

IN MEMORIAM
PROFESSORIS
IVANI JORDANOV



1892 - 1921 - 1948

SOFIA 2026

IN MEMORIAM
PROFESSORIS IVANI JORDANOV

ИЗВЕСТИЯ НА НАЦИОНАЛНИЯ АРХЕОЛОГИЧЕСКИ ИНСТИТУТ LI 2026
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1892 - 1921 - 1948

National Archaeological Institute with Museum
Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

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PROFESSORIS

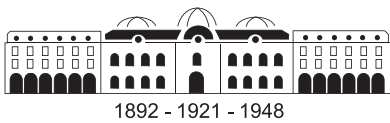
IVANI JORDANOV

EDITED BY

PANTELIS CHARALAMPAKIS, GEORGI SENGALVICH

SOFIA 2026

National Archaeological Institute
with Museum
Bulgarian Academy of Sciences



On the front cover: reverse of the lead seal of Eirene Komnene, sebastokratorissa, 12th c.
(photo: G. Dimitrov, Nova Zagora Historical Museum)

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Проф. дин Иван Йорданов
Prof. Dr.Sc. Ivan Jordanov

СЪДЪРЖАНИЕ

CONTENTS

Предговор	9
Preface	
Женя ЖЕКОВА	11
Проф. дин Иван Йорданов Йорданов (1949-2021). Едно пътуване в Средновековието. Curriculum Vitae	
Zhenya ZHEKOVA Prof. Dr.Sc. Ivan Jordanov Jordanov (1949-2021). A journey through the Middle Ages. Curriculum Vitae	
Камен АНДОНОВ, Пантелис ХАРАЛАМПАКИС	23
Библиография на трудовете на проф. дин Иван Йорданов	
Kamen ANDONOV, Pantelis CHARALAMPAKIS Bibliography of the publications of Prof. Dr.Sc. Ivan Jordanov	
Николай А. АЛЕКСЕЕНКО	41
Два новых византийских моливдовула в болгарскую сфрагистическую копилку	
Николай А. АЛЕКСЕЕНКО Два нови византийски моливдовула за българската сфрагистична база данни	
Maria CAMPAGNOLO-POTHITOU	49
Deux nouveaux hyperpères contremarqués de Jean III Doukas-Batatzès (1222-1254). Retour sur la question	
Мария КАМПАЊОЛО-ПОТИТУ Две нови контрамаркирани перпери на Йоан III Дука Ватаци (1222-1254 г.). Отново към въпроса	
Maria Teresa CATALANO, Martina FILOSA, Claudia SODE	63
New insights into known Byzantine seals: Specimens from the Robert Feind collection and their parallels in Bulgaria	
Мария Тереза КАТАЛАНО, Мартина ФИЛОЗА, Клаудия ЗОДЕ Нови идеи за познати византийски печати: екземпляри от колекцията на Роберт Файнд и техните паралели в България	
Jean-Claude CHEYNET	85
Le logothète des troupeaux: un fonctionnaire négligé	
Жан-Клод ШЕНЕ Логотет на стадата: една слабо изследвана длъжност	
Viktor N. CHKHAIDZE, Andrey Ju. VINOGRADOV	97
A newly found seal of prince Rostislav-Gabriel	
Виктор Н. ЧХАИДЗЕ, Андрей Ю. ВИНОГРАДОВ Новооткрит печат на княз Гавриил-Ростислав	
Nilgün ELAM, Pantelis CHARALAMPAKIS	103
New sigillographic data on the Armeniakoi and the Armeniaka Themata from collections in Turkey and Germany	
Нилгюн ЕЛАМ, Пантелис ХАРАЛАМПАКИС Нови сфрагистични данни за темите Armeniakoi и Armeniaka от колекции в Турция и Германия	

Victoria EYHARABIDE, Béatrice CASEAU, Jean-Claude CHEYNET, Lucia ORLANDI, Qijia HUANG, Isabelle BLOCH	129
Byzantine sigillography meets artificial intelligence: The BHAI project	
Виктория ЕЙХАРАБИДЕ, Беатрис КАЗО, Жан-Клод ШЕНЕ, Лучия ОРЛАНДИ, Цидзя ХУАНГ, Изабел БЛОК	
Византийската сфрагистика среща изкуствения интелект: проектът BHAI	
Andreas GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS	141
Lead Seals in Byzantine Thrace (LSByT): Re-examination of data, mapping the distribution of findings and tracing the communication networks (6 th -8 th c.)	
Андреас ГУДЗИУКОСТАС	
Проектът „Оловни печати във византийска Тракия“ (LSByT): преразглеждане на данните, картиране на разпространението на находките и проследяване на съобщителните мрежи (VI-VIII в.)	
Eleni LIANTA, Anthousa PAPAGIANNAKI	153
Some thoughts on the representation of peacocks on Middle Byzantine lead seals	
Елени ЛИАНТА, Антуса ПАПАЯНАКИ	
Някои размисли за изображенията на пауни върху средновизантийски оловни печати	
Christos MALATRAS	169
The early genikoi logothetai: status, seals and prosopography (mid-7 th to mid-9 th century)	
Христос МАЛАТРАС	
Ранните логотети на геникона: статут, печати и просопография (от средата на VII в. до средата на IX в.)	
Владимир ПЕНЧЕВ	199
Любопитна група от шест византийски моливдовула от XI в.	
Vladimir PENCHEV	
An interesting group of six Byzantine molybdebulla from the 11 th century	
Werner SEIBT	207
Were the Byzantine officers called Vekhkatzi of Armenian or of Iberian origin?	
Вернер ЗАЙБТ	
От арменски или иверски произход са били византийските служители на име Вихкаци?	
Georgi SENGALOVICH	211
Monograms in Byzantine written culture and their reception in medieval Bulgaria	
Георги СЕНГАЛЕВИЧ	
Монограмите във византийската писмена култура и възприемането им в средновековна България	
Валерий П. СТЕПАНЕНКО	231
О «временных» фемах в Крыму X-XI века. Фема Боспор по данным сигиллографии	
Валерий П. СТЕПАНЕНКО	
За „временните“ теми в Крим през X-XI в. Темата Боспор по сфрагистични данни	
Елена В. СТЕПАНОВА	235
Печати Евксинского Понта	
Елена В. СТЕПАНОВА	
Печатите на Евксински Понт	
Zhenya ZHEKOVA, Werner SEIBT	245
An enigmatic seal from Varna	
Женя ЖЕКОВА, Вернер ЗАЙБТ	
Един загадъчен печат от Варна	

ПРЕДГОВОР

Този том е създаден, за да почете паметта на професор Иван Йорданов – блестящ учен, чийто системен и неуморен труд издигна сфрагистиката в България, а и не само, до едно по-високо ниво. Неговата кончина на 20 ноември 2021 г. остави голяма празнота в научната общност. Изгубихме не просто колега, а скъп приятел.

Първоначално бе планирано сборникът да бъде публикуван като част от списание „Нумизматика, сфрагистика и епиграфика“ (Numismatics, Sigillography and Epigraphy), под редакцията на д-р Красимира Карадимитрова. Впоследствие, поради непредвидени обстоятелства, той бе включен в поредицата „Известия на Националния археологически институт“ (Bulletin of the National Archaeological Institute) с нови редактори. Редица приятели и колеги на проф. Йорданов дадоха ръкописи за настоящия том, който съдържа шестнадесет научни статии и студии за сфрагистика, нумизматика и епиграфика – на български, английски, френски и руски език. Още няколко текста, първоначално предназначени за този сборник, бяха публикувани в редовни броеве на списание „Нумизматика, сфрагистика и епиграфика“ (бр. 18, 2022 г. и бр. 19, 2023 г.).

В качеството ни на редактори изказваме благодарност на всички автори, които допринесоха за този сборник. Бихме искали да изкажем своята признателност към д-р Красимира Карадимитрова за първоначалната работа по този том, както и към доц. д-р Христо Попов (директор на Националния археологически институт с музей при Българската академия на науките), проф. д-р Жения Жекова и гл. ас. д-р Милена Райчева за тяхната помощ и ценни съвети. Дължим благодарности и на Росица Кънева за нейното търпение в процеса на предпечатната подготовка на тази книга. За корицата избрахме един от любимите печати на проф. Йорданов, с който той се занимава в началото на своята кариера и към който възобнови интерес в последните си години. Печатът е на Ирина Комнина севастократорка, а снимката му е осигурена с любезното съдействие на Генчо Димитров, директор на Исторически музей - Нова Загора.

Изразените научни аргументи и мнения в публикациите принадлежат изцяло на авторите на съответните текстове и не отразяват непременно вижданията на редакторите.

От редакторите
София, 20 ноември 2025 г.

PREFACE

This book was prepared to honour the memory of Professor Ivan Jordanov, a brilliant scholar whose systematic and tireless work took sigillographic studies in Bulgaria – and not only – to a higher level. His death on 20 November 2021 left a void in the scientific community. We lost not only a colleague but a dear friend.

At first, the volume was planned to be published as part of the Numismatics, Sigillography and Epigraphy journal (Нумизматика, сфрагистика и епиграфика), under the editorship of Dr. Krassimira Karadimitrova. Due to unforeseen circumstances, it was eventually included in the series Bulletin of the National Archaeological Institute (Известия на Националния археологически институт), with new editors. Several friends and colleagues of Prof. Jordanov submitted studies to the present volume, which contains sixteen scientific contributions on sigillography, numismatics and epigraphy – in Bulgarian, English, French, and Russian. Some studies originally intended for this volume were published in the regular issues of Numismatics, Sigillography and Epigraphy (vols. 18, 2022 and 19, 2023).

As the editors we are grateful to all the authors who contributed to this volume. We wish to thank Dr. Krassimira Karadimitrova for the initial work on the book, as well as Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hristo Popov (Director of the National Archaeological Institute with Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences), Prof. Dr. Zhenya Zhekova and Assist. Prof. Dr. Milena Raycheva, for their precious help and advice. Acknowledgements are also due to Rossitsa Kaneva for her patience in formatting this book. For the front cover we chose one of Prof. Jordanov's favourite seals, which he studied at the beginning of his career and in which he renewed interest in his final years. The seal belongs to Eirene Komnene, sebastokratorissa, and the photo was kindly provided by Gencho Dimitrov, director of the Nova Zagora Historical Museum.

The scientific arguments and opinions expressed in the publications belong entirely to the authors of the respective texts and do not necessarily reflect the views of the editors.

The editors
Sofia, 20 November 2025

ПРОФ. ДИН ИВАН ЙОРДАНОВ
ЙОРДАНОВ
(1949 – 2021)

ЕДНО ПЪТУВАНЕ В СРЕДНОВЕКОВИЕТО

В късната есен на 2021 година проф. Иван Йорданов си тръгна от нас. Завинаги. Той обичаше да пътува – най-често до любимия му Преслав, в чиито необятни селения вече е и самият той. Вълнуваше се за едно последно, дълго планирано пътешествие до манастира „Св. Богородица Светоспасителка (Космосотира)“ в град Ферес, Гърция, което не можа да осъществи. Това пътуване беше свързано със заключителната му работа върху печата на Ирина севастократорка, чийто съпруг Исак Комнин построява и обдарява въпросния манастир. Това е един от първите печати, с които се сблъсква още в началото на своята кариера. За съжаление пътуването остана нереализирано, както и публикацията на самия печат.

Своеобразното му виртуално пребиваване в епохата на българското и византийско средновековие има материален израз – издадени 14 монографии и над 300 научни студии, статии и съобщения в наши и чужди издания. Огромно наследство, създадено в рамките на един кратък човешки живот. Наследство, което задължава, което настоява работата по българските и византийски печати да продължи, за да не се загуби пътеката, дирята проправена преди повече от 40 години.

Законов ще останат публикациите му върху монетите на Теодор-Петър – пръв потвърждава тяхната автентичност и доразвива хипотезата за обвързването им с първия Асеневец; открива неизвестните дотогава „фалшиви“ златни византийски монети или т.н. фурета; класифицира монетите на добруджанските владетели; продължава и акцентира темата за летите византийски монети; обобщава, изследва и публикува обширна монография върху византийските монети от 1081-1261 г.; разчита златния медальон на хан Омуртаг; изучавайки монетите на Мичо Асен, правилно преотнася бронзовата двусъставна матрица с формата на раковина, обвързвайки я именно с този български владетел; издирва, документира и публикува в пълен корпус всички български и византийски печати от България. Безспорно най-значим ще остане капиталният му труд *Corpus of the Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria* (2009), който няма аналог в световната сфрагистична наука.

Една от любимите му теми беше „пътуването на печатите“. Той гледаше на печатите като на живи извори, които от момента

на скрепяване на кореспонденцията поемат по своя път до адресата, който счупвайки печата, слага край на неговото дълго пътуване. Тогава започва историята на печата. Изваждайки го от земята, изследователят изтрива не само вековете, отложили своя отпечатък върху него, но повдига воала на неизвестността, в опит да разкрие самоличността на човека, чието име е гравирено върху оловната повърхност. За този момент живееше Иван Йорданов. Тръпката от разчитането на името, титлата, позицията, която е имал този човек, животът, който е живял, хората, с които се е срещал. Разкриването на малките детайли доближаваше този отдалечен на стотици години персонаж от нас, до нашето скучно и сиво ежедневие. За Иван Йорданов ден без разчетен печат или работа върху такъв, беше загубен, безсмислен ден.

Радостта в живота му обаче бяха не само печатите. Най-вече това беше неговото любящо семейство – съпругата му Уляна, дъщерите Милкана и Десислава, внучките Натали, Александра, Йоанна и ... котките. След като той си отиде, котките, за които се грижеше в градинката до сградата на Филиала изчезнаха. Те също усетиха неговата загуба. Обичаше природата, ранните утринни разходки по Шуменското плато и покоя, който намираше в това природно усамотение.

Радост в живота му внасяха и приятелите, които постепенно, бавно и безвъзвратно, започнаха да изчезват един по един. Затова той се вгълби още повече в науката. Силно разчиташе на новия кръг приятели, които изградиха щит на безрезервно доверие и подкрепа около него – младите колеги, негови ученици, с които общуваше до последния си ден. Не всеки учен от неговия ранг успява да формира школа от млади последователи. Като част от този научен кръг, с гордост мога да заявя, че аз също съм продукт на школата на Иван Йорданов. Основател и ръководител на „Научен център по византистика“ към Шуменския университет, със своя авторитет той затвърди позициите на Шумен като един от водещите центрове по нумизматика и сфрагистика. С решение на Факултетския съвет към Факултета по хуманитарни науки този център вече носи неговото име.

Това беше ежедневието на Иван Йорданов. Някои биха казали, че то е абсолютна скука. Но той притежаваше едно уникално качество – безкрайно премерено чувство за хумор. Хуморът му винаги го превръщаше в средоточие на компанията, а по време на участията ни в научни форуми, колегите се тълпяха около него не само от уважение, а и от желанието да се докоснат до неговата човешка харизма. Той беше и ще остане едно от големите имена в световната византийска сигилография и просопография.

24 май 2022 година
град Шумен
Женя Жекова

CURRICULUM VITAE**проф. дин Иван Йорданов Йорданов**

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- 1972-1974 – уредник в Исторически музей – Нова Загора.
- 1974-2018 – работи във Филиала на НАИМ при БАН в град Шумен.
- 1978 – защитава докторска дисертация на тема: “Монети и монетно обръщение в Източна България от периода 1081-1261 г.”
- 1981 – участва в *XVI международен конгрес по византистика*, Виена.
- 1984 – излиза от печат първата му монография “Монети и монетно обращение в средновековна България 1081-1261 г.”
- 1986 – участва в *XVII международен конгрес по византистика*, Вашингтон
- 1988 – получава хабилитация към БАН.
- 1988 – участва във *II международен симпозиум по византистика и сигилография*, Атина.
- 1989, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2008 – специализира в *Центъра по византистика към Харвардския университет – Дъмбъртън Оукс*, Вашингтон.
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- 1990-2017 – член на Научния съвет на НАИМ при БАН в София.
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- 1991 – член на Международната асоциация по *Византийска сфрагистика*.
- 1992 – доктор на историческите науки с книгата *Корпус на византийските печати от България*.
- 1993 – специализира в *Хеберден Коин Руум*, Ашмолиън Мюзийм, Оксфорд, Великобритания.
- 1993 – участва в *IV международен симпозиум по византистика и сигилография*, Виена.
- 1993 – излиза от печат монографията *Печатите от стратегията в Преслав*.
- 1995-2003 – ръководител на Филиала на НАИМ при БАН в град Шумен.
- 1996 г. – избран е за ст.н.с. I ст. в системата на БАН и съответно професор в системата на образованието.
- 1994-1996 – ръководител на катедрата по *История и археология* към Шуменския университет.
- 1998 – специализира в *Институт по византистика*, Виена.
- 1998 – главен организатор и ръководител на *VI международен*

симпозиум по византинистика и сигилография във Велики Преслав.

- 1998-2010 – член на Специализирания научен съвет по *Стара и средновековна история, археология и етнография* към Висшата атестационна комисия при МС.
- 1999 – председател на Съюз на учените в България, клон Шумен.
- 2001 – участва в *XX международен конгрес по византинистика*, Париж.
- 2001 – излиза от печат Корпус на печатите на средновековна България.
- 2003 – участва в *VIII международен симпозиум по византинистика и сигилография*, Берлин.
- 2003 – излиза от печат първият том от Корпуса на печатите от България (*Corpus of the Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria. Volume 1. Corpus of the Byzantine Seals with Geographical Names*).
- 2004 – главен редактор на списание “Нумизматика, сфрагистика и епиграфика”, издание на НАИМ при БАН.
- 2005 – участва в Международен симпозиум *40 Years On*, посветен на проф. Майкъл Меткалф, Ашмолиън Мюзийм, Оксфорд.
- 2005 – основател и ръководител на *Научноизследователски център по византинистика* към Шуменския университет.
- 2006 – участва в *XXI международен конгрес по византинистика*, Лондон.
- 2006 – излиза от печат вторият том от Корпус на печатите от България (*Corpus of the Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria. Volume 2. Byzantine Seals with Family Names*).
- 2007 – главен организатор и ръководител на *Международен симпозиум*, посветен на 100 г. от рождението на най-големия български колекционер д-р Васил Хараланов, Шумен.
- 2008 – ръководител на Международна конференция *Пътуванията в средновековна България*, Шумен.
- 2008 – удостоен с „Наградата на Шумен за изкуство и култура“ за книгата *Catalogue of Medieval Seals at the Regional Historical Museum of Shumen*.
- 2009 – излиза от печат третият том от Корпус на печатите от България (*Corpus of the Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria. Volume 3*).
- 2009 – получава званието *Почетен гражданин на град Шумен*.
- 2018 – избран е за *Doctor honoris causa* на Шуменския университет.

PROF. DR.SC. IVAN JORDANOV
JORDANOV
(1949 – 2021)

A JOURNEY THROUGH THE MIDDLE AGES

In the late autumn of 2021 Prof. Ivan Jordanov departed from us. Forever. He loved travelling indeed – most often, to his dearest Preslav, to the infinite celestial realms of which he already belongs. He had been full of excitement about one last, long-anticipated journey to the *Theotokos Kosmosoteira* monastery in Feres, Greece, which he could not complete. The journey was related to the final stage of his work on the seal of *sebastokratorissa* Eirene whose husband Isaac Komnenos built and endowed the monastery in question. This was one of the very first seals the Professor had come across at the beginning of his career. Unfortunately, the journey remained unaccomplished, just like the publication of the seal itself.

The Professor's virtual habitation in the epoch of the Bulgarian and Byzantine Middle Ages has left us with tangible results: 14 published monographs and over 300 scientific studies, articles and announcements in Bulgarian and foreign issues. An immense heritage created within a short human life. A heritage that compels, that implores the work on the Bulgarian and Byzantine seals to continue, lest we lose the path and the tracks left over 40 years ago.

Among Prof. Jordanov's seminal works are the publications on the coins of Theodor-Peter – he was the first to confirm their authenticity and he developed the hypothesis that they are to be linked with the first rulers from the Asen dynasty; he published the unknown then “fake” gold Byzantine coins or the so called fourées; he classified the coins of the Dobrudzha rulers; he continued the work and emphasized on the topic of cast Byzantine coins; he summarized, explored and published a vast monograph on the Byzantine coins of 1081-1261; he read the gold medallion of Khan Omurtag; while studying the coins on Micho Asen, he rightly reassessed the contribution of the bronze bipartite shell-shaped matrix, relating it to this particular Bulgarian ruler; he searched, documented and published in a full corpus all Bulgarian and Byzantine seals from Bulgaria. Undoubtedly, most significant of all remains his capital work, *Corpus of the Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria* (2009), which is without analogy in the world sigillographic science.

One of his favourite subjects was “the travelling of the seals”. He regarded seals as living sources that, from the moment of sealing of the correspondence, took on a journey to the addressee, who ended that travel by breaking the seal. And so began the history of the seal. By taking it out of the ground, the explorer wiped away the centuries that left marks on the artefact, but also lifted the veil of the unknown, in an attempt to reveal the identity of the person whose name was engraved on the lead surface. Ivan Jordanov lived for this moment. The thrill of deciphering the name, the title, the office that the person held, the life they lived or the people they met. The revelation of the smallest of details made this distant personage, centuries away from us, come closer to us in our tedious grey daily life. For Ivan Jordanov,

a day without a seal read, or without work carried out on a seal, was a day wasted, meaningless.

His joy in life was not limited to seals. Most of all, it came from his loving family – his wife Ulyana, daughters Milkana and Desislava, granddaughters Natalie, Alexandra, Yoanna, and ... the cats. After he left, the cats of which he took care in the garden next to the *Filial's* building disappeared. They also felt his loss. He enjoyed nature, the early morning walks on the Shumen plateau and the peace he found in this solitude among nature.

Joy was brought to his life also by his friends, who gradually, slowly and irreversibly, started to disappear one by one. For this reason, he immersed himself even more in science. He relied strongly on his new circle of friends who built a shield of unquestionable trust and support around him – the young colleagues, his pupils, with whom he was in touch until his last day. Not every scholar of this rank succeeds in forming a school of young followers. As part of this academic circle, I can proudly state that I, too, am a product of Ivan Jordanov's school. Founder and director of the "Scientific Center for Byzantine Studies" at Shumen University, with this authority he enhanced Shumen's position as one of the leading centers of numismatics and sigillography. By decision of the Faculty council and the Humanities Department, this center now bears his name.

Such was the everyday life of Ivan Jordanov. Some might call it absolutely boring. But he was in possession of a unique quality – an infinitely tactful sense of humour. It was his humour that always made him the heart of the company, and during our participations in scientific forums, the colleagues were crowding around him not only because of respect, but also with desire to approach his human charisma. He was and he will remain one of the great names in the world's Byzantine sigillography and prosopography.

24 May 2022

Shumen

Zhenya Zhekova

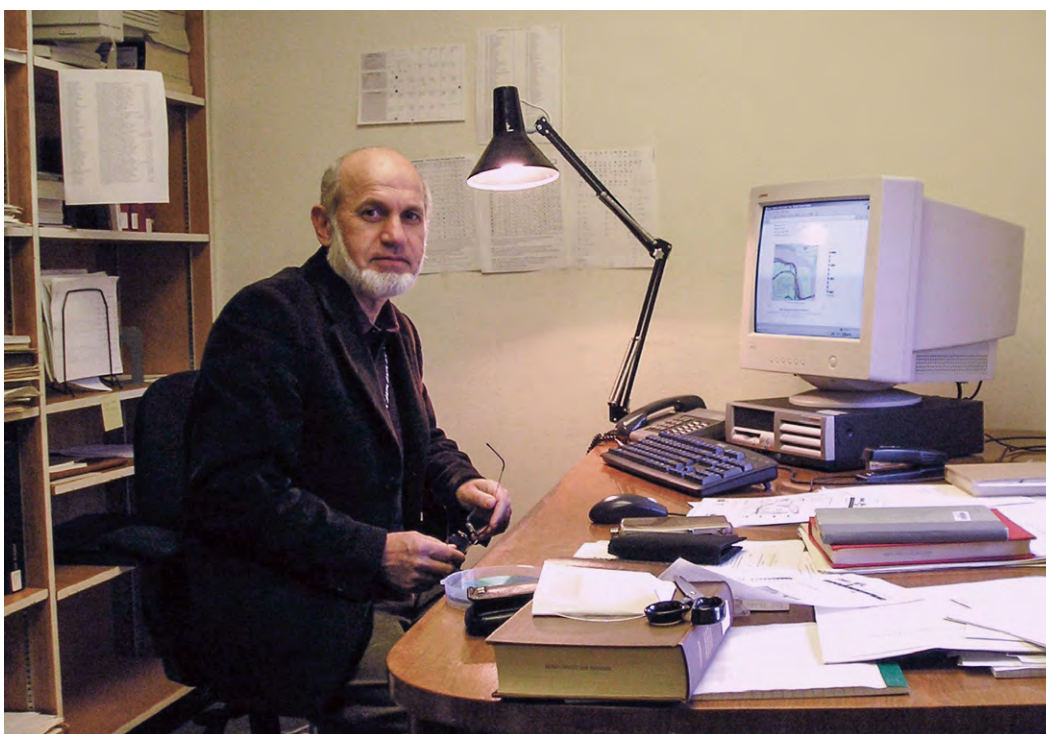
CURRICULUM VITAE**Prof. Dr.Sc. Ivan Jordanov Jordanov**

- 13 April 1949 – born in Tsar Samuil village, Silistra region.
- 1972 – MA degree in history at Veliko Tarnovo University “St. st. Cyril and Methodius”.
- 1972-1974 – curator at the Museum of History – Nova Zagora.
- 1974-2018 – employed at the Shumen Branch (Filial) of the National Archaeological Institute with Museum, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (NAIM-BAS).
- 1978 – defended his PhD thesis: Монети и монетно обръщение в Източна България от периода 1081-1261 г. [*Coins and coin circulation in Eastern Bulgaria in the period 1081-1261*].
- 1981 – took part in the XVI International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Vienna.
- 1984 – published his first monograph: Монети и монетно обращение в средновековна България 1081-1261 г. [*Coins and coin circulation in medieval Bulgaria 1081-1261*].
- 1986 – took part in the XVII International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Washington, D.C.
- 1988 – received habilitation at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.
- 1988 – took part in the II International Symposium of Byzantine Studies and Sigillography, Athens.
- 1989, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2008 – specializations at the Center for Byzantine Studies at Harvard University – Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.
- 1990-1991 – head of the Shumen Branch of NAIM-BAS.
- 1990-2017 – member of the Scientific Council of NAIM-BAS, Sofia.
- 1991 – took part in the XVIII International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Moscow.
- 1991 – became member of the International Association of Byzantine Sigillography.
- 1992 – doctor of historical sciences with the book Корпус на византийските печати от България (*Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria*).
- 1993 – specialization at Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- 1993 – took part in the IV International Symposium of Byzantine Studies and Sigillography, Vienna.
- 1993 – published the monograph Печатите от стратегията в Преслав [*The Seals from the Strategy in Preslav*].
- 1995-2003 – head of the Shumen Branch of NAIM-BAS.
- 1996 г. – selected to serve as First Degree Senior Researcher at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and Professor at the educational system respectively.
- 1994-1996 – head of the department of *History and archaeology* at Shumen University.

- 1998 – specialization at the *Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies – Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik*, University of Vienna.
- 1998 – main organizer and head of the *VI International Symposium of Byzantine Studies and Sigillography* in Veliki Preslav.
- 1998-2010 – member of the Specialized scientific council for *Ancient and medieval history, archaeology and ethnography* at the Supreme Attestation Commission of the Ministry Council of Bulgaria.
- 1999 – chairman of the Bulgarian Union of Scientists, Shumen Branch.
- 2001 – took part in the *XX International Congress of Byzantine studies*, Paris.
- 2001 – published the Корпус на печатите на средновековна България [*Corpus of the seals of medieval Bulgaria*].
- 2003 – took part in the *VIII International Symposium of Byzantine Studies and Sigillography*, Berlin.
- 2003 – published the *Corpus of the Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria. Volume 1. Corpus of the Byzantine Seals with Geographical Names*.
- 2004 – editor-in-chief of the journal Нумизматика, сфрагистика и епиграфика [*Numismatics, Sphragistics and Epigraphy*], published by NAIM-BAS.
- 2005 – took part in the *International Symposium 40 Years On*, in honour of Prof. Michael Metcalf, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- 2005 – founder and head of the Научноизследователски център по византинистика – *Scientific Research Center for Byzantine Studies* at Shumen University.
- 2006 – took part in the *XXI International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, London.
- 2006 – published the *Corpus of the Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria. Volume 2. Byzantine Seals with Family Names*.
- 2007 – main organizer and chairman of the *International Symposium* in Shumen, dedicated to the centenary of the birth of Dr. Vasil Haralanov, the most prominent Bulgarian private collector.
- 2008 – chairman of the international conference *Пътуванията в средновековна България – Journeys in Medieval Bulgaria*, Shumen.
- 2008 – received the “Shumen’s award for art and culture” for his book *Catalogue of Medieval Seals at the Regional Historical Museum of Shumen*.
- 2009 – published the *Corpus of the Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria. Volume 3*.
- 2009 – received the title of *Honorary citizen of Shumen*.
- 2018 – elected as *Doctor honoris causa* of Shumen University.



Иван Йорданов в любимия Преслав
Ivan Jordanov in his beloved Preslav



В кабинета си в Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, 2008
In his office at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, 2008



С Янис Турацоглу, Ернест Оберлендер-Търновеану, Жения Жекова
и Майкъл Меткалф в Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 2005
With Yannis Touratsoglou, Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveanu, Zhenya Zhekova,
and Michael Metcalf in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 2005



С Димитър Ангелов, Васил Гюзелев и Евридика Георгантели на Конгреса
по византистика в Лондон, 2006.
With Dimitar Angelov, Vassil Gyuzelev and Eurydice Georganteli at the Congress of
Byzantine Studies in London, 2006



Връчване на почетното звание Doctor honoris causa
на Шуменския университет „Еп. К. Преславски“, май 2018

The conferral of the honorary degree Doctor honoris causa of the Shumen University "Bishop Konstantin Preslavski", May 2018



С Тодор Тодоров и Жения Жекова по време на XII симпозиум по византийска
сфрагистика в Санкт Петербург, май 2019

With Todor Todorov and Zhenya Zhekova at the XII Symposium of Byzantine Sigillography
in Saint Petersburg, May 2019

IN MEMORIAM PROFESSORIS IVANI JORDANOV

БИБЛИОГРАФИЯ НА ТРУДОВЕТЕ
НА ПРОФ. ДИН ИВАН ЙОРДАНОВ
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PUBLICATIONS
OF PROF. DR.SC. IVAN JORDANOV

1973

- Редки византийски монети. – Нумизматика 8.3, 1973, 11-14.
Няколко необнародвани колониални монети от музея на Нова Загора.
– Нумизматика 8.4, 1973, 1-3.

1974

- Тракийски монети – подражания на тетрадрахмите на Маронея. – Нумизматика 9.3, 1974, 1-4 .
Монетосеченето на Константин Асен (1257-1277). – Нумизматика 9.4, 1974, 1-6.

1975

- Колективна находка на византийски корубести монети от с. Овчарци, Сливенски окръг. – Археология 17.1, 1975, 61-67.
Препечатани византийски монети. – Нумизматика 10.2-3, 1975, 11-18.
„Чужди“ монети в паричния пазар на средновековния Шумен (XIII-XV в.). – Годишник на музеите в Северна България 1, 1975, 141-152.

1976

- Монетосечене на Теодор Мангафа – узурпатор във Филаделфия през 1189-1190 и 1204-1208 г. – Нумизматика 11.1-2, 1976, 20-28.
Колективна находка на корубести монети от с. Кортен, Новозагорско. – Археология 18.1, 1976, 1-70.
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1977

- За началото на монетосеченето в Средновековна България. – Нумизматика 12.3, 1977, 3-23.
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1978

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1979

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1980

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1984

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1985

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1987

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1988

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Камен Андонов, Пантелис Харалампакис
Kamen Andonov, Pantelis Charalampakis

Два новых византийских моливдовула в болгарскую сфрагистическую копилку

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Вклад проф. И. Йорданова в мировую науку и в частности в византийскую сфрагистику по истине велик и неоценим. Его корпус «Византийских печатей из Болгарии» не только собрал воедино, найденные в различных уголках Болгарского государства буллы гражданских чиновников, военачальников, представителей клира и аристократии, но и создал благодатную почву для продолжения исторических штудий по многим вопросам, взаимодействия сопредельных балканских территорий с Византийской империей.

Немаловажную ценность в сфрагистической базе данных имеет именно информация о происхождении памятника, дающая возможность, иногда исключительно благодаря самим печатям, выявить существование и связей между регионами, и контактов местных властей с центральной или провинциальными администрациями, государственными ведомствами, церковными институтами или представителями византийской знати, многие из которых – известные исторические личности. И что самое ценное, это во многом способствует открытию всё новых и новых страниц истории как самой Болгарии, так и многогранного мира в её окружении.

Зная неудержимую страсть профессора И. Йорданова к открытию новых сфрагистических источников, мы, его друзья и коллеги, по мере сил и возможностей всегда старались всячески помочь ему в дополнении корпуса, разыскивая моливдовулы сохранившие историю своего болгарского происхождения. Продолжаем это делать и сегодня. В одной из московских сфрагистических коллекций удалось выявить ещё пару моливдовулов, в своё время привезённых из Болгарии.

К сожалению, на данный момент не удалось обнаружить экземпляры, ранее не встречавшиеся среди болгарских находок. Но, тем не менее, появление дублетных печатей очевидное свидетельство определённой активности представляемых персонажей, вне всякого сомнения, поддерживавших постоянную связь со своими корреспондентами на Балканах.

Первый моливдовул относится к серии так называемых анонимных памятников сфрагистики, на которых собственник печати, не указывая своего имени, заменял его, иносказательной, стихотворной или зашифрованной легендой. В своё время мы уже представили аналогичный экземпляр (Алексеев 2011, 356, 359, # 6, рис. 6). Сегодня у нас есть возможность представить его дубликат, обнаруженный в том же собрании.

1. М-343. Частная коллекция И. Горшкова[†], Москва. (рис. 1).

D – 21 мм; толщина пластинки – 4 мм; вес 11,6 г.

Аверс. В ободке из слившихся в линию точек погрудное изображение св. воина Димитрия с копьем и щитом в руках. По сторонам надпись в столбик: слева – .|Δ|Η; справа – .|Μ|ΙΤ|Ρ| – [Ο (ἅγιος)] Δη(ή)τρ(ιος).

Реверс. В ободке из слившихся в линию точек пятистрочная стихотворная надпись, которая традиционно должна начинаться небольшим крестиком:

..ΚΕΠΟΙ
ΜΕΜΑΚΑΡ
ΤΟΝΠΟΛΑ
ΣΟΙΠΟΘΟΥΝ
ΤΗ

[+Σ]κέποις(ς)
με, μάκαρ,
τὸν πολ(λ)ὰ
σοι ποθοῦν
τη

Σκέποις με, μάκαρ, τὸν πολλὰ σοι ποθοῦντη –
Защити меня, блаженный, покровительством своей любви.



Рис. 1. Анонимная печать с метрической легендой. Конец XI в.

Печать по всем признакам относится к памятникам сфрагистики XI в.

Данный тип моливдовулов хорошо известен в сфрагистической литературе (Feind 2012, 54-55, # 1499; Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, 330-331, # 2059) по находкам исключительно на территории Болгарии. Весьма примечательно, что лишь для единственного экземпляра с аукциона Rauch Mail Bid Sale 11: 12-09-2006, # 1448 не известно его место находки (см.: SBS, 191, # 1448), но может быть и он имеет болгарское происхождение.

Стихотворная легенда оборотной стороны моливдовула представляет инвокативное изречение: «Защити меня, блаженный, покровительством своей любви». Вне всякого сомнения, что в византийском обществе при почтовой корреспонденции в по-

добных нашему в случаях, благодаря специфическому тексту легенды, получатель послания не сомневался в имени своего адресанта и не нуждался в каких-либо дополнительных указаниях на печати. Изображение образа святого воина Димитрия на лицевой стороне буллы предусматривает, что инвокативное обращение легенды было адресовано этому святому патрону владельца моливдовула. Как известно, образ святого воина Димитрия был очень популярен в Византии и на свои печати его помещали самые различные категории византийских чиновников, многие военачальники, придворные аристократы и даже представители клира; не говоря уже о том, что Димитрий являлся патроном города Фессалоники. Конечно, остается только гадать, кто мог быть владельцем нашей печати, и надо полагать весьма активным корреспондентом, т. к. сегодня уже известно по меньшей мере более десятка его моливдовулов из Преслава, Силистры и Поморие (Маслев 1955, 458, обр. 14; Йорданов 1993, 206, # 449-451; Jordanov, Zhekova 2007, 187, # 533; Jordanov, 2009, 765-766, # 2485-2491A), которые проф. И. Йорданов датировал последней четвертью XI в. Следует отметить, что большая часть из них (надо полагать, это особенно важно!) происходит из преславского архива печатей.

Судя по всему, собственник рассматриваемой печати являлся достаточно высокопоставленным византийским сановником, у которого очевидно были определённые интересы в болгарском регионе в связи с чем он и вёл такую активную переписку с византийской ставкой в Преславе и, кроме того, отправлял свои депеши и на побережье Понта, и на Дунай.

Второй моливдовул принадлежит к категории патронимических булл и представляет одного константинопольских военных функционеров.

2. М-436. Частная коллекция И. Горшкова[†], Москва. (рис. 2).

Д – 33 мм; толщина пластинки – 2,5 мм; вес 13,4 г.

Аверс. Погрудное изображение И. Христа с округлой бородой, в крещатом нимбе, в тунике, держащего в левой руке Евангелие, анфас. По сторонам фигуры титлы: слева – [Π]C; справа – ΧC – [Ι(ησοῦ)ς] Χ(ριστό)ς. Вокруг традиционная легенда с инвокативным обращением к помощи Господа: ...ΟΗΘΕΙΤ..Ο... – [Κύριε β]οήθει τῷ σ[ῳ]δ[ο]ύλ[ω].

Реверс. Пятистрочная надпись, украшенная сверху и снизу, расположенными в ряд тремя жемчужинами:



Рис. 2. Печать Льва Муката, императорского протоспафария ἐπὶ τοῦ μαγυλαβίου. Конец X – начало XI в.

...
 +ΛΕΟΝ
 ἸϞ·Α·CΠΑ
 Θ·ΕΠΙ·
 ΓΛΑΡ.
 ΜῶΚΑ.
 ...

Λέον
 τ(ι) β(ασιλικῶ) (πρωτο)σπα
 θ(αρίῳ) ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) [μ]
 [α]γ(γ)λαβ[(ίου) ὁ]
 Μ(ου)κά[τ(ης)]

Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Λέοντι βασιλικῶ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ
 μαγγλαβίου ὁ Μουκάτης

—
 Господи, помоги твоему рабу Льву, императорскому
 протоспафарию и командиру стражи маглавитов
 из рода Мукатов.

Весьма примечательно, что абсолютное большинство моливдовулов, владельцем которых был Лев Мукат, происходит из раскопок преславской ставки византийского стратига и ныне хранятся в собрании археологического музея Великого Преслава. Сначала были выявлены 21 экз.; ещё две печати из частных коллекций также были найдены на территории второй болгарской столицы (Йорданов 1993, 40-41, # 32-54). В своё время в рецензии на издание печатей из стратигии Преслава В. Зайбт отметил, что ещё один подобный экземпляр имеется в коллекции М.-Л. Зарниц (Seibt 1996, 135, # 32-54). Однако в издание коллекции немецкой собирательницы он почему-то не попал (см.: Seibt, Zarnitz 1997). Проф. И. Йорданов не исключал возможности, что печать Льва Муката как и многие буллы из коллекции М.-Л. Зарниц могли иметь болгарское происхождение и, вероятно, имели отношение к Преславу (Jordanov 2009, 138).

С течением времени количество моливдовулов Льва Муката неуклонно росло и в своём Корпусе проф. И. Йорданов сообщал уже о трёх десятках экземплярах (Jordanov 2006, 299, # 482-514; Jordanov 2009, 137-138, # 285-314A). В 2013 г. при раскопках главного храма в Великом Преславе был обнаружен новый экземпляр печати Льва Муката, и их число увеличилось до 31 моливдовула (Йорданов 2015, 226, # 12).

К сожалению точное место находки рассматриваемого нами сегодня очередного (32-го) экземпляра установить невозможно; известно лишь то, что он найден на территории Болгарии.

На удивительную активность этого персонажа в своё время обратил внимание В. Зайбт (Seibt 1996, 135). В свою очередь проф. И. Йорданов ещё в самом начале сфрагистических исследований отмечал, что все 23 буллы из Преслава были оттиснуты одной и той же парой матриц на одинаковых по форме и размеру заготовках, что свидетельствует об относительно коротком сроке поступления корреспонденции, который мог быть в пределах последних десятилетий X – начала XI в. (Йорданов 1993, 41).

Такой датировки не противоречит и иконография образа И. Христа. Практически тождественное изображение мы находим на византийских анонимных фоллисах периода 976-1025 гг. (Grierson 1999, 21, # 39).

Исходя из легенды, Лев Мукат имел непосредственное отношение к столичному корпусу маглавитов – телохранителей императора, которые согласно источникам были вооружены мечами, двуручными топорами и дубинками (μαγλάβια), откуда и получили своё название. Они появляются в источниках в конце VIII в. и исчезают к концу XI в. (Oikonomides 1972, 328). Византийские Тактикины не упоминают ни о каком командире корпуса маглавитов, а только указывают на принадлежность к нему (Oikonomides 1972, 149¹⁸, 151²⁷, 183³⁰, 199⁴, 22²², 227⁴). Некоторые исследователи предполагают, что корпусом маглавитов мог командовать этериарх, но поскольку их было четверо, один из них и являлся маглавитом (Bury 1911, 108; Seibt 1978, 207). А. С. Мохов высказал мнение, что владельцы печатей ἐπὶ τοῦ μαγλαβίου, по крайней мере в IX в., как минимум, относятся к числу военных архонтов среднего ранга [Мохов 2016, 125-129]. Проф. И. Йорданов рассматривал маглавитов второй половины X – начала XI в. уже не как обычную гвардию, а считал, что в силу своего высокого ранга (императорских протоспафариев) последние, скорее всего, были почётными членами этого корпуса телохранителей императора (Jordanov 2009, 135).

Как видим, именно в ранге императорского протоспафария на печати и предстаёт Лев Мукат. Но, безусловно, главный упор в легенде был адресован званию маглавита, демонстрировавшему непосредственную приближённость заказчика печати к особе императора.

Как нам представляется, здесь можно вспомнить ещё одну печать из коллекции М.–Л. Зарниц, собственником которой был Лев, ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης ἐταρείας (Seibt, Zarnitz 1997, 176-177, # 4.3.9). К сожалению, моливдовул не содержит родового имени владельца (датирован издателями второй половиной X в.). Как известно, для этого периода указание родового имени на печатях ещё не стало традицией. Но не исключено, что мы всё-таки имеем дело с двумя типами печатей одного владельца, последовательно сменивших один другой. И печати, возможно, отражают этапы служебной карьеры протоспафария Льва, сначала в столичном элитном корпусе Великой этерии, а затем на посту – маглавита – офицера стражи телохранителей императора.

В своё время В. Зайбт отмечал, что сановник, помещавший на своей печати термин ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης ἐταρείας, являлся офицером-телохранителем, но отнюдь не главным командиром – этериархом и высказал мысль о том, что многие мужчины, которым удавалось получить такое привилегированное положение, как императорский телохранитель, стремились оставаться на своём посту как можно дольше (Seibt 1978, 212). В свою очередь Н. Икономидис предлагал перевод термина ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης ἐταρείας, во-первых, как «лицо, несущее ответственность за служение в Великой этерии», но также отмечал, что в этом же выражении может указываться и лицо, участвующее в конкретной группе должностных лиц (Oikonomides 2001, 13). Например, аналогичной ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρισотρικλίνου, члены которой, будучи исключительно протоспафариями, имели право участвовать в императорских приёмах в парадном зале (Χρισотрикλινε) большого константинопольского дворца. Следует также отметить, что

служба императорской Великой этерии, со второй половины X в. являлась одним из наиболее боеспособных подразделений византийского войска, которые комплектовались не только из подданных империи, но и из наемников-иностранцев (Oikonomidès 1972, 327-329).

В этой связи напомним, что в одном из комментариев в отношении преславских печатей Льва Муката проф. И. Йорданов отмечал, что «может быть стоит задаться вопросом, имеет ли его имя славянское происхождение» (Jordanov 2009, 138).

Кажется, в пользу не византийского происхождения прото-спафария Льва, ἐπί της μεγάλης εταιρείας может свидетельствовать и сфрагистический тип его печати. Именно изображение аналогичной фигуры царя зверей мы находим на моливдовулах чиновников ведомства ἐπὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, многие из которых сами являлись, поступившими на службу Византии варварами (Oikonomides 2001, 20-25).

Вне всякого сомнения, владельца рассматриваемого моливдовула необходимо причислить к категории высокопоставленных константинопольских военных. В нашем случае, надо полагать, что Лев Мукат мог быть руководителем телохранителей императора и обеспечивал охрану и безопасность василевса не только при дворцовых церемониях, но и при сопровождении василевса в различных выездах или военных кампаниях. Проф. И. Йорданов пришёл к убеждению, что множество печатей Льва Муката среди преславских находок убедительное доказательство того, что он, безусловно, являлся одним из участников известного похода весной 971 г. в качестве офицера или командира корпуса маглавитов (Jordanov 2015, 226). По нашему мнению, последнее более очевидно: вряд ли простой офицер мог быть удостоен высокой чести посылать свои депеши в византийскую ставку, разместившись в бывшей болгарской столице.

В заключение отметим, что каждый новый византийский моливдовул, донося до нас, содержащуюся в его легенде информацию, всякий раз неизменно расширяет наши знания о современной ему эпохе и порой открывает новые неизвестные страницы истории. И болгарские земли здесь совсем не являются исключением.

Введение в оборот новой информации, несомненно, не может не вызвать интерес не только со стороны учёных, но и широкого круга любителей исторической науки. И это наш вклад в продолжение Дела всей жизни нашего друга и коллеги проф. Ивана Йорданова.

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АУКЦИОНЫ

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Два нови византийски моливдовула за българската сфрагистична база данни

Николай А. АЛЕКСЕЕНКО

Събирането и изучаването на византийски печати без съмнение са от изключителна важност за българската история. Наред с това, те предоставят възможност да разкрием някои специфични аспекти на връзките на Империята, в нейната цялост и многообразие, с периферията.

Статията представя два византийски моливдовула, произхождащи от България.

И двата датират от средновизантийския период. Първият от тях е анонимен, с метричен надпис. Няма съмнение, че по своите стилистични белези този моливдовул трябва да се датира в XI в. Другият печат принадлежи на Лъв Мукат, императорски прото-спатарий ἐπὶ τοῦ μαγγλαβίου. Този моливдовул е типологически близък до паметници от края на X - началото на XI в.

Въвеждането на тези печати в научно обращение допълва и увеличава, до известна степен, нашите познания за византийското присъствие в България и за контактите на местно ниво.

Deux nouveaux hyperpères contremarqués de Jean III Doukas-Batatzès (1222-1254). Retour sur la question

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Dans une collection privée, à Genève, nous avons rencontré deux monnaies d'or byzantines, concaves, du règne de l'empereur de Nicée Jean III Doukas-Batatzès (1222-1254), contremarquées, au revers, de têtes masculines gravées dans un style plutôt fruste (**figs. 1-2**). Elles proviennent de ventes aux enchères (G&M 142 : 10/11-10-2005, # 3323 et G&M 186 : 08/09-03-2010, # 2590) et leurs mesures sont, respectivement, de 4.16 g ; 23 mm, et de 4.01 g ; 25 mm.¹

Le type monétaire des deux monnaies correspond à celui de la seconde série d'hyperpères émise par l'atelier de Magnésie, représentant, à l'avant, le Christ bénissant assis sur un trône sans dossier, et, au revers, la Vierge en pied couronnant l'empereur, à gauche, en pied, de face, vêtu du *lôros*, tenant le sceptre posé par terre, de la main droite, et l'*akakia* ou le *volumen* dans la main gauche (DOC 4.2, pl. XXX, # 6-10).

D'aspect tout à fait régulier, les deux monnaies présentent aussi des graffiti, une pratique qu'on constate déjà sur des *histaména* de la fin du X^e siècle mais surtout sur des hyperpères et des trachéa d'électrum à partir du règne d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène (Gerasimov 1978 ; Nicolaou 1987 ; Οικονομίδου 1992 ; Mandic et al. 1994, 60, # 19-23, et 167-169 – tableaux de graffiti; Πέννα, Τουράτσογλου 2004, 387-389 – tableaux de graffiti; Bendall 1988).²

Sur la première des monnaies en question (**fig. 1**, revers), au contour irrégulier, les deux têtes sont contremarquées de poinçons légèrement différents l'un de l'autre (voir p. ex. la position des yeux). Le motif ainsi obtenu représente deux têtes masculines, portant moustache et barbe courte, coiffées d'une couronne bordée de six grosses perles et dotée de *pendilia*. La tête de droite est frappée au milieu de l'auréole qui entourait initialement la tête de la Vierge et elle est placée un peu plus haut que celle de gauche. Le regard ainsi que les têtes des deux figures sont nettement tournés à gauche de l'observateur. Entre les deux têtes et à droite dans le champ, les sigles, $\overline{MP}$ - Θ[V]. Au droit, la trace des deux contremarques est bien visible. À droite du Christ, trois (ou quatre ?) globules sont présentes, ce qui, avec le

¹ Nous remercions le collectionneur de nous avoir montré ces deux monnaies et confié leur étude et publication.

² De tels graffiti auraient été tracés sur les monnaies par des changeurs ou des marchands grecs, latins ou même arabes, pour indiquer, probablement, la qualité du métal, en période de dévaluation. Plusieurs tableaux sont publiés dressant leurs différentes formes. La plupart des monnaies étudiées ici portent des graffiti sur l'une ou les deux faces, signalés dans le tableau.



Fig. 1. Hyperpère contremarqué de Jean III Doukas-Batzès (1222-1254), imitation latine (1240-1261 ?), av/rv, coll. de Genève.



Fig. 2. Hyperpère contremarqué de Jean III Doukas-Batzès (1222-1254), av/rv, coll. de Genève.

dessin du nimbe linéaire qui reste visible, pourrait indiquer qu'il s'agit d'une imitation latine du monnayage de Jean III Batatzès (Oberländer-Târnoveau 2000, 506-507).

Sur la seconde monnaie (**fig. 2**), le motif du Christ, au droit, est nettement mieux conservé que sur la pièce précédente, si ce n'est qu'il y a eu un glissement du coin lors de la frappe, avec un effet de tréflage. Aucune marque d'émission n'est visible dans le champ, si ce n'est l'ombre du bouton du traversin du trône. En revanche, le nimbe du Christ est nettement pointillé, ce qui nous amène à considérer cette monnaie comme une émission nicéenne. Au revers, seule la tête de la Vierge est contremarquée d'une tête masculine similaire aux deux précédentes, mais regardant bien en face. Entre les deux têtes, le sigle $\overline{\text{MHP}}$. A droite, dans le champ, $\Theta[V]$ (à comparer avec DOC 4.2, pl. XXX, # 7d.2) et traces de l'inscription d'origine.

Ainsi, trois poinçons différents ont été utilisés pour la contre-marque de ces deux pièces.

Inédits, ces deux spécimens ne manquent pas de soulever le doute, compte tenu que, à Byzance, la contre-marque des monnaies n'a pas été pratiquée en dehors du VII^e siècle et seulement sur des *follis*, des monnaies en cuivre (DOC 2.1, 53-60). Toutefois, les deux monnaies genevoises ne constituent pas un cas isolé ni inconnu.

En 1971, Todor Gerasimov publiait, pour la première fois, quatre hyperpères de Jean III Batatzès du même type que ceux de Genève, contremarqués de têtes masculines barbues et couronnées semblables à celles décrites ci-dessus (Gerasimov 1971). Trois d'entre elles (**fig. 3**), dont la localisation est inconnue à ce jour,³ appartenaient à la collection du médecin V. Haralanov, collectionneur bien connu, originaire de Shumen. À l'époque de la publication de l'article de Gerasimov, le quatrième hyperpère venait d'être acquis par le Musée national d'archéologie de Sofia, où il est toujours conservé sous le # 1510 (**fig. 4**).⁴ D'après la description du numismate, un poinçon différent a été utilisé pour chacune de ces quatre monnaies. Ajoutons qu'ils sont aussi différents des trois contremarques appliquées sur les hyperpères genevois.

De provenance et de localisation apparemment inconnues, Konstantin Dochev mentionne et illustre la photo d'une cinquième monnaie semblable à ces quatre (Доcheв 2015, 75, pl. IX.7) (**fig. 5**).

En 2000, Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveau, publiait un long article consacré aux monnaies d'or de Jean III Batatzès provenant du trésor d'Uzun Baïr (Tulcea, Roumanie), dont il date l'enfouissement entre 1300 et 1301 (Oberländer-Târnoveau 2000, 501, note 9). Parmi ce lot de monnaies, le numismate a identifié neuf hyperpères contremarqués

³ Nous tenons cette information de Zhenya Zhekova, conservatrice au Musée régional historique de Shumen, que nous remercions de sa précieuse collaboration également dans notre recherche bibliographique sur le monnayage médiéval bulgare.

⁴ Nous remercions Hristo Popov, directeur du Musée national d'archéologie de Sofia, ainsi que Miroslava Dotkova, pour avoir mis à notre disposition la photo de cette monnaie et répondu à toutes nos questions.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

Fig. 3. Hyperpères contremarqués de Jean III Doukas-Batatzès (1222-1254), av/rv, imitation latine, coll. Charalanov (Gerasimov 1971, 114, figs. 1-3).

⁵ Sans doute par une faute de frappe, à la page 509, référence est faite au # 174 du catalogue au lieu du # 173.

⁶ Nos remerciements pour les photos de ces monnaies vont tout particulièrement à Sorin-Cristian Ailincăi, directeur de l'Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale «Gavrilă Simion» (ICEM) de Tulcea, Roumanie, où ces monnaies sont aujourd'hui conservées, ainsi qu'à Laurent Chrzanovski, professeur à l'Ecole doctorale et postdoctorale de l'Université «Lucian Blaga» de Sibiu, Roumanie.

⁷ Nous n'avons pas pu avoir accès à cette publication.

(Oberländer-Târnoveanu 2000, 509-510, 560-561, pl. XLII, # 165-168, XLIII, # 169-172 et XLIV, # 173)⁵ (figs. 6-11).⁶ Cependant seulement six d'entre elles le sont de têtes masculines barbues, soit sur les deux têtes du revers (# 167-169) soit sur la seule effigie de la Vierge (# 171-173), caractéristique qui nous intéresse ici au premier chef. Sur les trois autres hyperpères (pl. XLII, # 165-166 et XLIII, # 170), l'effigie de la Vierge nous semble reconnaissable. Oberländer-Târnoveanu signale aussi une monnaie contremarquée supplémentaire de ce type, provenant du trésor d'Isaccea (Iliescu 1975, 242-243, # 3, pl. I, # 3).⁷ Selon lui, sur la base de flans irréguliers et de marques d'émission à l'avvers, la



Fig. 4. Hyperpère contremarqué de Jean III Doukas-Batatzès (1222-1254), av/rv, imitation latine, Musée national d'archéologie, Sofia, # 1510.



Fig. 5. Hyperpère contremarqué de Jean III Doukas-Batatzès (1222-1254), av/rv, imitation latine (Дочев 2015, pl. IX.7).

monnaie d'Isaccea, cinq des neuf monnaies contremarquées d'Uzun Baïr⁸ et trois de celles publiées par Gerasimov (Gerasimov 1971, 114, # 1-2, 4) seraient des *perperi latini*, des imitations des monnaies de Jean III Doukas-Batatzès par les empereurs latins de Constantinople (Oberländer-Târnoveau 2000, 506-509, notes 78 et 79).⁹

En 2015, Dochev (Дочев 2015) présentait deux monnaies de Michel VIII Paléologue, dont le revers est entièrement retravaillé, et non seulement contremarqué.¹⁰ La première (fig. 12) provient d'un trésor du XIII^e/XIV^e siècle trouvé à Dolishte, dans la région de Varna, alors que la seconde (fig. 13), conservée aujourd'hui au Musée national d'histoire, à Sofia (# 33533), provient très probablement aussi d'un trésor de la région de Shumen/Varna, au sud-est de la Bulgarie.¹¹ Toutes les deux sont du type de la série III des émissions de Michel VIII, qui est datée d'après l'entrée de l'empereur à Constantinople, en 1261, et qui représente, à l'avvers, la Vierge orante au milieu des murailles de Constantinople, et, au revers, l'empereur accompagné par saint Michel et agenouillé devant le Christ (DOC 5.2, pl. 1-2).

L'avvers de la monnaie du trésor de Dolishte est passablement usé, alors que les têtes gravées au revers sont d'un style chargé, très différent de celui des têtes appliquées sur les monnaies de Jean III Batatzès. Cependant, à l'avvers de la seconde monnaie, qui présente aussi un effet de tréflage, on voit bien au-dessous de la figure de la Vierge les sigles KA¹². D'après le tableau de sigles présents sur les monnaies de Michel VIII dressé par S. Bendall (Bendall 1988, 18 ; sigle 69), cette monnaie appartiendrait plus précisément à la série IIb des émissions de Michel VIII, sur lesquelles le Christ est représenté tenant les Évangiles à la place du *volumen*. Cette monnaie serait donc légèrement plus tardive que la monnaie de Dolishte. En revanche, la similitude des têtes masculines de cette seconde monnaie avec celles contremarquées sur les monnaies de Batatzès nous amène, avec K. Dochev, à la considérer contemporaine de ces dernières.

Outre le fait insolite du contremarquage de monnaies d'or byzantines, chacun des trois chercheurs mentionnés ci-dessus s'est appliqué à élucider et à interpréter l'acte impie du martelage de la tête de la Vierge par une tête laïque.

Ainsi, T. Gerasimov inscrit ces contremarques dans un contexte de revendications dynastiques qui auraient précédé et suivi le règne de Jean III Batatzès (1222-1254). Sur cette base, il avance trois hypothèses:

1. les deux figures seraient celle, à gauche, de Constantin, fils de Théodore I^{er} Laskaris, issu de son second mariage, avec, à droite, son

⁸ L'auteur s'y réfère par les marques d'émissions visibles sur les monnaies et non pas par leur n° de photo, ce qui rend difficile leur identification. Néanmoins, nous croyons avoir reconnu comme *perperi latini* les # 165, 166, 169, 170, 172 et 173. Les # 167, 168 et 171 sont des émissions nicéennes.

⁹ Sur la question des imitations latines, voir aussi DOC 4.2, 655-697 et une synthèse de la question par Morrisson 2015, 52-53.

¹⁰ Nous tenons à exprimer toute notre gratitude à Pantelis Charalampakis et à Milena Raycheva pour nous avoir procuré cet article et l'avoir traduit pour nous en grec.

¹¹ Nous remercions chaleureusement le professeur K. Dochev de nous avoir transmis la photo de la monnaie de Dolishte par l'intermédiaire de M. Dotkova, ainsi que la direction du Musée national d'histoire et plus particulièrement L. Georgieva pour la seconde photo de Michel VIII.

¹² Les traces d'un A en haut à droite dans le champ, indiqueraient, selon Dochev, l'utilisation de deux coins (Дочев 2015, 76).



6



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Figs. 6-11. Hyperpères contremarqués de Jean III Doukas- Batatzès (1222-1254), av/rv, imitations latines, trouvaille d'Uzun Baïr, Tulcea (Oberländer-Târnoveanu 2000, pl. XLII, # 167-168 ; XLIII, # 169, 171-172 ; XLIV, # 173).



Fig. 12. Hyperpère contremarqué de Michel VIII Paléologue (1259-1282), Constantinople, 1262-1281, av/rv, trésor de Kaletto.



Fig. 13. Hyperpère contremarqué de Michel VIII Paléologue (1259-1282), Constantinople, 1262-1281, av/rv, Musée national d'histoire, Sofia, # 33533.

saint patron homonyme. Cette hypothèse demeure néanmoins la plus fragile des trois, ce prétendant n'étant attesté que par les sources arméniennes ;

2. dans le but de brouiller ses intentions réelles à l'égard du jeune Jean IV Laskaris, fils de Théodore II (1254-1258) et successeur légitime au trône impérial, Michel VIII Paléologue (1259-1282), son tuteur et co-empereur, aurait contremarqué à la hâte des monnaies de Batatzès par des effigies représentant le jeune prince et lui-même ;

3. des partisans de Jean IV Laskaris, cruellement écarté du pouvoir par Michel VIII, en 1261, auraient contremarqué ces monnaies pour faire figurer le jeune prince et son père défunt, Théodore II.

De ces hypothèses, Oberländer-Târnoveau a retenu celle qui concerne l'identification de Michel VIII Paléologue et celle qui reconnaît en la figure de droite – couronnée et inscrite dans l'auréole de la Vierge – saint Constantin, à savoir, l'empereur Constantin I^{er} élevé au rang de saint. D'après l'archéologue roumain, le sacrilège du martelage de la tête de la Vierge ne pouvait en effet être toléré que si celle-ci était remplacée par celle d'un autre saint. Ainsi, le couple issu de la double contremarque représenterait le fondateur de Constantinople qui couronne le « Nouveau Constantin », d'après le titre que Michel VIII s'était donné lui-même. Oberländer-Târnoveau voit dans le contremarquage de ces monnaies une opération ponctuelle qui devait répondre au besoin urgent de procurer le numéraire nécessaire pour les distributions protocolaires à l'occasion de l'entrée de Michel VIII Paléologue dans la capitale historique de l'Empire, le 15 août 1261, après 57 ans d'exil à Nicée. Il s'agirait donc de l'émission d'un nombre restreint de pièces commémoratives qui devaient servir jusqu'à l'organisation de l'atelier monétaire dans Constantinople reconquise (Oberländer-Târnoveau 2000, 510).

Bien que plausible dans son ensemble, l'hypothèse d'une « émission commémorative » hâtive ne permet pas d'expliquer la provenance de ces monnaies d'une seule région géographique précise et restreinte, à savoir la partie nord-orientale de la Bulgarie actuelle (Shumen/Varna, d'où proviennent très probablement les quatre monnaies publiées par Gerasimov) et le Sud-Est de la Roumanie (les six monnaies du trésor de Uzun Bair, à Tulcea), régions qui aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles appartenaient à l'Empire bulgare. Le hasard des découvertes archéologiques peut naturellement aussi être à l'origine de ces localisations limitées.

De son côté, sans pouvoir expliquer de manière probante le sens de ces contremarques, K. Dochev (Дочев 2015) n'adopte pas l'idée d'une opération officielle, byzantine ou bulgare, surtout en raison du sacrilège accompli à l'égard de la figure sainte de la Vierge. Il privilégie plutôt une action protestataire privée, opérée sur le territoire de l'Empire bulgare et motivée par le mécontentement des Bulgares envers les agissements politiques de Michel VIII : la mise à l'écart du pouvoir par assassinat du jeune Jean IV Laskaris, successeur légitime au trône, fils d'Hélène de Bulgarie et petit frère d'Irène Laskarina, tsarine de Bulgarie (1261/1262-1268) par son mariage avec Constantin Tikh Asen (1257-1277). Et, surtout, sa politique unioniste des Eglises. D'après Pachymère, Irène n'avait de cesse d'inciter son mari à attaquer Michel VIII (Pachymère 1984, vol. 1, 191¹⁵⁻¹⁹ : II.26). Autrement dit, ces contremarques seraient une sorte de *damnatio memoriae* dirigée contre l'empereur byzantin.

Cependant, dans cet ordre d'idées, l'écrasement de la tête de la Vierge ne demeure-t-il pas un geste impie bien plus grave que les desseins unionistes de Michel VIII ?

Ce qui nous semble certain, c'est que les deux monnaies retravaillées de Michel VIII présentées par Dochev (**fig. 12-13**), et surtout celle de la classe IIIb, aux contremarques semblables à celles apposées sur les monnaies de Jean III, rendent caduque l'interprétation d'Oberländer-Târnoveau qui y avait vu des frappes commémoratives à l'occasion de l'entrée de Michel VIII à Constantinople, en 1261. Ces deux monnaies, qu'apparemment le chercheur roumain ne connaissait pas, constituent en même temps la date *post quem* de l'opération des contremarques, à savoir après 1261.

Considérant les différentes interprétations alléguées jusqu'ici, nous avons essayé d'élargir l'observation et la réflexion autour de ce petit corpus de 15 monnaies d'or au total, y comprise celle présentée aussi à la vente aux enchères G&M 142 : 10/11-10-2005, sous le # de lot 3322, inédite et de localisation inconnue à ce jour. Dans le tableau récapitulatif ci-dessous, les deux monnaies entièrement retravaillées de Michel VIII trouvent leur place en tant que référence chronologique et iconographique pour la datation des contremarques.

