus II—is born at the very end of the seventh century and rules largely successfully from about 560 until his battlefield death in 530. Herodotus leads his audience through the recent history of this part of Asia showing how Cyrus creates the enormous Achaemenid Empire.³⁰

When Cyrus died, the kingship was inherited by Cambyses. He was the son of Cyrus by Cassandane daughter of Pharnaspes. Cassandane had died before Cyrus, and he had grieved for her with great sorrow and ordered all of his subjects to grieve for her, too. [2] As the son of this woman and Cyrus, Cambyses considered the Ionians and Aeolians as his slaves whom he had inherited from his father, and when he made his expedition to Egypt, he took with him these Hellenes who were now under his rule, along with the rest of his subjects (Hdt. 2.1.1–2).

Herodotus' readers will recall that Croesus, the last Lydian king, conquered the mainland Anatolian Aeolians and Ionians (Hdt. 1.26.2), but made a treaty with the Ionian Islanders (Hdt. 1.27.5). Herodotus calls all these peoples Hellenes, reinforcing the notion that they have not and will not be assimilated into the Persian Empire—you do not assimilate slaves, you work them to death.³¹ Cambyses is no fool; by taking all the young Ionian men of military age with him to Egypt, they cannot foment trouble at home in his absence, the numbers and quality of

and 1.90.2). Since under *royal barbaric power* Cyrus could easily use their cured hides to cover his footstools or make decorative wall hangings, their acquiescence is assured.

30. Cyrus is killed battling the Massegetai having ruled for twenty-nine years (Hdt. 1.214.3). Herodotus tells us that Cyrus dreamt that one of his generals, Darius, the eldest son of Hystaspes from a cadet line of the Achaemenids, was plotting to overthrow him (Hdt. 1.209–210). But the Persian monarchy is always unstable; Xerxes, Cyrus' grandson, rules for less than twenty years before his assassination in 466.

31. Herodotus' readers will learn that even at Thermopylae Xerxes' regimental commanders use whips to encourage their allied levee troops to engage with the Spartan defenders (Hdt. 7.223.3).

garrison troops Cambyses must leave behind is minimized, and they also serve a dual function as useful hostages.

Although the Achaemenids practise polygamy, this does not prevent the Persian rulers from having favorites among their wives if not among their concubines, although sons of the latter would be out of the line of succession. But fierce rivalry and jealousy among legitimate male offspring always engenders the threat of a disputed succession. Elsewhere, Herodotus indicates that the Persians do not practice strict primogeniture.³² This discretion avoids the shadow of a demonstrably inept male heir-apparent casting gloom among the courtiers, but introduces instability with the very real prospect of civil war. Strict primogeniture only paints a large target on the back of the first-in-line of succession and a road-map to the throne.

The Perils of Male-Preference Primogeniture

Evidently in Persia, but not in fifth-century mainland Greece, a brother marrying a full sister is not an odious anathema. Polygamous endogamy—in Cambyses' case to strengthen his claim to the throne—marrying the daughters of the late king—necessitates degrees of consanguinity that most cultures would abhor.³³ But it is also possible that early signs of Cambyses' insanity are evident³⁴ Doubtless Cambyses is unstable—to use a polite term—he arranges the murder of his younger brother Smerdis, also known as Bardiya—a particularly crude way of tightening any line of succession (Hdt 3.30.1–3). He also murders one of his sisters, one who is also an official wife (Hdt. 3.32.3–4). Again, limiting the line of succession, he marries two of Cyrus' three daughters. That they are his full sisters does not worry him at all. Herodotus recounts an incident leading up to these irregular marriages:

32. Following Persian custom, before a king goes into battle, Cyrus appoints [selects?] his son, Cambyses, by his favorite wife, Cassandane, to be his heir (Hdt. 1.208).

33. Herodotus sometimes makes no distinction between Persians and Medes, although strictly Astyages is the last Median king, whereas Cyrus, born in Persis, is a Persian king. Herodotus uses both terms indiscriminately—Persians later include Medes, Lydians, and Carians and so on, but the term for formally offering fealty to the Achaemenid monarchy remains medizing. Medes are Medes. There is also a hint that the interregnum following Cambyses' death is the Medes attempting to put one of their own—one of the priestly Magoi—on the now unified throne (Persia, Media, Babylon, and Lydia including the Ionian and Dorian settlements on the Anatolian coast). The Magians (Magus / Magoi) were a Median tribe (or caste) who traditionally performed a number of religious duties within the Persian Empire.

34. Herodotus reports that this insanity might be the royal disease (epilepsy) and elsewhere an addiction to strong drink (the Spartan king Cleomenes comes to mind) is suggested (Hdt. 3.33.1 and 3.34.2–3).

Before this time, it was not the custom of Persians to live with their sisters. But Cambyses had happened to fall in love with one of his sisters [Atossa] and wanted to marry her. Since what he wanted was unconventional, he summoned the officials called the royal judges and asked if there was any law that would sanction a man's marrying his own sister. [3] The royal judges are men selected from all Persians to serve in this capacity until they die or are found guilty of some injustice. They judge lawsuits and are the interpreters of ancestral ordinances and institutions, and every question is referred to them for judgement. [4] So they responded to Cambyses' question with an answer that was both just and safe: they said that they had discovered no law that would sanction marriage between a man and his sister, but they had found another law stating that the king of the Persians was permitted to do whatever he wanted. [5] Thus they did not break the law because of their fear of Cambyses, but in order that they would not destroy themselves by protecting the law, they discovered another one that supported the king in his desire to marry his sister (Hdt 3.31.2–5).

As is often the case, Herodotus notes cultural differences—in this case tolerated degrees of consanguinity—without judgement, while insisting that the law must never appear to be capricious as that is no law at all. But perhaps his courtiers are not entirely appalled that Cambyses insists on marrying Atossa. At least the consort to Cyrus' heir will be entirely sane. Herodotus is making the point that under an absolute monarchy perversity easily overshadows and becomes the nature of *royal barbaric power*—royal judges, the individuals the common people should trust the most, are as corruptible as slaves—on command they find weasel clauses in the law to make Cambyses above the law and give him *carte blanche*.³⁵ In Athens, as in Sparta, the law is not so easily manipulated by those in power.

In another digression, and a brutal reminder of how fragile Atossa's influence in court might be, Herodotus recounts two lurid versions of the tale of Cambyses murder of Atossa's sister—Roxanne—who also happens to be pregnant by him.³⁶ One is given by the Hellenes and the other by the Egyptian, where the murder took place.

The Hellenes say that Cambyses had pitted a lion cub against a puppy, and that this wife of his viewed the fight with him. When it appeared that the puppy had begun to lose the fight, another puppy, its brother, broke its chain and went to its brother's side and the two of them together then prevailed over the lion cub. [2] Cambyses

35. Atossa, the second youngest daughter, may well have been only teenaged when first married and in her mid-twenties when first widowed; and finding herself quickly remarried to the impostor, widowed again, and then finally married to Darius. A royal bedroom pawn, she likely never had any choices in the matter.

36. Herodotus does not give her name. Possibly there was no consensus among his sources, but this is yet another reminder of the usual status of women in fifth-century Persia—to be used either for pleasure or progeny, and then put aside, nameless.

enjoyed watching this fight, but his wife sat beside him in tears. Noticing this, Cambyses asked why she was crying, and she replied that it made her weep to see the puppy defending its brother, as she recalled Smerdis and realized he would not be able to defend Cambyses in the future. [3] The Hellenes say that Cambyses slew her because of this remark (Hdt. 3.32.1–3).

But the Egyptians say that this woman [Roxanne] was sitting next to him at the dinner table, she took a head of lettuce and stripped it of its outer leaves, and then asked her husband whether the lettuce was better stripped of its leaves or thick and full. When he answered “thick and full,” she said, [4] “But you have stripped the house of Cyrus bare, just like this lettuce.” Cambyses flew into a rage at this remark and leapt upon her. She was pregnant at the time; she miscarried and then died (Hdt. 3.32.3–4).

That the tales are different should surprise no one: Hellas is a long sea voyage away and remote from vengeance, whereas Cambyses is already occupying Egypt. The tales are difficult to interpret beyond criticizing the mindless winnowing of the clan—taking siblings as deadly rivals rather than powerful supporters—but that he dies childless seems hardly punishment enough. Either way, his wives and concubines will feel particularly insecure and the youngest of Cyrus’ daughters—Artystone—relieved that she is too young for duty in anyone’s marriage bed or game of thrones. Dependent solely upon gender, Cambyses’ siblings and close Achaemenid relatives are either bedded or beheaded. Herodotus is showing what despots never learn—respect and loyalty are won, not commanded. Ultimately Cambyses’ prime duty as hereditary ruler is to secure the succession in his line, and in this he fails miserably.

Because Atossa has learned how to write and read herself, she plays a decisive role in educating and training her own children, as well as those of other Persian aristocrats—important abilities beyond the traditional skills of horsemanship, mounted-archery, and always telling the truth.³⁷

Cambyses son of Cyrus [the Great] died after reigning a total of seven years and five months. He had sired no children at all male or female (Hdt. 3.66.2).

So much for his amorous attentions to his multiple wives and many concubines—responsibility for the shortcoming in progeny is pretty obvious.³⁸

37. Herodotus highlights the primary and secondary education curriculum of Persian male youth (Hdt. 1.126.2). Likely making all Persian latrine walls much less informative or entertaining, the three R’s are conspicuously absent. Close readers will note that Cambyses asserts that “his custom was to punish liars with death” (Hdt. 3.27.3).

38. Elsewhere he comments that in Persia the wives visit their husbands in strict rotation (Hdt. 3.69.6). He does not tell us when, once rendered pregnant, they can leave his serving line, nor when after childbirth they must return to this royal bedchamber merry-go-round.

Herodotus then describes a short interregnum where an impostor—who claims to be Cambyses II's brother, Smerdis (Bardiya)—rules for seven months. He tells of how officials quiz two of the real Smerdis' wives, Phaidymie and Atossa, and it turns out that the impostor is Smerdis the Magus (sometimes known as Gaumata)—whose ears had been lopped off earlier by Cyrus the Great as punishment for some grave but unspecified offence. The whole episode has that whiff of steamy palace intrigue and wilful collusion.³⁹ Herodotus suggests that Cambyses' former wives, including Atossa and Otanes' daughter, Phaidymie risk their lives in helping the Persian aristocracy to unmask the Median genealogical impostor (Hdt. 3.68.1–3.69.6).⁴⁰

Daring Darius

It is at this time, as early as 521 or as late as 518, that Darius, son of Hystaspes, joins six other conspirators who plot to depose if not kill the impostor (Hdt. 3.70.1–3).⁴¹ Smerdis the Magus is eventually stabbed to death in his palace by Darius with the assistance of several other conspirators. Herodotus then embarks on a long digression about a supposed Persian debate among the conspirators on what form of government to adopt (Hdt. 3.80.2–3.83.3). Darius favors an absolute monarchy and eventually secures the kingship through trickery and a rigged equestrian competition among the other surviving conspirators (Hdt. 3.84.1–3.87). If nothing else, Herodotus is pointing out that a hereditary monarchy is by no means immune from jiggery-pokery—doubtless an essential facet of *royal barbaric*

39. A salacious story perhaps for the more prurient in his audience, especially one where the spouse solicits regicide in lieu of committing mariticide; nevertheless, here and elsewhere Herodotus shows his fascination in the endogamous, and indeed the exogamous, matrimonial practices of other cultures. Smerdis / Bardiya was either a full or a half-brother to Cambyses; but Cambyses certainly married his sister/half-sister, Atossa; and, according to Herodotus he ordered Bardiya's murder by Prexaspes (Hdt. 3.30.3).

40. Cyrus had at least three daughters by Cassandane, who is the daughter of Pharnaspes and is also an Achaemenid; the second youngest daughter, probably named Roxanne, is murdered by Cambyses in a drunken rage or perhaps during an epileptic fit (Hdt. 3.32).

41. Herodotus, who like many fifth-century Greeks is fascinated by genealogy, lets Xerxes give us Darius' genealogy, during an incident when he denounces his uncle saying, "If I fail to punish the Athenians, may I be disowned as the son of Darius son of Hystaspes, the son of Arsames son of Ariaramnes, the son of Teispes son of Cyrus, the son of Cambyses son of Teispes, the son of Achaemenes (Hdt. 7.11.2). That Herodotus, or his sources, get the line slightly wrong is neither here nor there—the origin and destiny of much genealogical data is often to be enhanced with an element of fudge—Darius is indeed an Achaemenid, but from a cadet line. He is not a direct descendant of Cyrus the Great.

power—when it comes to establishing the lawful line of succession.⁴² Herodotus writes, “And so Darius son of Hystaspes was appointed king” (Hdt. 3.88.1). But Darius still has to secure the succession and he does this through a series of multiple aristocratic and royal marriages. What these aristocratic young women, including Atossa, really think of being royal bedchamber pawns in the rightful Persian succession game of thrones Herodotus does not say. To secure his reign Darius makes a travesty of the rules of both male-preference primogeniture and the expected behavior of stallions (Hdt. 3.85.1–3.87).

Darius married eminent Persian women, among whom the first were Atossa and Artystone, both daughters of Cyrus. Atossa had earlier been the wife of her brother Cambyses and then had been left to the Magus, while Artystone was a virgin. [3] In addition, Darius married the daughter of Smerdis son of Cyrus, whose name was Parmys, and also [Phaidymie] the daughter of Otanes who had revealed the identity of the Magus (Hdt. 3.88.2–3).⁴³

Atossa, Queen of Persia

Darius—following Cambyses’ and Smerdis’ example—marries the two surviving daughters of the late Cyrus, Atossa now widowed twice and the unmarried Artystone; a decision which later turns out to be critical.⁴⁴ His polygamous selections—or at least judicial sequestering of all available royal brides, plus those of the more prominent Persian aristocrats—whether the marriages are fully consummated or not is immaterial—deny any other claimants, at one stroke or another, the opportunity to enhance their positions in any perceived line of succession by pursuing similar royal unions themselves.

In another digression, illustrative of *royal barbaric power*, Herodotus tells of how when the king’s Egyptian physicians cannot heal his foot—injured in a hunting spill—the king engages a Greek physician Democedes of Croton, who although handsomely rewarded is subsequently appalled to learn that the king intends to impale the Egyptian physicians for their earlier failure and successfully

42. Here Herodotus inserts a variant of his usual credibility disclaimer (Hdt. 3.80.1). But in the quotation, he has Darius compare the best examples in theory of: democracy, oligarchy, and monarchy (Hdt. 3.82.1).

43. While Darius marries the daughter of a co-conspirator Otanes, Otanes in turn marries one of Darius’ sisters [unnamed]. It is their daughter, Amestris, who will marry her first cousin Xerxes. Otanes a Persian nobleman was the brother of Cassandane, Cyrus’ favorite official wife.

44. Darius is already married and may already have children by the [unnamed] daughter of one of his fellow conspirators, Gobryas (Hdt. 7.2.2). Xerxes is only the first-born male child by Atossa who by Herodotus’ account was Darius’ favorite, but not necessarily his second spouse. Born in 519 he succeeds to the Achaemenid throne in 486.

appeals for clemency (Hdt. 3.129.1–3.132.2).⁴⁵ Such are the perils of late sixth- and early fifth-century quackery. Shortly thereafter, Democedes also becomes court physician to Atossa. It is perhaps from his unconcealed but totally unexplained animosity toward mainland Greece that she suggests that Darius invades the mainland (Hdt. 3.133–134.3).⁴⁶ Perhaps he is clairvoyant and realizes that Atossa has ambitions rather than illusions of grandeur for her spouse, and Democedes is simply telling her something that she wants to hear?

Atossa then went to bed with Darius, and as she was lying with him, she presented this proposal to him: “Sire, although you possess such great power, you are doing nothing to acquire either new nations or additional power for Persia. [2] It is reasonable to expect that a man who is young and the master of great wealth will display his power openly so that the Persians will know that they are being ruled by a real man. There are actually two reasons why you should do this: not only so that the Persians will realize that their leader is a man, but also to keep them so occupied in war that they have no leisure to conspire against you. [3] For now is the time, while you are young, that you can achieve something, since, as the body grows, so does the mind, but as it ages, the mind ages with it, too, and thus loses its edge” (Hdt. 3.134.1–3).

Atossa is belittling Darius’ reign. He has already completed conquest of Egypt—something Cambyses failed to complete—and expanded southeastward through to the Indus valley. He has also embarked on a building program greatly expanding the principal Persian capital cities and royal centers.⁴⁷ The chronology is not given by Herodotus, but evidently plans for the punitive Scythian expedition to avenge perceived wrongs are formed early during Darius’ reign. By inference, the Scythians have a history of crossing the Black Sea to raid Persian settlements in Anatolia and a destructive strike, as opposed to a prolonged occupation necessitating garrison troops, is deemed an effective deterrent against ongoing troubles.

Of course, in telling Darius all this, she was following Democedes’ instructions. Darius responded, “My wife, I intend to do exactly as you have said, for I have already formed a plan to build a bridge from this continent to the other and to

45. *Royal barbaric power* is a wonderful tool provided it remains an effective deterrent; the paradox, of course, is that if it has to be used, then ironically it is demonstrably ineffective and is just sadistic revenge at best or a crude deterrent (pour encourager les autres).

46. Herodotus never quite explains precisely why or from where a peripatetic citizen of Croton, a Dorian colony in southern Italy, gets this animosity toward Hellas nor why he wants Darius’ Persian forces to enter Europe.

47. Pasargadae founded by Cyrus remains the coronation city; Persepolis (Pārsa) founded by Darius is the ceremonial capital, Ecbatana is the summer capital, Susa is the spring capital, and Babylon the principal center for over seven months of the year.

conduct a military campaign against the Scythians. This will in fact be carried out within a short time." [5] Atossa then said, "Let the Scythians wait a while; they will still be there whenever you want to attack them. In my opinion, you should lead an army first against Hellas. For I have heard accounts of that land and have set my heart on obtaining Laconian [Spartan] women to wait on me as my servants, and I would also like to have Argive, Athenian, and Corinthian women, too. Moreover, you have a man who is perfectly suited to act as your guide, and to inform you of every detail about Hellas—the same man who healed your foot" (Hdt. 3.134.4–5).

