



Summary :

Theodore Mangaphas' rebellion broke out in 1188-1189, when the rebel unsuccessfully tried to establish an independent rule in Philadelphia. In 1204-1205, after Constantinople fell to the Latins, Mangaphas appeared again laying claims to the area. His rebellion failed and, after his forces were defeated by the Latins, his land was incorporated into the newly established State of Nicaea.

Date

first phase: ca.1188-1189 / second phase: 1204-1205

Geographical Location

Philadelphia

1. Historical framework

During the reign of the [Angelid dynasty](#) the internal corruption and economic distress of the Byzantine Empire, which had started to appear after the death of Emperor Basil II (976-1025), became clear. The inhabitants of [Asia Minor](#), due to heavy taxes imposed by the central administration as well as arbitrary confiscations of properties and misappropriations by state officials and tax collectors, were living in squalor, which made them distance themselves from [Constantinople](#).

In the same period, the local administration was clearly more powerful than the relatively weak central administration, as the administrative system of the provinces became increasingly dependent on local landowners. Therefore, [Theodore Mangaphas](#), the governor of [Philadelphia](#), started to assume power and be supported by the inhabitants of the area. The latter hoping that they would be relieved from tax burdens encouraged Mangaphas to establish an independent rule in their area.

2. The rebellions of Theodore Mangaphas

2.1. The rebellion of 1188-1189

Around 1188 the local official and landowner Theodore Mangaphas (also known as "Morotheodoros", mean. Simple Theodore) from Philadelphia attempted for the first time to establish an independent rule in the region of Philadelphia.¹ With the support of the inhabitants of the city and the largest part of [Lydia](#) as well as with the military help from a great number of [Armenian](#) colonists of the Troad and the Skamandros (Scamander) river he proclaimed himself emperor and minted silver coins depicting his figure.²

Emperor Isaac II Angelus (1185-1195, 1203-1204) campaigned in June 1189 against the rebel. Isaac besieged Mangaphas in Philadelphia, but not before long the critical circumstances prevailing in the Balkan provinces due to the arrival of the [crusaders](#) of the third Crusade led the emperor to come to terms with the revolter. Pressed by the imperial forces, Mangaphas was forced to decline the imperial title and give his children hostages to Isaac II. However, he continued staying in Philadelphia. Around 1193 the newly appointed [doux](#) of the [theme](#) of [Thrakesion](#) and [megas domestikos](#), Basil Vatatzes, turned against the former rebel by striking at the heart of his political power base and disrupting his movement. Some of Mangaphas' followers were bribed and others were arrested by Vatatzes, who in this way made Mad Theodore abandon the region of Philadelphia and seek shelter among the [Seljuks](#) in order to avoid being arrested.³

The new sultan of [Ikonion](#), Kaykhusraw I (1192-1197, 1204/5-1211), refused to offer him army, but allowed him to recruit [Türkmen](#) nomads as mercenaries in order to claim again the territories he had been forced to abandon. So, in 1195-1196 Mangaphas returned to the Byzantine lands and raided the valley of the Skamandros in [Phrygia](#), [Chonai](#) and [Caria](#), thus causing extensive damages. What is more, in Chonai he permitted the Türkmen mercenaries to sack the renowned [church of Archangel Michael](#) and destroy its mosaics. Towards the late 1196 the new emperor, Alexios III Angelus (1195-1203), bribed Kaykhusraw in order to get Mangaphas, on condition that the latter would not be harmed. The rebel was imprisoned.⁴



2.2. The rebellion of 1204-1205

Mangaphas came again to the forefront in 1204, after [Constantinople fell to the Latins](#), and attempted once again to establish an independent rule in Philadelphia.⁵ Those attempts were prevented by [Theodore I Laskaris](#), the [emperor of Nicaea](#), who was trying to impose himself as the legal heir in western Asia Minor. However, the mercenaries of the Asia Minor revolter were not decisively defeated by the Byzantine troops but by the forces of Henry of Flandres (Henri de Flandres et Hainault, 1206-1216), the subsequent Latin emperor of Constantinople. In a battle near [Adramyttion](#) (March 19, 1205), the ill-disciplined troops of Mangaphas were dispersed by the expeditionary corps of the Western knights, while Mangaphas had to retreat again. When Theodore I Laskaris was informed about Mangaphas' defeat, he incorporated the rebel's possessions into the state of Nicaea. That was the end of the rebellious movement of Theodore Mangaphas.

