



## Summary :

Theodore Mangaphas was born around the mid-12th century. He was a dignitary in the Byzantine court. During the reign of Isaac II Angelos (1185-1195, 1203-1204) he took on the command of Philadelphia, where he twice attempted to establish an independent state (1188-1189 and 1204-1205). In 1205, after his defeat by the Latins, his lands came under the control of the Empire of Nicaea.

## Other Names

Morotheodoros

## Date and Place of Birth

mid-12th century

## Date and Place of Death

after 1205, possibly in the state of Nicaea

## Main Role

dignitary, official, ruler

## 1. Biography and activities

Theodore Mangaphas,<sup>1</sup> also known as Morotheodoros,<sup>2</sup> was born around the mid-12th century and was a rich landowner from [Philadelphia](#) of [Lydia](#). During the reign of Isaac II (1185-1195, 1203-1204), founder of the [Angelid dynasty](#), he was ruler of Philadelphia, while he also held the office of [strategos](#). Around 1188, with the support of the majority of the inhabitants of the city and the of largest part of Lydia, as well as the military support of the [Armenian](#) settlers of Troad and Skamandros, he [revolted](#) in Philadelphia and proclaimed himself emperor. He moreover mint his own coinage, with his figure carved on it,<sup>3</sup> thus establishing the political and financial independence of his state. In June 1189, when the emperor Isaac II headed a campaign against him, Theodore was forced to capitulate and resign from the imperial title he had usurped.

He is mentioned in sources again around 1193,<sup>4</sup> when he confronted Basil Vatatzes, the newly appointed [doukas](#) of the [theme](#) of [Thrakesion](#) and [megas domestikos](#). Vatatzes managed to arrest a large number of Mangaphas' supporters and the latter was forced to abandon the area and turn to Kaykhusraw I (1192-1197, 1204/5-1211), [sultan of Ikonion](#), seeking his help to regain the territories he was forced to abandon. In 1195/6, having recruited a large number of [Turkmen](#) mercenaries, he returned to the Philadelphia area and launched a series of invasions and raids in the areas around the Meander valley, [Caria](#) and [Chonai](#), wrecking havoc upon them.<sup>5</sup> Mangaphas' activities were terminated at the end of 1196 by the new emperor Alexios III Angelos (1195-1203), who bought the mutineer from the sultan Kaykhusraw and had him imprisoned.<sup>6</sup> In 1204 Mangaphas (who had obviously been set free and had abandoned Constantinople after its [fall](#)) attempted for a second time to establish an independent state in Philadelphia.<sup>7</sup> His forces however where inadequate and on 19 March 1205 he was defeated near [Adramyttion](#) by the later Latin emperor Eric of Flandra (1206-1261) who during this period was on an expedition to north-west Asia Minor. A little later, [Theodore I Laskaris](#), [emperor of Nicaea](#), included Mangaphas' territories in his state. The latter's fortune is not known, but it is believed that he died in captivity in [Nicaea](#).

1. The name Mangaphas does not have Greek roots. It possibly comes from a hellenized version of the Turkish word Mankafa (=foolish, idiot). Savvidis, A.G.K., *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 (Αθήνα 1987), p. 173, 174, claims that Theodore's Seljuk mercenaries translated the name Morotheodoros, ascribed to Theodoros, to their language as Mankato and the Greeks later transcribed as Mangaphas. According to Savvidis, the lastname Mangaphas, is not mentioned before Morotheodoros' appearance on the historical scene, neither after him. Cheynet, J.C., «Philadelphie, un quart de siècle de dissidence, 1182-1206», in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Byzantina Sorbonensia 4, Paris 1984), p. 45, however lists members of Mangaphas family active during the 11th and 13th centuries.