Pour commencer, il est intéressant de relever un point qui n'a pas été pris en considération par les trois chercheurs précédents, à savoir le nombre de poinçons utilisés pour ces contremarques. Bien que semblables, un examen attentif permet d'identifier non moins de dix-huit poinçons différents pour 23 têtes contremarquées sur quatorze monnaies étudiées ici.¹³ Un nombre élevé qui nous amène à penser que

- soit ces poinçons ont été fabriqués en parallèle dans des ateliers différents, qui suivaient, plus au moins fidèlement, un modèle unique ;
- soit qu'un nombre élevé de monnaies à contremarquer a nécessité la fabrication successive de plusieurs poinçons qui s'éloignaient au fur et à mesure du modèle d'origine.

La facture des poinçons, la frappe ainsi que le relief de l'empreinte témoignent du travail, quoique maladroit, de connaisseurs du métier. D'autre part, le recours au contremarquage – procédé plus économique en termes de temps et de matériau par rapport à la fonte du métal disponible, à la fabrication de flans vierges et la fabrication de coins pour les deux faces de la nouvelle monnaie, enfin à leur frappe (DOC 2.1, 57-58, où l'auteur analyse les divers avantages que représente le recours à la contremarque de monnaies) – suggère, que les monnaies en question ont été retravaillées dans des circonstances d'urgence et/ou de nécessité, ce qui pourrait expliquer la médiocre qualité de la gravure.

Une œuvre de faussaires semble peu probable sinon exclue. Une action protestataire par des groupes politiques privés, byzantins ou bulgares, ainsi que T. Gerasimov et K. Dochev l'ont avancée, reste envisageable, bien qu'il soit difficile de comprendre l'intérêt concret d'annuler de précieuses monnaies d'or. Pour rappel, ces types monétaires circulaient encore au milieu du XIV^e siècle, ce qui leur vaut d'être citées par le marchand florentin Francesco Pegolotti (Pegolotti 1936, 288). En revanche, le fait qu'une partie de ces monnaies proviennent de fouilles, voire d'un trésor – celui de Tulcea – contenant de monnaies de Jean III, régulières ou des imitations latines, corrobore l'hypothèse que ces contremarques émanent d'une volonté officielle précise, comme l'a soutenu E. Oberländer-Târnoveau. C'est dans cette direction que nous avons pré-

¹³Ce total ne prend pas en compte la monnaie d'Isaccea (Iliescu 1975, # 3) dont nous n'avons pas vu la photo, ni les deux monnaies de Michel VIII qui sont entièrement retravaillées et pas seulement contremarquées (Tableau # 16-17).

Tableau récapitulatif

	Coll. /Proven	Type	Autorité	Loc. act.	C/marques	Réf. Bibl.	Poinçons
1.	Genève, privé Fig. 1	Jean III Batatzès, 2 ^e série	Imit. latine	Genève	Emp. /Vierge	inédit	2
2.	Genève, privé Fig. 2	Jean III Batatzès, 2 ^e série	Emp. de Nicée ¹⁶	Genève	Vierge	inédit	1
3.	Coll. Charalanov Fig. 3(1)	Jean III Batatzès, 2 ^e série	Imit. latine	inconnue	Emp. /Vierge	Gerasimov 1971, fig. 1	1
4.	Coll. Charalanov Fig. 3(2)	Jean III Batatzès, 2 ^e série	Imit. latine	inconnue	Emp. /Vierge	Gerasimov 1971, fig. 2	1
5.	Coll. Charalanov Fig. 3(3)	Jean III Batatzès, 2 ^e série	Emp. de Nicée 3 ^e phase ¹⁷	inconnue	Emp. /Vierge	Gerasimov 1971, fig. 3	1
6.	Sofia Fig. 4	Jean III Batatzès, 2 ^e série	Imit. latine	Musée nat. archéo. # 1510	Vierge	Gerasimov 1971, fig. 4	1
7.	Bulgarie Fig. 5	Jean III Batatzès, 2 ^e série	Emp. de Nicée	inconnue	Emp. /Vierge	Дочев 2015, pl. IX. 7	2
8.	Roumanie, Uzun Baïr Fig. 6	Jean III Batatzès, 2 ^e série	Imit. latine	Roumanie, ICEM, Tulcea	Emp. /Vierge	Ob. -Târ. 2000, # 167	1
9.	Roumanie, Uzun Baïr Fig. 7	Jean III Batatzès, 2 ^e série	Emp. de Nicée 3 ^e phase	Roumanie, ICEM, Tulcea	Emp. /Vierge	Ob. -Târ. 2000, # 168	1
10.	Roumanie, trésor Uzun Baïr Fig. 8	Jean III Batatzès, 2 ^e série	Imit. latine	Roumanie, ICEM, Tulcea	Emp. /Vierge	Ob. -Târ. 2000, # 169	2
11.	Roumanie, trésor Uzun Baïr Fig. 9	Jean III Batatzès, 2 ^e série	Emp. de Nicée 3 ^e phase	Roumanie, ICEM, Tulcea	Vierge	Ob. -Târ. 2000, # 171	1
12.	Roumanie, trésor Uzun Baïr Fig. 10	Jean III Batatzès, 2 ^e série	Imit. latine	Roumanie, ICEM, Tulcea	Vierge	Ob. -Târ. 2000, # 172	1
13.	Roumanie, trésor Uzun Baïr Fig. 11	Jean III Batatzès, 2 ^e série	Imit. latine	Roumanie, ICEM, Tulcea	Vierge	Ob. -Târ. 2000, # 173	1
14.	Roumanie, Trésor d'Isaccea	Jean III Batatzès, 2 ^e série	Imit. latine	pas d'information	Emp. / Vierge?	Iliescu 1975, # 3	?
15.	Suisse ?, Coll. privée	Jean III Batatzès, 2 ^e série	Emp. de Nicée, 3 ^e phase	Suisse ?	Emp. /Vierge	Inédit ; G&M 142, # 3322	2
16.	Bulgarie, trésor région Shumen/ Varna Fig. 12	Michel VIII classe IIIb	Michel VIII	Sofia, Musée d'his- toire national, # 33533	Revers en- tièrement retravaillé	Дочев 2015, figs. 10-11	Deux têtes semblables aux précé- dentes
17.	Bulgarie, trouv. Dolishte Fig. 13	Michel VIII classe III	Michel VIII	Varna, Musée archéolo- gique	Revers en- tièrement retravaillé	Дочев 2015, figs. 8-9	Deux têtes différentes des autres

¹⁶ D'après les critères d'Oberländer-Târnoveau 2000, 517. Idem pour le # 7.

¹⁷ Oberländer-Târnoveau 2000, 513. Idem pour les # 9, 11, 15.

féfé mener une investigation en mettant à profit la lumière apportée par la seconde monnaie retravaillée de Michel VIII (**fig. 13**), et en estimant, comme K. Dochev, que la provenance exclusive de ces monnaies du territoire historique bulgare indique une opération locale bulgare.

Ainsi il convient de remarquer que sur les hyperpères étudiés ici, y comprise cette dernière, le motif obtenu après contremarquage est celui de deux figures masculines entières en pied, barbues et coiffés de la couronne impériale. Cela montre – croyons-nous – l'intention soit de reproduire le type d'une monnaie byzantine en or d'un règne conjoint, sans doute contemporaine, soit de créer ce type monétaire précis à des fins qui restent à élucider.

Or, à l'époque où nous datons ces contremarques, à savoir après 1261 et avant la fin du siècle, l'iconographie du revers des hyperpères byzantins présente d'abord Michel VIII accompagné de saint Michel, agenouillé devant le Christ qui le bénit (DOC 5.2, pl. 1-2), puis l'empereur Andronic II (1282-1328) en *proskynèse* devant le Christ (DOC 5.2, pl. 14) ou se faisant couronner par le Christ avec son fils Michel IX (DOC 5.2, pl. 15-30). Ce n'est que le *basilikon* d'Andronic II – néanmoins monnaie d'argent plate frappée un peu avant 1304 – qui présente, au revers, deux empereurs en pied et, au droit, le Christ Pantocrator (DOC 5.2, pl. 31-32).

L'hypothèse de la reproduction d'une monnaie d'or byzantine contemporaine pouvant être écartée, reste à examiner celle de l'intention de créer un type monétaire en or dans le but d'illustrer un règne conjoint.

Il faut savoir que, à ce jour, on connaît une seule monnaie bulgare en or (**fig. 14**) – aussi la seule à avoir été frappée dans les Balkans –, émise au nom d'Ivan Asen II (1218-1241).¹⁴ Par ailleurs, le monnayage de celui-ci est le premier connu du Second Empire bulgare (1186-1396).¹⁵

Rappelons aussi que le territoire qui correspond aux lieux de trousse des monnaies en question dont on connaît la provenance (Isaccea, Tulcea, région de Varna/Shumen) est, en partie, celui qui, surtout dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle, fut la scène de théâtre des confrontations militaires à répétition entre les Bulgares, les Byzantins et les Tatars de la Horde d'Or, voire de la révolte d'Ivaylo en 1277-1279.

Enfin, de cette période d'instabilité politique pour l'empire bulgare – aggravée par des attaques des Tatars de la Horde d'Or et le contrôle croissant de la région au sud du Danube par leur chef Nogai, allié de l'empereur byzantin – nous connaissons deux règnes conjoints : celui de Constantin Tikh Asen (1257-1277) avec son très jeune fils Michel, issu de son mariage avec Maria Kantakouzenè Paléologina, et celui de Georges I^{er} Terter (1280-1291) avec son fils Théodore Svetoslav. Ce dernier règne fut même reconnu par l'émission d'un trachy de billon concave représentant au droit le Christ Pantocrator et au revers deux empereurs en pied (**fig. 15**), à savoir le type recherché – selon notre hypothèse – par les monnaies contremarquées que nous étudions.¹⁶

Par ailleurs, ce type monétaire est le seul émis par Georges I^{er} Terter qui nous soit parvenu (Дочев 2009, 97-98). La date de sa frappe, comme d'ailleurs celle du couronnement de Svetoslav, n'est pas connue, mais se situe sans doute après 1284, lorsque ce dernier rentra de Nicée, où il était tenu en otage avec sa mère par les Byzantins depuis l'ascension au trône de son père, en 1280. Rappelons que Georges I^{er} fut porté au pouvoir grâce au soutien de ses confrères les Boyards, qui l'ont préféré à Ivan Asen III, fils de Mitzo Asen (1256-1257), que Michel VIII

¹⁴DOC 4.2, 641 et pl. XLVII, # 1. Trouvée à Prilep, en 1934, cette monnaie – dont l'authenticité est contestée par une minorité de spécialistes – est conservée aujourd'hui au Musée national d'archéologie de l'Académie des sciences bulgare, à Sofia, sous le # d'inventaire 679. Il s'agit d'une *perpera* de 16 carats d'or. Ce serait aussi la seule monnaie d'or frappée par un souverain slave au XIII^e siècle. Suivant le modèle byzantin, le droit représente le Christ Pantocrator, alors qu'au revers, Ivan Asen II en pied se fait couronner par saint Démétrios. Le doute qui pèse sur l'authenticité de cette pièce, frappée très probablement à Thessalonique, réside dans le double geste du saint qui de la main droite couronne le tsar et de la gauche lui tend une épée. Nous devons la photo et les coordonnées de cette monnaie à la collégialité de la direction du Musée national d'archéologie de Sofia ainsi que de M. Dotkova.

¹⁵ Sur l'importance du monnayage d'Ivan Asen II pour le renouveau de l'Empire bulgare et la consolidation de son autorité politique, voir Жекова 2019, 73-74.

¹⁶ Un bel exemplaire de cette émission fait partie des collections numismatiques du Musée historique régional de Shumen, sous le # d'inventaire 15398. Nous tenons cette information ainsi que la photo à la précieuse collaboration de Zhenya Zhekova, que nous remercions chaleureusement.



Fig. 14. Perpera d'Ivan Asen II, Thessalonique (1218-1241), av/rv, Musée national d'archéologie, Sofia, # 679.



Fig. 15. Trachy de billon de Georges I^{er} Terter, Tarnovo (1280-1291), av/rv, Musée historique régional de Shumen, # 15398.

tentait à installer sur le trône de Bulgarie après la défaite du redoutable rebelle Ivajlo (le Kordokoubas ou Lachanas des Byzantins), en 1279 (Pachymère 1984, vol. 2, 567¹²⁻²¹ : VI.8).

Les hyperpères contremarqués pourraient-ils alors être des « émissions » commémoratives de prestige à l'occasion du couronnement de Théodore Svetoslav à son retour de Nicée ? Un retour que Terter pouvait espérer prometteur pour la stabilité de son règne et pour l'avenir de sa dynastie, à un moment où son empire était réduit à la seule partie orientale du pays alors que les provinces concurrentes de Vidin et de Braničevo, à l'ouest, jouissaient du soutien du prince Nogai, devenu le modérateur incontournable des affaires politiques au sud du Danube. L'année suivante, en 1285 ou 1286, Svetoslav fut envoyé à nouveau en otage, cette fois à la cour du chef moghol (Pachymère 1984, vol. 2, 569 : VI.8), ce qui sonna définitivement le glas de la souveraineté de l'empereur bulgare et signifia la reconnaissance de son statut de vassal du khanat de la Horde d'or (Fine 1996, 225).

Pour ce qu'il s'agit du règne conjoint de Constantin Tikh Asen avec son fils Michel, aucun des six types monétaires connus émis par Constantin ne représente le jeune prince en tant que co-empereur (DOC 4.2, 646-647 et pl. XLVIII ; Дочев 2009, 60-84). Néanmoins, l'hypothèse que ces contremarques émanent de la période de ce règne et plus précisément entre 1275 (date présumée du couronnement du jeune prince) et 1279, mérite d'être aussi examinée.

Il s'agit en effet de la période où entre en scène dans la gestion des affaires de l'Etat la troisième épouse de Constantin, Maria Kantakouzène Paléologina, nièce de Michel VIII par sa sœur Irène-Eulogie et veuve du grand-domestique Alexis Philès. Dans ses *Relations Historiques*, Pachymère brosse le portrait d'une princesse hostile à son oncle à cause de sa politique religieuse unioniste, – comme l'avait été avant elle la deuxième épouse de Constantin, Irène, sœur du malheureux Jean IV Laskaris – mais aussi d'une impératrice ambitieuse, ayant le sens de ses intérêts politiques et dynastiques et la détermination nécessaire pour les revendiquer (Pachymère 1984, vol. 4, 434²⁸⁻²⁹ : XI.13).

Selon Pachymère, lorsque l'empereur bulgare Mytzès (Mitzo Asen, 1257-1258) fut déposé du trône par Constantin Tikh et chassé définitivement du territoire bulgare, il demanda l'asile à Constantinople auprès de Michel VIII en lui cédant, en contrepartie, la prospère région de Mesembria et Anchialos. Constantin Tikh, quant à lui, après avoir échoué, en 1264, et malgré l'aide décisive des Moghols, de reconquérir ces territoires, il les demanda à Michel VIII comme partie de la dot de son épouse, Maria Kantakouzène Paléologina. Sans refuser

ouvertement de les céder, l'empereur byzantin posa comme condition qu'un fils soit né à Constantin de Marie – qui aurait donc du sang grec – ce qui justifierait sa domination sur une région à une forte population grecque. A la naissance de Michel Asen vers 1272, l'empereur ne se sentit pas obligé d'honorer ses promesses, ce qui attisa les tensions existantes et surtout l'hostilité de Marie envers son oncle : comme Irène avant elle, celle-ci n'avait de cesse d'exhorter son mari à attaquer l'empereur. Un accident à cheval survenu en 1264 déjà, usait progressivement les forces de Constantin laissant à Marie – dont l'ingérence aux affaires d'Etat ne passait pas inaperçue à l'extérieur ni faisait l'unanimité auprès des Boyards – le champ libre pour défendre les droits dynastiques de son fils couronné co-empereur vers 1275, et, partant, les siens.

Mue par ce souci, Marie n'hésita pas, du vivant de Constantin, à faire assassiner, par ruse, le despote Jakov Svetoslav, maître de Vidin, le considérant dangereux pour l'avenir politique du jeune Michel Asen (Pachymère 1984, vol. 2 : VI.2). Elle alla même jusqu'à épouser le rebelle Ivajlo (Lachanas), ce *barbare*, assassin de son mari, et à lui offrir le trône de l'empire, en 1278. Un acte jugé une « *faute indigne... qui déshonorait ainsi sa race et ruinait le pouvoir en le remettant entre les mains d'un homme de rien...* » (Pachymère 1984, vol. 2, 561-563 : VI.7).

Dans un tel contexte de tensions multiples, voire de crise, entre 1277, date de la mort de Constantin, et 1279, date de la défaite de Ivajlo et de la mise en prison de Marie et de son fils par l'empereur byzantin, l'initiative de contremarquer des hyperpères byzantins à l'effigie de deux empereurs, pour évoquer le règne conjoint de Constantin et Michel (ou Ivajilo et Michel ?), pourrait émaner des vellétés politiques de la tsarine Marie qui cherchait désespérément la légitimation de ses revendications politiques et dynastiques pour elle et pour le jeune Michel. Un acte et un message politique fort, et nécessaire, à l'intention autant de ses soutiens que de ses adversaires, vu que, comme relevé plus haut, le jeune co-empereur n'avait pas trouvé place sur le monnayage pourtant varié de son père.

Nous ne saurions prétendre avoir résolu définitivement l'énigme de ces contremarques, pour le moins intrigantes, néanmoins nous pensons avoir proposé une piste qui peut mener à des plus amples recherches, que le sujet mérite¹⁷. Le corpus que constituent ces monnaies pourra sans doute être augmenté par des découvertes nouvelles sur le terrain, dans les Musées ou chez des particuliers, qui permettront d'étayer notre thèse ou d'élucider les circonstances qui ont dicté le recours à une solution, celle du contremarquage de monnaies d'or, qui semble à la fois extrême et marginale.

ABRÉVIATIONS

DOC 2 : P. Grierson. Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection. 2. Phocas to Theophile (602-717). Part 2. Phocas to Heraclius (602-641). Washington, D.C. 1968.

DOC 4 : M. F. Hendy. Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection. 4. Alexius I to Michael VIII, 1081-1261. Part 1. Alexius I to Alexius V (1081-1204). Part 2. The Emperors of Nicaea and Their Contemporaries (1204-1261). Washington, D.C. 1999.

DOC 5 : P. Grierson, Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection. 5. Michael VIII to Constantine XI, 1258-1453. Part 1. Introduction, Appendices and Bibliography / Part 2. Catalogue, Concordances and Indexes Washington, D.C. 1999.

ICEM : Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale «Gavrilă Simion» (Institut de Recherche Eco-Muséologique de Tulcea).

¹⁷ Nous tenons à remercier pour leurs encouragements et les fructueux échanges que nous avons eus avec eux Cécile Morrisson, Eleni Lianta, Nikolay Kanev, ainsi que mes collègues Matteo Campagnolo et Gilles Perret.

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LISTE DES VENTES

G&M : Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung GmbH

Две нови контрамаркирани перпери на Йоан III Дука-Ватаци (1222-1254 г.). Отново към въпроса

Мария КАМПАЊОЛО-ПОТИТУ

Откриването в частна колекция в Женева на две непубликувани перпери на Йоан III Дука-Ватаци (1222-1254 г.) даде възможност на автора да се върне към един стар, интригуващ въпрос. С тези две монети вече разполагаме с малък корпус от петнадесет перпери от типа „Богородица, коронясваща императора“, които имат особеността да бъдат контрамаркирани на обратната страна от една или две мъжки глави, поставени върху главите на Богородица и/или императора, в доста груб стил. Тези монети произхождат главно от разкопки и монетни съкровища, намерени на територията на историческа България (Тулча, Румъния; области Шумен и Варна, България). Редица учени като Т. Герасимов (1971 г.), Е. Оберлендер-Търновеану (2000 г.), и напоследък К. Дочев (2015 г.), се опитват да разберат и изтълкуват нечестивия жест, който представлява повреждането на главата на Девата от мъжка глава с императорски атрибути. Те излагат хипотези, свързани с Михаил VIII Палеолог и по-специално неговата спорна династична и религиозна политика. Въз основа на две изцяло преработени монети на Михаил VIII смятаме, че можем да твърдим, че тези контрамарки по-скоро се вписват в рамките на българските династически претенции през последната третина на XIII век (1275-1285 г.).

New insights into known Byzantine seals: Specimens from the Robert Feind collection and their parallels in Bulgaria

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Approximately 30 seals of the collection have been published by Robert Feind in his introductory volume on Byzantine Sigillography, for which see Feind 2011. For an overview of the collection and the edition of another 10 seals, see Catalano et al. 2021. Ten seals have undergone a lead isotope analysis whose results have been published in Karagiorgou et al. 2021. We are extremely thankful that Robert Feind granted us the right to work with his collection with the objective of its comprehensive publication.

² On the genealogy of SigiDoc and its interaction with the EpiDoc and EFES ecosystems, see Sopracasa et al. 2020; Sopracasa, Filosa 2020, and Bodard, Yordanova 2020. On the digital publication of the Robert Feind Collection, and especially on the application of Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI), an imaging technology which enhances the reading of legends of badly damaged seals, see Catalano et al. 2021, 298–304 and Catalano 2022.

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The collection of Robert Feind in Cologne is one of the major private collections of Byzantine seals in Germany. With more than 1,700 specimens, the collection includes a broad spectrum of seals of primary importance to historical research. Despite its value, the collection has not yet benefitted from a scholarly publication and the greatest part of it is still unstudied.¹ It is only in the framework of the bi-national project “Unlocking the Hidden Value of Seals: New Methodologies for Historical Research in Byzantine Studies” funded by the DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) and ANR (Agence Nationale de la Recherche) that the collection has received proper sigillographic attention for the first time. For the treatment, presentation, and publication of the seals we will exploit the possibilities offered by a digital environment. The Robert Feind Collection will thus be one of the first pilot sigillographic corpora to be digitally published using SigiDoc, an XML-based and TEI-compliant encoding standard optimised for the digital edition of seals currently being developed by a research team based at the CNRS, UMR 8167 Orient et Méditerranée (équipe Monde byzantin, Paris) and the Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies of the University of Cologne.²

In this paper we publish 12 seals from the Robert Feind Collection that are parallels to seals which have been previously published by Ivan Jordanov from various public and private collections in Bulgaria. Given the fact that some seals of the Robert Feind Collection are in quite a poor state of preservation and that they could hardly have been read without their parallels from Bulgaria, we have decided on this topic in order to express our gratitude to, and deep recognition of, our esteemed and highly appreciated colleague. The publishing history of the seals, however, has gone on, and our descriptions of the seals go beyond Jordanov insofar as they include newly available information: some specimens have recently been edited in collection catalogues and databases that were unknown to scholars before, new seals have cropped up in auction catalogues, and others have been studied in historical research and

included in the relevant publications and prosopographies. All of this information is included in the catalogue that follows. It allows for the differentiation of boulloteria, helps to propose new identifications of the owners of the seals, and contributes to a better understanding of the relevant sigillographic material. The digital publication of the seals which will take place in the next step will finally confer all the advantages of a broader online dissemination: it will not only reach and be beneficial to specialists in the field of Byzantine Sigillography, but it will also be more easily available to scholars from neighbouring disciplines, to students as well as to the interested public.³

1. Seal of Constantine Komnenos

Inv.: Robert Feind Collection, SB-7.

D: 27x31 mm. W: 15.9 gr.

Description: green-brown patina; strongly corroded on both sides; channel broken on the obverse in the middle; hole. Date: 12th c., second half. Unpublished.

//: (1) H. Zaprianov Collection, Bulgaria, *s.n.*; (2) D. Theodoridis Collection, Munich, Germany, # 1165; (3) Lanz 154: 11-12.6.2012, # 617; (4) Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, # 1255; (5) Vatican Museums, *s.n.*; (6) G&M 208: 16-17.10.2012, # 2543. (4)-(6) are from a different boulloterion.

Ed. of //: (1) Йорданов, Аладжов 1991, 46-47, # 5 (= SBS 3, 1993, 157, # 5); Jordanov 2006, 224-226, # 344; Jordanov 2008, 94-95, # 10; Jordanov 2009, 635, # 1937; (2) Cheynet, Theodoridis 2010, 72, # 60; (4) Ebersolt 1914, 215, # 167; (4) and (5) mentioned by Laurent 1932, 393-394, # 348. Further references: Feind 2013, 57, # 1509; Wassiliou-Seibt 2015, 336-337, # 2075.



Fig. 1. Robert Feind Collection, SB-7. Photo: R. Feind.

On the obverse, a standing military saint; neither spear nor shield are visible anymore. An identification with Saint Theodore is possible only through the parallels.

On the reverse, legend of five lines preceded by a cross on a separate line.

+|CΚΕΠΟΙC|..ΜΑΡΤΥC|..ΜΝΗΝΟΝ|..ΝCΤΑΝ|ΤΙΝΟΝ

Σκέποις [με] μάρτυς [Κο]μνηνόν [Κω]νσταντῖνον

Σκέποις με μάρτυς || Κομνηνόν Κωνσταντῖνον.

Martyr, may you protect me, Constantine Komnenos.

The legend of the reverse is metrical and consists of a dodecasyllable with a caesura after the fifth syllable. The dating of the seal to the second half of the 12th century is the only useful clue for trying to identify

³ Jeffreys 2009, 17-23 identifies a number of problems that historians face when using sigillographic data. Current digital projects like the one funded by DFG and ANR are trying to remedy these difficulties. On the topic of the accessibility of Byzantine seals (among other primary sources) and of the information they convey, see Filosa et al. 2022.

our Constantine Komnenos (PBW Konstantinos 20494), who otherwise provides no other information besides his name.

Based on data provided by written sources, especially deeds and documents, Jordanov singled out four persons named Constantine Komnenos for the period between the late 11th and 12th centuries. He also listed a number of seals bearing this name and linked some of them to the previously identified persons due to the titles given in the legend, remarking that for seals with no additional information the issuer cannot be determined with certainty (Jordanov 2006, 225-226). J.-C. Cheynet and D. Theodoridis also pointed out the lack of additional information in the inscription of our seal type and thus the difficulty of pinpointing the owner, but do not rule out an identity with the sebastos Constantine Komnenos (PBW Konstantinos 20318; Βαρχός 1984, Vol. 2, 44, # 101),⁴ son of Stephanos Komnenos (PBW Stephanos 20191; Βαρχός 1984, Vol. 1, 288-291, # 57), the *megas drungarios* and *pansebastos*, and grandson of Constantine (PBW Konstantinos 131 and 20495; Βαρχός 1984, Vol. 1, 157-159, # 27), son of a *sebastokrator* (Cheynet, Theodoridis 2010, 72).

While the data on the sebastos Constantine Komnenos are scarce, his grandfather is often attested in the sources: he was a son of the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos (brother of emperor Alexios I), held the office of *doux* of Berroia in 1107 and attended the council of 1143 as *megas drungarios*, a title also found on his seals.⁵

In another seal type dated to the second half of the 12th century, the obverse shows Saint Theodore while on the reverse the issuer introduces himself as Constantine Komnenos sebastos.⁶ A connection with the issuer of our seal cannot be ruled out.

2. Seal of Romanos, anthypatos, patrikios, and strategos of Macedonia

Inv.: Robert Feind Collection, SB-15.

D: 25 mm. W: 8.3 gr.

Description: dark green patina, struck off-centre. Date: 10th c.

Unpublished.

//: (1)-(3) Shumen, Regional Historical Museum, # 14824/1, 14824/2, and 14730/5 (former N. Nikolov Collection, Bulgaria); (4) V. Panteleev Collection, Bulgaria.

Ed. of //: (1)-(3) Jordanov, Zhekova 2007, 116-117, # 303-305; (1)-(4) Jordanov 2003, 115, # 46.11; Jordanov 2009, 451, # 1329-1332.



Fig. 2. Robert Feind Collection, SB-15. Photo: R. Feind.

On the obverse, standing figure of Saint Theodore, holding a spear in his right hand and resting his left hand on his shield. Sigla on either side: Ο|Α|Γ, -Θ|Ε|Ο|Δ|Ρ - Ο ἄ(γ)ιος Θεόδ(ω)ρ(ος). Along the circumference in the field, a circular inscription most probably beginning with a cross. Border of dots.

⁴ On his genealogy see a seal published in Zacos, Veglery 1972, 1524-1526, # 2725 (commentary with stemma). See also Wassiliou-Seibt 2015, 686, # 2830; Шандровская 2001, 473-474.

⁵ On his seals with the titles *sebastos* and *megas drungarios* see: (1) Mordtmann Collection, published in Mordtmann 1881, 46, # Z'; Schlumberger 1884, 641, # 10; (2) three specimens in DO: BZS.1958.106.2584; BZS.1951.31.5.1254; BZS.1958.106.5424, published in DO Online: www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.2584; www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.1254; www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.5424 (see also Zacos, Veglery 1972, 1507-1508, # 2716a [G. Zacos Collection, # 5049]; Jordanov 2006, 225; Laurent 1981, 471, # 895); (3) BnF Zacos, # 5320 (former G. Zacos Collection) published in Zacos, Veglery 1972, 1507-1508, # 2716b. On his seals with the title *sebastos* only see: (1) D. Theodoridis Collection, # 983, published in Cheynet, Theodoridis 2010, 71, # 59; (2) Athens, Numismatic Museum, # 498, published in Κολτσίδα-Μακρή 1996, 29, # 12; (3) DO BZS.1955.1.2981, see Jordanov 2006, 225; DO Online: www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1955.1.2981.

⁶ PBW Konstantinos 20496. See seals: (1) DO BZS.1958.106.5591, see Jordanov 2006, 225 (citing wrong inventory number DO 58.106.5691) and in DO Online: www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.5591; (2) Rauch (Mail Bid Sale) 10: 02.03.2006, # 953 (= SBS 10, 2010, 191, # 953); (3) a specimen from Turin referred in Froehner 1884, 335-336, # 124 and Laurent 1933, 85, # 442. Furthermore, see Wassiliou-Seibt 2015, 685, # 2829.

.ΚΕΡΟΗΘΙΤΩCΩΔΟΝΛΩ

[+] Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι τῷ σῷ δούλῳ

On the reverse, legend of five lines, probably beginning with a cross, preceded and followed by a decoration consisting of a cross of pellets set between two dots. Border of dots.

· ∴ · |.ΡΩΜΑ|ΝΟCΑΝΘ'Υ|Π'ΠΑΤΡΙΚ'Σ|.ΤΡΑΤΙΓ,Μ|ΑΚΕΔΟΝ| · ∴ ·
 [+] Ῥωμανὸς ἀνθύπατος πατρικίος (καὶ) [σ]τρατιγ(ὸς)
 Μακεδον(ίας)

Κύριε βοήθι τῷ σῷ δούλῳ. Ῥωμανὸς ἀνθύπατος πατρικίος καὶ στρατιγὸς Μακεδονίας.

Lord, aid your servant Romanos, anthypatos, patrikios, and strategos of Macedonia.

The issuer of the present seal is known from four other seals struck by the same boulloterion (PmbZ, # 26850). According to Jordanov and to the editors of the *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, he is attested in a previous stage of his career without the rank of anthypatos on another Bulgarian seal.⁷ The iconography of both groups of seals, depicting a standing figure of Saint Theodore in military garb holding a spear in his right hand and resting his left hand on his shield, corroborates this hypothesis.⁸

Another Romanos anthypatos, patrikios, and strategos of Makedonia is known from a seal dated to the late 10th/early 11th century currently held by the Museum of Byzantine Culture of Thessaloniki (former G. Zacos Collection).⁹ The reading of the toponym, however, is far from certain due to the bad state of preservation of the seal. Moreover, the seal bears on the obverse a bust of the Mother of God holding the Child in her left arm. An identity with the issuer of our seal ought, therefore, to be excluded.

3. Seal of Chasanes, patrikios, anthypatos, and strategos of Thrace

Inv.: Robert Feind Collection, SB-376.

D: 25x27 mm. W: 16.6 gr.

Description: light green patina, iconography on the obverse slightly flattened. Date: mid-11th c.

Unpublished.

//: Sofia, National Archaeological Institute with Museum, # 124.

Ed. of //: Панченко 1905, 294-295; Jordanov 2003, 95-97, # 35.11; Jordanov 2006, 431-433, # 745; Jordanov 2009, 433-434, # 1241; Йорданов 1992, 294-295, # 32 (= SBS 6, 1999, 89, # 32); Jordanov 2011, 54, # 109.



Fig. 3. Robert Feind Collection, SB-376. Photo: R. Feind.

⁷ Museum of Silistra, *s.n.*, published in Jordanov 2003, 115, # 46.10 and Jordanov 2009, I 450-451, # 1328.

⁸ The iconography of the obverse does not allow us to decide whether the depiction refers to Saint Theodore Teron or Saint Theodore Stratelates. Much has been written on the iconography of these two saints: see among others Cotsonis 2005, here in particular 448-457 [2020, 108-119]; Cheynet 2008d; Grotowski 2010, in particular the second chapter of the book, 57-123. See also Cotsonis 2020b, 259-295.

⁹ Thessaloniki, Museum of Byzantine Culture, # 57. Published in Λεοντιάδης 2006, 96-98, # 27.

On the obverse, standing figure of Saint George, holding a spear in his right hand and resting his left hand on his shield. Sigla on either side: .|Ε|Ω|Ρ – Γ|Ι|Ο': ['Ο ἄ(γιος) Γ]εώργιο(ς). Border not visible.

On the reverse, inscription of six lines beginning with a cross; the last line is between two dashes. Border not visible.

+ΚΕΡ,Θ,|ΧΑCΑΝΗ|Π̄Ρ̄ΙΑΝΘΝΠ|.ΤΩCCTΡΑ|ΤΙΓ,ΘΡΑ|–ΚΗC–
+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Χασάνη πα(τρ)ικίω ἀνθυπ[ά]τω (καὶ) στρατι-
γ(ῶ) Θράκης

Κύριε βοήθει Χασάνη πατρικίω ἀνθυπάτω καὶ στρατιγῶ Θράκης.
Lord, aid Chasanes, patrikios, anthypatos, and strategos of Thrace.

The issuer of this seal is already known from a parallel specimen held by the National Archaeological Museum in Sofia.¹⁰ Further, a handful of specimens belonging to different individuals bearing this name are also known and have been published and commented on extensively by Jordanov and Cheynet among others (Jordanov 2006, 431-433, and Cheynet 2008a, 639-641).

The Greek name Χασάνης, which in some sources appears as Χασάνιος,¹¹ originates from the Arab-Turkic word *hasan*.¹² However, since Arab names were also carried by Syrians, Kurds, Turkmens, Seljuks, and occasionally also by Caucasians, it is not always possible to specify the ethnic origin of each individual (Wassiliou-Seibt 2013; Stavrakos 2013). Despite originating as a first name, in the second half of the 11th century and well into the 12th century the name Χασάνης eventually became a family name, along with its variant Χασανόπουλος.¹³ In the case of the issuer of the seal in question, however, it can be claimed with a very good degree of certainty to have been a first name.

4. Seal of Nikephoros, magistros and domestikos of the Scholai

Inv.: Robert Feind Collection, SB-274.

D: 28 mm. W: 17.0 gr.

Description: grey patina, broken along the channel and open at the upper and lower ends of the channel on the reverse, struck slightly off-centre. Date: late 10th c.

Ed.: Künker 25: 29.09-01.10.1993, # 563 (= SBS 6, 1999, 138, # 563); MZ 94: 13-15.05.1998, # 935 (SBS 8, 2003, 237, # 935); MZ 100: 08-10.09.1999, # 763 (= SBS 8, 2003, 243, # 763).

//: (1) DO BZS.1958.106.1403; (2) BnF Zacos, # 4751 (former G. Zacos Collection); (3) BnF Zacos, # 1896 (former G. Zacos Collection); (4) Sofia, National Historical Museum, # 15029; (5) Veliki Preslav, Archaeological Museum, # 17574; (6) private collection, Bulgaria. (1) and (4) seem to have been struck by the same boulloterion, whereas (2), (3), (5), and our specimen have probably been struck by a different one.¹⁴

Ed. of //: (1) DO Online: www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.1403; (2) Zacos, Nesbitt 1984, 393, # 863; (4)-(6) Jordanov 2009, 362-363, # 997-999; (4) Йорданов 1988b, 98-100, # 14 (= SBS 3, 1993, 155, # 14); (5) Jordanov 1990, 210-211, # IV; Йорданов 1993, 90-91, # 163.

¹⁰PBW Chasanes 20101, with Boulloterion 3357. This entry should nonetheless be revised: the several seals listed s.v. Chasanes 20101 (Boulloterion 3357, 1158, 5767-5769) do not seem to belong to the same issuer, but stem from several homonymous individuals.

¹¹See, e.g., the ex G. Zacos Collection specimen at the BnF Zacos, # 3415, published in Cheynet 2008a, 639-640.

¹²On the derivatives of this word in Byzantine Greek see Moravcsik 1983, 73, 229, 277, and in particular 341, s.v. Χασάνης.

¹³See Stavrakos 1999-2000, 515-516, commenting on # 4 and 5 as well as Cheynet 2008a, 629, 639-641. For a more general discussion on this topic see Cheynet 1986, 145-152. On the evolution of proper names into family names, in particular for foreigners in Byzantium, in the light of lead seals see Cheynet 2008c.

¹⁴We did not have access to images of the seal from the private collection in Bulgaria, and thus we cannot formulate hypotheses on its matrices.



Fig. 4. Robert Feind Collection, SB-274. Photo: R. Feind.

On the obverse, bust of the Mother of God holding the Child in her left arm. Sigla on either side: $\overline{\text{MP}} - \Theta\text{V}$: $\text{M}(\eta\tau\eta)\rho \Theta(\epsilon\omicron)\upsilon$. Border of dots. Circular inscription in the iconographic field beginning with a cross and partially preserved on the left.

+ΘΚΕΒΟΗ.....Λ.

+ Θ(εοτό)κε βοή[θ]ει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ λ[ω]

On the reverse, legend of six lines most probably beginning with a cross and followed on a separate line by a decoration consisting of a pellet between two dashes. Border of dots.

.ΝΙΚΗ|.ΦΡ,ΜΑΓΙΣ|.ΡΩΚΑΙΔΟ|ΜΕΣΤΙΚΩ|ΤΩΝCΧΟ|ΛΩΝ| - · -

[+] Νικη[φ]όρ(ω) μαγίσ[τ]ρω καὶ δομεστίκω τῶν σχολῶν

Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Νικηφόρῳ μαγίστρῳ καὶ δομεστίκῳ τῶν σχολῶν.

Mother of God, aid your servant Nikephoros, magistros and domestikos of the Scholai.

The identity of the seal issuer, who is already well known from other sigillographic sources, has long been debated (PmbZ, # 25586; see also # 25617). Two renowned Nikephoroi, in fact, held the rank of magistros and the office of domestikos of the Scholai,¹⁵ i.e., Nikephoros Phokas and Nikephoros Ouranos (PmbZ, # 25535 and 25617 respectively). The former held this position under Constantine VII from 954 to 963 and must be disregarded, because one of the parallel specimens was found in Preslav and stems from the reconquest of the city around the year 1000 (Cheynet 2003, 87-88 with note 74). Nikephoros Ouranos, who held this office under Basil II from 996 to 999,¹⁶ was proposed as issuer of the seal by Jordanov in his first publications of the seal from Silistra (# 4 above)¹⁷ and from Preslav (# 5 above)¹⁸ and was long the prevailing opinion, albeit later questioned by E. McGeer due to the absence of a family name (McGeer 1991, 130 with note 13).

An interesting, but as yet unexplored, aspect of the seal whose edition is provided here pertains to its matrices. Our seal and its above-mentioned parallels, although extremely similar, do not appear to have been struck by the same boulloterion. The main difference lies in the reverse: the specimen from the Robert Feind Collection, like that from Preslav (# 4 above) and those from the former G. Zacos Collection (# 2 and 3 above), has a legend of six lines on the reverse beginning with a cross and followed on a separate line by a decoration consisting of a pellet between two dashes. On the other hand, the specimen from Dumbarton Oaks (# 1 above) and the one from Sofia (# 3 above) also have a legend of six lines beginning with a cross, but this is preceded by

¹⁵While now dated and in need of being brought up-to-date in the light of more recent studies in Byzantine prosopography and administration, Guiland's contribution on the office of domestikos ton scholon is still relevant. See Guiland 1950, 41 with note 8 and *passim* [1967, 448, note 386]. See also Kühn 1991, 73-92.

¹⁶Nikephoros Ouranos is attested in his capacity of magistros and domestikos ton scholon in a *hypomnema* from the monastery of Vatopedi dated to September 998: see Bompaire et al. 2001, # 2 (September 998), lines 67-70, especially 69².

¹⁷Йорданов 1988b, 99 (# 4 above).

¹⁸Йорданов 1993, 91 (# 5 above).

¹⁹Or, alternatively, in order to maintain symmetry, the last line of the legend could have been framed on both sides by a decorative pellet. The bad state of preservation of the seals does not, however, allow us to formulate further hypotheses.

²⁰An anonymous member of the Kladon family (PBW Anonymous 17061) is mentioned by Kinnamos (1836, 233¹³⁻¹⁴) as a gaoler in the Great Palace in Constantinople in 1164. A certain Kladon (PmbZ, #24422) is mentioned in a number of sources belonging to the Logothete-family of texts: Vat. gr. 163, on which see Markopoulos 1979, 91¹³, in Vat. gr. 167, the so-called Theophanes continuatus (1838, 438¹⁸) as well as in Skylitzes (1973, 239⁵², the only instance where a first name is also mentioned, i.e., Leon Kladon). There is no corresponding mention in Pseudo-Symeon. Finally, a Basil Kladon (PmbZ, # 20926) is mentioned by various sources, on which see *infra*.

²¹A George Kladon (PBW Georgios 276) was the addressee of at least two letters by Tzetzes, in 1152 and 1154.

²²See Lefort et al. 1985, # 2, 112¹⁻² (September 975) mentioning a Theodore Kladon (PBW Theodoros 122 = PmbZ, # 27763, possibly identical with PmbZ 27828). The same person is mentioned in a list of documents in possession of the monastery of Iviron, see Lefort et al. 1990, # 33, 90¹³⁻¹⁴ (December 1061). See also *infra*.

²³See Guillou 1983, 270-275; Id. 1996, # 181, mentioning a Romanos Kladon from the late 10th – early 11th century. On this person, see Charalampakis 2021, 517, 525, 527, 571.

²⁴(1) Veliki Preslav, Archaeological Museum, # 22912, published in Йорданов 1993, 59, # 93 and Jordanov 2006, 211-212, # 314; (2) Yambol, Historical Museum, # II 5805, published in Jordanov 2006, 211-212, # 315; (3) private Bulgarian collection, *s.n.*, published in Jordanov 2006, 211-212, # 316; (4) Sofia, National Historical Museum, *s.n.*, published in Jordanov 2006, 211-212, # 317; (5) Veliki Preslav, Archaeological Museum, *s.n.*, published in Jordanov 2009, 215, # 552 (along with the re-publication of the first four seals, # 548-551). In his edition of the seals, Jordanov mentions that these were struck by different boulloteria. We did not have the possibility to inspect the seals more closely, so we align ourselves with Jordanov's position. If this information be correct, the data regarding the boulloterion delivered by the PBW ought to be emended (see our previous note).

a decoration consisting of a cross of pellets set between decorative traits on a separate line and the last line of the legend ends with a decorative pellet.¹⁹ Unfortunately, given the state of preservation of the seals and the absence of adequate photographs, it is not possible for us to carry out a proper examination of the seal's obverse, which could help us determine whether this series of seals was struck by (at least) two boulloteria or whether we are dealing here with assembled matrices.

5. Seal of Gregorios Kladon, patrikios and strategos

Inv.: Robert Feind Collection, SB-72.

D: 17 mm. W: 4.5 gr.

Description: grey-green patina, broken at the upper end of the channel on the obverse.

Date: mid-11th c.

Unpublished.

//: Veliki Preslav, Archaeological Museum, # 16581.

Ed. of //: Йорданов 1993, 169, # 353; Jordanov 2006, 211, # 313; Jordanov 2009, 501, # 1526.



Fig. 5. Robert Feind Collection, SB-72. Photo: R. Feind.

On the obverse, standing figure of Saint Demetrios holding a spear in his right hand and resting his left hand on his shield. Sigla on either side: Θ|ΔΗ|Μ|Η – .|Ρ|Ο: Ο ἄγιος Δημή[τ]ρ[ι]ος. Border of dots.

On the reverse, legend of five lines beginning with a cross; the last line is enclosed between decorative pellets. Border of dots.

+ΚΕΡΘ|ΓΡΙΓΟΡ,|ΠΡ|SCTPA|ΤΙΓ,ΤΩΚΛΑ|ΔΟΝΙ·

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Γριγορ(ίω) π(ατ)ρι(κίω) (καί) στρατιγ(ῶ) τῷ Κλάδονι

Κύριε βοήθει Γριγορίω πατρικίω καὶ στρατιγῶ τῷ Κλάδονι.

Lord aid Gregorios Kladon, patrikios and strategos.

The family name of the seal issuer (PBW Gregorios 20160, with Boulloterion 4156), Κλάδων, on the seal misspelled in the dative with omicron, is attested in a number of different sources (historiographic works,²⁰ epistles,²¹ documents from monastic archives,²² and inscriptions²³) spanning from the late 10th to the mid-12th century, and, most notably, in the unusually abundant sigillographic evidence.

It is the sigillographic evidence that we would like to pay greater attention to, as all the extant seals belonging to the Kladon family originate from Bulgaria and most of them were previously published by Jordanov. A Theodore Kladon protospatharios (PmbZ, # 27828 = PBW Theodoros 20325, with Boulloterion 5407) is known from five seals.²⁴ He is most probably the same Theodore attested in September 975

as protospatharios, epi tou manglabiou, and ek prosopou of Strymon signing a *sigillion* confirming to the monasteries of Kolovou, Polygyros, and Leontia the ownership and the exemption of their *paroikoi*.²⁵ Were this identity to be confirmed, we would have yet another seal of Theodore, as the document preserved in the monastery is one of the few with a seal attached to it. In the document, Theodore announces the presence of his “usual seal” (τῇ συνήθει ἡμῶν βούλλῃ),²⁶ bearing religious imagery on either side, a bust of Saint Nicholas and a bust of Saint Panteleimon with their usual attributes (Oikonomides 1986, 74-75). Further, we know of another seal belonging to a Theodore Kladon (PBW Theodoros 20326, with Boulloterion 5408), dated, however, to the 12th century by Jordanov.²⁷ Therefore, an identity with the previous Theodore ought here to be excluded.

Another seal recently sold at auction and, to our knowledge, still unpublished belonged to a Basil Kladon protospatharios and strategos of Hellas; based on its iconography and on its epigraphy, it can be dated to the 10th century.²⁸ The obverse of the seal has a very finely preserved depiction of a peacock turned to its left, a decorative motif quite widespread in the 10th century, accompanied by a floral decoration and a circular invocative inscription, probably beginning with a cross, reading [+] Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ. On the reverse there is a legend of five lines beginning with a cross, reading + Βασηλ(εῖω) β(ασιλικῷ) (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίω) (καὶ) στρατιγ(ῶ) Ἑλλάδος [τ]ῷ Κλάδο(νι). It is safe to assume an identity between the issuer of this seal and Basil Kladon (PmbZ, # 20926), whose life and deeds are well documented from a variety of sources. He is attested as strategos of Strymon in a building inscription from 926 commemorating him having the city wall of Christoupolis rebuilt (Reinach 1882, 269); further, he is mentioned as protospatharios and strategos of Sikelia and Langobardia in the Book of Ceremonies on the occasion of Epiphanius' embassy to Hugh of Provence in 934/935.²⁹ The seal seems to attest to a later stage of the career of Basil Kladon.

Finally, a Constantine Kladon sebastos is known from two seal types from the late 12th/early 13th century.³⁰

6. Seal of John Isys (Ises?)

Inv.: Robert Feind Collection, SB-113.

D: ca. 25 mm. W: 10.9 gr.

Description: beige patina, broken in two halves along the thread channel, only one half is preserved. Date: 12th c. Unpublished.

//: (1) Shumen, Regional Historical Museum, # 15100 (former V. Stankov Collection, Bulgaria); (2) Belgrade, National Museum, # 38/8. Ed. of //: (1) Jordanov, Zhekova, 2007, 146, # 385; Jordanov 2009, 624-625, # 1903; (2) Maksimović, Popović, 1993, 122-123, # 8. Both parallels are also mentioned in Jordanov 2010, 41, # 80 and Feind 2013, 140, # 1797.



Fig. 6. Robert Feind Collection, SB-113. Photo: R. Feind.

²⁵PBW Theodoros 122 = PmbZ, # 27763. See Lefort et al. 1985, # 2, 112¹⁻² and our note 22.

²⁶On the relation between seals and the documents to which they were attached, see the still relevant paper by Oikonomides 1983.

²⁷The seal was sold in MZ 76: 10-12.11.1993, # 1390. The whereabouts of the seal are currently unknown. We could not retrieve an image of the seal in question and therefore base our hypotheses on the commented edition of the seal in Jordanov 2006, 212.

²⁸The seal was sold by Naumann 85: 5.1.2020, # 739. The whereabouts of the seal are currently unknown. The seal has been listed in BZ, 113.4, 2020, 1328, # 4803. Images available at: www.numismatik-naumann.at/auktion/#!/auktion/lot?a=875&l=739.

²⁹This episode is recounted in Constantine Porphyrogenetos' *De Cerimoniis* II 44 (Porphyrogenetos 2020, 3.311¹⁸⁵⁻³²²⁵). On the embassy to Hugh of Provence in 934/935 see Zuckerman 2014, 223-233.

³⁰PBW Konstantinos 20492, with Boulloterion 5411: DO BZS.1958.106.5002, published in Jordanov 2006, 212-213, # 318; DO Online: www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.5002; the seal is mentioned in Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 522, # 1185. PBW Konstantinos 20492, with Boulloterion 5409: (1) S. Petrov Collection, *s.n.*, published in Йорданов 1998, 24-25, # 24; Jordanov 2006, 212-213, # 318; Jordanov 2009, 242, # 654; (2) DO BZS.1955.1.3756, published in DO Online: www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1955.1.3756. Both seals are mentioned in Wassiliou-Seibt 2015, 684, # 2826.

On the obverse, Saint George in military garb on horseback facing right, with a spear in his right hand. This specimen bears no visible sigla, but from the parallels we infer that the iconographic depiction was flanked by sigla reading Ὁ ἅγιος Γεώργιος. Border of dots.

On the reverse, legend of three lines. From the parallels, we infer that the legend was preceded by a cross on a separate line and followed by a decoration consisting of an X between two dashes. Border of dots.

...ΑΓΙC|...OV|...ICV
[Σφρ]αγίς [Ἰω(άν)ν]ου [τοῦ] Ἰσυ

Σφραγίς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἰσυ.
Seal of John Isys.

³¹Kinnamos 1836, 238¹³⁻¹⁴. The quotation stems from Kinnamos transl. 1976, 179 with note 42. On the family name of the seal issuer see also Moravcsik 1983, 141, s.v. Ἰσής and Ἰσᾶς.

³²On the military office of protostrator see Guiland 1949, in particular 159-164 with notes 84 and 84bis [1967, 479-493, notes 105-106].

³³Quite interestingly, in Upsaliensis gr. 6, one of the main witnesses to Akropolites' work, a later hand corrected Ἰσῆς to Μελι<σ>σηνόν (f. 19^v). J. S. Langdon links this gloss to the propaganda made in the 16th century by the Melissourgos/Melissenos family, who wanted to see family members everywhere and, failing to find any, invented a few. See Langdon 1992, 5-6 with note 6 and 13 with note 49.

³⁴Akropolites 1978, 40⁷, § 24. See also the commented translation by Macrides, based on the text established by Wirth: Akropolites transl. 2007, § 24, in particular 171-172 with notes 3-4.

³⁵Βρανούση 1980, 119-123, particularly 121²⁶⁻²⁸ with earlier bibliography. Cf. Dölger 1928, 349, 365, who dates this chrysobull to March 1236.

³⁶Νυσταζοπούλου-Πελεκίδου 1980, 156-163, particularly 159²¹, 162 with earlier bibliography. Cf. Dölger 1928, 366, who dates the document to 1249.

³⁷Epigram III, *sine titulo* (inc. Ἀνθήσας ἄμα καὶ μαρνανθείς ὡς ῥόδον) edited in Mercati 1951, 255-256 (commentary and translation) and 264 (text) [1970, 578 (commentary and translation) and 589 (text)]. On Nikephoros Chrysoberges' life and work see most recently Αναγνώστου 2020. We would like to extend our warmest thanks to Jean-François Vannier for pointing us to this further source.

Given the widely attested phenomenon of iotacism, the family name of the seal issuer, i.e., Ἰσυ in the genitive and possibly Ἰσυς in the nominative, might as well be read as Ἰσῆς (PBW Ioannes 20544, with Boulloterion 4010).

Two persons named Ἰωάννης Ἰσῆς are known from historical sources from the late 12th/mid 13th century. The first is attested in 1164/1165 (PBW Ioannes 17014), at the time of the attack carried out by the Hungarians against the city of Zeugme during the reign of Manuel Komnenos, and according to John Kinnamos "John Ises [Ἰσᾶς]" was "a Turk by birth who had participated in Roman upbringing and way of life".³¹

The second homonymous individual is mentioned by George Akropolites in his capacity as protostrator³² sent along with an army by the emperor John III Doukas Vatatzes to Adrianople³³ in order to free the city from the control of the Latins in 1224.³⁴ The same person is also mentioned in two further documents coming from the monastic archives of Patmos. These are, in chronological order, a chrysobull of the emperor Theodore I Laskaris for the monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos dated to March 1221, where he confirmed the monastery in its right to property,³⁵ and a *prostagma* dated to July 1251 which instructs George Zagarommates to reject the unjustified claims of the inhabitants of Palatia to the property belonging to the monastery in Pyrgos.³⁶

Further, Nikephoros Chrysoberges wrote an epigram on the occasion of the death of the young son of John Ises, who is said there to be protostrator and sebastos, and his wife, a member of the Komnenian family.³⁷

The date gap between the *floruit* of Manuel Komnenos' general (1164/1165) and that of the protostrator (1224) argues in favour of the existence of two different individuals. Manuel Komnenos' general, who is mentioned by Kinnamos without title or office, could hardly have been younger than 25 at the time of the siege of Zeugme, even more so as he was placed under the orders of more experienced generals, such as Michael Gabras and Joseph Bryennios (Kinnamos 1836, 238⁶⁻¹⁴ and, in particular, 238¹⁰⁻¹¹): this would place his birth around 1140. The first mention of the protostrator, on the other hand, dates from March 1221 and the last from 1249 or 1251. However, this does not mean that Ises still occupied the office of protostrator at that time or that he was even still alive, as the document only reminds the inhabitants of Palatia of the provisions of the *prostagma* of 1221.

As for the John Ises mentioned by Nikephoros Chrysoberges, the identification with the Ises attested by Kinnamos has been retained by M. Anagnostou; however, Anagnostou follows the interpretation of G. Mercati, who was unaware of the existence of further mentions of this individual outside of Kinnamos' text. Thus, we must infer that Manuel Komnenos' general, too, must have held the office of protostrator at some point in his career – i.e., when Chrysoberges wrote the epigram on the death of Ises' son – which is not unimaginable for an individual pursuing a career in the Byzantine army.

It is absolutely plausible that the issuer of our seal was part of the upper military hierarchy. The seal shows a military saint, Saint George, mounted on horseback – a rather sought-after motif befitting high-ranking members of the Byzantine army.³⁸ Whether or not there is any identity between the owner of our seal and either of the two individuals mentioned above is probable, but not certain, and we will have to suspend judgement on this question until new sources, perhaps sigillographic, emerge.³⁹

7. Seal of N. Theophilopoulos

Inv.: Robert Feind Collection, SB-356.

D: 32 mm. W: 22.2 gr.

Description: blank slightly too small, border not visible.

Date: 13th c., first half or mid-13th c.

Unpublished.

//: (1) DO BZS.1958.106.4311; (2) Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum, # 893; (3) Thessaloniki, Museum of Byzantine Culture, # 40 (former G. Zacos Collection # 1398/99-4); (4) BnF Zacos, # 1038 (former G. Zacos Collection # 1626/a); (5) S. Kofopoulos Collection, Greece, # 2387.

Ed. of //: (1) DO Online: www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.4311; Leontiades 2011, 315-316, # 17; (2) Йорданов 1999a, 183-184 (see also: BZ, 93.2, 2000, 769, # 3042; SBS 8, 2003, 178); Jordanov 2006 156-157, # 237; Jordanov 2009, 623-624, # 1900; (3) Spink 127 (Byzantine Seals from the collection of George Zacos, Part I): 07.10.1998, 46, # 92; Λεοντιάδης 2006, 159-161, # 59; (3) and (4) are both mentioned by Jordanov in his works above; (5) CNG (Electronic Auction) 390: 1.2.2017, # 627. Further references: Feind 2013, 249, # 2196.



Fig. 7. Robert Feind Collection, SB-356. Photo: R. Feind.

On the obverse, Saint Nikephoros standing, holding a spear in his right hand and a sword in his left. Traces of inscription on both sides, partially readable on the right: – ..|Φ.|Ρ.|C: [ό ἅγιος Νηκυ]φ[ώ]ρ[ο]ς. The better-preserved above-mentioned parallels allow the completion of the inscription, evidencing on the left a ligature

³⁸We were able to inspect closely the iconography on the specimen of the Regional Historical Museum of Shumen, which is better preserved than the seal that we are publishing here. We would like to thank Zhenya Zhekova for providing us with an image of the seal from Bulgaria.

³⁹The Ises family is attested well beyond the period discussed here: they are, in fact, one of the many families with whom the Raoul/Ralles family had established marriage ties in the 15th century. On this topic see Fassoulakis 1973, here in particular 76-82.

consisting of N and an H (instead of I), and on the right the vowels V and Ω, also misspelled.

On the reverse, legend of four lines. Two crosses, one cross placed above the legend on a separate line and one at the end of the legend in the fourth line, are not visible on our specimen, but can also be reconstructed thanks to parallels. The legend of the reverse is metrical and consists of a dodecasyllable with a caesura after the fifth syllable.

ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ|ΜΑΓΡΑΦΩΝ|ΤΟΥΘΕΟΦΗΛΟΥ|ΠΟΝΛΟΝ.

Σφράγισμα γραφῶν τοῦ Θεοφιλοπούλου [+]

Σφράγισμα γραφῶν || τοῦ Θεοφιλοπούλου.

Seal of the writings of Theophilopoulos.

The image of Saint Nikephoros is very rare on Byzantine seals. Unique here is his depiction in military garb and with a sword in his hand, because the saints known by this name were not soldiers.⁴⁰ This iconography would fit with the emperor Nikephoros II Phokas, who was well known both for his military activities and his holiness and was in fact commemorated as a saint.⁴¹ Some of his portraits that have survived to this day show the emperor in *loros*, and wearing a crown, the most distinctive parts of the imperial Byzantine costume.⁴² In a late representation probably of Cretan origin Nikephoros is even holding a sword or a scimitar, but he is still not depicted as a soldier.⁴³ There is, however, the famous image of Basil II which reflects most closely the iconography of a military saint: the emperor is standing *en face*, cuirassed, holding a spear and a sword in his hands, while Christ crowns him from above.⁴⁴ The scene shows the close connection between divine power and the martial power of an emperor. The representation of Nikephoros Phokas as a warrior saint may have been influenced by this tradition. Of course, one always has to consider the limitations of a 13th century boulloterion workshop, where it was certainly possible to command a range of images with a well-known iconography, but the same was not applicable for less familiar portraits.

The question of why our Theophilopoulos would choose Saint Nikephoros as a warrior saint to seal his writings cannot be answered; it can only be speculated that the issuer was a homonym of the saint (PBW Anonymous 20294). Cheynet suggests that he was a Greek soldier who entered the service of the Latins after the conquest of Constantinople (Spink 127 (Byzantine Seals from the collection of George Zacos, Part I): 07.10.1998, 46, # 92). Jordanov links him to George Theophilopoulos who at the time of the emperor Henry was an officer of the Latin army entrusted with the defence of the eastern districts (Akropolites 1978, 297⁻¹¹, § 16). In his opinion, the specimen found in Veliko Tarnovo (# 2 above) would suggest that this man – or a member of his family – was active in Bulgaria when the peace treaty was signed between Tsar Boril (1207-1218) and the Latin empire and consequently that the seal is also to be dated to those years (Jordanov 2006, 156-157, here in particular 157).

Actually, there is agreement on the dating of the seal to the 13th century, but not on the timeframe. While Cheynet and Jordanov propose a date in the first half of the 13th century, W. Seibt proposes the second or third third of the 13th century (BZ, 93.2, 2000, 769, # 3042), and I.

⁴⁰BHG 1199 (presbyter, martyred in Tiberiopolis under Julian); 1217-1218 (one of the 63 martyrs of Jerusalem in 724); 1331-1334g (layman, martyr in Antioch under Valerian); 1335-1337f; 1387n (patriarch of Constantinople); 1338 (bishop of Miletus); 2297-2298 (founder of the Medikion monastery); 2300 (hegoumenos in Sebaze); 2071 (martyred in Attaleia under Decius).

⁴¹His commemoration is recorded on the 11th of December in a manuscript of Mount Athos (Megiste Lavra B 4, ff. 133^v-149^v). The text of the manuscript contains an *akolouthia* celebrating Nikephoros II Phokas for his military success and his ascetism. See the edition in Sullivan 2019, 307-337; former edition Petit 1904, 398-420. Nikephoros Phokas was especially commemorated in the Lavra as he had helped to build the monastery with his generosity towards Athanasios, but outside this circle many monks did not accept his canonisation. See also Spanos, Zarras 2009, 71-73.

⁴²See the fresco in the apse of the Pigeon House church in Çavuşin in Cappadocia (963-969), although here the crown can be only guessed due to the bad state of preservation of the work. On the topic see Studer-Karlen 2022, 150-151.

⁴³The portrait is in a 15th century manuscript (Marc. lat. X 158, f. 1^v). On the topic see Burke 2014, 13-16.

⁴⁴In the so-called psalter of Basil (Marc. gr. Z 17, f. 3^v) dated between 1001-1005. On the emperor's image see Studer-Karlen 2022, 145-147 with previous bibliography.

Leontiades argues on account of a **H** in the second line of the legend that the seal “could also admit a somewhat later dating” than that suggested by Cheynet (Leontiades 2011, 315-316). However, the *my* which Leontiades refers to (clearly visible in the BnF specimen) looks to us rather like a **M**, so the main argument for a late date of the seal has to be questioned.

Another seal in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks shows, on the obverse, Saint George standing holding a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left.⁴⁵ While the inscription on the obverse is the same as on ours, the arrangement of the letters is different. Again, the quality of execution is remarkable: the two seals can be attributed to the same issuer. From a palaeographic point of view, this second specimen can be ascribed to the first half of the 13th century. Our seal too, though younger, should date from about the same period.

8. Seal of Arkadios, protospatharios and strategos

Inv.: Robert Feind Collection, S-83.

D: 26 mm. W: 13.8 gr.

Description: effaced at the right and left side of the obverse and reverse.

Date: late 10th/early 11th (after 971).

Unpublished.

//: Three parallels are kept in Shumen, Regional Historical Museum,: (1) # 14211, former N. Georgiev Collection, Bulgaria; (2) # 14712, former N. Nikolov Collection, Bulgaria and (3) # 240, former V. Stankov Collection, Bulgaria; (4)-(8) in addition to these, other five seals are in Veliki Preslav, Archaeological Museum, # 18968, 24548, 5949, 23763, 18853; (9) Pliska, Archaeological Museum, # 44, found in Pliska in 2009; (10) DO BZS.1955.1.1935. (1)-(9) are from one boulloterion; (10) is slightly different and probably from the same boulloterion as ours.

Ed. of //: (1)-(8) Jordanov 2009, 499, # 1510-1516a; (1) and (2) Jordanov, Zhekova 2007, 126-127, # 329, 331; (1) and seals (4)-(8) first published in Йорданов 1993, 168-169, # 347-352; (9) Йорданов 2011, 202, # 1516b; (10) DO Online: www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1955.1.1935.



Fig. 8. Robert Feind Collection, S-83. Photo: R. Feind.

On the obverse, legend of four lines; a decoration consisting of a cross of pellets between two dashes precedes and follows the legend on separate lines.

— ∙ ∙ — | . Ε Ρ Ο | ... Ω C . | . Θ Λ Ω Α . | Κ Α Δ Ι Ω | — ∙ ∙ —
[Κ(ύρι)]ε βο[ήθ(ει) τ]ῷ σ[ῶ δ]ούλω Ἀ[ρ]καδίω

On the reverse, legend of four lines; a decoration consisting of a cross of pellets between two dashes precedes and follows the legend on separate lines.