Hers is not a great military argument, neither the Scythians nor the Greeks are going anywhere. Atossa's stated preference for Spartan women as her personal attendants immediately also expands her husband's military objectives which we initially take to be limited to punitive raids on Eretria and Athens alone with no mention of venturing into the Peloponnese. Arguably she ranks Spartan women above all other slaves from captive territories. From where she receives this knowledge, Herodotus does not say; not that Democedes would have no opinion at all.⁴⁸ We can only surmise that she finds that women from less sheltered social environments are more independent of thought and more interesting to have around her. Literate and accomplished herself she is no fool and likely does not suffer them willingly. Although she has to accept the monarchy's polygamous culture—multiple official wives and any number of concubines—she has no wish to surround herself with either doe-eyed, or illiterate matrons with no life-experience beyond the bedchamber, birthing chamber, or the nursery.⁴⁹ Atossa will take her pick of the youthful female captives, whereas the others—plain or comely—can be added to the palace's cortège of concubines, work in the nearby Kissian bitumen pits, or be sold off to brothel-keepers across the empire (Hdt. 6.119.2–4).⁵⁰ In this instance Atossa does not get her own way.⁵¹ Although Darius

48. Atossa may also be aware of Greek mythology and believe that since Helen of Troy [of Sparta] by all accounts was the most beautiful woman in the world, her contemporary Spartan descendants are likely more than just comely.

49. The author comments on the scale of Persian polygamy—"many legitimate wives, but . . . still more concubines"—without judgement (Hdt. 1.135). A nuanced discussion of what might be called the Persian monarchy's sexual mores are beyond the scope of this study—suffice it to say that Herodotus' serially monogamous Hellenic male audiences—well, nominally, provided all those regular liaisons with *pornai* (πόρνοι), *pallake* (παλλακή), or *hetaira* (ἑταίρα) do not count—would regard the notion of multiple official wives, any number of concubines, with scores of resulting offspring intriguing if nothing else. Athens had an extensive sex-trade with a wide range of available services from base release to sophisticated hedonism. Marilyn Skinner, *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Culture* (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 118–126.

50. Sarah Pomeroy, comparing the education of young Spartan children, comments that Spartan girls are married at eighteen—a substantially later age than their Athenian counterparts—they would also have time in an all-female milieu to learn reading and writing as well as other aspects of *mousike* (μουσική)—an archaic and classical Greek

sends Democedes along with a number of Persian spies to find out more about mainland Greece and her peoples these ventures largely come to naught (Hdt. 3.134.6–3.138.4).

The Feint before Marathon

However, Darius' younger brother and uncle of Xerxes, Artabanos, who believes that making war against the semi-nomadic Scythians is a hopeless challenge, fails to persuade him to abandon the Black Sea venture (Hdt. 4.83.1–2). Darius' march from Susa to the Bosphorus is not without incident and another display of *royal barbaric power* when one of his subjects, Oiobazos, requests that not all three of his sons should serve simultaneously on the same campaign (Hdt. 4.84.1–2). At this stage in his narrative Herodotus makes no further reference of any kind to Atossa for almost two decades. We do not know her reaction to either Darius' largely unsuccessful Scythian raid, nor to his leaving the Persian general Megabazos with an army of 80,000 men on the European side of the Straits to subdue Thrace and Macedon (Hdt. 4.143.1–3). She must have been aware of the Greek raid on Sardis in 498—a raid that is certain to inspire Persian retribution against the Ionian colonies and their mainland backers from Athens and Eretria. She must wait, doubtless impatiently, while the Ionian revolt is put down. She will await news with interest and disappointment of the failed attempt in the summer of 492 by the Persian general Mardonios, when the wreck of his supporting naval fleet by unexpected storms in the northern Aegean obliges him to return to Persia (Hdt. 6.43.4–6.44.3, and 6.45.2). Abandoning the notion of a land-based attack on Eretria and Athens Mardonios is relieved of command and in 490 Darius appoints two generals, Datis, a Mede, and Artphrenes, a nephew, to lead the next expedition—a seaborne operation with his army and navy island hopping across the northern Aegean (Hdt. 6.94.2).

Marathon and the Aftermath

Darius does not accompany his army, but awaits news of their successes in Susa. All starts well enough, sailing past Samos and Ikaros, attacking Naxos while leaving Delos untouched, and then landing near Eretria (Hdt. 6.95–6.100).

performance art incorporating: music, dance, and poetry, not to mention horsemanship. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity*, 1975, 24.

51. Pomeroy comments, "Like male landowners, Spartan women could drive or ride out to survey their property as men did. Driving horses or riding them endowed Spartan women with an autonomy that was unique for women in the Greek world," Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity*, 1975, 21.

The city is besieged, falling when betrayed from within and then looted and burned and the surviving citizens and dependents enslaved (Hdt. 6.101.1–3).⁵² The destruction is such that Eretria, which will join the Delian League, takes decades to recover. The Persians now sail toward Attica landing their infantry and cavalry at Marathon just north of Athens expecting to easily sack that city as at Eretria, perhaps again aided by treachery from within the walls (Hdt. 6.102).⁵³ The Athenians send messengers to Sparta requesting help—help which will arrive too late (Hdt. 6.105.1 and Hdt. 6.106.3). The Athenian strategy, with Plataean help, is to march north and stop the Persians advancing further south. After days of unnerving standoff, the Athenian hoplites go on the offensive, even running the last stadia before engaging the Persian infantry. The Persian forces suffer heavy casualties and are driven back to their boats. They sail toward Athens but do not land partly because the vainly expected treachery from within in support of Hippias never occurs.

The venture is not a complete disaster. The Sardis raid of 498 is partly avenged; Naxos is captured, Eretria is totally destroyed and its people enslaved, but falls short of the planned conquest of Athens.⁵⁴ They sail for home (Hdt. 6.119.1). Following the failure to carry all their objectives during the late summer of 490, Darius, is even more determined to make war on mainland Greece but has other more pressing matters to attend to first (Hdt. 7.1.1). Herodotus does not tell us how those in Susa react to news of the defeat; news which would not be long in coming—less than a fortnight.⁵⁵ There is no evidence that on their return to Susa

52. Unlike the Ionian raid on Sardis some eight years earlier, the marauding Persian troops know the elementary rules of pillage and remember to loot first and burn later (Hdt. 5.99.1–5.101.3).

53. The former Peisistratid tyrant, who has been living in Persia, eagerly accompanies the Persian invasion force. Although expelled from Athens several decades earlier, the ageing Hippias persuades his Persian hosts that other aristocratic Athenian families anxiously support his return to power and will arrange surrender of the city soon after troops land in Attica and Persian warships appear in Phaleron bay.

54. No mention is ever made of the Persian's mounted archers (cavalry)—one suggestion is that they had already embarked for Phaleron—another that they were simply caught off-guard by the early morning Athenian advance. Miltiades is credited with the decision to attack and the charge over the last stadia (Hdt. 6.112.2–3). Another possibility is that Miltiades—from a horse-breeding family—surmised that the Persian horses might well be colicky and would need several weeks to acclimatize and settle after disembarking from their transport ships.

55. Herodotus gives a description of the 2,700 km long Royal Road and the mounted courier system operating between Susa and Sardis (Hdt. 5.52.1–5.53 and 8.98). To this must be added the distance from Ephesus to Sardis, another 100 km or so. The sailing distance from Phaleron to Ephesus is about 240 nautical miles and under good conditions fifth-century ships can make five to six knots or about 125 nautical miles per 24-hour day if they choose to travel at night, too. So, for an important dispatch, with luck over wind

that Darius punishes either of the two generals, Datis and Artphrenes, for not sacking Athens and for returning only with prisoners from Eretria (Hdt. 6.110).

We might note that Atossa does not get her desired bevy of vivacious Athenian, Corinthian, and Spartan young women to serve as her personal attendants. Herodotus does not record Atossa's reaction to this setback in Europe, except that Darius intends to try again soon.⁵⁶

While Darius was still making arrangements for these expeditions against Egypt and Athens, his sons began a fierce dispute over which of them should hold supreme power, since according to Persian custom, the King always appointed his successor before marching out to war. [2] Darius had had three sons [Artobazanes, Ariabignes, and Arsamenes] by an earlier wife [unnamed], the daughter of Gobryas; and after becoming King he had four others [Xerxes, Achaimenes, Masistes, and Hystaspes] by Atossa, daughter of Cyrus. Artobazanes was the eldest of the three he had sired earlier, and Xerxes the eldest of those born later. [3] These two sons, since they did not share the same mother, now entered into a hostile rivalry with each other. Artobazanes asserted that he was the eldest of all Darius' offspring, and that it was the custom among all peoples for the eldest to hold the power, while Xerxes countered that he should rule, since he was the son of Atossa, who was the daughter of Cyrus, the King who had won freedom for the Persians (Hdt. 7.2.1–3).

For Herodotus, this link to Cyrus the Great is important, and if we follow Heraclitus' maxim about destiny, the grandson of Persia's first Achaemenid king Xerxes has inherited the necessary agency, autonomy, and authority to rule effectively. This selection also attempts to repair the rightful line of Cyrus' succession through a daughter by the king's favorite spouse.

Darius' Queen and the heir Apparent

It is at this time that Demaratos, the deposed and exiled Spartan dyarch, takes up permanent residence in Susa as an advisor to the Persian king's household.⁵⁷ When the succession dispute erupts, Demaratos provides Xerxes with arguments from Spartan tradition to strengthen his claim (Hdt. 7.3.2–3).

and weather, the journey by sea from Attica to Ephesus would take about two days and the journey from Ephesus to Susa by post-horse another seven or eight.

56. In Aeschylus' tragedy the *Persians* we learn of Atossa's grief and despair following the Persian losses at Salamis. But if there were other contemporary dramas about Persian reactions to their shortcomings at Marathon, or Athenian glee—and it would be astonishing if there were none—they have been lost.

57. The chronology is inexact, but in 491, well before the battle of Marathon, the Eurypontid Spartan king is deposed by Cleomenes I—not without good cause, although probably fraudulently—exiled and his life threatened Demaratos escapes to Asia and is made welcome in Darius' court (Hdt. 6.70.2–3).

Xerxes followed Demaratos' advice, and Darius realizing that his argument was just, appointed him King. But I suppose that even without this advice, Xerxes would have become King, since it was Atossa who really held all the power (Hdt. 7.3.4).

Atossa—now to be the mother of a king as well—must have been delighted with Demaratos' advice, and advice that is taken. Herodotus makes his claim about Atossa's power behind the throne without providing any supporting evidence—he gives it as a bald statement of fact. Undeniably Atossa is Darius' favorite spouse, but perhaps, as their Spartan guest the exiled dyarch suggests, it is her genealogy that is the trump card Xerxes should play—better the genes you know than those you do not. Atossa's genealogical attributes severally as: a daughter of, a wife of, and a mother of give her neither any notable identity nor agency—but the dynastic relationships position her well and ensure a measure of tradition and continuity, albeit in patriarchal terms. But having that special *je ne sais quoi* such as to be selected as Darius' favorite wife confers both unique identity and real agency. This alone meets Heraclitus' maxim—character is destiny. And for Darius in particular, this goes a considerable way toward meeting Solon's criteria for happiness. For Atossa, as Cyrus' daughter, she vicariously wants first her spouse and later her own son to emulate her father, earning “the Great” as an enduring and endearing epithet and appendage to their names.⁵⁸ Richard Stoneman expands on this claim, perhaps citing Xenophon from the fourth century, arguing that Xerxes remains in awe of powerful women.⁵⁹

Having appointed Xerxes as King of the Persians [his successor], Darius then directed his thoughts to war. But after this appointment and the revolt of the Egyptians in the following year, Darius was fated to die in the midst of his preparations and was thus deprived of the opportunity to punish the Egyptians and Athenians. He had reigned a total of thirty-six years, and at his death the kingship was assumed by his son Xerxes (Hdt. 7.4.1).⁶⁰

However, Atossa is probably painfully aware that her father's successors to the Achaemenid throne do not exercise the same restraint with regard to *royal barbaric power* that Cyrus consistently shows. Herodotus does not recount whether Atossa or the Achaemenid Empire go into extended mourning on Darius' death,

58. Darius I of Persia is sometimes referred to as Darius the Great.

59. Richard Stoneman argues that Xerxes is dominated by strong women, Richard Stoneman, *Xerxes: A Persian Life* (London: Yale UP), 9, 30, and 123.

60. Herodotus, through his Persian sources, gives us the chronological sequence and lengths of reign, but he is rarely able to provide any direct synchronicities to other events in the Eastern Mediterranean. Using other evidence and perhaps working backward, modern scholars have been able to derive appropriate Julian calendar dates for the events described in his *Histories*. Darius rules from about 521 until his natural death in 486, aged in his mid-sixties, four years after the battle of Marathon.

but we know that Cyrus orders all his subjects to grieve when Cassandane dies, so a period of state mourning for Darius is likely (Hdt. 2.1.1).⁶¹

The Dowager Queen

Herodotus tells us that despite his mother's wishes her son, Xerxes, has no immediate desire to march on Hellas; he wants to subdue Egypt first, a tactic to which his courtiers agree (Hdt. 7.5.1–7.6.5).⁶² Recall that Atossa criticizes her husband for not expanding the empire given to him by Cyrus, and the same criticisms applies to her son (Hdt. 3.134.1–3). It is not until the spring of 480, six years later, ten years after Marathon, and following four years of preparation that Xerxes, with massive naval support, moves his huge allied army on specially constructed floating bridges across the Dardanelles from Asia into Europe.⁶³ Always keeping in close touch with his naval support and supply transports, the Persian army and their allies are deployed on the European side of the Straits.

Xerxes, who is the supreme commander, moves northward out of the Chersonese through Thrace and into Macedon encountering no resistance. He moves into Thessaly to find the Thessalians only too quick to medize and anxious to assist Xerxes' conquest of Phocis en route to occupying the surrendering Boeotian cities including Thebes. Whatever the long-term strategy, the Greeks decide to halt this advance and engage the invaders on land at Thermopylae and at sea off Artemision. The small Spartan holding force is annihilated, the supporting naval engagement indecisive, and the Greek fleet, largely intact,

61. Surprisingly Herodotus does not describe Achaemenid funerary practices which are significantly different from those practiced in Hellas and Egypt; but from other sources we know that the royal remains are embalmed and interred in large mausoleum structures such as the remains of Cyrus' tomb at Pasargadae. Aeschylus' tragedy the *Persians* is set in Susa with scenes in front of Darius' rock-cut tomb in Naqsh-e Rostan near Persepolis—alas the playwright is no geographer as Susa is over five hundred kilometers away from Persepolis: Not that an Athenian audience would notice let alone care.

62. The most influential of Xerxes' courtiers, bar his mother Atossa, appears to be Mardonios who is the son of Darius' sister (Hdt. 7.5.1–2). Actually, the relationship is a bit more complicated. Mardonios is the son of Gobryas, the Persian aristocrat who was one of the seven conspirators who deposed the impostor. To cement their alliance Darius marries Gobryas' daughter, and Gobryas marries Darius' sister. Furthermore, Mardonios marries Darius' daughter Artozostre and so Darius is simultaneously Mardonios' uncle, father-in-law, and half-brother-in-law.

63. Over thirty years previously during his campaigns in Scythia his father had used similar cable and floating boat (pontoon) bridge construction to provide temporary crossings over both the Bosphorus near Byzantium (Istanbul) and the Ister (now known as the Danube—second only to the Volga, the longest river in Europe).

withdraws southward to Salamis. Doubtless those in Susa are kept informed.⁶⁴ Xerxes' forces divide but fail to sack the temples at Delphi (Hdt 8.34–8.39), and they advance through Attica to discover that the Athenians have already abandoned their city (Hdt. 8.41.2 and 8.51.2).⁶⁵ The Spartans with their allies arrive from the Peloponnese to help construct a four-mile-long fortified wall across the isthmus near Corinth (Hdt. 8.40.2 and 8.71–8.74).

Salamis and Beyond

Xerxes' challenge is simple—the campaign season is almost over, so he cannot wait around for the fragile Alliance to break-up in self-interest. He wants to attack the Alliance either from the east at the isthmus or northward right up the Eurotas valley from the Laconic Gulf, but he cannot do this without naval support and he dare not risk dividing his navy. He decides to attack the combined Greek fleet where it presently lies in the narrow strait between the mainland and the Island of Salamis. This fateful decision is exactly the one that the Athenian commander, Themistocles, hopes Xerxes will make. Despite much wavering the Greek fleet remains at Salamis under the overall command of Eurybiades, a Spartan (Hdt. 8.42.2).⁶⁶ Herodotus describes how the battle at sea commences as dawn is breaking (Hdt. 8.83.1). Xerxes even arranges to watch the battle from a high vantage point on the mainland where he is able to put questions to his advisors about what he is seeing (Hdt. 8.90.4). Herodotus describes the carnage:

In this struggle the commander Ariabignes, the son of Darius and the brother of Xerxes, lost his life, as did many other notable men of the Persians, the Medes, and their other allies; but few of the Hellenes died, for they knew how to swim, so those whose ships were destroyed and who were not killed in hand-to-hand combat swam safely to Salamis. [2] Many barbarians, however, drowned in the sea, as they did not know how to swim. Most of their ships were destroyed when the ships in the lead turned to flee, because those deployed behind them were trying to sail past so as to perform some spectacular feat before the King, and they collided with the leading ships from their own side who were in flight (Hdt. 8.89.1–2).

64. Remember, important dispatches might take as little as ten days (see note #19).

65. Herodotus does not say when the Athenians start to evacuate their city and the surrounding countryside, only that the non-combatants are transported to Troizen, Aegina, and Salamis (Hdt. 8.40–8.41). After a short siege the few Athenians who had declined to leave the city are butchered and the whole Acropolis set on fire (Hdt. 8.53.2).

66. One of the more compelling aspects of Themistocles argument is that with Attica occupied and Athens burned, the Athenians really could take their 200 triremes, load up their transport ships, and with their families sail off to Siris—a long-established Athenian colony in southern Italy—and start afresh.

Herodotus does not tell us about Atossa's reaction to the naval disaster off Salamis, nor that of Amestris, but the playwright Aeschylus, who likely witnesses if not participates in the battle, features Atossa in his topical tragedy, the *Persians*, where she certainly appears as a high-maintenance dowager queen.⁶⁷ With winter approaching, Xerxes returns home to Susa leaving the pick of his army at 300,000 strong on the European side of the Straits under the overall command of Mardonios (Hdt. 8.97 and 8.113). He withdraws from the ruins of Athens to winter in Thessaly (Hdt. 8.113.1–3).