2. Theodore Mangaphas is also mentioned in sources as Morotheodoros possibly because of his continuous unsuccessful attempts to proclaim himself independent ruler of Philadelphia. See 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* (Αθήνα 1987), p. 173.
3. A treasure of silver coins which was found in Aphrodisias in Caria is attributed by Hendy, M.F., *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300-1450* (Cambridge 1985), p. 438, note 302, to Theodore Mangaphas, while Pochitonov, E., «Théodore-Pierre Asène ou Théodore Mancaphas?», *Byzantinoslavica* 42 (1981), pp. 52-57, attributes it to the Bulgarian ruler Peter Asan.
4. Savvidis, A.G.K., *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* (Αθήνα 1987), p. 175, pretends that Basil Vatatzes was sent against the mutineer at the beginning of 1190. The same opinion is supported 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.
5. In Chonai he also set fire to the church of the Archangel Michael, destroying its mosaics and Holy Altar. See Vryonis, S., *Η παρακμή του μεσαιωνικού Ελληνισμού στη Μικρά Ασία και η διαδικασία εξισλαμισμού (11ος αι. – 15ος αι.)* (Αθήνα 1996), p. 115, 140.
6. Cheynet, J.C., *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963-1210)* (Byzantina Sorbonensia 9, Paris 1990), p. 135, claims that Theodore Mangaphas was imprisoned during this period and places his discharge in 1200. Cheynet's opinion of this issue is supported by Brand, C.M., «Mankaphas, Theodore», in Kazhdan, A. (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 2 (New York – Oxford 1991), p. 1286.
7. Angold, M., *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Lascarids of Nicaea (1204-1261)* (Oxford 1975), p. 61, claims that Mangaphas had dominated Philadelphia by the spring of 1205 and that he joined Constantine Laskaris, brother of Theodore I in his military operations against the Latins. On the other hand Oikonomides, N., «Η Δ' Σταυροφορία και η Άλωση της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, 1204», in *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους* 9 (Athens 1980), p. 39, pretends that Theodore Mangaphas managed, with the support of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, to declare himself independent ruler for a second time in 1203.

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	<b>Νικήτας Χωνιάτης</b> , <i>Χρονική Διήγησις</i> , van Dieten, J.A. (ed.), <i>Nicetae Choniatae Historia</i> , Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 11, Berlin – New York 1975
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	<b>Hoffmann J.</b> , <i>Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210): Untersuchungen über Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen und ihr Verhältnis zu Kaiser und Reich</i> , München 1974
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	<b>Pochitonov E.</b> , "Théodore-Pierre Asène ou Théodore Mancaphas?", <i>Byzantinoslavica</i> , 42, 1981, 52-57

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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.

Byzantium: 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.

**strategos ("general")**

During the Roman period his duties were mainly political. Office of the Byzantine state's provincial administration. At first the title was given to the military and political administrator of the themes, namely of the big geographic and administrative unities of the Byzantine empire. Gradually the title lost its power and, already in the 11th century, strategoi were turned to simple commanders of military units, responsible for the defence of a region.

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

### Quotations



### The historian Nicetas Choniates's account of the first rebellion of Theodore Mangaphas in Philadelphia

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 προσωφκείωσε 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 οἰκίαν ἐγχαράξας ἐν αὐτῷ στήλῃ. ὡς δὲ προέκοπτε τὰ τῆς ἀποστασίας καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς δρωμένοις πρότερον γέλως εἰς πληγὴν γενναίαν μεθίστατο πρὸς ἡμᾶς χωροῦσαν τοῦ βασιλέως, μὴ μέλλειν οὗτος ἐγνώκει, ἀλλὰ κατ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄπλα διφᾶν. καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὴν Φιλαδέλφειαν γεγρονῶς ἔμφρουρον αὐτῇ τὸν Μαγκαφᾶν ἀπειργάσατο, ὃς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μωροθεοδώρου προσωνυμίαν ἐκτήσατο, τῶν κατὰ σκοπὸν ἐκείνῳ διαπεσόντων ἐσέπειτα. καὶ ἰκανὸν χρόνον τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ἐγκαρτερήσας οὐκ ἴσχυσε τοὺς Φιλαδελφεῖς παραστήσασθαι ὅθεν 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 πλήρωμα βασιλεύεσθαι πάλιν ὑφ' οὗ καὶ πρῶην ἐβασιλεύετο. καὶ ὄμηρα ἐκείθεν δεξάμενος ὧν ἤρξειτο τοὺς παῖδας ἐπανέζευξεν εἰς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν. οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ κὰν τῇ ἐπαναστάσει ταύτῃ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ γενναῖοι ἄνδρες ἀπώλοντο.