⁴⁵DO BZS.1951.31.5.1350, published in DO Online, www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.1350.

– ∙ – |.ΡΩΤΟ|.ΠΑΘΑ|.ΑΙC...|.ΗΓΩ| – ∙ –
[π]ρωτο[σ]παθα[ρ(ίω) κ]αὶ σ[τρατ]ηγῶ

Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἀρκαδίῳ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ στρατηγῷ.
Lord, aid your servant Arkadios, protospatharios and strategos.

The identification of the owner of our seal remains an open question (PmbZ, # 20571; PBW Arkadios 20102), mainly due to the lack of data. The sigillographic sources from this period mention an Arkadios imperial protospatharios and strategos of Dorostolos (PmbZ, # 20570. Veliki Preslav, Archaeological Museum, # 22172, published in Йорданов 1993, 118-119, # 217; Jordanov 2003, 65, # 23.2; Jordanov 2009, 415, # 1166), probably in the year 973 (Madgearu 2013, 61-62, 86). Less likely is a connection with Arkadios protospatharios and strategos of Bosphoros⁴⁶ and with another Arkadios protospatharios epi tou chrysotriklinou,⁴⁷ who shares with ours the same entry in the PBW. A relation with Arkadios the imperial protospatharios and ak-touarios seems highly unlikely to us.⁴⁸

9. Seal of Stephanos Kontostephanos, despotes

Inv.: Robert Feind Collection, S-207.

D: 30 mm. W: 20.8 gr.

Description: beige patina, flattened and indistinct letters, hole in the upper part.

Date: ca. 1130-1148.

Unpublished.

//: (1) DO BZS.1958.106.5423 (former G. Zacos Collection); (2) Nova Zagora, Historical Museum, # 1332;⁴⁹ (3) DO BZS.1955.1.3896; (4) S. Bilik Collection, Bulgaria; (5) Warsaw, National Museum, # 105279.

The only specimen from the same boulloterion as ours is (2); (1) is slightly different; (3), (4) and (5) are from another, very different boulloterion.

Ed of //: (1) Zacos, Veglery 1972, 1521-1523, # 2723b; DO Online: www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.5423; (2) Йорданов 1988a, 41-42, # 3⁵⁰ (= SBS 3, 1993, 154, # 3); Йорданов 1999b, # 1 (= SBS 8, 2003, 177, # 1); Jordanov 2006, 235-236, # 360; Jordanov 2009, 170, # 416; (3) Zacos, Veglery 1972, 1521-1523, # 2723a; Oikonomides 1986, 109-110, # 114; DO Online: www.doaks.org/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1955.1.3896; (4) Билик 1998, 61-62, # 17 (= SBS 8, 2003, 158, # 17); Jordanov 2006, 235-236, # 361;⁵¹ Jordanov 2009, 170, # 417;⁵² (5) Szemioth, Wasilewsky 1969, 82-83, # 85. Further references: Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 499, # 1126a-b; Feind 2012, 57, # 1509; Stavrakos 2005, 171.

⁴⁶PmbZ, # 20572. Athens, Numismatic Museum, # 15, published in Κωνσταντόπουλος 1917, 6, # 15, dated by Зайбт, Зайбт 1995, 95, to the late 10th/early 11th century. See also Zuckerman 2017, 316.

⁴⁷PmbZ, # 20569; PBW Arkadios 20102 (same entry as ours). There is a total of 18 seals from the same boulloterion, which are mentioned in Jordanov 2009, 222-223, # 573-591. Most of them are in the Archaeological Museum of Veliki Preslav (# 18303; 18083; 17579; 17245; 17223; 16980; 18419; 20153; 21522; 22101; 22911 and one *s.n.* from the former N. Georgiev Collection), they were first published in Йорданов 1993, 61-62, # 98-109.

⁴⁸PmbZ, # 20568; PBW Arkadios 20101. Veliki Preslav, Archaeological Museum, # 22149 published in Йорданов 1993, 30, # 10; Jordanov 2009, 114, # 218.

⁴⁹The inventory number first given by Jordanov was 1322, see Йорданов 1988a, 41.

⁵⁰The image # 2 on page 39 matches the seal (not image # 3 on page 42 as stated).

⁵¹The image # 361 at the end of the catalogue matches the seals # 353-354.

⁵²The image # 417 at the end of the catalogue does not match the seal.



Fig. 9. Robert Feind Collection, S-207. Photo: R. Feind.

On the obverse, legend of five lines. Traces of border of dots.

ΚΟΝΤΟ|ΤΕΦΑΝΘ|ΚΑΙΤΕΦΑ|.ΔΕΣΠΟ. |.

Κοντοστεφάνου καὶ Στεφά[νου] δεσπό[του]

On the reverse, legend of five lines. Traces of border of dots.

ΚΑΙΚΥΡΟ|.ΕΡΓΩΝΚΑΙ|.ΦΡΑΓΙΣ|ΡΘΛΕΥΜΑΤ|ΩΝ

καὶ κῦρο[ς] ἔργων καὶ [σ]φραγίς βουλευμάτων

Κοντοστεφάνου || καὶ Στεφάνου δεσπότη – καὶ κῦρος ἔργων || καὶ σφραγίς βουλευμάτων.

I am the guarantee of the acts and the seal of the will of Stephanos Kontostephanos, despotes.

The seal bears a metrical legend, consisting of two dodecasyllables, one for each side. Both verses have a caesura after the fifth syllable.

Stephanos Kontostephanos (PBW Stephanos 17003) is well known from many literary sources.⁵³ He belonged to the narrow circle of the Komnenoi, having married Anna Komnene, daughter of emperor John II. In 1148 he was appointed commander of the Byzantine fleets by Manuel II and died shortly thereafter in the siege of Kerkyra.

10. Seal of Brachamios, spatharokandidatos and taxiarches

Inv.: Robert Feind Collection, S-119.

D: 21 mm. W: 6.3 gr.

Description: flattened at the right and left side of the obverse and reverse, slightly chipped at the upper and lower end of the channel.

Date: late 10th/early 11th c.

Unpublished.

//: (1) Veliki Preslav, Archaeological Museum, # 16640; (2) private Bulgarian collection, *s.n.*

Ed. of //: (1) Йорданов 1993, 102, # 187; (1) and (2) Йорданов 2000, 138, # 43-44 (= SBS 8, 2003, 179, # 43-44); Jordanov 2009, 384-385, # 1060-1061; Cheynet 2008b, 380-381.



Fig. 10. Robert Feind Collection, S-119. Photo: R. Feind.

On the obverse, legend of four lines beginning with a cross, followed by a decoration consisting of a cross of four pellets between two dashes on a separate line. The legend was probably preceded by a decoration on a separate line, which is not visible. Border not visible.

.ΚΕΡ,Θ|.ΨCΩΔ|.PAX.|MHΩ| – ∴ –

[+] Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) [τ]ῷ σῶ δ[ούλ(ω) Β]ραχ[α]μήω

On the reverse, legend of four lines, preceded by a decoration consisting of a cross of four pellets between two dashes and followed by a decoration consisting of a pellet between two small dashes, both on separate lines. Border of dots.

⁵³For sources and biography of the issuer see Βαρζός 1984, Vol. 2, 380-390.

– ∙ ∙ – |..ΑΘΑ |..ΑΝΔ |..ΑΖΙ|.ΡΧΗ| – ∙ ∙ –
 [σπ]αθα[ρ(ο)κ]ανδ(ι)δ(άτω) [(καὶ) τ]αξι[ά]ρχη

Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Βραχαμῖῳ σπαθαροκανδιδάτῳ καὶ ταξιάρχῃ.

Lord, aid your servant Brachamios, spatharokandidatos and taxiarches.

The owner of our seal (PBW Brachamios 20102, with Boulloterion 4137) held a significant military office, that of taxiarches, with the command of professional troops of a total of one thousand men. Cheynet remarks that, while being a rather high-ranking military officer, he had a rather modest title, that of spatharokandidatos, thus clearly reflecting a time when the devaluation of titles had not yet begun (Cheynet 2008b, 381).

As was the case with many foreigners settling in the empire in the 10th and 11th centuries,⁵⁴ the Armenian name Vahram⁵⁵ started out as a first name in its Hellenised form Brachamios, and later became a transmissible family name.⁵⁶ The present seal, however, has only one name, i.e., Brachamios; we cannot, therefore, be certain as to whether it is a first name or a family name.

Another member of the family, active at the same time as the owner of our seal, also left a number of seals that show him holding the office of taxiarches. This is Elpidios Brachamios (PBW Elpidios 103, with Boulloterion 4138), whose seals, also excavated in Bulgaria, have been extensively commented on by Jordanov and Cheynet.⁵⁷ An identity between Elpidios and our issuer cannot be completely ruled out, but it is hardly demonstrable since at the time of production of the seal many Armenians were in the service of the Byzantine army and the name Vahram was highly common among them (Cheynet 2008b, 381).

11.a-b. Seal of Samuel Alousianos, proedros and dux

The following two seals of Samuel Alousianos proedros and doux are distinguished mainly by the iconography on the obverse. The first group shows the Mother of God sitting on a throne without a backrest. The second group, which is slightly older (Seibt, Zarnitz 1997, 115; Laflı, Seibt 2020, 932), bears a similar image, only that the throne has a high back. Another difference is the invocation to the Mother of God, shown in the second group as a circular inscription on the obverse, while in the first it features on the reverse as part of the legend.

11a.

Inv.: Robert Feind Collection, SB-450.

D: 26 mm. W: 15.2 gr.

Description: obverse slightly corroded, reverse fairly well preserved, slightly chipped at the upper and lower end of the channel. Date: 1070s-1080s.

Unpublished.

//: (1) Sofia, National Historical Museum, *s.n.*; (2) Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, M-5945; (3) Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, *s.n.* (former M. L. Zarnitz Collection); (4) Cambridge MA, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, bequest of Th. Whittemore, BZS.1951.31.5.280; (5) Geneva, Musée d'art et d'histoire, CdN 2004-551 (former G. Zacos Collection); (6)-(9) D. Theodoridis Collection, # 151

⁵⁴See, e.g., our seal # 3.

⁵⁵A widespread name of Persian origins for Armenian men: see Seibt 1976, 38 with note 99.

⁵⁶On this topic and on the family (or families) of the Brachamioi, see Cheynet 2008b.

⁵⁷Two seals were struck for Elpidios: (1) Veliki Preslav, Archaeological Museum, # 24564, published in Йорданов 1993, 102-103, # 188; (2) Shumen, Regional Historical Museum, # 14837, published in Jordanov, Zhekova 2007, 105, # 270. Both seals are published also in Jordanov 2006, 102-103, # 123-124 and Cheynet 2008b, 379-380. On the mention of Elpidios in other sources see also Cheynet 2008b, 379-381 and Seibt 1996, 135, # 188.

[005], 1049, 1121, 1133; (10) Turkey, Museum of Yozgat, # 1476; (11)-(13) BnF Zacos, # 48, 50, 1234 (former G. Zacos Collection); (14)-(15) S. Kofopoulos Collection, Greece, # 2431 and # 2241; (16) MZ 80: 28-30.11.1994, # 723 (= SBS 6, 1999, 152, # 723); Hirsch 186: 10-12.5.1995, # 1637 (= SBS 6, 1999, 130, # 1637); (17) Gorny 97: 11.10.1999, # 1311 (= SBS 8, 2003, 221, # 1311); (18) G&M 134: 11-12.10.2004, # 3589;⁵⁸ (19) G&M 156: 6.3.2007, # 2543 (= SBS 12, 2016, 144, # 2543); G&M 176: 9-10.3.2009, # 2832 (= SBS 12, 2016, 148, # 2832); (20) Roma 18: 27.6.2015, # 829; (21) KM 111: 4.5.2019, # 387; (22) KM 112: 19.10.2019, # 457; (23) KM 113: 4.4.2020, # 506; (24) Naumann 78: 2.6.2019, # 966; (25) Zeus 12: 28-29.8.2020, # 1871; (26) Naumann 94: 4.10.2020, # 829; (27) Leu (Web Auction) 14: 12-13.12.2020, # 1703.

Ed. of //: (1) Йорданов 2001, 180, # II.2, 14;⁵⁹ Jordanov 2006, 47-48, # 24; Jordanov 2009, 495, # 1492; (2) Шандровская 1981, 458, # 4⁶⁰ (= SBS 5, 1998, 168, # 4); (3) Gorny 62: 20.04.1993, # 734 (= SBS 6, 1999, 120, # 734); Seibt, Zarnitz 1997, 114-116, # 3.1.9; (4) DO Online: www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.280BZS.1951.31.5.280; (5) Spink 135 (Byzantine Seals from the collection of George Zacos, Part III): 06.10.1999, 60, # 280; Campagnolo-Pothitou, Cheynet 2016, 115, # 95 A; (6)-(9) Cheynet, Theodoridis 2010, 13-15, # 2 a/b/c/d ; (10) Laflı, Seibt 2020, 930-932, # 4; (11)-(13) unpublished, mentioned in Campagnolo-Pothitou, Cheynet 2016, 115; (14)-(15) Cheynet 2022, 433-434, # 3.292. Further references: Wassiliou-Seibt 2004, 483-484.



Fig. 11. Robert Feind Collection, SB-450. Photo: R. Feind.

On the obverse, the Virgin seated frontally on a backless throne holding Christ on her lap. Border of dots. Sigla on either side. $\overline{\text{MP}} - \overline{\text{ΘV}}$: Μή(τη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ .

On the reverse, legend of seven lines beginning with a cross. Border of dots.

$+\overline{\text{ΘK}}|\overline{\text{ΡΟΗΘΕΙ}}|\overline{\text{CΑΜΟΝΗΛ}}|\overline{\text{ΠΡΟΕΔΡΩ}}|\overline{\text{SΔΗΚΙΤΩ}}|\overline{\text{ΑΛΟΝCΙ}}|\overline{\text{ΑΝΩ}}$
 $+ \Theta(\epsilon\omicron\tau\acute{o})\kappa\epsilon \beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota \Sigma\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta\lambda \pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\delta\rho\omega \text{ (καὶ) } \delta\omicron\upsilon\kappa\iota \tau\tilde{\omega} \text{ Ἀλουσιάνω}$

$\Theta\epsilon\omicron\tau\acute{o}\kappa\epsilon \beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota \Sigma\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta\lambda \pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\delta\rho\omega \text{ καὶ } \delta\omicron\upsilon\kappa\iota \tau\tilde{\omega} \text{ Ἀλουσιάνω.}$
 Mother of God aid Samuel Aalousianos, proedros and doux.

11b.

Inv.: Robert Feind Collection, SB-302.

D: 30 mm. W: 22.1 gr.

Description: strongly corroded with part of the surface missing at each ends of channel on the reverse.

Date: 1070s-1080s.

Unpublished.

⁵⁸ Lot of nine lead seals. From the image provided by the catalogue, it is possible to see around three quarters of the obverse of an Aalousianos seal.

⁵⁹ It does not match image # 14 in table XIV.

⁶⁰ The image # 1 matches the seal (not # 4 as stated).

//: (1) Sofia, National Archaeological Institute with Museum, # 52; (2) Athens, Numismatic Museum, # 188α; (3) private collection, Berlin (the seal's present location is unknown); (4) Hannover, Museum August Kestner, # L3.2007 (former M. L. Zarnitz Collection, # 1100; permanent loan from Stiftung Niedersachsen); (5) BnF Zacos, # 42 (former G. Zacos Collection); (6) G. Zacos Collection, # 1464/6 (the seal's present location is unknown); (7) Ares 1: 23.8.2019, # 601; (8) Leu (Web Auction) 9: 7-8.9.2019, # 1362; (9) Naumann 103: 6.6.2021, # 994; (10) Demos 4: 26.9.2021, # 773; Demos 6: 5.12.2021, # 1068; (11) Naumann 118: 3.7.2022, # 1208.

Ed. of // (1) Златарски 1921-1922; Мушмовъ 1924, 156, # 240;⁶¹ Юркова, Пенчев 1990, 44-46; Йорданов 2001, 181, # II.2, 15;⁶² Jordanov 2006, 47-48, # 25;⁶³ Jordanov 2009, 495, # 1493; Jordanov 2011, 63, # 124; (2) Κωνσταντόπουλος 1917, 299, # 188α; Stavrakos 2000, 59-60, # 9; Evangelatou et al. 2002, 172, # 80; Cheynet, Theodoridis 2010, 14-15; (3) Sode 1997, 214-215, # 393; (4) Seibt 2011, 72-74, # 27; (5) mentioned in Cheynet 2022, 434; (6) mentioned in Йорданов 1996, 10; Йорданов 2001, 181; Jordanov 2006, 48; Jordanov 2011, 63. Further references: Wassiliou-Seibt 2004, 483-484.



Fig. 12. Robert Feind Collection, SB-302. Photo: R. Feind.

On the obverse, faint outline of the Virgin frontally, no other details visible. Slight traces of a border. Remains of a circular inscription on the right.

....CΩ..ΛΩ

[Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ] σῶ [δού]λῳ

On the reverse, legend of five lines. A cross between two decorative dashes on a separate line before the legend can be reconstructed thanks to the parallels. Border of dots.

САΜΥΗΛ|ΠΡΟΕΔΡΩ|ΚΑΙ.ΟΝΚΙ|ΤΨΑΛΟΝ|CΙΑΝΩ

Σαμουήλ προέδρω καὶ [δ]ουκὶ τῷ Ἀλουσιάνῳ

Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Σαμουήλ προέδρω καὶ δουκὶ τῷ Ἀλουσιάνῳ.

Mother of God aid your servant Samuel Alousianos, proedros and doux.

Samuel Alousianos was a grandson of the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Vladislav; his father was Alousianos (PBW Alousianos 101), strategos of Theodosiupolis, whose name Samuel Alousianos bore as a patronymic. After Basil II had subjugated the Bulgarian empire in 1018, Ivan Vladislav's children became part of the Byzantine aristocracy and forged strong ties with families close to power.

⁶¹The works of Zlatarsky and Mushmov are mentioned with a brief commentary in Laurent 1929-1930, 611, # 5. Laurent also refers to the parallel published in Athens by Konstantopoulos.

⁶²The image # 14, table XIV, matches the seal.

⁶³The image # 24 at the end of the catalogue matches the seal.

In addition to the seals of Samuel Alousianos proedros and doux presented here (PBW Samuel 101), other seals with this name are known:

(1) a seal type of Samuel Alousianos, proedros and doux, which shows a standing Saint Theodore on the obverse, while the reverse bears the same legend as our 11a, with a similar alignment of letters.⁶⁴ Both seal types can therefore be dated to the same period and are probably to be connected to a single person.

(2) a seal type of Samuel Alousianos vestarches and doux of Edessa (PBW Samuel 20105) which shows a standing Saint Theodore Teron on the obverse, dated to around the 1060s.⁶⁵ This person could be linked to Samuel Alousianos, vestarches and commander of the tagmata of the West in 1069,⁶⁶ mentioned in literary sources (Skylitzes continuatus 1968, 134⁷⁻¹³; Attaleiates 2002, 93¹²⁻²¹).

(3) a seal type of Samuel Alousianos, vestarches and strategos (PBW Samuel 20106), which shows a bust of Saint John Prodromos, dated to around the 1060s-1070s or slightly later.⁶⁷

The attribution of all or some of these seal types to a single owner has often been the subject of discussion, the results of which are contradictory. An issuer changing the iconography of his seals several times is quite unusual, hence it can be assumed that we are dealing with more than one individual. The publication in 2016 of the seal of Samuel Alousianos, proedros and doux (# 1 in the list above), bearing the image of Saint Theodore and a legend very similar to our # 11a makes an important contribution to the subject: it indirectly confirms the link between the vestarches and doux of Edessa of the seal type # 2 in the list above, which shows an image of Saint Theodore as well, and the proedros and doux Alousianos on our seals (see also Campagnolo-Pothitou, Cheynet 2016, 116).

ABBREVIATIONS

BHG: Halkin 1957, 1968, 1984.

BnF: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

BZ: Byzantinische Zeitschrift.

DO: Dumbarton Oaks.

PmbZ: R.-J. Lilie, C. Ludwig, B. Zielke, T. Pratsch (eds.). Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1515/pmbz>.

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⁶⁴Geneva, Musée d'art et d'histoire, CdN 2004-233 (former G. Zacos Collection) published in Campagnolo-Pothitou, Cheynet 2016, 116, # 95 B.

⁶⁵Collection of the PP. Mechitharisten in Vienna, Mech. 28, for the edition see Wassiliou-Seibt, Seibt 2004, 244, # 251; Athens, Numismatic Museum, # 174, published in Κωνσταντόπουλος 1917, 52, # 174 (both specimens are also published in Йорданов 2001, 179-180, # II.2, 8-9; the seal M 28 assigned to the Hermitage is actually Mech. 28). On the seals in Vienna and in Athens the issuer's name is not fully preserved, but it is clearly legible on a specimen in a private collection published in Алексеев 2009, 197-200. See also Seibt 2011, 74. On the veneration of Saint Theodore in the provinces on the Oriental border, especially in Edessa and Melitene, see Cheynet 2008d.

⁶⁶PBW Samuel 101, suggesting a connection between this Samuel Alousianos with the proedros and doux, issuer of our seals.

⁶⁷Collection of the PP. Mechitharisten in Vienna, Mech. 75, published in Wassiliou-Seibt, Seibt 2004, 286, # 299; two other parallel specimens were in the former G. Zacos Collection (# 1464 and 1508/6) and are mentioned in Йорданов 2001, 178-179, # II.2, 4-7 (the seal M 75 assigned to the Hermitage is actually Mech. 75). Further see also Seibt 2011, 74, and Laflı, Seibt 2020, 941.

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Нови идеи за познати византийски печати: екземпляри от колекцията на Роберт Файнд и техните паралели в България

Мария Тереза КАТАЛАНО, Мартина ФИЛОЗА,
Клаудия ЗОДЕ

В настоящата статия обнародваме 12 печата от колекцията на Роберт Файнд, които представляват паралели на вече публикувани такива от Иван Йорданов, произхождащи от различни държавни и частни колекции в България. Тези печати принадлежат на: (1) Константин Комнин, XII в., втора половина; (2) Роман, антипат, патрикий и стратег на Македония, X в.; (3) Хасан, патрикий антипат и стратег на Тракия, ср. на XI в.; (4) Никифор, магистър и domestik на Схолите, късен X в.; (5) Григорий Кладон, патрикий и стратег, ср. на XI в.; (6) Йоан Исис, XII в.; (7) Теофилопул XIII в.; (8) Аркадий, протоспатарий и стратег, късен X/ранен XI в.; (9) Стефан Кондостефан, деспот, ок. 1130-1148; (10) Врахамий, спатарокандидат и таксиарх, късен X/ранен XI в.; (11a) и (11b) Самуил Алусиан, проедър и дукс, 70-те–80-те години на XI в. Нашите описания допълват дадените от Йорданов, тъй като съдържат нова информация. Предстоящото дигитално публикуване на печатите ще доведе до по-широката им достъпност онлайн, с всички свързани с това предимства.

Le logothète des troupeaux : un fonctionnaire négligé

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Le logothète des troupeaux a fait l'objet d'une étude de R. Guiland dans son enquête sur les logothètes (Guiland 1971) et d'une introduction de V. Laurent dans son Corpus des sceaux de l'administration centrale (Laurent 1981, 289). Ce personnage est rarement mentionné dans les sources narratives ou documentaires. Cependant il est systématiquement cité dans les listes de préséance où il apparaît dans le groupe des logothètes, toujours en dernière position. Toutefois les logothètes sont placés parmi les plus hauts dignitaires, certes après les stratèges de grands thèmes et quelques hauts fonctionnaires civils, tels l'éparque ou le questeur, mais ils sont placés devant certains domestiques, comme celui des hicanates. Le Taktikon Uspenski, rédigé au milieu du ix^e siècle, suggère que ce logothète peut prétendre à la dignité de patrice, qui n'est décernée qu'aux stratèges des plus grands thèmes. Toutefois ce n'est pas obligatoire et ce même Taktikon prévoit un rang inférieur, si le logothète des troupeaux n'est pas patrice (Oikonomidès 1972, 51 : patrice ; 53 : non patrice ; 55 : ancien logothète).

En 899, le Clétorologe de Philothée permet de connaître l'organisation du *sékretion* du logothète (Oikonomidès 1972, 117). Il comprend :

- le protonotaire d'Asie,
- le protonotaire de Phrygie,
- les dioecètes des *mètata*,
- les comtes,
- les *épiskeptitai*.

Presque toutes ces fonctions sont également attestées par des sceaux. D'autres charges ne sont pas mentionnées dans le Clétorologe, soit parce qu'elles n'existaient pas encore, soit parce qu'elles étaient trop médiocres pour autoriser leurs détenteurs à participer aux cérémonies impériales. Les sceaux nous font connaître plusieurs *ek prosôpou* des ἀγγελῶν. Lorsque N. Oikonomidès a publié son ouvrage sur les préséances, un seul sceau, celui de Basile, ostiaire, *asèkrètis* et *ek prosôpou* des ἀγγελῶν, avait été édité dans une collection bulgare¹. Plusieurs noms nouveaux se sont ajoutés depuis, celui de Nicétas Chalkoutzès, protospathaire impérial, sceau connu en trois exemplaires (Jordanov 2009, # 872 ; DO BZS.1947.2.1055 ; Zacos BnF 83), celui de l'*asèkrètis* Michel (Zacos, Nesbitt 1985, # 845, aujourd'hui Zacos BnF 1924 et Cheynet et

¹ Oikonomidès 1972, 338, note 296. Le sceau a été repris dans Jordanov 2009, # 866-871. Il est maintenant connu en cinq exemplaires et, d'après la date présumée de la frappe, Basile servit au temps des guerres bulgares sous Basile II.

al. 1991, # 99), celui du spatharocandidat Manuel, dont le sceau à l'effigie de saint Nicolas date de la première moitié du ^x^e siècle (Leu 20 : 18-07-2022, # 3159) et celui de Nicéphore, dont l'état de conservation du sceau, à l'effigie en pied de saint Procope et datable du milieu du ^x^e siècle, ne permet pas de connaître la dignité, mais qui cumulait les charges de grand chartulaire du *stratiôtikon* et d'*ek prosôpou* des troupeaux (Hirsch 271 : 17-02-2011, # 2714).

Une autre fonction, celle d'*épi tòn agélôn*, n'est attestée que par un sceau inédit, datable du ^x^e siècle, à l'effigie de saint Nicolas et dévolue à Nicéphore, protospathaire *épi tou Chrysotriklinou* et *épi tòn agélôn* (DO BZS.1958.106.4124). La dignité suggère que Nicéphore n'occupait pas une charge subalterne. Ce pourrait être l'équivalent du logothète.

Selon le modèle de beaucoup de *sékreta*, sinon tous, les activités du bureau des troupeaux étaient financées par des biens du fisc, administrés par les divers *épiskeptitai* du service. Le logothète travaillait en collaboration avec le comte de l'Etable, puisque le logothète était en charge des troupeaux dans les fermes de Phrygie et d'Asie, deux provinces qui fournissaient traditionnellement des chevaux pour la cavalerie. Ces élevages sont attestés depuis l'époque homérique et les institutions byzantines ont pris la suite de celles de l'empire romain, sans discontinuité.

L'armée byzantine se devait d'être très mobile, surtout après l'essor du califat, car ses troupes, en infériorité numérique, devaient pouvoir être promptement réunies pour se porter sur la frontière menacée. Lorsque les grands raids ennemis perdirent de leur vigueur, la cavalerie ne fut pas moins engagée, car elle permettait des contre-attaques en profondeur dans le territoire ennemi. Les soldats des thèmes, lorsqu'ils étaient convoqués, devaient venir au point de rassemblement avec au moins un cheval, car même l'infanterie se déplaçait parfois à cheval. Certains soldats, les plus riches, qui combattaient à cheval, venaient avec des serviteurs et des montures de rechange. Tous ces hommes ne s'équipaient pas dans les étables du logothète des troupeaux. Ce dernier fournissait les chevaux des régiments de la garde et des *tagmata* de cavalerie, c'est-à-dire les troupes d'élite de l'Empire. Il avait donc une fonction majeure au sein de l'armée, qui ne devait jamais manquer de montures adéquates. Une preuve indirecte de ce rôle stratégique est donnée par l'empereur Alexis Comnène, à un moment où l'Asie Mineure occidentale est submergée par les tribus turques. L'empereur a donc perdu les haras d'Asie et de Phrygie et demande au comte de Flandre, vers 1089-1090, non seulement des secours en hommes pour sauver ce qui reste des possessions byzantines en Asie Mineure, mais il réclame aussi des montures dont il a désespérément besoin. Il obtint cinq cents cavaliers d'élite et cent cinquante destriers supplémentaires (Anne Comnène 2001, 221-222 : VII.7.4).

Il est probable que le logothète des troupeaux fournissait aussi des montures pour le bureau du drome, qui devait livrer des chevaux frais aux messagers de la poste et aux ambassadeurs étrangers qui fréquentaient les relais officiels lorsqu'ils voyageaient par voie terrestre. Cela expliquerait qu'un fonctionnaire des *ἀγγελῶν* cumulait parfois sa charge avec un poste au sein du drome, comme ce fut le cas du logothète Sisinnios et du chartulaire des troupeaux et du drome, Constantin (Laurent 1981, # 450). On peut se demander s'ils furent les seuls à être partie prenante dans deux services où la disponibilité des

chevaux importait particulièrement. Plusieurs sceaux de chartulaires, en effet, sont illustrés par des chevaux sans cavalier, iconographie rare. Le plus bel exemplaire appartient au sceau de Gennadios dont le graveur a dessiné avec la plus grande finesse une paire de chevaux². Constantin, *illoustrios*, a laissé plusieurs bulles dont le revers porte un cheval surmonté d'un monogramme de chartulaire, suggérant ainsi que cette fonction était liée aux chevaux³. D'autres représentations de chevaux assez proches sont gravées sur des plombs appartenant non plus à des chartulaires mais à des dignitaires, par exemple ceux de Théodore, *stratèlatès* (Sol 1 : 16-10-2021, # 329), de Constantin, *apo hypatôn* (Leu 14 : 13-12-2020, # 1690), ou encore de Théophylacte qui ne mentionne que son nom, mais dont le beau cheval qu'on distingue au droit de sa bulle invite à le rattacher à notre série⁴. Tous ces sceaux datent du VII^e siècle. Sont-ils l'indice d'une réorganisation des sékréta des troupeaux et du drome ?

La liste des logothètes des troupeaux s'établit ainsi. Une astérisque* signale les logothètes inconnus de R. Guiland et V. Laurent. Nous donnons les reproductions de quelques-uns des sceaux qui ne figuraient pas dans le Corpus de Laurent.

– Scholastikos*, cubiculaire, logothète des troupeaux et du drome : 700-730, **fig. 1** (G&M 293: 06-03-2023, # 757),

– Grégoire*, *hypatos* : 700-750 (Cheynet 2022, # 2.133, deux exemplaires),

– Sisinnios*, *hypatos* (?), logothète des troupeaux et du drome (?) : 700-750 (Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 3179, aujourd'hui DO BZS.1947.2.201),

– Sisinnios, logothète des troupeaux et tourmarque : 700-750, **fig. 2** (Un exemplaire est conservé à DO : BZS.1951.31.5.2639),

Georges*, *hypatos* : 700-750, **fig. 3** (Leu 26 : 12-07-2023, # 5860),

Pierre*, protospathaire : 750-800, **fig. 4** (Aquila 7 : 04-12-2022, # 936),

– Apélâtès*, patrice, protospathaire : 750-800, **fig. 5** (Hirsch 249 : 07/10-02-2007, # 2364 ; Victoria 4 : 20/21-12-2022, # 906 ; N&N 21 : 09-09-2023, # 401 ; DO BZS.1947.2.999)⁵,

– Bardas*, protospathaire : 750-800 (Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 3082, aujourd'hui DO BZS.1947.2.662),

– Procope, spathaire : 750-800 (Laurent 1981, # 580, à partir de deux exemplaires : DO BZS.1951.31.5.1107 et collection Thierry 94),

– Théophylacte*, patrice : 775-825, **fig. 6** (Bulgurlu – Ilaslı 2003, # 19, 141⁶ et GB, # SKU 9542),

– Basile, spathaire : vers 800 ? (Laurent 1981, # 579)⁷,

– Pétronas, spathaire : 800-850 (Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2317 et Laurent 1981, # 581)⁸,

– Antoine*, protospathaire (Bulgurlu 2021, # 21, 633), puis promu patrice, et patrice *anthypatos* : 820-860 (Aquila 7 : 04-12-2022, # 935 ; Leu 24: 05-12-2022, # 3625),

– Jean*, protospathaire : 820-860, **fig. 7** (Leu 11 : 23-02-2020, # 2253),

– N.*, patrice, protospathaire et logothète du drome : 820-860, **fig. 8** (Olympus 3 : 20-05-2023, # 954),

– Bardas, *anthypatos*, patrice, protospathaire, domestique des Scholes et logothète des troupeaux : ca. 855, **fig. 9** (Bucephalus 6 : 12-06-2022, # 841),

– Marianos a laissé deux bulles différentes : (a) magistre, *anthypa-*

² Seibt 2011, # 5, daté du dernier tiers du VIII^e siècle; un exemplaire parallèle en moins bon état est conservé à DO (BZS.1958.106.5479) et un troisième a été proposé à la vente Leu 26 :12-07-2023, # 5847.

³ Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 1376a et 1376b (aujourd'hui DO BZS.1955.1.4478 et BZS.1951-31.5.1176). Un troisième exemplaire est inédit (DO BZS.1955.31.5.614). Un autre exemplaire appartenait à l'ancienne collection Seyrig (Cheynet et al. 1991, # 84).

⁴ Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 1390a et 1390b et l'existence d'un troisième exemplaire est signalé. Deux des exemplaires sont aujourd'hui à DO : BZS.1958.106.320 et BZS.1955.1.4512.

⁵ Le nom est mal conservé, mais la pièce parallèle autorise la restitution.

⁶ Le nom est incomplet, mais la pièce parallèle permet de trancher..

⁷ Le sceau n'est plus identifiable aujourd'hui et le premier éditeur, G. Schlumberger, n'a pas donné de dessin. Cependant, la description du sceau invite à le dater, comme V. Laurent, du tournant des VIII^e et IX^e siècles, d'autant que c'est le moment où d'autres logothètes des troupeaux ont obtenu seulement la modeste dignité de spathaire.

⁸ Laurent laisse entendre qu'il existe un exemplaire de l'ancienne collection Zacos, en plus de celui de DO qu'il cite (BZS.1958.106.1720). La comparaison des photos montre qu'il s'agit de la même bulle.

tos, patrice, protospathaire impérial et grand domestique : **fig. 10** (Laurent 1981, # 582, aujourd'hui collection Thierry 86) ; (b) magistre, *anthypatos*, patrice, protospathaire impérial, grand domestique, logothète des troupeaux et catépan de Macédoine (?) : **fig. 11** (Zacos, Nesbitt 1985, # 225, aujourd'hui Zacos BnF 4018)⁹ (à partir de 867 pour les deux bulles),

– Constantin, protospathaire : 850-900 (Laurent 1981, # 582, aujourd'hui DO BZS.1947.2.379; cf. PmbZ, # 3959),

– Anastase, primicier, protospathaire : 870-900 (Laurent 1981, # 584)¹⁰,

– Etienne*, patrice, protospathaire : 870-900, **fig. 12** (Naumann 75 : 03-03-2019, # 883),

– Léon*, protospathaire : 880-920, **fig. 13** (Biga 9 : 24-04-2022, # 878; Olympos 2 : 02-04-2023, # 691),

– Constantin, protospathaire *épi tou Chrysotriklinou* : 950-1000 (Laurent 1981, # 585)¹¹,

– Grégoras, protospathaire : 950-1000 (Laurent 1981, # 586)¹²,

– Basile, magistre : 973-975 ? (Seibt 2011, # 15),

– Bardas*, *anthypatos*, patrice, protospathaire : 950-975 (Laurent 1981, # 588, aujourd'hui Institut français d'études byzantines – IFEB 486),

– Romain, patrice, sébastophore (950-975) (**fig. 14**)¹³,

– Michel, *anthypatos*, patrice, protospathaire : 950-1000 (Laurent 1981, # 589, aujourd'hui DO BZS.1951.31.5.1403),

– Christophe*, patrice, vestarque : 1000-1040 (DO BZS.1958.106.1735, inédit)¹⁴,

– Constantin Monomaque*, protospathaire : 1025-1028 (Seibt, Zarnitz 1997, # 1.2.9)¹⁵,

– ..zôtès*, proèdre, logothète des troupeaux et domestique des Scholes d'Orient : 1028-1037, **fig. 15** (Wassiliou-Seibt, Seibt 2004, # 246 et Balkan 2 : 03-02-2022, # 528)¹⁶,

– Nicolas*, proèdre : 1060-1080, **fig. 16** (Naumann 71 : 04-11-2018, # 699, aujourd'hui collection privée),

– Constantin Cérulaire*, protoproèdre¹⁷.

La liste des logothètes des troupeaux connus s'est donc considérablement allongée depuis l'époque de R. Guiland et V. Laurent, notamment pour les VIII^e et XI^e siècles. Elle s'arrête avant le règne d'Alexis Comnène. Cela se justifie parfaitement, puisque les ressources du logothète étaient concentrées dans l'Asie Mineure occidentale. Or cette région passait progressivement aux mains d'émirs turcs, eux aussi amateurs de chevaux. On note que peu de fonctionnaires des *agélôn* ont laissé des sceaux dans la partie européenne de l'Empire. Le Corpus de Bulgarie, qui regroupe plus de 3200 bulles, ne relève aucun logothète, seulement deux ek *prosôpou* des *agélôn*. L'unique Basile, ostiaire, asèkrètis, dont six sceaux furent retrouvés, exerça ses talents dans le dernier tiers du X^e siècle, soit lors de la grande campagne de Jean Tzimiskès contre les Russes en Bulgarie, soit lors des expéditions des généraux de Basile II (Jordanov 2009, # 866-871). Le protospathaire Nicétas Chalkoutzès est plus jeune d'un demi-siècle environ (Jordanov 2009, # 872 ; Laurent 1981, # 591 ; Paris, Zacos BnF 83, exemplaire inédit, mieux conservé). Sous les Comnènes et leurs successeurs, nous n'avons plus de sceaux de ce bureau des *agélôn*. R. Guiland, qui a com-

⁹ La dernière ligne de la légende est difficile à interpréter, bien que toutes les lettres soient nettement gravées : Τ,ΠΑΣΔ,. Il faut admettre une bévue du graveur qui aura écrit un Π au lieu d'un Μ : τ(ῆς) Μα(καί)δ(οβί)ας. Mais cela reste une hypothèse.

¹⁰ Le sceau n'a pas été retrouvé à Istanbul.

¹¹ La bulle est connue en deux exemplaires, l'un à DO (BZS.1947.2.380), l'autre au Musée numismatique d'Athènes.

¹² Le sceau n'a pas été retrouvé à Istanbul.

¹³ Laurent 1981, # 587 et Sokolova 1993, 108. Romain est le logothète dont on a conservé le plus de sceaux : DO BZS.1951.31.5.2033 et BZS.1955.1.283 ; un exemplaire est conservé au Musée de Cherson (Crimée) et deux autres ont été proposés lors de ventes aux enchères : Naumann 55 : 02-07-2017, # 808 et Naumann 82 : 06-10-2019, un des sceaux du lot 1138.

¹⁴ Le sceau est en mauvaise condition, mais la lecture est assurée car le nom logothète est suivi de l'article au génitif pluriel qui convient seulement au logothète des troupeaux.

¹⁵ La bulle provient de la vente Hirsch 173 : 05-1992, # 1426.

¹⁶ La date proposée est celle des éditeurs. La fourchette de dates peut être élargie, car nous ignorons par exemple la liste complète des domestiques des Scholes sous Constantin Monomaque. Le nom du domestique est perdu et malheureusement la pièce parallèle, proposée dans la vente Balkan Imperium, est elle aussi frappée sur un flan trop petit qui a laissé hors champ le début de la légende.

¹⁷ Sur la carrière de Constantin, cf. Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 147 et Wassiliou-Seibt 2018. Dernière édition, Cheynet 2022, # 3.134. Deux nouveaux exemplaires de cette bulle sont connus (Obolos 13 : 02-07-2019, # 747 et G&M 208 : 16/17-10-2012, # 2613).

pilé les mentions de logothètes, connaît un vide sous les Commènes qui n'ont peut-être pas conservé ce service, mais reprend sa liste sous les Lascarides de Nicée, sans que l'on sache s'il s'agit d'un vrai poste ou seulement d'un titre honorifique.

N. Oikonomidès considérait que le logothète des troupeaux était attesté depuis le IX^e siècle, mais les sceaux permettent de reculer cette date d'un siècle. Il sera difficile de remonter davantage dans le temps la création de cette charge car ce fonctionnaire est rarement cité dans les sources et de plus, avant 700, les légendes des sceaux de laïcs sont rarement développées au-delà du nom et d'une dignité. Ce constat est le même pour les bulles des logothètes du *génikon* dont nous avons conservé de nombreux plombs, celles antérieures à 700 sont rares. Il n'est donc pas impossible que le logothète des troupeaux soit bien l'héritier direct du *praepositus gregum* (Oikonomidès 1972, 338). Une bulle pourrait attester l'ancienneté de ce service, celle du chartulaire Gennadios, mentionnée plus haut. Mais il peut aussi s'agir d'un fonctionnaire du drome. Ce pourrait être une façon élégante d'exprimer son appartenance aux deux services, comme le logothète Sisinnios qui exerça sa double charge à une époque assez proche. Le sceau du chartulaire peut être daté de l'époque de Justinien II, qui témoigne d'un renouveau de l'art de la gravure.

On s'est souvent posé la question de savoir si le logothète des troupeaux appartenait à l'administration civile ou militaire. Le classement parmi les stratarques dans le Clétorologe de Philothée inviterait à le compter au nombre des militaires, mais les fonctionnaires de son bureau semblent tous relever d'une hiérarchie civile. Cependant, lorsqu'il est possible de tracer le profil de carrière du logothète, on peut les classer dans les deux catégories, selon qu'ils ont effectué un cursus honorum civil ou ont exercé des charges militaires. Dans les cas les mieux documentés, des hypothèses sur les raisons de leur nomination peuvent être avancées.

Quels sont les logothètes bien attestés par d'autres sources? Quatre personnages se distinguent par la solidité de leur identification. Le premier est l'oncle de Michel III, Bardas, qui cumula sa charge avec celle de domestique des Scholes et le second, le magistre Marianos, est le frère de l'empereur Basile I^{er}, ce qui justifie la dignité très élevée qui lui est attribuée. Il cumule aussi sa charge de logothète avec celle de domestique des Scholes, poste auquel le nouvel empereur l'avait nommé, reprenant la combinaison des fonctions déjà exercées par Bardas¹⁸.

Le troisième, Constantin Monomaque, n'est autre que le futur empereur, dont la famille bénéficia de la faveur des Macédoniens, en particulier de Basile II ou de Constantin VIII. Les éditeurs de la bulle rappellent que Constantin, étant apparenté à Romain III Argyre, fut promu patrice lorsque ce dernier devint empereur en 1028. Le dernier logothète, lui aussi nommé Constantin, était le neveu du patriarche Michel Cérulaire. Grâce à l'appui des empereurs Constantin X et Michel VII Doukas auxquels il était apparenté, il obtint les plus hauts postes de l'administration civile.

A ces identifications assurées, on peut ajouter un rapprochement probable, celui du sébastophore et patrice Romain. Son sceau date du dernier tiers du X^e siècle. La charge de sébastophore, créée entre 963 et 975, fut surtout exercée par des eunuques (Oikonomidès 1972, 308). Or, à ce moment précis nous connaissons un patrice eunuque,

¹⁸ Toutes les références sont données dans Seibt 1978, 122-125, # 34.

nommé Romain, il s'agit du petit-fils de l'empereur Romain Lécapène, qui fut castré lorsque son oncle par alliance, Constantin VII, reprit le pouvoir effectif. L'autre oncle de Romain, Basile Lécapène, lui aussi eunuque, fut nommé proèdre du Sénat par Nicéphore Phocas. On peut alors imaginer que Romain, autre descendant de l'empereur Romain Lécapène, reçut, de la part du même empereur ou de son successeur Jean Tzimiskès, la nouvelle charge de sébastophore, qui, dans le Taktikon de l'Escorial, vient juste après celle de proèdre et avant la classe des magistrats (Oikonomidès 1972, 263).

On peut se demander quel Basile, magistre, a pu devenir logothète des troupeaux. La dignité est très élevée au x^e siècle, celle que porte au mieux le domestique des Scholes. On pense au parakoimomène, dont on n'a aucune mention comme magistre, mais cette dignité a pu lui être accordée, sans doute par Constantin VII. En 963, il devint proèdre. La date du sceau du logothète Basile est tout à fait compatible avec cette chronologie. Le droit de son sceau, monogramme du nom cantonné de la dignité, affiche la même présentation que celui de la bulle du logothète du *génikon*, Paul Monomaque, dont tant d'exemplaires ont été découverts en Bulgarie (Jordanov 2009, # 866-871). Basile Lécapène fut écarté de sa charge de parakoimomène par Romain II au profit de Joseph Bringas. Aurait-il reçu cette charge à titre de compensation ? Toutefois en 963, au moment de la rébellion, Basile était à Constantinople et les chroniqueurs ne mentionnent à cette date aucune fonction¹⁹. Il faut chercher un autre Basile. On suivra donc W. Seibt lorsqu'il évoque la possibilité d'identifier ce sigillant au recteur et logothète du *génikon*, même si ce Basile ne fait pas mention sur ce sceau de son titre de recteur. Car le droit du sceau du logothète des troupeaux est illustré d'une croix d'un type très proche de celle gravée sur le sceau du recteur. On admettra alors qu'un fonctionnaire n'inscrivait pas systématiquement sur sa bulle l'ensemble de ses charges et dignités. Une seule conclusion s'impose, Basile était bien un proche du pouvoir.

Dans le commentaire de son sceau, V. Laurent a aussi émis l'hypothèse que le logothète Constantin du ix^e siècle serait à identifier à Constantin, surnommé Maniakès, personnage de première importance sous les règnes de Théophile et Michel III, mais ce rapprochement est difficile à justifier, le prénom de Constantin et la dignité de protospathaire étant d'une assez grande banalité.

Quelques noms de logothètes, assez peu fréquents, suggèrent que certains d'entre eux poursuivirent une carrière militaire. Sisinnios, le plus ancien logothète attesté, était, si la lecture du sceau est exacte, en même temps tourmarque, sans doute des Thracésiens²⁰ ; un Apélatès, à peu près contemporain du nôtre, fut stratège des Karabisianoï (dernières éditions : Charalampakis 2021, 550; Cheynet 2022, # 3.120); un autre ou le même fut domestique des Scholes (Bulgurlu 2021, n° 18). Antoine est un nom rare chez les laïcs. L'un de ceux relevés dans la PmbZ fut *prôtostratôr*, ce qui dans sa carrière se combinerait bien avec la charge de logothète des troupeaux, d'autant que les éditeurs du sceau témoignant de cette fonction le datent de la première moitié du ix^e siècle, mais en fait cette bulle pourrait être un peu plus ancienne (Zacos, Vegler 1972, # 1419). L'identité du patrice Théophylacte reste mystérieuse, mais il a reçu une dignité remarquable en ce temps pour cette fonction. On pense à Théophylacte Rhangabé, soit le père du futur empereur Michel I^{er}, soit le fils de ce dernier et petit-fils de

¹⁹ Pour un résumé de la carrière de Basile, cf. PmbZ, # 20925.

²⁰ Un Sisinnios, patrice et stratège des Thracésiens, se porta au secours de son cousin Constantin V menacé par la rébellion d'Artavasde (PmbZ, # 6753).

Nicéphore I^{er}. Son grand-père lui aurait-il confié le soin de renforcer la cavalerie de l'armée qu'il allait conduire en Bulgarie ? Si Théophylacte était né en 791, il aurait été bien jeune encore. En revanche le premier nommé, devenu le beau-père de Prokopia, l'épouse du futur empereur Michel, entrainé dans la famille impériale, ce qui lui a sûrement facilité l'accès aux plus hauts honneurs (PmbZ, # 8294).

Le logothète des troupes, pourtant cité en dernier parmi les logothètes dans les listes de préséance, fut cependant, à quelques exceptions près, un personnage considérable, comme en témoignent les dignités qui lui furent conférées au cours des siècles. La dignité d'*hypatos* que portent Grégoire et Sisinnios peut sembler modeste, mais les logothètes du *génikon* contemporains ne jouissent pas toujours d'un rang supérieur (Laurent 1981, # 274, 279, 280). Ensuite, durant un siècle, les dignités qui s'échelonnent du simple spathaire à l'illustre patrice, dignité à cette date réservée aux stratèges des plus grands thèmes, montrent une adaptation aux circonstances et un certain respect des dignités prévues dans les *Taktika* conservés.

Selon les besoins de l'armée, l'empereur a confié le poste à un fonctionnaire assez modeste, titré spathaire, ou au contraire à l'un des personnages de l'Etat les plus en vue, titré patrice. Excepté le cas d'Apélatès, on ne peut rapprocher aucun de ces logothètes, simples spathaires, d'un militaire ou d'un civil connu par ailleurs. Ensuite, la dignité habituellement attribuée est celle de protospathaire jusqu'au milieu du x^e siècle, sauf de rares exceptions. Puis la dignité de référence devient le patriciat. Enfin au cours du xi^e siècle, les dignités subissant le phénomène de dévaluation, le dernier logothète connu, antérieur à 1081, fut promu protoproèdre. En conclusion, le logothète des troupes n'a pas été moins bien traité que les autres logothètes.

Les logothètes des troupes viennent indifféremment du monde civil ou du milieu militaire, quoique la répartition se modifie sans doute au cours des siècles. Jusqu'au x^e siècle, la charge semble plutôt confiée à un officier. Au xi^e siècle, c'est le contraire.

Trois logothètes ont cumulé leur charge avec celle de domestique des Scholes. Ce poste a donc été jugé stratégique à plusieurs reprises. Trois cas sont très significatifs, ceux de Bardas, de Marianos et de Constantin Cérulaire. Bardas était le vrai maître de l'Empire, à côté de sa sœur l'impératrice Théodôra, puis de son neveu Michel, mais il était entouré de rivaux, qui finalement causèrent sa perte. Basile I^{er}, qui arriva au pouvoir après l'assassinat de son prédécesseur, Michel III, avait certes l'appui de la coterie qu'il avait précédemment constituée, mais sentait sa position très fragile. Pour cette raison, il promut son frère Marianos domestique des Scholes pour contrôler l'armée, et de plus jugea indispensable de lui confier la gestion des haras impériaux d'Asie Mineure. Le nouvel empereur se heurta précisément à des rébellions dans le thème des Thracésiens, là où se trouvaient les haras impériaux²¹. Basile manquait à ce point de fidèles sûrs qu'il nomma également Marianos catépan à la tête des troupes d'élite de Macédoine.

Le choix de Constantin Monomaque est moins facilement justifiable, mais il est certain qu'après les grandes rébellions de la fin du x^e siècle, les empereurs se méfiaient de l'aristocratie militaire anatolienne. De plus, la famille des Monomaque et Constantin, en particulier, jouissaient de la faveur de la famille macédonienne, puisque l'impératrice songea à ce dernier lorsqu'elle décida de se remarier pour la troisième fois.

²¹ Le stratège des Thracésiens, Symbatios, était le gendre du César Bardas, que Basile avait fait assassiner. Symbatios s'associa à un autre stratège, le patrice Péganès, qui commandait l'Opsikion (Skylitzès 1973, 134).

La nomination de Constantin Cérulaire semble incongrue, puisque le neveu du patriarche avait exercé des fonctions judiciaires. Le choix de l'empereur Michel VII, ou sans doute de son conseiller le César Jean Doukas, peut s'expliquer si l'on tient compte des liens qui unissaient les Doukai et les Cérulaire. Le moment le plus pertinent pour cette nomination coïnciderait avec le début de la guerre civile qui suivit la libération de Romain Diogène après Mantzikert. Une partie des troupes d'Asie Mineure rallia l'empereur déchu et la guerre se décida largement par des combats de cavalerie. Il fallait donc assurer la remonte et, manifestement, le César Doukas s'appuyait préférentiellement sur sa parenté. Il confia l'armée à ses fils Constantin et Andronic. Comme dans le cas de Marianos, la charge de logothète des troupeaux fut attribuée à un parent de l'empereur, ou du principal acteur de la guerre civile, dans le cas de Cérulaire. Finalement, le premier critère de choix d'un logothète des troupeaux reposait sur la confiance que lui accordait l'empereur. Le logothète intervenait peu dans les combats, sauf lorsqu'il cumulait des charges militaires, mais il contrôlait l'atout majeur pour remporter la victoire, la qualité et le nombre des chevaux.

ABRÉVIATIONS

BnF : Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris)

DO : Dumbarton Oaks (Washington, D.C.)

PmbZ : Prosopographie der mittel-byzantinischen Zeit, Nach Vorarbeiten F.

Winkelmanns. Erstellt von R.-J. Lilie, Cl. Ludwig, T. Pratsch, I. Rochow unter Mitarbeit von W. Brandes, J. R. Martindale, B. Zielke. Berlin, New York 1998-2002 et 2013.

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LISTE DES VENTES

Aquila : Aquila Numismatics – Fa. Online-Münzhandel
Balkan : Balkan Imperium Art
Biga : Biga Numismatics
Bucephalus : Bucephalus Numismatic
GB : Gert Boersema, Hasselt, The Netherlands
G&M : Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung GmbH
Hirsch : Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger
Leu : Leu Numismatik AG
N&N : N&N London LTD
Naumann : Numismatik Naumann GmbH
Obolos : Obolos Webauktion – Nomos AG
Olympus : Olympus Numismatik UG
Sol : Sol Numismatik – Ofedia s.p
Victoria : Victoria Numismatics UG

Логотет на стадата: една слабо изследвана длъжност

Жан-Клод ШЕНЕ

От четирите ни известни от Тактиконите логотети, този, който отговаря за стадата (τῶν ἀγελῶν), е в по-нисшестояща позиция спрямо останалите. Носителите на тази длъжност не са добре познати, тъй като рядко биват споменати в историческите извори. Много повече информация дават сфрагистичните паметници, като през последните две десетилетия множество були на логотети станаха известни за науката. Публикуваният тук списък от 27 логотети, засвидетелствани между началото на VIII и края на XI в., позволява да направим някои изводи за техния административен и обществен профил. Тяхната позиция във висшия сектор на гражданската администрация не е непроменлива. В повечето случаи, те са получавали най-високите титли за времето си, но в определени периоди, като например прехода между VIII и IX в., титлите им са по-скромни.

Длъжността на логотет на стадата е могла да бъде постигната в рамките на кариера в гражданската администрация, но също така, по-често отколкото традиционно се предполага, и в рамките на впечатляваща военна кариера, тъй като две от известните ни лица са били едновременно и доместици на схолите. Общественият профил на логотетите на стадата е също често пъти блестящ, в случаите когато е възможно да бъдат идентифицирани с личности от изворите. Много от тях са били в по-голяма или по-малка степен далечни членове на управляващата по същото време императорска фамилия. Логотетът на стадата е бил по необходимост човек, на когото императорът има доверие, понеже отговаря за снабдяването на коне за армията, където кавалерията често е играела решаваща роля.



Fig. 1. *Scholastikos*, cubiculaire et logothète des troupeaux et du drome



Fig. 2. *Sisinnios*, logothète des troupeaux et tourmarque (?)



Fig. 3. *Georges*, *hypatos*



Fig. 4. *Pierre*, protospathaire et logothète des troupeaux



Fig. 5. *Apélâtès*, patrice, protospathaire



Fig. 6. *Théophylacte* patrice et logothète des troupeaux



Fig. 7. *Jean*, protospathaire et logothète troupeaux



Fig. 8. *N.* patrice, protospathaire et logothète des troupeaux



Fig. 9. Bardas, *anthypatos*, patrice, protospathaire, domestique des Scholes et logothète des troupes



Fig. 10. Marianos, magistre, *anthypatos*, patrice, protospathaire, grand domestique et logothète des troupes



Fig. 11. Marianos, magistre, *anthypatos*, patrice, protospathaire, grand domestique, logothète des troupes et catépan de Macédoine (?)



Fig. 12. Etienne, patrice, protospathaire et logothète des troupes



Fig. 13. Léon, protospathaire et logothète des troupes



Fig. 14. Romain, patrice, sébastophore et logothète des troupes



Fig. 15. N. proëdre, logothète des troupes et domestique des Scholes d'Orient



Fig. 16. Nicolas proëdre et logothète des troupes

A newly found seal of prince Rostislav-Gabriel

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One of the many innovations brought to Rus by the Christianization was the use of Byzantine sealing practices. Lead seals were not only used to authenticate documents, but also to represent power, especially that of a prince. In the 11th century, many Russian princes still used Greek inscriptions, but there was also a peculiar feature, which came from the fact that the Russian princes usually had two names: a traditional non-Christian name and a Christian, baptismal name. As a result, the question of how these names were represented on seals arose; for a Christian name, the presentation could not only be verbal but also visual through a scene or a figure. The guessing of the owner's name and identity on such a seal became one of the subdivisions of Russian Sigillography. In this article, we are going to introduce a new type of seal, which – unexpectedly – brings new insights into Russian and Bulgarian history.

Recently (prior to 2016), treasure hunters active in Belarus, near the village of Cherstvyady, in Ushachi district of Vitebsk region, found a seal, which is now kept in a private collection (**fig. 1**). Based on its type, it can be estimated that the seal – whose diameter is 1.62 cm – dates back to the 11th c. The damage on the right edge of the obverse (left edge of the reverse), caused by the strike, does not prevent the inscription from being read.

The obverse shows the well-elaborated Annunciation scene within a circular frame: on the left, the winged archangel Gabriel in a three-quarter turn raises his right hand towards Mary standing on the right, facing three-quarters to the left and slightly raising her arms towards the archangel; at the bottom, between them, there is a vertical line with bullets (the left leg of the Virgin's throne?). At the top centre, between the figures, remains of the inscription are visible: OX or even O|Å (for Ὁ Χαίρετισμός). In the second line, probably: ΠΑ or rather Ι[Π]Α (as a continuation of the upper line). In this case, the following it can be seen to the left of the Virgin's right shoulder (between the Virgin and the archangel) – for a misspelled Ὁ Χαί[ρ]αιτ[ισμός].



Fig. 1. The seal of Gabriel-Rostislav Vladimirovich.

To the right of Mary, the remains of two letters are visible under each other, probably T and A (this is either a continuation of Ὁ Χαίρατισμός – sic, or of -τὰ σοῦ – this may already mean that if the second reading is correct, one would expect Ο Κ̅ Μ̅Ε to the left of the archangel, in the missing part of the seal). The inscription on the obverse is unusual for the Annunciation scene (see: Шандровская 2019, 422-426, ил. 1-4).

On the reverse, there is a five-line inscription within a circular frame: +ΘΚΕ | .ΩΖΕΓΑ | ..ΙΗΛΡΩ | .ΙCΘΛΑ | ΒΩ = + Θ(εοτό)κε, [σ]ῶζε Γα[βρ]ιὴλ Ρω[στ]ισθλάβω – “+ Theotokos, save Gabriel Rostislav”.

In line 4, judging by the place remaining for only one letter, it seems that the στ were written in a ligature (Ϛ). In the name Rostislav, one can see an error in the case (dative instead of accusative), which can be explained both by a confusion in the cases after the verb σώζω, and by an unsuccessful (but usual) change of the formula Θεοτόκε βοήθει “Theotokos help” (e.g., during the new rule of the prince). The spelling of the name Rostislav is not recorded in Greek sources: omega, instead of the expected omicron, could appear under the influence of the word Ῥῶς. On the other hand, this spelling excludes the seal belonging to a person from the South or West Slavic world, where this name had the form “Rastislav”. A combination of the Christian and Slavic name of a Russian prince in one Greek inscription is known from the seals of Andreas-Vsevolod Yaroslavich (1030-1093), Merkourios-Vyacheslav Yaroslavich (1036-1057), and Basileios-Vladimir Monomakh (1053-1125) (Янин 1970, 15-16, 168-170, # 14-22, табл. 2-3, 34-35; Янин, Гайдуков 1998а, 20-21, 114-115, # 15.2, 16а, 20а, 22а, табл. 1-2, 52-53; Янин, Гайдуков 2000, 286, # 15.3, 15.4, 18.2, 20.2; Янин, Гайдуков 2001, 181-182, # 16а.2, 18.3, 20.3, 20б, фиг. 1; Янин, Гайдуков 2003, 353, # 14а.1-2, фиг. 2; Янин, Гайдуков 2005, 94, # 16а.2, 17.2, 18а, рис. 2; Янин, Гайдуков 2006, 80, # 20.4; Янин, Гайдуков 2008, 65, # 16аа.1-2; Артюхин 2011, 372, # 8; Артюхин 2013, 95-96, # 1; Алфёров 2012, 175-193, 203-206, # 5-25).

There is no doubt that the owner of the seal bore two names: the non-Christian name Rostislav and the Christian name Gabriel, and therefore he chose for his seal the iconography of the Annunciation, where one can see on the left the figure of the archangel Gabriel. Most of the Russian seals depicting the Annunciation are associated with Vsevolod-Gabriel (c. 1095/1103-1138), the eldest son of Mstislav the Great (1076-1132) (Янин 1970, 108-110, 193-194, # 133.1-6, 134.1-12, 135, 136.1-5, 137.1-13, табл. 13, 46-48; Янин,

Гайдуков 1998а, 43, 129-130, # 133.7-11, 134.13-20, 135.2, 136.7-8, 137.14-18, 137а, табл. 7, 68-71; Янин, Гайдуков 1998б, 344, # 134.21-22; Янин, Гайдуков 2000, 290-291, # 133.12-14, 134.23-24, 137.19, 137б, фиг. 10; Янин, Гайдуков 2001, 184, # 133.15, 137.20; Янин, Гайдуков 2002, 161, # 133.16-18, 134.25-26, 137.21; Янин, Гайдуков 2003, 356-357, # 134.27, 136.9, 137.22-24; Янин, Гайдуков 2004, 144, # 133.20, 134.28, 136.10, 137.25-27; Янин, Гайдуков 2005, 98, # 137.28; Янин, Гайдуков 2006, 84, # 134.29-30, 137.29-31; Янин, Гайдуков 2008, 69, # 133.20-21, 134.31-32). Vsevolod-Gabriel had a brother named Rostislav (с. 1107/1109-1167), but he bore the baptismal name Michael (Литвина, Успенский 2006, 600-601). The dating of the specimen published in this paper to the 11th century, as well as the combination of the names Rostislav and Gabriel, narrow the circle of the seal's possible owners to four princes named Rostislav: 1) Rostislav Vladimirovich of Tmutarakan (с. 1038-1067/8) (see ПВЛ, 71-72 and Татищев 1995, 78, 83; Гадлю 2004, 266-275; Чхаидзе 2012, 361-262; Назаренко, Котляр 2014, 686-687), son of Vladimir Yaroslavich (1020-1052), and his little-known relatives: his cousins once removed 2) Rostislav Mstislavich (d. 1093), the son of Mstislav Izyaslavich of Novgorod (d. 1069), and 3) Rostislav Davydovich (d. 1120), the son of David Svyatoslavich of Chernigov (с. 1050-1123), and, finally, 4) his second cousin Rostislav Vseslavich (с. 1070 – after 1130), the son of Vseslav Bryacheslavich of Polotsk (before 1044-1101). Christian names remain still unknown for all of them. At the same time, in the 11th century, Rostislav Vsevolodovich (d. 1093), the son of Vsevolod Yaroslavich (1070-1093), and the aforementioned Rostislav Mstislavich, the son of Mstislav Vladimirovich, both bore the baptismal name Michael (Литвина, Успенский 2006, 599-601).

At first glance, the discovery of the seal in the territory of the Polotsk Principality speaks in favour of Rostislav Vseslavich who, moreover, may have been among the Polotsk princes exiled to Byzantium in 1129 (ПСРЛ II, 290-293). However, this identification is opposed by the fact that all the early Polotsk princes, until Gleb Vseslavich of Minsk (1050-1119) and St. Euphrosyne (1100/1104-1167/1173), were using seals not with Greek, but exclusively with Slavonic inscriptions (Янин 1970, 231-232, 234, # 121а, табл. 32, 75; Янин, Гайдуков 1998а, 41, 127, # 121д-ж, табл. 6, 66; Алфёров 2013, 490; Эйдель 2014, 179, 186, фиг. 7).