3. Consequences

Mangaphas' movements, within the general framework of the separationist movements that broke out in the 11th and 12th centuries, deteriorated the problems connected with the internal structure of the state and the defence against external threats. Exhausted due to those internal separationist movements and the continuous external attacks, the Byzantine Empire fell to the Latins in 1204.

Nevertheless, even after Constantinople fell to the West, the movement of Theodore Mangaphas continued to create problems for Theodore Laskaris. As it happened with other separationist and rebellious movements that broke out in the provinces in that period, the emperor of Nicaea found difficulty in consolidating his power in western Asia Minor. This situation remained the same until the reign of [John III Vatatzes](#), who adopted strict measures in order to increase the state power and the control of court aristocracy and provincial rulers, two of the main factors responsible for the emergence of separationist and rebellious movements.

1. Σαββίδης, Α.Γ.Κ., *Βυζαντινά στασιαστικά και αυτονομιστικά κινήματα στα Δωδεκάνησα και τη Μικρά Ασία, 1189-1240 μ.Χ.: Συμβολή στη μελέτη της υστεροβυζαντινής προσωπογραφίας και τοπογραφίας την εποχή των Αγγέλων, των Λασκαρίδων της Νίκαιας και των Μεγαλοκομνηνών του Πόντου* (Athens 1987), p. 174, claims that the first attempt of Theodore Mangaphas to establish himself as an independent ruler of Philadelphia was made in 1189-1190.

2. A large number of silver coins found in Aphrodisias of Caria is attributed by Hendy, M.F., *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300-1450* (Cambridge 1985), p. 438, n. 302, to Theodore Mangaphas, while Pochitonov, E., "Théodore-Pierre Asène ou Théodore Mancaphas?", *Byzantinoslavica* 42 (1981), pp. 52-57, attributes them to the Bulgarian ruler Peter Asen.

3. Σαββίδης, Α.Γ.Κ., *Βυζαντινά στασιαστικά και αυτονομιστικά κινήματα στα Δωδεκάνησα και τη Μικρά Ασία, 1189-1240 μ.Χ.: Συμβολή στη μελέτη της υστεροβυζαντινής προσωπογραφίας και τοπογραφίας την εποχή των Αγγέλων, των Λασκαρίδων της Νίκαιας και των Μεγαλοκομνηνών του Πόντου* (Athens 1987), p. 175, claims that Basil Vatatzes was sent against the revolter in the early 1190. The same view is expressed by Cheynet, J.-C., "Philadelphie, un quart de siècle de dissidence, 1182-1206", in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Byzantina Sorbonensia 4, Paris 1984), p. 47.

4. According to Cheynet, J.-C., *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963-1210)* (Byzantina Sorbonensia 9, Paris 1990), p. 135, Theodore Mangaphas was imprisoned in that period and was released in 1200. The same view about the imprisonment of the rebel is shared by Brand, C.M., "Mankaphas, Theodore", in Kazhdan, A. (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 2 (New York – Oxford 1991), p. 1286.

5. According to Angold, M., *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Lascarids of Nicaea (1204-1261)* (Oxford 1975), p. 61, Mangaphas took control of Philadelphia in the spring of 1205 and was joined by Constantine Laskaris, the brother of Theodore I, in his military operations against the Latins. On the other hand, Οικονομίδης, Ν., "Η Δ' Σταυροφορία και η Άλωση της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, 1204", in *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους* 9 (Athens 1980), p. 39, suggests that Theodore Mangaphas managed to proclaim himself an independent monarch for a second time in 1203 with the help of the inhabitants of Philadelphia.



Bibliography :

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	Γεώργιος Ακροπολίτης , <i>Χρονική Συγγραφή</i> , Heisenberg, A. – Wirth, P. (eds), <i>Georgii Acropolitae Opera I</i> (αναθ. P. Wirth), Stuttgart 1978
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	Angold M. , <i>Η βυζαντινή αυτοκρατορία από το 1025 έως το 1204. Μια πολιτική ιστορία</i> , Αθήνα 1997, Καργιανιώτη, Ε. (μτφρ.)
	Cheyne J.-C. , "Philadelphie, un quart de siècle de dissidence, 1182-1206", <i>Philadelphie et autres études</i> , Paris 1984, Byzantina Sorbonensia 4
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	Οικονομίδης Ν. , "Η Δ' Σταυροφορία και η Άλωση της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, 1204", <i>Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους</i> 9, Αθήνα 1980, 36-41
	Pochitonov E. , "Théodore-Pierre Asène ou Théodore Mancaphas?", <i>Byzantinoslavica</i> , 42, 1981, 52-57

Webliography :

Νόμισμα Θεοδώρου Μαγκαφά
<http://www.wegm.com/coins/theomangaphas.htm>

Glossary :

doukas (lat. dux)

Antiquity: Roman military commander who, in some provinces, combined military and civil functions.