The Persian fleet comprising some 300 ships winters off Samos, mainly to ensure that the Ionians do revolt again (Hdt. 8.130.1–4). Remember Xerxes usually places his own Persian and Mede marines aboard almost every one of his allies' warships to ensure the individual sailing master's loyalty and obedience to—Mardontes and Artayntes—his senior commanders. The overall commander of the Greek army and navy is the Spartan king Leotychidas (8.131.2). Mardonios opens the 479-campaign season by reoccupying a deserted Athens (Hdt. 9.3.1–2). However, learning that units of the Peloponnese Alliance are advancing toward Eleusis to join their Athenian allies, the Persian commander withdraws his troops to Theban territory north of the Asopos River (Hdt. 9.15.2–3).

The Art of Looking Good when Defeated

Next, Herodotus describes in considerably more detail than he applied to earlier engagements how the battle at Plataea develops and ends with the battlefield death of Mardonios (9.20–9.76). Despite the Persians' mutilation of king Leonidas' corpse a year earlier, Pausanias, the Spartan commander, is appalled at the suggestion that Mardonios' corpse be impaled (Hdt. 9.78–9.79). We can almost hear him exclaim, "We are not the barbarians, nor do we exercise royal barbaric power." In any case, amid all manner of rumor, Mardonios' corpse mysteriously disappears forever the day after the battle (Hdt. 9.84–9.85).

At about the same time as Mardonios' allied army is decisively defeated at Plataea with huge losses what should be another naval battle looms in the Aegean Sea at Mycale on the Anatolian coast (Hdt. 9.90). Urged by the Samians the Greek fleet commanded by the Spartan king Leotychidas leave Delos and sail for Samos (Hdt. 9.96.1). The Persians, deciding not engage in a sea battle, sail for the mainland where they beach their ships and surround them with a defensive

67. Less than a decade after the battle off Salamis in Aeschylus' tragedy the *Persians* (Πέρσσαι, *Persai*) first performed in 472, shortly after her death, Atossa plays a major role. This tragedy set in Susa near the tomb of Darius features: Atossa the queen-mother, her son Xerxes, a Messenger, a Chorus of Persian Elders, and the Ghost of Darius. The Ghost accuses their son of hubris saying to Atossa, "Zeus is the chastener of overboastful minds, a grievous corrector" (Aesch., *Pers.* 828–829). Aeschylus almost certainly fought at Marathon and also may have fought at Salamis.

palisade (Hdt 9.96.3).⁶⁸ Hoping that the Ionian levees will desert, change sides, or only fight feebly Leotychidas beaches his fleet and in a reversal of roles at Thermopylae, he divides his forces sending his Spartans into the hills to come down behind the Persians (Hdt. 9.102–9.104).⁶⁹ The Persian forces are routed with heavy losses and en route to Susa the surviving Persian commanders' squabble over blame; Maisistes accuses Artayntes of being "worse than a woman in the way he led the troops" (Hdt 9.107.1). But then a humiliating defeat is always an orphan. In this instance, Xerxes, whose selections for naval military commanders always display more than a touch of nepotism has two major disasters to stomach. We do not know what his wife or his mother have to say, but he will surely remember the considered advice of his uncle Artabanos in 484 well prior to the second Hellenic campaign—if his generals win it only makes him look good—if his generals fail then he remains blameless and his prowess untarnished (Hdt. 7.10–7.11). It is unlikely that Atossa even heard, let alone remembers her father's words to Artembares long ago about "soft places tending to produce soft men." In other words, the game, in this case the proposed conquest, is not worth the candle, and by no stretch of the imagination could anyone argue that the venture would be self-financing. But the "soft men" epithet has come down to us through Herodotus and more than one advisor to the Persian king has told Xerxes that the land of the Hellenes is not rich (Hdt. 9.121.3).⁷⁰ Earlier Atossa has argued for expanding the empire, but barren kingdoms do not make a handsome return on the costs of garrison troops to secure the territory.

Royal Barbaric Power Revisited

Although Atossa eschews resort to *royal barbaric power*, the same cannot be said of her daughter-in-law, Xerxes' queen, Amestris, who allegedly in her old age desperate to purchase a longer life tries to buy-off the grim reaper by sacrificing children in lieu of herself.⁷¹ But in book 9 Herodotus chooses to close his *Histories* much as he opens them in book 1 with another tale of non-Greek barbarity, this time orchestrated by Xerxes' wife Amestris (Hdt. 9.108–9.113). Like Nyssia's story, this one—hardly a love story—is quickly told and takes place in

68. The Homeric overtones from books 19 and 20 of the *Iliad* will delight Herodotus' audiences who know that the roles are reversed and that the barbarian defenders do not have an Achilles, let alone a Poseidon, to help save their ships.

69. The two Persian admirals, Artayntes and Ithamitras, escape whereas the two generals, Mardontes and Tigranes, are killed in the fighting at Mycale.

70. Recall that this must be after 550 when Cyrus defeats Astyages, the last Lydian king, which is about the time that Atossa is born.

71. In a loathsome display of her absolute power Amestris orders fourteen aristocratic children be buried alive as an offering to the Persian god of the underworld (Hdt. 7.114.2). Evidently over the years she has learned little from her mother-in-law.

the Persian capital, Susa, where Xerxes has been residing since his return following the unexpected naval humiliation off Salamis.

Xerxes, until now monogamous in terms of official wives, falls in love, or more likely in lust, with his sister-in-law, but she has no interest in becoming his mistress.⁷² Foiled, Xerxes arranges the marriage of the crown prince, Darius, his eldest son by Amestris, to his niece, Artaynte, the daughter of Masistes and this unnamed woman. Artaynte has no reservations whatsoever about surreptitiously becoming her uncle's latest mistress. Meanwhile Amestris embroiders her husband a spectacular new robe, which delights him—it also delights his new mistress who inveigles Xerxes into promising to give her whatever she wishes. Alas, it is the new royal robe, and he cannot talk her out of it. Overjoyed beyond discretion, Artaynte lets everyone see her sashaying around the palace wearing it—alas, everyone includes Amestris. According to Herodotus, Xerxes is anxious to keep this dalliance entirely clandestine because of “his fear of Amestris” (Hdt. 9.109.3). Fear of what she might say to him? Or fear of what she might do with her own exercise of *royal barbaric power*—Nyssia's keen filleting knife comes to mind? Or is this just another instance of Xerxes' respect for strong women passed down from his mother?

Outraged, Amestris blames the woman's mother and plots her revenge. A feast is held on the king's birthday, and custom dictates that the king distributes rather than receives gifts. Amestris demands Masistes' wife as a gift—Xerxes knows what this is all about but is imprisoned by precedent. He seeks to avert certain disaster by ordering his brother to put his wife aside. Masistes, who is delighted with his present wife and has sons and daughters by her, simply refuses. Nor is Masistes interested in acquiring a royal niece as a wife.⁷³ While this exchange is taking place, Amestris orders Xerxes' bodyguards to mutilate Masistes' wife—cutting off her breasts and cutting out her nose, ears, lips, and tongue. Masistes returns home too late to intervene, but decides to return with his children and entourage to Baktria where, as their popular satrap, he will find safety.⁷⁴ But Xerxes, fearing that his brother might lead a revolt against him, sends

72. Forever unnamed, she is married to Xerxes' full brother, Masistes; although Xerxes is emperor and king of kings, brute force or even royal demand is no substitute for the joyful carnal enthusiasm he seeks—an enthusiasm which quite unlike obedience cannot be commanded. Arguably from tales about the Trojan prince Paris, he knows that taking someone not yours to take seldom proves to be a good idea.

73. Although the Persian nobility practise polygamy, there is no reason to suppose that Masistes does not already have multiple official wives and any number of concubines. It appears from Herodotus' narrative that these customs do not preclude companionate marriage and that Demosthenes' fourth-century dictum about different women for separate roles does not always apply.

74. The Achaemenid Persian Empire was vast. Baktria is an enormous region in Central Asia roughly corresponding to much of modern Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan.

an army in pursuit with orders to wipe out everyone in their party en route (Hdt. 9.113.2). Such is the reach of royal barbaric power.

The Dowager Queen Endures

What Atossa, the dowager empress and Amestris' mother-in-law, really thinks about all this, Herodotus does not say. Evidently Amestris, although she is Xerxes' sole official wife—a rare instance of royal Persian monogamy—does not share the companionate union with Xerxes which Atossa shared with Darius and which Cassandane shared with Cyrus. As the favorite among a number of Darius' official wives Atossa is aware of countless and endless palace intrigues and jockeying for preferment, and knows from experience that infatuation and lust quickly burn out.⁷⁵

Perhaps it is she who steers her son toward monogamy. At least under the general rules of male preference primogeniture strict if serial monogamy simplifies the legitimate line of succession. And she sees that Artaynte's illusions of personal grandeur and her tasteless put-down and humiliation of her aunt and empress only degrades the prestige and majesty of the Achaemenid dynasty. To all this, Artaynte is blind: she has been around the Susa palace long enough to see sex commodified. Yet, without a thought toward the certain destiny of discarded official wives and out-of-favor mistresses, she enthusiastically commodifies herself. Pleasure always does.

Remember, Herodotus makes the claim, without detailing any specifics, that Atossa is the real power behind the Achaemenid throne for decades (Hdt 7.3.4). Perhaps such knowledge is a commonplace—why document what everybody knows? We can readily and favorably contrast her behavior as the Persian queen-consort with that of Candaules' queen (Nyssia) and of Amestris. This interpretation is consistent with the notion that for Herodotus, Cyrus was an almost ideal and magisterial monarch and from that illustrious peak the Achaemenid dynasty progress is all down-hill. The Persians have become accustomed to ease and luxury and are now soft—hence Xerxes' womanish behavior insult at Salamis (Hdt 8.88.3). Cyrus would have wept.⁷⁶

75. The ease with which Xerxes switches his amorous or perhaps just plain lecherous desires from this unnamed sister-in-law—who treats his lewd advances with the contempt they deserve—to her daughter—proves that beyond physical attraction, he is selfishly susceptible to the lure of the forbidden. If all he wants is variety in his recreational fornication, he already has many concubines to which he can make non-royal aristocratic and foreign additions at will.

76. Cyrus reproves the Persians arguing that “soft places tend to produce soft men” Hdt. 9.122.2–3. Josef Wiesehöfer claims that here Herodotus anticipates the verdicts of Xenophon and Isocrates a century later; see Josef Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia from 550 BC to 650 AD* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 1996): 81.

Conclusions—Power Braking, Power Steering, or Both

If Heraclitus' maxim is right and "character is destiny" then Atossa shows how the majesty of the Achaemenid dynasty is enhanced without ever resorting to the capricious exercise of *royal barbaric power*. The greatest test of all is to have absolute power and yet refrain from using it—something the few who hold it can ever resist. Should we argue that Herodotus is also a proto-feminist, he is certainly reminding his Athenian, or perhaps his Periclean, audience that the consorts of those in power can make meaningful contributions to policy and good governance beyond the abysmally low horizon set by the Athenian aristocrat Isagoras for his spouse (Hdt. 5.70.1).⁷⁷

All of which, through Herodotus, goes to show that a determined yet privileged and principled individual who is born a non-Greek does not always have to behave in a cruel and barbaric fashion at all; but that being born Greek offers no immunity to such moral lapses. The major difference between fictional characters and biographical depictions of historical characters is that as readers we demand that the fictional ones behave consistently and that their actions always make some sort of sense. Real life imposes no such rational restriction on individuals, and yet we are stunned when those we might want to admire behave with unbelievable stupidity. The time-worn naval dockyard epithet, "You incredible bloody fool!" comes to mind. Novelists can get into the minds of their heroines and heroes—something historians and biographers can only pretend to do. Furthermore, we should not let Gray persuade us that the Achaemenids have a monopoly on the exercise of *royal barbaric power*. Herodotus is living through a time of great change; Pan-Hellenism has not yet taken root, but some of the hallmarks of what it means to be Greek, rather than what it means to be other-than-Greek, are starting to become evident. Just recognizing the worst lapses from Hellenic cultural and religious norms is a start. Herodotus' depiction of Atossa in his *Histories* is remarkable if only that he is writing from a pre-feminist perspective yet he offers admiration and recognition—she is accomplished and praiseworthy, not barbaric. Even if wary of Athenian audience hostility, he is not intimidated. He gives credit where he believes it is due. Despite the dominant hareem culture in fifth-century Achaemenid Persia, Atossa demonstrates her own agency, authority, and autonomy. From which stems the modest claim that despite writing from a wholly pre-feminist perspective Herodotus breaks patriarchal rank sufficiently to reveal himself as a proto-feminist.

77. Aspasia of Miletus was Pericles' companion during the last fifteen years of his thirty plus years of leadership in Athens. A near contemporary of Herodotus, Pericles (495–429) a statesman and general comes from a wealthy aristocratic Athenian family.

Acknowledgments

The author gratefully acknowledges during preparation of this article the patient guidance of Dr. Dionysia Eirini Kotsovili of the Stavros Niarchos Foundation Centre for Hellenic Studies, Lecturer and Graduate Program Chair, Department of Humanities, Simon Fraser University, Canada.

Bibliography

- Aeschylus. "The Persians." In *Aeschylus I: The Persians, Seven Against Thebes, The Suppliant Women, Prometheus Bound*, edited and translated by David Grene, and Richmond Lattimore. Third Edition, edited by Mark Griffith, and Glenn W. Most, 11-59. Chicago, IL; and London: University of Chicago Press, 2013.
- Ashiri, David, Alan Lloyd, and Aldo Corcella (Eds.) Oswyn Murray and Alfonso Moreno. *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I-IV*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Blok, Josine. "Women in Herodotus' Histories." In *Brill's Companion to Herodotus*, edited by Egbert J. Bakker, Irene J. F. de Jong, and Hans van Wees, 225-242. Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2002.
- Ferrill, Arther. "Herodotus on Tyranny." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 27, H. 3 (3rd Qtr. 1978): 385-398.
- Gantz, Timothy. *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*. Baltimore, MD; and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Gray, Vivienne. "Herodotus and the Rhetoric of Otherness." *The American Journal of Philology* 116, no. 2 (1995): 185-211.
- Pomeroy, Sarah B. *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity*. New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1975.
- Scheer, Robert. "The Playboy Interview with Jimmy Carter." *Playboy Magazine: Entertainment for Men* 23, no. 11 (1976): 63-86.
- Skinner, Marilyn B. *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Culture*. Second Edition. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons Inc. (Wiley-Blackwell), 2014.
- Stoneman, Richard. *Xerxes: A Persian Life*. New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2015.
- Strassler, Robert B. (Ed.) *The Landmark Herodotus: The Histories*, translated by Andrea L. Purvis. New York, NY: Random House, 2007.
- Tourraix, Alexandre. "La femme et le pouvoir chez Hérodote." (Woman and Power in Herodotus.) *Dialogues d'histoire Ancienne [DHA]* 2 (1976): 369-386.
- Wiesehöfer, Josef. *Ancient Persia from 550 BC to 650 AD*, translated by Azizeh Azodi. London and New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 1996.

The Greek Population of the Province of Alexandropol during the Turkish Invasions of 1918-1920: An Analysis based on Oral History

By Karine Bazeyan* & Grigor Aghanyan[±]

The restoration of the popular perceptions of an episode of history, of the event, prepares a favorable base for a complete historical and ethnographic study, as it gives an opportunity to understand “from within” and represent numerous topics that are rarely mentioned in official historiography. The Greeks settled in Shirak province of the Republic of Armenia in the 30s of the 19th century, which mainly corresponds to the territory of the former Alexandropol, after the adoption of the Treaty of Adrianople in 1830. The invasion of Armenia by the Ottoman in 1918 and Kemalist armies in 1920, the atrocities committed by them were a direct continuation not only of the Armenian Genocide, but also the extermination of other Christian nations, the Greeks of Pontus and Assyrians. In 1918 and 1920 the Greeks of the villages of Baytar, Kaps, and Bayandur were completely massacred. Information about these events in historiography is scarce, but they are preserved in folk memory, which has been recorded by us and is presented in the article in combination with archival materials.

Introduction

Greeks have lived in Armenia since ancient times. The influx of the Greek population into Eastern Armenia intensified in the 17th-18th centuries related to the presence of rich copper mines in the northern regions of the country. Greek miners and coppersmiths founded the settlements of Yeghdan and Koghesis in Lori province at the end of the 18th century.¹ After connecting Georgia and Eastern Armenia to the Russian Empire, the Russian authorities took measures to immigrate the Armenian and Greek population from the Ottoman Empire to the newly occupied territories. After the signing of the Treaty of Adrianople, the majority of Greeks who immigrated to Eastern Armenia settled in Alexandropol province. In general, Lori, Alexandropol province, and Kars region were

*Senior Researcher, Shirak Center for Armenological Studies of National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, Armenia.

±Researcher, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, Armenia.

1. E. Kharatsidis, *Khozyaystvennyy byt i materialnaya kultura grecheskogo nadeleniya Vostochnoy Armenii vo vtoroy polovine 19-ogo - nachale 20-ogo vekov /Istoriko-etnograficheskoye issledovaniye/* (Yerevan, National Academy of the Republic of Armenia Publishing, 1990), 30.

considered densely populated areas by Greeks, in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century.²

The Greeks living in the Eastern Armenia and the Caucasus were characterized by two ethnonyms "Romeos" and "Urum". Most Greeks adopted the form "Romeos" as their endonym. The "Romeos" spoke in the Trapezium dialect of Greek and preserved their mother tongue, Greek identity, and cultural features which were significantly different from the "Urum".³ The "Urums" were Turkic-speaking Greeks, most of them lived in Tsalka region of Georgia. According to some scholars, the "Urums" are an ethnographic group, the followers of Greek, Georgian, and Armenian Orthodox religions were united to them, and lived compactly in the central and northeastern vilayets of Turkey before immigrating to the territory of the Russian Empire.⁴

The Greek population of the city and province of Alexandropol lived a safe and prosperous life till the collapse of the Russian Empire and the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. The invasions of the Ottoman and Kemal armies in 1918 and 1920 to Eastern Armenia were fatal for the Greek population of Alexandropol province.