On the contrary, the Greek multi-line inscription is known on one of the four types of seals of Izyaslav Yaroslavich of Kiev (1024-1078) (Янин 1970, 166-167, # 3, табл. 1, 33), but the seal of his son, Mstislav-Theodore Izyaslavich of Novgorod, the father of Rostislav Mstislavich (about whom nothing is known except the date of his death), is completely different from the type considered (Янин 1970, 208, # 214, табл. 19, 33; Янин, Гайдуков 2000, 294, # 214.3, фиг. 16; Янин, Гайдуков 2001, 186, # 214.4). Greek multi-line inscriptions are also present on the seals of the Chernigov Rurikids, including the father of Rostislav Davydovich, David Svyatoslavich (Янин 1970, 20, 171, # 26-27, 28.1-3, табл. 3, 36; Янин, Гайдуков 1998а, 21-22, 115, # 26.2, табл. 2, 53; Янин, Гайдуков 2005, 95, # 26.3; Янин, Гайдуков 2007, 144, # 28.4; Булгакова 2008, 320-321, # 39). However, we do not know anything about Rostislav Davydovich's activity or his possible connection to the Polotsk Principality. It is also important that the baptismal name Gabriel is not known among the Chernigov princes at all.

As can be seen, a number of pre-Mongol princes called Rostislav bore the Christian name Mikhail, which was passed down to them, apparently, also by inheritance. This name was definitely borne by Rostislav Rurikovich (1172-1218) and his grandfather Rostislav Mstislavich (c. 1107/1109-1167). This connection, obviously, prompted V. N. Tatishchev to the idea of giving the Christian name Mikhail to Rostislav Vladimirovich, who ruled in Tmutarakan (Татищев 1995, 78). Indeed, the name Mikhail was extremely popular among the grandchildren of Yaroslav the Wise: it was used by Svyatopolk Izyaslavich (1150-1113), Oleg Svyatoslavich (d. 1115) and Rostislav Vsevolodovich (see above). However, the connection of the names Rostislav and Mikhail should not be taken for granted: for example, Rostislav Yaroslavich (d. 1153) bore the Christian name John.

In the case of Rostislav Vladimirovich, the connections with Polotsk are clear, if he indeed ruled the neighbouring Chervensk cities before moving to Tmutarakan (see: Гадло 2004, 267-268). Greek inscriptions on the seal are expected for him also as the ruler of Tmutarakan-Tamataarcha in 1064-1067/8: they are also known for another “local” Rurikid prince, Oleg-Michael Svyatoslavich (d. 1115) who, being in the service of the Byzantines, was successively *archon* and *doux* of Matracha and of all Chazaria, then *archon* and *doux* of Zekchia, Matracha and of all Chazaria and, finally, *archon* of Matarcha, Zekchia and of all Chazaria (Степаненко 2013, 157-163; Чхаидзе 2016, фиг. 11-15; Чхаидзе 2018, 11-14, 721-725, фиг. 1). Rostislav Vladimirovich could also contact the Polotsk Principality from there, entering into an alliance with its independent ruler Vseslav Bryacheslavich who, like Rostislav, had been in conflict with the Yaroslavichs’ “triumvirate” since 1065.

Thus, the newly found seal most likely belongs to Rostislav Vladimirovich of Tmutarakan and his Christian name was Gabriel, not Mikhail, as previously assumed (see: Литвина, Успенский 2006, 599; Назаренко, Котляр 2014, 686). Another fact speaks in favour of the suggestion that he bore the Christian name Gabriel: it is generally recognized that this prince was born around 1038, since in 1067/8 he had at least three sons, and his father was born in 1020. Meanwhile, the “Tale of Bygone Years” reports in a short entry under 1037/8 AD about the construction of the first Annunciation church in Rus’, built by Yaroslav the Wise on the Golden gates of Kiev: “Yaroslav built the great citadel at Kiev, near which stands the Golden Gate. He founded also the metropolitan Church of St. Sophia, the Church of the Annunciation over the Golden Gate, and also the Monastery of St. George and the convent of St. Irene” (ИБЛ, 66; English translation by Cross, Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953, 137). Recent studies showed that St. Sophia was consecrated in 1037, and the Annunciation church on the Golden Gate was built around the same time (Виноградов 2024). Emphasizing the role of the Archangel Gabriel in the chronicle – as well as in the “Word on Law and Grace” by Hilarion (before 1051), who also mentions this church – indicates the connection of its dedication with the baptismal name of Yaroslav’s heir. Similarly, shortly after the birth of Vsevolod-Gabriel in 1103, his father Mstislav the Great founded the Annunciation church near Novgorod (ПСРЛ III, 19, 203).

However, where did the Rurikids take the Christian name Gabriel from? In Byzantium, there were no significant bearers of this name

in the 10th and 11th centuries, and the name itself was not among the popular ones in the Byzantine world. It has long been noted (Литвина, Успенский 2006, 477-478, 520-522), that in the early 11th century some of the Rurikids' names came from Bulgaria – both non-Christian (Boris) and Christian (David and Roman). Indeed, among the members of the Bulgarian dynasty of the Komnenopouloi, from where the name David apparently arrived to Rus', one encounters also the name Gabriel: Gabriel-Radomir-Roman, son of the famous king Samuel (997-1014), was also king of Bulgaria in 1014-1015 (Златарски 1971, 704-723; Мутафчиев 1986, 230-231; Атанасов 1999, 107-109, фиг. 35). In this regard, it can be assumed that the name Gabriel was borne by one of Vladimir's sons (for most of them the Christian name is unknown), after whom Rostislav Vladimirovich, the owner of the seal published in this paper, received it.

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Новооткрит печат на княз Гавриил-Ростислав

Виктор Н. ЧХАИДЗЕ, Андрей Ю. ВИНОГРАДОВ

Работата е посветена на идентифицирането на християнското име на княз Ростислав Владимирович (ок. 1038-1067/8), владетел на Матарха-Тмутаракан в периода 1064-1067/8 г. През 2016 г. в дн. Беларус (територията на Полоцкото княжество) е намерен печат с изображение на сцена с Благовещение на аверса и легенда „Богородице Дево, спаси Гавриил Ростислав“ на реверса (фиг. 1). От това следва, че притежателят на печата носи две имена: нехристиянското Ростислав и християнското Гавриил, и затова избира за своя печат иконографията на Благовещението, а надписът на реверса подчертава ролята на Архангел Гавриил. Въз основа на данните от сфрагистиката и антропонимията, може да се предположи, че новооткритият печат ясно показва, че християнското име на Ростислав Владимирович е било Гавриил, а не Михаил, както се предполагаше по-рано. Счита се, че това име се появява в династията Рюрик чрез връзки с България, откъдето името Давид очевидно идва в Рус, а името Гавриил е носено от Гавриил-Радомир-Роман, цар на България през 1014-1015 г.

New sigillographic data on the Armeniakoi and the Armeniaka Themata from collections in Turkey and Germany

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The present article focuses on the prosopography and administration of the Eastern border of Byzantium, and particularly the thema of the Armeniakoi, as well as on the so-called Armeni(a)ka Themata (**fig. 1**). The authors publish, for the first time, fifteen lead seals and re-publish another specimen, from collections of Museums in Germany and Turkey. Six of these specimens are kept in the Çorum Museum, four in the Amasya Museum, four in the Staatliche Münzsammlung München, and two in the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations in Ankara.¹ The first thirteen seals are presented in chronological order in the main article, while the other three specimens are presented in the Appendix.

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1. Paulos, patrikios and strategos of the Armeniakoi (last third of the 7th c.)

Present location: Amasya Museum (inv. A-2014-25) (**fig. 2a-b**).

Provenance: Ardiçlar village / Amasya (found and donated by Rahmi Bakir / Amasya, 14.01.2014).

D: 24 mm. Th: 4 mm. W: 11.67 gr.

Unpublished.

No parallels.

Obverse: Block monogram: ΠΑΥΛΩ; around the monogram, between two concentric lines of dots, circular inscription: [...] CΩ ΔΟΥ[.]

[Κ(ύρι)ε or Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ] σῷ δού[λῳ] Παύλῳ

Reverse: Inscription in five lines (four visible); below, there is a cross, with fleurons springing at its base:

.....|ΙΩΣCΤΡ|..ΗΓΩΤΩΝ|ΑΡΜΕΝΙ|ΑΚΩΝ

[πατρικ]ίῳ (καὶ) στρ[ατ]ηγῷ τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν

Lord (or Theotokos) aid your servant Paulos, patrikios and strategos of the Armeniakoi!



Fig. 1. The Asia Minor themata, including the area of the Armeniakoi.



Fig. 2a-b. Seal of Paulos, strategos of the Armeniakoi: Amasya Museum, inv. A-2014-25 (here, # 1).

Comment: So far, there was only one known strategos of the Armeniakoi named Paulos. That Paulos, mentioned in Theophanes' chronicle, was among the Byzantine soldiers who were captured by the Arabs during the battle alongside the Melas river – today Manavgat çayı – in 759 (Theophanes 1883, 431.3-5: “καὶ (οἱ Ἄραβες) ἐπεστράτευσαν τὴν Ῥωμανίαν καὶ ἤχμαλώτευσαν πολλούς, καὶ Παῦλον τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν πολεμήσαντες εἰς τὸν Μέλαν ἀνείλον πλήθους στρατοῦ...”). This Paulos may or may not have been the same with Paulos, imperial spatharios and doux of the Armeniakoi, whose seals are dated by the editors (DOS 4, # 22.12-13) in the 8th-9th c. and which could be indeed dated around the third quarter of the 8th c.: see, for example, the distance of the B from the centre of the monogram; it is in this period that the B started to not touch or be close to the centre. If, however, the two homonyms are identified, then Paulos' career as a doux should not be placed long before his death (759), because of stylistic and epigraphic criteria for the seals. His promotion from doux to strategos, therefore, must have taken place shortly before his death, although it is impossible to know when precisely. (See also: Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 374, # 7 and 380, note 12; Ibn Wadih = al-Ya'qubi,

in: Brooks 1900, 733, as well as: Lilie 1976, 170; Winkelmann 1985, 80; Rochov 1991, 175. On Melas river, see: Ruge 1931, 440, # 20; Hild, Restle 1981, 233).

The seal of Paulos presented here, though, is much earlier: the block monogram, as well as the lettering, point to the 7th century. In this respect, this Paulos must have been among the earliest strategoi of the thema of the Armeniakoi (on the origins of the Armeniakoi, see Preiser-Kapeller 2001; 2004). The other three known strategoi from the 7th c. are: 1) Saborios, patrikios (667-668) (Theophanes 1883, 348; Bar Hebraeus transl. 1932, 100-101, where the indicated year is 666; Michael Syros transl. 1901, 451. See also: PmbZ, # 6476; Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 373, # 1; Dédéyan 2019, 344-435). In Θεόδωρος Σκουταριώτης (1894, 111), Saborios is mentioned as strategos of Armenian origin, who had claimed the rulership of the East. There is probably a misunderstanding, given that Saborios was, according to other sources, strategos of the Armeniakoi, a military command in Eastern Asia Minor. In the Chronicle of A.D. 1234 (Palmer 1993, 189, 192), which was based on the chronography of Dionysius of Tel Mahre, Saborios is simply mentioned as strategos, without any geographical indication. In Agapios (transl. 1912, 488-489/228-229), there is neither title nor office mentioned; 2) an Anonymous, apo hypaton patrikios (last third of the 7th c.) (BnF Zacos 6158 – ex G. Zacos collection. Ed. Соколова 1981, 111-112, plate Vr [8th c.]; Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 3216 [second half of the 7th c.]), as well as: 3) Konstantinos, patrikios (late 7th – early 8th c.) (see below, # 2). This short list of 7th c. strategoi of the Armeniakoi known through seals offers new evidence in the topic (Dédéyan 2019, 342, wrote that there are no seals mentioning the name Armeniakoi before 717-718).

No other parallel or similar seal of Paulos is known; the fact that this is his only seal that has survived makes this specimen unique. It is also important to note the location where Paulos' seal was discovered: in a village named Ardiçlar, located approximately 16 km Southeast of Amasya.

The first reported Arab attack in the area of the thema of the Armeniakoi targeted Trebizond in 654. This military operation ended with the fall and, consequently, the looting of the city. Since then, the Arabs were frequently looting the area. The first reported battle in the territory of the Armeniakoi took place in 698, when the thema was successfully defended by the border army. In the immediate aftermath of the battle, the troops of the Armeniakoi harassed the invading Arabs as much as possible during their withdrawal. Paulos may have participated in this battle, or at least he was active in that period.

2. Konstantinos, patrikios and strategos of the Armeniakoi (late 7th – early 8th c.)

Present location: Amasya Museum (inv. A 75.12.35) (**fig. 3a-b**).

Provenance: Amasya (purchased from Kadir Cüceoğlu / Amasya, 22.05.1975).

D: 28 mm. Th: 5 mm. W: 15.79 gr.

Unpublished.

No parallels.

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram (Laurent type V), with inscription in the quarters: (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ; border of dots.



Fig. 3a-b. Seal of Konstantinos, strategos of the Armeniakoi: Amasya Museum, inv. A 75.12.35 (here, # 2).

Reverse: Inscription in six lines:

ΚΩΝΣΤΑ|ΝΤΙΝΩΠΑΤ|ΡΙΚΙΩΣΤΡΑ|ΤΗΓΩΤΩΝ|ΑΡΜΕΝ|ΑΚΩΝ

Κωνσταντίνω πατρικίω (καὶ) στρατηγῷ τῶν Ἀρμεν[ι]ακῶν

Theotokos, aid your servant Konstantinos, patrikios and strategos of the Armeniakoi!

It is possible that this Konstantinos was the issuer of another seal also presenting him as patrikios and strategos of the Armeniakoi and dated ca. 700-725 (CNG: 564, 19.06.2024, # 726). Judging, however, by the frequency with which the strategoi of the Armeniakoi were deposed of or replaced, it cannot be excluded that this second specimen belonged to a homonym.

3. Theodoros (Kamoulianos), patrikios and strategos of the Armeniakoi (last quarter of the 8th c.; probably 792)

Present location: Çorum Museum (inv. 137) (**fig. 4a-b**).

Provenance: Bayat/Çorum (purchase, 2016).

D: 22 mm. Th: 4 mm. W: 10.25 gr.

Unpublished.

No parallels.

Similar specimens (different boulloterion): 1: unknown present location – ex Zacos collection. Ed. Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 3196; 2: Hermitage M-8028. Ed. Лихачев 1991, table 59, # 11.



Fig. 4a-b. Seal of Theodoros (Kamoulianos), strategos of the Armeniakoi: Çorum Museum, inv. 137 (here, # 3).

Obverse: Cruciform invective monogram (either Laurent type V or Laurent type II / Zacos – Veglery type LI, which was used in his other boulloterion – see similar specimens), with inscription in the quarters: (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ

Reverse: Inscription in five lines (four visible):

[...]|ΔΩΡΩ[...]|[.]ΙΚΗΩΣ[.]|[.]ΑΤΗΓΩ[.]|ΑΡΜΕΝ

[+ Θεο]δῶρῳ [πατρ]ικίῳ (καὶ) [στρ]ατηγῷ [τ(ῶν)] Ἀρμεν(ιακῶν)

Theotokos, aid your servant Theodoros, patrikios and strategos of the Armeniakoi!

Comment: Findspot: Regarding the possible findspot of the specimen presented in this paper, it must be noted that Bayat is located 83 km West of Çorum and 168 km West of Amasya. The distance between Çorum and Amasya is 92.3 km. It is important to note that the second specimen (today at the Hermitage) was allegedly discovered in Sinop. Both areas fall within the territory (at that time) of the thema of the Armeniakoi. The third specimen, from the ex Zacos collection, perhaps was found in Constantinople.

Identification: It is very likely that the owner of this seal is identified with Theodoros, who was known as Kamoulianos (PmbZ, # 7610; Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 376, # 16 and also, 375, # 10, 12-13), probably because of his origin from Kamouliai (Καμουλιανᾱί; Καμούλιανᾱ), possibly modern Kemer, located approximately 20 km North of Kaisareia – modern Kayseri –, in Cappadocia. In the 10th century, Kamouliai may have been identical to Kymbalaïos, a tourma of the thema of Charsianon, located on the Byzantine road leading from Kaisareia to Tabia, which crossed the Halys at the Cappadocian Çokgöz Köprüsü (Zgusta 1984, 218-220; Hild 1977, 117; Hild, Restle 1981, 197-198; Kazhdan 1991, 1099).

Constantine VI became emperor in September 780. Because of his young age, his mother, Irene, was exercising real sovereignty, together with the powerful eunuch Staurakios, who held the title of patrikios and served as logothetes of the dromos. Since 788, Constantine began to establish an independent policy and put aside both his mother and her trusted eunuch. Next year, in winter 789/790 (or, perhaps, in spring 790), Constantine, together with his loyal follower (οἰκεῖος ἄνθρωπος), the patrikios Theodoros Kamoulianos and others, tried to overthrow Staurakios (Theophanes 1883, 464; Zonaras 1897, 291; Kedrenos 2016, 776 / 491.1; Speck 1978, 212-214; Lilie 1996, 130, 141, 246, 261). The plan failed, the participants were punished (by ἀτιμία) and Theodoros was put in house arrest (Theophanes 1883, 465; Zonaras 1897, 291; cf. Kedrenos 2016, 776 / 491.1; Speck 1978, 214; Lilie 1996, 130, 261), while Irene demanded of the army an oath of loyalty, in order to overpower Constantine. In September 790, the army of the thema of the Armeniakoi protested for such an oath and soon the mutiny spread among the Asia Minor armies who demanded the restoration of Constantine to the throne (Theophanes 1883, 466; Zonaras 1897, 291-292; Kedrenos 2016, 776 / 491.2). Irene sent against the Armeniakoi Alexios Mousele, spatharios and droungarios of the vigla. However, things did not turn out as expected: the Armeniakoi soldiers managed to take Mousele on their side and convinced him to become their strategos, fighting for Constantine VI, while they removed and imprisoned their previous strategos, the patrikios Nikephoros.

In October 790, Constantine was the sole emperor. He asked the Armeniakoi to accept only him and not Irene and confirmed the appointment of Alexios Mousele as strategos of the Armeniakoi (Theophanes 1883, 466). The reason(s) behind Nikephoros' removal and imprisonment by the army is not known; neither have we know anything about his fate after the official appointment of Mousele. In December 790, Constantine was again the sole emperor; Irene and Staurakios were deprived of power and the latter was exiled at the the-

ma of the Armeniakoi (Theophanes 1883, 466). In January 792, however, both Irene and Staurakios were – surprisingly – restored to their previous positions. Alexios Mousele, the strategos of the Armeniakoi, happened to be in Constantinople at that time; Irene and Staurakios, probably in an act of revenge, persuaded the emperor to put Mousele under arrest (and eventually blind him). This action caused yet another revolt of the Armeniakoi (Theophanes 1883, 467; Zonaras 1897, 293-294; Kedrenos 2016, 776-777 / 491.5; 492.2; Lilie 1996, 261, note 105). It is possible that Mousele was loved by the soldiers of the Armeniakoi because of his Armenian origin. At some time after the arrest of Mousele in January 792 and certainly before November 792, the patrikios Theodoros Kamoulianos was appointed strategos of the Armeniakoi. On the hear that Mousele had been blinded, the army imprisoned Theodoros (before November 792) (Theophanes 1883, 468; Zonaras 1897, 294. Winkelmann 1985, 80, wrote that Theodoros was appointed in 793). His fate after his arrest is unknown and, probably, he was killed by the insurgents.

So far, we are able to determine approximately the dates when each of the strategoi mentioned in the narrative above served in the Armeniakoi:

? – 790 (Sept.): Nikephoros, patrikios

790 (Sept., but officially since Oct.) – 792 (Jan.): Alexios Mousele

792 (Jan.?) – 792 (before Nov.): Theodoros Kamoulianos

It is understandable that, when Constantine VI was under the influence of Irene and Staurakios and had Alexios Mousele arrested under the suspicion of plotting against him, he appointed his trusted ally, Theodoros Kamoulianos, strategos of the Armeniakoi. That was a very sensitive move, because the Armeniakoi might have been loyal to the emperor, but at the same time their army was unpredictable, as Nikephoros' and Theodoros' fate has shown. Moreover, there could not have been a long time-gap between Mousele's arrest and Kamoulianos' appointment; the government would not have allowed the Armeniakoi to be without a general for a long time.

We would like to put forward the question whether Theodoros Kamoulianos had served in the Armeniakoi prior to the events described above, even before 789, the year when we first learn about him from the sources (at that time he was bearing the title of patrikios). The starting point for this hypothesis is a series of seals related to the Armeniakoi and issued by a certain Theodoros, strategos, in the second half of the 8th c. We will examine the material in reverse order, starting from the most recent dates.

Three among the seals in question can be attributed to Theodoros Kamoulianos, during his (maximum) 9 to 10-months service in the Armeniakoi in 792 (the seal from the Çorum Museum published in this paper, as well as the two similar specimens from the Hermitage and the ex G. Zacos collection).

A seal which was issued by a certain Theodoros, patrikios, imperial protospatharios and strategos of the Armeniakoi (Ex G. Zacos collection. Ed. Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2449A) could be also attributed to the same Theodoros (Kamoulianos). The problem with this identification is that Theodoros Kamoulianos was – allegedly – patrikios already in 789. There would have been no reason for him to mention his previous title (imperial protospatharios) on a seal issued in 792. The distance

between these dates cannot justify the mention of his previous title. Moreover, it is not known since when he held the title of patrikios. This issue leads us to believe that, perhaps, Theodoros Kamoulianos had first served as strategos of the Armeniakoi before the events of 789-792. Besides, the emperor would not have sent an inexperienced man in charge of a large provincial army who had revolted twice in less than two years. Therefore, it is possible that Theodoros Kamoulianos already had some experience in the army and it is likely that he had served in the Armeniakoi before.

If the proposed identification is correct, one might wonder whether Theodoros was strategos of the Armeniakoi even before his elevation to the rank of patrikios, i.e. while holding the title of imperial protospatharios. What we know for sure, is that there is another boulloterion, used by a certain Theodoros, imperial spatharokandidatos and strategos of the Armeniakoi (ca. 775-800) (1: BnF Seyrig 167. Ed. Cheynet et al. 1991, # 167; 2: Ex G. Zacos collection. Ed. Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 3198 – the editors read Charsianon instead of Armeniakoi). Is it possible that Theodoros Kamoulianos started his career at the Armeniakoi as imperial spatharokandidatos and strategos, later he served there as imperial protospatharios and strategos (a career stage not attested in any source but assumed from the seal mentioning both the titles of patrikios and imperial protospatharios) and as patrikios and strategos, and, after an interval of indeterminate time he was sent back there again as patrikios and strategos? So far, the scheme seems to be plausible.

An important thing to discuss here is the date of the seals in question and in particular the specimen from the ex G. Zacos collection (published in Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2449A), mentioning Theodoros, patrikios, imperial protospatharios and strategos of the Armeniakoi. The invocation τῷ δούλῳ σου in the quarters of the monogram, as well as the general style of the letters, all point to a date closer to ca. 775. Would this mean that the rest of the seals are even earlier? The answer would be yes, if we accept that Theodoros Kamoulianos was much older than the emperor Constantine (see also Lilie 1996, 261, note 103, where Theodoros is described as an “old confidant” of Constantine VI. This, however, could mean either an older person whom the emperor trusted since his childhood, or a young person, of the same age as the emperor, the two of them knowing each other since early childhood). This is possible, if we consider the following: 1) the emperor would not have sent to the Armeniakoi a young, inexperienced commander. Therefore, Theodoros must have served before, probably as strategos; 2) Theodoros Kamoulianos’ punishment was not beating or shaving, neither was he exiled (Kedrenos 2016, 776 / 491.1, on the other hand, writes that Theodoros and Petros were exiled in castles (ἐν κάστροις – Tartaglia), or in the palace (ἐν Καϊστορίᾳ / Quaestorium – Bekker), or, perhaps, in Kastoria – for Καστορία was the city’s and the lake’s name already in the 6th c. (Kyriakides). This variation in Kedrenos’ work must have been a mistake of the abridger(s) or the copyist(s), as it is evidenced from the structure of the text. To this also points the information – Kedrenos 2016, 777 / 492.3 – that the Armeniakoi were defeated by Constantine VI and their leaders were exiled in Sicily, i.e. what Theophanes wrote about Constantine’s supporters. See also Ostrogorsky 1959, 55-56, note 34), like other participants suffered. He,

as well as Petros, magistros, were and restricted at their homes. This could have happened because they respected his old age and, possibly, his devotion to the State since the time he was active in the military; 3) according to Zonaras, Kamoulianos, as member of the Senate, received lighter punishment than others. Perhaps the fact that he was a senator also points to his old age. To this we may add that the other close ally of Constantine VI, Petros, must have also been older than the emperor, because he was active already in the times of Constantine V and he was experienced enough to participate in the embassy to the Arab caliph in 781.

Another hypothesis is the identification of Theodoros Kamoulianos with Theodoros, imperial spatharios and strategos of the Thrakesioi (1: DO BZS.1955.1.1213. Ed. Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2462 [second half of the 8th c.]; DOS 3, # 2.53 [8th c.]; 2: Istanbul Archaeological Museum 370. Ed. Ebersolt 1914, # 534/386 – read Ioannes; Cheynet et al. 2012, # 3.129 [first half of the 9th c.]. See also: Cheynet et al. 1991, 122 and PmbZ, # 3275 – as Ioannes). If so, then this would have been his earliest known career stage.

Provided that the hypotheses expressed above are correct, one might reconstruct Theodoros Kamoulianos' career in the army as following:

1. imperial spatharios and strategos of the Thrakesioi
2. imperial spatharokandidatos and strategos of the Armeniakoi
3. imperial protospatharios and strategos of the Armeniakoi
4. patrikios and strategos of the Armeniakoi

On the other hand, one must admit that there are already too many strategoi of the Armeniakoi, known mostly through their seals, which are dated – broadly speaking – within the second half of the 8th c. The seals whose owner's name has not been preserved could belong to persons that are known through other seals or literary sources. However, there are still seven or eight strategoi, with the number raising to at least 10 or 11, if we add the three mentioned in the events related to the seal presented here.

- Niketas, imperial protospatharios (ca. 740-760) (DO BZS.1955.1.1108. Ed. DOS 4, # 22.47 [8th c.]; Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2259) (see also: Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 374, # 6 [742-743], where the Zacos, Veglery and the DOS editions are treated as if they refer to two different specimens. It is most likely that this Niketas is not the same person with Niketas (son of Artabasdos), monostrategos (i.e. strategos) of the Armeniakoi in 742-743).

- Ioannes, patrikios (ca. 750-800) (DO BZS.1955.1.975. Ed. DOS 4, # 22.42 [8th c.]. See also: Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 374, # 5 [8th c.]).

- Sisinnios, patrikios (ca. 750-800) (1: Unknown present location [ex G. Zacos Collection]. Ed. Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2375 [second half of the 8th c.]; 2: Unknown present location [formerly: Turkey: Istanbul Archaeological Museum 180]. Ed. Ebersolt 1914, # 525 [Iconoclast era]; 3: Pecunem / Naumann 41: 06-03-2016, # 999 [ca. 750-800]. See also: Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 375, # 11 [second half of the 8th c.]; Touratsoglou 1973, 274-275).

- Bardas (771) (Anastasius Bibliothecarius 1885, 294 – Bardam, 301 – Bardas; Theophanes 1883, 445 – Βαρδάνην, 454 – Βάρδας) (His name must have been rather Bardas than Bardanes. It is not clear up to which year he was serving as strategos of the Armeniakoi. He was cer-

tainly there in 771, but in 780-781 he is mentioned as former strategos and the context does not imply that he was removed at that same year, but earlier. The identification of this Bardas with Bardas, patrikios, father of the emperor Leon V – about Bardas' title see, e.g. Genesios 1978, 26 (2.4.75-76) – is at least doubtful. See also: Theophanes transl. 1997, 615-616, 627-628; Cheynet 2000, 291, with note 40; Rochow 1991, 212, 230; Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 374, # 8 (771-780) and Dédéyan 2019, 348 (771-780), where he is mentioned as Bardas or Bardanes. His name must have been rather Bardas than Bardanes).

- Baristerotzes (778) (Theophanes 1883, 451; Anastasius Bibliothecarius 1885, 299. See also: PmbZ, # 8568; Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 374, # 9; Dédéyan 2019, 349. On the correct spelling of this Armenian name, see PmbZ, # 8567).

- Nikephoros, patrikios? (Sept. 790) (For literary sources, see above; DO BZS.1955.1.1091. Ed. DOS 4, # 22.46 [8th-9th c.]; Соколова 1981, plate VB; Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2225. See also: Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 375, # 14 [790-791]).

- Alexios Mousele, protospatharios, later strategos (Sept., but officially since Oct. 790 – Jan. 792) (Before his appointment at the Armeniakoi, he was spatharios and droungarios of the vigla; Protospatharios: for literary sources, see above; DO BZS.1947.2.44. Ed. DOS 4, # 22.41 (8th c.); SBS 5, 1998, 183; Laurent 1981, # 665 (9th c.); Nesbitt 1983, 771-772; Patrikios: See above. See also: PmbZ, # 193; Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 376, # 15, (791-792, as patrikios); Dédéyan 2019, 351-352).

- Theodoros Kamoulianos (? and again Jan.? 792 – before Nov. 792).

- Leon, imperial protospatharios (ca. 785-815) (Unknown present location [ex G. Schlumberger collection]. Ed. Schlumberger 1884, 296, # 2 [8th-9th c.]. Perhaps it is the same person with Leon, strategos of the Armeniakoi, who died in 811. See also: Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 376, # 18 [8th-9th c.]).

- Marinos, patrikios (ca. 785-815) (Iznik Archaeological Museum 3565; Ed. Cheynet 1991, # 9 [end of the 8th – beginning of the 9th c.]. See also: SBS 3, 1993, 149; Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 376, # 17; Dédéyan 2019, 350-351).

- anonymous, imperial protospatharios (ca. 750-800) (Istanbul Archaeological Museum 175. Ed. Cheynet et al. 2012, # 3.24 [second half of the 8th c.]; Bulgurlu 2007, 157, # 178 [8th c.]; Ebersolt 1914, # 524 / 175 [Iconoclast era]) (Although Bulgurlu linked this person to the one who issued the seal published in Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2259 (See above: Niketas), later the editors in Cheynet et al. 2012, 268-269 noticed some differences between the specimens that make it rather difficult (if not impossible) for the two persons to be identified as one. see also PmbZ, # 11262).

- anonymous, patrikios (ca. 775-800) (Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung 204. See in the present article, # 3).

- anonymous, protospatharios (ca. 775-825) (DO BZS.1947.2.1038. Ed. DOS 4, # 22.55 [8th-9th c.]. See also: Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 373, note 2).

- anonymous, imperial protospatharios (ca. 775 – 825) (DO BZS.1951.31.5.445. Ed. DOS 4, # 22.54 [8th-9th c.]. See also: Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 373, note 2).

Could this be an indication that the period of trouble in the Armeniakoi started even before Constantine VI's reign, with the strategoi being killed, removed and replaced much more frequently than one would expect? This is very likely, but further research will, hopefully, add new information regarding the chronological sequence of the strategoi of the Armeniakoi in the second half of the 8th c.

4. ..., patrikios and strategos of the Armeniakoi (last quarter of the 8th c.)

Present location: Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung 204 – ex M.-L. Zarnitz collection (fig. 5a-b).

D.: 25 mm. W: 12,82 gr.

Blank smaller than die; corroded; chipped; obverse pierced twice.

Unpublished.

No parallels.



Fig. 5a-b. Seal of [...], strategos of the Armeniakoi: Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, inv. 204 (here, # 4).

Obverse: Cruciform invokative monogram (indeterminate type; perhaps Zacos – Veglery type LI or Laurent type II); inscription in the quarters: [(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ]

Reverse: Inscription in six lines (five visible):

....Π|ΑΤΡΙ..|ΖC.ΡΑΤΗ|ΓΩΤΩΝΑ|ΡΜΕΝΙ|....

[...], πατρι[κίῳ] (καὶ) σ[τ]ρατηγῷ τῶν Ἀρμενι[ακῶν]

Theotokos, aid your servant ..., patrikios and strategos of the Armeniakoi!

Comment: Based on the type of the monogram, as well as the lettering, the seal is dated in the second half – probably in the last quarter – of the 8th c. It must have been issued by either Theodoros Kamoulianos, or Nikephoros, or Alexios Mousele or one of their predecessors or even the successor of Kamoulianos, at the very end of the 8th c. (see the list provided under # 3 in this paper). The lettering of the last two visible lines is very similar to the specimens from the Hermitage and the ex G. Zacos collection, which have been attributed to Kamoulianos (see above). The lines above, however, show a different position of the characters. Therefore, it could be yet another boulloterion of Theodoros Kamoulianos, or (since the name has not been preserved), a seal issued by another strategos of the same era.

5. Krenites, imperial protospatharios and doux of the Armeniakoi (second quarter of the 9th c.)

Present location: Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung (inv. 532) – ex M.-L. Zarnitz collection (fig. 6a-b).

D: 24 mm. W: 12.77 gr.
Blank smaller than die.
Unpublished.
No parallels.

Fig. 6a-b. Seal of Krenites, doux of the Armeniakoi: Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, inv. 532 (here, # 5).



Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram (Laurent type V), with inscription in the quarters: (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ; wreath border.

Reverse: Inscription in four lines; wreath border

+ΚΡΗΝΙ|ΤΙΒ/Α/ΣΠ/Σ|ΔΣΚ/ΑΡΜ|ΜΕΝΙ/

+ Κρηνίτι βασιλικῷ (πρωτο)σπ(αθαρίῳ) (καὶ) δουκ(ι) Ἀρμ{μ}
ενι(άκων)

Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Κρηνίτη, βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ
καὶ δουκὶ Ἀρμενιάκων

Theotokos, aid your servant Krenites, imperial protospatharios
and doux of the Armeniakoi!

Comment: There are two important issues to be commented on.
First, the name Krenites itself. Second, the office of the doux of the
Armeniakoi.

Regarding the name, it has been suggested that it originated not from the Greek word κρήνη, but from an Armenian place name (actually, the name of a fortress) Krni. Although Adontz assumed that the name Krni is the same with a hypothetical place name *Krini, which, in turn, gave the anthroponymic Krinites (sic), one may remark that this fortress, mentioned in the Armenian Geography, has not been identified with certainty and, perhaps, it was located somewhere in the Fourth Armenia (in the Dēgik area, to the East – North-East of Melitene / Malatya) (Adontz 1935, 535-539; Ananias transl. 1992, 59, 61A – map, 334). A similar Armenian place name which could match an older type Krni is Garni, which, however, is located much more to the East, in Vaspurakan. It is not impossible, of course, that, despite Adontz's comment on Porphyrogennetus, the name Krenites could have derived from a Greek place name Κρήνη / Krene < n. κρήνη / krene, even in the Byzantine-Armenian border areas. Another interesting point about this name is that it was used as a first name already in the 9th c. or even earlier. If one accepts that a patronymic or a family name preceded the existence of the first name, then we should re-examine the whole issue of the appearance of family names in Byzantium. For, on the one hand it is too early to speak about family names and on the other a patronymic presupposes the existence of a first name (in this case a first name stating the origin of its bearer). The name Krenites / Krinites was quite popular in the 10th c. (PmbZ, # 24194-24195, 24199-24202), and the early evidence presented here is, so far, unique.

According to Stephenson, Leon Iasites was the first *doux* of the Armeniakoi (in c. 1070-1075). This hypothesis was – apparently – based on the idea that the *doux* replaced the strategos in the 11th c. It is for the same reason that Cheynet noted that there are no strategoi of the Armeniakoi attested in the 11th c. (Stephenson 1994, 194; Cheynet 1985, 188). It seems, though, that the *doux* had re-appeared (after the Roman Times and the Late Antiquity) in this particular administrative area in the 8th c. and existed simultaneously with the strategos. This is how we know of at least three *doukai* of the Armeniakoi that pre-date the 11th c.:

- Paulos, imperial *spatharios* (?-758) (see above, entry # 1).
- Krenites, imperial *protospatharios* (ca. 825-850).
- Ioannes Chaldos, *patrikios* and *doux* of the Armeniakoi, of the Boukellarioi and of Thessalonike (995-1006) (Lefort et al. 1985, # 8; Skylitzes 1973, 357. See also: Oikonomidès 2004, 584; Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 380, # 2 [1995]; Cheynet 1990, 221; Dédéyan 2019, 355-356). It is not quite clear whether Ioannes Chaldos was exercising duties in all three areas at the same time or he served in the Armeniakoi before moving to the Boukellarioi and, finally, to Thessalonike.

6. ... (?) of the Armeniakoi (first half of the 9th c.)

Present location: Museum of Anatolian Civilisations in Ankara (inv. 94-1-2001) (fig. 7a-b).

Provenance: Unknown (purchased from Seyit Yıldırım / Ankara, 26.01.2001).

D: 18x20 mm. Th: 4 mm. W: 7.49 gr.

Unpublished.



Fig. 7a-b. Seal of [...] of the Armeniakoi: Museum of Anatolian Civilisations in Ankara, inv. 94-1-2001 (here, # 6).

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram (perhaps Laurent type V), with inscription in the quarters; wreath border

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) [τῷ σῷ δού]λῳ

Reverse: Inscription in unknown number of lines; wreath border

[...] ΑΡΜΕΝ

Ἀρμεν[ιακῶν]

[...] of the Armeniakoi

This seal cannot give further information, other than it was issued by an official serving at the Armeniakoi.

7. Leon, *protospatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou*, imperial *notarios*, *krites* of the hippodrome and of the Armeniakoi (second quarter of the 11th c.)

This person is known through four lead seals, issued with the same *boulloterion*, of which three are published here. All four discs used

by Leon were smaller than the boulloterion's die and, for this reason, some letters could not have been imprinted. The reconstruction of the text is possible thanks to the combined reading of the surviving letters on the four specimens.

7a) Present location: Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung (inv. 586) – ex M.-L. Zarnitz collection. (fig. 8a-b).

D: 28x25 mm. W: 11.04 gr.

Blank smaller than die; corroded.

Unpublished.

Parallel specimens: DO BZS.1958.106.3683 – ex G. Zacos collection. Ed. DOS 4, # 22.17 (11th c.) (see also: Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 382, # 10 [11th c.]) and here, # 7b-c.



Fig. 8a-b. Seal of Leon, krites of the Armeniakoi: Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, inv. 586 (here, # 7a).

Obverse: Inscription in six lines (five visible); border of dots (not visible)

.....|ΨΩΔ|ΕΟΝΤ|ΠΑΘ,Ε..|ΥΞ,ΤΡΙ|– Κ –

[+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τ]ῷ σῶ δ[ού(λῳ)] Λέοντ(ι) [(πρωτο)σ] παθ(αρίῳ) ἐ[πὶ τ]οῦ Χρ(υσο)τρικ(λίνου)

Reverse: Inscription in five lines; border of dots

...|.....|ΙΤ,ΕΠΙΤΥ|...ΔΡΟΜ|...ΑΡΜΕ|ΙΛΑΚΟΝ|– ∴ –

[β(ασιλικῶ) νοταρ(ίῳ) κρ]ιτ(ῇ) ἐπὶ τοῦ [Ἱππο]δρόμ(ου) [(καὶ) τοῦ] Ἀρμε[ν]ιακοῦ

7b) Present location: Çorum Museum (inv. Et. 224) (fig. 9a-b).

D: 29x26 mm. W: 12.00 gr.

Blank smaller than die; corroded.

Unpublished.

Parallel specimens: DO BZS.1958.106.3683 – ex G. Zacos collection. Ed. DOS 4, # 22.17 (11th c.) (see also: Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 382, # 10 [11th c.]) and here, # 7a, c.

Obverse: Inscription in six lines; border of dots

.ΚΕΡ,Θ|ΨΩΔΥ|ΛΕΟΝΤ,|ÇΠΑΘ,ΕΠ|ΥΞ,ΤΡΙ|– Κ –



Fig. 9a-b. Seal of Leon, krites of the Armeniakoi: Çorum Museum, inv. Et. 224 (here, # 7b).

[+] Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῶ δού(λῳ) Λέοντ(ι) [(πρωτο)]
σπαθ(αρίῳ) ἐπ[ι τ]οῦ Χρ(υσο)τρικ(λίνου)

Reverse: Inscription in five lines; border of dots (not visible)

...|.NOT..|.ΡΙΤ,ΕΠΙΤ|.ΠΙΟΔΡΟΜ|.ΤΗΑΡΜΕ|ΝΙΑΚΟΝ|– ∙ ∙ –

[β(ασιλικῶ)] νοτ[αρ(ίῳ) κ]ριτ(ῆ) ἐπὶ τ[οῦ Ἰ]πποδρόμ(ου) [(καὶ)]
τοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ

7c) Present location: Çorum Museum (inv. Et. 3109) (**fig. 10a-b**).

D: 26x25 mm. Th: 3.12 mm. W: 12.05 gr.

Blank smaller than die; corroded.

Unpublished.

Parallel specimens: DO BZS.1958.106.3683 – ex G. Zacos collection. Ed. DOS 4, # 22.17 (11th c.) (see also: Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 382, # 10 [11th c.]) and here, # 7a-b.



Fig. 10a-b. Seal of Leon, krites of the Armeniakoi: Çorum Museum, inv. Et. 3109 (here, # 7c).

Obverse: Inscription in six lines (five visible); border of dots (not visible)

+Κ̅Ε̅Ρ,Θ|ΤΩCΩΔ|ΛΕΟΝΤ,|CΠΑΘ,Ε..|ΤΗΡΤ|...

[+] Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῶ δού(λῳ) Λέοντ(ι) [(πρωτο)]
σπαθ(αρίῳ) ἐπ[ι τ]οῦ Χρ(υσο)τρικ(λίνου)

Reverse: Inscription in five lines; border of dots (not visible)

– ∙ ∙ –|.NOTAP,|.ΡΙΤ,ΕΠΙΤΗ|.ΠΙΟΔΡΟΜ|.ΤΗΑΡΜΕ|.ΙΑΚΟΝ|...

[β(ασιλικῶ)] νοτ[αρ(ίῳ) κ]ριτ(ῆ) ἐπὶ τ[οῦ Ἰ]πποδρόμ(ου) [(καὶ)]
τοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ

The combined reading of the four specimens (**fig. 11**) is the following:

SMM 586	Çorum Et. 224	Çorum Et. 3109	DO BZS.1958.106.3683
+Κ̅Ε̅Ρ,Θ, ΤΩCΩΔΗ ΛΕΟΝΤ,Α, CΠΑΘ,ΕΠΙ ΤΗΡ,ΤΡΙ – Κ –	+ΚΕΡ,Θ, ΤΩCΩΔΗ ΛΕΟΝΤ,Α, CΠΑΘ,ΕΠΙ ΤΗΡ,ΤΡΙ – Κ –	+Κ̅Ε̅Ρ,Θ, ΤΩCΩΔΗ ΛΕΟΝΤ,Α, CΠΑΘ,ΕΠΙ ΤΗΡ,ΤΡΙ – Κ –	+Κ̅Ε̅Ρ,Θ, ΤΩCΩΔΗ ΛΕΟΝΤ,Α, CΠΑΘ,ΕΠΙ ΤΗΡ,ΤΡΙ – Κ –
– ∙ ∙ – R,NOTAP, ΚΡΙΤ,ΕΠΙΤΗ ΙΠΙΟΔΡΟΜ CΤΗΑΡΜΕ ΝΙΑΚΟΝ – ∙ ∙ –	– ∙ ∙ – R,NOTAP, ΚΡΙΤ,ΕΠΙΤΗ ΙΠΙΟΔΡΟΜ CΤΗΑΡΜΕ ΝΙΑΚΟΝ – ∙ ∙ –	– ∙ ∙ – R,NOTAP, ΚΡΙΤ,ΕΠΙΤΗ ΙΠΙΟΔΡΟΜ CΤΗΑΡΜΕ ΝΙΑΚΟΝ – ∙ ∙ –	– ∙ ∙ – R,NOTAP, ΚΡΙΤ,ΕΠΙΤΗ ΙΠΙΟΔΡΟΜ CΤΗΑΡΜΕ ΝΙΑΚΟΝ – ∙ ∙ –

Fig. 11. Combined readings of the inscriptions of specimens # 7a-c in this paper.

Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Λέοντι, πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρυσотρικλίνου, βασιλικῷ νοταρίῳ καὶ κριτῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου καὶ τοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ

Lord, aid your servant Leon, protospatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou, imperial notarios and krites of the hippodrome and of the Armeniakon (Armeniakoi)!

8. Theodoros Chryselios, protospatharios, mystographos, krites of the velon and of the Armeniakoi (second quarter of the 11th c.)

Present location: Çorum Museum (inv. 9895) (fig. 12a-b).

Provenance: Unknown (purchase).

D: 22 mm. Th: 3 mm. W: 12.35 gr.

Unpublished.

Parallels: 1: Hermitage M-9401. Ed. Šandrovskaja, Seibt 2005, # 66 (second quarter of the 11th c.); see also: Gkoutzioukostas 2011, 206, # 14 (b); 2: DO BZS.1951.31.5.3609. Unpublished, see: Gkoutzioukostas 2011, 206, # 14 (b).

Similar: 1: Vienna, A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt collection 261 (ex H. Hunger collection 11). Ed. Seibt, Wassiliou-Seibt 2004, # 174 (second quarter of the 11th c.); see also: Gkoutzioukostas 2011, 206, # 14 (a); 2: IFEB 840 (different boulloterion from the previous one). Unpublished, see: Gkoutzioukostas 2011, 206, # 14 (c); Cheynet 1990, 342. See also: Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 383, # 20 (1042-1055).

See also Zacos 1984, # 1052 (same inscription, but without the family name).



Fig. 12a-b. Seal of Theodoros Chryselios, krites of the Armeniakoi: Çorum Museum, inv. 9895 (here, # 8).

Obverse: Inscription in five lines; border of dots:

+ Θ̅ΚΕΡ.,|ΘΕΟΔΩ..|Ἀ̅CΠΑΘ..|ΜΝCΤΟΓ..|ΦΩ

Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Θεοδώ[ρῳ] (πρωτο)σπαθ[αρ(ίῳ)]
μυστογ[ρ(ά)]φω

Reverse: Inscription in five lines; order of dots.

..PITH|ΤΥΡΗΛΗΣ|..ΑΡΜΕΝΙ|..Κ,ΤΩΧΡΗ|..ΗΛΙΩ

[κ]ριτῇ τοῦ βῆλου (καὶ) [τοῦ] Ἀρμενι[α]κ(οῦ) τῷ Χρου[σ]ηλίῳ

Theotokos, aid your servant Theodoros Chrouselios (Chryselios), protospatharios, mystographos, krites of the velon and of the Armeniakon (Armeniakoi)!

Comment: The Chryselioi are frequently mentioned in 11th century sources, though the family's history is first attested a little earlier. In the late 10th c., the city of Dyrrachion was ruled by Ioannes Chryselios. In order to avoid the city being destroyed by Samuel's Bulgarian forces, Ioannes Chryselios swore allegiance to Samuel and married him to his daughter, Agatha. Apart from Agatha, Ioannes Chryselios had two

(known) sons (perhaps Theodoros and Nikolaos). Samuel and Agatha had a daughter, Miroslava. While residing in Dyrrachion, perhaps in 1005 (or, according to another opinion, in 997), Miroslava, together with her husband Ashot and the Chryselios family, plotted against Samuel and Ioannes Chryselios promised to Basileios II the city in exchange for high-rank titles for all of them. Ioannes and his sons, in particular, were supposed to become patrikioi, Ashot would be a magistros, and Miroslava patrikia zoste. The agreement was successful, and the titles were granted (Skylitzes 1973, 342-343, 349; Kedrenos 1839, 451; Lupus Protospatharius 1979, 133, # 103, anno 1005). Up to this point, the story seems to be clear. But things get more complicated when it comes to the identification of Theodoros Chryselios.

There is a Theodoros Chryselios, patrikios, who was playing an active role in politics and, together with the patriarch Michael Keroularios and generals like Michael, son of Anastasios, and civil bureaucrats like Christophoros Pyrrhos, he supported Isaakios Komnenos in 1057 (Skylitzes 1973, 498; Kedrenos 1839, 634. See also: Cheynet 1990, 342). And there is a Nikolaos Chryselios, patrikios, active in the time of Romanos III (1028-1034) (This Nikolaos Chryselios received the Armenian Berkri fortress by the Arabs, probably in 1032. See: Skylitzes 1973, 388; Kedrenos 1839, 502; Cheynet 1990, 342, note 27). It is probably through the above-mentioned agreement that Theodoros Chryselios, as well as Nikolaos, acquired the title of patrikios and climbed the hierarchy in the Byzantine nobility and administration. This would make sense, only if we accept that these two were Ioannes' sons.

What is puzzling, though, is two groups (each consisted of several specimens) of seals, issued by a Theodoros Chryselios and dated in the second quarter and in the last third of the 11th c. respectively. The first group, whose seals are enlisted above and include the specimen presented in this paper, was issued by Theodoros Chryselios, protospatharios, mystographos, krites of the velon and of the Armeniakoi. If this person was Ioannes Chryselios' son, he should bear the title of patrikios. Therefore, the owner of these seals must be a different person. The other group, issued by Theodoros Chryselios, krites, and dated by the editors of one of the specimens in ca. 1060-1080 (One specimen presented at an auction, one in the ex M.-L. Zarnitz collection and four in the ex G. Zacos collection. See: Seibt, Wassiliou-Seibt 2004, 181, note 252; Seibt, Zarnitz 1997, 78, # 2.1.9), could have been the same person with the mystographos and krites, if in a later stage of his life, when he was no more serving at the Armeniakoi, he decided to issue seals presenting himself simply as krites. To this same person has been attributed yet another seal, dated ca. 1030-1040, whose owner bears the name Theodoros Chryselios, protospatharios and domestikos of the hypourgia (or, less likely, of the Optimatoi) (DOS 3, # 71.12; Seibt, Wassiliou-Seibt 2004, 180. It must be noted that, in Seibt, Zarnitz 1997, 77-78, the three Theodoroi – the patrikios of 1057, the krites of the 1060 – 1080, and the protospatharios, mystographos and krites of the Armeniakoi – are considered to be one and the same person). If this attribution is correct, then Theodoros was first domestikos of the hypourgia, then mystographos, krites of the velon and of the Armeniakoi, and, finally, he kept the office of krites only. As for the Çorum Museum seal, which came from the vicinity of Amasya

and presents Theodoros' family name and his office as krites of the Armeniakoi, it is an important piece in the building of the Chryselios' family history.

Another Theodoros Chryselios, who should not be confused with his elder namesakes, is mentioned in a letter, dated probably at some time between the mid-1090s and 1107, by Theophylaktos, archbishop of Ochrid, to Gregorios Kamateros. This Theodoros Chryselios, the younger, probably a relative (son? grandson? nephew?) of one of the above-mentioned Theodoroi, was serving as a high-rank official in the area of Macedonia and, allegedly, introduced some changes in the local tax system (Theophylaktos of Ochrid 1986, # 127. See also: Mullett 1997, 87-88, 100, 343, 369, # 73; Cheynet 1990, 234, 342. According to Seibt, Zarnitz 1997, 77, he could have been an apographeus, but there is no supporting evidence for this theory).

Apart from Nikolaos, another member of the Chryselios family was probably engaged in the military: he is mentioned as a "toparches" at the time of Michael IV (Cheynet 1990, 234, 342).

9. Georgios (Hexamilites), imperial protospatharios, krites of the hippodrome and of the Armeni(a)ka Themata (ca. 1040-1060)

Present location: Amasya Museum (inv. A 78.27.1) (fig. 13a-b).

Unknown provenance (purchased from Abdullah Demir, 31.7.1978).

D: 25 mm. Th: 2 mm. W: 8.67 gr.

Unpublished.

No parallels.

Fig. 13a-b. Seal of Georgios Hexamilites, krites of the Armeni(a)ka Themata: Amasya Museum, inv. A 78.27.1 (here, # 9).



Obverse: Theotokos (bust); sigla: M(ήτηρ) Θ(εο)ῦ; circular inscription; border of dots.

+ΘΞΞΡΟΙΘΤΩΔΗΛΩ

+ Θ(εοτό)κε βοιθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ

Reverse: Inscription in six lines; border of dots.

+ ΓΕΩΡΓ|ΓΡ'Α'ΣΠΑΘ,|ΚΡΙΤ,ΕΠΙ|ΤΗΙΠΟΝΤΟΝ|ΑΡΜΕΝΙΑΚ|ΘΕΜΑΤ

+ Γεωργ(ίῳ) β(ασιλικῷ) (πρῶτο)σπαθα(ρίῳ) κριτ(ῇ) ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱπ<π>ο(δρόμου) (καὶ) τὸν Ἀρμενιακ(ῶν) Θεμάτ(ων)

Theotokos, aid your servant Georgios, imperial protospatharios, krites of the hippodrome and of the Armeniaka Themata

Comment: Georgios Hexamilites, krites of the Armeniaka Themata is known from two more seals (from the same boulloterion), bearing the same inscription but also mentioning the family name at the end, an information which is missing in the seal presented here

(1: Athens, Numismatic Museum, Stamoules 78; 2: IFEB 422. See: Wassiliou 2002, 247, # 7b; Λεβενιώτης 2007, 565, # 116, note 3464).

The “Armeni(a)ka Themata” are first attested around the middle of the 10th century. The name originated from the Armenian groups inhabiting the Empire’s Eastern border. This group of administrative units comprised small territories; composed essentially of fortresses and their respective regions; provided mainly infantry soldiers (less than a thousand each); and had a distinct administrative structure characterized by the large number of *tourmarchai* (e.g. the Charpezikion had 22 major *tourmarchai* and 47 minor ones). The Armeni(a)ka Themata (see a complete list in Kühn 1991, 61-64), scattered along the Eastern frontier, were thus differentiated from the larger, traditional “Rhomaika themata” lying in the interior (Oikonomidès 1972, 345-346; Oikonomidès 1976, 126-152. See also the long study of Seibt 1993 which, however, does not answer the questions). Each Armenian thema had its own (minor) *strategos* (called *zirwar* by the Arabs, *zoravar* and by the Armenians). Later, in the first half of the 11th century, we find a *strategos* of the Armenian themes (Zacos 1984, # 844), a fact indicating the effort to centralize the command of these scattered units. The numerous published seals of the financial bureaucrats reveal the economic importance of the Armenian themes, while those of the judicial officials are witnesses of the necessary effort to maintain law and order in these frontier zones, especially among the Armenian population which had a bad fame for its lack of discipline (McGeer 2000, 86-89).

10) ..., asekretis and krites of the Armeniakoi (?) (first half of the 11th c.)

Present location: Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung (inv. 512) – ex M.-L. Zarnitz collection (fig. 14a-b).

D: 28 mm. W: 11.34 gr.

Double-struck; struck out of centre.

Published in: Cheynet 2014, 189: Βασι[λείω] κριτ(ῆ) [τ(ῶν) Ἀρ]μενι[ακ]ῶ[v] – dated shortly after Basileios II’s reign.



Fig. 14a-b. Seal of [...], krites of the Armeniakoi: Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, inv. 512 (here, # 10).

Obverse / Side 1: Strike 1: Inscription in five lines; border of dots. Strike 2: Unidentified Holy figure or scene, with letters / sigla.

Text for Strike 1:

+ΚΕ..|ΜΕΛΙ.Α|CΠΑΘ,ΤΩ|ΤΟΡΝΗ| – Κ –

+ Κ(ύρι)ε [β(οή)θ(ει)] Μελί[α] (πρωτο) σπαθ(αρίω) τῶ Τορνήκ(η)

Reverse / Side 2: Strike 1: Inscription in five or six lines; border of dots. Strike 2: Holy scene, perhaps Saints Peter and Paul; border of dots.

Text for Strike 1:

....|.....|AC....|K,PI.T...|MENI|.Ψ.

[...] ας[ηκρ(ῆτις) (καὶ)] κριτ(ῆ) τ(ῶν) Ἀρμενι[άκ]ω[ν]

Lord, aid Melias Tornikes, protospatharios / [...] aseketis and krites of the Armeniakoi OR Basileios, krites of the Armeniakoi

Comment: It seems that the first strike was done by a krites of the Armeniakoi – if the reading of the few remaining letters is correct, and the second strike by a certain Melias Tornikes. The inscription which is believed to mention the Armeniakoi poses some problems regarding the reading and, therefore, the attribution to the Armeniakoi is not certain at all. In the first visible line, the letter after the C could be either a I or a H. In the third visible line the M is not clearly visible as such. Also, following the N there could be a I or a H. And in the last line the letter before the omega is not necessarily a K. Of course, the fact that the original seal was re-struck is enough to justify these issues. Be that as it may, one should be cautious before ascribing this seal to an official of the theme of the Armeniakoi. Nevertheless, so far, without a parallel specimen, it seems that the reading Armeniakoi is the best solution.

In a first reading, the editor suggested Basileios, krites of the Armeniakoi. Another possible reading would be to attribute this seal to an (anonymous) aseketis and krites of the Armeniakoi.

11. Georgios (Korinthios), protosykellos and praitor of the Armeniakoi (1068-1071)

Present location: Museum of Anatolian Civilisations in Ankara (inv. 76-11-11-11) (fig. 15a-b).

Provenance: Unknown (purchase).

D: 26x23 mm. D(field): 21x20 mm. Th: 3 mm. W: 11.34 gr.

Unpublished.

Parallel: GB, sale # 11654.



Fig. 15a-b. Seal of Georgios (Korinthios), praitor of the Armeniakoi: Museum of Anatolian Civilisations in Ankara, inv. 76-11-11-11 (here, # 11).

Obverse: Inscription in five lines; border of dots.

+KE|ROHΘEI|TΩCΩΔH|ΛΩΓEΩP|–Γ!Ψ–

Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Γεωργίῳ

Reverse: Inscription in five lines; border of dots

A[†]CVΓ|KEΛΛΩS|ΠPAIΩP!|TΩNAPME|NIAKΩN|–

(πρω)τ(ο)συγκέλλω (καὶ) πραιτωρι τῶν Ἀρμ[ε]νιακῶν

Lord aid your servant Georgios, protosykellos and praitor of the Armeniakoi!

Comment: Although the seals do not contain the family name, this is known through two passages in Kekaumenos' Strategikon, where Georgios Korinthios is mentioned as protosykellos and praitor of the Armeniakoi (Kekaumenos 1998, 183.25-26, 206.4-5, 220.11-

12; Κεκαυμεν 2003, 268.30-270.5, 282.4-7. See also 489, note 643, and 518, note 732) (The identification of this Georgios with his namesake metropolitan of Corinth is highly unlikely).

Kekaumenos reveals that Georgios, an efficient person, was in the imperial entourage. In 1066, a certain Nikoulitzas from Larissa (Νικουλιτζᾶς ὁ Λαρισσαῖος), protospatharios and anagrapheus, repeatedly asked Georgios Korinthios to arrange for him to meet in private with the emperor Konstantinos X Doukas (1059-1067) and inform him regarding an upcoming rebellion in Hellas. Korinthios, however, prevented Nikoulitzas and the emperor continuously postponed seeing him. Nikoulitzas, after having waited for a month without response, and being scared by rumours of an attack by Robert Guiscard and a comet, got angry and annoyed, and he left Constantinople (Kekaumenos 1998, 206.3-10; Dölger et al. 1995, 54, # 968; Glykatzi-Ahrweiler 1960, 71, note 6; Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 384, # 1; Λεβενιώτης 2007, 660, note 4020). Eventually, Nikoulitzas was restricted in the kastron of Amaseia, during the reign of Konstantinos X. But the day after his enthronement, the next emperor, Romanos IV Diogenes (1068-1071) wrote a letter to Georgios Korinthios, asking him not to prevent Nikoulitzas from leaving Amaseia for Constantinople (Kekaumenos 1998, 220.9-12; Dölger et al. 1995, 54, # 968; Glykatzi-Ahrweiler 1960, 71, note 6; Βλυσίδου et al. 1998, 384, # 1; Λεβενιώτης 2007, 660, note 4020).

APPENDIX

A. Theodoros, patrikios and strategos (9th c.)

Present location: Çorum Museum (inv. 4962) (fig. 16a-b).

Provenance: Sungurlu/Çorum (purchase, 1991).

D: 21 mm. Th: 6 mm. W: 14.40 gr.

Unpublished.

No parallels.



Fig. 16a-b. Seal of Theodoros, strategos: Çorum Museum, inv. 4962 (here, # A).

Obverse: Cruciform invective monogram (indeterminate type): (Κύριε or Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ δούλῳ σου

Reverse: Inscription in five lines: .Θ|.ΩΡΩ|.ΑΤΡΙΚΙ|ΨΣΤΡΑ|. ΗΓΩ+

[+]Θε[οδ]ώρω [π]ατρικίω (καὶ) στρα[τ]ηγῶ +

Lord (or Theotokos) aid your servant Theodoros, patrikios and strategos!

Comment: Although this seal does not bear any geographical name, it is very likely, judging by its provenance, that it was issued by a strategos of the Armeniakoi. Several seals related to the officials of this thema have been discovered in this particular area.

B. Marinos, patrikios and strategos (second half of the 8th c. – beginning of the 9th c.)

Present location: Çorum Museum (inv. 7853) (fig. 17a-b).

Provenance: Unknown (purchase).

D: 27 mm. Field: 22 mm. Th: 5 mm. W: 15.20 gr.

Unpublished.



Fig. 17a-b. Seal of Marinos, strategos: Çorum Museum, inv. 7853 (here, # B).

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram (Laurent type V): (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ δούλῳ σου; wreath border.

Reverse: Inscription in four (?) lines; wreath border.

..ΑΡ|.ΝΩΠΑ|.ΙΚΙΩ|.ΤΡ. Τ [...]

[+ M]αρ[ί]νῳ πα[τρ]ικίῳ [(καὶ) σ]τρ[α]τ[ηγῶ]...

Theotokos, aid your servant Marinos, patrikios and strategos [...]

Comment: Probably this is the same Marinos, patrikios and strategos of the Armeniakoi, whose seal is kept in the Museum of Iznik (Cheynet 1991, # 9).

Another Marinos, strategos, was active in Thessaloniki, shortly after the mid-9th c. (he is known through an inscription dated in 861/862). However, these two homonyms should be distinguished, not only because the seal presented here is much earlier, but also our Marinos is already a patrikios, while Marinos in Thessaloniki was an imperial protospatharios in 861/862 (although later he is known as patrikios as well) (Kiourtzian 1991, 247-253; Cheynet 1991, 226).

C. Marinos (Promoundenos?), imperial spatharokandidatos and tourmarches (last third of the 9th c.)

Present location: Amasya Museum (inv. A 95.20.2) (fig. 18a-b).

Provenance: Unknown (purchased from Mustafa Kılıç, 30.11.1995).

D: 24 mm. Th: 3 mm. W: 8.42 gr.

Unpublished.

No parallels.



Fig. 18a-b. Seal of Marinos (Promoundenos?), tourmarches: Amasya Museum, inv. A 95.20.2 (here, # C).

Obverse: Patriarchal cross (potent), on three steps; circular inscription between two concentric wreaths.

+ ΚΕΡΟΗΘΙΤΩCΩΔΟΝΛΩ

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ<ε>ι τῷ σῷ δούλῳ

Reverse: Inscription in five lines; wreath border.

• |+ΜΑΡΙΝΟ|Ρ' ΣΠΑΘ' ΚΑΝ|Δ' ΣΤΟΥΡΜΑ|ΡΧΙCΠΡΟΜΩ|ΙΟΥCΤΙ
ΝΟ|•

+ Μαρίνο β(ασιλικῷ) σπαθ(αρο)κανδ(ιδάτῳ) (καὶ) τουρμάρχης
Προμω Ιουστινο (sic.)

Lord, aid your servant Marinos, imperial spatharokandidatos and
tourmarches Promo(?) Ioustino(?)

Comment: The last two lines of the inscription are problematic. After the office (tourmarches), follows what seems to be the beginning of a name. This could be a personal (byname? family?) or a geographical name (of the tourma?). The last line clearly shows the name Ioustino (sic). And here lies the dilemma, whether we are dealing with a misspelled name such as, for example, Promoundenos (In other seals e.g. that of Bardas Parsakoutenos, the engraver made such a mistake which would resemble the case of the seal presented here. See Karagiorgou et al. 2016, # 11: Κύριε or Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ – + Βάρδ(ας) μάγιστρ(ος) (καὶ) δοῦξ τῶν Ἀνατολ(ι)κῶν {ὁ Πατ} ὁ Παρσ(α)κ(ουτηνός), or an abbreviated geographical name (of the tourma) Prom-, followed by the byname or family name Ioustinos, or even a composite geographical name. There was an Ioustinianopolis in Cappadocia, and another one in Keltzene, but this does not seem to be the case here. Moreover, we do not know – as yet – of any tourma starting with Prom-. In the absence of further evidence, the seal is published in the appendix, as it could be related to the thema of the Armeniakoi.

ABBREVIATIONS

DOS = Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and the Fogg Museum of Art = J. Nesbitt, N. Oikonomides. 3. West, Northwest and Central Asia Minor and the Orient. Washington, D.C., 1996. E. Mc Geer, J. Nesbitt, N. Oikonomides. 4. The East. Washington, D.C. 2001.

PmbZ = Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit, Abteilung I-II. Ed. F. Winkelmann et al., Berlin, New York 1998-2013.

REB = Revue des Études Byzantines.

