

kullanılmakta ise de, yine bazı hata ve eksikliklerin olduğu göz önünde tutularak, çağdaşı olan diğer kaynaklarla karşılaştırmak gerekmektedir.

Eserin kaynaklarını Bizans tarihçilerinden Nikephoros Gregoras, Türk kaynakları, devrin seyahatnameleri ve kendi kişisel gözlemleri teşkil etmektedir⁸.

GEORGİOS SPHRANTZES (1401-1478)

Georgios Sphrantzes 30 Nisan 1401 yılında İstanbul'da doğmuştur. Uzun yıllar Palaiologos hanedanına hizmet etmiş olan bir aileden gelmektedir. Kendisi de 16 yaşından itibaren sarayda bulunmuş ve daha sonra değişik görevlerle bu hanedana hizmet etmiştir. Elçilik görevi ile 1424 yılında Sultan II. Murad'a gönderilmiş; 1426'da Turhan Paşa'yı ziyaret etmiş, 1447 yılında Trabzon'a ve 1448'de Sultan II. Murad'a Konstantin'in tahta çıkışını haber vermek üzere gitmiştir. Ayrıca Patras, Isparta, Sisam gibi yerlerde valilik yapmıştır. 1451 yılında İstanbul'a dönen Sphrantzes'e *Megalos Logothetis* unvanı verilmiştir. Şehrin Türkler tarafından fethinde İstanbul'da bulunan tarihçi bir ara esir düşmüşse de daha sonra özgürlüğüne kavuşarak Mora'ya kaçmış ve burada Thomas Palaiologos'un hizmetine girmiştir. Mora'nın zaptından sonra da Korfu'ya kaçarak geri kalan ömrünü burada geçirmiştir. Oğlu İoannes, Sultan Mehmed tarafından ihanet ettiği ileri sürülerek öldürülmüş, kızı Thamar ise Sultanın haremindedir ölmüştür.

Sphrantzes'in adı altında iki kitap bulunmaktadır. Birincisi *Minus Kroniği* 1401-1477 yılları arasındaki olaylardan bahseder. İkincisi *Majus Kroniği*'dir ki, 1258-1481 yılları arasında cereyan eden olayları içine alır. Son zamanlara her iki kitabın Sphrantzes'e ait olduğu sanılmakta ise de, ikincisinin 16. yüzyılda Monemvasia Metropolitisi Makarios Melissenos tarafından yazılmış olduğu eserin Rumence çeviren Grecu tarafından ispat edilmiştir. *Majus Kroniği*'ne göre daha sade bir dille yazılmış olan *Minus Kroniği* Palaiologoslar hanedanının tarihi sayılabilir. Bizans'ı ilgilendirdiği nispete Türk tarihinden bahsedilmiştir. Türklerle ve Latinlere karşı sonsuz bir düşmanlık besleyen Sphrantzes, eserinde tarafsız kalamamakta ve mahiyetinde çalıştığı Palaiologoslar hanedanını övmektedir. Bununla beraber Bizans tarihçileri arasında en sağlam kronoloji Sphrantzes'de bulunur. Sphrantzes eserini yazarken daha çok kendi hatıralarını ve devletin resmi evraklarına başvurmuştur.

16. yüzyılda Makarios Melissenos tarafından yazılan *Majus Kroniği* dört kitaba ayrılmıştır.

Birinci kitap, İstanbul'un Palaiologoslar hanedanı tarafından ele geçirildiği 1261'den 1425, yani II. Manuel'in saltanatının sonuna kadar cereyan eden olaylardan bahsetmektedir.

İkinci ve üçüncü kitaplarda, VIII. İoannes ve IX. Konstantinos'un icraatı anlatılırken Osmanlı Devleti'nin kuruluşundan itibaren Türk tarihinden de Bizans-Türk münasebeti şeklinde bahsolunmaktadır.

Dördüncü kitapta 1453'te İstanbul'un Türkler tarafından alınması ve Mora'nın zaptı anlatılmakta, olaylar 1478 yılına kadar getirilmektedir.

Katharevusa ile kaleme alınmış olan *Majus Kroniği*'nin kaynakları *Minus Kroniği*, Georgios Akropolites, Niketas Khoniates, Nikephoros Gregoras, Laronikos Khalkokondyles ve Monemvasyalı Dorotheus'un kroniğidir.⁹

MİKHAİL KRİTOVULOS (1410-?)