During the collection of oral histories in the villages of Shirak province within the framework of the grant programme "*The 1918-1921 events in the context of the historical memory of Shirak region population*", we wrote down materials, which contained interesting materials about the actions of the Ottoman and Kemal armies against the Greek population of Alexandropol province⁵. Information about these events in historiography is scarce, but they are preserved in folk memory, which has been recorded by us and is presented in the article in combination with archival materials.

Literature Review

Historiographical researches about the history of the Greek settlements in the province of Alexandropol and the state of the Greek population are unfortunately scarce. A brief article on the history of the Greeks of the Caucasus, their distribution, and ethnographic description was published in the book "Peoples of the Caucasus" in 1962. The author of the article "The Greeks of the Caucasus" P. Akritas briefly introduced the Greeks of Eastern Armenia and naturally did not

2. Ibid, 38.

3. P. Akritas, "Greki Kavkaza," in *Narody Kavkaza*, vol. II (Moscow, USSR Academy of Sciences Publishing, 1962), 424.

4. Kharatsidis, *Khozyaystvennyy byt i materialnaya kultura grecheskogo nadeleniya Vostochnoy Armenii vo vtoroy polovine 19-ogo - nachale 20-ogo vekov /Istoriko-etnograficheskoye issledovaniye/*, 1990, 38-39.

5. Alexandropol province mainly corresponds to the modern Shirak region.

make any hint about the fate of the Greeks of Alexandropol province after 1918-1920.

Kharatsidis thoroughly referred to the Greek population of Alexandropol province in his dissertation "Economic life and material culture of the Greek population of Eastern Armenia in the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century". Kharatsidis, while presenting the distribution of the Greek population, the economic occupations, and the lifestyle of the Greeks, did not refer to the realities of 1918-1920. The theme of the Genocide of Armenians, Greeks, Assyrians, and other Christian peoples was "Taboo" in Soviet historiography and naturally, it was not allowed to speak about it and extend the facts into scientific field.⁶ referred to the most famous Greek villages of Shirak in his monography "Greek lithographs of Armenia and the Greek community of the 10s of the 18th -21st century." Ayvazyan's book is extremely valuable for the study of the topic that interests us, despite the inaccuracies of some factual data.

Methodology/Materials and Methods

In modern historiography, oral histories are considered as a source and a memory as a historical phenomenon, because knowledge about the past ensures the transmission of moral and ideological values, oriented to the specific historical time period and social space. In addition to written history, there is also living history, which preserves and renews itself through time and thus allows the recovery of many ancient realities that seem to have disappeared. If "history" is historical knowledge, then "memory" is based on national values. "Historical memory" is the applied use of historical knowledge, the movement of history towards the questions and demands of social memory. The autobiographical, collective, and historical memory of the population about the most painful issues of the past makes the past a real value, wealth, and a significant part of our lives. Based on the above and using the possibilities of the comparative method, an attempt was made to combine historical, oral histories with documentary materials in order to solve the problems faced by the authors.

6. A. Ayvazyan, *Hayastani hunaren vimagrutynnery ev 18-21-rd dari 10-akan tvakanneri hunakan hamaynky* (Yerevan, Author Publishing, 2021).

The Historical Stylized Facts

Reviweing this literature and oral traditions, two stylized historical facts emerge:

1. Collective memory was subjected to strict censorship in the Soviet and Kemalist dictatorial government systems, and repressive measures were prohibited mentioning those realities that were not beneficial or contradicted the prevailing ideological patterns.
2. The population of Greek villages of the province of Alexandropol was annihilated as a result of two Turkish invasions of Eastern Armenia in 1918-1921.
3. A specially planned and systematic policy was adopted by the Kemalist government to exterminate the Greek population living in the occupied territories, which was carried out with particular cruelty and consistency, as evidenced by written and oral information.

So: The interdisciplinary study of the existence of historical memory of the Genocide in Eastern Armenia, the issues and problems of recording and preserving folk narratives, based on a thorough analysis of archival sources and oral histories, allows us to perceive the character of this phenomenon more objectively. The priority in the scientific field is not only the study of factual material but also the search for historical justice, perception is the best manifested in the individual and collective memory of the population.

After the adoption of the Treaty of Adrianapole in 1830, a large part of Greeks from different vilayets of the Ottoman Empire joined the Armenian diaspora and settled in the territories of the Russian Empire. The Greeks settled in the city of Alexandropol, in the newly created province of Alexandropol, as well as in the villages of Baytar, Bayandur, and Kaps. After the collapse of the Russian Empire and the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918, the Ottoman troops taking advantage of de facto anarchy in the Caucasus, attacked and invaded Transcaucasia. The invasion of Armenia by the Ottoman in 1918 and Kemalist armies in 1920, the atrocities committed by them were a direct continuation not only of the Armenian Genocide, but also the extermination of other Christian nations, the Greeks of Pontus and the Assyrians. Not only Armenians living in Eastern Armenia fell victim to the genocide of the Ottomans and Kemalists, but also other Christian peoples living next to them, particularly the Greeks of the province of Alexandropol.

The oral and written history preserved in the local population about the realities of 1918-1921 in the territory of the modern Shirak province refers to the description of the two Turkish invasions of 1918 and 1920 and their aftermath. The recorded histories are proof of the continuation of the Turkish genocidal policy in Eastern Armenia, which was a forbidden topic for decades during

Soviet rule. The reason for this was that the Soviet Union tried to build the identity of the society on an ideological basis, forgetting the other basic components of the identity (ethnic, confessional, cultural, community, family). One of its consequences of the emergence of a deformed, "cut", traumatic historical memory. In the next phase of the search for identity, the authorities began to use the potential of the historical past through the "management" of memory, which became the state policy of historical memory. After 1920, according to that policy, due to friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Turkey, the topic of the genocide of Armenians, Greeks, and Assyrians was closed and removed from historiography. The transmission of information and the interpretation of historical events had become the monopoly of the governing parties in two newly formed states: the Soviet Union and the Republic of Turkey at the end of the 1920s. The reshaping of the historical past and the creation of nations' "new historiography" in these countries became part of the state policy and was controlled by their first figures, Joseph Stalin and Mustafa Kemal. A clear consensus was formed between the Bolsheviks and Kemalists to forget the fact of extermination of Christian peoples in Turkey and its territory and delete it from the official historiography. People started talking openly about the Armenian Genocide in Soviet Armenia only after 1965, a lot of research works were published, during the Turkish invasions of Eastern Armenia from 1918 to 1920, the fact of mass extermination of the Armenian and Greek population remained only in the oral history of Armenians and Greeks. The generations of Greek people in the province of Alexandropol who survived after the two Turkish invasions kept the memory of these realities in their minds. The people's deep mental shock and the people's tragedy were relegated to the sphere of individual memory and passed down from generation to generation in strict secrecy. Each family of Greek origin became the bearer of a secret memory of its tragic history. It is noteworthy that the bearers of that history, even the third generation, have preserved the memory in every detail that have been recorded by us. Only after the collapse of the Soviet Union, it became possible to overcome the political and historiographical taboo and the cases preserved in oral history were made public. A policy that could be called "commanded to forget" was applied to the above-mentioned peoples who survived the genocide in the Soviet Union.⁷

Ancient Greek or Greek Orthodox Armenian settlements existed in the territory of present-day Shirak province in the Middle Ages. Later they were destroyed and deserted as a result of the plundering invasions of Shah Abbas I of Iran and later the Caucasian tribes in the 17th-18th centuries. As mentioned above,

7. H. Kharatyan, "Politika pokoreniya pamyati, ili «prikazano zabyt»: Prevrashcheniye pamyati v sotsialnuyu i semeynuyu «taynu» /Na primere armyanskogo genotsida/," in *Ustnaya istoriya na postsovetском prostranstve*. (Barnaul, 2017), 127.

the dwelling of Greek migrants in Shirak and the establishment of new settlements were connected with the events of 1829-30. The urban Greeks of Erzurum and Kars settled in Alexandropol, and the rural immigrants from Mush, Khnus, and Kars inhabited the villages of Bayandur, Baytar, and Kaps.

We present briefly the mixed Armenian-Greek and purely Greek settlements in the province of Alexandropol below.

Alexandropol (Leninakan, Gyumri)

The Greek population settled in Alexandropol in the 1830s, formed their own district, and built the Greek Orthodox Church of St George in the city center. The main part of the urban Greeks who settled in Eastern Armenia was concentrated here. The Greek population of the city was engaged in craft and trade. The descendants of the Greeks of Alexandropol were the famous sculptor Sergey Merkurov and the well-known theosophist-philosopher George Gurdjieff. Part of the Greek population of the city left as a result of the events of 1918-20, and a large part of them immigrated to their historical homeland, the Hellenic Republic in the 1990s.

Bayandur (Greek Bayandur)

The village is located in Shirak province, ten kilometers away from the city of Gyumri, on the left bank of the river Akhuryan. The population of the historic village was displaced by Shah Abbas I in the 17th century and was deserted until the beginning of the 19th century. After the signing of the Treaty of Adrianople (1829), when mass immigration of Armenians began from the territories of the Ottoman Empire to Eastern Armenia, Armenians and Greeks from Mush, Kars, and Basen settled here. According to the population census, in 1833 there were 502 people living in Bayandur, most of them were Greeks about 326. The situation changed in 1877-1878, after the Russian-Turkish war, when the Kars province was formed, where many Greek families moved from Bayandur.

Bayandur was divided into two parts at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1899, the Georgian Exarch of the Russian Orthodox Church asked the representative of the Minister of Land Use and State Property Management of the Russian Empire in the Caucasus to separate the land of the Greek community of the village of Bayandur from the fellow Armenians.⁸ Of Armenia After several years of quarreling, ignoring the protest of the Armenian side, the former united village was divided by the order of the viceroy of Caucasus Golitsyn, known for

8. National Archive of Armenia, Fund 966.

his anti-Armenian policies, a new community was recognized as a separate unit, called Greek Bayandur, with a population of about 30 houses, which ceased to exist after the Turkish invasions of 1918-1920 and the devastating earthquake of 1926. Only a few tombstones with Greek inscriptions have been preserved in the small part of the old village that was not flooded.

Baytar (Alakilisa)

The only purely Greek village in the former Alexandropol province was Baytar-Alakilisa, now called Hovtun. It is located on the left bank of the river Akhuryan, fifteen kilometers away from Gyumri /Alexandropol/. The local Greek population immigrated to Eastern Armenia from Kars province. The name of the village was Baytar, according to local Armenians the word has had Greek origin. It means “doctor of horses”, which is highly doubtful. Until 1921, the villagers were entirely Greeks, who were engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry. Some of the men from Baytar, during the year extracting gray coal from the settlements of Jajur and Mets Keti of Alexandropol province. The Greeks of Old Keti extracted coal from the ground, before the arrival of the Baytars, who were massacred and expelled in the mid-18th century by Lezgin bandits.

The Greek population of Baytar was massacred and taken prisoner during the Second Turkish invasion and according to written and oral sources, the Greek Baytar became a “village of Catholic Armenian immigrants”. Armenian settlers sacredly preserved the Greek tombstones, and the destroyed Greek Orthodox church which were not desecrated by the Turks.

Kaps

A small Greek community has been here since the 30s of the 19th century, about which little is known. However, oral tradition and some fragmentary archival information indicate that members of this small community, who like the inhabitants of other Greek settlements, were involved in going to other countries (earn money), especially in mining, which was mainly seasonal due to the harsh climate of Shirak.

The Greeks of Kaps, like the Baytars, got engaged in mining, in Jajur and Mets Keti, in the spring and summer months. It should be noted that the main owners of the mining industry of Eastern Armenia were Greeks, as evidenced by archival and other sources of the time. The Greek population of Kaps fell victim to the massacres organized by the Kemalist troops and the local Turkish tribes in 1920. Our informant Vrezh Margaryan managed to find tombstones of the Greek

inhabitants of Kaps, the dating of which and decoding of Greek texts are the subject of a separate study.⁹

There was no massacre in Baytar in 1918, as well as in Greek Bayandur. The Ottoman army and bandits of Turkish tribes of Aghbaba region of Alexandropol province looted the following villages causing extensive damage. After the signing of the Armistice of Mudros on 30 October 1918, the Ottoman troops withdrew from the province of Alexandropol in November-December.

By the decision of the Government of the First Republic of Armenia, state commissions were set up to assess the extent of the losses of the population of occupied regions, as a result of the Ottoman invasions, and special forms were made up, two of which are kept in the National Archives of the Republic of Armenia and refer to Greek Bayandur and Baytar.¹⁰

According to these documents, four people were killed and fifteen were taken prisoners in the Greek Bayandur. Almost all the property of the village was robbed. There are no documents on the killings and captivity in Baytar, but the list of thirty-two male members of Greek families whose property was looted by Ottoman soldiers and neighboring Turkish tribes is presented.¹¹

According to our informants and what is confirmed by the archival data, the massacres and looting carried out by the Ottoman army in 1918 in the Christian villages of Alexandropol province were incomparable to the atrocities of the Kemalists in 1920-21. If the Greek villages continued to survive despite huge losses, after the invasion of 1918 and the six-month tyranny of Alexandropol province, then in April-May of 1921, when the Kemalist army left the province, they were deserted and deprived of the Greek population.

Our recorded oral histories show that most of the Greek rural population of Bayandur was captured in 1920-21 and taken to Kars by the Kemalists under the pretext of construction work, where their traces were lost. The captive men from the Armenian villages of Shirak, as well as the Greeks of Bayandur were either massacred on the way or died from unbearable hard work. The fact is that none of them returned to their native village.¹² Greek women, old people, and children from Bayandur who had no relatives in Alexandropol or did not manage to move there were killed by the sword.

After the Sovietization of the province of Alexandropol in 1921, there is neither mention of the Greek settlement of Bayandur in the document, nor

9. Informant Vrezh Margaryan, Kaps 2020, Archives of Shirak Center for Armenological Studies of National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, Recording N 150104-0000.

10. National Archives of Armenia, Fund 221.

11. National Archives of Armenia, Fund.

12. Informant Arthur Arakelyan, Bayandur 2020, Archives of Shirak Center for Armenological Studies, Recording N 151213-2303.

anything about the population of this village in the data of the first Soviet national census in 1926.

The tragedy of the exclusively Greek village of Baytar has a special place among the stories about the bloodiest episodes preserved in the oral history of the people of Shirak. Soviet historiography has been silent for decades and has not even been archived in the form of documents; it has been preserved and passed down from generation to generation in the memory of the newly settled Armenians of Baytar and the descendants of a few Greeks who miraculously survived.

After signing the Treaty of Alexandropol on 2 December 1920, and the Sovietization of Armenia, the bandits of the Kemalist army and the bands of local Turkish tribes supporting them became crueler. Realizing that the Turkish army would withdraw from the province of Alexandropol under the Russian-Turkish agreements, the looting and massacre of the local Christian population began without delay. It should be noted that the Kemalists brutally destroyed the Greek elite, in particular, the most real evidence of which is the Baytar massacre.

According to the preserved oral history, in December 1920, the Turkish cavalry detachment which was stationed in the Armenian village of Bandivan entered Baytar. The men of the village were ordered to gather in the church, where they were informed that workers were needed to build a road to Georgia. When the convoy reached one of the gorges near the village of Bandivan, the Turkish cavalry surrounded them and started shooting. Wounded and survivors of the firing were stabbed with bayonets and swords. After monitoring for about three days and making sure that everyone was killed, the Turks left Bandivan. Feeling that the detachment had left, four surviving men came out under the corpses: Ivanov Ivan /Ivan Aper/, Minasov Tigran, Adam Gurdjieff, and Karapetov Sumbat. The last two rushed to the village to see what happened to their relatives but were killed on the way by soldiers guarding the settlement.¹³

Massacre and looting of the rest of the population began after the expulsion of the Baytar men from the village. The rich property of Baytar was loaded up on the carts belonging to the villagers. Some villagers were taken captive by robbery, especially elderly women who were killed in their homes. Shushanik told that her grandfather Ivan Aper coming home found the burnt bodies of his five children in the potato pit after the Turks left the village. Ivan and Tigran who lost their relatives, went to Alexandropol and returned to Baytar in spring, 1921 but could not find anybody alive in the village.¹⁴ There were corpses everywhere, the gorge was full of corpses. Ivan and Tigran ask the people of Bandivan for help and

13. Informant Shushanik Ivanyan Baytar 2020, Archives of Shirak Center for Armenological Studies, Recording N 150101-2022.

14. Ayvazyan, *Hayastani hunaren vimagrutynnery ev 18-21-rd dari 10-akan tvakanneri hunakan hamaynky*, 2021, 260.

turned the gorge into a mass grave, which the locals still call “Jardi Dzor”(The Valley of Slaughter).

In the same year, the Armenian Catholics who migrated from the village of Guleran of Kars province relocated to Baytar, with whom the two surviving Greeks of Baytar, Ivan Aper and Tigran Aper lived till their death, and formed a new family by marrying their new fellow Armenian girls.¹⁵

We consider it necessary to mention two interesting oral histories related to the resettlement of the village. According to one, when the representatives of the Armenian emigrants came to the destroyed and burnt Baytar, they find the priest of the village asking them to sell apartments to them. The priest says that there isn't anyone alive in the village, there are only corpses in the houses, go and open any door you want, it will be yours, but only bury the corpses in a Christian way.¹⁶ Unfortunately, we could not find the name of the Greek priest of Baytar in the archival documents, but we hope that our search will finally yield results. According to another source, despite the Soviet authorities' urgings, the Armenian migrants did not want to settle in Baytar, arguing how they could live in those abandoned houses whose tonirs and wells are full of the bodies of innocent victims.

We have recorded an interesting episode in our oral histories, according to which in the 1950s Greeks captured by the Turks came to Baytar in 1921, met Tigran Aper, visited “Jardi Dzor”(The Valley of Slaughter), where their parents are buried in a mass grave. Later, for unknown reasons, the connection with the rest of the Baytars was severed.

To summarize, let's note that in order to present the topic in a complete and more historically grounded way, new materials need to be discovered and extend in scientific field.