SBS = Studies in Byzantine Sigillography.

TM = Travaux et Mémoires.

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AUCTIONS / SALES

CNG: Classical Numismatic Group, LLC.

GB: Hasselt, The Netherlands.

Pecunem / Naumann: Pecunem – Gitbud & Naumann Münzhandlung München GmbH.

Нови сфрагистични данни за темите Armeniakoi и Armeniaka от колекции в Турция и Германия

Нилгюн ЕЛАМ, Пантелис ХАРАЛАМПАКИС

Авторите публикуват за пръв път петнадесет византийски оловни печата и препубликуват още един такъв, като разглежданите екземпляри са от колекции в Германия (Държавна монетна сбирка – Мюнхен) и Турция (Музей в Амасия; Музей в Чорум; Музей на анатолийските цивилизации, Анкара). Първите тринадесет печата са издадени от официални лица на служба в малоазийските провинциални административни области-теми Armeniakoi и Armeniaka. Те са представени в хронологичен ред в основния

текст на статията и се датират в периода от VII до XI в. Последните три печата, вероятно също принадлежащи на служители от тези области, са представени в Приложение (Appendix).

Разгледаните в статията печати са следните:

1. Павел, патрикий и стратег на Armeniakoi (последна трета на VII в.).

2. Константин, патрикий и стратег на Armeniakoi (края на VII – началото на VIII в.).

3. Теодор (Камулиан), патрикий и стратег на Armeniakoi (последна четвърт на VIII в.; вероятно 792 г.).

4. анонимен, патрикий и стратег на Armeniakoi (последна четвърт на VIII в.).

5. Кренит, императорски протоспатарий и дук на Armeniakoi (втора четвърт на IX в.).

6. анонимен, ... на Armeniakoi (първа половина на IX в.)

7а-с. Лъв, протоспатарий на хризотриклиниума, съдия на хиподрума и на Armeniakoi (втора четвърт на XI в.).

8. Теодор Хриселий, протоспатарий, мистограф, съдия на велума и на Armeniakoi (втора четвърт на XI в.).

9. Георги (Хексамилит), императорски протоспатарий, съдия на хиподрума и на Armeni(a)ka Themata (ок. 1040-1060 г.).

10. анонимен, асикрит и съдия на Armeniakoi (?) (първа половина на XI в.).

11. Георги (Коринтий), протосинкел и претор на Armeniakoi (1068-1071 г.).

Приложение:

А. Теодор, патрикий и стратег (IX в.).

В. Марин, патрикий и стратег (втора половина на VIII в. – началото на IX в.).

С. Марин (Промундин?), императорски спатарокандидат и турмарх (последна трета на IX в.).

Byzantine sigillography meets artificial intelligence: The BHAI project

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INTRODUCTION

This article analyses the benefits and challenges of applying Artificial Intelligence methods to Byzantine sigillography and presents the first steps of an innovative approach at the intersection of these two domains. Our research combines computer vision, knowledge engineering, and mathematical modeling of spatial relationships to help interpret Byzantine seals (iconography and writings).

Since Byzantine seals (**fig. 1**) are mostly made of lead, they suffer from corrosion and are often damaged. The historians' interpretation work becomes challenging when seals have been crushed or shattered, making their inscriptions difficult or impossible to read. However, considering their intrinsic properties, such as recurring iconographic models and textual formulae, as well as similarities between different seals (e.g., belonging to the same person over their career), historians can make hypotheses on the missing parts.

In this article we present the BHAI project (Projet-ANR-21-CE38-0001) and some preliminary results considering spatial reasoning for image understanding. The goal of the BHAI project is to (i) work on the recognition of writings on seals, (ii) analyze iconographic scenes, and (iii) propose solutions based on hybrid Artificial Intelligence (AI) and Machine Learning (ML) techniques to interpret damaged areas based on spatial relations and spatial reasoning for image understanding.



Fig. 1. A well-preserved example: the seal of Tatianos hypatos (Cheynet 2019, # 5.57).

Artificial Intelligence applied to Byzantine Sigillography (BHAi) project

The BHAi project (Projet-ANR-21-CE38-0001) is an interdisciplinary Digital Humanities project that proposes an innovative approach to Artificial Intelligence applied to Byzantine sigillography. The project has four principal objectives, each of which is based on state-of-the-art artificial intelligence methods applied to Byzantine sigillography:

Objective 1: To create a curated, interoperable, and annotated dataset of Byzantine seals

Byzantine seals enclose essential knowledge, among other things, about the Byzantine administration, aristocracy, and religion. Their importance derives from both the scarcity of existant Byzantine documents and the large number of existant seals. Although there are around 100.000 seals scattered worldwide, there is no unified knowledge database regarding Byzantine sigillography. The first objective is to create a curated, interoperable, and annotated dataset of images of Byzantine seals from referenced sources. We work on published seals. This project already has support from the French National Library (BnF). Byzantine experts manually curated and annotated the datasets to build ground-truth datasets.

Objective 2: To help domain experts in the interpretation and annotation of Byzantine seals

We started by detecting objects on Byzantine seals, such as crosses, staffs, swords, sceptres, crowns, or imperial clothes. Then, we identified figures by recognizing imperial objects in the hands of emperors and empresses, as well as the specific crowns or clothing they wore.

Objective 3: To estimate the inception date of Byzantine seals

Domain experts determine the inception date of seals by comparing the new seals with those for which the creation date is already known and by experience. Dating Byzantine seals is a complex task that only experts with considerable background experience can accomplish. Our goal is to use computers to create a chronological ranking of seals according to the date difference between seals, with the help of already dated seals and sigillographers' estimations for published seals. This action may subsequently be complemented by all or part of the associated annotations. Grouping seals into temporal series may help the experts to refine the proposed dating. In return, this feedback could improve our algorithms.

The study of the similarities and differences among the resulting clusters of seals may improve the hypotheses formulated by historians, not only concerning Byzantine prosopography but also about the changes in the administration or the administrative geography or the iconographic motifs retained, therefore allowing for progress in history. Nowadays, there is no tool to initiate students into this dating process, and this database could also help students with dating seals.

Objective 4: To explore hybrid AI approaches to “augment” the historical content of damaged or missing parts of seals

Seals were used to authenticate letters and documents. Most Byzantine seals were made of lead, which is prone to corrosion, especially when in contact with air but also with wood. Many seals currently preserved are damaged or partially corroded. When seals have been kept in wooden boxes or shelves for many years, their corrosion speeds up. Even seals more recently discovered can be damaged by the passing of time. Therefore, a question arises: Would it be possible to imagine the missing parts from a partially broken or corroded seal?

The objective is to propose a hybrid approach combining the strengths of Computer Vision algorithms (object and character recognition) and mathematical modeling of spatial relations to allow for interpretations of iconographical scenes and presumptions on the missing parts. For instance, if the Christ Child is identified on the left side of a broken seal, what is the probability of finding the Virgin Mary on the right side in the missing part? It is important to notice that the objective is not to propose a tool to “invent” missing parts of seals, but instead, to use existing data analyzed from multiple channels (graphical, spatial, and semantic relations within and between seals) to generate insight and make suggestions about what “could” be in the missing parts.

State of the art

Byzantine seals are studied from a cultural heritage perspective based on state-of-the-art research in artificial intelligence. This section details state-of-the-art approaches for spatial reasoning for image understanding, character and handwritten text recognition on historical documents, and domain adaptation and knowledge graph embeddings.

Spatial reasoning for image understanding

Knowledge about space, particularly spatial relations, is useful for image understanding (Bloch 2005). Indeed, human beings intensively use spatial relations to describe, detect, and recognize objects. Ambiguities between objects of similar shape or appearance can be solved based on their spatial arrangement since spatial relations are often more stable than other objects’ characteristics. For example, a rectangular-shaped object at the bottom of a seal is more likely to be a surmount than a crown (most likely found at the top around a character’s head).

Spatial reasoning has raised much attention in computer vision and pattern recognition, artificial intelligence, cognitive sciences, mobile robotics, and geographical information systems.¹ According to the semantic hierarchy proposed by Kuipers (Kuipers 1978), spatial relations can be grouped into topological and metrical relations. Among the metrical relations, directional and distance relations can be distinguished, as well as more complex relations such as “between” or “along”.

¹ See e.g., Aiello et al. 2007 for an overview of different approaches.

In qualitative spatial reasoning, most representation models are symbolic, often relying on logical formalisms, and mainly deal with topological or cardinal (directional) relations. For instance, region connection calculus was used to identify objects based on their mere topological relations (Landini et al. 2019; Le Ber, Napoli 2002).

Several works aim at learning meaningful spatial relations from images. New approaches emerged to provide descriptions as whole sentences, i.e., automatic image captioning. This refers to the typical “show and tell” approaches that benefit from recent advances in machine learning (convolutional networks and deep learning), or use mostly clustering and probabilistic approaches (LeCun et al. 2015; Vinyals et al. 2015). Such approaches are also used to model queries in image retrieval (see, e.g., the reviews by Goodrum 2000 and Smeulders et al. 2000). Fuzzy approaches have been developed as well (e.g. Castillo-Ortega et al. 2010). Such descriptions can also be seen as a means to explain the result of the object or image recognition (Pierrard et al. 2021).

To the best of our knowledge, none of these approaches have been used to analyze Byzantine seals, nor in the more general domain of digital humanities. The majority of seals have two sides carrying information. One side generally carries text, and the other carries text or an image with ornaments around it (such as a border of dots). The spatial organization of these objects and their arrangement in relation to each other could guide identification algorithms.

Character and handwritten text recognition in epigraphy and historical documents²

Recognizing the inscriptions on the seals is essential. However, in contrast to modern documents, ancient documents need heavy pre-processing. Reading becomes difficult due to the missing or broken parts or to the presence of defects. When dealing with stone monument images (Morita et al. 2021), characters are engraved. The lighting creates shadows that make character recognition difficult. When dealing with seal images, characters are embossed. Localising and recognizing characters is a challenge due to the low contrast between background and characters, as well as uneven illumination.

Among existing projects, Kuronet has been developed for reading images of ancient Japanese texts written on wooden tablets (Clanuwat et al. 2019). Accessing the content of their digitized documents is also essential for digital palaeography projects – Greek (Cilia et al. 2021), Hebrew (Dhali et al. 2017), and Latin (Kestemont et al. 2017). The project BESSARION,³ pursued by a team of researchers at the University of Ioannina (Greece), is an attempt at character recognition on Greek donor inscriptions. This project started in 2020 and is funded by the EU through the Hellenic Foundation for Research and Innovation.

Deep learning approaches are currently widely used for a large scope of computer vision tasks, such as character recognition tasks, i.e., recognizing words or character strings from document images. Results are impressive and rely on large training databases. Architectures based on Recurrent Neural networks are the more popular ones since they consider the sequential aspect of writing (Chammas 2018; Morillot 2013).

² For a general survey, see Nabu, Soumya 2019.

³ See <https://bessarion.gr/> (last accessed 25/07/2022).

Domain adaptation and Knowledge graph embeddings

Transfer Learning (Pan, Yang 2010; Bekkouch et al. 2021) is the field of artificial intelligence that focuses on improving a model's performance on a challenging target domain by leveraging data from a well-known source domain. In particular, Domain Adaptation is a sub-field of Transfer Learning that aims to minimize the impact of the domain gap between the source and target domains, reducing the required data to train a neural network. This idea has become a common practice in cases where retraining a neural network from scratch would be considered too computationally heavy. Instead, the use of a pre-trained model based on a large data set is preferred, with only the last layers being retrained, for instance. This strategy improves the models' performance drastically.

Knowledge Graphs played a significant role in preserving cultural heritage and modeling human expert knowledge. In the last ten years, hundreds of semantic data models, vocabularies, and knowledge graphs have been developed for digital humanities, such as MusicKG (Eyharabide et al. 2019), Sampo (Hyvonen 2020), NOnt (Meghini 2021), or CLARIAH (Meroño-Peñuela, De Boer 2020). Knowledge graphs provide rich semantic context about the images' content that is useful for extracting class-informative embeddings. The idea is to add information gathered in knowledge graphs when training neural networks with sparse and heterogeneous image datasets, which is the case of cultural heritage data.

Knowledge graph embedding methods aim at mapping a component of a knowledge graph (KG), including nodes, entities, and relationships between them, into a continuous vector space using algorithms such as Node2Vec. Machine learning models, mainly neural networks, can use the resulting vectors since this structure is simpler than a graph structure while preserving the inherent information and structure of the graph (Wang et al. 2017). These techniques have gained popularity due to their wide utility for downstream applications such as KG completion and relation extraction, Recommender Systems, Question Answering, and Relation Extraction from texts.

Knowledge graph embeddings (Ristoski, Paulheim 2016; Cochez et al. 2017) are considered low-dimensional representations of the nodes and relations in a knowledge graph. Knowledge graph embeddings are mappings from different parts of the knowledge graph into a vector space that satisfies specific properties and maintains the information that exists in the graph. Each method defines a score function that measures the distance of two nodes relative to their relation in the mapped embedding space.

The goal of these score functions can be summarized as keeping the nodes connected in the graph close in the mapped dimension and those that are not connected far from each other. The most famous score functions are TransE, TransR, RESCAL, DistMult, ComplEx, and RotatE (Wang et al. 2017).

All the approaches and techniques detailed above are included in various research steps; in this paper, we will expose the preliminary results of applying spatial reasoning methods to the analysis of images of Byzantine seals.

Spatial reasoning for interpreting Byzantine seals

The project started in 2021, and we have been working on image recognition, character recognition, and spatial relations modeling. Here,



Fig. 2. An example of manual annotation of a monogram, Seyrig collection.



Fig. 3. Example of spatial reasoning for seals understanding.

we present preliminary results for interpreting Byzantine seals using spatial relations modeling. In particular, we show some examples of spatial relationships between objects in images taken from the photographic archive of Jean-Claude Cheynet, who has edited many catalogs of Byzantine seals⁴.

Before calculating the spatial relations between objects, the first step is to identify the objects depicted on the seals and then manually annotate those objects in the seals' images. After consulting Byzantine sigillographers, we decided to annotate: a) the personages (such as Christ, Virgin Mary, Archangel Michel, etc.), b) the objects in the personages' hands (such as globe, sword, book), c) the

⁴ Cheynet et al. 1991; Campagnolo-Pothitou, Cheynet 2016. List of publications at http://www.cfeb.org/curriculum/mb_cheynet.pdf.

body's parts (head, hands, wings), d) the crosses (including tendrils, steps, and ornaments), and e) the clothes, nimbus, and crowns. The annotated sample contains only seals that have been meticulously examined by experts and for which there is no doubt about their iconography.

The second step is to mark the objects in the images of seals by defining their borders. Therefore, our experts manually annotated the image dataset using Supervisely, a collaborative online tool for image annotation to create bounding boxes (<https://supervise.ly/>). Later, the experts associate a label (Theotokos, Patriarchal_Cross, Monogram, Sword, Suppedion, etc.) to each object mask. **Figure 2** shows an example of manual annotation of a monogram in the Seyrig collection (seal BnF Seyrig 355. See Cheynet et al. 1991, # 19).

We wish to explain the proposed approach through an example. A few objects have been annotated overlaid in color in **figure 3** (seal from collection Tatiş 2706. See Cheynet 2019, # 6.26). The figure on the right illustrates the spatial relation “the tendril is to the right of the cross”. To calculate this relation, the cross was taken as a reference object R , and for each point x of the image, the degree $d(x, R)$ (Bloch 1999) (in $[0,1]$) to which the relation “to the right of R ” is satisfied at point x was computed (the higher the degree, the brighter the intensity in the representation). This figure shows that the tendril fits well in the right region, i.e., for each point y of the tendril, the satisfaction degree $d(y, R)$ is high. A global assessment of the relation can then be derived using an aggregation function applied to the values $d(y, R)$ for all points y of the fleuron. For instance, in this example, the relation's average degree of satisfaction equals 0.89. Applying this procedure to all the objects detected in the seal and several relations, a description of the spatial arrangements can be provided to interpret the seal.

Left relation: the labarum is on the emperor's left

In **figure 4**, we present the reverse of a specimen from the seals' collection at the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Geneva (inv. no. CdN 2004-0537, gift of J. Zacos)⁵. First, we detect an emperor (person with a crown) in the middle. Then, we compare each object present on the seal (labarum, crown, hands, etc.) to the head of that personage. In the example, we present the results when comparing the labarum and the emperor's head for the four basic relations: left (**fig. 4.c**), right (**fig. 4.d**), top (**fig. 4.e**), and bottom (**fig. 4.b**). The emperor's head being the object of reference, we want to know if the labarum is to its right, left, above, or below. Considering **figure 4.c**, let us imagine that we place a lamp on the emperor's head, projecting light to the left. Does that light illuminate the labarum? It does: the labarum is almost entirely visible, and the degree to which the relation is satisfied is 0.97.

Now, considering **figure 4.d**, imagine the same lamp but projecting its light to the right. Is there an intersection between the light and the labarum? No, **figure 4.d** is all black, and its degree is zero. We continue to calculate the values for the relations top and bottom in the same way. As shown in the figure, the left relation is the one that obtains the highest value, which is 0.97. Therefore, we can conclude that the labarum is on the emperor's left. Since the labarum is an object,

⁵ Campagnolo-Pothitou, Cheynet 2016, # 8. See also <https://collections.geneve.ch/mah/oeuvre/bulle-dor-de-5-solidi/cdn-2004-0537> (last accessed 27/07/2022).

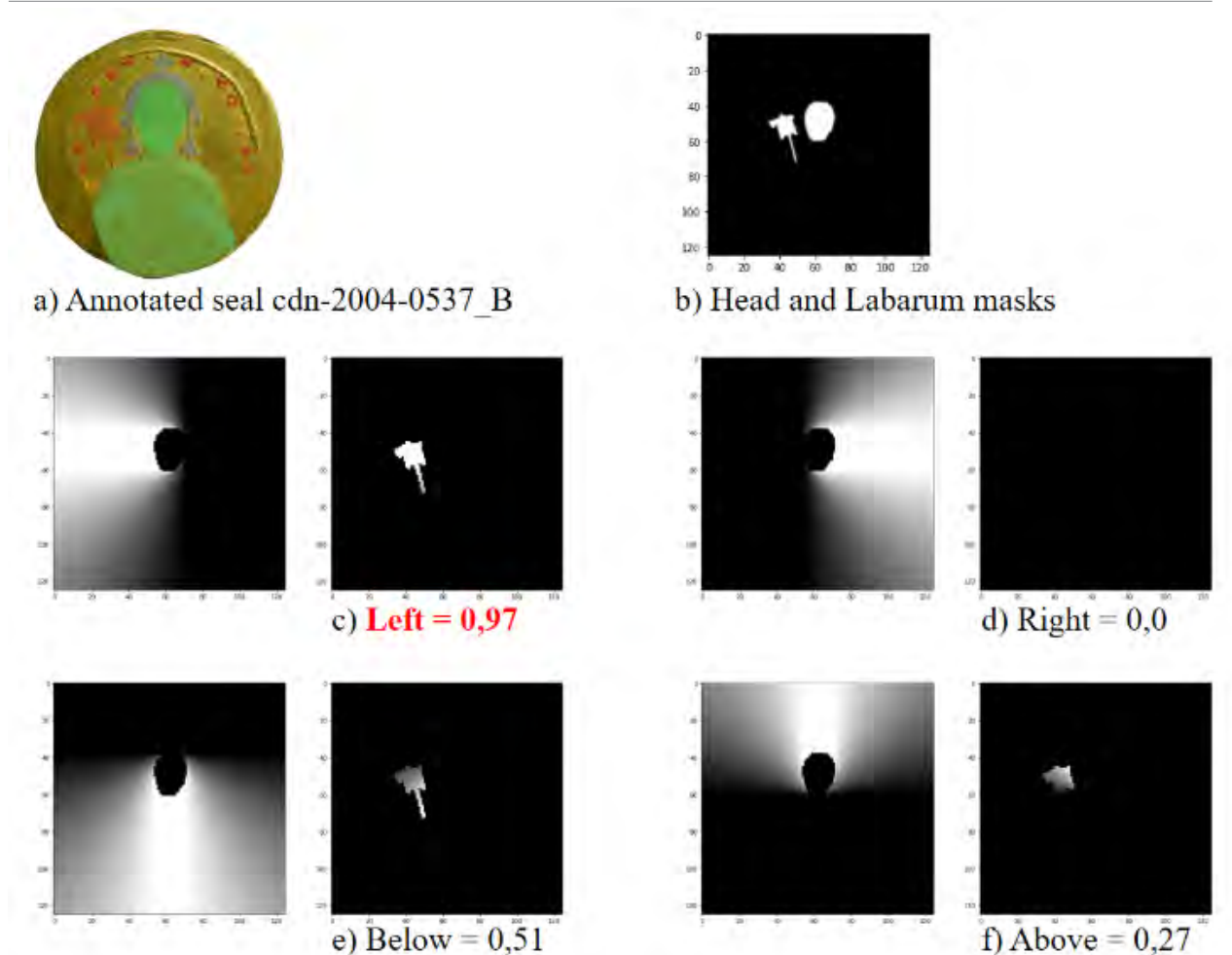


Fig. 4. Relations' calculation example: the emperor's head being the object of reference, is the labarum to its right, to its left, above or below?

we can imagine that the emperor is holding this object with his right hand. This result can be confirmed visually when regarding the image and also when reading the description made by the experts: “Reverse: the emperor, portrayed half-length, facing front, wearing a short beard, crowned with the crucifer stemma featuring pendants with trifold termination... In the right hand, he holds the labarum, and in the left hand, the akakia against his chest.”

Right relation: The Christ Child is on the Theotokos' right

Figure 5 presents the obverse of another seal, also part of the seals' collection of the “Musée d'art et d'histoire” in Geneva (inv. no. CdN 2004-0274, gift of J. Zacos)⁶. In this seal, two figures have been annotated: the Christ Child and the Theotokos. The latter occupies the biggest area. Therefore, we calculated the four relations between the two figures' heads. We can conclude that the Child is on his mother's right; thus, the Theotokos is holding the Child with her left arm. The description of this seal details: “Obverse: in a circle of dots, the Virgin Hodigitria, standing on a souppédion, turned three-quarters towards the Child, whom she carries on her left arm...”

Right-bottom relation: The Christ and the Bible

Sometimes, several relations can be found between two objects. That

⁶ Campagnolo-Pothitou, Cheynet 2016, # 240A. See also <https://collections.geneve.ch/mah/oeuvre/sceau-patriarcal/cdn-2004-0274> (last accessed 27/07/2022).

⁷ Campagnolo-Pothitou, Cheynet 2016, # 6. See also <https://collections.geneve.ch/mah/oeuvre/bulle-dor-de-2-solidi/cdn-2004-0539>.

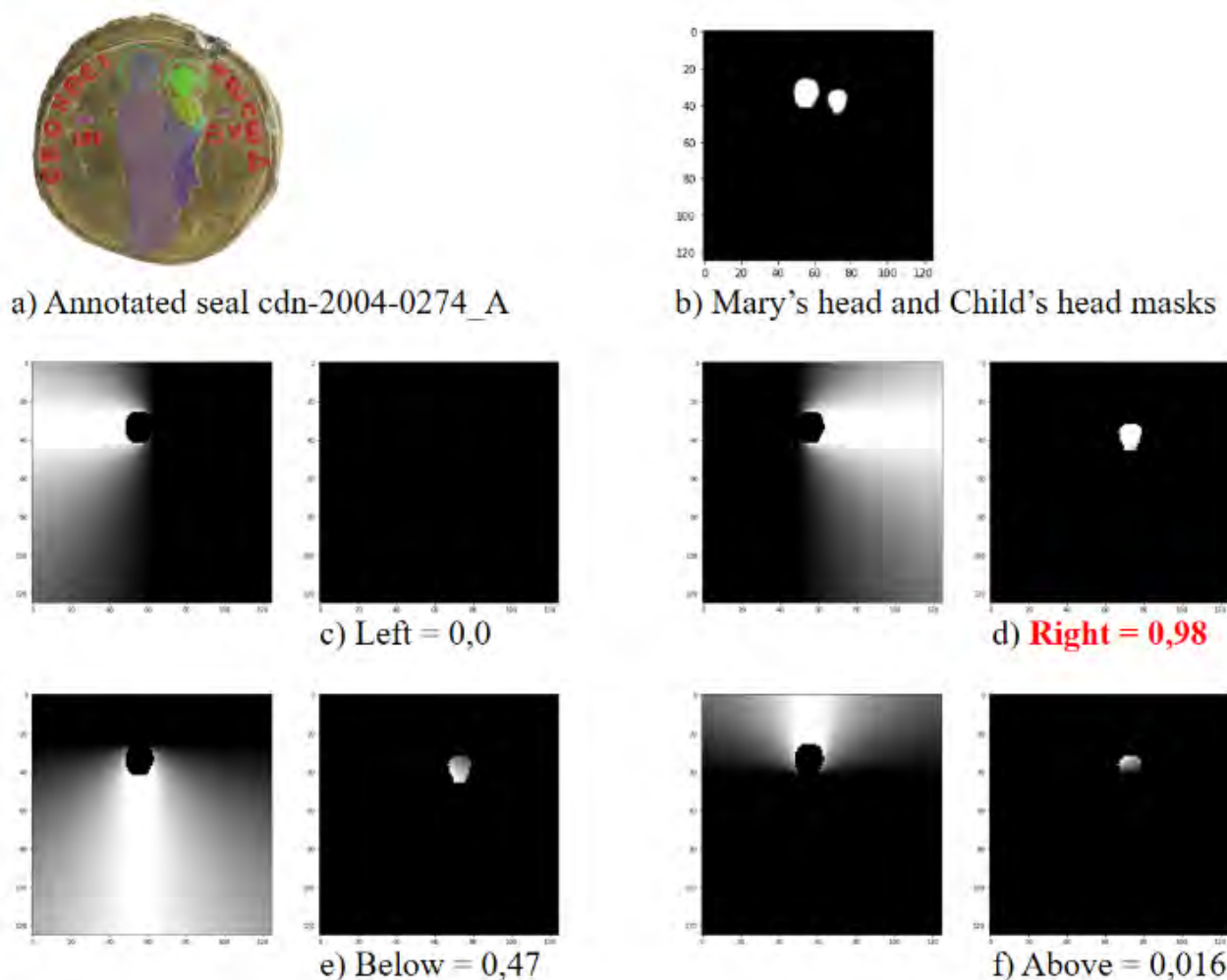


Fig. 5. Example of spatial relation calculation between the Christ Child and his mother. We obtain mathematical evidence that the Theotokos carries the Christ Child on her left arm.

is the case in **figure 6**, depicting the obverse of another seal in the seals collection of the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Geneva (CdN 2004-0539, gift of J. Zacos)⁷. When calculating the relations between the Bible and Christ, the “bottom” relation is the one that obtains the highest value with 0.96. However, the value for the “right” relation is also high, with 0.82. Therefore, we can conclude that the Bible is in the right-bottom part of the seal. The description of this seal details: “*Obverse: In a circle of dots, bust of Christ, face, beardless (?), ..., he blesses with his right hand, and holds the Gospels in his left hand.*”

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The results of the spatial reasoning techniques are highly promising, also on less readable samples, and are a solid base for developing more refined recognition instruments capable of detecting more complex objects on the seals.

We plan to develop a useful image recognition and character recognition tool on Byzantine seals. The choice of seals to implement artificial intelligence programs is possible because we have a large series of these objects, making it possible to train neural networks. Later, the method could be adapted to any object inscribed with Greek letters, starting with coins and other objects such as lapidary or painted inscriptions.

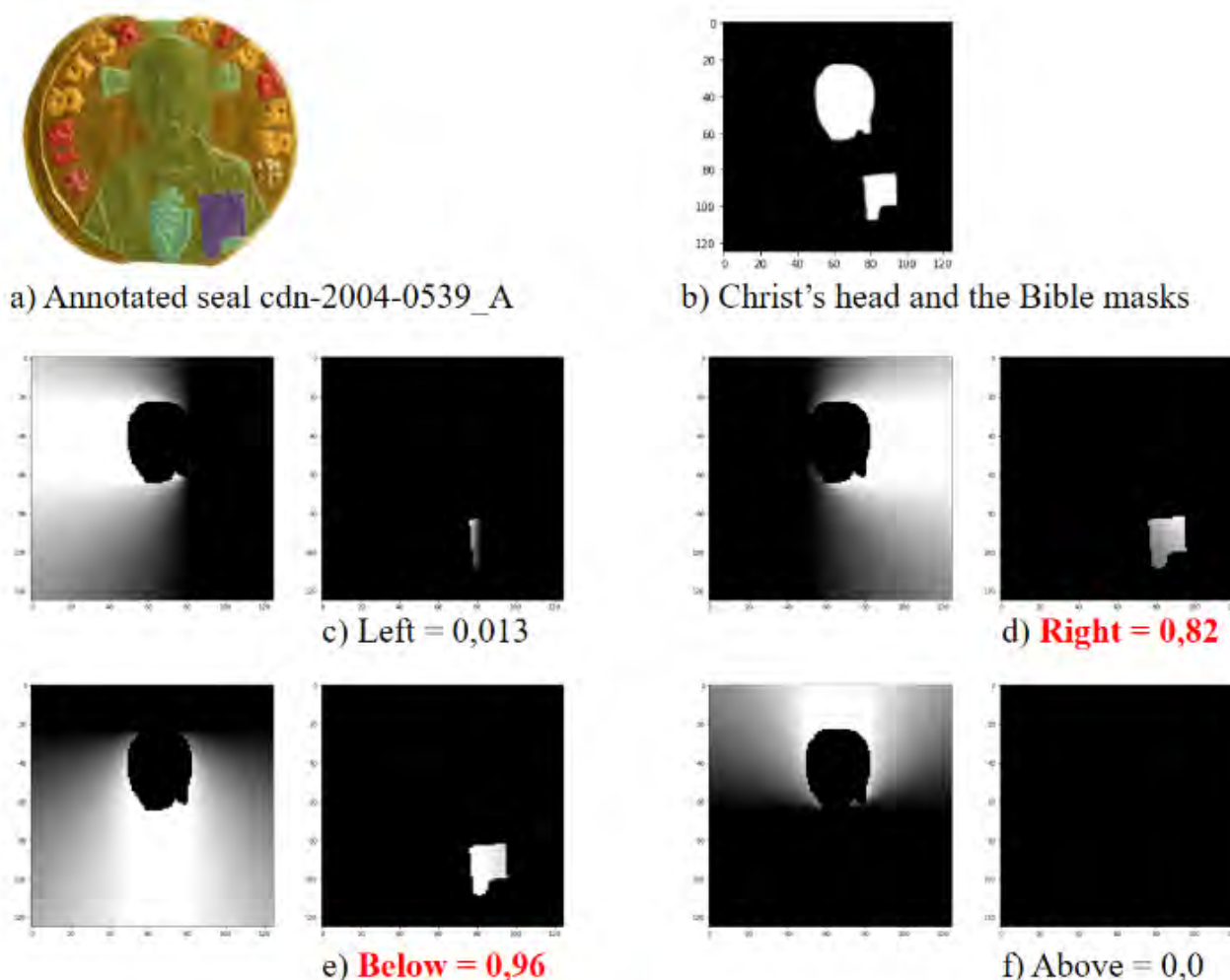


Fig. 6. Example of a seal in which the Bible is placed on Christ's right-bottom.

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Византийската сфрагистика среща изкуствения интелект: проектът ВНАІ

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Настоящата статия представя интердисциплинарния проект „ВНАІ – Artificial Intelligence applied to Byzantine Sigillography“ [ВНАІ – Приложение на изкуствения интелект във византийската сфрагистика]. Нейната цел е да предложи протоколи и софтуерни решения на базата на изкуствения интелект и техники за машинно обучение, математическо моделиране и инженеринг на знанията, в помощ на интерпретацията на византийски печати, както за начинаещи, така и за напреднали.

Lead Seals in Byzantine Thrace (LSByT): Re-examination of data, mapping the distribution of findings and tracing the communication networks (6th-8th c.)^{*}

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It was September 2007 when I first met the late Professor Ivan Jordanov at the International Symposium in honour of Dr. Vassil Stephanov Haralanov in Shumen (13-15 September). The amiable and very hospitable Professor accepted my conclusion that the seals mentioning a prefect of islands (ἐπαρχος νήσων), some of which he had also published, belonged to the head of the *quaestura exercitus* and not to a provincial governor of the Cyclades (Gkoutzioukostas 2008, 109-118). Since then, I have met him many times at conferences in Greece and Bulgaria. In 2009, on the occasion of the publication of the two volumes of his “Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria, III.1-2, Sofia 2009”, he visited Thessaloniki at the invitation of the Department of Ancient and Roman, Byzantine and Mediaeval History, and gave a lecture entitled “Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria: possibilities of dating and identification”. He also donated his work to the Library of Byzantine History “Ioannes Karagiannopoulos” of the Faculty of History and Archaeology of the Aristotle University. The valuable and unique material contained in these volumes – since in comparison to other editions and corpora the find spot for most of the seals is known – gave me the impetus for further research. A few years later, I presented at a Pan-Hellenic Conference a paper published in the Yearbook of the Department of History and Archaeology, *Egnatia*. In this study I attempted to trace the Byzantine presence in the area in the 6th and 7th centuries, presenting my first preliminary conclusions that showed how important was the material published by the Professor regarding Early Byzantine Thrace (Γκουτζιουκώστας 2010, 9-18).

The idea of a more systematic study and mapping of the material, this time from the 6th to the 12th century, was submitted by me in 2019 as a research proposal in a relevant call of the Hellenic Foundation

^{*} The initial form of the paper was submitted three years ago, when our project was in the development phase, before the publication of the LSByT volume – Lead Seals in Byzantine Thrace (6th-12th c.), Proceedings of the International Conference: Sigillography meets Historical Geography, Vienna 19 April 2023. Eds.: A. Gkoutzioukostas, A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt, D. P. Drakoulis. Thessaloniki 2023 – and the completion of our website-database – <https://lsbyt.web.auth.gr/>.

for Research and Innovation (HFRI), evaluated and selected from among several proposals. Our project “Lead Seals in Byzantine Thrace (LSByT): Re-examination of data, mapping the distribution of findings and tracing the communication networks (6th-12th c.)” was based mainly on the corpus and other publications of Professor Jordanov, who was an ardent supporter of such an idea and had, besides, confessed to me that he also had in mind to proceed, sometime in the future, with the mapping of the material he had published. He was, of course, invited to be a member of the research team representing Shumen University and during the first phase of the programme, up to his death, he played a very active and invaluable role. Willing and generous as always, he was providing us with various important clarifications on the material. Unfortunately, the Professor did not manage to see the conclusions of our research or, due to the circumstances of the covid pandemic and then his passing away, to come to Thessaloniki, as we had planned. As a minimum tribute to Ivan Jordanov’s memory, on behalf of our research team, I will describe the purpose and the phases of our research and formulate some general conclusions for the period 6th-8th century¹.

One aspect of the function of seals that has not been adequately investigated is the study of the circulation of written information, when we know the exact location of the lead seals². Over 2500 seals found in Byzantine Thrace belong to this category, most of which have been found in the territory of modern Bulgaria. These are areas corresponding to the Early Byzantine provinces of Rhodope, Thrace, Haemimontus, Moesia Secunda and Scythia Minor and the Middle Byzantine *themata* of Thrace, Macedonia and Paradounavon. The material that has been classified relates to two main periods: a) 6th-8th century and b) 9th-12th century (**fig. 1**). The seals found there were published, as mentioned, primarily by Ivan Jordanov³.

In general, the seals found in Thrace can be divided into two main categories. The first comprises those in which either the status of their owner is not mentioned or an honorary title is testified, but which (in both cases) do not reveal the place from which the seals were sent. The second category comprises seals stating the specific institutional position and geographical area of responsibility of the owner’s office.

The aim of the research project was to re-approach and re-examine the seal material, to map the distribution of the seals, and to trace the communication networks in the geographical area of Byzantine Thrace from the 6th to the 12th century, on the basis of the second category of seals mentioned above.

The main scientific fields of this research proposal were Byzantine Sigillography and Historical Geography, two basic auxiliary fields of History. Cartography and Statistics complemented the interdisciplinary scientific approach. In particular, Historical and Thematic Cartography facilitated the visualization of seal distribution, while Statistics were used for the quantitative management of the sigillary material, as well as its further interpretation.

The methodology for the analysis of seal materials was based on the modern methods of scientific approach developed by the Centre of Byzantine Sigillography of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna: 1) Reading of the inscription; 2) Dating (as accurately as possible, taking into account palaeographic characteristics, the content

¹ A book on the seals from Thrace dated from the 6th to the 8th c. is being prepared by our research team.

² See the pioneer study of Cheynet, Morisson 1990. Cf. Gkoutzioukostas 2023, 18.

³ Jordanov 2009 – Professor Jordanov’s magnum opus containing and discussing new material found in Bulgaria, correcting also his previous work, such as Jordanov 2003 and Jordanov 2006. Addenda and corrigenda by the late professor Jordanov appeared in Йорданов 2011, 189-228; Йорданов 2015, 223-305; Йорданов 2018, 124-164. Recently, Prof. Jordanov published another monograph dedicated to the Byzantine administration of Bulgaria, summarizing and reinterpreting lead seals from the late 10th to the early 12th century (Йорданов 2019).

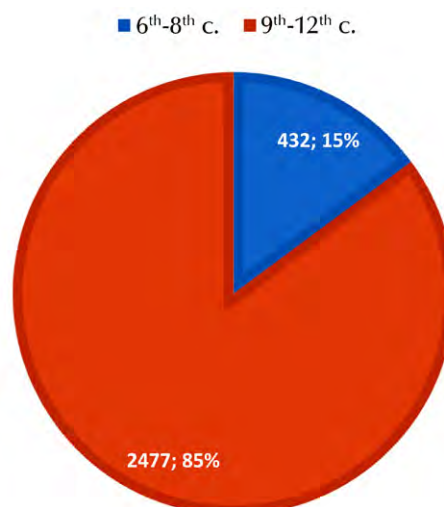
SEALS IN BYZANTINE THRACE (6TH-12TH C.)

Fig. 1. Number of seals found in Thrace (6th-8th and 9th-12th c.).

of the inscription and iconography); 3) Finding comparative material, directly or indirectly relating to the content of the inscription in question; 4) Separating the number of seals coming from the same boulloterion (matrix); 5) Referencing additional pieces (if any). The basic source for finding comparative material was the Systematic Photographic Collection of Byzantine Seals of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.⁴ These methods allowed for a more accurate dating of seals, in some cases with a precision of a quarter of a century. Our aim was therefore to achieve, as far as possible, a narrower dating of the seals, the re-interpretation of the inscriptions, and the placing of the seal in its geographical, social and administrative context.

In this light, the spatial positioning and geo-referencing was determined and the distribution of the seals was mapped in original thematic maps produced with a specific methodology, as we will explain below. The systematization and visualization of the information, combined with the study of the historical-social context, led to new interpretations.

For the implementation of the three and a half year programme, funded by HFRI, the Host Institution was the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (AUTH) represented by myself, in my capacity as Professor of Byzantine History-Institutions and Principal Investigator of the project, Alexandra-Kyriaki Wassiliou-Seibt (Professor of Byzantine History and Sigillography), Dimitris P. Drakoulis (Architect MSc, PhD in Urban and Regional Planning and Postdoctoral Researcher of the Centre for Byzantine Research of the AUTH), Dimitrios Sidiropoulos and Konstantinos Diados (PhD candidates in Byzantine History under my supervision), as well as Ioannes Leontiades (retired Assistant Professor of Byzantine History and Sigillography, with an advisory role for the project).

Collaborating institutions were the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the University of Shumen, Bulgaria. From the Austrian Academy of Sciences, which has the world's largest archive of photographs of sealing material, known as the Vienna Photothek (Systematische Photothek für Byzantinische Siegelkunde), which was used to approach the sealing material examined in the programme, the leading international sigillographer, former professor of the University of Vienna and fellow

⁴ <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/byzantine-research/communities-and-landscapes/sigillography/systematic-library-of-photographs-on-byzantine-sigillography>.

researcher at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Werner Seibt, was involved, playing an advisory role and informing us about new additions to Vienna's archive. Participating from the University of Shumen was initially the late Professor Ivan Jordanov and then Prof. Todor Todorov, and Jordanov's colleague Prof. Zhenya Zhekova.

In the first phase of the work, the sigillary material was recorded. Re-reading and more accurate dating of the specimens followed. The examined seals were sorted and categorized. At the same time, maps of the administrative division, the road network and the network of settlements in given historical sections were constructed. Then, the distribution of the seals was mapped and the individual personal, institutional and historical issues were examined. The final deliverable of the research project was a website containing an interactive geographic digital model, which shows the distribution of seal finds in the context of the settlement and communication network of the period under study (see <https://lsbyt.web.auth.gr/>).

At this point we will attempt to give a small sample of the work and results of the research project regarding the 6th to 8th centuries. For this period, other publications besides Jordanov's were used and especially, since most of the specimens come from Scythia Minor, the older editions of I. Barnea included in the corpus of A. Barnea, as well as other newer publications.⁵ For the 6th-8th centuries, 388 of the 432 seals were found in 74 different sites, while 44 specimens are distributed in wider geographical areas⁶.

The material was divided into the following categories: Imperial seals, seals of military officers, civil officials, simple title holders, and ecclesiastical officials as well as seals with names of persons, cities or regions. Three of the categories of seals of particular interest were those of military and civil officials and holders of titles, which were largely re-dated on the basis of parallels, the finding of better photographs, comparison with similar pieces, and stylistic features. For military commanders, 10 out of 12 seals have been more accurately dated, for political officials 22 out of 25, and for holders of titles 32 out of 35 (LSByT, 179-181, 183, 185-186, 189-190 – tables). Consequently, the material relating to official bodies of Byzantine power was more accurately dated in the vast majority of cases, and the same stands for the material from the 9th-12th centuries (see also Gkoutzioukostas 2023, 21; Wassiliou-Seibt 2023, 153-172).

Of course, apart from the attempt for more accurate dating, the categorization of the seals and the comparison of the data (holders, distribution in the provinces, etc.) can lead to useful historical conclusions, and the seals of the 6th-8th century especially offer crucial information about the Byzantine presence in the region. For example, by far the largest number of imperial seals found at sites in Thrace belong to Justinian I (**fig. 2**). These 67 lead seals of the emperor (49 with find-spot and 18 without known find-spot) come from both the territory of present-day Bulgaria and from the region of Dobrudzha, in Romania. The area of the latter largely coincides with the area of the province of Scythia Minor, where 12 specimens were found. Of the 49 seals that were found at certain locations within the territory of present-day Bulgaria, 28 were discovered in provinces of Byzantine Thrace (Haemimontus, Thrace, Lower Mysia), and 18 in territories of Bulgaria without specific place⁷.

⁵ Barnea 2005, 1-29. See also Avram et al. 2018, 387-482; Paraschiv-Grigore 2020. There are many ongoing excavations in Bulgaria, with interesting material coming to light and published in new publications. In our project we tried to keep in touch with newly found material, i.e. in the case of the Perperikon fortress, on which see Стоименов 2021, 269-283.

⁶ For the numbers of the seals and their find-spots for the period of 6th-8th c. see Sidiropoulos, Diados 2023, 47-60, especially, 48-50.

⁷ It should be mentioned that 9 seals of Justinian I were found in Serdica (modern Sofia) in the province of Dacia Mediterranea. See Аладжова 2020, 154-157, with further discussion.

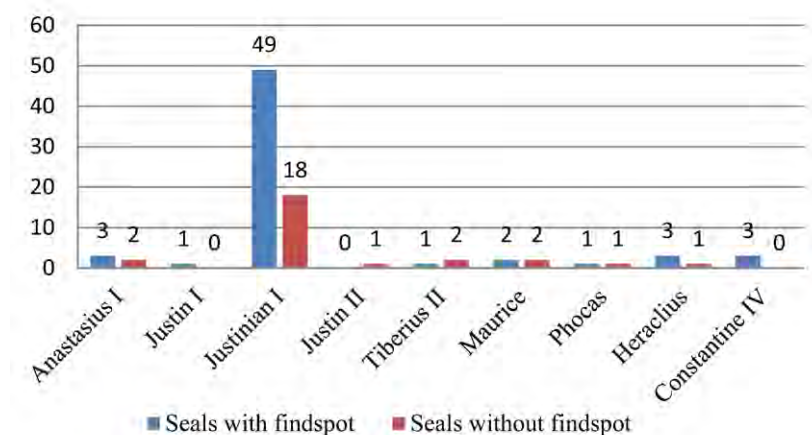


Fig. 2. Imperial seals found in Thrace (6th-8th c.).

It seems, therefore, that Justinian not only did not abandon the Balkan regions, absorbed in his work of re-conquest in the West, but on the contrary he showed a particularly keen interest in the region of Thrace, as revealed by the multitude of lead seals discovered, in conjunction with the administrative reorganisation of the region and the introduction of the *quaestura exercitus*, which was the longest lasting of his administrative reforms (Γκουτζιουκώστας, Μονίαρος 2008). Undoubtedly, the seals reflect Justinian's laborious efforts, through documentary orders and instructions, for northern Thrace, which experienced intense military mobilisation (see also Γκουτζιουκώστας 2010, 10).

Regarding the second axis of the project, the construction of maps, which moved in parallel with, before intersecting, the first, we will present indicatively the individual stages that were followed in order to reflect the distribution of the seals in a Historical-Geographical Information System.

The process started with finding and cataloguing in an Excel file the geographic coordinates of the declassified find locations. The coordinate database was then transferred to the Google Earth software and the spatial distribution of the finds and their quantitative distribution were mapped. Spatial analysis diagrams visualised the numerical density and quantity of find sites in a 25x25 km test canvas and then spatially located the total number of finds in relation to the modern administrative division of the main study area (fig. 3).

In order to digitally map the region for the 6th-8th centuries, the Barrington Atlas, which is the most reliable modern source of historical sites and other geographical features and place names (Talbert 2001), was used as the initial analogue background with certain corrections. The layers of geographical information (coastline, hydrography and orography) were then created (fig. 4).

During the planning stages, the mountains and rivers were numbered and classified, accompanied by the corresponding database, and the area under study was delimited into provinces of the Early Byzantine period, according to the 6th century *Synecdemus* of Hierokles (Honigmann 1939. See also Δρακούλης 2009, 51-96 and 306-312 – maps). The road network of the Early Byzantine period was also drawn, on two levels (interregional and main), following the cartography of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, and in particular that of P. Soustal (Soustal 1991), and the network of towns and settlements of minor size in the six provinces of the wider study

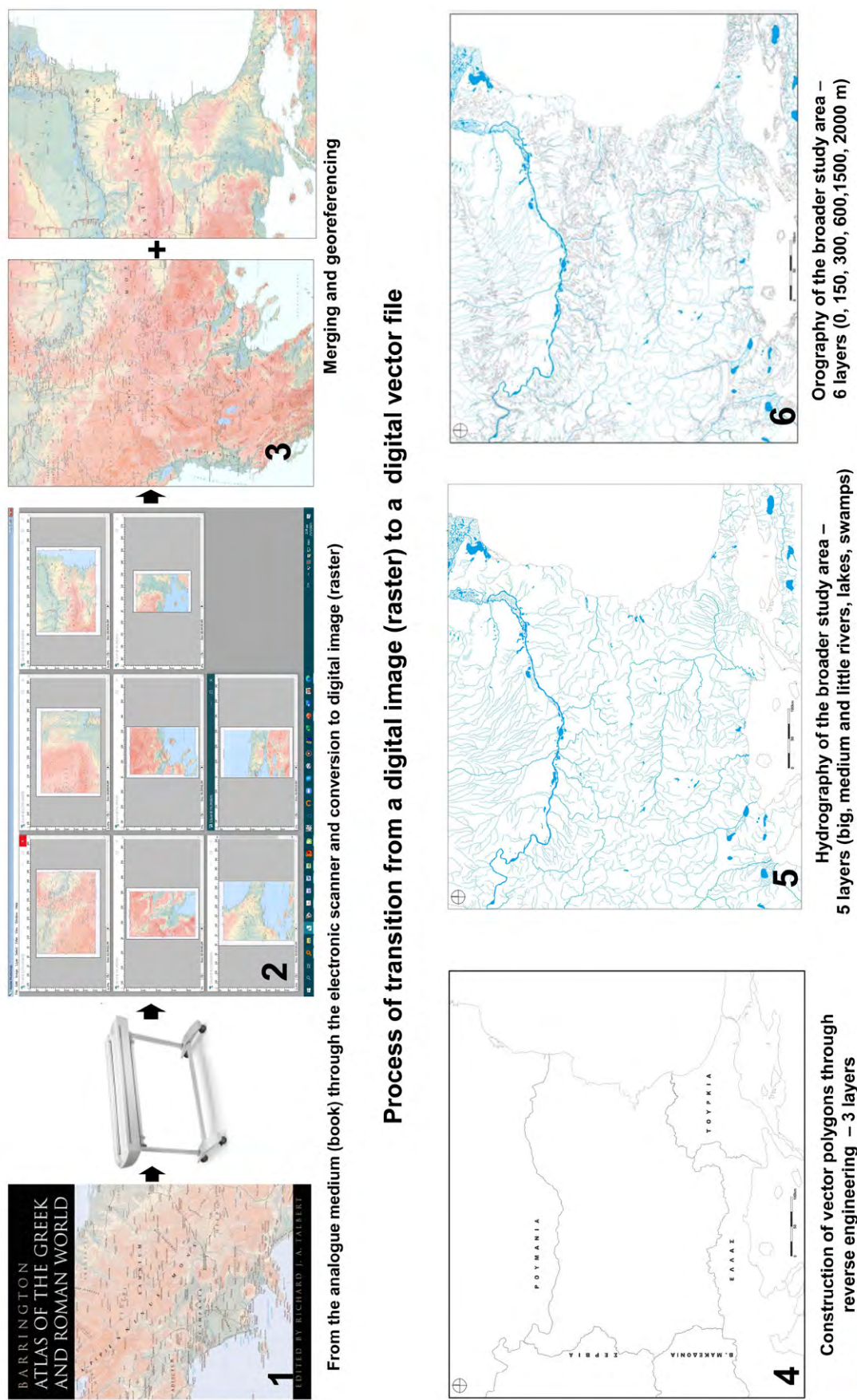


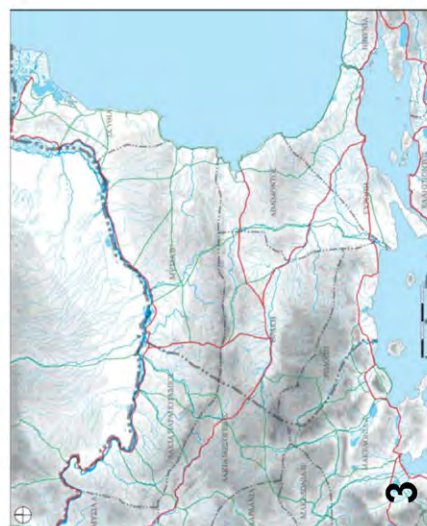
Fig. 4. Construction of LSByT maps-Phase 2.



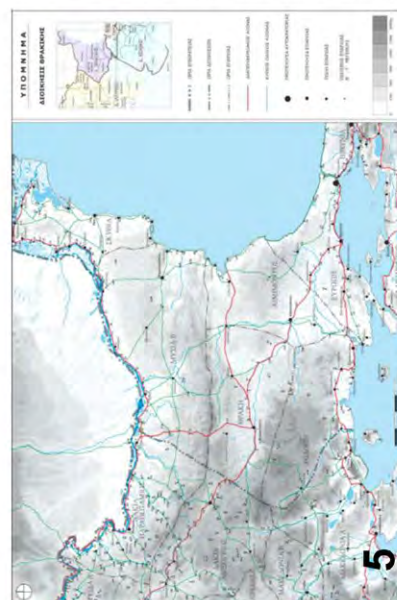
Numbering and classification of mountains and rivers (2 layers)



Delimitation of the provinces of the early Byzantine period (2 layers)

Road network of the early Byzantine period –
2 layers (interregional, main)

Location, naming and numbering of cities,
according to the *Synekdemos of Hierokles*
(6 provinces X 3 = 18 layers)



**Location, naming and numbering of minor settlements
according to the *Barrington Atlas*
(6 provinces X 3 = 18 layers)**

[illegible]

Numbering, categorization and cataloguing the database of cities and minor settlements, according to *Synekdemos of Hierokles and the Barrington Atlas*



Fig. 6. Distribution of imperial seals in Thrace (6th-8th c.).

area was laid out, according to the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles and the Barrington Atlas. The mapping was accompanied by a database spreadsheet concerning the location of the Early Byzantine period settlements with all relevant information (fig. 5). In other words, original maps were constructed (LSByT, 182 ff.), as well as dynamic interactive models⁸.

As for the Middle Byzantine period (9th-12th c.), firstly, an attempt was made to identify and record changes in *themata*, comparing maps created by modern scholars. The transformations of the road network were checked and redesigned, and the towns, castles and settlements of the Middle Byzantine period were positioned, in accordance with the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. These data formed a new accompanying database of similar logic to that of the Early Byzantine Period described above⁹.

An example of the mapping of the distribution of the seals and its imprint on the historical-geographical background of the 6th-8th century is provided by the three maps that follow. In the first (fig. 6), the imperial seals of the 6th-8th centuries are located.

The second map (fig. 7) shows the find spots of the seals belonging to civil officials and military officers in six historical periods (6th, 6th-7th, 7th, second half of 7th, 7th-8th c., 8th c.).

⁸ See <https://lsbyt.web.auth.gr/explore/?sort=a-z> (for 6th-8th c.) and <https://lsbyt.web.auth.gr/explore/?type=sfragistiko-yliko&sort=a-z> (for 9th-12th c.).

⁹ For further analysis regarding the construction of maps see Drakoulis 2023, 61-78.



Fig. 7. Distribution of seals of civil officials and military officers in Thrace (6th-8th c.).

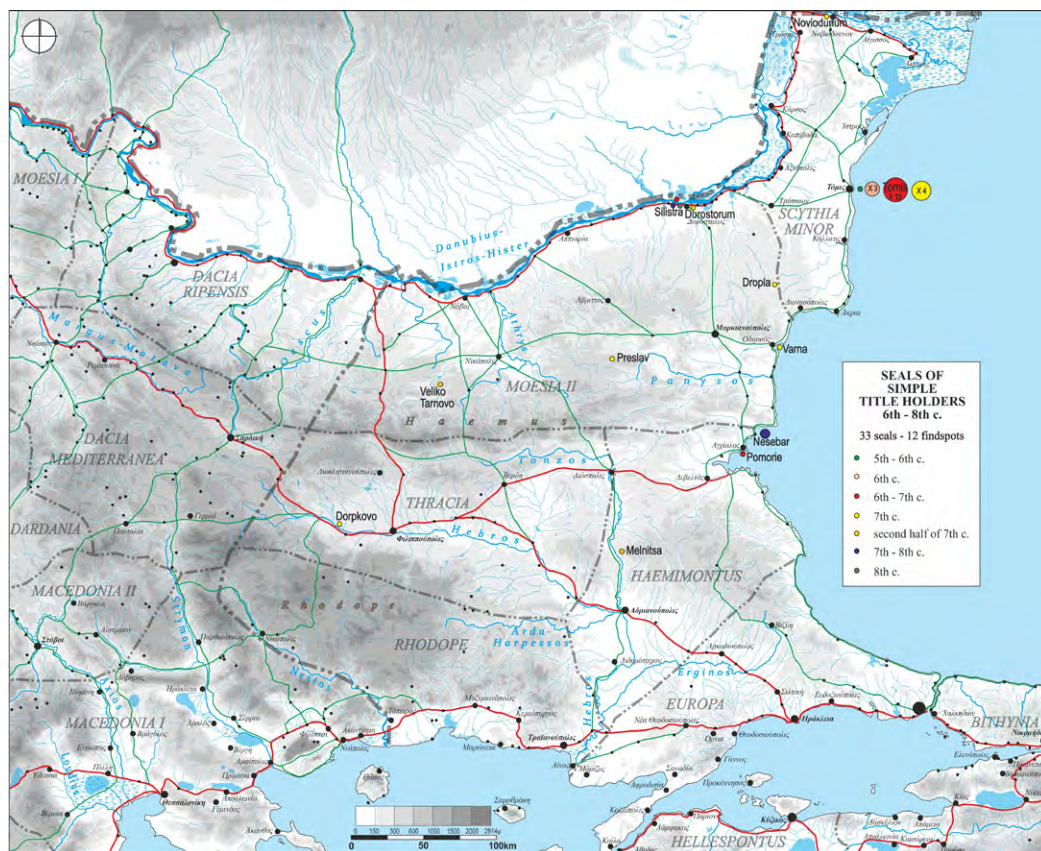


Fig. 8. Distribution of seals of simple title holders in Thrace (6th-8th c.).

The third one (**fig. 8**) depicts the distribution of the seals of holders of honorary titles in the same periods as above.

Clearly, therefore, the distribution of the above specimens is creating a different picture of the Byzantine presence and domination in the region from the one thus far formed in research, a presence and domination that not only is not non-existent north of the Haemus after the beginning of the 7th century but is continuous and almost constant until at least the middle of that century and indeed later still, until the arrival of the Bulgarians of Asparuh in the region (680)¹⁰.

ABBREVIATIONS

LSByT: Lead Seals in Byzantine Thrace (6th-12th c.), Proceedings of the International Conference: Sigillography meets Historical Geography, Vienna 19 April 2023. Eds.: A. Gkoutzioukostas, A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt, D. P. Drakoulis. Thessaloniki 2023.

¹⁰ See also Gkoutzioukostas et al. 2023, 91-106. Further analysis is included in our forthcoming book on the seals from Thrace dated from the 6th to the 8th c.

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Проектът „Оловни печати във византийска Тракия“ (LSByT): преразглеждане на данните, картиране на разпространението на находките и проследяване на съобщителните мрежи (VI-VIII в.)

Андреас ГУДЗИУКОСТАС

Тази статия очертава целта и методиката на научно-изследователската програма “Lead Seals in Byzantine Thrace (LSByT): Re-examination of data, mapping the distribution of findings and tracing the communication networks” („Оловни печати във византийска Тракия: преразглеждане на данните, картиране на разпространението на находките и проследяване на съобщителните мрежи“), финансирана от Гръцката фондация за изследвания и иновации.

Представени са научният екип и партниращи институции (Аристотелов университет: Α. Gkoutzioukostas, Α.-Κ. Wassiliou-Seibt, D. P. Drakoulis, D. Sidiropoulos, K. Diados, I. Leontiadis; Австрийска академия на науките: W. Seibt; и Шуменски университет: И. Йорданов†), както и методите за обработка на сфрагистичния материал и етапите на създаване на исторически карти.

В допълнение, авторът формулира някои заключения относно картирането на разпространението на печати в района на византийска Тракия (VI-VIII в.).

Some thoughts on the representation of peacocks on Middle Byzantine lead seals*

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to present a comparative analysis of Byzantine lead seals bearing representations of peacocks as primary types, found in published public and private collections from all over the world. The analysis contributes to the Byzantine social and art history, because it generates perceptive and suggestive observations about the gender, social status, rank, and administrative role of the seal owners, as well as the iconography of the sphragistic image of the peacock. The paper focuses upon the period from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, because this was when the vast majority of the seals under discussion were produced.

Our analysis is based upon a sample which has been extracted from a representative catalogue (henceforth simply *Catalogue* or *Cat.*) constructed for the purposes of a study entitled “Preliminary Observations on the Use of Animal Devices on Byzantine Lead Seals (6th-12th Centuries)”¹. In that catalogue, the material was selected from published collections, which are listed alphabetically according to their deposition in Table 1.

It should be noted that Byzantine lead seals with animal representations from controlled archaeological excavations were excluded from

* This paper was presented at the 24th International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Venice and Padua, 22-27 August 2022. E. Lianta wrote the Statistical Analysis and the Ownership,

A. Papagiannaki the Iconographic Analysis, while both shared their thoughts in the Introduction and the Conclusions. The authors would like to thank Dr. David Gwynn (Royal Holloway, University of London, U.K.) for reading a draft of this paper and for his insightful suggestions. Moreover, grateful thanks go to Prof. A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt (Professor in Byzantine History and Sigillography, School of History and Archaeology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), the late Prof. I. Jordanov (Head of the Byzantine Centre ‘Konstantin Preslavski’, University of Shumen) and Prof. Z. Zhekova (University of Shumen; Keeper of Coins and Seals at the Regional Historical Museum, Shumen), Prof. Ceren Ünal (Professor in Art History, Manisa Celal Bayar University), Dr. Vera Guruleva (Curator and Senior Researcher of Ancient Roman and Byzantine Coins, Department of Numismatics, State Hermitage Museum), and Dr. I. Koltsida-Makre (Honorary Director of Antiquities, Greek Ministry of Culture and Sports) for making available to us published material from Austria, Bulgaria, Turkey, the Hermitage, and the Numismatic Museum of Athens respectively.

¹ This study (Lianta, Papagiannaki, 2022) is a revised and updated version of E. Lianta’s *Master of Studies* extended essay on Byzantine Sigillography entitled *Some Preliminary Observations on the Use of Animal Devices on Middle Byzantine Lead Seals* which was submitted at the University of Oxford in June 2000. The overall *Catalogue* is a valuable resource, and this paper is a good way to present some of the preliminary findings in an accessible form.

the investigation,² because, despite their stratification and known provenance,³ which helps to construct reliable patterns of their distribution, they form, as far as our topic is concerned, a very limited amount of evidence.⁴

A. Statistical Analysis

Among the 15.638 published Byzantine lead seals, that belong to public and private collections worldwide, 396 seals, namely just 2.53 per cent of the total, bear various representations of animals (**Table 1**).

From these, 276 examples, namely 69.70 per cent of the collected sigillographic evidence, display the eagle. Seals adorned with the lion and the peacock comprise 30 and 29 examples respectively. Birds other than eagles or peacocks are found on 28 seals, while images of the griffin appear on 22 examples. Six seals only depict images of the horse. Centaurs and the sphinx are represented by two examples each, while a single seal displays the ram (**Table 2**). From the above, it is immediately evident that the eagle, which is dated mainly from the 6th to the 8th century, comprises the majority of the animal repertoire on Byzantine lead seals, and is followed, in popularity, by the lion and the peacock.

The 29 sphragistic images of the peacock which are drawn from 396 seals bearing animal imagery, are found among 11 published collections (**Table 3**).

Twenty-seven examples range in date from the 9th/10th through the 11th/12th centuries. The majority of these, 21 examples (72.41 per cent), belong to the 10th century (**Graph 1**),⁵ which generally saw the greatest variety of animal devices on Byzantine seals in the following sequence: peacock, griffin, bird (other), eagle, lion, sphinx, centaur (**Table 4**).

Two specimens, however, have been assigned to the 5th/6th (*Cat.* # 371) and 6th centuries (*Cat.* # 390) respectively, following the basic chronology of the block-monogram type, which occurs on their reverses, and prevailed in the 6th century, before the introduction of the cruciform monogram, which was the typical Byzantine monogram from the late 6th to the early 8th century.

² For indicative archaeological reports, see Lafli et al. 2021, 11-13, # 5-6 [an eagle (head r.) with outstretched wings, between which a cruciform invocative monogram] – although the 12 lead seals were purchased by the Bergama Museum, they are probably local finds of the area between Bergama, Izmir and Manisa; Davidson 1952, 322, pls. 130-131, # 2745-2750 (with uncertain identifications of the animal types); Nesbitt 1983, 163, # 13 (a peacock with outspread tail on the obverse); Papadopoulou 2012, 136-137, # 2 (a peacock in profile); Ivanišević, Krsmanović 2013, 457-458, # 8 (a peacock with outspread tail on the reverse); Bulgurlu 2016, 409, # 2 (a walking lion), 410, # 3 (an eagle with outstretched wings, between which a star), 419, # 12 (an eagle above inscription), 426, # 18 (a peacock with outspread tail); Demirer, Elam 2018, 261, # 5 [an eagle (head r.) with outstretched wings between which a star]; Bulgurlu 2018, 46, # 4 [an eagle (head r.) with outstretched wings, between which a cruciform invocative monogram reading ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ; in its beak worm].

³ Seals have seldom been found far from their place of origin, except in transactions that involved Constantinople (Cheynet 1997, 108, 110). Unfortunately, many seals presented in the *Catalogue* lack provenance, because they have been preserved in old collections or come from the market.

⁴ The survival rate of Byzantine lead seals has been low, especially when compared to that of coins (Metcalf 1974, 178; Oikonomides 1985, 10). One reason can be that seals were reused, in order to produce new blanks. Old useless seals were recycled either by the addressees of letters, whose confidentiality they originally protected, or by the keepers of official documents no longer valid (Oikonomides 1987, 100-101; Koltsida-Makre 1990, 55-60, particularly 55, 60). Another reason is that seals were destroyed, in order not to be reused by officials who lacked jurisdiction (Cheynet, Caseau 2012, 140). And of course many lead seals were corroded in the course of the centuries (Koltsida-Makre 2013, 156).