Çağdaşı olan diğer tarihçiler gibi Kritovulos'un da hayatı hakkında fazla bir bilgiye sahip değiliz. İmroz'un ileri gelen ailelerinden birine mensuptur. 1410 yılında doğduğu tahmin edilmektedir. Kendisinin anlattığı üzere, İstanbul'un zaptından sonra, Bizans İmparatorluğu'na bağlı adalar halkı, Eğriboz, Venedik, Girit gibi Venedik ve Cenevizlerin hâkimiyeti altında bulunan adalara göç etmeye hazırlandıklarından Kritovulos, Limni ve İmroz adası halkını göç etmelerine gerek olmadığı konusunda ikna etmiş, ayrıca İmroz'un ileri gelenlerinden Fatih'e bir heyet göndermiş olduğundan ada halkına dokunulmamıştı. Kritovulos'un takip ettiği bu uzlaştırıcı tutum yüzünden İmroz'un yönetimi 1456'da kendisine verilmiştir. Kritovulos bu arada 1467 yılında Papa III. Kallistus'un adayı İtalyanların eline geçirmek için sarf ettiği gayretleri boşa çıkarmıştır. 1463'te Osmanlı-Venedik Savaşı patlak verdiğinde İmroz geçici olarak Venediklilerin eline geçince 1466'da Kritovulos İstanbul'a göç etmiştir. Daha sonra Halkidikya yarımadasında meşhur Aynaroz Manastırı'na çekilerek burada keşiş olarak ölmüştür.

Tarihçi, *Historia* adını taşıyan eserini Fatih Sultan Mehmed'e ithaf etmiş ve önsözünde de belirttiği üzere Sultanın başarılarını anlatmak amacıyla kaleme almıştır. Eser 1451-1467 yılları arasındaki olaylardan bahsetmekte olup beş kitaba ayrılmıştır. İlk dört kitabın her biri üçer yıllık, beşinci kitap ise dört yıllık Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in icraatını anlatmaktadır. İstanbul'un fethi sırasında şehirde bulunmayan tarihçi, daha sonra olayların görgü tanıklarından dinlemek suretiyle İstanbul'un muhasara ve zaptını etraflı bir şekilde anlatmaktadır. Özellikle Fatih'in 1454-1455 Sırbistan ve 1462 Eflak seferlerine

Orkhān's reign, at least as regards his relations with the various Christian powers. It is all the more valuable because of the lack of many good Turkish sources on the period.

For the second half of the fourteenth century we are dependent on the Byzantine side on Phrantzes, Ducas, and Chalcocondyles. All three of them, writing after the Ottoman Conquest, were interested in Ottoman history; and all three had some experience of the Sultan's Court before the Conquest. But while they are reliable on Byzantine affairs, where they had been able to consult the city records up to the Conquest, for early Ottoman affairs they accepted the legends current in their time about the dynasty, giving it an exalted origin and various legendary accretions of doubtful credibility. Indeed, Chalcocondyles can be blamed more than anyone else for a fanciful account of Ottoman origins which was accepted in the West for many centuries.

Phrantzes belonged to the Byzantine nobility and was married to a connection of the Imperial family. As a young man he was patronized by the Emperor Manuel II, and he became the most intimate friend of Manuel's son, Constantine, the last Emperor. He represented each of them on different occasions at the Sultan's Court, going once also as special envoy of the Empress Helena, Manuel's wife, to Sultan Murād II, with whom she claimed kinship, apparently because she was related to Despina of Serbia, his grandfather's favourite wife. Phrantzes learnt at the Turkish Court how to use Turkish titles; and the long account that he inserts on early Turkish history is derived, he says, partly from written sources but mainly from what 'wise men'—presumably the Sultan's elder courtiers—told him. He reproduces roughly the same legends as Chalcocondyles. He shows, however, considerable ignorance about the Qur'ān and the Prophet. For the events of his own lifetime Phrantzes is a valuable guide, because of his close connection with the Imperial family. Alone of the Byzantine historians he was present at the siege and fall of Constantinople. He escaped from the city alive and was able to ransom his wife; but his two children were captured and put to death by the Turks. His account of the last years and the end of the Empire is that of an honest well-informed and intelligent eyewitness, but is coloured by a bitter hatred of the Turks.

The historian Ducas was also of good family. His grandfather had been involved in a conspiracy in 1341 and had fled to the court of the *amīr* of Aydın; and it seems likely that Ducas was born and grew up in Turkish-controlled territory, as his grandfather refused to return when he could to Europe, believing that the Turks would soon conquer the whole Balkan peninsula, so he might just as well stay in Asia. Ducas seems to have spent some time in Smyrna, and his geographical knowledge gives especial value to his account of the Turkish wars in that district in the fourteenth century. Ducas nowhere attempts to give a consecutive history of the Turks, but he

HISTORIANS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

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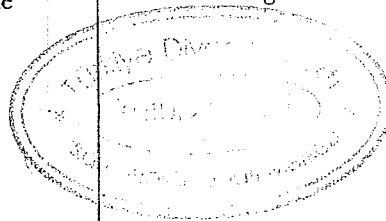
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s. 274-275

often describes Turkish institutions. In particular he gives the first full account of the organization of the Corps of Janissaries. His literary style might almost be called journalese; it is straightforward and readable, though not always elegant. He had his prejudices. He regarded the Turks as the great enemy, and he was not fair to the Greeks who did not share his view that an alliance with the West must be sought, whatever the religious price. Otherwise, as far as we can judge, he is a remarkably careful and reliable historian.