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

### Choniates describes the activities of Theodore Mangaphas while he was in the service of the Seljuks

Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὁ Βατάτζης Βασίλειος, γένους μὲν ἀσήμου βλαστῶν, διὰ δὲ τὸ εἰς γυναικὰ οἱ γαμετὴν συναφθῆναι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς πατρὸς ἐξανειψίαν δομέστικος τῆς ἀνατολῆς τιμηθεὶς καὶ τὴν δουκικὴν 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. Ἀλλ' οὗτος τῷ τοῦ Ἰκονίου σουλτάν προσρρεῖς, ᾧ ἡ κλήσις Καῖχοσρόης, συμμαχικὸν μὲν αἰτήσας κατὰ Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἔλαβεν, ἐνεδόθη δὲ οἱ προσλαμβάνεσθαι ἀνεπεγκλήτως ὅποσοι τῶν Τούρκων κερδαλεόφρονες κἀπὶ τῷ γωρυτῷ καὶ τῷ τόξῳ τὴν πεποιθησὶν ἔχοντες Ῥωμαίους ληστεύουσιν. οὐκ ὀλίγην οὖν τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ συνηγήχει 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· ἐῷ γὰρ λέγειν ὡς φιλανθρωπευομένους ἐνίστε πρὸς τὸ Χριστᾶνυμον κακῶς ἐφασκε καὶ ἐπέπληττεν. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ τῇ Καρία καὶ πολλοὺς προνομεύσας τῶν ἐκεῖ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐκδέδωκεν εἰς ἀπαγωγὴν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν νεῶν τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαήλ ὁ ἀνόσιος οὗτος διαφῆκεν ἐμπρήσαι, ἔργον μέγιστον καὶ περίπτυστον ὄντα καὶ ὑπερβαίνοντα ἐς κάλλος καὶ τὴν εἰς μῆκος ἕκτασιν τὸ ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι πόλει τοῦ καλλιμάρτυρος Μωκίου τέμενος.

Van Dieten, J.A. (ed.), *Nicetae Choniatae Historia* (CFHB 11, Berlin – New York 1975), pp. 400.74-1.

### The sultan hands Mangaphas over to the Byzantines

Ὡς δὲ ποτε πρὸς τὸν σουλτάν ἐπανέζευξε τοιούτων παρανομῶν πλήρης καὶ πύθοιτο βασιλεὺς οὐκ εἰς ἀγαθὰς ἐννοίας καὶ πράξεις τὸν Ἰκονιάρχην ἐνάγειν Καῖχοσρόην, ἄρτι πρὸς πατρὸς ἐκλελοιπότης τὸ ζῆν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Ἰκονίου δεξάμενος, πρέσβεις ἔστειλε καὶ χρήματα παρασχῶν τῷ σουλτάν καταπροδοθέντα εἶχε καὶ ἀνάπεμpton αὐτῷ γενόμενον τὸν Μαγκαφᾶν, πλην γε δὴ μεθ' ὁμολογίας καὶ πίστεως, μὴ ὥστε τοῦπιτίμιον αὐτῷ τῆς ἀποστασίας κείσεσθαι θάνατον ἢ μέρος περικοπῆναι καὶ διαλωβῶθῃναι τοῦ σώματος· οὐ χάριν ἀπαθῆς ἐτέρου παντὸς ὀφθεις κακοῦ δεσμὰ κατακέκριτο χρόνια.