Buzantium: a higher military officer. From the second half of the 10th c. the title indicates the military commander of a larger district. After the 12th c., doukes were called the governors of small themes.



megas domestikos

Supreme military commander of the imperial army. High-ranking title which was generally given to close relatives of the emperor.

Sources

Van Dieten, J.A. (ed.), *Nicetae Choniatae Historia* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 11, Berlin – New York 1975), pp. 399.54-401.2-10; 603.31-604.48.

Heisenberg, A. – Wirth, P. (eds), *Georgii Acropolitae Opera* 1 (Stuttgart 1978), pp. 12.4-21.

Quotations

The first rebellion of Theodore Mangaphas in Philadelphia related by the historian Niketas Choniates

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον τυραννίδι ἐπικεχείρηκεν ὁ Φιλαδελφεὺς Θεόδωρος ὁ Μαγκαφᾶς. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τὸ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἀγελαῖον, πολυανδρούμενον ὃν θρασὺ τε καὶ ἀναιδές, ἑαυτῷ προσφκείωσε καὶ ὄρκους τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν πίστιν κατενεπέδωσεν· ὁδῶ δὲ προῖων καὶ βασιλείας ἑαυτῷ περιέθηκεν ὄνομα τοὺς Λυδοὺς πάντας εἰς ἀποστασίαν ἐπισπασάμενος· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν προσοίκων ἀποπειρᾶται χωρῶν καὶ ἀργύρεον κέκοφε νόμισμα τὴν οἰκείαν ἐγχαράξας ἐν αὐτῷ στήλην. ὡς δὲ προούκοπτε τὰ τῆς ἀποστασίας καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς δρωμένοις πρότερον γέλως εἰς πληγὴν γενναίαν μεθίστατο πρὸς ἦπαρ χωροῦσαν τοῦ βασιλέως, μὴ μέλλειν οὗτος ἐγνώκει, ἀλλὰ κατ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄπλα διφᾶν. καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὴν Φιλαδέλφειαν γεγονῶς ἐμφρουρον αὐτῆ τὸν Μαγκαφᾶν ἀπειργάσατο, ὃς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μωροθεοδώρου προσωνυμίαν ἐκτίησατο, τῶν κατὰ σκοπὸν ἐκείνῳ διαπεσόντων ἐσέπειτα. καὶ ἰκανὸν χρόνον τῆ πολιορκία ἐγκατερέησας οὐκ ἴσχυσε τοὺς Φιλαδελφεὺς παραστήσασθαι ὄθεν πρὸς ὁμολογίας καὶ συμβάσεις ἐτρέπετο, ὥστε τὸν μὲν Θεόδωρον τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἀποθέσθαι παράσημα καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὡς πρότερον πολιτεύεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης πληρώμα βασιλεύεσθαι πάλιν ὑφ' οὗ καὶ πρῶην ἐβασιλεύετο. καὶ ὄμηρα ἐκείθεν δεξάμενος ὧν ἤρειτο τοὺς παῖδας ἐπανέζευξεν εἰς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν. οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ κὰν τῆ ἐπαναστάσει ταύτῃ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ γενναῖοι ἄνδρες ἀπώλοντο.

Van Dieten, J.A. (ed.), *Nicetae Choniatae Historia* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 11, Berlin – New York 1975), pp. 399.54-400.73.

Niketas Choniates's account of Mangaphas's activity in the service of the Seljuks

Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὁ Βατάτζης Βασίλειος, γένους μὲν ἀσήμου βλαστῶν, διὰ δὲ τὸ εἰς γυναικᾶ οἱ γαμετὴν συναφθῆναι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς πατρὸς ἐξανεψιᾶν δομέστικος τῆς ἀνατολῆς τιμηθεὶς καὶ τὴν δουρικὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Θρακησίων ἀναζωσάμενος, χρήμασι ὑπέφθειρε πλείστους τῶν τοῦ Μαγκαφᾶ ὁμοτῶν· καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν οὐκ ἔσχε συλλαβεῖν καὶ δεσμοῖς περιβαλεῖν, τῆς δὲ πόλεως Φιλαδελφείας φυγαδεύσας ἔδοξε καὶ οὕτως μέγα τι κατορθωκέναι καὶ ἀσπᾶσιον ἔργον τῷ βασιλεῖ. Ἄλλ' οὗτος τῷ τοῦ Ἰκονίου σουλτᾶν προσρρεῖς, ᾧ ἡ κλήσις Καῖχοσρόης, συμμαχικὸν μὲν αἰτήσας κατὰ Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἔλαβεν, ἐνεδόθη δὲ οἱ προσλαμβάνεσθαι ἀνεπεγκλήτως ὅποσοι τῶν Τούρκων κερδαλεόφρονες κάπι τῷ γωρυτῷ καὶ τῷ τόξῳ τὴν πεποιθήσιν ἔχοντες Ῥωμαίους ληστεύουσιν. οὐκ ὀλίγην οὖν τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ συνηγήροει δύναμιν καὶ ἐπιῶν τοὺς τε πατριώτας ἑαυτοῦ ἐς τὸν γεωργικὸν ὄχλον καὶ τῶν ζώων ἐλυμαίνετο τὰ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν καὶ τοὺς Λαοδικεῖς δὲ Φρύγας μυριαχῶς ἐκάκωσεν, ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς τῶν Χωνῶν τῶν ἐμῶν οἰκήτορας, τὰς ἄλωνας κατὰ τὸν θέρειον καιρὸν πυρπολῶν καὶ τὸ προστυχὸν ὡς πολέμιος χειρίστως διατιθέμενος· ἔω γὰρ λέγειν ὡς φιλανθρωπευομένους ἐνίστε πρὸς τὸ Χριστῶνυμιον κακῶς ἔφασκε καὶ ἐπέπληττεν. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ τῆ Καρία καὶ πολλοὺς προνομεύσας τῶν ἐκεῖ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐκδέδωκεν εἰς ἀπαγωγὴν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν νεῶν τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀνόσιος οὗτος διαφῆκεν ἐμπρῆσαι, ἔργον μέγιστον καὶ περιψυστον ὄντα καὶ ὑπερβαίνοντα ἐς κάλλος καὶ τὴν εἰς μῆκος ἔκτασιν τὸ ἐν τῆ βασιλίδι πόλει τοῦ καλλιμάρτυρος Μωκίου τέμενος.

Van Dieten, J.A. (ed.), *Nicetae Choniatae Historia* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 11, Berlin – New York 1975), p. 400.74

The Seljuk sultan hands Mangaphas over to the Byzantines

Ὡς δὲ ποτε πρὸς τὸν σουλτᾶν ἐπανέζευξε τοιοῦτων παρανομῶν πλήρης καὶ πύθοιτο βασιλεὺς οὐκ εἰς ἀγαθὰς ἐννοίας καὶ πράξεις τὸν Ἰκονιάρχην ἐνάγειν Καῖχοσρόην, ἄρτι πρὸς πατρὸς ἐκλελειπότης τὸ ζῆν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Ἰκονίου δεξάμενος, πρέσβεις ἔστειλε καὶ χρήματα παρασχῶν τῷ σουλτᾶν καταπροδοθέντα εἶχε καὶ ἀνάπεμπτον αὐτῷ γενόμενον τὸν Μαγκαφᾶν, πλην γε δὴ μεθ' ὁμολογίας καὶ πίστεως, μὴ ὥστε τοῦπιτίμιον αὐτῷ τῆς ἀποστασίας κείσεσθαι θάνατον ἢ μέρος περικοπῆναι καὶ



διαλωβωθῆναι τοῦ σώματος· οὐ χάριν ἀπαθῆς ἐτέρου παντός ὀφθεις κακοῦ δεσμὰ κατακέκριτο χρόνια.

Van Dieten, J.A. (ed.), *Nicetae Choniatae Historia* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 11, Berlin – New York 1975), p. 401.2-10.

Choniates relates Mangaphas's failure to face the Latins (March 1205)