Chalcocondyles conceived of his work more as a history of the growing Turkish Empire than of Byzantium. He, like Ducas, did not like the Turks and believed that Byzantium should have allied itself with the West; but he was not a bigot and he had wide interests. Though the Turks form his main theme he makes lively if inaccurate digressions into western European history, and, in a not unsuccessful imitation of Herodotus, shows some skill in arranging his narrative so that it is never dull, though his style, too obviously based on Thucydides, is selfconscious and unattractive. As a historian his importance is that he is the first to attempt a history of the Turks. For early Ottoman history he seems to have known the same legends as Phrantzes, probably derived, similarly, from traditions current at the time at the Turkish Court, which was anxious to give the dynasty a grander origin than it actually possessed. He seems to have been the first extant historian to pretend that 'Osman was the great-grandson of Duzalp, chief of the Oghuz nation, also to tell of the dream that turned Ertoghul into a good Muslim. These stories appear in more or less the same form in the Ottoman writers of the sixteenth century. We obviously cannot regard him as a trustworthy source on early Ottoman history, especially as his chronology is sometimes vague and even inconsistent; but he does probably reproduce fairly accurately what the Turks of the fifteenth century had begun to believe about their past. His descriptions of the Ottoman financial and military organization of his time can be taken as reliable.

Critobulos is of a lesser stature than the other three. Like Chalcocondyles he determinedly copied the style of Thucydides, inventing long orations to put into his characters' mouths; but his language is even more forced. His importance is that he belonged to the party among the Greeks who saw that Ottoman dominion had come to stay and who believed in adjusting themselves as best as possible to altered circumstances. He clearly intended that his work should give pleasure to the Conquering Sultan, who features throughout as a gallant and gracious monarch, well disposed to his Christian subjects. In his account of the siege and fall of the City he is moved by the courage of the Greeks, but suggests that it was misplaced and wasted. But as a historian he is careless and inaccurate. He is useful because of some of the details that he is able to provide about the Siege from the Turkish viewpoint; and his account of the Sultan's



MS Ħimş, Orthodox Metropolitanate – 20 (undated; the *Martyrdom* is an addition to the original MS)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES

Ṭumā Bīṭār, *Al-qiddīsūn al-mansiyyūn fi l-turāth al-Anṭākī*, Beirut, 1995, pp. 263-64 (a helpful paraphrase of the text), 268-70 (notes on the text); 494-500 (compares the *synaxarion* entry for Iṣḥāq of Ḥamā with the *Martyrdom* of Rizqallāh of Tripoli)

J.-M. Sauget, *Premières recherches sur l'origine et les caractéristiques des synaxaires melkites (XI^e-XVII^e siècles)* (*Subsidia hagiographica* 45), Brussels, 1969 (reproduces the notices for the commemorations of Rizq Allāh of Tripoli and Iṣḥāq of Ḥamā from MS Paris Ar. 254, at pp. 344-45 and 427-29, respectively)

Ḥabīb Zayyāt, 'Shuhadā' al-Naṣrāniyya fi l-Islām', *Al-Mashriq* 36 (1938) 459-65, p. 461 (reports the notice about Rizq Allāh in MS Paris Ar. 254, and attempts – probably incorrectly – to identify the *nā'ib* Azdemur and date the story to 1363-65)

Mark N. Swanson

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

George Sphrantzes 182632

Geörgios Sphrantzēs

DATE OF BIRTH 30 August 1401
PLACE OF BIRTH Probably Constantinople
DATE OF DEATH After May 1477
PLACE OF DEATH Corfu

26 Ağustos 2015

BIOGRAPHY

Biographical data referring to George Sphrantzes are entirely derived from his own memoirs. He belonged to an aristocratic family of late Byzantium with close connections to the imperial court, where his uncle served as instructor of the later Despot and Emperor Constantine XI. This circumstance forms the background of his personal relationship with Constantine from childhood onwards. After the death of his parents, Sphrantzes entered palace service as a chamberlain (*kelliōtēs*) to Manuel II in 1418, a function he exercised until the death of the old emperor in 1425. He thus obtained an excellent insight into the mechanisms of late Palaeologan politics and the various stances taken towards the Ottomans.

During the absence of John VIII in the West, Sphrantzes took part in a mission to Sultan Murad II to arrange peace between the Ottomans and Byzantium in February 1424. After spending some time in the retinue of John VIII, he changed to the service of the Despot Constantine, whom he accompanied during the wars of the late 1420s against the Frankish rulers on the Peloponnese. He fell into Frankish captivity for several months in spring 1429 during the Greek siege of Patras, but finally received the governorship of this city after its surrender in 1430. In the early 1430s and the early 1440s, Sphrantzes undertook several diplomatic missions on behalf of his master, among them embassies to the sultan, to Constantinople (where he received the honorific title of *Prōtobestiariētēs* in 1432), to Athens and to Lesbos. In 1436, he was sent to the sultan to support the position of Constantine in his struggle against his brother Theodore, despot of Mistras, and, during the emperor's stay at the Council of Florence, he assisted his master, who had been appointed regent in Constantinople (1437-40).

529-536