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

### The unsuccessful attempt of Theodore Mangaphas to confront the Latins (March 1205) as it is described by Nicetas Choniates

Ἰσα δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὁ Φιλαδελφεὺς Θεόδωρος προθέμενος διαπράξασθαι διὰ μάχης χωρεῖ τῷ Ἐρρῇ περὶ τὸ Ἀτραμύττιον διατρίβοντι. ἀμέλει καὶ μὴ προσδόκιμος ἐπιῶν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἀποκναῖσαι τοῦτον πεποιήκεν· ὡς δὲ διακινδυνευτέα τῷ Ἐρρῇ ἐδόκει, ἢ ἵππας ἐς παράταξιν διατίθεται. ἢ δὲ ὀρθὰ τὰ δόρατα ἀνατείνασα τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγχείρησιν ἐπέμενε. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀρθίμως εἶχον Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τὴν τῆς μάχης πρωτοῦρησιν, κατὰ μὲν δράκοντα φλογωπὸν ὀλοκοῖς λορδοῦμενοι στρατευμάτων καὶ φολίσιν ἐπιφρίσσαντες ὄπλων καὶ ὡς εἰς χάσμα διανοιγόμενοι στόματος ταῖς ἐκατέρων τῶν



κεράτων ἀναπτύξει, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐπελάσεις ἀτονώτερον ἔχοντες καὶ νωθέστερον, ὡς ἀπὸ ἐνὸς συνθήματος οὔτοι τὰ ξυστὰ ἀπευθύναντες καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῆμα ἀλαλάξαντες, αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ Ἑρῆ τῶν ἄλλων προεκθορόντος καὶ διὰ μέσων τῶν τάξεων τὸν ἵππον ἐλάσαντος, διασκεδάζουσι Ῥωμαίους καὶ σφίσι ἐπικείμενοι φεύγουσι φόνου πάρεργον πλείστους ἔθεντο, οἷα τῶν ἱππέων Ῥωμαίων καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρώτην ἔμπρωσιν τῶν Λατίνων καὶ τὴν τῶν δοράτων ἀγκώνισιν ὄλοις ἀποδράντων ῥυτῆρι καὶ τὰς περικὰς τάξεις παρεϊκότων εἰς κερῆσιν τοῖς ἀντιμάχοις καὶ προνομήν.

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

The historian Georges Akropolites mentions the state of Mangaphas and describes its integration to the Byzantine Empire of Nicaea

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 οἰκείαν ἀρχὴν τὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐποιοῦντο χώραν, ἢ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς τοῦτο ὀρμήσαντες ἢ καὶ παρὰ τῶν οἰκητόρων μετακληθέντες εἰς τὴν τῆς χώρας δεφένδουσιν. αὐτίκα Θεόδωρος τε, ὃν Μωροθεόδωρον ἀπεκάλουν, ἄρχων ἦν τῆς Φιλαδέλφου πόλεως· ἕτερος δὲ Σάββας τοῦπικλην τοῦ ἄστεος ἐδέσποζε τοῦ Σαμψῶν μετὰ καὶ τῶν πλησίον τυχανόντων αὐτῶ· Παφλαγονίας δὲ πάσης ἐγκρατὴς ἦν Δαυὶδ, ἀδελφὸς ὦν 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 μετῆλθε κἀντεῦθεν 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

2nd half of the 12th century: Birth of Theodore Mangaphas

around 1188: Theodore Mangaphas establishes an independent state in the Philadelphia area

summer 1189: Campaign by emperor Isaac II Angelos against Theodore Mangaphas, with whom he reaches a compromise

around 1193: Basil Vatatzes forces Mangaphas to abandon Philadelphia and escape to the sultanate of Ikonion

1195-1196: Invasions by Theodore Mangaphas in Byzantine territories in the Meander valley, Caria and Chonai

1196: The Seljuk sultan hands Mangaphas over to the Byzantines who imprison him

1204: New attempt by Mangaphas to establish an independent state in the Philadelphia area

19 March 1205: Mangaphas is defeated by the forces of Eric of Flandra. His territories are incorporated in the state of Theodore I Lascaris

after 1205: Death of Theodore Mangaphas