Bibliography

- Akritas, P. “Greki Kavkaza.” (The Greeks of Caucasus.) In *Narody Kavkaza*, vol. II. Moscow, USSR Academy of Sciences Publishing, 1962.
- Ayvazyan, A. *Hayastani hunaren vimagrutynnery ev 18-21-rd dari 10-akan tvakanneri hunakan hamaynky*. (The Greek Lithographs of Armenia and the Greek Community of the 10s of the 18th-21st Centuries.) Yerevan, Author Publishing, 2021.
- Kharatsidis, E. *Khozyaystvennyy byt i materialnaya kultura grecheskogo nadeleniya Vostochnoy Armenii vo vtoroy polovine 19-ogo - nachale 20-ogo vekov //Istoriko-etnograficheskoye issledovaniye/*. (Economic Life and Material Culture of the Greek Population of Eastern Armenia in the Second Half of the 19th Century and at the Beginning of the 20th Century) /Historical-ethnographical Research./ Yerevan, National Academy of the Republic of Armenia Publishing, 1990.

15. Informant Shushanik Ivanyan Baytar 2020.

16. Informant Garnik Arakelyan, Baytar 2020, Archives of Shirak Center for Armenological Studies, Recording N 150101-2023.

Kharatyan, H. "Politika pokoreniya pamyati, ili «prikazano zabyt»: Prevrashcheniye pamyati v sotsialnuyu i semeynuyu «taynu» / Na primere armyanskogo genotsida/." (The Policy to Subdue the Memory, or "it is Ordered to Forget": Turning Memory into a Social and Family "Secret" / Example of the Armenian Genocide/.) In *Ustnaya istoriya (Oral history) na postsovetском prostranstve*. Barnaul, 2017.

The Vlachs - People Formed Around a Dynasty

By Stefan Staretu *

Serbian kings were co-heirs to the Arpad dynasty, Stefan Dragutin and his son, Stefan Vladislav, son of the eldest daughter of the last significant Arpad king. His Angevin adversaries, descendants of a younger sister of Dragutin's wife, had the support of the papacy. In the Hungarian regions where Dragutin and Vladislav's supporters had estates, Serbian Vlachs were colonized. In the Krasso region, where even today the population is bilingual in Serb and Vlach and has a mixed identity, in which Serb and Vlach are interchangeable, the same, and which onomastically preserve all the main family names that Vlach nobility in counties colonized later from this region, such as Maramoros or Hunyad has (this is the Crisov land mentioned in the Roman and Vlachata medieval narrative, the first land settled by the Serb Vlachs under Dragutin in Hungary from which they later spread). In the Hunyad County, where the wedding of Dragutin's son, Vladislav, and Laszlo Kán's daughter took place, the first Vlachs from Serbia came as reinforcement of the political enterprise of the Nemanjic dynasty as a successor of the Arpad line, despite a papal ex-communication. Afterwards, in the areas of Miklos Pok (Maramaros, Ugocsa, Bereg), another ally of Dragutin, influenced by Andrew of Halics, another wave of Serbian Vlach colonists came, the ancestors of Maramaros nobility. In the acts of the Catholic Church in Câmpulung Muscel, a note about Negru Vodă's wife is preserved. She is called Katalin, the daughter of the Hungarian King. This implies the identity between the semi-legendary XVIIIth century figure of Negru Vodă and Dragutin. Negru Vodă probably is a translation of Maurovlach, black Vlach. Heraldry common to Serbia, Bosnia, Wallachia, and Moldavia, the Ethiopic heads, supports the identity between Hungarian Wallachia, and Nemanjic Serbia, and the origin of its dynasty from the Nemanjic. This genealogic identity is preserved in the painted family tree of Curtea de Argeș, where Neagoe Basarab implies the symbolism of the 12 tribes of Israel to suggest the political unity of Serbian Vlachs in the ottoman regions and the colonized north.

Introduction

A people united by a single language cannot crystallize in a frame characterized by the absence of centralized authority. Different groups of shepherds isolated in their mountains, framed just by transhumant contact, cannot explain the Vlachs' genealogical, linguistic, and social coherence. Another model must be taken into account.

I propose in this text a new model concerning the functioning of the peoples of the Balkans, based on the centrality of their own dynastic, monarchic

*Executive Director, Theology and History Studies Center, St. Ephrem the New Monastery, Cristian, Brasov, Romania.

structures, which as concentric circles of authority frame and structures language, customs, religion, state, and is the root of their individuality.

Following these patterns of analysis, I believe that the formation of the Vlachs as ethnicity is determined by and generated around the Serbian medieval dynasty. I think that all available evidence concerning the documentary presence, the judicial status, and the genealogical pattern that can be reconstructed with great accuracy shows that the Vlachs got formed in their entirety as part of the medieval Serbian monarchy.

The Serbian monarchy was formed in the middle Carolingian age when rulers of different military structures organized in the valleys of the Dinaric Alps appear to be shaped after the destruction of the Avars and under pressure from Bulgarian expansion.

In this period, the people here followed a pattern of development very similar to the pattern of the Vikings¹, with which they were strictly contemporaneous in their dependence on the Byzantine authority.

The Vikings were Varangians, old Roos people having strong kingly structures in their fiords and Baltic strongholds but served as nomadic mercenaries for the Byzantines or the Carolingians. The name with which they were referred in Scandinavia was different from the name with which they were referred in their diasporic nomadic mercenary service for the Byzantines. They were called Roos, Russians, in Scandinavia, but Varangians, Vikings as designating the structures which they formed in Constantinople or in the Balkans to serve Byzantine military objectives, to protect different strategic examples, or to confront the enemies of the empire. They did not definitively settle in any of these structures, which did not emerge as states of monarchies, but they returned to Scandinavia where the monarchies there consolidated benefitting from the Byzantine experience.

Diokleea, Raska, and Nemanjic Dynasty

I believe that the Vlachs followed from the VIII till the XIV centuries a similar model. Called Serbs when applied to their kingdoms in Serbia, kingdoms like Diokleea or Raska, Hum or Travunia, and Vlachs when in military service as mercenaries for the Byzantines, Bulgarians, Turkic peoples (Pechenegs or Cumans) or Hungarians, they never permanently settled the areas in which their diasporic military services were employed but formed temporary, nomadic structures following the need of their employers, tending to return to their base in

1. Martin J. Dougherty, *The Dark' Ages – From the Sack of Rome to Hastings* (Amber Books Ltd., 2019); Dougherty, *Norse Myths – Viking Legends of Heroes and Gods* (Amber Books Ltd., 2016).

Serbia and afterward searching another commission where a new generation was employed for the needs of the circumstances.

This is why if we examine with an intensely critical method the spurious documentary evidence of the Vlachs in the period, the same pattern as the evidence that comes from the Varangians-Vikings appears². The same military contexts, the same geographical areas, the same social context, with specificities regarding the pastoral basis for the sustenance of the Vlachs and the maritime basis of the Vikings.

Diokleea and Raska appear as the Scandinavia of the Vlachs in numerous sources, and their ethnological cyclical return to the fatherland mimicking some bees returning to their hive will be investigated below.

After the consolidation of the Nemanjic kingdoms, a differentiation appears between the population that became committed exclusively to the new state, and the groups that conserved their mercenary way of life. This model appears also in Scandinavia, where the early Danes or Swedes refer to the clans that kept the connection to Byzantium using the exonym, because of fiscal and property differences. This is the explanation for the existence in Serbia of a stable, fixed population, the Serbs, and the mobile population, the Vlachs. The Serbs are the Danes, the fixed aristocracy, emerging from the leadership of the old Vlach clans, that permanently resided in Diokleea and Raska and formed the basis for the state life there. The Vlachs are the periphery of the same clans, that maintain their nomadic military way of life in the service of different regional powers, but retain a basis in Serbia. This double structure, present in the early Scandinavian kingdoms as well, assured the expansion of Serbia in the Balkans following the roots of this military service, as in the case of the Vikings' expansion into what would become Kievan Rus, which retains in their early chronicles the difference between the Russians, the Rus, the fixed stable aristocracy based on agriculture, and the Varangians, the same Russians when they preferred to cyclically serve in the Byzantine military.

This model emerging in Serbia explains why the Serbian population that came out of Serbia after the boom of the Nemanjic dynasty, Vlachs migrating in Byzantine Macedonia, Bulgaria, or Hungary is called exclusively by the name Vlach, although it contained social stratum from both the stable aristocracy and from the pastoral military.

But how was this population formed in the first place? After the fall of the Eastern Roman Empire, the old Roman population of the Balkans migrated from their cities in the Dinaric highlands and to the coastal Adriatic cities. This migration formed a unified ethnic-genetical region, in Diokleea and Raska, where a single genealogical matrix emerged, and a single process of language shift from the provincial East Roman language to a bilingual Slave-Latin language spoken equally alongside a prevalent Slavic language emerged.

2. Ibid.

What was conserved was the gravitation of this entire ethnic system around a dynastical structure, which conserves the important role of the emperor, mostly originating amid the same population of the Roman Danubian provinces, the so-called Illyrian emperors, in the centuries before the fall of the Danubian limes. This social structure of the Roman Danubian provinces, centered around a pattern of family continuity in assuming the imperial function due to a military service very similar at the level of the Roman army to what the Vikings and the Vlachs did in the later Carolingian and Byzantine periods, emerging from the continuity of the origin of the emperors from the Balkans in the III-VI centuries, was conserved after the compression of the population in the area of the Drina, Lim, Tara, and Ibar valleys.

This gave rise to the different rulers, which followed a Carolingian cultural framework, and gradually adopted Carolingian Christianity after a period of noninstitutional religion. This period gave rise to confusion, the people separating the institutional Christianity of the coastal cities, which they deemed Latin or Roman, from the pagan-like mountains, a source of the confusion surrounding the origin of this population and their separation from the *Romeic* Byzantine status. Thus, legends about a north Danubian origin, from a mythical and progressively Slavic Dacia, or White Serbia, a confusion with the Croats, which remained in the patterns of mythologization that surrounded the Danubian reservoir of emperors in the III-IV centuries, linked for prestige motives with the Dacian legacy, a non-Roman cliché of barbarian masculinity, monopolized the public discourse in Byzantine sources concerning this people, linked to the Danish/Varangian appropriation of Dacia emerging in the same period and the same discourse, due to a similar way of life.

In this period, we have Vlach military seminomadic settlement from Serbia in Byzantium, we have vague recollections of Vlach's similar activity in Hungary and Bulgaria, but the most important process comes from the consolidation of a kingdom, a Carolingian-like kingdom in Serbia. This kingdom, which reached its height during Constantine Bodin, will have the force to proclaim its dynasty as the last Bulgarian dynasty. This will be the source for the Asan dynasty, chiefs of a group settled from Serbia to central Haemus for military reasons by the Byzantines that seized power and constructed the second Bulgarian state.

Afterward, as Serbia became centralized, we see that the monasteries conserve within their estates, pockets of Vlach nomadic military, central to international recognition of the Serbian military power, by assuring expansion. As the Serbian state expands, it establishes monasteries that become colonizing centers for the mobile population that afterward settle following the agricultural aristocratic feudal pattern. The difference between Serbs and Vlachs in this legislation is not the same as the difference between the Roman population and the Frankish population or other Germanic populations in kingdoms of western Europe, as the difference appears the same in the Byzantine legislation regarding monastic Vlachs, without implying the ethnical difference between the *Romeic*

Greeks and the Romanic Vlachs, both inheritors of the same eastern Roman empire before 600 A.D.

This is a political and military distinction, accentuated by the references to the interdiction of the settled aristocracy to adopt a Vlach mobile way of life, not because of an ethnic linguistic difference, but because of political multitasking, such as similarly the great Scandinavian feudal kingdoms that maintained Varangian Viking structures' way into the XIth century, or as English pirates remained a force for Britain in the XVIth century colonial race.

The places' names relating to the earliest stratum of colonization in Thessaly-Pindus, like Servia linked to the Byzantine sources, including a Byzantine emperor, to the Vlachs that came there from Diokleia, or the numerous Bulgarian charters and church-dedication inscription making reference to the Nemanjić origin of the Asan dynasty or some of its branches, from Saint Simeon or Saint Stefan Prvovencani directly, comes as a confirmation of a single identity for the settled Serbs and the nomad military Vlachs, as the Normans in Sicily and Constantinople had churches dedicated to norman saints like Thomas Becket³ or Saints Boris and Gleb or Saint Vladimir.

In a Ragusa chronicle, these words describe the society of the Adriatic fortress in its beginnings: *A division of the inhabitants was established in Ragusa. Thus, when the inhabitants of the Lower Wallachian fortress came, self-sustaining castes were established. Many Wallachians were wealthy. They formed the Parliament of the Citadel, dividing the population into three states: first the nobles, then the townspeople, and then the common people, for they had come from Wallachia with many servants. The third part was the nobles, for from the beginning many had fled from Serbia and Bosnia, and who were not people of low condition, for they were tributaries, many being captains or counts or governors, being of noble origin. The nobles received the government of the country, or other services, and only formed the Parliament. The first of them was Pavlimir Belo.*⁴

This Vlach named Pavlimir Belo is known as the restorer of the kingdom of Serbia, known since then as the kingdom of Diokleia⁵, will be the founder of the dynasty that will become known as the Nemanjić Dynasty. His son Krajina, lord of Trebinje, will have as a descendant, Hvalimir, who will give birth to Cucimir, Dragomir's father, and Stefan Vojislav's grandfather, grandfather of King Diocletian Constantin Bodin, the last tsar of the first Bulgarian tsar under the name of Peter. Constantin Bodin will have Petrislav as his brother, who will be the father of a Vukan. Vukan has as his son Uroš I, whose son Zavida will be the father of St. Simeon Nemanja, the founder of the Nemanjić dynasty⁶.

3. Dirk Booms and Peter Higgs, *Sicily: Culture and Conquest* (The British Museum Press, 2016), 241.

4. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/55332/53332-h/55332-h.htm>; Andrei Pippidi, *Documente privind locul românilor în sud-estul Europei* (Academia Română, 2018), 23-24.

5. Brill.com/view/book/9789004447639/BP000012.xml?rskey=iglk57&result=4.

6. Tibor Zivkovic, *Portreti srpskih vladar: IX-XII vek* (Beograd, 2006), 119-124.

Simultaneously with the flourishing of the Diokleia monarchy, a revolt of a certain *Niculiță*, archon of the Vlachs and diocese of Servia takes place in the Serbian city of Thessaly⁷. Various authors who will describe his actions will say that his homeland is the land of Hum, often phonetically deformed so that it can be confused with Haemus, but undoubtedly is Hum, Zahumlja who had his capital in Trebinje, the residence of Pavlimir Belo, the ancestor of the Nemanjić dynasty, Diokleia dynasty, Serbia. Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions that this city, Servia in Greece, is named after the Serbs, a refugee people from the Roman imperial provinces of the Danube at the time of the Danube Empire collapse⁸. At the time, he was writing *De administrando imperii*, the capital of a region already called Megali Vlahia of Greece. The process of the arrival of some Vlachs who were also called Serbs in the area of Thessaly is being pushed back in time. They will create a military center that will be known by their ethnic name, Servia, while the region will be known as Great Vlachia.

In the XIth century, after the fall of the Bulgarian state, a Serbian aristocrat from Diokleia, Nestor, called Illyrian or Vlach, will lead a detachment of troops from Diokleia sent to help the Byzantine army on the Lower Danube⁹. Paisie's Chronicle from Hilandar will recount the origins of Diokleia, from Cattaro, Kotor, of Vlachs from the Tarnovo area, deported from Serbia for military purposes¹⁰. Later, in the rhymed chronicle of Philippe Mouskes, written around 1240, we have the following reference to the Asan dynastic family: *Si fist il rois un mariage/ Que rois Ausens l'ot en plevie/Ki sire iert et rois de Servie*¹¹.

A certain Caloian places an inscription on his foundation in the old Serdica, in which he talks about his dynastic families like this: *This holiest church of the Hierarch of Christ the Most Holy Nicholas and the holy and honest martyr of Christ Pantelimon was built at the expense, under the care and great love of Kaloian, the emperor's sevastokrator relative of St. Stephen King of Serbia*¹².

Emperor Constantine Asan of Bulgaria will write about the origin of the Asan family the following in a letter issued for St. George's Monastery in Skopje: *following Simeon Nemanja, the father of my kingdom*¹³.

7. Florin Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500-1200* (Cambridge Medieval Textbooks), 246; Curta, "Imaginea vlahilor la cronicarii cruciadei a IV-a. Până unde răzbate ecoul discuțiilor intelectuale de la Constantinopol?" *Arheologia Moldovei* XXXVIII (2015): 25-68.

8. Constantin Porfirogenetul, *De administrando imperii*, 950.

9. Ebooks.unibuc.ro/istorie/ideologie/5.htm.

10. http://www.makedonskatribuna.com/BROJ_24_SLAVO-BULGARE.pdf.

11. Pierre Courroux, "Philippe Mousket, Aubri de Troisfontaines et la date de composition de la Chronique rimee," *Medioevo Romanzo* 39, no. 2 (2015): 419-434.

12. Srdjan Pirivatric, *The Boyana Church Portraits. A Contribution to the Prosopography of Sebastokrator Kaloyan*, 12-35.

13. Srdjan Pirivatric, *Une hypothese sur l'origine du Tsar de Bulgarie Constantin Asen – Tich* (Belgrad : Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'études byzantines XLVI, 2009), 313-331.

Ioniță Caloian mentions in his famous letter to the Pope of Rome his illustrious ancestors Peter and Samuel¹⁴. Peter is none other than Constantine Bodin, the ancestor of St. Simeon Nemanja, and Samuel is the father of Gabriel Radomir, the father-in-law of Stephen Voislav, the king of Diokleia mentioned above, the ancestor of Bodin.

Vukan, the eldest son of St. Simeon Nemanja, writes to Pope Innocent III reminding him that his family, St. Simeon's, is pope-related¹⁵.

In the legend of *Roman and Vlahata*, it is said that people with Roman blood came from Diokleia in Hungary, under the protection of King Vladislav and of Archbishop Sava, in whom we see a son of St. Stephen Dragutin, who sought to take over the Arpadian throne at the time of the Arpadian dynasty ending and the emergence of the Angevins, and Sava II, his contemporary hierarch. These Serbs and Vlachs, symbolized by the characters Roman and Vlahata, will have settled in the Carașova region, called Criș in the text, from where they will then emigrate to Moldova via Maramureș¹⁶.

During this period, the Serbian church and the medieval Serbian elites will settle in administrative areas called banat on the southern border of Hungary, the Serbian Kingdom of Srem, important centers such as Vidin ruled by Jupan Dragoș became metropolises of Serbia,¹⁷ and Serbian ethnic centers (see Figure 1)¹⁸.