⁵ Also, from the late 10th century occurs the largest variety of hagiographic images on seals (Cotsonis 2008, 9).

Table 1. Consulted Publications with Lead Seals Bearing Animal Devices (for full references to the abbreviated editions, see Bibliography)

LOCATION	SOURCE / ABBREVIATED EDITION	SEALS-TOTAL	SEALS-ANIMALS
Academia Republicii Populare Române, Bucharest	Laurent, Orghidan	691	27
American Private Collection	Nesbitt	24	2
Bulgaria	Jordanov, <i>Corpus</i>	3.202	32
Benaki Museum, Athens, Greece – the Naoum coll.	Koltsida-Makre – Naoum coll.	20/29	1
Bibliothèque Nationale, France	Schlumberger	2.030	17
Cyprus	Metcalf	1.167	125
Demetrios Doukas coll., Greece	Koltsida-Makre – Doukas coll.	27/40	4
Dumbarton Oaks and Fogg Museum, Washington DC, USA	<i>DOSeals</i>	2.602	23
Edirne Museum, Turkey	Elam	13	1
Ephesus Archaeological Museum, Selçuk, Turkey	Cheynet, Selçuk	58	1
Hermitage, St. Petersburg, Russia	Sandrovskaia – Seibt	102	1
Istanbul Archaeological Museum (IAM), Turkey	Cheynet – Gökyıldırım – Bulgurlu, Istanbul	1.552	43
Museum August Kestner – the Marie Luise Zarnitz coll.	Wassiliou – Seibt, Zarnitz	99	2
Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessalonica, Greece	Leontiades	88	1
National Library in France – the H. A. Seyrig coll.	Cheynet – Morrisson – Seibt, Seyrig coll.	413	6
National Museum in Warsaw, Poland	Szemioth – Wasilewski	96	1
Numismatic Department, Vatican Apostolic Library, Italy	Laurent, Vatican	309	21
Numismatic Museum of Athens, Greece	Konstantopoulos	1.838/1.870	47
Numismatic Museum of Athens, Orphanides-Nikolaides coll.	Koltsida-Makre – Orphanides-Nikolaides coll.	585	15
Vienna, Austria	Seibt, <i>Österreich I</i> ; Wassiliou – Seibt, <i>Österreich II</i>	557	18
Vienna, Austria – exhibition	Seibt – Zarnitz	165	8
		15.638	396

Table 2. Typological Distribution of the Seals in the Sample (in arithmetical order)

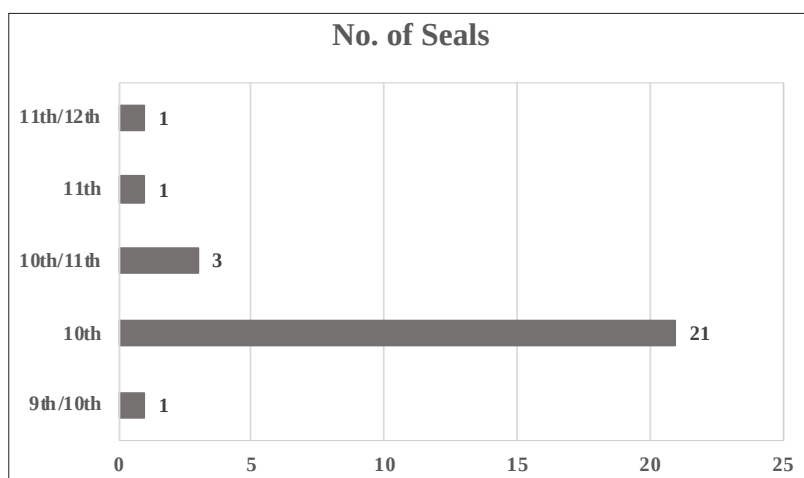
ANIMALS	NO. OF SEALS
Eagle	276
Lion	30
Peacock	29
Bird (other)	28
Griffin	22
Horse-Centaur	8 (6+2)
Sphinx	2
Ram	1

Table 3. Consulted Publications with Lead Seals Bearing the Peacock

LOCATION	SOURCE / ABBREVIATED EDITION	SEALS- PEACOCKS
Academia Republicii Populare Române, Bucharest	Laurent, Orghidan	2
Bulgaria	Jordanov, <i>Corpus</i>	2
Bibliothèque Nationale, France	Schlumberger	1
Cyprus	Metcalf	1
Dumbarton Oaks and Fogg Museum, Washington DC, USA	<i>DOSeals</i>	9
Edirne Museum, Turkey	Elam	1
Hermitage, St. Petersburg, Russia	Šandrovskaja – Seibt	1
Istanbul Archaeological Museum (IAM), Turkey	Cheyne – Gökyıldırım – Bulgurlu, Istanbul	4
Numismatic Department, Vatican Apostolic Library, Italy	Laurent, Vatican	1
Numismatic Museum of Athens, Greece	Konstantopoulos	6
Vienna, Austria	Seibt, <i>Österreich</i> I	1

Table 4. Chronological Frequency of the Seals per Animal

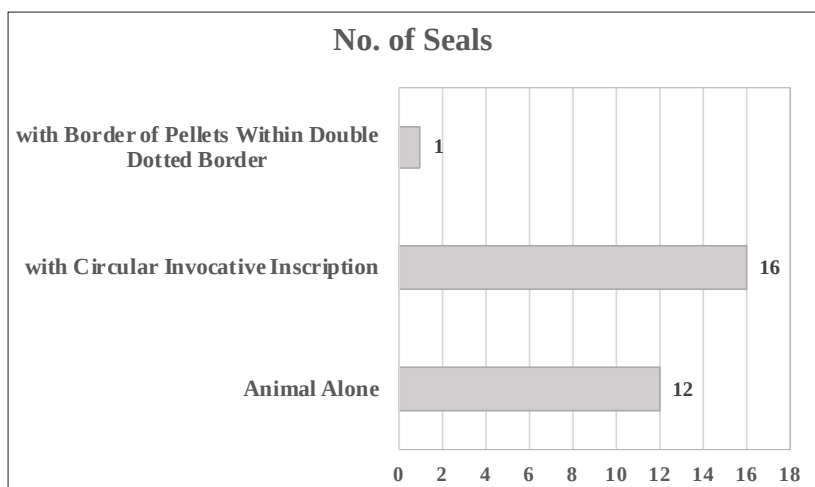
ANIMAL	5th / 6th	6th	6th / 7th	7th	7th / 8th	8th	8th / 9th	9th	9th / 10th	10th	10th / 11th	11th	11th / 12th	12th	12th / 13th
Bird (other)		1	2	1	1		2	2	2	10	3	3	1		
Eagle		20	69	109	42	20	2		2	10	1				1
Griffin					1					16	2	2	1		
Horse - Centaur			H 3	H 3						C 1	C 1				
Lion			8	8	1	1				9	2		1		
Peacock	1	1							1	21	3	1	1		
Ram						1									
Sphinx										2					

Graph 1. Chronological Distribution of the Sphragistic Image of the Peacock

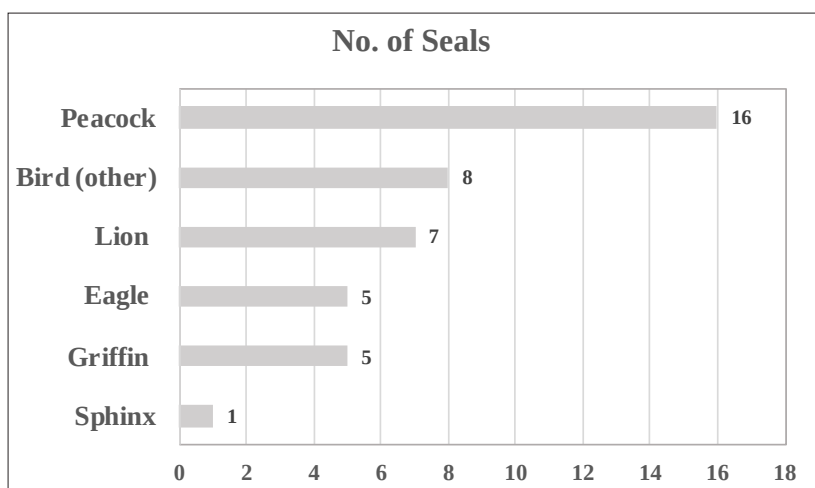
Obverse

All the relevant seals bear the image of the peacock on their obverse. More specifically, 16 seals (55.17 percent) show along their circumference a circular invective inscription surrounding the animal. The inscription mostly reads ΚΥΠΙΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΤΩ ΚΩ ΔΟΝΑΩ (9 items: *Cat.* # 363, 367-368, 375-376, 378, 380-381, 389), and rarely ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΤΩ ΚΩ ΔΟΝΑΩ (2 items: *Cat.* # 366, 374), while on five seals the circular invective inscription is uncertain (*Cat.* # 372, 379, 385-387). Next there are 12 seals which display the peacock alone (*Cat.* # 364, 370-371, 373, 377, 382-384, 388, 390-392), while on one item it is surrounded by a border of pellets within double dotted border (*Cat.* # 369; **Graph 2**). It has been suggested that the circular invective legends evolved from the cruciform invective monograms, expressing the seal owner's Christian faith and divine protection (Stavrakos 1997, 156, 158, 160).

Close scrutiny of the gathered material consisting of 396 animal seals shows that the circular invective inscription is found more often on lead seals of the 10th century indeed (and sometimes earlier, in the



Graph 2. Pairing of the Peacock on the Obverse



Graph 3. Circular Invocative Inscriptions on the Obverse per Animal

late 9th / early 10th centuries, or, later, in the 11th century), around the image – in arithmetical order – of the peacock, different bird species, the lion, the eagle, the griffin and the sphinx (**Graph 3**).

Reverse

The reverses of the seals with a peacock on their obverse can be divided into those carrying an inscription, or a block monogram,⁶ or another animal (**Graph 4**).

Most plentiful are the inscriptions (86.21 percent of the total), all in Greek (*Cat.* # 363-364, 366-370, 372-389). This category is dominated numerically by inscriptions of five lines, followed by those of four, six, and three lines (**Graph 5**). The inscriptions usually give the name, occasionally accompanied with the family name, or the name, the title and the office of the seal owner, and sometimes, if the name appears on the obverse (*Cat.* # 376), just the title and the office.

The largest number of the seals in this group use the dative case, since the invocative inscriptions ΚΥΠΙΕ or ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ (ΤΩ ΚΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ) call for the dative.

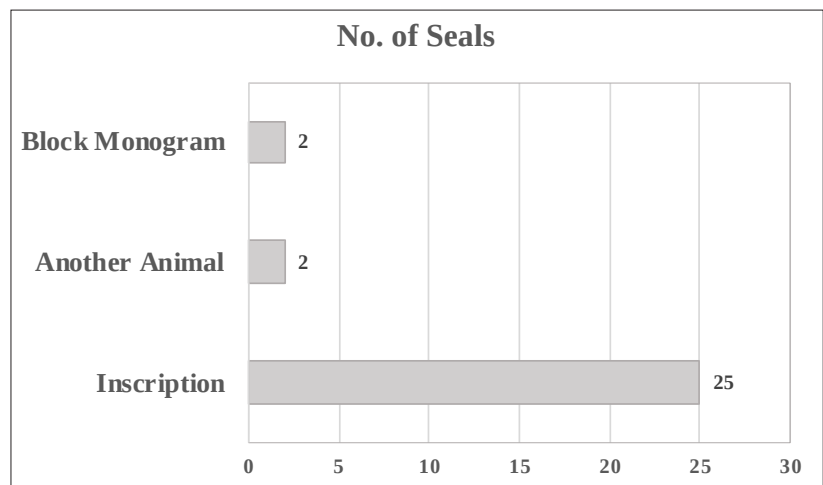
The two seals, which bear a block monogram on their reverse (*Cat.* # 371, 390),⁷ use the genitive case, which persisted until ca. 725, and represent only the personal name of the seal owner.

Finally, the two ‘bilateral’ seals, which couple the peacock with another, albeit undetermined animal (*Cat.* # 391-392), are of uncertain

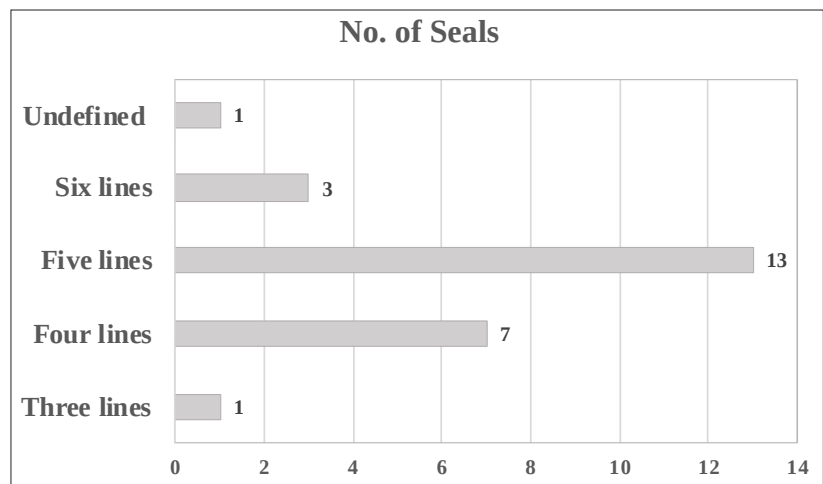
⁶ With letters arranged around a square.

⁷ Block monograms formed a fairly small category of the animal seals in general.

Graph 4. Distribution of the Peacock Seals per Reverse Category



Graph 5. Distribution of the Peacock Seals according to the Reverse Inscription



⁸ Namely geographical regions where the seal owners exercised their function.

⁹ Based on the absence of seals attributed to women from the consulted published sigillographic sources. Scattered sphragistic evidence dated in the 11th/12th centuries, associates, however, this animal image with a woman named Anna (<https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.3765/view> accessed: 09.08.2022).

¹⁰In Byzantium, one out of every 20 boys received the baptismal name Ioannis (Cheynet, Caseau 2012, 134-135). Moreover, Ioannis is also the most popular personal name found on seals with hagiographic images from the 6th to the 12th century (Cotsonis 2008, 18-19). Cotsonis associates this trend with the influence by the two New Testament figures Ioannis the Evangelist and Ioannis the Baptist.

¹¹This is the case, because the arrangement of the letters in a monogram was probably primarily aesthetic, and, thus, the unconvincingly resolved readings are often more than one.

ownership, mainly due to the lack of an accompanying photograph for the former and the state of preservation for the latter.

B. Ownership

Byzantine lead seals bearing the representation of the peacock are informative, because they exhibit important information about their owner: the gender, name, title, office and operation area.⁸ The examined sigillographic evidence reveals that no imperial seals (e.g. bearing imperial names) were decorated with the peacock. Moreover, it shows that women did not prefer for their correspondence seals bearing this motif.⁹ On the contrary, this iconographic choice was made by men, who were holders of dignities and/or offices in the civil and military administration of the Byzantine Empire.

Personal names

The early seals of this animal type were issued by two individuals, who chose to display their personal name only. The former (*Cat. # 371*) belonged to an Ioannis, which was the most popular personal name found on Byzantine seals bearing animal devices from the 6th to the 12th centuries (21 examples),¹⁰ while the latter (*Cat. # 390*) is of uncertain owner, because of its yet unresolved monogram which could read Nikomachos or Makarios or Markos.¹¹ It is worth mentioning that the

Table 5. Seals with Family Names

NAME	SURNAME	SEAL CAT. NO.	DATE
Gregorios	Vaskinos	369, 370	10th c.
Konstantinos	Varachalles	377	10th / 11th c.

Table 6. Seals with Dignities (without an Office) (in alphabetical order, not court rank)

OWNER	SEAL CAT. NO.	DATE
Ioannis <i>imperial spatharokandidatos</i>	373	10th c.
Niketas <i>imperial spatharokandidatos</i>	383	10th c.
Symeon Sgouros <i>imperial protospatharios</i>	384	11th / 12th c.
... <i>primikerios</i> and <i>imperial spatharios</i>	389	10th c.

name Ioannis appears on seals bearing three other animal types – the eagle, the lion and the ram – although this evidence does not suggest that this name refers to the same individual.

Furthermore, there is an informative little group of three seals dated in the late 10th and 10th/11th centuries which share a name and a family name (**Table 5**).¹²

It is still not certain if the seals in this category belonged to private individuals or to officials writing in their private or even public capacity.¹³ It is reasonable to assume, though, that simple seals with personal names¹⁴ dated in the 6th century followed the general fashion of the time – a fashion which changed in the 9th century, when inscriptions became more detailed and personalized.

Titles

Apart from the lead seals with just names, 22 examples bear a name, a title and/or an office. Among them, four seals record the owner's name and title only (one seal – *Cat. # 389* – provides the dignity without its holder's name due to its worn condition).¹⁵ As **Table 6** shows, in this group the titles *protospatharios*, *spatharokandidatos* and *spatharios*, are routinely modified by the epithet 'imperial'. Moreover, *primikerios* appears in conjunction with *imperial spatharios* (*Cat. # 389*). This 'joint seal' suggests that some seal-owners used to accumulate their titles, when they were promoted to a new dignity which did not cancel the previous one. In such a case, the seal is a witness to the owner's career as it unfolds.¹⁶

Offices

Titles appeared not only as isolated dignities,¹⁷ but also in connection with offices, which yield administrative and topographical information about the Byzantine Empire. The collected sigillographic data regarding the image of the peacock reflects more than seven offices. Of them, the seals of the strategoi account for five items, making 17.24

¹² Stavrakos (2000, 38-39) discusses the distinction between epithets and family names, which evolved, in his opinion, at a preliminary stage from the former. For a summary of the literature devoted to family names on Byzantine seals, see Cotsonis 2008, 21, n. 68. For the etymology of the surname Vaskinos, see Šandrovskaja, Seibt 2005, 63.

¹³ There are two suggestions: a) officials would normally have two seals, the former for their public and the latter for their private correspondence (Metcalf 2004, 109), and b) officials in the exercise of their functions, did use seals which mentioned their first name only, or their name accompanied by their family name (Oikonomides, 1995, 71).

¹⁴ According to Seibt (2016, 7), the evidence suggests that seals with personal names did not lessen the authority of their owner. On the contrary, their simple nature made them 'easy to handle' by illiterate people, for instance by soldiers.

¹⁵ There is no way of telling whether the owners of those seals were *litoi*, namely held a dignity but no office. The opposite term, referring to officers without a title, was *apratoi* (Kazhdan 1991, 143, 1238).

¹⁶ For practical reasons, individuals would often maintain the same animal for their seals throughout their lifetimes and only update their titles or offices. By replacing their earlier seals with an identical design, they ensured that the recipients of their communications would still recognize the unchanged 'usual seal', an expression that illuminates the tendency of the Byzantines to be identified with a particular seal design, which they reproduced.

duced on successive boulloteria. Of course, there were also some cases when seal owners would change their sphragistics (animal image after obtaining a new dignity, and being promoted or shifted to a different office).

¹⁷ Based on the evidence deriving from the *Catalogue*, titles found on animal lead seals exclusively as isolated dignities are (in alphabetical order): *anthypatos*, *apo eparchon*, *apo hypaton*, *hypatos*, *illustrios*, *kandidatos*, *kuvikularios*, (imperial) *mandator*, *patrikios*, *primikerios*, (imperial) *protospatharios*, *sevastos*, (imperial) *spatharios*, (imperial) *spatharokandidatos*, *stratelates*, (imperial) *strator*, *valnitor*, (imperial) *vestitor*.

Table 7. Seals of Strategoi

OWNER	SEAL CAT. NO	DATE
Ioannis <i>patrikios imperial protospatharios</i> and strategos of Sicily	372	10th c.
Klados <i>imperial spatharios</i> and strategos of Hellas	375	10th c.
Leon <i>imperial protospatharios</i> and strategos of Thrace	378	10th c.
Theognostos (or Theoktistos) <i>imperial protospatharios</i> and strategos of the Armeniakoi	385	10th c.
Vardas <i>imperial protospatharios</i> and strategos of Hellas	388	10th c.

Table 8. Seals of Varied Officials

OWNER	SEAL CAT. NO	DATE
Konstantinos <i>imperial protospatharios</i> of the chrysotriklinos and domestikos of the Optimatoi	376	10th c.
Leon <i>imperial protospatharios</i> of the chrysotriklinos and domestikos of the Optimatoi	379	10th c.
[Theophanes?] <i>imperial spatharokandidatos</i> and domestikos of the theme of Chaldia	386	10th c.
Kallonas archon of Thebes [no dignity]	374	10th/11th c.
Methodios <i>imperial protospatharios</i> and archon of Chrepos	382	10th c.
Leon kommerkiarios of Nicaea [no dignity]	380	9th/10th c.
Georgios <i>imperial spatharios</i> and kommerkiarios of Chaldia	367	10th c.
Theophylaktos <i>anthypatos patrikios</i> and <i>imperial protospatharios</i> and Megas Hetaireiarches	387	10th c.
Eustathios asekretis and krites of Seleukeia and Tarsos	366	10th c.

¹⁸Other animal images, used by the strategoi on eight additional seals in the *Catalogue*, were, in descending order of frequency, the griffin, the eagle, another bird and the centaur. From the 8th up to the 11th century, a strategos was in charge of the military and civil (financial and judicial) affairs of a theme (Kazhdan 1991, 1964). Interestingly enough, the office of the 'epi ton varvaron' which, together with that of the 'strategos', was the most plentiful office found on the animal seals of the *Catalogue* (13 items, 3.28 percent of the total), did not adopt the sphragistic image of the peacock, but those of the eagle, the griffin and the lion instead.

¹⁹The specimens on record name themes in the eastern (Armeniakoi), and in the western regions (Hellas, Sicily, Thrace). It has been suggested, that seals of strategoi without a geographical affiliation – which is not the case here – were used locally, and not for formal correspondence with the capital (Tsougarakis 1990, 143). For a sigillographic account on the theme of Hellas, see Karagiorgou 2009, 24-31.

²⁰On the basis of the sigillographic evidence, it has been claimed that the word 'thema' appeared on seals struck in the second half of the 10th century (Karagiorgou et al. 2016, 290).

²¹Seals Cat. # 374 and 380 stand out, because they omit the seal owner's dignity.

²²The Great Hetaireia was a grand unit of the imperial bodyguards (Kazhdan 1991, 925).

²³According to the *Taktika* of the 9th and 10th centuries, patrikios was a high-ranking dignity between anthypatos and protospatharios (Kazhdan 1991, 1600). Thus, the written evidence is further realised by the sigillographic material.

²⁴For the office of the asekretis, above the notarios and below the protoasekretis, see Shea 2022, 71-74. According to Shea (2022, 73, table 3.5), in the 10th century, the majority of these officials did not have a title, as the owner of the seal in our sample.

percent of the total.¹⁸ All seals include a geographical affiliation either with eastern or western themes of the Byzantine Empire.¹⁹ The evidence reveals that the office of strategos was almost exclusively supported by the rank of imperial protospatharios, which was also connected with the title patrikios appearing once (Table 7).

The domestikos of the Optimatoi in northwestern Asia Minor, opposite Constantinople (Kazhdan 1991, 647; Πακογιαννάκης 2001, 193) who was hierarchically lower than the Eastern strategos, and was granted a title with a special court function, that of protospatharios of the chrysotriklinos, occurs in two specimens (Cat. # 376, 379). Finally, the only seal carrying the word 'thema' itself,²⁰ belonged to another domestikos, who governed the theme of Chaldia in northeastern Asia Minor and was granted the dignity of spatharokandidatos (Cat. # 386).

The rest of the offices appear on just one or two seals each. For instance, they belonged to archontes of towns, such as Thebes and Chrepos (Cat. # 374, 382), to kommerkiarioi, who controlled imports and exports, and collected duties in trade centers, like Nicaea (Cat. # 380) or in larger geographical units, as the theme of Chaldia (Cat. # 367).²¹ Two seals from the assemblage are particularly interesting. The former, because it belonged to Theophylaktos, a megas hetaireiarches (Cat. # 387),²² who was accorded the dignity of imperial protospatharios, which was further connected with the titles anthypatos and patrikios.²³ And the latter, for it was issued by Eustathios, a thematic judge (krites) acting as the administrator of Seleukeia (a coastal city, capital of the theme of Seleukeia) and, probably later of Tarsos (a trade and military centre of the Charsianon theme) (Cat. # 366), who held the office of asekretis (imperial secretary) earlier in his life (Table 8).²⁴

Surprisingly enough, given the iconographic significance of the peacock discussed below, the sphragistic evidence reveals that indi-

viduals from different ranks of the clergy (patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops, priests, deacons, and minor orders)²⁵ and from monastic life (monks or nuns)²⁶ were not the owners of seals bearing the image of the peacock.

From the above, it is evident that the sphragistic image of the peacock was not exclusively associated with standard offices. It belonged to provincial (strategos, domestikos, archon, krites, kommerkiarios), and imperial court officials (asekretis, megas hetaireiarches).

C. Iconographic Analysis

Common today, the peacock, also known as the Indian or Blue peafowl originated in India where it is its national bird. An impressive omnivore, it is known for producing with its tail feathers a very elaborate display, noted even in sermons of the Church Fathers, such as the Second Theological Oration of Gregory of Nazianzus delivered in Constantinople in 380.²⁷ It reached Europe probably via the Persians, found its way to the temple of Hera in Samos becoming the goddess's symbol, and from there in at least one private collection in Athens in the 5th century BC, where it could be viewed once a month for a fee (Jennison 1937, 108-109, with references; Bodson 1998, 78-80). In the Hellenistic period it was further associated with Dionysus, and was farmed on an industrial scale by the Romans for the dinner table, and to cover demand for keeping peacocks as pets and luxury items such as fans or fly-swats made from its feathers (Toynbee 1973, 250; Mynott 2018, 123, 135, with references). At the same time, images of peacocks, predominantly within garden surroundings, adorned the walls and floors of Roman villas.²⁸

In Byzantium, it was a staple of funerary art and church decoration, as it referenced resurrection, immortality and paradise, partly fueled by the legend of the incorruptibility of the peacock's flesh: when dried in the sun it does not putrefy like other types of meat, a miracle according to St. Augustine (Bettenson 1972, 21.4; Maguire 1987, 60-61; Harrison 1989; Sodini 1998, 306-313; Μαρκή 2006, 154-172; Maguire 2021, 58; Cox Miller 2018, 21-23). When it comes to the images of peacocks on the lead seals, they probably meant different things to different people. In terms of iconography, they appear either frontal with their tail outspread, a device that can cover most if not the whole surface of the lead disc (**Fig. 1a-b**); moving towards one direction and sometimes holding what may or may not be a tree branch (**Fig. 2a-b**).

On the early lead seals, the image of the peacock probably offered protection to the owner of the lead seal similarly to an amulet. The peacock's sanctifying power could derive not only from its association with the realm of the divine, but also from the fact that as an omnivore, ophiophagy is part of its alimentary behaviour, with the serpent typically viewed as a representation of evil. This is evident on a marble panel datable to the 9th century AD from a templon screen in Thebes, Greece, where a peacock consumes a snake (Skordara 2008, 426, # 186, with references). Thus, with the peacock's fame as indestructible, its symbolism of immortality and paradise, an amuletic function of the image may be considered.

The talismanic property of the peacock is more pronounced in the medieval examples, where the invocation inscription spells it out: the owner is asking for God's intervention and help on his behalf. Three

²⁵For the favourite hagiographic images and narrative scenes selected by the ecclesiastical hierarchy on seals, see Penna 1998-1999, 266-270.

²⁶According to Cheynet and Caseau (2012, 136), monks, who owned seals, were probably prominent aristocrats before joining monasticism, on the assumption that, in Byzantium, only members of the elite had in their possession a boulloterion to strike seals.

²⁷Two species of the genus *Pavo* exist: the Indian peafowl (*Pavo cristatus*) and the Green peafowl (*Pavo muticus*) or Burmese peafowl, the latter being currently a rare bird. A third species of peacock, the *Afropavo congensis*, the Congo peacock, is a very rare bird and never made it to Europe, see Madge, McGowan 2002, 341-345, pl. 46: 160a-b, 161a-b, 162a-b. For the sermons of the Church Fathers, see Maguire 1987, 18-19 and Maguire 2021, 52 with further references.

²⁸For example, on the walls of the so-called Villa of Poppea in Oplontis near Naples, see Mazzoleni, Pappalardo 2004, 126-163. On the mosaic floors of villas around the Mediterranean Sea, see Dunbabin 1978, 165-169. Also, Settis 2002.



Fig. 1a-b. Lead seal of Konstantinos, imperial protospatharios of the Chrysotriklinos and domestikos of the Optimatoi. Harvard Art Museums/ Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Bequest of Thomas Whittemore. Image: © Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection, Washington D.C. (BZS.1951.31.5.300).



Fig. 2a-b. Lead seal of Leon, imperial protospatharios and strategos of Thrace. Harvard Art Museums/ Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Bequest of Thomas Whittemore. Image: © Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection, Washington D.C. (BZS.1951.31.5.1219).



Fig. 3a-b. Lead seal of Georgios, imperial spatharios and kommerkiarios of Chaldia: © Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Coins and Seals Collection, Washington D.C. (BZS.1958.106.3407).

lead seals with peacocks in our study sample invoke the help of the Virgin (*Cat.* # 366, 374, 385). In Late Antiquity preachers and poets described the Virgin with metaphorical images inspired by nature, a practice that continued in the medieval period by Byzantine writers, but not by artists, a consequence of Iconoclasm (Maguire 2021, 82-88). The peacock, however, continued to act as a metaphor for paradise, particularly on items of private devotion such as the obverse of an ivory triptych with Deisis and Saints datable to the end of the 10th century AD, currently in the Vatican Museum (Inv. # 62441. See Cornini 2008, 132, # 76; Eastmond 2015, 80). On the latter, peacocks together with other birds and animals frame the victorious cross, thus symbolising salvation. In the context of the lead seals, the owner is invoking the Mother of God to act as an intermediary for his salvation to Christ, using the peacock as a metaphor for the divine.

Within our sample, there are at least nine examples where the peacock is depicted with its tail open, the wings decorated with bands of pearls and tucked by its side (**Fig. 3**). This particular iconographic type has been considered by Alicia Walker as an appropriation of Islamic motifs and has been compared to the stone fragments of a peacock uncovered from the ruins of the private monastery of Constantine Lips dated to the 10th century AD, as well as a number of contemporary architectural ceramic tiles (Walker 2012, 385-413).²⁹ In principal there is no disagreement with that theory and the spread of that motif on the lead seals of different officials most probably denotes a fashion.

In 1959 George Galavaris argued that the animal imagery on the lead seals emerged from a stimulus either contemporary to the seals or

²⁹ For the peacock stone fragments, see Macridy et al. 1964, 264. For the relevant architectural ceramic tiles, see Gerstel, Lauffenburger 2001, 259, A.30 and 281, B.2.

from other long-standing traditions, a notion further elaborated upon by Christos Stavrakos (Galavaris 1959, 264-270; Stavrakos 2008, 281-299). Within this context, we may consider another layer on the choice of the peacock in general on the medieval lead seals: it was always a symbol of luxury and it is likely that its depiction on the lead seals may have hinted either on individual wealth or the aspiration of wealth. As we have already seen, its symbolism was used to create a mirror of paradise on earth, in other words: a garden.

Peacocks may have featured in the private gardens and animal parks in the estates of the wealthy. Some of those gardens probably had either fountains potentially with peacocks as water sprouts, or even the real animals strutting about. Such an urban garden may be implied on a 14th century AD mosaic from Kariye Camii, showing the caressing of the Virgin as an infant with two peacocks on the pendentives (Underwood 1967, Vol. 1, 70-71, pl. 108, 114-118). Despite its late date, the presence of the two peacocks has to do on one level with the Virgin (immortality, paradise, etc), but on another it may reference the gardens of the wealthy. After all, the patron of the monastery, Theodoros Metochites, was a member of the Byzantine aristocracy and owned a mansion with a garden (Guilland 1922, 82-95).³⁰

However, it is the parks of the suburban palaces and private estates of the wealthy that interest us here, though none of them have been preserved. From written sources we learn they covered extensive grounds, landscaped in such a way that could include woods, pastures, lakes, caves, ravines and hunting grounds. They were walled, private, and likened to paradise (Maguire 2002, 23-35; Allsen 2006, 34-51). The description of the pleasure garden in the private estate of Digenis Akrites follows that pattern, where the hero after defeating his enemies, built a pleasure garden within an enclosed wall, drawing water from the river Euphrates. That garden attracted not only local wildlife, but also peacocks, parrots and swans thus alluding to paradise (Jeffreys 1998, 204-205).

As far as real parks are concerned, according to a 10th-century poem by John Geometres part of the hunting grounds of the suburban Aretai palace was decorated with sculptures, fountains, many of which were animal shaped, and other artificial elements (Maguire 1990, 209-213). Geometres suggests that the grounds of the Aretai palace may have housed animals from all over the world (John Geometres, in: PG Vol. 106: 913A; Maguire 1990, 211; Papagiannaki 2017, 249). Whether that reference is an indication that real animals were indeed housed there remains to be seen, particularly given that the location of that palace remains unknown to us, but it could be taken as a strong sign of a culture of sensory pleasure amongst the Byzantines. It could also throw an extra light on the avian part of the gift exchange between the emperor Michael VI (1056-57) and the Fatimid ruler al-Mustansir bi-llah (1029-1094) (for the gift exchange see Qaddūmī 1996, 110). This included “white peacocks” amongst other birds, which implies according to Nancy Ševčenko the existence of an imperial aviary, a hypothesis we agree with (Ševčenko 2002, 82). This aviary would need space and facilities for the birds to successfully breed and for their chicks to survive. Therefore, it may have existed in an animal park within the grounds of a suburban palace such as the Aretai.

³⁰Even though there is no specific mention of peacocks in Metochites's garden, there is no reason not to assume that they were not resident in other gardens of the elites.

CONCLUSIONS

The sphragistic images of the peacock constitute a small percentage of the animal sigillographic repertoire, making 7.32 percent of the total. The data in the *Catalogue* reveals, however, that this animal device was the third most popular image, and surpassed in numbers any other animal type in the 10th century. The majority of the peacock seals mentioned the dignities and the offices of their holders, who belonged to the civil and military bureaucracy. It is of note, that, among them, 12 items, namely 41.38 percent, included the geographical designations (themes and cities) of their owners.

As far as their iconography is concerned, the lead seals display a variety of images of the peacock invested with symbolic value and talismanic powers. As a metaphor for paradise, protection for the lead seal owner and his affairs was the peacock's primary function. At the same time, peacocks on the lead seals may have been further inspired by both the real birds and the artificial creatures decorating the gardens of the wealthy. It is possible that they alluded to the wealth and the luxury lifestyle or desire to project status and wealth of the lead seal owners to the recipients of their correspondence. The peacock imagery on the lead seals, may have been a way for all social classes to experience the delight of such a luxury specimen.

APPENDIX: LIST OF SEALS WITH THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PEACOCK FROM PUBLISHED COLLECTIONS

Cheynet et al. 2012 (Istanbul Archaeological Museum)

[# 3.46; 4.28; 8.82; 11.146]

[Cat. # 382, 389, 371, 392]

Dumbarton Oaks Seals

[Vol. 1: Nesbitt, Oikonomides 1991, # 5.17, 71.29; Vol. 2: Nesbitt, Oikonomides 1994, # 8.40; Vol. 3: Nesbitt, Oikonomides 1996, # 71.6, 71.9; Vol. 4: McGeer et al. 2001, # 22.50, 32.5N, 32.18 (a) and (b); Vol. 5: McGeer et al. 2005, # 5.1]

[Cat. # 372, 378, 388, 376, 379, 385, 386, 367, 366]

Elam (Edirne Museum)

[# 10]

[Cat. # 387]

Jordanov, Corpus

[# 355-356, 1828-1829]

[Cat. # 381, 369]

Κωνσταντόπουλος 1917 (Numismatic Museum of Athens)

[20, # 63; 137, # 513; 142, # 539; 285, # 48b; 290, # 122d; 339, # 513a]

[Cat. # 374, 384, 383, 375, 380, 363]

Laurent 1952, Orghidan

[# 191, 682]

[Cat. # 364, 391]

Laurent 1962 (Vatican)

[# 176]

[Cat. # 377]

Metcalf (Cyprus)

[# 966]

[Cat. # 390]

Šandrovskaja, Seibt 2005 (Hermitage)

[# 44]

[Cat. # 370]

Schlumberger 1884

[469, # 6]

[Cat. # 368]

Seibt 1978 (Vienna)

[# 193]

[Cat. # 373]

ABBREVIATIONS

PG: J. P. Migne. *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*, Paris 1844-1880.

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Някои размисли за изображенията на пауни върху средновизантийски оловни печати

Елени ЛИАНТА, Антуса ПАПАЯНАКИ

Статията изследва специална група византийски оловни печати, върху които са изобразени пауни. Анализът е извършен въз основа на представителна извадка от близо тридесет печата от публикувани държавни и частни колекции от целия свят. На първо място, статията разглежда тази иконографска схема във връзка с обширната група византийски оловни печати с изображения на животни. След това прави опит да свърже въпросната иконография с ранга, административната роля и амбициите на собствениците на печати, като взима под внимание техните имена, титли, служби или професии, сфери на дейност, но също и мястото на този мотив във византийското общество и изкуство.

The early genikoi logothetai: status, seals and prosopography (mid-7th to mid-9th century)*

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¹ The emergence of sakellarios as financial overseer has been dated to the 9th century by Brandes 2002, 427-479.

² The personnel of the genikos logothetes is mentioned in the *Taktikon of Philotheos*: Oikonomidès 1972, 113-115. The chartoularioi of the arkla are called notarioi in the same document (ibid., 151). The *Taktikon of Uspenskij* mentions only the chartoularioi of genikon (ibid., 59). On the personnel of the genikon see Brandes 2002, 195-210; Bury 1911, 86-90; Oikonomidès 1972, 313-314. On the oikistikos, see Nesbitt 1975, 342.

³ The protonotarioi are attested in sigillographic record only. The notarioi of the genikon logothetion (i.e., of the arkla) also appear on seals until the end of the 9th c. and no later, e.g. some specimens in Laurent 1981, ## 384-396.

⁴ Haldon (1986) considers Lamia as a placename in Constantinople where the state granary was located. According to Karagiorgou (2001, 109-112), the komes of lamia took his name from the town of Lamia in Central Greece – notably, a grain supply region. According to an older view, the word λαμία is a corruption of the Latin lamina and thus the komes would have supervision of the mines (see Bury 1911, 89; Oikonomidès 1972, 314).

⁵ See for example the kometes ton basilikon horreion: Zacos, Veglery 1972, ## 2929 and 3066.

The genikoi logothetai were high ministers of the Byzantine state and were responsible for the general taxation. Thus, Patriarch Nikephoros refers to this type of official as ‘the accountant of the public taxes, who habitually is called genikos logothetes’ (Nikephoros Patriarch 1990, 116). They emerge relatively often in narrative sources and they seem to have enjoyed considerable power in the civil administration of this period. Before the consolidation of sakellarios as the overseer of financial affairs,¹ it was likely the genikos logothetes who used to have this power. He was the official usually charged with the execution of the financial measures of a ruler, like in the case of Justinian II and Nikephoros I with their genikoi logothetai, Georgios the Syrian and Niketas respectively. In a letter of Theodoros Stoudites from the early 9th c., the genikos logothetes is considered as the highest office (Stoudites 1992, 596, # 426). Even if this is an exaggeration, it is an indication of the political capital that accompanied the office.

In the ministry of the genikon logothetion were numbered chartoularioi, who by the end of the ninth century were termed megaloi chartoularioi of the sekreton, who likely were keeping the central cadaster; the notarioi or chartoularioi of the arkla, who were responsible for the provincial individual cadasters; the epoptai, who were responsible for the maintenance and update of the cadaster in the provinces; the oikistikos, who was probably responsible for tax exempted lands and later rose in significance and directed his own bureau; the kommerkiarioi; the dioiketai, who were tax collectors appointed in each financial district (διοίκησις); and some lesser clerks of the chancery.² In this period, the notarioi were most probably headed by a protonotarios, who however must have disappeared by the end of the 9th c. since he does not figure in the *Taktikon of Philotheos* dated at 899.³ The genikos logothetes also administered the distribution of water in the capital (wells, aqueducts, cisterns) through the komes of waters. Finally, he controlled the food supply of Constantinople, through the komes of lamia,⁴ whose name in the period we examine here was still komes ton basilikon horreion, from the Late Roman comes horreorum who had been under the praetorian prefect.⁵

There is an extensive ongoing discussion on the role of the *kommerkiarioi* which is unnecessary to repeat here. In this paper, we accept that the *kommerkiarioi* were connected to the supply of the army through the network of provincial warehouses and through the old system of *synone* (tax in kind), and also possibly to the commerce of luxurious products, including silk, which had been their role before the 7th century and again from the 9th c. They played a pivotal role in this crisis period (mid-7th to mid-8th c.), and thus they were often high-ranking officials. Once a more stable system was established through the thematic *protonotarioi* in the 8th century, the *kommerkiarioi* started losing their significance. By the 9th century they were no more than collectors of the commercial tax – *κομμέρκιον* (cf. Brandes 2002, 239-425; Brubaker, Haldon 2011, 682-705; and Montinaro 2013, who does not accept the connection to the supply of the army). The assumption of the administration of the *apothekai* (i.e., warehouses) must have been a highly profitable job (like any other tax-collecting office). Therefore, it is hardly surprising that some *genikoi logothetai* also assumed the administration of some *apothekai* as *kommerkiarioi* (see below Kyriakos, # 6). Through their office as financial overseers and their often close personal relationship with the ruler, they were able to assume such tasks as well.

Traditionally, the *genikoi logothetai* are assumed to have emerged from the so-called general (*γενική*) bank of the praetorian prefecture, or from the *comes sacrarum largitionum* (Bury 1911, 86), although the latter view was corrected later (Stein 1919, 147-151). These identifications were further contested by Brandes who regarded the *genikoi logothetai* as the continuation of the prefects themselves, and assumed that the remains of the prefecture were amalgamated at some moment into the ‘imperial logothesion’, which later took the title ‘*genikon*’, because of the creation of the *stratitikon logothesion* after the middle of the 7th century (Brandes 2002, 109-115, 180-198, 235-238; also accepted by Montinaro 2013, 402-405). The title imperial logothesion appears, indeed, in this period in very few sources, suggesting a rather short-term arrangement.⁶ On the other hand, this does not necessarily mean that an entirely new service with this name was created. Alternatively, ‘imperial’ can be simply a title added to the name of the office, just like the imperial *chartoularioi*, imperial *asekretis*, imperial *protonotarioi* etc., exactly at a time that ‘logothetes’ emerged as the generic term for heads of the most important civil services, while the previous Roman nomenclature of the *numerarii*, *scriniarii*, *discussores* etc. was abandoned in favour of Greek terms (*chartoularioi*, *notarioi*, *protonotarioi*, *dioiketai*, etc.). In any case, it seems that the *genikos logothetes* undertook most of the financial duties of the praetorian prefects, including tax assessment and collection, grain supply for the army and the capital, and so on. The office probably appeared once the different state cashiers of the prefectures, of the *largitiones*, and of the *sakelle* were merged into one, and the ‘general’ logothetes was put in charge of all income. Whether his office had already existed as the head of the ‘general’ cashier of the prefecture of the East, or whether it was an entirely new creation, it cannot be ascertained.

The importance of the *genikoi logothetai* is underlined by their sealing activity. In total we are aware of 36 *genikoi logothetai* that were active between the late 7th and the mid-9th c., attested through 143

⁶ Seal of Stephanos, *endoxotatos*, *ex-magistros*, divine (*θεῖος*, i.e. imperial) logothetes and *kommerkiarios* of Tyros, dated in ca. 565-578, i.e. certainly before the demise of the praetorian prefecture: see Brandes 2002, 514, # 14 for correct reading and references; seal of Theodoros, *hypatos* and imperial logothetes: DO BZS.1947.2.676 (ed. Zacos, Vegler 1972, # 2926); seal of Dorotheos, *patrikios* and imperial logothetes: Laurent 1981, # 272; Georgios, *chartoularios* of the divine (=imperial) logothesion: *Miracles of St. Artemios*, in Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς 1909, 1-79, here 120. The three latter specimens date to the second half of the 7th c.

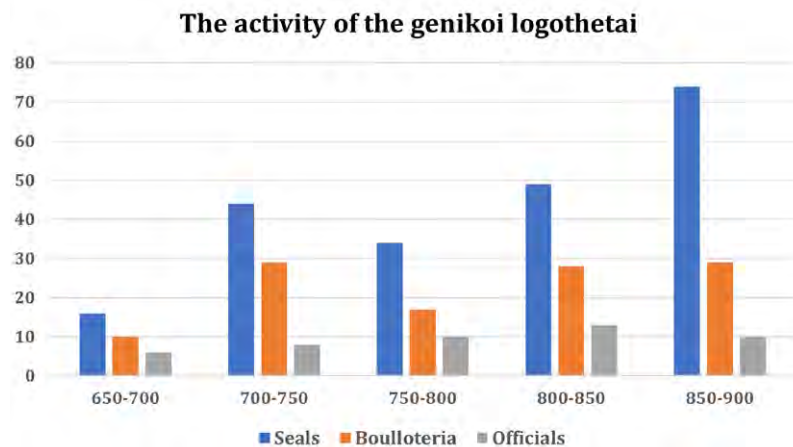


Fig. 1. The activity of the genikoi logothetai.

lead seals and 84 boulloteria (**fig. 1**). In this way, they constitute the single most active official in the sigillographic record of this period. For comparison, we know of 44 holders of the office strategos of the Anatolikoi until the mid-9th c. – the highest military office of the empire in this period – who issued 77 lead seals with 55 boulloteria so far (Malatras 2021a, 286-287, 355-359).⁷ In general the genikoi logothetai are steadily represented throughout this period. Their sheer number may suggest that we already know most, if not all, the holders of the office in this period. Despite the appearance of dozens of thousands of new lead seals, no unknown genikos logothetes has been revealed over the past forty years, since Olbianos (here, # 35).

Seals of the genikoi logothetai have been discovered in various parts of the empire. Most remarkably, they have been found in large numbers in the fringes of or outside the empire, e.g. Bulgaria, Cherson, Taman, Northern Caucasus, Syria.⁸ This circumstance should be linked to the international trade and the food supply of the capital, which the ministry controlled through the kommerkiarioi and the komes of lamia. In fact, as much the commercial tax appears more solidly in the sources after the end of the 8th c., so much the number of seals of genikoi logothetai grows reciprocally in these places.⁹ Although smaller imports and exports and less important individuals would be handled by the local kommerkiarioi, one can imagine that these might have been compelled to communicate with their superiors for more important exports, or for disputes arising from their actions, or for special privileges issued to important individual merchants. In some cases, these ‘exports’ may have been actually gifts that were accompanying diplomatic missions to foreign rulers and powerful men, as J.-Cl. Cheynet argues (Cheynet 2022).

The average tenure of the genikoi logothetai spans over almost five years, but shorter and longer terms are also recorded, such as in the case of the deacon Ioannes (# 9), holder of the office for no more than two years. On the other hand, Kyriakos (# 6) may have remained in office for a decade, serving two successive emperors, Leontios (695-698) and Tiberios II Apsimaros (698-705). His successor, Georgios (# 7), served most likely during the whole second reign of Justinian II (705-711).

The career paths of the genikoi logothetai are not easily discernible. First, the conventional names of several holders of the office (Leon, Theodoros, Ioannes, etc.) make the possible identifications debatable.

⁷ Of them, 16 strategoi remain anonymous (i.e. their names are not preserved on the seal). They may be even fewer in number, if these anonymoi are identified with the known ones. In contrast, after my research was conducted, there is only one anonymous genikos logothetes for this period (#21).

⁸ A total of 31 lead seals has been found in these locations. Only one more lead seal has an exact known findspot (# 7, C.1). This remark should not conceal the fact that most of the known lead seals (70 specimens) of genikoi logothetai from this period belonged to former private collections, such as those of G. Zacos, and T. Whittemore, largely formed by seals originating from Constantinople.

⁹ This number becomes a vast majority in the second half of the 9th c.: from the 74 lead seals of 10 genikoi logothetai (which are not included in the present paper for the sake of brevity) recorded in my database, 55 come from Bulgaria or the Northern Black Sea area.

Secondly, lesser officials often did not issue seals, making it difficult to observe whether the genikoi logothetai had begun their career in the same logothesion, following a normal *cursus honorum* to higher offices, or whether they served in other services as well.

They become better documented whenever they receive higher status and change offices as heads of other important services. Where it is possible to make some hypotheses, this has been noted in the prosopographic catalogue that follows below. The pattern that seems to emerge in this period is that the genikoi logothetai could also receive the office of logothetes of the dromos, but none can be linked with any certainty to the sakelle, or the logothesia of stratiotikon and idikon, and definitely none to the imperial cubiculum, including the office of sakellarios.

The few demonstrable cases indicate that indeed the genikoi logothetai had prior employment in the financial sector, as kommerkiarioi, archontes of blatteion, and ergasteriarchai, or had served before as subaltern officials in the genikon logothesion, as chartoularioi and notarioi. The relationship of the genikoi logothetai to the kommerkiarioi and the masters of the imperial factories seems to make a connection to the old prefectural system, under which the arms factories used to belong. On the other hand, these services could have become independent, exactly like other logothesia, and this is suggested by the usually high dignities of the kommerkiarioi and the archontes of blatteion: hypatos, patrikios, and so on. By the end of the 8th c. the archontes of blatteion disappeared as the imperial factories were placed under the logothesion of idikon, while the kommerkiarioi lost their previous high status and were placed under the genikon logothesion, as already explained above.

In any case, one should not expect a uniform and definitive pathway of professional development from simple clerks to ministers. The highest positions depended solely on the discretion of the ruler and on the political and social capital of the individual. Around the middle of the 9th c., Meligalas passed from hypatos and abydikos of Thessalonike to hypatos, imperial kommerkiarios and paraphylax of Abydos, and then to imperial spatharios and chartoularios of the genikon logothesion. Despite the fact that he acquired the higher dignities of imperial spatharokandidatos and imperial protospatharios (with which many genikoi logothetai are attested), he never earned a higher office than those aforementioned (PmbZ (online), # 49051, 25049).

This means that the higher positions in the civil services were often reserved for the most privileged individuals who usually and obviously belonged to the already established older senatorial social layer. With the possible exception of Theodotos (# 5), a hermit monk of unknown origins, no other genikos logothetes is confirmed to have emerged from the lower social layers. The few genikoi logothetai about whose life and origins we have a certain idea (Nikephoros, # 24; Ploutinos, # 25; Niketas, # 26; Democharis, # 30; Petronas, # 36) belonged precisely to this higher stratum of society and had a long prior service in the financial administration of the empire. Unlike the military personnel of the period, the genikoi logothetai had Greek names and were born citizens of the empire. One exception might be Georgios the “Syrian” (# 7), although it is possible that his family were citizens who had migrated from the recently conquered by the Arabs Syria.

CHRONOLOGICAL CATALOGUE OF THE GENIKOI LOGOTHETAI¹⁰

1. Konstantinos, genikos (?) (650-700; ca. 675-700)

A.1. Istanbul Archaeological Museum, 490-2027: Cheynet et al. 2012, # 2.103 (second half of the 7th c.)

A.2. Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 1435 – office not read (first half of the 7th c.)

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V)

Reverse: Cruciform monogram (name) with inscription on the upper two quarters

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) // (Κωνσταντίνου) γε(νικοῦ?)

The office of Konstantinos is not certain but there is no other apparent office that would accommodate these letters. Cruciform invocative monograms begin to appear on seals in the second half of the 7th c. Regardless, Genitive was still widely used for the rest of the inscription (like here) until it was almost fully replaced by Dative at the dawn of the 8th c. Since the monogram of the type Laurent V dominated after ca. 700, we would preferably date this seal to the last quarter of the 7th c.

2. Paulos (667-700; ca. 680s)

A1. DO BZS.1947.2.674: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 3162 (650-750); Laurent 1981, # 276a (7th-8th c.)

A2. Archaeological Museum of Antioch, 363: Laurent 1981, # 276b (7th-8th c.)

A.3. BnF Seyrig 106: Cheynet et al. 1991, # 106 (end of the 7th - beginning of the 8th c.)

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type I); name in the four quarters; wreath border

Reverse: Inscription in four lines; wreath border

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) Παύλω // γενικῶ λογοθέτη

Paulos must be identified with the namesake hypatos and διοικητῆς τῶν ἀνατολικῶν (ἐπαρχιῶν?), whose seal also bears this cruciform invocative monogram and the owner's name in the four quarters (Malatras 2021a, 278, 365). In turn, he is probably the same with Paulos, apo hypaton and dioiketes of the eastern provinces (τῶν ἀνατολικῶν ἐπαρχιῶν) who participated in the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680/681) and apparently belonged to the inner circle of the emperor, as he attended only the sessions in which the emperor was present (ACO II/2.1, 14, 28 and *passim*). In this case, after the Council, Paulos was promoted to genikos logothetes. There exists another seal of Paulos with the dignity of hypatos and the office of logothetes without specification, however, we are not certain that he was a logothetes of the genikon or of another ministry (such as the stratiotikon) (Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2291).

¹⁰The chronological succession of the genikoi logothetai in this catalogue should not be understood as definite but suggestive. References to publications of seals are followed by the date each scholar proposed for the respective specimen, within brackets.

3. Paulos, apo hypaton (667-700)

A.1. DO BZS.1951.31.5.905: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 961 (7th c.)

Obverse: Inscription in four lines

Reverse: Inscription in four lines

+ Παύλου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων // (καὶ) γενικοῦ λογοθέτου +

Although it appears too coincidental that a second *genikos logothetes* with the same name would be active in about the same period as the previous Paulos (above, # 2), the use of a seal with bilateral inscription in Genitive (instead of the usual seals of the first Paulos with an inscription in Dative and with a cruciform invocative monogram on the Obverse) makes the identification of the two as uncertain. Moreover, since the dignity *apo hypaton* is higher than *hypatos*, Paulos, in the case of an identification, would have to return to the office of *genikos logothetes* after having served as *dioiketes* of the eastern provinces, also abandoning the newer form of the legend in Dative. In fact, a second high-ranking Paulos, *apo hypaton patrikios*, figures in the Proceedings of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, although his office is not explicitly mentioned (ACO II/2.1, 14, 26, 36 and *passim*). Dumbarton Oaks preserves another contemporary seal of a namesake, *patrikios* and *magistros*, with a bilateral inscription that could have belonged to this Paulos at a later career stage (DO BZS.1947.2.691: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 966b).

4. Michael, *hypatos* (680-700)

A.1. DO BZS.1947.2.670: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2903 (650-750); Laurent 1981, # 274 (7th-8th c.)

Obverse: Inscription in four lines

Reverse: Inscription in four lines

+ Θεοτόκε βοήθη τῷ δούλῳ σου // + Μιχαὴλ ὑπάτῳ (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθέτῃ

The lettering of the seal of Michael is reminiscent of that of the well-dated seal of Theodotos (# 5). Therefore, it is reasonable to place Michael chronologically either after Paulos and before the appointment of Theodotos (# 5) in ca. 693, or sometime in the reign of Tiberios II (698-705) in case Kyriakos (# 6) did not serve all the consecutive years between 696 and 704.

5. Theodotos, monk (ca. 693-695)

A.1. Unknown present location: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 1064A (late 7th c.)

Obverse: Inscription in four lines

Reverse: Inscription in five lines

+ Θεοτόκε βοήθει Θεοδότῳ // + μοναχῷ (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθέτῃ +

Theodotos was a simple monk who was appointed *genikos logothetes* by Justinian II. Even though Theophanes narrates about this for the year 693/694, it is not unlikely that Theodotos served also earlier. His harsh economic policy, and the means he used to achieve, increased revenue for the *fiscus* but caused discontent of the populace. Once the rebellion of Leontios succeeded and Justinian was overthrown in 695, Theodotos was burned in public along with Stephanos the Syrian (Theophanes 1883, 367-369).

6. Kyriakos, apo hypaton (later patrikios; apo hypaton patrikios) (696-705; or 696/697 and 702-705)

Obverse (A to E): Emperor Leontios standing, holding a globus cruciger (r. hand)

Reverse (A to E): Inscription in six lines

A.1. MZ 109: 09/11-01-2002, # 618; Peus 376: 29/30-10-2003, # 1303

A.2. G&M 241: 10-10-2016, # 2961

Ἰνδικτιώνος ι'. Κυριακοῦ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων // (καὶ) γενικοῦ λογοθέτου ἀποθήκης Ἰσαυρίας καὶ Λυκαονίας.

B.1. Hermitage: Zacos, Veglery 1972, 155, table 9 (696/697); Лихачев 1924, 180, # 11 (652-653)

B.2. Munich Staatliche Münzsammlung, 321: Seibt, Zarnitz 2011, # 1.3.7 (696/697)

B.3. Zeus 13: 31-10-2020, # 1146

Ἰνδικτιώνος ι'. Κυριακοῦ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων // (καὶ) γενικοῦ λογοθέτου ἀποθήκης Κιλικίας.

C.1. DO BZS.1955.1.4378: Nesbitt, Oikonomides 1996, # 24.6; Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 195 (696/697)

Ἰνδικτιώνος ι'. Κυριακοῦ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων // (καὶ) γενικοῦ λογοθέτου ἀποθήκης Καπατιανῆς (καὶ) Λυδίας.

D.1. Zacos, Veglery 1972, #197 (696/697)

Ἰνδικτιώνος ι'. Κυριακοῦ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων // (καὶ) γενικοῦ λογοθέτου ἀποθήκης Σηκελίας.

E.1. Shandrovskaja 1995, 153-155 (696/697)

Ἰνδικτιώνος ι'. Κυριακοῦ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων // (καὶ) γενικοῦ λογοθέτου ἀποθήκης Κωνσταντινουπόλεος τ.αν...σι...

Obverse (F to G): Emperor Tiberios II standing, holding a globus cruciger (r. hand)

Reverse (F to G): Inscription in six lines

F.1: DO BZS.1955.1.4379: Nesbitt, Oikonomides 1996, # 65.1; Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 203 (702/704)

Ἰνδικτιώνος α'. Ἰνδικτιώνος β'. Κυριακοῦ πατρικίου // (καὶ) γενικοῦ λογοθέτου ἀποθήκης Κολωνίας (καὶ) Καμάχων.

G.1: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 204 (702/704)

Ἰνδικτιώνος α'. Ἰνδικτιώνος β'. Κυριακοῦ πατρικίου // (καὶ) γενικοῦ λογοθέτου ἀποθήκης Λαζικῆς.

Obverse (H): Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V); name in the four quarters

Reverse (H): Inscription in five lines (four surviving)

H.1: DO BZS.1958.106.5234: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 3132 (first half of the 8th c.)

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) Κυριακῶ // [ἀπὸ ὑπάτων?] πατρικίῳ (καὶ) γενικῶ λογοθέτῃ.

¹¹The omission of the title kommerkiarios is also attested on other seals, not of genikoi logothetai: for example, in 659/668 Stephanos styled himself as πατρίκιος ἀποθήκης ἐκάτερως Παλατίας, but in another as πατρίκιος κομμερκιάριος ἀποθήκης...: see Montinaro 2013, 444-448.

The designation on the seal “genikos logothetes of an apotheke” may puzzle the reader. However, as Brandes has explained, what seems to be the case here is that Kyriakos (and a few others after him) simply missed the title kommerkiarios. Kyriakos was indeed the genikos logothetes, as one of his seals attests (H), and simultaneously assumed for additional profit the administration of a series of apothekai (Brandes 2002, 184-185).¹¹ He thus undertook the apothekai of Constantinople, of Lydia and Phrygia Pacatiane, of Isauria and

Lycaonia, of Cilicia, and of Sicily for the same year (696/697) during the reign of Leontios (695-698). He is again attested in 702-704 during the reign of Tiberios II (698-705), now with the higher title patrikios, and the administration of the apothekai of Lazike, and of Koloneia and Kamacha (on these, see also Montinaro 2013, 480-482, 486). It is unknown whether he remained genikos logothetes continuously between 697 and 702, or he was replaced and returned in the last years of the reign of Tiberios II.

Kyriakos also used a seal as genikos logothetes, obviously for the purposes of his tasks that were not related to the administration of the specific apothekai. This seal (H) was struck on a die with a smaller surface and thus part of the inscription was lost. Above the first preserved line with the dignity patrikios, one can see that there are remains of at least another line that can only have contained a higher dignity. In this period, this can only have been apo hypaton. As such, Kyriakos must have received his promotion on the last year of the reign of Tiberios II, as it appears extremely unlikely that he remained in this office during the reinstatement of Justinian II to the throne (705-711).

7. Georgios the Syrian, patrikios (ca. 705-711)

A.1. Athens Numismatic Museum, K 406: Κωνσταντόπουλος 1917, # 406

A.2. DO BZS.1955.1.1324: Zacos, Vegler 1972, # 1478 (first half of the 8th c.)

A.3. DO BZS.1951.31.5.2051

Obverse (A): Cruciform invocative monogram of Κύριε ὁ Θεός (Zacos, Vegler type LXXIV); circular invocative inscription between two wreath borders

Reverse (A): Cruciform monogram (name); circular inscription between two wreath borders

(Κύριε ὁ Θεός) βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // (Γεωργίῳ) πατρικίῳ (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθέτῃ

B.1. DO BZS.1958.106.4714: Zacos, Vegler 1972, # 1479 (first half of the 8th c.); Laurent 1981, # 300 (8th-9th c.)

B.2. Biga 8: 20-02-2022, # 735 (11th c.)

Obverse (B): Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V); wreath border

Reverse (B): Inscription in four lines; decoration with cross between two tendrils in the field above and below; wreath border

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) // Γεωργίῳ πατρικίῳ (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθέτῃ.

C.1. Athens Numismatic Museum, K 404: Laurent 1981, # 299b (8th-9th c.); Κωνσταντόπουλος 1917, inv. 404 (8th-9th c.) (read as anonymous); Αβραμέα et al. 1990, # 15; Schlumberger 1884, 530, # 1 (8th-9th c.) (fig. 2)

D.1. BnF Cabinet des Médailles, 17: Laurent 1981, # 299a (8th-9th c.)

Obverse (C and D): Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the quarters; wreath border

Reverse (C and D): Inscription in four lines; decoration with cross between two tendrils in the field above and below; wreath border

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ δούλῳ σου // + Γεωργίῳ πατρικίῳ (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθέτῃ.

E.1. Zacos and Vegler 1972, # 1926 (first half of the 8th c.)



Fig. 2. Georgios the Syrian, patrikios and genikos logothetes. Athens Numismatic Museum, K 404.

E.2. DO BZS.1955.1.884: Laurent 1981, # 301 (erroneously read a second dignity, imperial protospatharios) (8th-9th c.)

Obverse (E): Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the quarters; wreath border

Reverse (E): Inscription in five lines; wreath border
(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ δούλῳ σου // + Γεοργήῳ πατρικίῳ (καὶ) γενικο λογοθέτῃ.

F.1. Archaeological Museum of Cherson: Алексеенко 2005, # 3

Obverse (F): Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the quarters; wreath border

Reverse (F): Inscription in four lines; decoration with cross between two tendrils in the field above and below; wreath border

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Γεωργίῳ πατρικίῳ (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθέτῃ.

Georgios “the Syrian” is attested as *genikos logothetes* only in the last year of Justinian’s second reign. He issued, however, six different boulloteria as a *genikos logothetes* and this may imply that he had served longer, perhaps for the whole second reign of Justinian II (705-711). Georgios was sent to Cherson by Justinian II to put down the revolt of Bardanes-Philippikos who had been proclaimed emperor, but was murdered by the rebellious citizens of the city (Theophanes 1883, 378-379). He may have begun his career during the first reign of Justinian II (685-695) with the dignity of *skribon* and later *apo hypaton*, and the offices of *genikos kommerkiarios*, *ergasteriarches* and *archon of the blatteion*. In the same period, this Georgios is attested as *stratiotikos logothetes* and maybe *logothetes of the imperial agelai*, in both cases with the dignity of *hypatos* (Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 1912; Leu 26: 08/13-07-2023, # 5860). Once Justinian II returned to the throne, Georgios received promotion to *patrikios* and took the prestigious office of *genikos logothetes*. Like other *genikoi logothetai*, so Georgios too could have received the administration of several *apothekai* as *kommerkiarios* during his tenure, although on those seals he never stated the office of *genikos logothetes*.¹²

8. Theodosios, hypatos (later patrikios) (690-720)

A.1. DO BZS.1958.106.3044: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2470 (8th c.); Laurent 1981, 280 (beginning of the 8th c.)

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with name in the quarters; wreath border.

Reverse: Inscription in five lines.

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) Θεοδοσίῳ // + ὑπάτῳ (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθέτῃ +

B.1. DO BZS.1947.2.680: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2473 (8th c.); Laurent 1981, # 281a (beginning of the 8th c.)

B.2. DO BZS.1958.106.3811: Laurent 1981, 281b (beginning of the 8th c.)