Ἴσα δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὁ Φιλαδελφεὺς Θεόδωρος προθήμενος διαπράξασθαι διὰ μάχης χωρεῖ τῷ Ἐρρηῖ περὶ τὸ Ἀτραμύτιον διατρίβοντι. ἀμέλει καὶ μὴ προσδόκιμος ἐπιῶν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἀποκναίσει τούτον πεποιήκεν· ὡς δὲ διακινδυνευτῆα τῷ Ἐρρηῖ ἐδόκει, ἡ ἵππας ἐς παράταξιν διατίθεται. ἡ δὲ ὀρθὰ τὰ δόρατα ἀνατείνασα τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγχείρησιν ἐπέμενεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ῥαθύμως εἶχον Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τὴν τῆς μάχης πρωτοῦρησιν, κατὰ μὲν δράκοντα φλογωπὸν ὄλκοις λορδοῦμενοι στρατευμάτων καὶ φολίσιν ἐπιφρίσσοντες ὄπλων καὶ ὡς εἰς χάσμα διανοιγόμενοι στόματος ταῖς ἐκατέρων τῶν κεράτων ἀναπτύξεσι, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐπελάσεις ἀτονώτερον ἔχοντες καὶ νωθέστερον, ὡς ἀπὸ ἐνός συνθήματος οὗτοι τὰ ξυστὰ ἀπευθύναντες καὶ κατὰ τὸ σύνηθες ἀλαλάξαντες, αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ Ἐρρηῖ τῶν ἄλλων προεκθορόντος καὶ διὰ μέσων τῶν τάξεων τὸν ἵππον ἐλάσαντος, διασκεδάζουσι Ῥωμαίους καὶ σφίσιν ἐπικείμενοι φεύγουσι φόνου πάρεργον πλείστους ἔθεντο, οἷα τῶν ἵππέων Ῥωμαίων καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρώτην ἔμπρωσιν τῶν Λατίνων καὶ τὴν τῶν δοράτων ἀγκώνισιν ὄλοις ἀποδράντων ῥυτῆρσι καὶ τὰς πεζικὰς τάξεις παρεϊκότων εἰς κεραῖσιν τοῖς ἀντιμάχοις καὶ προνομήν.

Van Dieten, J.A. (ed.), *Nicetae Choniatae Historia* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 11, Berlin – New York 1975), pp. 603.31-604.48.

George Akropolites on Theodore Mangaphas and his rule

οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον καὶ πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατεβιάζετο. ἐν γὰρ τῇ συγχύσει τῆς Κωνσταντίνου ἀλώσεως ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος ἡγεμόνες εἶναι τυχόντες ἢ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων προύχοντες ὡς οἰκειᾶν ἀρχὴν τὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦς ἐποιούντο χώραν, ἢ ἔξ αὐτῶν εἰς τοῦτο ὀρμήσαντες ἢ καὶ παρὰ τῶν οἰκητόρων μετακληθέντες εἰς τὴν τῆς χώρας δεφένδουσιν. αὐτίκα Θεόδωρός τε, ὃν Μωροθεόδωρον ἀπεκάλουν, ἄρχων ἦν τῆς Φιλαδέλφου πόλεως· ἕτερος δὲ Σάββας τούπικλην τοῦ ἄστεος ἐδέσποζε τοῦ Σαμψῶν μετὰ καὶ τῶν πλησίον τυγχανόντων αὐτῷ· Παφλαγονίας δὲ πάσης ἐγκρατῆς ἦν Δαυὶδ, ἀδελφὸς ὢν Ἀλεξίου τοῦ τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος κρατήσαντος, ὃς καὶ Μέγας ὠνομάζετο Κομνηνός· οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀνδρονίκου ὑπῆρχον ἔγγονοι, Μανουὴλ τῷ τούτου τεχθέντες υἱῷ. διὰ ταῦτα ἐν πολλῇ στενοχωρίᾳ τὰ πράγματα ὑπῆρξε τῷ βασιλεῖ Θεοδώρῳ. ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν Μωροθεόδωρον καὶ τὸν Σάββαν εὐχερῶς μετήλθε κἀνεῦθεν ἐδέσποζεν ἀδεῶς Κελβιανοῦ τε παντός, Μαιάνδρου Φιλαδελφείας καὶ Νεοκάστρων.

Heisenberg, A. – Wirth, P. (eds), *Georgii Acropolitae Opera* 1 (Stuttgart 1978), p. 12.4-21.

Chronological Table

ca. 1188: Theodore Mangaphas establishes an independent rule in the region of Philadelphia.

summer 1189: Emperor Isaac II Angelus campaigns against Theodore Mangaphas and compromises with him.

ca. 1193: Basil Vatatzes forces Mangaphas to abandon Philadelphia and find shelter in the sultanate of Ikonion.

1195-1196: Theodore Mangaphas invades against Byzantine territories in the valley of the Meander River, Caria and Chonai.

1196: The Seljuk sultan gives Mangaphas to the Byzantines, who imprison him.

1204: Mangaphas tries again to establish an independent rule in the region of Philadelphia.

19 March 1205: Mangaphas is defeated by Henry of Flanders. His land is incorporated into the state of Theodore I Laskaris.