14. Curta, *Imaginea vlahilor la cronicarii cruciadei a IV-a. Până unde răzbate ecoul discuțiilor intelectuale de la Constantinopol?* 2015, 25-68.

15. O. Hageneder, W. Maleczek, and A. A. Strnad (Eds.), *Die Register Innozenz' III* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979), 324.

16. P. P. Panaitescu, *Cronicle slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI, publicate de Ion Bogdan* (București: Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1959), 158-161.

17. Metropolitan Mitrofan of Vidin, Metropolitan of the Serbian Church signing a document for Dušan's Vatoped together with other Serbian synod colleagues in 1345, source Bistra Nikolova, *Ustroistvo i upravljenje na Bălgarskata Pravoslavna Zărkva*, IX-XIV vek (Sofia, 1997), 214.

18. Parte Occidentale dell Europa, Descritta e Dedicata Dal P. Cosmografo Coronelli, Ail Illustrissimo Signore Giovanni Da Mula, Senatore Amplissimo Nella Serenissima Republica di Venetia, 1690 (Budapest, Stiefel Kft., 2004).

Figure 1. Map of Serbia in Southwestern Wallachia, Including Vidin: Overview and Detail¹⁹



19. Ibid.

On another map from the 16th century²⁰, Oltenia and the Hungarian Banat are named *Rascia*. The capital of this so-called entity is given to Târgu Jiu, named after Zsil, the Hungarian name, as it appears on another map, above. Putna in the Vrancea area is named after him, and Putna Monastery, founded by Stephen the Great, is named *Ștefanoputna*.

In the area of Serbia, there is a place reminiscent of Jupan Dragoș. Here on this map, we cover the distance from Dragoș to Stephen the Great, from Serbia to Putna, *Sfânta dinastie Drăgoșească/ The Holy Dragoș dynasty* according to the lost inscription from Putna²¹, which we have referred to in other papers.

Why is this part of Hungary called Rascia? Because this was the part most involved in the war of succession with the Angevins of Ștefan Dragutin's state, which was called the Kingdom of Rascia, Serbia, or Srem. Only this kingdom could explain the transfer of the name of the medieval kingdom, Raska, which is also called Stari Ras or Stari Vlah, from Rascia in the Studenica area (present-day Sandjak or Stari Vlah) in the Banat of Severin, in Hațeg, where the wedding of Ștefan Dragutin's son with Ladislau Kan's daughter took place. Thus, we have further proof that Severin was part of Dragutin's Kingdom, and that the Bessarabians dynastically succeeded this Nemanjić branch that came to Hungarian royalty. It is no coincidence that the Cistercian abbey of Cârța supported Dragutin's successors and accepted them as abbey patrons, as evidenced by the document appointing the abbot issued by Vlad Dracul, and how the Hungarian-Wallachian lords of the Duchy of Făgăraș ruled until the time of Neagoe Basarab. The Cistercians, related to Bernard de Clairvaux, the author of *Liber ad milites templi de laude novae militiae*²², the manifesto by which the Templar Order, founded by his brother-in-law Hugh de Payens, received the approval to reinstate the Temple in Jerusalem, in the Christian liturgical circuit, apparently supported those who saved as much as they could, the Dragutin Nemanids from the patrimony of an order destroyed by the Angevins fighting Rascian Serbia which is clearly shown in Figure 2, centered on Hunedoara and Caraș-Severin counties.

20. *Le Mystere De La Sainte Lance* 2017: <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x6ffkd4>.

21. Ștefan S. Gorovei, and Maria Magdalena Szekely, "Moldova și Regalitatea sacră," in Dumitru Năstase, Ștefan S. Gorovei, et al. (eds.), *DE POTESTATE. Semne și expresii ale puterii în Evul Mediu românesc/studii și articole*, 179-214 (Iași: Alexandru Ioan Cuza University Publishing House, 2006), 179-214.

22. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liber_ad_milites_templi_de_laude_novae_militiae.

Figure 2. Map with the Highlight of Rascia West of Olt: Overview and Detail²³

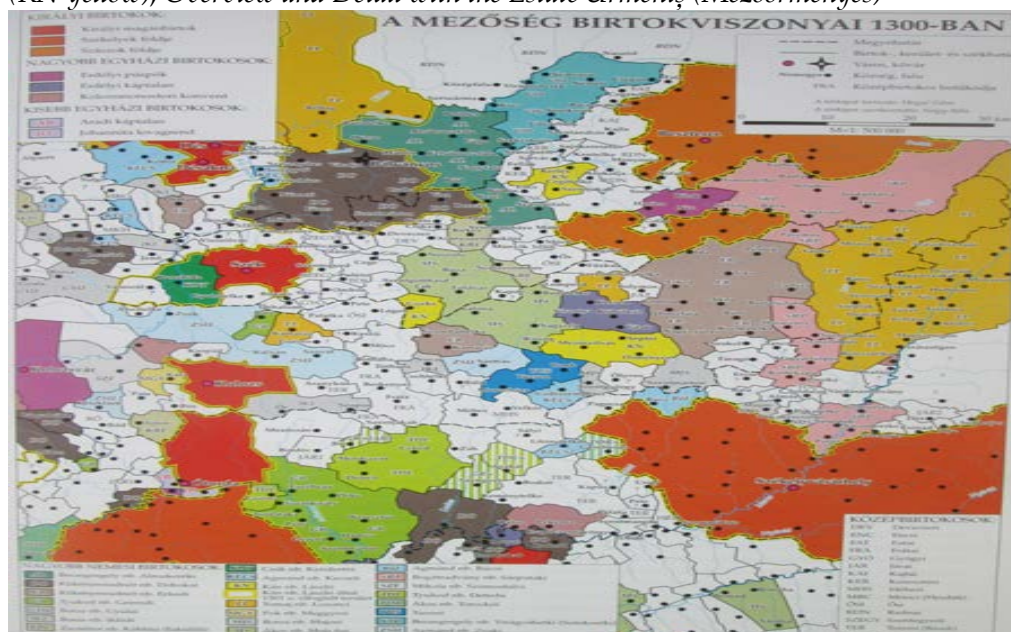
Serb-Vlach Settlement Areas

The Serbian-Vlach origin is obvious from the correlation of the evidence of chronic memory with archaeological, ownership, and genealogy evidence. Ștefan Vladislav, agglutinated with Ladislau Arpad, his ancestor through the wife of

23. Ibid.

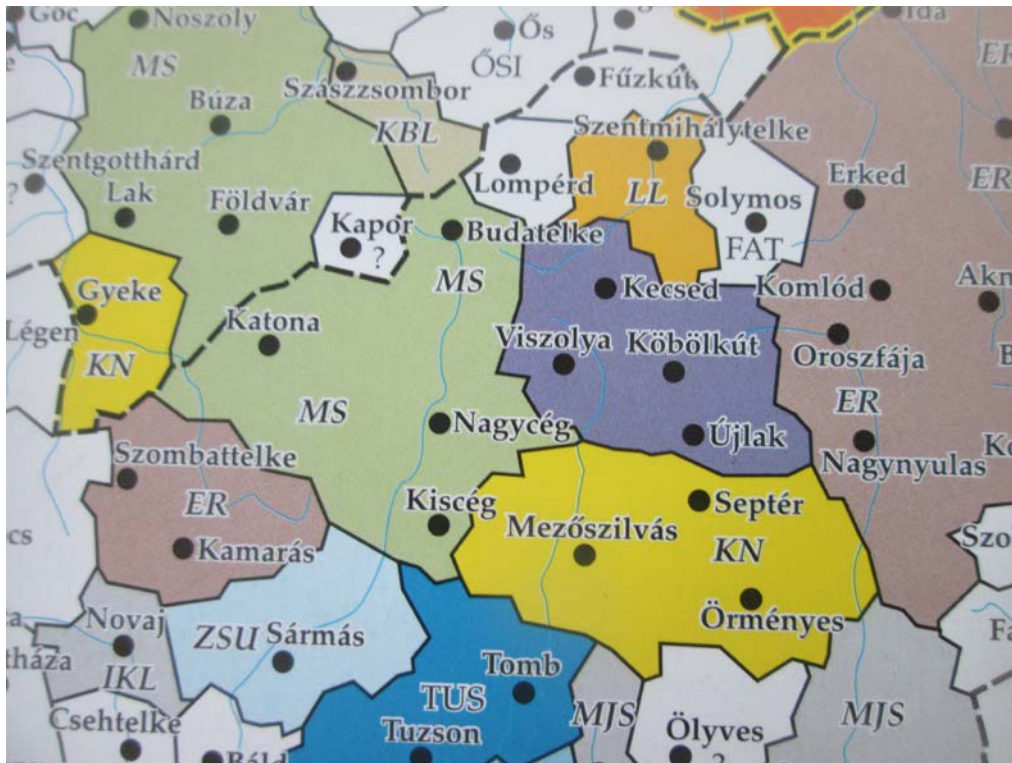
Ștefan Dragutin, the wife of Negru Vodă/the Black Prince, given by the Hieromonk Ștefan as the daughter of the Hungarian king, wears the Arpadian ax of St. Ladislaus, as the Angevins in the cycle promoting their succession find a mirror of their evolution in their Catholic Ladislaus, who kills the Cumanian dressed in the clothes of Serbian fashion of the time. But Ladislaus Kán, the great ally of Ștefan Dragutin, who married his daughter to Ștefan Vladislav, also owned the Chiraleș estate. The symbolism is obvious and immediately apparent. The battle immortalized in *Viața Sf. Nicodim/ The life of St. Nicodemus*, in *Roman și Vlahata / Roman and Vlahata*, and the cycles commanded by Angevin rivals took place in Chiraleș. After defeating Kán, whose sons follow their Nemanid brother-in-law in Hungarian-Wallachia, Charles I of Hungary takes over the Chiraleș estate for him (Figure 3)²⁴.

Figure 3. Map of Transylvania with the Highlight of the Possessions and Ladislau Kán (KN-yellow), Overview and Detail with the Estate Urmeniș (Mezoormenyés)²⁵



24. Tibor Kollar, *Közepkori művészet a Szamos mentén II. Templomok a Mezősegtől Beszterce-Naszodig* (Budapest: Iskola Alapítvány Kiado, Kolossvár –Moller Istvan Alapítvány, 2021), 321.

25. Ibid.



Thus, the Serbs and the Angevins fought symbolically at Chiraleș, where Ladislaus the Saint had the battle after which he gave the ax to the virgin saved from the Cuman. The virgin becomes Hungary, saved either by the Angevin or by the Nemanid, from what for each, legally was heresy, orthodoxy, and respectively Catholicism. The Slavonic original of the text translated by Stephen the Hieromonk is visible in the phrases translated from Serbian Slavic, unintelligible in the era of modernization and aggressive Latinization of the language after Cuza, as in the syntagm Hungarian-Wallachia recognizable in the structure of *Hungary and of the Romanians*, *vlaskoi* or *vlahiskoi* being interpreted as the plural of the Romanian term, and not unitary with Hungary, by the translator who looked at the medieval name of Muntenia, or even in the image with the ax, inaccessible in the XIXth century to the author who had nowhere in the Hațeg-Oltenia area to see a cycle preserved especially in Szeklerland and covered with lime following the reform.

But Ladislau *Kán* also owned the Urmeniș estate, with one of the most spectacular Transylvanian villa-type castles, a place where Transylvanian princes spent their summers. The castle certainly inherits a residence of Ladislau *Kán* there²⁶. Ladislau *Kán* had his daughter married to Ștefan Vladislav, being

26. Z. Bicsok, and Z. Orban, „Isten segedelmevel udvaromat megepitettem...” *Tortenelemi családok Kastelyai Erdelyben* (Csikszereda: Gutenberg Kiado, 2012), 108-110.

excommunicated by the pope for that²⁷, in an act whose form concludes with a wedding combined with the coronation of the Serbian king as Arpadian's rightful heir and with *Kán's* conversion to Orthodoxy (this is the period when the Holy Crown of Hungary is attested in Deva, in the possession of Ladislau *Kán*). Please note that in *Roman and Vlahata* it is said that the Romanovics, in St. Sava's family, received the land from the Hungarian Transylvania, which they colonized leaving Caraş and ascending to Maramureş. Hungarian Transylvania, a syntagm by which we see the counties associated with the medieval Hungarian noble nation (the counties are on the premodern maps of Transylvania noted as Hungarian, in contrast to the Szekler, Saxon, or former feuds of Moldavia or Muntenia), defined about the Mureş. The thought of this residence, as a place related to the memory of the wedding between Ştefan Vladislav and the daughter of the Transylvanian voivode Ladislau *Kán*, his estate in the Hungarian counties, which completed the possessions in Hunedoara-Haţeg, a place ruled at the time of *Roman and Vlahata* text writing by the Banffy family, a family currently in litigation with Stephen the Great over estates in northern Transylvania, including Chiraleş, so important, mentioned symbolically, gives us an insight into the geographical imaginary of the genealogical origin of the medieval Serbian Orthodox elites of Moldavia and Maramureş. For this is one of the places where the Romanov Wallachian Serbs converted the daughters of the Hungarian crusaders to Orthodoxy.

As a confirmation of the connection with Maramureş, on this estate is attested around 1400 the Man family, confirmed by its branch by Cozma armalist as a branch of the Man family from Şieu through its sub-branch from Solnoc (Lăpuş area)²⁸, the family still existing today, including crosses in the Orthodox cemetery. But if the Man family certainly came here to Ormeniş as part of the Serbian aristocratic groups, clans brought by Ştefan Dragutin and Ştefan Vladislav to consolidate the Hungarian rule of the non-Germans, why not see the whole picture of the bringing and transfer of the medieval Serb population? These were the ancestors of today's people in Hunedoara, Haţeg, Caraşova, and

27. Zsuzsanna Kovacs, Miko Zsuzsanna, and Szabo Csaba (szerkesztette), *Erdely: 1000 év oroksege* (Cluj-Napoca: Budapest and the Foundation for School Publishing House, 2020), 34.

28. <https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mez%C5%91%C3%B6rm%C3%A9nyes> (1413-ban tuzsoni Bolgár Miklós bevádolta Örményes birtokon lakó Mihály vlah kenézt és Mánt, hogy Dragus nevű jobbágyától elvettek egy 40 forint értékű lovat, forintját száz új dénárral számítva. Az ügyet helyi szinten, a bíró és kenézek által, nem tudták megoldani ezért az ügynek az ország nemesei elé küldését javasolták-In 1413, Miklós Bolgár of Tuzon accused Mihály vlah Kenye and Mán, who lived in Ormenis, of taking a horse worth of 40 forints from his serf named Dragus for a hundred new denarii. The case could not be resolved locally by a judge and slanderers, so it was suggested that the case be referred to the country's nobles).

Maramureș, at this time the highest authority of the Serbian state in Hungary. After all, in *Roman and Vlahata* we can see the image of a territory from the Tisza to the Mureș, colonized by Serbs who came from Carașova, from Criș, and arrived in Maramureș (the passage seems confusing due to the clumsiness of the Serbian editor of the version we have). Here, the Serbs of the Man clan (Peterman, a form of the name Neman, Nemanja, used by nobles perhaps out of reverence for Stephen Nemanja-St. Simeon), are colonized as aristocrats of the new Nemanid Hungary from Maramureș to the Transylvanian Plain, wherein the villages of Cozma and Simboleni will become noble armalists who will ensure the protection through military service of the great castles of the Transylvanian aristocracy that colonized them there, a privileged minority of noble armalists in the still Hungarian and reformed majority of the Plain at the time.

As a supplement to the above, it should be noted that in part the descendants of Dragutin's companions named Man and Olah (derived from the ethnic name) are now found in the Reformed Cemetery, being Hungarianized in time, after which they partly found their origin at the arrival of the Moldavians in the time of Stephen the Great, an explanation also for the cross of Man in the Orthodox cemetery.

Throughout the South-Danubian Serbian state, the Serbs are systematically called, through synonymy, Vlachs, a phenomenon that continues until the XIXth century in literary sources and until now, the non-Orthodox peoples neighboring the South-Danubian Serbs call them exclusively with the term Vlach.

There are still mentions of Serbs as Vlachs at the time, but they can all be structured into three categories that reveal three states of existence of this population. The earliest mention appears in the historical tradition of Pavlimir, the founder of the kingdom of Diokleia, the people and dynasty of whom are called Vlachs. Then, in the period after the fall of first Bulgaria, the Vlachs are always mentioned in the context of a policy of military mobility of the Byzantine army, the Vlachs being colonized in areas of military interest. In all existing sources dealing with their origin, it is seen that they are the only groups of population with military assignments, sent from Diokleia, to help stabilize the northern Byzantine Balkan region, in the context of the fall of first Bulgaria and the subsequent Pecheneg and Cumanian attacks. Then follows the stage of state structuring in Bulgaria, in which the Vlachs themselves already speak, asserting in all existing sources their origin in Diokleia, and the membership of the Asan dynasty in the Nemanid dynasty, the Nemanid dynastic cult, and the political elites in the Vlach people that will be structured in Diokleia.

Subsequently, with the deployment of the Serbian state structure of Ștefan Dragutin in Hungary, all the Orthodox political elites of Angevin Hungary will claim the Nemanid origin, until late in the XVIIIth century, and the Nemanid dynastic cult will know here a remarkable flourishing, developing a political philosophy synthesized in the centering of *The teachings of Neagoe Basarab* / *Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab* around the concept of *Vidovdan* and the exclusive

continuation of the founding process in the great Serbian monasteries by the North-Danubian Nemanid descendants.

What was the life of the Vlachs, also called Serbs, in Diokleia before the emergence of the Pavlimir dynasty, whose roots are lost in an era of refuge, compression of the population of the northern Roman Balkans facing the Avar-Bulgarian and then Moravian invasions in that area? As evidenced by the transfer of relics to the Dalmatian area, saved from the cities that formed the genealogical centers of the Roman Imperial Illyria, points where almost all the emperors who ruled between Diocletian who gave the name Diokleia, passing Constantine and Justinian, up to Phocas, who is dethroned by his Greek-speaking successor.