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with name in the quarters; wreath border.

Reverse: Inscription in five lines (four visible).

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) Θεοδοσίῳ // + πατρικίῳ (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθέτῃ

¹²He should be identified with Georges [1] of Montinaro, 2013, 466-479. He disappears in the reign of Tiberios II (698-705) but returns in the first year of Justinian II’s second reign. Montinaro 2013, 486-490, preferred to distinguish a Georges [3], however, the *cursus honorum* fits perfectly. The huge number of *apothekai* that he administered during the reigns of Justinian II are indicative of the imperial favour and trust that brought him eventually the dignity *patrikios* and the office of *genikos logothetes*.

In terms of lettering, the seals of Theodosios are very close to the well-dated seal of Ioannes, deacon and *genikos logothetes* (713-715). Possibly, he either preceded Georgios the Syrian (if the latter did

not serve for the whole second reign of Justinian II) or served right after him, during the reign of Bardanes-Philippikos (711-713). It is not unlikely that he is in fact the ‘tax collector’ Theodosios, who was raised to the throne in 715 by the soldiers of Opsikion. Apparently, the choice of the soldiers and their officers may not have been as random as Theophanes would like his readers to believe (Theophanes 1883, 385). In that case, Theodosios would have been a prominent figure in the administration of the previous deposed emperor.

9. Ioannes, deacon (713-715)

A.1. Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2007 (ca. 714)

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the quarters; wreath border

Reverse: Inscription in four lines; wreath border

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ δούλῳ σου // +Ἰωάννη διακόνῳ (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθέτῃ

Ioannes, despite being a cleric, was appointed genikos logothetes during the reign of Artemios-Anastasios II (713-715) and in fact embarked on a defensive campaign to Rhodes as a general. However, the soldiers rebelled and killed him (Theophanes 1883, 385). Just before, probably under Philippikos (711-713), Ioannes had served as archon of the blatteion (Sode 1997, # 186).

10. Theopemptos, patrikios (715-716)

A.1. DO BZS.1951.31.5.1762: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 220b (715/716)

A.2. Museum August Kestner, L6.2005: Seibt 2011, # 7; Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 220a (715/716)

A.3. Leu 26: 08/13-07-2023, # 5849 (715/716)

Obverse: Emperor Theodosios III standing, holding a globus cruciger (r. hand)

Reverse: Inscription in seven lines (six lines surviving).

Ἰνδικτιώνος ἰδ'. Θεοπέμπτου πατρικίου // (καὶ) γενικοῦ λογοθέτου ἀποθήκης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

Theopemptos succeeded Ioannes (# 9) as genikos logothetes during the reign of Theodosios III and was also in charge of the apotheke of Constantinople.

11. Thomas, patrikios (722-727)

A.1. DO BZS.1958.106.692: Nesbitt, Oikonomides 1991, # 77.11 (722/723); Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 232a (725/726)

A.2. Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 232b (725/726)

B.1. DO BZS.1947.2.170: Nesbitt, Oikonomides 1991, # 18.49; Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 233 (726/727)

Obverse (A and B): Emperor Leon III and Konstantinos V, both holding a globus cruciger (r. hand)

Reverse (A and B): Inscription in six lines.

Ἰνδικτιώνος ς'. Θωμᾶ πατρικίου γενικοῦ λογοθέτου // καὶ κομμερκιαρίου ἀποθήκης Μεσεμβρίας.

Ἰνδικτιώνος ς'. Θωμᾶ πατρικίου γενικοῦ λογοθέτου // καὶ κομμερκιαρίου ἀποθήκης Θεσσαλονίκης.

C.1. DO BZS. 1955.1.665: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2557 (8th c.); Laurent 1981, # 25 (8th c.)

Obverse (C): Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V); name in the four quarters; wreath border

Reverse (C): Inscription in five lines; wreath border

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) Θωμά // + πατρικίω (καὶ) γενικῶ λογοθέτη +.

Thomas is attested as genikos logothetes and genikos kommerkiarios in the year 722/723 and again in 726/727. He may have been the first genikos logothetes of the reign of Leon III. He later rose to magistros, still considered an office in the 8th c., even if rather honorary (Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 3211).¹³

12. Theophanes, patrikios, imperial protospatharios (727- ca. 729)

A.1. Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 234 (727/728)

Obverse (A): Emperor Leon III and Konstantinos V, both holding a globus cruciger (r. hand); inscription in four lines; linear border

Reverse (A): Inscription in six lines; linear border.

Ἰνδικτιώνος ια'. Θεοφάν(ου)ς πατρικίου πρωτοσπαθαρίου γενικοῦ λογοθέτου // (καὶ) κομμερκιαρίου ἀποθήκης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

B.1. DO BZS.1951.31.5.1887: Nesbitt, Oikonomides 1996, # 27.1; Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 235 (727/728)

B.2. Hermitage, M-7965: Лихачев 1991, # LXXIII.1, the name was read as Dositheos (623).

C.1. BnF Seyrig, 139: Cheynet et al. 1991, # 139 (727/728); Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 236 (727/728)

D.1. Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 237 (727/728)

E.1. Hermitage, M-7966: Лихачев 1991, # LXXIII.1 (624)

Obverse (B to E): Emperor Leon III and Konstantinos V, both holding a globus cruciger (r. hand); inscription in five lines; linear border

Reverse (B to E): Inscription in six lines; linear border.

Ἰνδικτιώνος ια'. Θεοφάνους πατρικίου βασιλικῶ πρωτοσπαθαρίου γενικοῦ λογοθέτου // (καὶ) κομμερκιαρίου ἀποθήκης Βιθυνίας Σαλουταρίας (καὶ) Πακατιανής.

Ἰνδικτιώνος ια'. Θεοφάνους πατρικίου βασιλικῶ πρωτοσπαθαρίου γενικοῦ λογοθέτου // (καὶ) κομμερκιαρίου ἀποθήκης Ἑλλησπόντου (καὶ) Λυδίας.

Ἰνδικτιώνος ια'. Θεοφάνους πατρικίου βασιλικῶ πρωτοσπαθαρίου γενικοῦ λογοθέτου // (καὶ) κομμερκιαρίου ἀποθήκης Θεσσαλονίκης.

Ἰνδικτιώνος ιβ'. Θεοφάνους πατρικίου βασιλικῶ πρωτοσπαθαρίου γενικοῦ λογοθέτου // (καὶ) κομμερκιαρίου ἀποθήκης Βιθυνίας Σαλουταρίας (καὶ) Πακατιανής.

F.1. DO BZS.1955.1.1241: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2509a (first half of the 8th c.); Laurent 1981, # 286b (first third of the 8th c.)

G.1. DO BZS.1955.1.1242: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2509b (first half of the 8th c.); Laurent 1981, # 286c (first third of the 8th c.)

Obverse (F and G): Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the quarters; wreath border

Reverse (F and G): Inscription in seven lines; wreath border

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ δούλῳ σου // + Θεοφάνει πατρικίῳ βασιλικῶ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ (καὶ) γενικῶ λογοθέτη +

¹³On all 8th-century seals magistros is placed after the dignity of the holder, at the place of an office.

H.1. DO BZS.1958.106.4926: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 555B (first half of the 8th c.); Laurent 1981, # 286a (first third of the 8th c.)

H.2. Zacos, Veglery 1972, 475, not described (first half of the 8th c.)

Obverse (H): Cruciform monogram of name with inscription in the quarters; circular invocation; wreath border

Reverse (H): Inscription in three lines; circular inscription; wreath border

Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου (Θεοφάνει) πατρικίῳ // + βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθέτῃ

I.1. DO BZS.1955.1.640: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2510 (first half of the 8th c.); Laurent 1981, # 288 (first half of the 8th c.)

Obverse (I): Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the quarters; wreath border

Reverse (I): Cruciform monogram of name and dignity; inscription in the four quarters; wreath border

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ δούλῳ σου // (Θεοφάνη πατρικίῳ) βασιλικῷ (πρωτο)σπ(αθαρίῳ) (καὶ) γεν(ικῷ) λογ(οθέτῃ)

Theophanes succeeded Thomas as *genikos logothetes* in 727. With 9 *boulloteria* and 11 lead seals, he is the best attested *genikos logothetes* of this period. This also suggests that he remained for quite a few years in this position. It is not unlikely that he is the *patrikios* and *magistros* Theophanes Monotes attested in 741, during the rebellion of Artabasdos, who was entrusted the position of the *ek prosopou* (representative) of the emperor Konstantinos V, but eventually betrayed him by helping at the proclamation of Artabasdos as an emperor in the capital (Theophanes 1883, 415).

13. Ioannes, hypatos (later also imperial spatharios, and finally patrikios) (730-750)

A.1. Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2021 (first half of the 8th c.)

A.2. BnF Seyrig, 107: Cheynet et al. 1991, # 139 (first half of the 8th c.)

A.3. Museum of Antioch (Hatay): Laurent 1981, # 277 (8th c.)

A.4. GB, # 6493 (8th-9th c.)

A.5. Private collection S. Kofopoulos, 1387: Cheynet 2022, # 2.124 (7th/8th c.)

Obverse (A): Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V); name and small stars in the four quarters; wreath border

Reverse (A): Inscription in four lines; decoration of a cross between two tendrils in the upper and lower field; wreath border

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) Ἰωάννη + // + ὑπάτῳ (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθέτῃ.

B.1. DO BZS.1955.1.966: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2026, read as imperial protospatharios (first half of the 8th c.); Laurent 1981, # 279 (8th c.)

C.1. Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2039Aa (first half of the 8th c.)

C.2. Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2039Ab (first half of the 8th c.)

D.1. Burdur Archaeological Museum, K 129.32.94 (unpublished)

Obverse (B to D): Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the four quarters; wreath border

Reverse (B to D): Inscription in six lines; decoration of a cross between two tendrils in the upper and lower field; wreath border

B: (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Ἰωάννη ὑπάτῳ βα(σιλικῷ) σπαθαρι(ῳ) (καὶ) γενικο λογοθέτῃ +.

C and D: (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Ἰωάννη πατρικίῳ (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθέτῃ +.

The seals of Ioannes are epigraphically close to the seal of Theophanes, patrikios, imperial protospatharios and genikos logothetes, as well as some other seals that were issued in the second quarter of the 8th c. Since between at least 722 and 729, Thomas and Theophanes were genikoi logothetai, Ioannes served probably later in the reign of Leon III in the 730s or in the 740s. He was in charge for long enough to issue 3 boulloteria as genikos logothetes, to acquire the additional dignity of imperial spatharios, and even to be promoted to patrikios later.

This Ioannes may have served earlier as genikos kommerkiarios (711-714) and as ergasteriarches and archon of the blatteion with the dignity of apo eparchon and then in the 720s as hypatos (Montinaro 2013, Jean [6] and [7]: 439-440, 492, 494-495, 503-504, 508-509). His cursus honorum should be linked then with the state financial services and fits well to the dating of his seals as genikos logothetes. It is less certain, yet entirely possible, that he may be identified with a namesake logothetes of the dromos from the same period (G&M 147: 07-03-2006, # 2489).¹⁴

14. Leon, hypatos (740-770; ca. 750?)

A.1. DO BZS.1955.1.1008: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2116 (8th c.); Laurent 1981, # 294a (8th/9th c.)

A.2. Istanbul Archaeological Museum (former collection of Osman Bey): Laurent 1981, # 294a (8th/9th c.)

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the four quarters; wreath border

Reverse: Inscription in four lines; decoration of a cross between two tendrils in the upper and lower field; wreath border

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Λέοντι ὑπάτ(ῳ) (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθέτῃ.

Epigraphically the seals of Leon are close chronologically to the seal of Leon, imperial protospatharios and logothetes of the dromos who was killed in ca. 762 by the Bulgars (Theophanes 1883, 431). If the two can be identified, Leon would have served as genikos logothetes around 750, before his promotion to imperial protospatharios and logothetes of the dromos.

15. Theophylaktos, patrikios (750-775)

A.1. Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2541 (second half of the 8th c.)

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram of Κύριε βοήθει (Laurent type VIII) with inscription in the four quarters; wreath border

Reverse: Inscription in six lines; wreath border

(Κύριε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Θεοφυλάκτῳ πατρι(κίῳ) (καὶ) γενικ(ῷ) λογοθέτῃ.

¹⁴This seal, with a cruciform monogram of the name of the owner and circular inscription, does not fit with the type of seals that Ioannes made as genikos logothetes.

Theophylaktos may have served earlier as hypatos and logothetes of the oxydromos (Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 3204).

16. Konstantinos, imperial (proto?)spatharios (later patrikios) (750-775)

A.1. DO BZS.1958.106.3801: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 785 (8th c.); Laurent 1981, # 282 (8th c.)

Obverse: Inscription in four lines

Reverse: Inscription in five lines

Χριστὲ βοήθη τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // Κωνσταντίνῳ (πρωτο?)σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθέτῃ.

B.1. Private collection S. Kofopoulos inv. 2124: Cheynet 2022, # 2.125 (first half of the 8th c.)

Obverse: Inscription in five lines

Reverse: Inscription in six lines

Χ[ρ]ιστὲ βοήθη τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // Κων[σ]ταντ[ίν]ῳ πατρικίῳ (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθ(έτῃ).

There seems to be enough space on Konstantinos' first boulloterion for both a B and an A, the abbreviations for "imperial" and "proto-" respectively, especially since the dignity protospatharios is never attested in this period without the designation "imperial" and since imperial spatharios is rather low for a high minister. The lettering of the seal of Konstantinos points to a date around the middle of the 8th century, and more precisely in the third quarter of this century. Invocations to Christ are rarer and mostly appear during the first period of Iconoclasm. Some decades earlier is dated the seal of Konstantinos, hypatos and chartoularios of the genikon logothesion (second quarter of the 8th century) (Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 1810; Laurent 1981, ## 362-363). It is not unlikely that we are dealing with the same person.

17. Leon, patrikios (760-790)

A.1. DO BZS.1955.1.1017: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2129 (second half of the 8th c.); Laurent 1981, # 295 (8th/9th c.)

B.1. Munich Staatliche Münzsammlung, 555: unpublished, see photo in Müller Solingen 72: 23-10-1992, # 694 (750-800)

B.2. Athens Numismatic Museum, K 403: Κωνσταντόπουλος 1917, # 403 (read as Anonymous) (8th-9th c.) (**fig. 3**)

C.1. Library of the Romanian Academy, Numismatic Cabinet, Collection Orghidan 181/O.7992/L.168: Laurent 1952, # 168, the name is read as Basileios (8th/9th c.)

Obverse (A to C): Cruciform invocative monogram of Κύριε βοήθει (Laurent type VIII) with inscription in the four quarters; wreath border

Reverse (A to C): Inscription in five lines; wreath border

(Κύριε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Λέοντι πατρικ(ίῳ) (καὶ) γενικ(ῳ) λογοθέτῃ.

The name of the official on the Athenian specimen (B.2) has not been preserved, save some remains on the first line, seemingly an E. After personal examination it was clarified that it was struck by the same boulloterion as the specimen from the museum of Munich, and, therefore, it belonged to Leon.

The name of the official on the specimen from the former collection of G. Orghidan (C) was read by Laurent as Basileios. However, after close examination, it seems that the correct reading is Leon.



Fig. 3. Leon, patrikios and genikos logothetes. Athens Numismatic Museum, K 403.

Furthermore, the alignment of the inscription is the same as the Munich specimen (B) with only slight differences in the exact position of the letters in the fourth line.

The seals of this Leon are later chronologically from the seals of Leon (# 14), while they bear a cruciform monogram with an invocation to the Lord instead of Theotokos, which makes uncertain an identification between the two. Less likely, however, if the identification that was proposed between that Leon (# 14) and Leon, logothetes of the dromos from the year 762, is not correct (and thus he could have served later than the 750s), it is not unlikely that the two Leontes genikoi logothetai (## 14 and 17) were the same person. However, for the reasons just explained, it seems unreasonable to accept this latter identification, and more convincing to keep the distinction between the two homonymoi.

18. Theodoros, hypatos (later apo hypaton patrikios) (760-800)

A.1. DO BZS.1951.31.5.1243: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2435 [750-850]; Laurent 1981, # 289 (8th/9th c.)

A.2. DO BZS.1955.1.1281: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2596a, name not read (8th c.)

A.3. DO BZS.1955.1.1282: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2596b, name not read (8th c.)

A.4. Archaeological Museum of Cherson, H-8-95: Алексеенко 2005, #1

A.5. Private collection S. Kofopoulos, 856: Cheynet 2022, # 2.126 (second half of the 8th c.); MZ 76: 10-11-1993, # 1390/112

B.1. DO BZS.1958.106.4397: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2417 (first half of the 8th c.); Laurent 1981, # 290 (8th/9th c.)

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the four quarters; wreath border

Reverse: Inscription in five lines; wreath border

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Θεοδώρῳ ὑπάτῳ (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθέτῃ +.

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Θεοδώρῳ ἀπὸ ὑπ(άτων) πατρ(ικίῳ) (καὶ) γενικ(ῷ) λογ(οθέτῃ).

Theodoros is attested as genikos logothetes first with the dignity of hypatos. Next he is attested with the dignity of apo hypaton patrikios, which stands hierarchically much higher. Unless this is an exceptional case in which Theodoros in just a few years received the promotions from hypatos to protospatharios, then to patrikios (both unobservable), and finally to apo hypaton patrikios, I would argue that he served as genikos logothetes for a second time in his career (after a break in another position?), then with the highest dignity of apo hypaton patrikios. This is also implied by the dating of his seals as hypatos, closer to the 760s-770s (the wide Ω; the horseshoe shape of Π and the short Γ) while his later seal as apo hypaton patrikios seems to date towards the end of this century; it resembles somehow the seal of Niketas, patrikios and strategos of Sikelia (796-799) (Nesbitt, Oikonomides 1991, # 5.21).¹⁵ This career pattern fits well also with the political instability in the last two decades of the 8th c., with the frequent changes of rule and power balance between empress Eirene and her son Konstantinos VI. This instability is also reflected in the large

¹⁵The following scenario may be proposed: Theodoros served under Leon IV (775-780), and once Konstantinos VI assumed power as sole emperor in 790, re-instated and promoted a supporter of his father.

number of attested *genikoi logothetai*. At least ten to twelve *genikoi logothetai* were in charge within this period.

Quite possibly Theodoros served earlier in the *logothesion* as a *chartoularios* (DO BZS.1947.2.678; Laurent 1981, # 361).

19. Sisinnios, patrikios, imperial protospatharios (767-800)

A.1. DO BZS.1958.106.1547: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2372 (750-850); Laurent 1981, # 284 (end of the 8th c.)

A.2. Archaeological Museum of Cherson, C-41-95: Алексеевко 2005, # 2

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the four quarters; wreath border

Reverse: Inscription in five lines; wreath border

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῶ δούλῳ // + Σισιννίῳ πατρικ(ίῳ) β(ασιλικῷ) (πρωτο)σπ(αθαρίῳ) (καὶ) γενικ(ῷ) λογοθ(έτη).

Sisinnios probably served early in the reign of Konstantinos V as archon of the *blatteion* with the dignities of *hypatos* and later *patrikios* (Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 267, *hypatos*: 749/750, and # 269, *patrikios*: ca. 751-775). The seals of Sisinnios as *genikos logothetes* resemble the seals of the namesake with the same dignities and the office of *komes* of *Opsikion*.¹⁶ Institutional mobility between the civil and the military sector is a rather rare phenomenon, but one can certainly observe it even in this period, like in the aforementioned case of deacon Ioannes (# 9) who assumed the generalship of a campaigning force, while being a *genikos logothetes* and a deacon of the Great Church.

20. Michael (767-800)

A.1. IFEB, 590: Laurent 1981, # 303 (8th/9th c.)

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the four quarters; wreath border

Reverse: Inscription in four lines (three surviving); wreath border

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) [τ]ο σ[ῶ] δ[ούλ]ῳ // Μιχ[α]ήλ γε[ν]ηκο [λογοθ(έτη)].

The reading of the office of Michael is not fully certain, but there is no other office that would accommodate the surviving letters, considering also that the designation “*genikos*” of the *kommerkiarioi* was also dropped around ca. 730.

21. Anonymous, patrikios and genikos logothetes (767-800)

A.1. Sudak (collection n/a): Stepanova 1999, # 18 (9th c.)

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram of Κύριε βοήθει (Laurent type VIII) with inscription in the four quarters; wreath border

Reverse: Inscription in four (?) lines; wreath border

(Κύριε βοήθει) τῷ [σῶ] δούλ[ῳ] // (..αλω or ..ιλω...) [π]ατρικ(ίῳ) (καὶ) [γε]νικ(ῷ) λο[γο]θ[έ]τ[η].

The name of the *genikos logothetes* is not preserved on the seal. However, a closer inspection reveals traces of three letters, the first probably an A or I, then probably a Λ, while the last one most likely an Ω, and not a K, like the editor read. It is also not clear whether another line is missing above. If there is an additional line, names such

¹⁶An earlier Sisinnios (first half of the 8th c.) had served as *hypatos*, imperial *asekretis* and *logothetes* of the *agelai* and the *dromos* at the same time: DO BZS.1947.2.201 and DO BZS.1951.31.5.1586, see Laurent 1981, # 411. He cannot be identified with the *genikos logothetes* under consideration here.

as Theophilos, Nikolaos etc. would appear too short. If there is no line missing, one could think of a name such as [Φ]ιλω[θ(έω)] (Philotheos) or the less frequently attested [Κ]αλω[κ(ύρω)] (Kalokyros). In any case, he cannot be identified to any known genikos logothetes of this period.

22. Stephanos, imperial spatharios (later hypatos) (ca. 780-810)

A.1. DO BZS.1947.2.675: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 3185 (late 8th - early 9th c.); Laurent 1981, # 291, the dignity is read as imperial proto-spatharios (8th/9th c.)

A.2. Biga 8: 20-02-2022, # 745 (11th c.)

B.1. Nummitra 42: 22-11-2024, # 1328 (ca. 6th-11th c.)

Obverse (A and B): Cruciform invocative monogram of Κύριε βοήθει (Laurent type VIII) with inscription in the four quarters; wreath border

Reverse (A and B): Inscription in five lines; wreath border

(Κύριε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Στεφάνῳ β(ασιλικῷ) σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) γεν(ικῷ) λογοθέτῃ.

(Κύριε βοήθει) [τ]ῷ σῷ [δού]λ[ω] // [+ Στ]εφάν[ω] ὑπάτ[ω] (καὶ) γενικ(ῷ) λογ[οθ(έτῃ)].

The seals of Stephanos can be dated to the late 8th or the very beginning of the 9th century. Since the genikoi logothetai Theodoros, Nikephoros, Nikolaos and Niketas are more precisely placed in the 790s-800s, it seems more probable to attribute Stephanos to the 780s. His low dignity is perhaps indicative of the newly formed circle of supporters (and ministers) that Eirene began to assemble once she assumed the regency of her son Konstantinos VI in 780.

23. Nikolaos, patrikios (790-810)

A.1. DO BZS.1955.1.1286: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2292a, the name is read as Paulos (9th c.)

A.2. DO BZS.1955.1.1287: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2292b, the name is read as Paulos (9th c.)

A.3. Hermitage: Laurent 1981, # 304 (first half of the 9th c.); Schlumberger 1884, 531-532

A.4. Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2218A (750-850); Laurent 1981, # 304 (first half of the 9th c.)

A.5. Cheynet et al. 2012, # 2.108 (first half of the 9th c.)

B.1. DO BZS.1955.1.1116

B.2. Library of the Romanian Academy, Numismatic Cabinet, Collection Orghidan 182/O.7993/L.169: Laurent 1952, # 169, name not read (9th c.)

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the four quarters; wreath border

Reverse: Inscription in four lines; wreath border

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Νικολάῳ πατρικ(ίῳ) (καὶ) γενικ(ῷ) λογοθέτ(ῃ).

The seals of Nikolaos are contemporary to the seals of Nikephoros, the future emperor. It can be suggested, therefore, that he either directly preceded or followed him in case Niketas did not serve throughout the reign of Nikephoros (802-811).

The name of the official on two specimens was erroneously read as Paulos by Zacos and Veglery. However, after careful examination it was certified that they were struck with the same boulloterion (A) as the other specimens. Similarly, the specimen of the G. Orghidan collection was considered by the editor as of an anonymous issuer, however, it comes from the same boulloterion (B) like the seal from the Dumbarton Oaks collection, where the name Nikolaos is well visible. We know of the seal of a Nikolaos, chartoularios of the genikon logothesion, but this dates about half a century earlier, and thus it cannot have belonged to our Nikolaos here (Laurent 1981, # 355). However, another seal of Nikolaos, hypatos and imperial notarios of the genikon logothesion, is contemporary to our genikos logothetes here, and hence we have probably a promotion from an imperial notarios to a genikos logothetes (Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 3149).

24. Nikephoros, imperial protospatharios (later also patrikios) (ca. 797-802)

- A.1. Sode 1997, # 287 (first half of the 9th c.)
- A.2. Ares 7: 21-02-2020, # 832
- A.3. Naumann 145: 06-10-2024, # 964
- A.4. Biga 24: 22-10-2023, # 817
- B.1. DO BZS.1955.1.529: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2224a (late 8th-early 9th c.); Laurent 1981, # 302a (8th/9th c.)
- C.1. DO BZS.1955.1.1090: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2224b (late 8th-early 9th c.); Laurent 1981, # 302b (8th/9th c.)
- C.2. Zacos and Veglery 1972, # 2224c (late 8th-early 9th c.)
- C.3. Papillon 7: 10/11-07-2021, # 908
- C.4. Private collection R. Feind, MSB-27 (**fig. 4**)
- C.5. Private collection R. Feind, MSB-59 (**fig. 5**)
- C.6. DO BZS.1951.31.5.1999
- C.7: Zeus 12: 28/29-08-2020, # 789, read as Theodoros (9th c.)

Obverse (A to C): Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the four quarters; wreath border

Reverse (A and C): Inscription in four lines; wreath border

Reverse (B): Inscription in five lines; wreath border

(A): (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Νικηφόρῳ β(ασιλικῷ) (πρωτο)σπ(αθαρίῳ) (καὶ) γεν(ικῷ) λογοθ(έτῃ).

(B) and (C): (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Νικηφόρῳ πατρ(ικῷ) β(ασιλικῷ) (πρωτο)σπ(αθαρίῳ) (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθ(έτῃ).

This official is the well-known future emperor Nikephoros I (802-811), who came from Seleukeia of Isauria. The length of his tenure is not known but it is unlikely that it exceeded the rise of Eirene to the throne as sole ruler (797-802). In 802, Nikephoros led a successful coup against Eirene and ascended the throne (Theophanes 1883, 476).

25. Ploutinos, patrikios (802-820)

- A.1. Istanbul Archaeological Museum, 84: Cheynet et al. 2012, # 2.105 (8th/9th c.); Ebersolt, # 416
- B.1. Private collection Alessi, 5029: Castrizio 1990, # 2; Kislinger, Seibt 1998, # 11 (first third of the 9th c.)
- C.1. BnF Zacos 4300 (unpublished)



Fig. 4. Nikephoros, imperial protospatharios. Collection R. Feind, MSB-27.



Fig. 5. Nikephoros, imperial protospatharios. Collection R. Feind, MSB-59.

Obverse (A to C): Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the four quarters; wreath border

Reverse (A to C): Inscription in four lines; wreath border
(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Πλουτίν(ω) πατρικ(ίω) (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθέτι.

Ploutinos has been tentatively identified with the father of Joseph the Hymnographer, who lived in the later 8th and the early 9th c. in Sicily. The family of Joseph, educated and rich, was forced to abandon Sicily at the wake of the Arab invasion of the island in the 820s and was then established in the Peloponnese (Life of St. Joseph the Hymnographer [BHG 944] 1901, 2-3; Life of St. Joseph the Hymnographer [BHG 946] 1862, 942-945). The Sicilian connection of the genikos logothetes (one of the two specimens was found in Sicily), the rare name, and the dating of the seals to the lifetime of the father of Joseph the Hymnographer, points in favour of an identification between the two. Ploutinos would be contacting his family on the island. If it is true – according to one of the two versions of the *Life of Joseph* – that the father Ploutinos had been already deceased by the time of the family migration, it could explain why the rest of the family chose to migrate to the Peloponnese and not to Constantinople where Ploutinos would be already established necessarily for his office. In this case, Ploutinos may have served right before Niketas, assuming Niketas did not serve throughout the whole reign of Nikephoros, or right after him, in the 810s.

At a much earlier career stage, Ploutinos was probably a komes of the agelai, that is a lesser official in the logothesion of the agelai (Manganaro 2003-2004, # 41).¹⁷ This is so far the only case that documents a lesser official moving from another logothesion eventually to become a genikos logothetes.

26. Niketas, patrikios (ca. 810-811)

Niketas was relative to Theodoros Stoudites, himself coming from an elite family, and was a trusted official of the emperor Nikephoros I. While on campaign in 807-808, the emperor left Niketas to act as deputy in his stead (Stoudites 1992, # 27). In the last year of Nikephoros' reign, Niketas was already a genikos logothetes and maintained the position of an imperial deputy (Theophanes 1883, 489). We are unaware of how long he was genikos logothetes but this arrangement possibly lasted for quite a few years. On the other hand, the great number of attested genikoi logothetai in this period gives us the impression that there was probably one more genikos logothetes during the early reign of Nikephoros I, maybe Ploutinos (# 25) or Nikolaos (# 23), as discussed above.

In his capacity as genikos logothetes, Niketas was assigned to carry out the economic policy of Nikephoros, which brought many grievances to the elite and the monasteries. No seal of Niketas as genikos logothetes has been preserved, however, in the former collection of G. Zacos, there is the seal of Niketas, protonotarios of the genikon logothesion, which is contemporary to the seals of Nikephoros, genikos logothetes (Zacos, Vegler 1972, # 2257). This suggests that Niketas was serving most probably in the genikon logothesion under Nikephoros,

¹⁷This seal also comes from Sicily, thus the connection between the two, despite the hierarchical gap between the two positions, seems plausible.

and thanks to their former relationship, Niketas was able to rise in office and be entrusted with the official representation of the absent emperor. The same promotion could have occurred with Nikolaos (# 23) – if the latter served as *genikos logothetes* just before Niketas during the reign of Nikephoros I – who was previously an imperial *notarios* in the *genikon logothesion*.

27. Theodotos, imperial *protospatharios* (later also *patrikios*) (802-833)

A.1. IFEB, 15: Laurent 1981, # 292 (8th/9th c.)

B.1. BnF Cabinet des Médailles, 24: Laurent 1981, # 293 (8th/9th c.)

Obverse (A and B): Cruciform invocative monogram of Κύριε βοήθει (Laurent type VIII) with inscription in the four quarters.

Reverse (A and B): Inscription in four lines.

(A): (Κύριε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // Θεω[δ]ότῳ [β(ασιλικῶ) (πρωτο)σ]παθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) γ[ε]νικῶ [λογοθέτῃ].

(B): (Κύριε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // [Θ]εοδό[τῳ] πατρ(ικίῳ) β(ασιλικῶ) [(πρωτο)σ]παθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) γε[ν]ικῶ λογ[οθ(έτῃ)].

I was unable to examine the seal from the second boulloterion. Although the name of the official on this boulloterion could equally be Theodosios or Theodoros, I prefer to trust Laurent's reading and ascription of both seals to the same official. The first seal looks close chronologically to the seal of Ploutinos (# 25) and thus dates from the early ninth century.

28. Theophylaktos, imperial *spatharios* (811-840)

A.1. Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2546 (9th c.)

A.2. Archaeological Museum of Cherson, C-63-95: Алексеевко 2005, # 4

A.3. Archaeological Museum of Cherson, C-13-96: Алексеевко 2005, # 5

A.4. Archaeological Museum of Cherson, C-30-96: Алексеевко 2005, # 6

A.5. Archaeological Museum of Cherson, 4-51-97: Алексеевко 2005, # 7

B.1. American Numismatic Society, Collection Mabbott, 299: Laurent 1981, # 297 (8th/9th c.)

B.2. Hermitage, M-12476: Shandrovskaia 1995, 90-91, the name was not read

C.1. Sudak (collection n/a): Бугакова 2008, # 3 (8th c.)

Obverse (A to C): Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the four quarters.

Reverse (A to C): Inscription in four lines.

(A): (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Θεοφυλάκτῳ β(ασιλικῶ) σπα(θαρίῳ) (καὶ) γενικ(ῶ) λογοθ(έτῃ).

(B): (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Θεοφυλάκτῳ β(ασιλικῶ) σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) γεννικ(ῶ) λογοθέτ(ῃ).

(C): (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Θεοφυλάκτῳ β(ασιλικῶ) σπ(αθαρίῳ) (καὶ) γενν(ικῶ) λογωθ(έτῃ).

The seals of Theophylaktos, Theophanes (# 29), and Pantoleon (# 31) are all contemporary and were made from the same artisan.

They are similar to the seals of the imperial *kommerkia* of Thrace and Macedonia of the years 820/821 and 831/832 (Oikonomides 1986, ## 44 and 46). As such, it is difficult to establish their succession in the office of *genikos logothetes*.

Theophylaktos' low dignity is characteristic for this period with the frequent changes of rulers, outside the imperial dynasty. People that might have come from lower background occupied elevated positions, especially after the massacre of the elite of the Byzantine officials at the battle of Markellai against the Bulgars in 811, which also affected the military sector in a profound way (Malatras 2021a, 281-282).

29. Theophanes, imperial *spatharios* (later *patrikios*) (811-840)

A.1. Hermitage, M-12381: Соколова 1991, # 41, name not read (first half of the 8th c.)

B.1. Leu 11: 22-02-2020, # 2254; Naumann 82: 06-10-2019, # 842

C.1. DO BZS.1958.106.2010: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2546 (9th c.); Laurent 1981, # 287b (9th c.)

D.1. Museum of Berlin: Laurent 1981, # 287a (9th c.)

E.1. Archaeological Museum of Cherson, C-62a-96: Алексеенко 2005, # 8, read as Ioannes (end of the 8th - beginning of the 9th c.)

E.2. Archaeological Museum of Cherson, C-74-95: Алексеенко 2005, # 9, read as Ioannes (end of the 8th - beginning of the 9th c.)

E.3. Archaeological Museum of Cherson, C-18-99: Алексеенко 2005, # 10, read as Ioannes (end of the 8th - beginning of the 9th c.)

E.4. Archaeological Museum of Cherson, 4-53-97: Алексеенко 2005, # 11, read as Ioannes (end of the 8th - beginning of the 9th c.)

Obverse (A): Corroded, but likely a cruciform invocative monogram.

Reverse (A): Inscription in four lines; wreath border.

Obverse (B to E): Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the four quarters.

Reverse (B to E): Inscription in four lines.

(A): (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ (?) // [+ Θε]οφά[ν]η β(ασιλικῷ) σπ(αθαρίῳ) (καὶ) [γ]ενικ(ῷ) λο[γ]οθέ(τη).

(B): (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ (?) // + Θεοφάνη β(ασιλικῷ) σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) γεννικ(ῷ) λογοθέ(τη).

(C): (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // [+ Θε]οφά[ν]η πατρικ(ίῳ) [(καὶ)] γεννικ(ῷ) λογοθέ(τη).

(D): (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // [+ Θεο]φάνει πατρικ(ίῳ) [(καὶ)] γεννικ(ῷ) [λ]ο[γ]οθέ(τη).

(E): (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // [+ Θεοφά?]νη πατρικ(ίῳ) (καὶ) γεννικ(ῷ) λογοθέ(τη).

Theophanes issued five *boulloteria* in his capacity as *genikos logothetes* and his service lasted long enough to earn him a promotion from imperial *spatharios* up to *patrikios*. Like Theophylaktos (# 28), Theophanes was first appointed as *genikos logothetes* with a rather low dignity, characteristic of this turbulent period. He could have been the *genikos logothetes* of the reign of Leon V (813-820).

30. Democharis (ca. 820-821)

Democharis is mentioned as *genikos logothetes* in a letter of Theodoros Stoudites dating from the beginning of the year 821

(Stoudites 1992, # 426). Theodoros Stoudites was writing then to several high-ranking officials in an attempt to win them over in the cause of iconophiles. Democharis was educated and from an elite background. He is also mentioned as a *genikos logothetes* in some letters of Ignatios Deacon, who petitioned him twice for some issues relating to his office (Ignatios Deacon 1997, ## 21-24). Another, later letter of Theodoros Stoudites, dating before 826 (the year of his death), consoles the widow of Democharis, who presumably had in the meantime recently passed away (Stoudites 1992, # 454). However, he refers to Democharis in the letter as a *strategos*. It is not clear enough whether ‘*strategos*’ might be just a euphemism, since immediately after Theodoros praises Democharis as a defender of Orthodoxy. If he was indeed appointed *strategos* somewhere, this would be one of the few exceptional cases of change between a civil and a military office. In any case, Democharis’ tenure as *genikos logothetes* ended before 826. According to a letter of Ignatios Deacon he had been forced to abdicate or he was removed without his will and, evidently from that letter, Democharis was displeased with the loss of public office and this turn of tides in his fate (Ignatios Deacon 1997, # 24: τὴν ἀχθηδὸνα τῶν περικειμένων δημοσίων φροντίδων καὶ ἄκοντες ἀποβαλλόντες). There is no hint that it was health reasons that compelled this event, so Democharis most probably fell from grace.

31. Pantoleon, imperial protospatharios (later also patrikios) (825-850)

A.1. DO BZS.1951.31.5.1281: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2285; Laurent 1981, # 305 (9th c.)

B.1. DO BZS.1958.106.3581: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2284; Laurent 1981, # 306 (9th c.)

C.1. Athens Numismatic Museum, Collection Orphanides-Nikolaides 234: Κολτσιδά-Μακρή 1996, # 119 (second half of the 9th c.)

C.2. Fethiye Archaeological Museum, 2530 (unpublished)

D.1. Private collection N. Thierry: Laurent 1981, # 296, read as Leon (first half of the 9th c.)

E.1. Concordia 9: 15-10-2023, # 814 (= Concordia Daphne Auction 12: 03-02-2024, # 1660)

Obverse (A to D): Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the four quarters.

Reverse (A, C and D): Inscription in five lines.

Reverse (B): Inscription in four lines.

(A): (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ [σῶ] δούλῳ // + Παντολέοντ(ι) β(ασιλικῶ) (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) [γ]εννικ(ῶ) [λογοθέτ(η)].

(B): (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) [τ]ῷ σῶ [δ]ούλῳ // + Παντολ[έο]ντ(ι) [πα]τρι[κ(ίῳ) β(ασιλικῶ)] (πρωτο)σ[π(αθαρίῳ) (καὶ) γ]ενι[κ(ῶ)] λογο[θέτ(η)].

(C): (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) [τ]ῷ σῶ δούλῳ // + Παν[το]λέοντ(ι) πα[τρ]ικ(ίῳ) β(ασιλικῶ) (πρωτο)σπα(θαρίῳ) (καὶ) γεννικῶ λογοθέ[τ(η)].

(D and E): (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) [τ]ῷ σῶ δούλῳ // [+ Παντο]λέοντι π[ατρ]ικ(ίῳ) β(ασιλικῶ) (πρωτο)σπα(θαρίῳ) (καὶ) γενικῶ [λο]γοθέ[τ(η)].

The seals of Pantoleon with their (still) elongated and large let-



Fig. 6. Konstantinos, imperial protospatharios and genikos logothetes. Ancient Touch, # I-15.

ters date to the second quarter of the 9th c. While in office, he was promoted to patrikios. As logothetes, Pantoleon was one of the high-ranking officials who were contacted by Theodoros Stoudites on the issue of Iconoclasm. Since Democharis (# 30) was genikos logothetes at that moment, Pantoleon could have been logothetes in another ministry (Stoudites 1992, # 425). In this case, Pantoleon's office as genikos logothetes is probably dated after the removal of Democharis (before 826).

Pantoleon possibly served earlier as hypatos and protonotarios of the dromos, as attested by a seal also from the private collection of N. Thierry, just like specimen D.1 (Laurent 1981, # 443). If this identification is valid, then we have one more case of a lesser official who changed departments before his rise as a logothetes.

32. Konstantinos, imperial protospatharios (later patrikios) (830-860)

A.1. Ancient Touch, # I-15 (accessed on 19-04-2017) (**fig. 6**)

B.1. DO BZS.1951.31.5.1365: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 1818 (9th c.); Laurent 1981, # 310a (second half of the 9th c.)

C.1. DO BZS.1947.2.663: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2573 (9th c.); Laurent 1981, # 310b (second half of the 9th c.)

Obverse (A to C): Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the four quarters; wreath border

Reverse (A to C): Inscription in four lines; wreath border.

(A): (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) [τ]ῷ [σ]ῷ δούλῳ // + Κων[στ]αντίν(ω) β(ασιλικῷ) [(πρωτο)]σπ(αθαρίῳ) (καὶ) γεν(ικῷ) [λογο]θ(έτη)].

(B): (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) [τ]ῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Κων[στ]αντίνω [πατ]ρ(ικίῳ) (καὶ) γενικ(ῷ) λογοθ(έτη).

(C): (Θεοτόκε βοήθει) [τ]ῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Κων[στ]αντίν[ω πα]τρικ(ίῳ) (καὶ) γεν[ι]κο λογοθ(έτη).

The seals of Konstantinos from the first two boulloteria are almost contemporary to those of Pantoleon (# 31). The third one, however, looks slightly later. Therefore, it can be suggested that Konstantinos served soon after Pantoleon, maybe in the reign of Theophilos. Laurent identified him with Konstantinos Androsalites, genikos logothetes sometime in the reign of Basileios I (867-886), however, this seal does not appear of such a late date, due to the still closed form of the letter B in the second line. Besides, the seal of Konstantinos Androsalites, decorated with a patriarchal cross on the Obverse, the usual motif in his times, was found in a recent auction (here, # 41). This seal records him with the higher dignity of anthypatos patrikios.

33. Georgios or Sergios (?), anthypatos patrikios and genikos logothetes (833-866)

A.1. DO BZS.1955.1.880: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2573 (second half of the 9th c.)

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram of unknown type with inscription in the four quarters.

Reverse: Inscription in four lines.

(Κύριε or Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ [σ]ῷ δούλῳ // [Γεωρ or Σερ]γίῳ [ἀνθ(υ)πά]τ(ω) πατ[ρ(ικίῳ)] (καὶ) γεν[η]κῷ λο[γ]οθ[ε]τ[η].

The dignity *anthypatos patrikios* appeared exactly at this time and was reserved for quite a few selected individuals. It is unlikely then that it could have been held by anyone in the middle of the 9th c. outside the narrow circle of the government and the imperial family. The two uncles of emperor Michael III held this prestigious dignity: Bardas who led the government after 855 (Bucephalus 6: 12-06-2022, # 841, which dates between his successful coup of 855 and his promotion to *magistros* in 858), and Petronas (Seibt 1978, # 34). Only the ending of the name of the issuer is preserved on the seal. If the name is Sergios, then it is not unlikely that he is Sergios Niketiates (# 34), uncle of empress Theodora.

34. Sergios, *magistros* (shortly before 843)

A.1. DO BZS.1951.31.5.652: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2354 (mid-9th c.); Laurent 1981, # 307 (9th c.)

A.2. Jordanov 2009, # 812 (mid-9th c.).

A.3. Hermitage, M-12410: Соколова 1991, # 42 (first half of the 9th c.)

A.4. Hermitage, M-12399: Соколова 1991, # 43 (first half of the 9th c.)

A.5. Private collection Smychkov: Чхаидзе 2015, # 21 (first half of the 9th c.)

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the four quarters; border of dots

Reverse: Inscription in five lines; border of dots

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Σεργίῳ μαγίστρῳ (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθέτῃ.

We should distinguish two chronologically close Sergioi who served as *logothetai* in the departments of *genikon* and the *dromos*: Sergios Niketiates and Sergios, brother and correspondent of Patriarch Photios. Sergios, the brother of Photios, began his career simply as imperial *protospatharios* and *logothetes* of the *dromos* (presumably after the downfall of the previous holder of the office, Theoktistos, at the coup of Bardas in 855), and eventually rose to *patrikios*. In all of these seals he used a patriarchal cross, the dominant motif on seals after the middle of the 9th c. (Jordanov 2009, # 827).

Sergios Niketiates, uncle of empress Theodora, perished in 843, therefore, several seals that had been ascribed to him and which certainly date after ca. 850, should have belonged to the other Sergios, the brother of Photios, from the third quarter of the 9th c. Instead, Sergios Niketiates must have issued some earlier seals, first most certainly as *magistros*, *patrikios*, imperial *protospatharios* and *logothetes* of the *dromos* (Laurent 1981, ## 421-422).¹⁸ Despite the fact that the two *boulloteria* give us a different artistic impression, and must have been made by different artisans, they probably belonged to the same man. Furthermore, the absence on both of them of the rank *anthypatos* between *magistros* and *patrikios*, is unique to my knowledge, and points exactly to an early period, before the establishment of *anthypatos* as a proper rank shortly before the middle of the 9th c.

His career stage as *magistros* and *genikos logothetes* probably dates after his tenure as *logothetes* of the *dromos* (PmbZ (online), # 6664). Sergios styled himself simply as *magistros*, while the seals were

¹⁸One should note on the first *boulloterion* the use of the closed form of B instead of its open form that was spread after ca. 850. On the second *boulloterion* (# 422) Laurent erroneously read the rank *anthypatos*, however, one should read: $\Sigma \epsilon \rho \gamma \iota \omega | \text{MAGHC} | \text{ΠΑ} | \text{ΤΡΙΚ} | \text{Ρ} | \text{Α} | \text{C} | \text{ΠΑ} | \text{Θ} | \text{Σ} | \text{ΛΟΓΟΘ} | \text{Τ} | \text{ΔΡΟΜ} |$: Σεργίῳ μαγίσ(τρῳ) πατρικ(ίῳ) β(ασιλικῷ) (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) λογοθ(έτῃ) τ(οῦ) δρόμ(ου). Laurent also published twice one of the seals from the second *boulloterion* (Κωνσταντόπουλος 1917, # 405), once misread as *genikos logothetes* (Laurent 1981, # 308, see also the photo on plate 11, where ΔΡΟΜ/ can be clearly read on the last line), and once as *logothetes* of the *dromos* (Laurent 1981, # 422, the photo on plate 16) is the other seal, Κωνσταντόπουλος 1917, # 407).

evidently made by the second artisan. Finally, since at the death of Theophilos (842), Theoktistos was logothetes of the dromos, Sergios must have been promoted in the meantime to genikos logothetes. In any case, his career ended abruptly in 843, as head of a failed expedition to the Saracens in Crete, which brought his death.¹⁹

35. Olbianos, imperial protospatharios (840-860)

A.1. Unknown present location: Zacos 1984, # 264 (late 9th - early 10th c.)

A.2. Unknown present location: Ebersolt 1914, # 421, name not read

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V); circular inscription between two borders of dots.

Reverse: Cross patriarchal; circular inscription between two borders of dots.

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ὀλβιανῷ // β(ασιλικῷ) (πρωτο) σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) γενικ(ῷ) λογοθ[έτ(η)].

The second seal, which was published by Ebersolt, cannot be found today in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, therefore it was not included in the recently published volume by Cheynet et al. 2012. Ebersolt did not read the name but due to the exceptional characteristics of the combination of the decorations on the Obverse and the Reverse of the seal, we may reasonably assign it to the same official.

The use of a cruciform invocative monogram with a circular inscription reminds of the seal of Theoktiste, mother-in-law of emperor Theophilos, after 830 (Oikonomides 1986, # 48). Such a fashion had existed also earlier in a different form (see, for example, ## 7 and 12 here) but disappeared for about a century. On the Reverse here, instead of an inscription, there is a patriarchal cross with circular inscription, reminding the new fashion of the cross decoration after the end of Iconoclasm. In fact, this seal shows the evolution right before the final predominance of the cross as a form of decoration. The cruciform invocative monogram did not disappear on seals but soon its form was changed. I know no well-dated seals which employ the traditional types of a cruciform invocative monogram (mostly the types so-called Laurent V or VIII) in the 10th century. For these reasons, it seems plausible to place the tenure of Olbianos preferably early in the reign of Michael III (842-867).

36. Petronas, (anthypatos) patrikios, imperial protopatharios and genikos logothetes (ca. 842-855)

A.1. Private collection (unknown): Алексеевко 2016, # 2 (9th c.)

A.2. Museum of Taman: Чхаидзе 2018, # 4 (9th c.)

A.3. Museum of Taman: Чхаидзе 2018, # 5 (9th c.)

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the four quarters; border of dots

Reverse: Inscription in five lines; border of dots

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) τῷ σῷ δούλῳ // + Πετρωνᾶ πατρικίῳ (καὶ) γενικῷ λογοθέτῃ.

B.1. Archaeological Museum of Cherson, 6002: Сокколова 1991, # 44 (third quarter of the 9th c.)

Obverse: Cruciform invocative monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει (Laurent type V) with inscription in the four quarters; border of dots

¹⁹Although there was dispute over the date of the campaign to Crete in which he died (843 or 866), the early case has been adopted by modern research, all the more since the one of 866 never reached Crete: see Tsougarakis 1988, 46-49. The dating of his seals and the distinction between the two Sergioi further favour this scenario.

Reverse: Inscription in four lines; border of dots

(Θεοτόκε βοήθει) [τῷ] σῷ δούλῳ // + Π[ε]τρῶ]ν ἄνθυ[π(άτω) πα]
τρ(ικίῳ) β(ασιλικῷ) (πρωτο)σ[παθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ)] γε(νικῷ) λογ[οθ(έτη)].

As we mentioned above, the ascription of the dignity anthypatos patrikios was quite exceptional in this period, being reserved only for powerful individuals. For this reason, we must exclude an identification with one of the two persons named Petronas (surnamed Kamateros) in this period, who reached up to the dignity of protospatharios and, besides, had a military career.²⁰

The other Petronas was the brother of empress Theodora, wife of emperor Theophilos (829-842) and regent to Michael III (842-867) until 855. During the reign of Theophilos, Petronas served as droungarios of the bigla and was engaged in cases related to his judicial-police duties. It seems that he was not entangled much into politics during the regency of Theodora (842-855) and this must have been the reason for his involvement in the coup that overthrew his sister, leaving Michael III alone on the throne, with his other uncle, Bardas, as the other powerful figure. After the deposition of Theodora, Petronas was engaged in military affairs. He became komes of Opsikion and subsequently strategos of the Thrakesioi leading a sound victory against the Arabs in 863. Only then he received the highest dignity magistros, but died soon (PmbZ (online), # 5929/corr.; Malatras 2021b, 432, 478, with note 140). His tenure as genikos logothetes can be placed sometime during the regency of Theodora, before his engagement with the military affairs, and after his office as droungarios of the bigla (which ranks hierarchically lower than genikos logothetes).

²⁰See PmbZ (online), # 5927. The fact that the only lead seal of Petronas, genikos logothetes, was found in Cherson, where Petronas Kamateros served as the region's first strategos, cannot serve as evidence for the identification, since from this time onward a huge proportion of the seals of genikoi logothetai has been found in the Crimea (see above, footnote 9).

APPENDIX

SHORT CATALOGUE OF THE GENIKOI LOGOTHETAI OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE 9TH C.

37. Epiphanius, imperial protospatharios (850-870)

1 boulloterion, 4 seals (Алексеевко 2005, # 12; Чхайдзе 2015, # 12; Stepanova 1999, # 17; Demos 8: 19-03-2022, # 899]
PmbZ (online), ## 1595,1 and 1596

38. Michael, imperial protospatharios (850-875)

2 boulloteria, 4 seals (Jordanov 2009, # 799; Йорданов 2015, # 799a; Laurent 1981, # 313]
PmbZ (online), ## 25224 and 25236

39. Philotheos, imperial protospatharios (855-866)

5 boulloteria, 8 seals (Jordanov 2009, ## 814-819; Laurent 1981, # 309; Papillon 4: 19-12-2020, # 560)
PmbZ (online), # 6191

40. Ioannes, anthypatos patrikios, imperial protospatharios (860-890)

3 boulloteria, 8 seals (Алексеевко 2005, # 18; Cheynet 2019, # 2.34; Чхайдзе 2015, # 26a1-2, b; Чхайдзе 2018, # 7; Jordanov 2009, ## 783-785)

PmbZ (online), # 3322 (Ioannes of the Angourioi, a eunuch) or # 3339 (Ioannes kata Democharin). If he is identified to Ioannes kata Democharin, there is evidence for a family tradition in the department of the genikon.

41. Konstantinos Androsalites, anthypatos patrikios, imperial protospatharios (867-886)

1 boulloteria, 1 seal (Nummitra 40: 09.11.2024, # 1178)

PmbZ (online), # 23785. Probably active in the early reign of Basileios I (867-886).

42. Theodoros, imperial protospatharios (later also patrikios) (870-890)

6 boulloteria, 24 seals (Алексеев 2020, # 32, 35; Булгакова 2008, # 10; Чхаидзе 2015, # 25; Jordanov 2009, ## 770-782; Laurent 1981, # 314; Shandrovskaja 1995, 90-91; Zacos 1984, ## 309-310; Naumann 75: 03-03-2019, # 886; DO BZS.1955.1.1676; Ereğli Archaeological Museum, 1990 67 (unpublished))

PmbZ (online), # 27653 and # 27658. Since there is already a great number of genikoi logothetai in the third quarter of the 9th c., this one should be rather placed late in the reign of Basileios I (867-886). His seal dates between the 860s and 880s.

43. Leon, (anthypatos) patrikios, imperial protospatharios (875-900)

4 boulloteria, 12 seals (Алексеев 2005, # 18; Cheynet 2019, # 2.34; Чхаидзе 2015, # 26; Jordanov 2009, ## 790-798; Laurent 1981, # 321; Zacos 1984, # 322]

PmbZ (online), # 24359 or # 3339. The later seals of Leon (as anthypatos patrikios) have removed the circular border of dots that used to surround the early type of the patriarchal cross. His tenure thus should date close to the end of the 9th c. One should distinguish the seals of a eunuch Leon, primmikerios, imperial protospatharios and genikos logothetes, dated probably in the beginning of the 10th c. (PmbZ (online), # 24361, # 24395).

44. Photios, imperial protospatharios (890-920)

5 boulloteria, 11 seals (Jordanov 2009, ## 820-827; Laurent 1981, # 318; Munich Staatliche Münzsammlung, 159)

PmbZ (online), # 26675, # 26673

45. Anonymous, imperial protospatharios (860-890)

1 boulloterion, 1 seal (Чхаидзе 2015, # 24)

46. Anonymous (867-900)

1 boulloterion, 1 seal (Чхаидзе 2015, # 23)

ABBREVIATIONS

ACO: Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium (pars 1: concilii actiones I-XI; pars 2: concilii actiones XII-XVIII). Ed. R. Riedinger. 1-11. Berlin 1990-1992 (Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum II/2/1-2 [series secunda, volumen secundum, partes 1-2]).

BHG: Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca

BnF: Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris)

IFEB: Institut Français d'Etudes Byzantines (Paris)

DO: Dumbarton Oaks (Washington, D.C.)

DOS: Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and the Fogg Museum of Art = J. Nesbitt, N. Oikonomides. 1. Italy, North of the Balkans, North of the Black Sea. Washington, D.C. 1991. J. Nesbitt, N. Oikonomides. 3. West, Northwest and Central Asia Minor and the Orient. Washington, D.C. 1996. E. Mc Geer, J. Nesbitt, N. Oikonomides. 4. The East. Washington, D.C. 2001.

PmbZ: Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit, Abteilung I-II. Ed. F. Winkelmann et al., Berlin, New York 1998-2013.

SBS: Studies in Byzantine Sigillography.

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 Ares: Ares Numismatics (Ares Business Solutions BV)
 Concordia: Concordia Numismatics GmbH
 GB: Gert Boersema, Hasselt, The Netherlands
 G&M: Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung GmbH
 Bucephalus: Bucephalus Numismatic
 Biga: Biga Numismatics
 Leu: Leu Numismatik AG
 Müller Solingen: Müller Solingen – Heinz-W. Müller, Solingen-Burg
 MZ: Münz Zentrum Rheinland – Heinz-W. Müller
 Naumann: Numismatik Naumann GmbH
 Nummitra: Nummitra, Kamil Igras, Berlin
 Papillon: Papillonumismatic Ltd
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Ранните логотети на геникона: статут, печати и просопография (от средата на VII в. до средата на IX в.)

Христос МАЛАТРАС

Логотетите на геникона са сред най-значимите служители в централната византийска администрация, тъй като те контролирали данъчното облагане. По тази причина, те обикновено притежавали високи титли и взимали активно участие в държавната политика. Статията разглежда ранния период на съществуване на тази длъжност – от появата ѝ до средата на IX в. Известни са голям брой логотети на геникона, достигнал до нас основно по данни на сфрагистиката. Общо 36 логотети на геникона са идентифицирани от 143 оловни печата, което представлява единствена по своя обем извадка за една длъжност. Изследването включва също пълен хронологичен каталог на тези лица, със съответните сфрагистични свидетелства за тях, както и коментар на тяхната кариера.

Любопитна група от шест византийски моливдовула от XI век

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Преди десетина години на Националния исторически музей в София бяха предадени за изготвяне на експертиза голям брой разнообразни старинни предмети, които са били изнесени незаконно от територията на Република България в Канада. Сред тях има немалко сфрагистични материали. Настоящата публикация се занимава с шест броя византийски моливдовули, намиращи се сред въпросните материали, за които имаме основания да предполагаме, че произхождат от един и същи археологически обект. За това подсказват както общо взето сходният им външен вид, така и обстоятелството, че те са взаимно свързани помежду си по един твърде любопитен начин. За голямо съжаление никога няма да се разбере от кой конкретен археологически обект са били изкопани от иманярите тези печати. Можем само да бъдем сигурни в това, че те произхождат от съвременната територия на България и, както ще видим по-долу, най-вероятно от Южна България.

Описанието на шестте оловни печата е както следва:

1. Моливдовул на Теодор, асикрит и крит на тема Другувития (обр. 1)

Олово. Добре запазен, но частично отпечатан екземпляр.

Диаметър 22-23 мм. Тегло 9.22 г.

Лице: Частично отпечатан надпис в пет реда (табл. I.1).

Опако: Частично отпечатан надпис в пет реда (табл. II.1).

В развързан вид надписът върху лицевата и обратната страна гласи: + Κ (ύρι)ε βο[ήθ]ει τῷ [σῶ] δούλῳ [Θε]οδώρ(ω) ἀσκηκρήτις [καὶ] κριτ(ῆ) Δρουγ[ου]βιτ(είας).



Обр. 1.

2. Моливдовул на същия Теодор, асикрит и крит на тема Другувития, но върху него е препечатан друг, по-късен моливдовул (обр. 2)



Обр. 2.

Олово. Обезличен в значителна степен екземпляр. Диаметър 22-24 мм. Тегло 7.48 г.

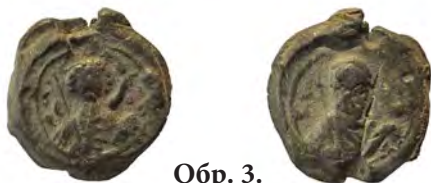
Лице: Лицевата страна на моливдовула е изцяло обезличена. Върху нея е препечатана лицевата страна на друг, по-късен и по-малък моливдовул: Частично личащ надпис (**табл. I.2**). Частично отпечатано бюстово изображение на свети Георги, с нимб, броня и наметало, насреща. С дясната си ръка държи копие, опряно на дясното му рамо. Лявата му ръка и щитът, който държи с нея, не са се отпечатали. Това бюстово изображение не свети Георги е отпечатано със същата матрица, която е била използвана за лицева страна на булотирионите, посредством които са отпечатани описаните по-долу, под # 3-6, моливдовули.

Опако: Частично отпечатан надпис в пет реда (**табл. II.2**). Опаката страна не е била препечатана.

Този втори моливдовул на Теодор, асикрит и крит (съдия) на Другувития, е бил отпечатан със същия булотирион като # 1. В развързан вид надписът около образа на свети Георги, при препечатката върху лицевата страна, гласи: 'Ο ἄ(γ)ιος Γε[ώ]ρ(γ)ιος.

3. Анонимен византийски моливдовул с образите на свети Георги и свети Димитър (обр. 3)

Олово. Частично обезличен и спукан екземпляр. Диаметър



Обр. 3.

15-16 мм. Тегло 4.35 г.

Лице: Надпис (**табл. I.3**). Бюст на свети Георги, с нимб, броня и наметало, насреща. С дясната си ръка държи копие, опряно на дясното му рамо, а с лявата – щит.

Опако: Надпис (**табл. II.3**). Бюст на свети Димитър, с нимб, броня и наметало, насреща. С дясната си ръка държи копие, опряно на дясното му рамо, а с лявата – щит.

В развързан вид надписите върху лицевата и обратната страна гласят: 'Ο ἄ(γ)ιος Γε[ώ]ργιος и 'Ο ἄ(γ)ιος [Δ]ημ(ή)τριος.

4. **Анонимен византийски моливдовул с образите на свети Георги и свети Димитър, отпечатан посредством същия булотирион като # 3 и 5 (обр. 4)**



Обр. 4.

Олово. Частично обезличен и частично корозирал екземпляр. Диаметър 14-15 мм. Тегло 3.76 г.

Лице: Частично личащият надпис и изображението са отпечатани посредством същия булотирион като # 3 и 5.

Опако: Надписът не личи. Изображението е отпечатано посредством същия булотирион като # 3 и 5.

5. **Анонимен византийски моливдовул, с образите на свети Георги и свети Димитър, отпечатан посредством същия булотирион като # 3 и 4 (обр. 5)**



Обр. 5.

Олово. Частично отпечатан и частично обезличен екземпляр. Диаметър 17-18 мм. Тегло 5.16 г.

Лице: Частично личащият надпис и изображението са отпечатани посредством същия булотирион като # 3 и 4.

Опако: Надписът не личи. Частично личащото изображение е отпечатано посредством същия булотирион като # 3 и 4.

6. **Анонимен византийски моливдовул, с образите на света Богородица и на свети Георги (обр. 6)**



Обр. 6.

Олово. Частично обезличен и частично корозирал екземпляр. Диаметър 18-20 мм. Тегло 9.07 г.

Лице: Частично личащ надпис (**табл. I.4**). Бюст на света Богородица Оранта, с нимб, туника и мафорион, насреща.

Опако: Частично личащ надпис (**табл. II.4**). Бюст на свети

1
 + KERO
 --EITW
 --ДУЛW
 --QD.W
 P, -

2
 Г | --
 Е | --
 P | --

3
 Г | Г
 Е | О
 P | С

4
--	--

Таблица I

1
 -- --
 АСИН
 КРНТИС
 - КИРТ -
 ДРУГ -
 РИТ

2
 АСИН
 -РНТ--
 -КИР--
 --У--
 -ИГ

3
 -- --
 Н | --
 М | --

4
 Г | --
 Е | --
 P | --

Таблица II

Таблица 1-2. Легенди върху моливдовулите – I: лице; II: опako (рис.: В. Пенчев).

Георги, с нимб, броня и наметало, насреща. С дясната си ръка държи копие, опряно на дясното му рамо, а с лявата – щит. Това бюстово изображение на свети Георги е отпечатано със същата матрица, която е била използвана за булотириона, посредством който са отпечатани моливдовулите, описани под # 3-5, както и препечатката при # 2.

Описаните под # 1 и 2 оловни печати са някой си Теодор, който е изпълнявал длъжността асикрит (секретар) и крит (съдия) в темата Другувития. От този сравнително високопоставен византийски чиновник досега са известни три моливдовула, като два от тях се публикуват понастоящем. Първият екземпляр е бил намерен при археологически разкопки на средновековно селище, съществувало и през XI-XII в., в землището на днешното село Полски Градец, намиращо се недалеч от град Раднево (Jordanov 2003, 71, # 24.3). И трите екземпляра са отпечатани посредством един и същи булотирион. Що се отнася до датировката им, тя несъмнено трябва да се отнесе към XI в. (Jordanov 2003, 71), като според нас може да се прецизира към първата половина или някъде около средата на това столетие.

Публикуваният понастоящем под # 1 екземпляр дава възможност да се поправи една дребна, но досадна грешка, допусната при разчитането на печата от Полски Градец. При него, последната буква от надписа върху лицевата му страна, която самостоятелно оформя и петия ред, е погрешно прочетена като Т (Jordanov 2003, 71). Причината за това е обстоятелството, че при

въпросния моливдовул тази буква се е размазала при отпечатването. Публикуваният тук под # 1 екземпляр, при който петият ред от лицевия надпис е отпечатан много добре и личи ясно, показва, че буквата е всъщност Р, а не Т. Следователно, името на издателя на моливдовула е Теодор, а не Теодот.

Друго уточнение, което може да се направи от публикувания тук под # 1 екземпляр е, че вече можем да сме напълно сигурни, че действително е изписано името на темата Другувития. Поради частичното отпечатване на това име, при екземпляра от Полски Градец разчитането му не беше сигурно и беше възможна и друга хипотеза относно смисъла на текста (Jordanov 2003, 71). Поради обстоятелството, че понастоящем тази втора хипотеза е доказано несъстоятелна, няма да се спираме тук върху нея.