Even during the emergence of the Serbian-Serbian dynasty in Trebinje, the pope wrote to Mutimir, presumably a nobleman under the authority or belonging to Pavlimir's structure, that: priests from Diokleia without bishop dependence, through acephaly, must comply with the new diocese of Pannonia founded by Metodije between the Slavs and the Bulgarians of the Moravian area. The status of acephaly, mentioned here, coincides with the absence of the names of bishops for Dubrovnik in the very period under consideration and allows us to get an idea of the religious life of the Balkan Romans peoples who became Vlachs or Serbs through a process of isolation both from the Moravian-Bulgarian pagans of the north and east, as well as from Italy in the west, at a time when the Adriatic became a favorite territory of operations of the Arab pirates, besieging even Ragusa.

Isolated between the Dinaric Alps and the Adriatic Sea, these people will continue to call themselves Romanians, but they will also be called Vlachs, a term in which we see a resurrection of the old Galilean name that Judeo-Christians, Christians of Jewish origin at the beginning of the church gave to themselves, just as in Serbian we see a *servus*, one from Nazareth, an Ebionite, meaning servant of the Lord, another term that the Judeo-Christians used for themselves in antiquity, preserved as a name even by Arab Muslims who thus show their potential origins or directions from which they were most strongly influenced, meaning Muslims are still subject.

In Rome, despite the immense Aryan pressure in Italy and the isolation of the papal city, surrounded by Aryan barbarian military structures, there was a constant awareness of the problem of the Vlachs just crystallizing as an entity, of the Romans isolated among barbarians on the other side of the Adriatic. The mosaic of a beautiful Virgin holding the Holy Scripture from the Basilica of Santa Sabina (Figure 4), in which *ecclesia ex circumcissione* as a phrase joins the term Illyria, symbolically, or the representation in the chapel dedicated to the Illyrian Dalmatians at the Lateran Cathedral in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, the Davidic and Messianic cities, as if flanking the icons of these saints whose relics, partially, the pope of the time, himself Illyrian, wanted to save in case the Protovlach Roman bastion of Serbia Diokleia fell.

Figure 4. *Inscription from the Basilica of Santa Sabina*²⁹

There is confusion. The Byzantines tended to assimilate the land of Hum, the heart of Diokleia, and the area of origin of the dynasty of Pavlimir, with Haemus, although the forms of the name reflect the reality. The military deployments of warrior groups in Diokleia, sent by the kings there under the command of their close relatives or sometimes even their direct ones, to get involved in the conflicts between Bulgarians and Byzantines on both sides depending on political opportunities, create the image in the mind of the Byzantines of nomadism of these Vlach Serbs, which seem to extend from their Diokleia wherever there are mountains to defend in the Balkans. It was a circular movement, depending on military needs, in which a generation once ended its service returned to Diokleia, and then the young generation replaced it, similar and descending directly from the service of the Roman legions in Illyria in the glory days of empire. Thus, in the area of Greece, or the Danube Bulgaria, we have several leaders of the Serbian Vlachs from Diokleia who are deployed, fulfill their mission, and return to Diokleia, being succeeded by other groups, led by other leaders, from other generations, everything is coordinated by the kings of Diokleia in collaboration with the regional Byzantine military structures.

During this time, the royalty of Diokleia, although descended from the family that will have had the preeminence as an organizational and leading authority in the process of settling refugees from the entire Roman Balkans in the VIIth century in the area of Diokleia-Hum, at a time when the organization looked like that of the Roman people refugees from the Lombards in Venice, knows a consolidation in the idea of imposing a dynastic succession from father to son, certainly influenced by the Carolingian model, which reverberated through Rome so far. In parallel with the establishment of dynasties of Moravian or Bulgarian origin in the area, Diokleia was built as a people and will develop a unique language, the old Vlach language, spoken in bilingualism with a Slavic language also spoken by these Vlachs, who are also called Serbs as preserved to this day in Carașova or the valleys of the Serbian Morava and the Serbian Timoc by the Serb inhabitants there, but also by the Serbs called Istro-Romanians, pushed from the same Hum mentioned above at the Italian border and on the island of Veglia, as well as here, waves of migrants got to Meglen. There, merging with Vlach Diokleia inhabitants relocated in Byzantine interest, they will form the

29. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/paullew/5104376384>.

Megleno-Romanians of Serbian origin to this day, bearers of the Nemanid dynastic cult through the ballads of their folklore and the icons of their churches.

The region will remain connected to Rome, and due to its connection with Rome, will collaborate with Byzantium, so that the moment of Constantine Bodin is very well managed by Diokleia, who is satisfied with the recognition of the dynastic right of the Nemanid dynasty to the Bulgarian throne. right used by the Nemanids who will be known as the Asan family, who in writings will define their right and ancestry as Nemanid, also benefiting from the direct presence of St. Sava, the great reorganizer of Romanian Christianity, who will be buried among the Asan family members.

Only in the era of the influence of the Crusades, when the idea of *renovatio*, of rebirth, will gain prominence, Stefan Nemanja will demand the pope to re-establish the kingdom of Diokleia, naming it according to the hagiographic writings left to us by his sons, *old kingdom*. Followed synchronously by the Asan family, who claims the restoration of a Roman empire, using the legal artifice of the ancestry of the Nemanids from the Bulgarian tsars only to have a territory recognized as large as possible, which they, as Vlach Serbs who had their abode in the Hum of Diokleia, the birthplace of Beli Pavlimir, will never be able to fully colonize it.

This phenomenon will be confirmed by the cultic and identity patterns developed by the Vlachs that migrated to Hungary in the XIII-XIV century, and finally settled following feudal colonization special to Hungary, which produced particular results, with great individuality.

This colonization seems to have been started by the war of succession following the extinction of the Arpad dynasty in Hungary. Formed around the dynasties of Serbia, connected in a complex genealogical tree to the kings, network expressed in the unique cult of Holy Kings that emerged after Nemanja, structured around the courtly centers of Serbia and the kingly monasteries, a great number of Serbians, both from the settled stratum and from the nomadic military (Vlachs), came to Hungary.

They were assigned land both in the noble regime, but also in the Vlach knezial regime, in the regions controlled by King Stefan Dragutin, his son Stefan Vladislav II and the Voivode of Transylvania, Ladislaus Kán, who married his daughter to Stefan Vladislav II on which occasion he probably crowned his son-in-law with the Holy Crown of Hungary, as an attentive reading of the ex-communication document that the papacy issued shortly afterward shows.

Important medieval sources, such as the legend of *Roman and Vlachata* or the *Life of Saint Nicodemus*, preserve an epical saga-like memory of this process. The king, which is modeled after Saint Ladislaus of Hungary, bearing an ax (what a Viking image), fights among the Tartars in an image that recalls the fresco themes of the legend of Ladislaus preserved in Szekler churches, and colonizes the Severin Banat, Maramureş, or the lands beyond the Olt. But this king is not Saint Ladislaus of Hungary but Saint Stefan Vladislav II. He is related to a Saint Sava of

Serbia (both the founder of the Serbian autocephalous church, but also Saint Sava the Second, contemporary of Stefan Vladislav II, fused in the texts), he is orthodox but on a throne of Latin tradition, and he engages in a polemic with Italians for the control of the Hungarian kingdom (the Italians being the Neapolitan armies of Charles Robert of Anjou). The Holy Nemanjic kings and hierarchs, as ancestors via patrilinear filiation appear in essential endowments of Moldavian hospodars as Stephen the Great like Voroneț (Figure 5), or Bălinești, where Sf. Sava is represented³⁰. As in Viking Sicily, only Anglo-Norman Viking saints like Thomas Becket³¹ are present in frescoes (Figure 6) in royal chapels of the dynasty, ignoring the older Sicilian saints, so in Moldavia, Serbian Saints are painted, ignoring the old Ruthenian saints that preceded the colonization of the Serbian Vlachs and the establishment of their royal authority.

Figure 5. *St. Sava in a Fresco at Voroneț Monastery, Romania (Foto Personal Collection)*



30. Bogdan Bratu, *Icoana Împărăției-Pictura exterioară a bisericilor Moldovei* (Suceava: Sfântul Ioan cel Nou Monastery, 2010), 21.

31. Booms and Higgs, *Sicily: Culture and Conquest*, 2016, 241.

Figure 6. *Thomas Becket in Fresco in Sicily*³²

In these kinds of texts, which illustrate a way of life similar to that of the societies that produced the sagas, the hero who saves the group is a royal relative of the group. In this way, the Serbian colonists, commonly named in a saga way as Roman and Vlahata, or the Romanovici, are saved by Saint Sava and the King of Hungary, and inherit through marriage in Hungary land in the Carașova and Severin regions, from where they expand to Maramureș following the Tisza, and from there in a different process to Moldavia and Halych, in a move to combat the Angevine pressure by an alliance with the old Varangians spoken above, the Russians of Halych. They were being dismantled as a state by the polish feudal development. Thus, descendants of Serbian and Swedish mobile military societies, Serbian Vlachs and Russian Varangians fused in this north Carpathian area, fusing into a single ethnic reality, the Ruthenian Moldavians of the XV and XVIth century, which continued their expansion in their old ways towards the west.

But what are the signs left to this day of this process? The most striking one is the synonymy of Serb and Vlach³³ as ethnic terms, which was institutionalized in the Nemanjić state and afterward in the Turkish age, where all the old Serbian population of the kingdom that was part of the single genealogical pattern connecting the kingly families to the boyars and their mobile nonsettled clans, the Vlachs, was called Vlach. This is reflected in the designation of all modern Serbs as Vlachs by the nonorthodox nations with which they are in contact. This was an institutional reality, in the ottoman conscriptions and census, in the literature of

32. Ibid.

33. Slavoljub Gacovic, *De la cetățenii romani la populația română în zona Tomocului* (Bucharest: Ethnological Publishing House, 2014), note 2166, 414.

the era, in the Austrian documents concerning the Serbs, in travelers' accounts, in which frequently the terms are designated as synonyms, in constructions such as Serbs called Vlachs, or Rascians called Vlachs, of Vlachs which are Serbs, and all the permutations possible. Some of these accounts note that the Serbs spoke in Raska a Romanic language, that was being marginalized in the context of the dominance of Slavic-speaking Muslim feudalists in the area, colonized there from Bosnia by the Turks.

The second visible aspect is the genealogical and cultic heritage of the Serb-Vlachs colonized in Hungary. In the churches constructed by the Hungarian-Wallachian or Moldavian princes, the Serbian dynastic saints are painted, presented in places that show that they are the national dynasty saints or of the medieval political state. This is accompanied by donations to Serbian monasteries under Ottoman control in Serbia or Mount Athos, in which the Serbian kings are explicitly called ancestors (via the paternal line, that is the terminology) of the hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia.

These influences did not come via the noble elements that came to Wallachia after the fall of the late Despotate of Serbia. These were elements that were brought with the creation of the states, following the colonization of the Serbs in Hungary and the defeat by the Angevins of the Nemanjic party, which ended with a settlement, an armistice by which some areas under Angevin control, and the extra-Carpathian old Cumanian areas were given in administration and colonization to the groups formed by the Vlachs in the resistance led by the Nemanjic Dragutin and Vladislav and by Ladislaus Kan. This was completed afterward by the mixed Vlach-Ruthenian enterprise in Halych-Moldavia, which preserved its Serbian identity, as evidence of the absence of Russian dynastic cults but the presence of Serb dynastic cults, sometimes fused with Hungarian ones, demonstrates.

In the epoch of Stephen the Great, ruler of Moldavia, these early Romanians attempt to be recognized as the revived, although in exile, the kingdom of Serbia. The title of king of Serbia and Moldavia appears applied to the great voivode by Venetian and papal diplomats, and this will be continued up to the mid-XVIIth century, when Istvan Bathory called himself king of Serbia, Transylvania, and voivode of Wallachia and Moldavia³⁴ in the legend of a heraldic shield, continued by the excentric count Gyorgy Brankovics who is called in Hungarian acts a Rascian also called Vlach (the synonymity)³⁵ and Despot of Bacska and Vlaska³⁶ (which designates Serbia, as in the account of the famous French traveler who called the Serbia of Saint Tsar Lazar Vlachia in his account of the battle of

34. Gyula Dudas *A Bacsikai es Bansagi Szerbek Szerplesenek Története 1526-1711* (Zombor, 1896), 16.

35. Ibid, 37.

36. Jozsef Thim, *A Szerbek Története a Legregiebb Kortol 1848-IG-II Kotet Szerebia Története 1367-1804-ig* (Nagy- Becskerekén, 1892), 89.

Kossovopolije or the XV century chronicle of Sebastian of Mamerot who called a Dushanian Serbia, which ruled Serdica, Danemark³⁷, a confusion with the name Dacia, applied a little bit early by Kostenecki to Serbia proper in his life of Despot Stefan Lazarevic.

The statute valachorum, the status of south Danubian Serbs emigrating to Austria makes a noble from Hatzeg, part of the Banat of Severin, note that they, the Serbs, call themselves just like us, although they lost the language during the Ottoman times, as the north Danubian Serb Vlachs lose Slavonic due to ethnic isolation and the colonial structuring of their settlement.

Hungary early designated Transylvania land destined primarily for colonial settlement. The aristocracy, the Szeklers, the Saxons, and the Serb Vlachs were settled following a Carolingian and Ottonian³⁸ pattern of settlement, assisted by knightly crusader orders which supervised the entire process, based on the model the Franks established in their eastern expansion. This colonization implied forms of organizing possession, feudality, and church life that were economically more coherent than the still fragile framework of the Nemanjic state.

This is why the Vlachs flourished in medieval Hungary, and probably this is why here and just here the Slavic language that all Vlachs spoke was assimilated totally into the romanian idiom, a fact that is noticed in the acts of the reformed princes of Transylvania, who address metropolitan Sava Brankovics, urging him to force his coreligionaries, called a people of Serb Vlachs (szerb Olah), to follow religious services in the Romanian (Olah) language, which appears a language that Serbs understand, contrasting the old Slavonic (oszlav) language that was lost³⁹. This is illustrated by a document of donation for Studenica monastery, written by Udriște Năsturel, on behalf of Voivode Mathew Basarab, in which he wrote that they lost the old language, although he tried to revive it even by translating imitation Christi in collaboration with Moldavian Metropolitan Varlaam, both in polemic with the superintendent of the reformed church of Transylvania, descendant of the castellan of Belgrade from the times of Matyas Corvinus, Filip More Csulai, Ioszeff Csulai, a Serb Vlach, whose name More means Maurovlach, a name applied to coastal Serbs since time immemorial, and also to the Bosnian or Moldavian state.

In this context, it is significant to highlight the interference between the Serbian and Romanian languages, exemplified in a very clear manner in a recently identified document⁴⁰ (dated around 1600 - the document is page 438 of

37. Sebastian Mamerot, *A Chronicle of the Crusades* (Taschen: Bibliotheca Universalis, 2016), 124-125.

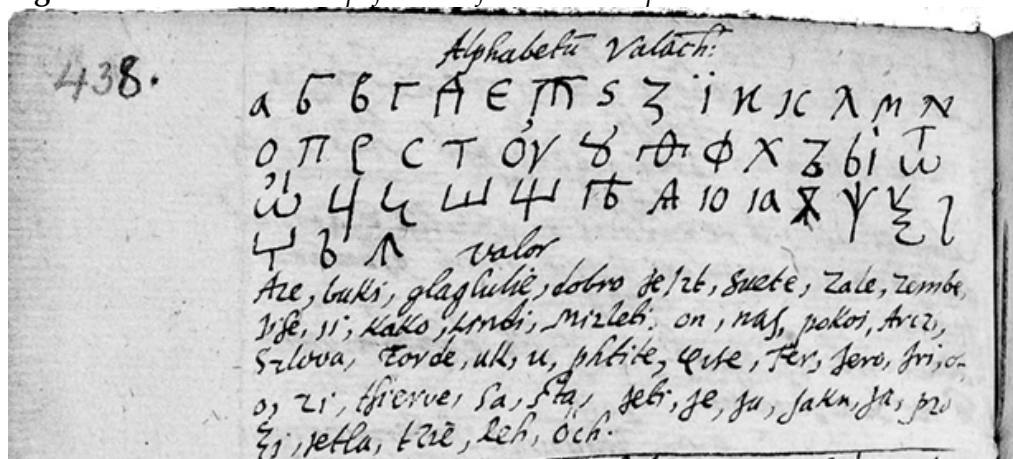
38. Roland Steinacher, et al., *Deutsche Geschichte –die Grosse Bild – Enzyklopadie* (Munchen: Dorling Kindersley GmbH, 2018), 60-61.

39. Dudas, *A Bacskai es Bansagi Szerbek Szerplesenek Tortenete 1526-1711*, 1896, 32.

40. Istvan Vasary, *A Szekely Iras Emlekei – Corpus Monumentorum Alphabeto Siculico Exaratorum (CMASE)* (Budapest: Bolcseszettudomanyi Kutatokozpont, 2021), 502.

the childhood florilegium composed by duke August of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1579-1666) after 1592 and is found Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, with the identification data: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelph. 22 Novices. 8^o, p. 438), in which under the title *Wallachian Alphabet-Alphabetu Valach* (Figure 7- the only clearly known mention to date), obviously derived from the *Cyrillic alphabet*, its letters are listed, including signs for sounds specific to the Romanian language, such as *gi*, after which the use of these letters for each word is exemplified, which very interestingly, belong both to the Serbian language, such as: *glaglulie, dobro*, and to the Romanian language: *zi, ochi*.

Figure 7. Mention and Exemplification of the Valach Alphabet ⁴¹



Heraldry also testifies to this perception, as the Ethiopic heads appear frequently for Serbia, Bosnia, Wallachia, and Moldavia in different heraldic armorials produced in the west⁴², with anti-Semitic and antimaurish undertones, as Mauro implied the Jewish Spain and Maurish problem, echoed in Vlach onomastic also as in the name Saracen (saracene) or in the narrative of Benjamin of Tudela in which the Serbs from Ravanica area (ravno), confused in the text with a place in Greece, are called Jews, as are the Ethiopians in the same text, and described with similar, identical quotations from messianic psalms.

This shows that the Vlachs, as Serbs⁴³, were formed around a nucleus of leadership that formed the basis of the later Nemanjic monarchy, a nucleus that emerged in the coagulation of the community during its compression from the Danubian provinces to the Dinaric Alps during the Avar invasions. This coagulation transformed the already existent network of dynastic power formed during the Roman period, and solidified by Justinian in the creation of a special religious infrastructure for this network of families related to the Illyrian roman

41. Ibid.

42. Dragomir M. Acović, *Heraldika i Srbi* (Beograd: Zavod za Utbenike, 2008), 252-253; Nenad M. Jovanović, *Zastave i Himne i istori Srbije* (Beograd, Cetinje: Svetigora, 2010), 17, 31, 50.

43. Slavoljub Gacovic, *De la cetățenii romani la populația română în zona Tomocului*, 2014.

emperors⁴⁴, called symbolically Justiniana, after him, confirming that the basis in the imperial-providing network of elites from the area is genealogic.

Thus, in the Dinaric mountains, this matrix which always preserved a kind of monarchical rule, gave birth to the Nemanjic dynasty, which emerged from the fusion of the imperial families of the roman Balkans into one family, following a complex process of selection between elites already connected in the Justiniana Prima network, forming as a side result in a symbiotic way as a consequence of the selection process the aristocratically and military structure known as the medieval Serb nation, which was known as the Vlachs when the authors focused on their military nomadism, which continues in mechanism the military service that the Romans of the Balkans did during the Illyrian hegemony over the army and the imperial function, period when the structures that would fuse in the Nemanjic dynastical state were formed and then compressed after the fall of the Danubian limes in Diokleia and Raska.

This compression is shown by the symbolic genealogies of the Nemanjic, that trace their origin to Constantine and other of his imperial relatives, showing different nuclei of memory that fused, and identified with different cultural trends (probably the nucleus honoring Licinius was rather Slavic, and Constantine's was rather Latin), but also in the Davidic beauty that characterizes the entire Nemanja cult.

The Jesse tree, uniquely among orthodox peoples, is modeled into the Nemanjic tree, in a brazen messianic elaboration of the concept of New Israel, which reached its peak in numerous hagiographies in which the Serbs appear as revived, Christian Judaea.

Neagoe Basarab, the last great ruler of Wallachia, constructed his mausoleum in the old capital of Curtea de Argeș, where the relics of the Hungarian queen of Stefan Dragutin, identified as Katalina, wife of Negru Vodă in later XVIIth century texts, a reflection of the above discussed Mauro-Vlach, black Vlach name, concerning this Nemanjic branch as the branch of the Serbs that came to the north, to Hungary, and maybe also to the shortlived Kingdom of Srem established by Dragutin, who was called Serbia (Milutin's state was preferably called Rascia in medieval external sources), but also Wallachia, and presumably Maurovlachia to separate it from Rascia, the Stari Vlah, old southern Vlachia. This queen, which in iconography still wears the ax of the Arpad dynasty, of Saint Ladislau Arpad, and appears as giving favors to the Serbian Vlach nobility, was metaphorized in the XVIII century into a typical Vlach small landowner, and renamed following an attribute of the old catholic patron, Katalina, Catherine, called a lover of God in all here ancient hagiographies, Filothea, but retained the principal elements of her conflict with the catholic branches of the Arpad family, although camouflaged in a rustic legend.

44. L. Barany, *Paulus Utjan-Pal apostol Europaban* (Olive Art Muveszeti Kozkereseti Tarsasag Kiado), 165.

This may be in a symbolic way the girl to whom Ladislaus gave his ax to kill the Tartar or Cuman, in the Szekler frescoes that had echoed into the life of Saint Nicodemus of Tismana.

Around this Saint, and the graves of other rulers of Hungarian Wallachia, Neagoe built a new church, which was modeled after the temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. It had 12 columns to represent the 12 seeds of Israel, and an icon stabbed by Jews was brought to its consecration, an element that was required for a church in medieval Christianity to attain the status of the temple, as shown by a similar icon present in the church of Lateran in Rome, in the period it was an artifact reported to be the altar of the temple in Jerusalem or the Ark of the Covenant was exposed as a relic there, until discredited, it was removed in the XVIIIth century. In the funerary chamber of the church, an extended genealogy of the Nemanjic, starting from Simeon and Sava, through the early kings, and then the Hungarian Wallachian branches, confirms the Nemanjic consciousness of these rulers. Simeon and Sava were placed as flanking the funerary chamber, looking at each other, in a kind of triumphal arch architecture, alluding to the two columns from the entrance to the Temple.

So we have the 12 tribes of Israel, the Temple, and the new Davidic dynasty. This shows a national consciousness emerging for the Serbian Vlachs in the south and north of the Danube, expressed around the basic mechanisms that gave birth to the nation following a process of dynastic and monarchical coagulation of the people as ethnogenetic synchronicity between the formation of the social and ethnic characteristic formed by the emergence of the dynasty as part of this process following the restructuring of the imperial elites of the late roman Balkans.

Conclusions

What happened to the northern, Ruthenian Vlachs, to the Moldavians? Why are there the Moldavians missing from the genealogy of Argeş, from the 12 tribes? It seems that, as in biblical times, two tribes, Judah and Simeon, claimed to be all the 12, so now, the Serbian Vlachs from the Despotate and Hungarian Wallachia claimed to be all Nemanjic Serbia, Zeta, and Moldavia missing. No Balsic, Cernojevic, no Muşat, no Dragoş in the genealogy from Argeş. Although one of the oldest mentions conserved in a manuscript from the National Library in Bucharest mentions Stefan Dragutin as the Hungarian king of Zeta, showing that many of the people colonized in Hungary during the short Nemanjic rule there, came from the hearth of medieval vlachdome, in Raska and Diokleia, and that Zeta supported Dragutin.

Zeta may be missing because the Brankovic line of Neagoe's wife had authority in a symbolic way there in late Christian Balkan history, before the Ottoman expansion, but what about the lost tribes, the Ruthenian Vlachs? Why

are they missing, even though Neagoe's son in law was the nephew of Stephan the Great, Stefan the Younger, who symbolically was killed by a plot which had its perpetrators in the powerful Armenian Polish community from Moldavia on the day of the celebration of Saint Sava the Serb, as it is written on his gravestone from Putna monastery, and who continued his grandfather's politics of Serbian succession and *translation imperia* of Dusanian Serbia to Moldavia, and also the donations to the Serbian and Athonite monasteries in which they rivaled the Wallachians, preserving in Moldavia ancient Serbian royal artifacts like the epitaph of the empress Eufemia, the great poet, which is still kept at Putna.

This shows that although they still considered themselves Serbs, the Vlachs of Moldavia and the north Carpathians were already something else. As the 10 lost tribes became the Samaritans that considered themselves to be worthy of rebuilding the temple with Ezra and Neemia but were not received, because an ethnic and linguistic, and religious change, so the northern Vlachs had no place in Neagoe's Serbian Vlach ethnicity and envisioned unified Kingdom.

What was happening to the north Vlachs? They were shifting language. As shown in the Slavic language of Moldavian documents, although the oldest ones have a Serbian redaction, as time passes they become more Ruthenian Slavic. The names of the Moldavian boyars although preserving a system of Serbian Vlach onomastics, shift towards the Ruthenian form. Stefan becomes Stetsko, Radul becomes rare, and then Ruthenised. Although claiming to the Serb and venerating Serbian saints, as shown by the lists of saints commemorated in Putna as shown in the Palinodia of Zacharia Kopistensky, they traveled for study in Liov and Ruthenia. They entered the ranks of Polish Ruthenian nobility. The Movilă family, although still painting the Serbian saints as national saints at Sucevița and donating manuscripts of the parallel lives of Serbian Kings and Archbishops written by Saint Danilo to their endowments, considered themselves Ruthenian and Polish in nationality, as emphasized by the writings of Peter Mogyla.

In a preface written by Peter Mogyla for a Triodion dedicated to his brother, voivode of Moldavia, Peter Mogyla writes about the Ruthenian identity of medieval Moldavian society comparing the Serbian Vlach component of this population to the Ruthenian one using the paradigm of symphony between Abraham and the gentile kings of Sodom, or the relationship between Melkizedek and other gentile kings from the early period of the history of the Jewish people. Thus, Moldavia has a Serbian Vlach origin, mentioned in the idea of holy rulership as inherited in humility and biological genealogical succession, but a Polish, Ruthenian mission, as part of the Polish nation and Polish republic.

The same is found in Maramureș, where the Serbian Vlachs switched to Ruthenian language as language of conversation beginning in the XVIth century, although as late as the XVIII century a Ruthenian speaking noble of Serbian Vlach origin, Ioszeł Sztojka, orthodox archbishop of Maramaros, intitled himself exarch of Pech, the seat of the Serbian patriarch, but wrote Pech in its Ruthenian phonetic

form, Pochaev, hinting at a clue for the background by which the great Russian monastery of today is called by this name⁴⁵, monastery founded by a saint which was made a monk in Putna, Jov Pochaev, and by a Polish nobleman of Moldavian origine, the Turkul family⁴⁶ of ministers which appear in the hospodar's royal council from the XIVth century, which has a strong Ruthenian identity, but kept connections to Moldavia and is responsible with the annexion of northern Moldavia, the Chernivtsi, Suceava and Neamț counties to Poland in the period of Constantine Cantemir, after Sobiesky's action, and which was continued by Halych Bukovina in the Habsburg period in which the Turkul's were great builders of new modern Chernivtsi although they changed religion.

But what about the Vlachs further west? Till connected to the Maramureș-Bereg and Moldavian bases, they probably contributed by their interaction with their relatives from the Sas-Drag group of nobles to the Ruthenisation in the identity of late Polish Moldavia and then of Habsburg Bukovina. Although the name of the herb, Drag, refers to the Serb noble Dragoș who married, in Vidin, his daughter to the Bulgarian vassal of Stefan Milutin, this herb became the center for the national Russian consciousness of Ruthenians in the premodern era and the basis of Ukrainian national revival later on after the Habsburg emancipation and the destructuring of earlier Russian-polish mentalities.

In Hungary proper, religious unions of some Serbian Vlachs with Rome following the Habsburg expansion mirrored the shift in identity in Halych, many of the Greek catholic Vlach leaders of Hungary being trained in theology in Munkacs or Lviv, and developed the Dacian-Roman continuity theory, which was instrumentalized for the confessional battle fought between Austrian Jesuits and the Serbian patriarchy of Karlowitz for Transylvania, Banat, and Western Wallachia.

This patriarchy, formed as a direct consequence of the *Statuta Valachorum*, was dependent on Russian support for its survival, and so replaced the traditional bilingualism of the religious life, influenced by the growing slavisation coming from the Balkans due to Slavic Bosnian being the lingua Franca of Muslim Turkish rule in Serbia, this being the factor in the division of modern Serbian and Romanian nationalities in the Habsburg empire and afterward in modern Romania. The Serbs, the Raska Vlachs of Stari Vlah, spoke Bosnian Slavic, as witnessed by Evlia Celebi who speaks about the Bosnia that the Montenegrin Serbs spoke replacing their old Vlaski, which might have been a Romanian that was believed to be the tribal language of those Serbs, and the patriarchy of Karlowitz joined to this, influenced by the Yugoslav ideas promoted by the Zagreb intelligence in a process mirroring the emergence of the Dacian-Roman ideology in Transylvania.

45. *Cviato - Ispenchia Poceaiavskaia Lavra-Istoriceskoe Povestvovanie*, 2008, 78-79.

46. Iuri Nikolisin, *Lviv. Misto, sto nadihae* (Apriori Kniga, 2016), 116.

The Moldavians of Bukovina and Moldavia properly adopted the Ruthenian identities, first Russian and then Ukrainian (the Young Ruthenians), or the Dacian-Roman one, and in Bessarabia, they developed a no-national Russian identity, which subsists to this day.

Bibliography

- Acović, Dragomir M. *Heraldika i Srbi*. (Heraldry and Serbs.) Beograd: Zavod za Utbenike, 2008.
- Barany, L. *Paulus Utjan-Pal apostol Europaban*. (Paul Utjan-Pal Apostle European.) Olive Art Muveszeti Kozkereseti Tarsasag Kiado.
- Bicsok, Z., and Z. Orban. „Isten segedelmevel udvaromat megepittem...” *Tortenelmi családok Kastelyai Erdelyben*. ("With God's help, I built my yard..." Tortenelmi families in Kastelya Erdely.) Csikszereda: Gutenberg Kiado, 2012.
- Booms, Dirk, and Peter Higgs. *Sicily: Culture and Conquest*. The British Museum Press, 2016.
- Bratu, Bogdan. *Icoana Împărăției-Pictura exterioară a bisericilor Moldovei*. (Icon of the Kingdom Exterior Painting of Moldovan Churches.) Suceava: Sfântul Ioan cel Nou Monastery, 2010.
- Constantin Porfirogenetul. *De administrando imperii*. (On the Administration of Government.)
- Courroux, Pierre. "Philippe Mousket, Aubri de Troisfontaines et la date de composition de la Chronique rimée." (Aubri de Troisfontaines and the Date of Composition of the Rhymed Chronicle.) *Medioevo Romanzo* 39, no. 2 (2015): 419-434.
- Curta, Florin. *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500-1200*. Cambridge Medieval Textbooks.
- Curta, Florin. "Imaginea vlahilor la cronicarii cruciadei a IV-a. Până unde răzbate ecoul discuțiilor intelectuale de la Constantinopol?" (The Image of the Vlachs in the Chronicles of the Fourth Crusade. How Far Does the Echo of the Intellectual Discussions in Constantinople Reach?) *Arheologia Moldovei* XXXVIII (2015): 25-68.
- Cviato - Ispenchia Poceaiavskaia Lavra-Istoriceskoe Povestvovanie*, 2008.
- Dougherty, Martin J. *Norse Myths – Viking Legends of Heroes and Gods*. Amber Books Ltd., 2016.
- Dougherty, Martin J. *The Dark' Ages – From the Sack of Rome to Hastings*. Amber Books Ltd., 2019.
- Dudas, Gyula. *A Bacsikai es Bansagi Szerbek Szerplesenek Tortenete 1526-1711*. (The Tortonete of the Szerples of the Serbs of Bacska and Bansag 1526-1711.) Zombor, 1896.
- Gacovic, Slavoljub. *De la cetățenii romani la populația română în zona Tomocului*. (From the Romanian Citizens to the Romanian Population in the Tomoc Area (I-XIV Centuries)). Bucharest: Ethnological Publishing House, 2014.
- Gorovei, Ștefan S., and Maria Magdalena Szekely. "Moldova și Regalitatea sacră." (Moldova and Sacred Royalty.) In Dumitru Năstase, Ștefan S. Gorovei, et al. (eds.), *DE POTESTATE. Semne și expresii ale puterii în Evul Mediu românesc/studii și articole*, 179-214. Iași: Alexandru Ioan Cuza University Publishing House, 2006.
- Hageneder, O., W. Maleczek, and A. A. Strnad (Eds.) *Die Register Innozenz' III*. (The Registers of Innocent III.) Vol. 2. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979.

- Jovanovici, Nenad M. *Zastave i Himne i istori Srbije*. (Flags and Hymns and the History of Serbia.) Beograd, Cetinje: Svetigora, 2010.
- Kollar, Tibor. *Közepkori művészet a Szamos mentén II. Templomok a Mezősegtől Beszterce-Naszodig*. (Art of the Közep period on the Szamos Mont II. Churches from Mezősegtől to Beszterce-Naszod.) Budapest: Iskola Alapítvány Kiado, Kolossvár –Moller Istvan Alapítvány, 2021.
- Kovacs, Zsuzsanna, Miko Zsuzsanna, and Szabo Csaba (szerkesztette). *Erdely: 1000 év öröksége*. Cluj-Napoca: Budapest and the Foundation for School Publishing House, 2020.
- Mamerot, Sebastien. *A Chronicle of the Crusades*. Taschen: Bibliotheca Universalis, 2016.
- Metropolitan Mitrofan of Vidin. Metropolitan of the Serbian Church signing a document for Dušan's Vatoped together with other Serbian synod colleagues in 1345, source Bistra Nikolova. *Ustroistvo i upravljenje na Bălgarskata Pravoslavna Zărkvă*, IX-XIV vek, Sofia, 1997.
- Nikolisin, Iuri. *Lviv. Misto, sto nadihae*. (Lviv. City, One Hundred Nadigae.) Apriori Kniga, 2016.
- Panaiteescu, P. P. *Cronicle slavo-romîne din sec. XV-XVI, publicate de Ion Bogdan*. (The Slavic-Romanian Chronicles from the XV-XVI, Published by Ion Bogdan.) Ediție revăzută și completată. București: Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1959.
- Parte Occidentale dell Europa, Descritta e Dedicata Dal P. Cosmografo Coronelli, Ail Illustrissimo Signore Giovanni Da Mula, Senatore Amplissimo Nella Serenissima Republica di Venetia, 1690, Budapest, Stiefel Kft., 2004.
- Pippidi, Andrei. *Documente privind locul românilor în sud-estul Europei*. (Documents on the Place of Romanians in South-Eastern Europe.) Academia Română, 2018.
- Pirivatric, Srdjan. *The Boyana Church Portraits. A Contribution to the Prosopography of Sebastokrator Kaloyan*. Available at: https://www.Academia.edu/6556739/The_Boyana_Church_Portraits_Contribution_tothe_Prosopography_of_Sebastokrator_Kaloya.
- Pirivatric, Srdjan. *Une hypothese sur l'origine du Tsar de Bulgarie Constantin Asen-Tich*. (A Hypothesis on the Origin of the Tsar of Bulgaria Constantin Asen-Tich.) Belgrad: Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'études byzantines XLVI, 2009.
- Steinacher, Roland, et al. *Deutsche Geschichte –die Grosse Bild – Enzyklopadie*. (German History - The Big Picture – Encyclopedia.) Munchen: Dorling Kindersley GmbH, 2018.
- Thim, Jozsef. *A Szerbek Története a Legregiebb Kortól 1848-IG-II Kotet Szerebia Története 1367-1804-ig*. (The Története of the Serbs is the Oldest Age 1848-IG-II Kotet The Története of Serbia 1367-1804.) Nagy- Becskerekén, 1892.
- Vasary, Istvan. *A Székely Iras Emlekei – Corpus Monumentorum Alphabeto Siculico Exaratorum (CMASE)*. (A Székely Iras Emlekei – Corpus of Monuments Engraved in the Sicilian Alphabet (CMASE).) Budapest: Bolcseszettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2021.
- Zivkovic, Tibor. *Portreti srpskih vladar: IX-XII vek*. (Portraits of Serbian Rulers: IX-XII Centuries.) Beograd, 2006.