Както изглежда, майсторът, гравирал матриците на булотириона на Теодор, асикрит и крит на Другувития, не е бил много грамотен. Шаблонният надпис върху лицевата матрица е бил гравирани без грешки, но при този върху обратната матрица са допуснати две груби грешки. При изписването на думата „асикрит“, в нейната начална част, след буквата С са изписани една след друга буквите I и H, вместо само H. А при изписването на думата „крит“, местата на буквите Р и I са разменени и се е получило „кирт“. Вероятно гравьорът, изработил булотириона, не е бил наясно как точно трябва да изпише именно тези две думи, обозначаващи длъжностите на чиновника, който му е бил възложил поръчката. От друга страна, и въпросният чиновник може би също не е бил много грамотен или за него просто е било без значение, след като е започнал да употребява булотириона за подпечатване на издадените от него документи и на писмата си, въпреки наличието на тези грешки в надписа.

Върху публикувания тук под # 2 моливдовул, който е също на Теодор, асикрит и крит на Другувития, е препечатан (само лицевата страна) друг моливдовул, който, както ще видим по-долу, е анонимен. Върху тази препечатка е представено бюстово изображение на свети Георги. Този вид анонимни печати се датират във втората половина на XI в. (Jordanov 2009, 796, # 2509-2511). Следователно някъде през втората половина на XI в., някакво лице, което се явява издател на анонимни оловни печати, върху едната страна на които има бюстово изображение на свети Георги, не е имало на разположение новопроизведени ядра за моливдовули и е използвало един по-стар моливдовул, който му е бил под ръка, за ядро. Чрез някакво шило или дебела игла е бил направен проходим каналът за шнура на този по-стар моливдовул. След това той е бил прикрепен чрез нов шнур към ново писмо (или документ) и е било осъществено препечатването му – само чрез едната матрица на булотирион. Това обстоятелство показва, че двете матрици на въпросния булотирион са били така скачени една с друга, че да могат лесно да се разкачат. Най-вероятно върху стария моливдовул, използван като ядро, е отпечатана само една от матриците на булотириона, с цел да не се прокъса това старо ядро при отпечатването му едновременно с двете матрици, тъй като то и без това е твърде изтънено от първоначалното му отпечатване.

Получава се интересна ситуация. Ако приемем, че шестте моливдовула, които са обект на настоящата публикация, са част

от един и същи архив от втората половина на XI в., в него трябва да е влизало едно писмо (или по-вероятно някакъв документ), скрепено с моливдовула на Теодор, асикрит и крит на Другувития (# 1 в каталога на настоящата публикация) и поне пет други писма, чиито подател е една личност – издателят на анонимните оловни печати, върху едната страна на които има бюстово изображение на свети Георги. Това, че издателят на всичките тези пет анонимни печата (# 2-6) е едно и също лице, недвусмислено се потвърждава от факта, че те са отпечатани посредством една и съща матрица (тази за бюстовото изображение на Свети Георги).

Според нас въпросната личност също е имала свой архив от писма и документи. Тя е разполагала и със собствен булотирион (за анонимни печата), за подпечатване на изпращани от нея писма и документи. Върху едната страна на този булотирион е било гравирано бюстово изображение на свети Георги, а върху другата – бюстово изображение на свети Димитър. Чрез него са били скрепени с печати поне три писма (# 3-5). В някакъв момент, поради липса на готови неотпечатани оловни ядра, е било използвано старо ядро от моливдовул (# 2), подпечатано, поради изтъкнатата по-горе причина, само с едната матрица на въпросния булотирион. Това показва, че двете матрици са били лесно разкачвани една от друга. В някакъв друг момент едната матрица на въпросния булотирион (тази с образа на свети Димитър) е била заменена с нова (тази с бюстовото изображение на Богородица Оранта). Това вероятно се е наложило поради повреда на заменената матрица. От така комплектувания нов булотирион имаме само един моливдовул (# 6).

Тези подробни и донякъде досадни констатации и разсъждения имат за цел да се направи опит за известно осветляване на практическото използване на оловните печати в ежедневието на две очевидно частни лица в провинциална Византия през XI в. От една страна имаме шест печата, представляващи част от някакъв малък личен архив. Сред тях е имало едно писмо (или по-вероятно документ), издаден от едно длъжностно лице, и пет други писма, изпратени от един и същи подател. Въпросният подател на тези пет писма несъмнено е бил частно лице, тъй като неговите моливдовули са анонимни. За нас остават неизвестни името му и евентуалните му титли, но за получателя на писмата те са били ясни.

От друга страна, имаме собственика на булотириона за анонимните печати. Той несъмнено е бил получил писмо (или документ) от същото длъжностно лице – Теодор, асикрит и крит на Другувития, но не е държал особено да го запази, тъй като след време е употребил скрепящия го моливдовул като ядро за отпечатване на свой собствен печат. В даден момент булотирионът му се е повредил и е станало необходимо да замени една от матриците му с нова. Неясно защо върху новата матрица е пожелал да не се възпроизведе изображението на свети Димитър, а то да бъде заменено с такова на Богородица Оранта. Очевидно собственикът на този булотирион е бил в твърде близки отношения с лицето, част от архива на което са публикуваните тук шест печата, защото цели пет от тези шест писма (или документи), са били изпратени само от него. Може би те са били близки роднини или добри приятели.

¹ Вж. последно обобщение на дискусиите по този въпрос у Gkoutzioukostas 2019.

Накрая, трябва да кажем няколко думи за трите известни понастоящем печата на Теодор, асикрит и крит на Другувития. Традиционно се счита, че темата Другувития (Jordanov 2003, 69) е обхващала територии, разположени северно от град Солун¹ и е била населена основно от българско население. Названието ѝ произлиза от името на славянското племе Драговити, което е населявало тази област, и чиито членове са били поданици на византийския император (Йорданов 2019, 181-182). Не е известно докъде се е простирала в северна посока тази тема, но надали в нея е влизало средновековното село, намирало се в землището на днешното село Полски Градец, откъдето произхожда първият известен екземпляр от моливдовулите на Теодор, асикрит и крит на Другувития. Както вече споменахме по-горе, местонамирането на другите два екземпляра, които публикуваме понастоящем, е неизвестно, но все пак можем със сигурност да приемем, че произхождат от днешната територия на България. Следователно и те са открити извън територията на темата Другувития. Ив. Йорданов публикува информация за общо 44 моливдовула, при които е изписано името Другувития (Йорданов 2014; Йорданов 2019, 181-196); още един е издаден от Ж.-К. Шене (Cheynet 2022, 280-281, # 3.99). С двата екземпляра, които представяме понастоящем, публикуваните такива паметници стават поне 47. От тях, 33 плюс нашите два – общо 35 броя, произхождат от днешните български земи (Йорданов 2019, 194). По-голямата част от тези печати, включително и трите на Теодор, са на съдии на Другувития. С основание Ив. Йорданов поставя въпроса дали съдиите на тема Другувития не са имали някаква допълнителна юрисдикция и извън нейната територия, по-конкретно на север от тази територия (Йорданов 2019, 194). Въпрос, на който понастоящем не може да се отговори.

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An interesting group of six Byzantine molybdoboulla from the 11th century

Vladimir PENCHEV

Published here are six Byzantine lead seals (molybdoboulla), which originate from the modern territory of Bulgaria, most likely south of the Stara Planina Mountains. The seals were, unfortunately, unearthed by looters,

and the exact location of the archaeological site is unknown. At present, the six lead seals are housed in the National History Museum, in Sofia.

Two molybdeboulla were issued by a certain Theodore, aseketis and krites of the thema of Drougoubiteia. They date back to around the middle of the 11th century. The remaining four pieces are anonymous Byzantine lead seals from the second half of the 11th century. Most likely, all specimens published here were part of some archive from the second half of the 11th century, the contents of which will, unfortunately, remain unknown.

Were the Byzantine officers called Vekhkatzi of Armenian or of Iberian origin?

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In the small village of Ekeki (modern Vişneli), in southern Tao, north-west of Tortum, in modern northeastern Turkey, there existed, at least from the early 11th until the middle of the 20th century, a church with a chapel at its western front – in modern times reused by the Muslim residents as a mosque. The complex was totally demolished shortly after the middle of the 20th century, when a new mosque was built (Baumgartner 1996, 325).¹ The chapel and perhaps also the church were dedicated to the Theotokos.

This ensemble featured a lot of Greek and Georgian inscriptions, which are lost today. One among those in Greek, located in the chapel and dated from the year 1006/1007 (6515 of the Byzantine era), mentions a Gregorios, patrikios and strategos of Larissa (in Cappadocia, Anatolia) and Makedonia, son of Sympates Bekhkatzi² (Iber) patrikios.³ Bekhkatzi was pronounced Vekhkatzi or Vikhkatzi at that time. Perhaps Gregorios (Grigor/Grigol) was one of the ktetores of the chapel. Both men, Grigol and his father Smbat, were surely members of the Iberian aristocracy of Tao who had served in the Byzantine army in the last quarter of the 10th century (Smbat himself, perhaps, even earlier). As for the high title of patrikios, it points to the nobility, because Basileios II was quite restrictive in the promotion of dignitaries and many generals had to be content with the lower title of protospatharios. After the important victory of an Iberian army under the command of Jojik and Tornikios (in cooperation with Byzantine forces under the command of Bardas Phokas) against the rebel Bardas Skleros in March 24, AD 979, near Sarvenis (Seibt 1976, 47–48), some Iberian aristocrats entered high ranks in the military service of the emperor.

An Armenian inscription in Ani (on the wall of the cathedral) from the year 1060 mentions Bagrat Vxkac'i, magistros and Arewelic' katepan (scil. magistros and katepano of the East / κατεπάνω Ἀνατολῆς).⁴ This man is apparently identical with Παγκράτιος, who had been doux of Vaspurakan⁵ in 1059 and became doux of Ani in 1064, but in that same year he lost the town (and its region) to Alp Arslan, the Seldjuk sultan. Skylitzes Continuatus and Attaleiates call him an Armenian,⁶ but that is not of great value, as many Byzantines did not make much

¹ In earlier publications this village was called erroneously Egrek or Agrak.

² Probably written RHKKATZI; the open Beta at the beginning was initially misinterpreted as a Kappa.

³ "... Γρηγορίου πατρικίου καὶ στρατηγοῦ Λαρίσης καὶ Μακαιδονίας υἱοῦ Συμπάτι πατρικίου τοῦ Βηγκάτζι τοῦ Ἰβηρος". Ἰβηρος is a conjecture, though a plausible one. Cf. Bartikian 2002, 768; Lemerle 1966, 177–183; Lemerle 1960, 32; Αβραμέα 1974, 32; Каждан 1975, 65.

⁴ This inscription is often mentioned in scholarly literature, cf. Bartikian 2002, 767. The katepano Anatoles is not identical with the doux of Ani.

⁵ According to the chronological notice in the testament of Eustathios Boilas: Παγκράτιου (δουκὸς) Βασπρακ(νίας); cf. Lemerle 1977, 39, ll. 18–19; Бенешевич 1921, 16.

⁶ Skylitzes Continuatus 1968, 113.13–22; Attaleiates 2011, 64.3. Attaleiates attaches little value to the qualities of this general – he was guilty of the loss of this important city to the empire.

differences between Armenians and Georgians/Iberians, and the term Iber included many Armenians.⁷ Matthew of Edessa calls the two Byzantine commanders of Ani for the year 1064, Bagrat, father of Smbat, and Grigor, son of Bakouran, of which the latter is qualified as Georgian (Vrac'i azgun).⁸ Perhaps this Smbat is identical with the doux of Edessa in 1083 – after the death of Basileios Apokapes (Matthew of Edessa 1898 (Vałaršapat), 223; Matthew of Edessa 1869 (Jerusalem), 268-269; Matthew of Edessa transl. 1993, 147).

Concerning the etymology of the surname resp. family name Vxkatzi/Vixkatzi/Vekhhkatzi, Armenian scholars have interpreted the ending *-atzi* as an equivalent to the Armenian suffix *-ac'i*, explaining the geographical origin of a person, similar to Xorenac'i, Klaec'i, Narekac'i etc. And they could have really been right, considering the name of a small village called Vixik (modern Vihik. Cf. Hakobyan et al. 1998, 803: Vek'ixas; 807: Vik'eças), in the region of Tortum, which has been interpreted as the family's place of origin (Bartikian 2002, 773, with note 34). Citizens of this village, who had purchased an Armenian *tetraevangelium*, are mentioned as *wixikart vel wixikarni* in the 14th/15th c. colophon in Georgian on that same manuscript (Мартъ 1911, 1298; Bartikian 2002, 773, with note 32). This interpretation seems plausible, yet Byzantine sources mention many names ending in *-άτζης*, as well as others ending in *-ατζής* or *-ατζής*, without an Armenian connection.⁹

We would like to suggest an alternative. The ending *-katzi* resembles primarily the Georgian word *k'aci* ("man"). The first component of the name, *veχ*, could be a shortened version of the Georgian *vepxi*,¹⁰ indicating in modern Georgian the „tiger“, but in medieval times the „panther“. This interpretation would relate the name to the hero of the Georgian epos *Vepxis t'q'aosani*. The names *Vepkhia* (popular in mountainous regions of Georgia) and *Vepkhvadze* are encountered in Georgian.¹²

In a similar way e.g. the Georgian name *Lomk'aci*, "lion-man" (meaning a very big man), used as both first and last name (like *Lomk'acishvili*), could be a *tertium comparationis*. Cf. also *Mgel-kac-i* (wolf-man) or the Megrelian *Gurikocha vel Gurkocha* (a man with a heart, a brave man).

Though we accept the grammatical possibility of an Armenian etymology of the name *Vekhhkatzi*, the common historical background renders, in our opinion, an additional argument for Georgian. The name represents a quite proud and energetic Georgian aristocrat.

ABBREVIATIONS

PLP: Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit. Ed. E. Trapp et al. Wien 1976-1995.

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⁷ The majority of the population in Byzantine Iberia were Armenians, and Armenians following Chalkedon and not the Armenian apostolic church were also called Iberians.

⁸ Matthew of Edessa 1898 (Vałaršapat), 148; Matthew of Edessa 1869 (Jerusalem), 177; Matthew of Edessa transl. 1993, 103. Some scholars attempted to "correct" the word "father" (in the case of Bagrat). Hence, Ačařyan 1942, 358, # 22, calls him "son of Smbat", while Bartikian 2002, 767 writes of "Bagarat, frère de Smbat".

⁹ Cf. PLP, Abkürzungsverzeichnis, p. 398. In the early Palaiologan era, the name *Gonikatzes* is attested in the area of Hierissos, cf. PLP, # 4299-4301.

¹⁰ The consonants *-πχκ-* would be difficult to be pronounced in Greek language.

¹¹ Such an interpretation was already suggested as a possibility in Baumgartner's dissertation, as a proposal of his professor. In Byzantium are also attested the names *Βήχας*, *Βίχας* and *Βηχορτζός*; PLP, # 2710-2712, 2770-2771, 91505-91506.

¹² For this and the following relevant information, I thank Tamar Sukhishvili and Tamar Otkhmezuri.

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От арменски или иверски произход са били византийските служители на име Вихкаци?

Вернер ЗАЙБТ

Четирима византийски военачалници с фамилия (или родово име) Вихкаци (Bekhkatzi/Vikhkatzi *vel* Vkhkatsi) са известни от края на X и XI в. Един гръцки надпис от Екеки (в южната част на област Тао, дн. Турция), датиращ от 1006/1007 г., споменава лице на име Грегорий (Grigor/Grigol), син на Симбат Вихкаци (Βηχκάτζι), като бивш стратег на Лариса (в Кападокия) и на Македония. Арменски надпис в Ани съобщава за един Баграт Vġkas'i като магистър и катепан на Изтока в годината 1060. Вероятно той е бил бащата на Симбат, който изглежда идентичен с дука на Едеса през 1083 г.

Няма съмнение, че това семейство води корените си от Южен Кавказ, като изворите съобщават или за арменски, или за иверийски произход. Теорията на Х. Бартикян се е превърнала повече или по-малко в *communis opinio*: той счита суфикса -аци/-atzes като доказателство за арменска етимология, тълкувайки значението на името като „мъж, човек от Викхик“. Ние бихме предпочели да интерпретираме втората част на името с грузинското -k'asi („мъж, човек“) и да тълкуваме първата част като редуцирана форма на думата verkhī (през средновековието „пантера“, днес „тигър“). Подобна е конструкцията на добре познатото грузинско име Lomk'asi („лъв-човек“).

Monograms in Byzantine written culture and their reception in medieval Bulgaria

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INTRODUCTION

Monograms (from Greek μονόγραμμα, το – a compound noun from μόνος, “one, alone”, and γράμμα, “letter”) represent a method of abbreviated writing of words by combining some of their characters into a single unified composition. As a phenomenon, they accompany the entire development of Byzantine script from the 4th to the 15th century, penetrating to varying degrees into the written traditions of the neighbouring countries belonging to the Byzantine commonwealth, including medieval Bulgaria. Inherited from Antiquity, where they first appeared in Hellenistic coinage and subsequently entered into the emblematics of the Roman emperors (Garipzanov 2018, 109–111), monograms are invariably semantically related to a particular individual (whose name, office, or title they denote) or to a specific institution/community (mint, monastery, family or dynasty). Their purpose could vary depending on where they were placed, as well as on the context of the given period. They are attested in a wide range of materials: on architectural monuments (fortification works, church façades), works of stone sculpture (column capitals, friezes, slabs) and monumental art (mosaics, wall-paintings, icons), works of toreutics (including control stamps guaranteeing the quality of early Byzantine silverware), jewellery (rings, bracelets, earrings, belt fittings), small-scale sculpture (e.g., ivory diptychs), specimens of numismatics and sigillography (coins, matrices and especially seals attached to letters, documents, etc.), ceramics (structural, household and decorative), glass (exagia, glassware stamps), textiles (clothing, shrouds) and manuscripts (official documents, religious texts and their book bindings) (Seibt 2005, 599–613).

It is noteworthy that the thousands of Byzantine monograms known to scholarship are still most often examined within the context of studies in sigillography, and unfortunately have not yet been the subject of a comprehensive systematic investigation. Considerably more attention has also been devoted to monograms from Late Antiquity. The contributions of scholars such as V. Gardthausen, V.

Laurent, W. Fink, W. Seibt, and M. Grünbart are indisputable, while more recently an attempt at systematization through the compilation of an alphabetized lexicon of monograms and names has been undertaken by R. Feind. The so-called alphabetization (arranging the letters of the monogram in alphabetical order) lies at the core of the most popular analytical method of decipherment (the Fink–Seibt–Grünbart method), which, however, does not have universal application (Feind 2010, 38). The problem stems from the fact that the commissioner of a given monogram seems to have determined the way in which it should be designed, often privileging aesthetic effect rather than linguistic rules or the possibility of easier decipherment. Among the more common monograms there are some which can simultaneously denote several quite different names, which happen by chance to share the same letters. A striking example is the emperors Anastasius (491-518) and Justinian (527-565), who, despite their different names, employed the same monogram, containing the letters N, A, C, T, I, O, V (Степанова 2000, 232). Most monograms are read from left to right, but not all. Their component signs may also be placed vertically, one above the other, inscribed into one another, and so on. Often the written letters occur more than once in the name, which further complicates the picture. Moreover, it is not always clear whether the monogram contains only a name, or also a title/office, if not an entire phrase (most commonly a prayer formula). Monograms are almost always independent inscriptions, but there are also cases of their use as elements of a word or a longer text. It is precisely this arbitrariness that distinguishes them from other types of abbreviations (Gardthausen 1879, 115-116, 243-260; Mioni 2009, 115-116). At the same time, however, they often incorporate elements characteristic of those other types of abbreviations, including involutions (letters inscribed one into another), juxtapositions (letters written one above another) and ligatures (Fink 1981, 76). Matters become even more complicated when monograms are not fully preserved. Working on them requires not only competence in Byzantine Greek (and in some cases Latin, Middle Bulgarian or other languages), but also preparation in epigraphy, palaeography, onomastics and prosopography, as well as familiarity with the cultural-historical and social contexts.

CLASSIFICATION

It is customary, depending on their form, to classify monograms into two major categories: box-shaped (block) and cruciform, while some lesser-studied varieties will likewise be discussed here.

Box-shaped monograms. Box-shaped monograms are distinguished by their squared form, in which the design is centered around a main letter, written larger, into which or onto which several additional graphic signs are inscribed or ligatured (**fig. 1**). Thus, for example, in a box-shaped monogram the crescent of the letter ϵ may contain within itself a C, a Π may include a Γ , an A may encompass a Λ , and so forth. Box-shaped monograms, inherited from Antiquity, were employed with varying intensity until the very end of the Empire, but were most widespread in the 4th-6th centuries. During the Early Byzantine period they appear, for instance, on column capitals of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, denoting the names of Emperor Justinian I and his wife Theodora (Δετοράκης 2009, 75-77); on the throne of the

Fig. 1. Box-shaped monograms on Early Byzantine bricks (Mango 1950, fig. 3).

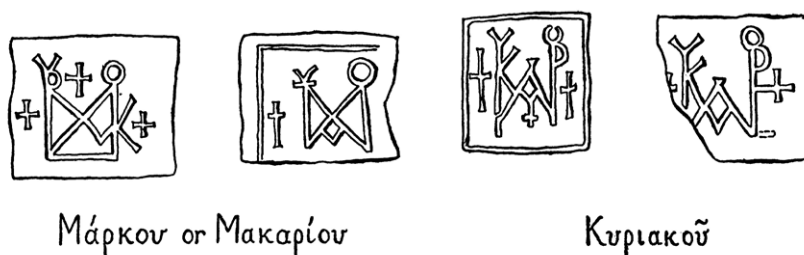


Fig. 2. Box-shaped monograms of the 14th c.: ΠΡ(Ο)ΔΡ(Ο)Μ(Ο)C, attested on a glazed plate from Kastritsi fortress and on a pectoral icon of St. John the Baptist from Vatopedi monastery (Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos et al. 2001, 127); ΠΑ(ΤΡΗΔΡ)Χ(Σ), found on glazed ceramics from Tarnovo (graphic images: G. Sengalevich).



Fig. 3. Box-shaped monogram “Damian”: ΔΑΜ(Ι)ΑΝ(Ο)C, inscribed on a stone disc from Partenit bearing the name of the Metropolitan of Theodoro, Damian, 1427 (Мыц 1991, 187, fig. 4, # 1).

Ravennate bishop Maximian from the 6th century (Yeroulanou 1999, 185); on a prosphora stamp from 610-625 (Буζάντιо 2009, 159: # 112); on a set of silver spoons from Egypt dating to the 6th-7th centuries (Fotopoulos, Delivorrias 1997, 207, # 349); on rings from the 4th-6th centuries (Думанов 2003, 126-130) and on costume fittings, such as a silver belt buckle from the late 6th century (Fotopoulos, Delivorrias 1997, 216, # 383); as well as on the ivory consular diptychs of Boethius and Areobindus, dated to 487 and 506 respectively (Степанова 2000, 233). The monogrammatic fashion also penetrated “barbarian” societies striving by all means to imitate the “civilized” world: the Ostrogothic ruler Theoderic the Great (493-518), for example, minted coins with his Latin box-shaped monogram (Seibt 2016, 5).

After the end of the 6th century, box-shaped monograms did not disappear entirely, but receded to the background, becoming more variable and simplified in appearance. A late example of this form is the monogram ΠΡ(Ο)ΔΡ(Ο)Μ(Ο)C, signifying the attribute “Forerunner” in depictions of St. John the Baptist from the 11th century onwards: for instance, the frescoes of the Hosios Loukas monastery in Phocis from the third quarter of the 11th century (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1994, fig. 10), the mosaic depictions of the Baptist in the churches of Pammakaristos and Chora in Constantinople from the early 14th century (Χατζηδάκη 1994, fig. 167, 193), two encolpia from the Vatopedi monastery collection (Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos et al. 2001, 124-127), the basilika coins of John V (1341-1391) and John VI (1347-1354) (Morrisson 1991, 267), as well as on the most popular type of Byzantine Elaborate Incised Ware with underglaze monograms (Sengalevich 2021, 165-190) (fig. 2). A similar appearance characterizes several other monograms: one on the seal of Ioannes Tilapos from the late 12th-13th century (Seibt, Zarnitz 1997, 169); the monogram of Damian, metropolitan of Theodoro in Crimea, on a stone disk of 1427 (fig. 3); and the monograms of Andrea Gropa, Lord of Ohrid in the late 14th century (Ovcharov 2006, 19-20). Following Byzantine models, a box-shaped Cyrillic monogram of the high spiritual rank *patriarch* also appeared in the Bulgarian capital Tarnovo, known from glazed ceramics (Сенгалеви́ч 2024, 223-225) (fig. 2).

Cruciform monograms. In the 520s another broad category emerged: the cruciform monograms, which quickly became a veritable emblem of Byzantine written culture. They gained popularity for several reasons: first, the monogram is centered on the symbol of the cross; second, the possibilities for including more letters are increased; and third, they are easier to read. In cruciform monograms the signs are most often inscribed at the four ends of the perpendicularly intersecting arms of the cross, though sometimes also in the four quadrants (interstices), as well as at the point of intersection. The

earliest known examples are found on *minimi* of Justin I (518-527), minted in Antioch in 522 (Seibt 2016, 7), while the mass adoption of the form is marked by the cruciform monograms of Justinian I and Theodora on architectural details of imposing building projects such as the churches of Hagia Sophia, Hagia Irene and SS. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople, the basilica of St. John the Theologian in Ephesus, and others (**fig. 4**). The process of box-shaped monograms being supplanted by cruciform ones is clearly documented already in the 6th century in numismatic and sphragistic material, as well as in luxury items of toreutics and jewellery (Степанова 2000, 236; Nesbitt 1977, 113). Examples include a silver chalice and paten with the monograms of the donor Maria from the late 6th - early 7th century (Fotopoulos, Delivorrias 1997, 182-183, # 310-312); a set of silver spoons from the Mytilene hoard, concealed ca. 626 (Touratsoglou, Chalkia 2008, 73-75); and especially the monograms on control stamps of Early Byzantine silver (Mundell Mango 1992, 207-210). Cruciform monograms are also found on numerous luxury ornaments and costume elements: a gold fibula from Constantinople dated to the 6th century (Eger 2017, 313-314), several gold and silver belt buckles from the late 6th - first half of the 7th century (Ricci 2012, 9, 13), a gold necklace of the 7th century (Yeroulanou 1999, 216), the gold rings from Malaya Pereshchepina of the 7th century (Werner 1984, 44-45, Taf. 32), one of the gold bracelets of the Mytilene hoard (Touratsoglou, Chalkia 2008, 102-103), as well as the gold earrings from Rhode Island and from the Benaki Museum of the early 7th century (Stanilov, Sengalevich 2019, 112, fig. 1).

Perhaps due to the emphasis on the cross, during the iconoclastic period in Byzantium this category of monograms predominated markedly. In general, earlier cruciform monograms of the 6th-7th centuries are characterized by shorter cross-arms and larger letters placed closer to the center, while over time, especially in the 8th and 9th centuries, visible changes occur: the arms lengthen, the letters diminish, and more signs are added, arranged not only at the ends but also along the arms and in the quadrants of the cross (Τσουγκαράκης 1999, 66). On the wings of the bronze door of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, for instance, large cruciform monograms of Michael II (821-829), Theophilos (829-842) and his wife Theodora are visible, bearing these new characteristics (**fig. 5**). Such monograms occur particularly frequently on lead seals of the Middle Byzantine period, though with decreasing intensity in the 9th-12th centuries (**fig. 6**). A notable variation, characteristic of the 10th century, are the *actinomorphic* monograms, in which to the four arms of the cross four more are added diagonally – i.e., a total of eight “rays,” with letters inscribed at the ends (Seibt 2016, 10).

Cruciform monograms also penetrated the Latin West, in documents and coins of rulers such as Charlemagne (768-814) (Flämig 1961, 9-10, 30). Numerous examples of this category are likewise attested in the Late Byzantine period: for instance, in the basilica of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid in the early 14th century, Archbishop Gregory placed his cruciform monogram on the ambo of the cathedral (Maksimović 1971, fig. 225). In the palatial church of Hagia Sophia in Mystras, the Moreote despot Manuel Kantakouzenos (1349-1380) commissioned his monograms on marble cornices of the interior (Millet 1899, 143). Cruciform are also the monograms on a capital



Fig. 4. Cruciform monogram of Empress Theodora: ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑC, on a capital from the church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople, ca. 536 (photo: G. Sengalevich).



Fig. 5. Cruciform monogram of Empress Theodora: ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑ ΑΥΓCΤΗ (= Θεοδώρα αὐγούστη). Part of an invocative monogrammatic inscription on the bronze doors of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, installed by Emperor Theophilos (829-842) (photo: G. Sengalevich).



Fig. 6. Lead seal of Michael dioiketes with a cruciform monogram on the obverse, containing the invocation “Mother of God, help”: ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΗ, and the tetragram “your servant”: ΤΩ-Ω-Δδ-ΛΩ in the interstices, 8th-9th c. (Το Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμένη 2001, 170, # 75).



Fig. 7. Slab with a monogrammatic inscription of Tsar John Alexander (1331-1371) from Nesebar (photo: G. Sengalevich).

from Constantinople bearing the monogram “of Helena” (Moutafov 2014, fig. 1); on the epitaphios donated by Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos to the Vatopedi monastery, with a monogram of the foundation (Loverdou-Tsigarida 2003, fig. 22-23); on the silver ring of Vlasios Melachrinos, the gold ring with the monogram *Manuel* and many other rings of the 13th-15th centuries (Spier 2013, pl. 14: cat. 48, pl. 18: fig. 13; Тотев 2010, табл. IX). With cruciform monograms are inscribed the names of St. Basil the Great and of Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos in a manuscript of the mid-15th century (Seibt 2005, Abb. 19-20). Relatively rare are such monograms on specimens of Byzantine ceramics (Rice 1930, 76-77, fig. 6: # 9-10).

Curiously, in medieval Bulgaria cruciform monograms, perceived almost as the calling card of Byzantine culture, enjoyed little popularity. Nearly all known examples are in fact subjects of Greek epigraphy. Such, for instance, is the cruciform monogram of Tsar John Alexander (1331-1371), sculpted on a slab from Nesebar (fig. 7), and the monogram incised on a glazed bowl insert for façade decoration from Cherven, reconstructed as the name *Kallistos* (Сенгалеви́ч 2019, 111-130) (fig. 8). Perhaps the only certain Cyrillic inscription formed as a cruciform monogram is the name *Raphael*, engraved on a matrix for wax seals from Krasen Kale fortress, dated to the very end of the 14th century (Герасимова-Томова 1994, 43-46) (fig. 9).

In the Late Byzantine period there also appeared a variation of the cruciform shape, which marked its evolution – or rather degradation – during the Palaeologan era. In these monograms (or pseudo-monograms) the cross-arms connecting the individual signs are no longer marked, though the letters remain arranged in a cross-like manner. Such are the monograms of Ecumenical Patriarch Niphon I (1310-1314), carved on capitals from the façade of the church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki (Androudis 2012, fig. 8), as well as those of Alexios Apokaukos from Selymbria (Yalçın 1999, fig. 17). In the Pantanassa monastery in Mystras, the *protostrator* John Frangopoulos likewise placed monograms of this developed variant (fig. 10). Here should also be mentioned the monogram of a metropolitan bishop on a seal matrix discovered in Bulgaria’s Provadia (Atanasov 2009, 107); the monograms on the reverse of coins associated with Dobrujan despot Dobrotitsa or with John Terter, read as *Kaliakra* (Авдев 2007, 247-248; Дочев 2009, 270-272); as well as the underglaze monograms with the office of chartophylax and with the name *Nikodemos*, incised with Cyrillic letters on glazed ceramics from Tarnovo (fig. 11).

Bar-shaped monograms. A significant group of monograms, often overlooked by most scholars (probably because it appeared at a later stage), could be distinguished as a separate, independent category of the so-called bar-shaped monograms. In these, the inscription is organized around a long vertical stem – a “bar” or “rod”, with the letters either partially inscribed into it, attached to its ends, or ligatured on its sides. Imperial monograms of this type appear as early as the 7th-8th centuries on coins (Grierson 1982, 33-34). The personal name *Constantine* is inscribed as a bar-shaped monogram on an amphora-stamp of the 10th century (Grünbart 1990, Abb. 1-2), while the family name *Gabras* is found in such a form on the lead seal of the *sebastos* John Gabras from the late 12th-13th century (Seibt, Zarnitz 1997, 54). Around 1351-1352, the *protostrator* Constantine

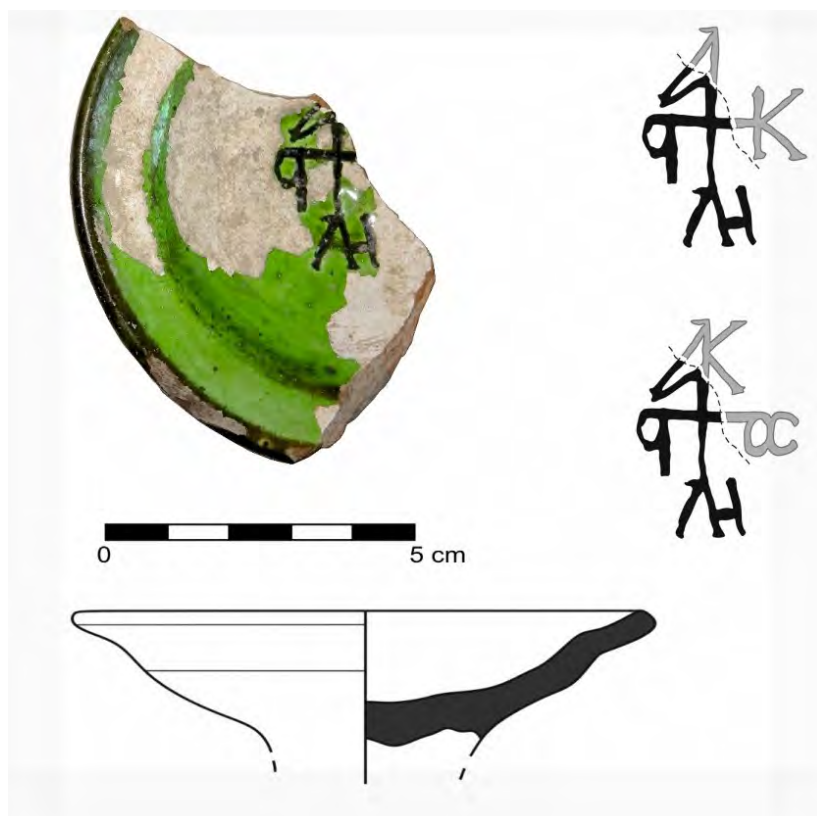


Fig. 8. Fragment of a glazed bowl insert with an incised cruciform monogram from the ceramoplastic decoration of church # 7 in Cherven, mid-14th c. – reconstructed variants as the name “Kallistos”: [K]AΛ(Λ)HCT(OC) (Сенгалеви́ч 2019, обр. 3, 10, 12).

Tarchaniotes inscribed his family name in such monogrammatic form in seven places on the fortress walls and towers of Didymoteichon (Asdracha, Bakirtzis 1986, 268-270) (fig. 12). In the late 14th century, the opportunist and Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, Paul Tagaris, fashioned in a similar manner a monogram of his patriarchal dignity, embroidered on a precious textile (Ball 2006, 59-61). A complex Greek monogrammatic inscription, engraved on the metal cover of the famous miracle-working Vladimir Icon, likewise contains the name of the Russian Metropolitan Photios (1408-1431) in the form of a bar-shaped monogram (Невоструев 1866, 177-178). The names of two rulers of the Crimean Principality of Theodoro appear as bar-shaped monograms in an inscription dated to 1459, discovered in the fortress of Funa (Мыц 1991, fig. 5, 191-192).

This form, apart from becoming popular during the Late Byzantine period (fig. 13), also enjoyed broader dissemination outside the Empire. For instance, some of the graffiti in Novgorod’s Cathedral of St. Sophia, dated to the second half of 11th - early 12th century, could be recognized as bar-shaped Cyrillic monograms of personal names (Гиппиус, Михеев 2013, 154-155, рис. 1-2). The names *Stefan* and *Uroš* are written with bar-shaped Cyrillic monograms in an inscription from 1252 above the entrance to the church of the Morača monastery in Montenegro (Nenadović 2003, 38, sl. 3). The monograms of the sword-bearer Tagchi and of Raphael on two Bulgarian gold signet-rings, dated to the 14th century, are also of this shape (Тотев 2010, 118-121, табл. XVIII). The epithet “*faithful*” is abbreviated with a bar-shaped monogram on the silver coins of Tsar John Alexander with Michael Asen, and the name of the Vidin ruler John Sratsimir (1356-1396) likewise appears in this form on some of his copper coins (Авдев 2007, 122, 223-226). This category also includes several



Fig. 9. Positive impression of the cruciform Cyrillic monogram “Raphael”: рафанль, on a medallion matrix for wax seals from Krasen Kale, late 14th c. (Герасимова-Томова 1994, 44, обр. 5).



Fig. 10. Monograms of the founder, protostrator John Frangopoulos, carved on a capital in the church of the Pantanassa monastery in Mystras, 1428 (Millet 1899, 136).

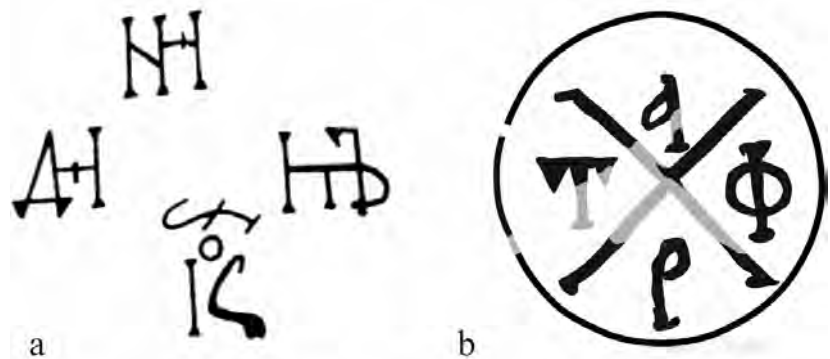


Fig. 11. Cruciform monograms of the developed variation on glazed pottery from Tarnovo: a. Monogram “Nikodemos”: **ΝΗΚΟΔΗΜΖ** (Ангелов 1980, 158, обр. 156); b. Monogram “Chartophylax”: **ΧΑΡΤ(Ο) Φ(ΥΛΑΞ)** (graphic image: G. Sengalevich).



Fig. 12. Bar-shaped monogram with the family name of Constantine Tarchaniotes on a tower from the fortress of Didymoteichon in Thrace, ca. 1352 (Asdracha, Bakirtzis 1986, πιν. 72b).

monograms incised on glazed ceramics from Crimea (Мыц 1991, figs. 2-3) (fig. 14e) and Bulgaria, among them the monograms of Patriarch Symeon of Tarnovo (Сенгалеvич 2024, 222, 225-226), monograms of the metropolitan bishops of Cherven (fig. 14a) and Drastar (fig. 14b), as well as two undeciphered monograms on vessels from Tarnovo, Cherven, and Drastar (fig. 14c-d).

Other forms. Some Byzantine monograms differ in appearance from the categories listed above and, due to their diverse forms, cannot be easily classified. Most researchers therefore place them in a separate group of distinct forms (Fink 1981, 81; Seibt 2005, 594; Τσουγκαράκης 1999, 67). While such unconventional specimens are already attested in Late Antique monogrammatic writing, it is in the Late Byzantine period that designs outside the norm of box-shaped, cruciform, or bar-shaped monograms become much more frequent. Some are essentially extremely simplified inscriptions of one or two letters only (Laurent 1973, 333-341). This trend is evident in underglaze inscriptions from Byzantine, Bulgarian, and Serbian glazed pottery, composed of a single letter: **K**, **Θ**, **Π**, **Β**, **Ω**, **Ϛ** (Sengalevich 2024, 777-778, fig. 4;

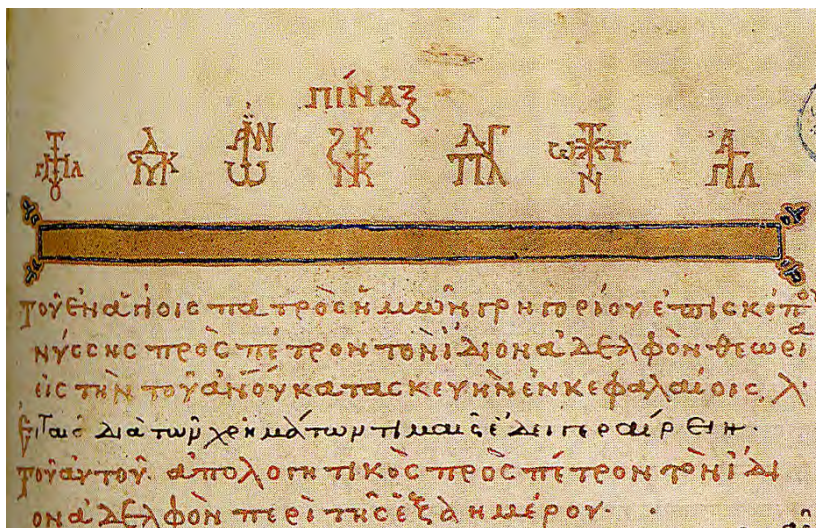


Fig. 13. Monogrammatic inscription with the names and titles of the Grand domestic and future Emperor John Kantakouzenos in a manuscript from Vatopedi monastery, ca. 1340 (The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopedi 1998, 567). The monograms are bar-shaped (positions 1, 3, 4, 7), box-shaped (position 2), cruciform (position 6), and of a distinct form (position 5).



Fig. 14. Bar-shaped monograms on Bulgarian and Crimean glazed ceramics: **a.** Monogram “Metropolitan”: Μ(Η) ΤΡ(Ο)Π(Ο)Λ(Η)Τ(Σ) from Cherven, 14th c.; **b.** Monogram “Metropolitan”: Μ(Η)Τ(Ρ)ΟΠΟΛΗΤ(Σ) from Drastar, 14th c.; **c.** Undeciphered monogram from Cherven; **d.** Undeciphered monogram from Drastar (graphic images: G. Sengalevich); **e.** Monogram “Alexander”: ΑΛ(Ε)ΞΑ(Ν) ΔΡ(Ο)C from Funa, 1475 (Мыц 2005, 304, рис. 8).



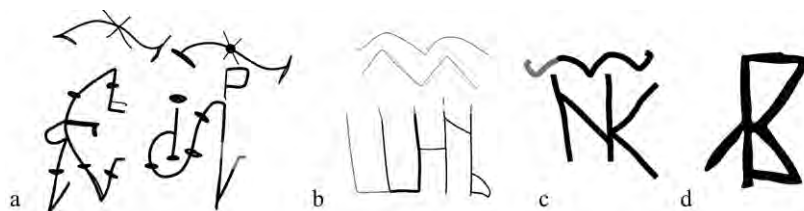
Fig. 15. Monograms of the Palaeologoi from the second quarter of the 14th c.: **a.** Detail from the fortification walls of Peritheorion in Western Thrace, Greece (photo: G. Sengalevich); **b.** Silver coin of Andronikos III Palaeologos (1328-1341) (Spier 2013, pl. 19, fig. 17a).

Sengalevich 2020, 198, fig. 11; Bikić 2015, 343-344). The Palaeologan monogram, appearing for the first time on the coins of Andronikos II (1282-1328) (Grierson 1982, 286), should also be assigned to the “other forms”. It is composed of four letters: Π and Α are ligatured, while Λ and Γ are juxtaposed (fig. 15). The family name *Doukas* is written as a ligature of two letters, Δ and Κ, on the aforementioned embroidery with the insignia of Patriarch Paul Tagaris (Ball 2006, 59-61), as well as in an underglaze monogram on a cup from Nesebar consisting of two joined M's: ΜΜ (Sengalevich 2024, 777-778, fig. 3b).

Based on such ligatured combinations, most often written left-to-right in the order of pronunciation (sometimes with letters *ad-*

Fig. 16. Monograms on 14th c.

Bulgarian glazed ceramics based on ligature combinations: **a.** Monograms “Alexander Tsar”: **ΔΛΞ(Ξ)ΑΝΔΡ(Ξ)ЦΑΡ(Ξ)** from Tarnovo; **b.** Monogram “Shishman”: **ШНШМ(Δ)НЪ** from Tarnovo; **c.** Monogram “Nikola”: **Н(Н)К(ΟΛΛ)** from Tarnovo; **d.** Monogram “Vladimir”: **ΒΛ(ΑΔΗΜΗΡΞ)** from the locality *Vitata Stena*, Gabrovo region (graphic images: G. Sengalevich).



scriptum), the most widespread monograms in the Bulgarian written tradition were formed – beginning with the title *tsar* and extending to the monograms of Tsar John Alexander and Tsar John Shishman (1371-1395) (Ποпов 1985, 359), inscribed on a variety of materials, including glazed pottery (fig. 16a-b). The monogram of Balin in the inscriptions of the Nikopol Treasure (Овчаров 1998, 89) is likewise an expression of this ligatured and monogrammatic style, characteristic of Cyrillic palaeography in the 14th century. Ligatures of two letters, **НΚ** and **ΒΛ**, also occur in underglaze monograms incised on two vessels from Tarnovo and Gabrovo (fig. 16c-d). On the basis of such ligatured combinations are also designed the monograms of the voivodes and high clergy of Wallachia in the 15th-17th centuries (Dragnev, Gumenâi 2003, 56).

CONTENT AND FUNCTIONS

Depending on their content, monograms could fulfill different functions. The earliest examples, already in Antiquity, served as signs of state authority (e.g., imperial monograms on coins), which in certain cases guaranteed the quality and authenticity of specific objects (e.g., control stamps on silver, amphora stamps or brick stamps). Quite often, monograms acted as marks of ownership, usually on personal belongings such as jewellery, manuscripts, pottery and other items (fig. 13). In many cases, multiple functions are intertwined within a single monogram, which further complicates classification based on function. Thus, for example, the monograms of Justinian and Theodora (fig. 4) on elements of the architectural decoration of churches served both as dedicatory inscriptions and as symbols of imperial authority. In the same way, monograms marking church or fortification constructions of the Late Byzantine period should be interpreted (figs. 3, 7, 8, 10, 12, 15a). While in Byzantium the use of monogrammatic writing was relatively free, in the Carolingian West its usage was monopolized by kings, who employed monograms as their *signum* (Garipzanov 2008, 173-182). This graphic imagery invariably demonstrated literacy, and thereby a claim to elite status. Of course, the purely decorative and aesthetic role of monograms should not be overlooked either (e.g., in Byzantine glazed pottery).

Depending on content and function, names abbreviated with monograms are usually placed in the nominative or, more commonly, in the genitive case, indicating possession. In late Byzantine monograms, where emphasis falls on consonants, case endings are often omitted, so that the case – nominative or genitive – can only be inferred (Seibt 1993, 23). A rather frequent phenomenon is the arbitrary mixture of

uncial and minuscule script within a single monogram. An example in this regard is the cruciform monogram *ΓΕΡΑΣΙΜΩ* on the enameled spherical base of an altar cross from Sinai, dated to the 15th century (Hetherington 2019, fig. 12), where the dative case ending is, for the period, rather exceptional.

Invocative monograms. The use of the dative case is particularly characteristic of a specific group of monograms, predominantly cruciform in shape, which, because of the messages they contain, are referred to as *invocative*. These occur widely during the 7th-11th centuries (Seibt 2005, 594-597; Seibt 2016, 8-10; Nesbitt 1977, 112-118; Степанова 2000, 237-238). They consist of a prayer formula, usually addressed to God or to the Theotokos, and combined with a related personal name and/or title/office. The invocations are highly standardized in the form of cruciform monograms signifying “Mother of God, help”: ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ, or “Lord, help”: ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ. In the earliest examples, down to the mid-7th century, the formula was usually inscribed separately from the addressee’s name, which was marked by another monogram. It is characteristic that the name appears in the genitive case, indicating possession and ownership, regardless of the invocation, which functioned independently (Степанова 2000, 238). In later standardized examples of invocative monogrammatic writing, the prayer address is coordinated with the personal name and title/office, placed in the dative case, sometimes inscribed in the form of a tetragram within the four quadrants of the cross. The cruciform invocation, however, is most frequently enriched by the tetragram “to your servant”: ΤΩ ΣΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ (= τῷ σῷ δούλῳ), as exemplified by numerous lead seals from the 8th-9th centuries (fig. 6).

These same Byzantine models were followed by several known seals with monograms from Early Medieval Bulgaria (8th-10th centuries) (Юркова 1982, 329; Юркова, Пенчев 1990, 17-19; Йорданов 2001, 19-21, # 4-6; 74-75, # 130; 78-79, # 132, табл. I). Invocative and cruciform in the overwhelming majority are also the monograms depicted on Byzantine seals from the impressive collection discovered during the excavation of the administrative building in Preslav. They belong to representatives of the central government and provincial administration, members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the Byzantine army, who lived during the 10th and 11th centuries (Йорданов 1993, 63, # 111; 70, # 127; 74-75, # 134; 78, # 139; 83-84, # 148-154; 111-112, # 197-198; 123-124, # 227; 134-135, # 252-254; 185-186, # 387; 188, # 390-393; 222, # 508). Invocative monograms are also found outside sphragistic specimens, although much less frequently – for instance, on a capital from Athens with four monograms of Empress Irene (797-802) (Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή 1999, 82, # 112), as well as in the mosaic portrait of Emperor Alexander (912-913) from Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (Underwood, Hawkins 1961, 192) (fig. 17).

Christian symbols. It should be noted that aside from the case of invocations, monograms in Byzantium were closely associated with Christian symbolism and carried religious meaning also in other aspects. The abbreviated writing of *nomina sacra* became an established practice in Christian textual tradition, beginning with the *Christogram* (monogram of Christ) and its variants, which were very popular in Early Christian art (Hurtado 2006, 208-219). In the early, pre-iconoclastic centuries of Christianity, box-shaped

Fig. 17. Mosaic image of Emperor Alexander from Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, ca. 912 (Δετοράκης 2009, 219). The three monograms, placed within circular frames, render the formula: “Lord, help your servant, the Orthodox, pious despot”.



monograms featuring the name *Mary* and the attribute *Saint* appear sporadically, accompanying depictions of the Virgin in scenes such as the Annunciation on an ivory panel from the 7th-8th centuries (Βυζάντιο 2009, 81, # 23) and the Crucifixion on an icon from the 8th century (Βοκοτόπουλος 2008, 33, # 5). Only later were the canons for inscribing the names of Christ, the Theotokos and saints firmly established, becoming valid and recognized in Orthodox iconography up to the present day. This standardization aimed to make the names easily recognizable. Monograms were typically used to indicate attributes associated with the name, such as *Prophet* or *Archangel*. An example of this practice is the previously mentioned box-shaped monogram *Prodromos*, associated with St. John the Baptist (fig. 2).

“Heraldic” emblems. During the Palaeologan period, when Byzantine society was heavily influenced by the feudal structures of the Western world, various heraldic motifs appeared in the visual repertoire of “noble” signs and symbols, such as the *fleur-de-lis*, *lion rampant*, the double-headed eagle, etc. Nevertheless, the most widespread personalized emblems of the elite did not take the form of heraldic coats of arms, but rather of monograms. This was likely due to the high level of literacy in Byzantine society, which favored graphic rather than figurative representation in its emblems. Abbreviating family names through monograms – a practice uncommon in earlier periods – became a fashion, even a craze, among the elite of the 14th-15th centuries. For example, monograms bearing family names adorned the clothing of individuals buried in the exonarthex of the church of Chora monastery in Constantinople, as could be seen in the painted portraits above tombs C, E and F (Underwood 1966, 534-536, 540-547) (fig. 18). A particularly notable example from the perspective of Byzantine emblematics is the funerary shroud of Maria Asenina Palaeologina, dated to 1477 – a princess from Theodoro and wife of the Moldavian voivode Stephen the Great (1457-1504). The shroud is decorated with monograms of the Asanes and the Palaeologoi, along with various other “heraldic” symbols (Ousterhout 2009, 163-164) (fig. 19).

The most prominent instance of this elite fashion is the well-known Palaeologan monogram, which appears in many different contexts:



Fig. 18. Family funerary portrait from tomb F in the church of the Chora monastery in Constantinople, 1330s. The clothings are decorated with medallions displaying the monograms of the Palaeologoi, the Asanes and the Dermokaïtes family (photo: G. Sengalevich).



Fig. 19. Funerary Shroud of Maria Asenina Palaeologina (Maria of Mangup), wife of the Moldavian voivode Stephen the Great, kept at Putna monastery, 1477 (Ousterhout 2009, 164, fig. 11).

on fortress walls and towers (Asdracha, Bakirtzis 1986, πιν. 58-60), on architectural decoration (Androudis 2012, 132-136), on precious jewellery such as earrings, rings and belt appliqués (Spier 2013, pl. 1: cat. 2, pl. 15: fig. 2, pl. 20: fig. 18-19) and in manuscripts (Hoffmann 1985, 277-279). Functionally, beyond serving as marks of ownership or as donor inscriptions, in most cases these monograms were also displays of authority and prestige. It is no coincidence that Western families, such as the Gattilusi, actively employed the Palaeologan monogram in combination with other heraldic images and bilingual inscriptions (in Latin and Greek) in monuments from the Aegean islands under their control (Hasluck 1909, figs. 9, 13; Asdracha, Bakirtzis 1986, pls. 76b, 77). Its popularity, even beyond elite monuments, might indicate that the monogram ΠΑΛΑ(ΙΟ)Λ(Ο)Γ(Ο)C was regarded also as a fashionable symbol with aesthetic value. This could explain its appearance in one of the widely distributed types of Byzantine glazed pottery bearing monograms (Сенгалеvич 2018, 157-168).

THE ADOPTION OF MONOGRAMS IN MEDIEVAL BULGARIA

In contrast to the Byzantine written tradition, where monograms are a constant presence, in Palaeoslavlic culture they enjoyed far less popularity. Their appearance could be traced back to the time of the First Bulgarian Tsardom based on the bar-shaped Cyrillic monogram of the name of Tsar Peter I (927-969) on a bronze die and some of his lead seals (Йорданов 2016, 116-120, 297, # 253-259). The currently known materials though indicate that the more systematic reception of monograms should be sought only as late as the 13th century. Medieval Bulgaria, as the most faithful adherent of trends in Byzantine society, likewise adopted monogrammatic writing relatively late, but unlike Serbia, Moldavia, Wallachia or Russia, there it acquired relatively wider popularity. Monograms based on the Cyrillic graphic system are attested on monuments of stone sculpture, wall-paintings (graffiti), ceramics (graffiti and underglaze inscriptions), luxury items (signet-rings, earrings), textiles, coins and seals, and manuscripts.

At this point it is necessary to refine the lower chronological boundary for the penetration of monogrammatic “fashion” into Bulgarian cultural reality. Setting aside a few sphragistic monuments of uncertain authenticity (Йорданов 2001, 99, # 152; 101-102, # 154, табл. X), perhaps the earliest attestation is the monogram of the title *tsar*, documented on a seal of Tsar Boril (1207-1218) (Йорданов 2001, 105, # 156, табл. X). The same monogram subsequently appears in the Vatopedi and Dubrovnik charters of Tsar John Asen II (1218-1241), in his Tarnovo inscription of 1230, as well as on his coins and chrysobullon (Попов 1982, 341-345; Попов 1985, 349-350, 355; Йорданов 2019, 61-62).

The first ruler of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom who seems to have rendered his name as a monogram on his coins is Tsar Mitso Asen (1256-1263), although the reading of these inscriptions remains a matter of debate (Авдев 2007, 49-50; Станков 1980, 9-17). There are no grounds to assume that the monogram of the Asenids (Овчаров 2000, 36-39), known from later monuments such as the mural images in tombs C, E, and F from the Chora monastery in Constantinople (Underwood 1966, 274, 285, 291), or the funerary shroud of Maria Asenina Palaeologina of 1477 (**figs. 18–19**), was in use during the reign of the Asen dynasty in Bulgaria. That monogram is obviously linked with the Byzantine branch of the Asanes in the 14th and 15th centuries (Божилов 1994, 247-434), and its appearance should be sought at the beginning of the 14th century.

Scholarly literature has also suggested that the subsequent dynasty ruling in Tarnovo – the Terterids, used their own monogram as early as the last quarter of the 13th century, in monuments connected with the reign of Georgi Terter I (1279-1292) (Попов 1980, 179; Попов 1982, 342-343; Попов 1983, 68-69; Попов 1984, 30). More recently these inscriptions have been redated much later, to the 1370s - 1380s, and associated with the figure of John (Ivanko) Terter, son of the Dobrujan despot Dobrotitsa and ruler of Drastar (Авдев 2007, 245; Пенчев 1984, 26-28; Дочев 2009, 278-281; Атанасов 2009, 291-295; Пенчев 2012, 259-263). The *Terter* monogram is depicted on a series of copper coins distributed in the Silistra region, as well as on a pair of gold pendant earrings from a grave in the southern nave of church



Fig. 20. Gold earring featuring a double-headed eagle and a monogram reading “Terter” from Drastar, late 14th c. (Атанасов 2009, 487, табл. VII, # 4).



Fig. 21. Gold-thread monogrammatic inscription of Tsar John Alexander (1331-1371) from Staničenje, Serbia (Поповић 2005, 61, сл. 22).

2 in Drastar, the nowadays town of Silistra (Ангелова 2002, 18, 20, 36, табл. XIVa) (**fig. 20**). This monogram requires separate study, since it may derive from the nomadic tamgas of the Golden Horde, particularly those with a two-legged base (Гончаров 2015, 95-97).

Equally problematic is the sign known from a capital from the palatial church at the fortress of Tsarevets in Tarnovo (Георгиева и др. 1973, 54-55), from several series of coins (Авдев 2007, 155-160, 175-178, 203-206), as well as from graffiti on ceramics (Георгиева 1974, 51, обр. 39, # 3). This is the so-called monogram of Tsar Michael Shishman (1323-1330), introduced into scholarly circulation by N. Mushmov. In reality there are no arguments linking this sign specifically with the said Bulgarian ruler. It is also far from clear whether it should be regarded as a monogram composed of the letters **Ш** and **А** or perhaps **Ц**, resembling the monograms of Tsar John Shishman from the last quarter of the 14th century, which are based on the Cyrillic script. It is possible that the sign is a variation of a Tatar tamga, consisting of a three-legged base surmounted by a bird's head, appearing on coins from the 1360s - 1370s associated with Mamai (Гончаров 2015, 94-95).

Ultimately, Tsar John Alexander was the Bulgarian ruler who first began to employ standardized monograms of his name and title on a continuous basis, as attested on his coins (Авдев 2007, 99-106; Дочев 2009, 154-155), charters (Попов 1980, 174-178; Попов 1985, 350-352), clothing (Овчаров 2003, 76-83) (**fig. 21**) and glazed tableware from the palace in Tarnovo (**fig. 16a**). Therefore, in light of the extant materials, it should be accepted that monogrammatic writing entered medieval Bulgaria en masse only in the 1330s - 1350s, lasting until the end of the century. It is not impossible that educated clerics and hesychasts, led by St. Theodosius of Tarnovo and St. Patriarch Euthymius played some role in this process, being the leading transmitters in Bulgaria of Byzantine political influence and cultural tendencies of the period. The Hesychast movement, gaining momentum from the 1330s, gave rise to a cohesive international community in the Orthodox world, whose contact zones were Mount Athos, Constantinople, Sinai, and

at times Paroria, Tarnovo and Kilifarevo. The Ecumenical patriarchs-hesychasts in Constantinople actively collaborated with their Bulgarian counterparts, who also enjoyed the special favor of the Bulgarian tsar (Ангелов 1967, 83-84; Прохоров 1978, 19-21; Гагова 2010, 139-161; Златарски 1904, 17; Сырку 1909, LXXVII-LXXVIII).

Based on the overview of the issues outlined above, it can be concluded that monograms, as a phenomenon, represent some of the most striking evidence of the remarkable continuity of Byzantine written culture. Despite their formal as well as functional development over time, for more than a millennium they invariably appear within the graphic imagery of Christ, the saints and faith in them, of emperors and empresses, of representatives of the state apparatus, and of the secular and ecclesiastical elites. The reception of monograms in medieval Bulgaria is clear evidence of the powerful Byzantine cultural influence. Their independent development within the Cyrillic milieu, however, shows that this was not a matter of crude imitation of Byzantine models, insofar as it reflects the characteristic preferences and tastes of the local elites.

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Монограмите във византийската писмена култура и възприемането им в средновековна България

Георги СЕНГАЛЕВИЧ

Монограмите представляват способ за съкратено изписване на думи посредством съчетаване на някои от техните букви в една единна композиция. Като явление те съпътстват цялото развитие на писмеността във Византия от IV до XV в., прониквайки в една или друга степен и в писмените традиции на принадлежащите към византийската общност околни страни, в това число на средновековна България. Наследени от Античността, където за първи път се появяват в елинистическото монетосечене, навлизайки след това и в емблематиката на римските императори, смислово монограмите неизменно са свързани с определена личност, чието име, длъжност или титла означават, или с определена институция/общност. Предназначението им може да варира в зависимост от това къде са поставени, както и от контекста на съответната епоха. Откриват се изписани на всевъзможни места: върху архитектурни паметници, образци на каменната пластика и монументалната живопис, произведения на торевтиката, ювелирството и малката пластика, образци на нумизматиката и сфрагистиката, керамика, стъкло, текстил и ръкописи.

Прието е в зависимост от своя облик монограмите да се класифицират в две големи категории: блокови и кръстовидни, като тук са разгледани и някои по-слабо изследвани разновидности, като монограмите с пръчковидна форма. Тази категория, освен че става популярна през Къснотезантийския период, се радва и на по-широко разпространение извън пределите на Византия. Най-разпространените в българската кирилска традиция монограми пък са оформени на базата на лигатурни съчетания, като се започне с титлата „цар“, и се стигне

до монограмите на царете Йоан Александър (1331-1371) и Йоан Шишман (1371-1395).

В зависимост от вложеното в тях съдържание, монограмите могат да изпълняват различни функции. Доста често те са знаци за собственост, обикновено върху лични принадлежности: накити, ръкописи, графити върху керамика и др. Много са случаите, когато повече от една функции се преплитат в един монограм – така например монограмите на Юстиниан (527-565) и Теодора върху елементи от архитектурната декорация на църкви изпълняват ролята както на ктиторски надписи, така и на символи на държавната власт. През VII-XI в. главно върху печати масово се среща една специфична група монограми, предимно кръстовидни по форма, които заради вложеното в тях послание се означават като инвокативни. Съставени са от молитвена формула най-често към Бог или св. Богородица, и от обвързано с нея име и/или титла/длъжност. Трябва да се има предвид, че освен в случая на инвокациите, монограмът във Византия е свързан с християнската символика и е натоварен с религиозно значение и в други аспекти. Пример за това е христогорамът (Христовият монограм) и неговите разновидности, така популярни в раннохристиянското изкуство. През Палеологовата епоха, когато социалната картина във Византия е силно повлияна от Западния свят с феодалните му порядки, във визуалния език от „благородни“ знаци и символи се наблюдава навлизането на различни хералдични мотиви. Въпреки това най-разпространените персонализирани емблеми на елита нямат облика на хералдични гербове, а на монограми. Причината за това най-вероятно е високото ниво на грамотност във византийското общество, което в своята емблематика остава вярно на графичната, а не на фигуралната образност.

В отличие от византийската писмена традиция, където монограмите присъстват неизменно, в старобългарската и старославянската култура те далеч не се ползват с такава популярност. На базата на наличните паметници може да се приеме, че в средновековна България монограмната „мода“ навлиза по-масово едва през 30-те години – средата на XIV в., до към края на столетието. Не е изключено в този процес известна роля да играят образованите духовници-исихасти, които се явяват основните проводници в България на византийската култура с нейните тенденции от това време.

О «временных» фемах в Крыму X-XI века. Фема Боспор по данным сигиллографии

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Проблема создания фем и их функционирования имеет давнюю историографическую традицию. Источниковая база исследований значительно пополнилась к концу XX в. благодаря введению в научный оборот сигиллографических памятников. Появилась возможность реконструировать структуру фемной администрации, изменение территориальных границ, объединение фем и создание новых в пределах территории уже существующих¹. Но остается ряд нерешенных вопросов, в частности, причины появления и исчезновения пограничных фем, турм, клисур, что явно было связано с постоянно менявшейся ситуацией преимущественно на восточных границах империи. Еще в 70-е гг. XX в. эти вопросы были поставлены и позже решены лишь частично (Oikonomidès 1975, 71-90; Удальцова и др. 1975, 21-26; Юзбашян 1988).

В последнее время все большее внимание исследователей привлекают судьбы византийских фем в Крыму. Благодаря работам И.В. Соколовой, продолженных Н. А. Алексеенко, преимущественно по сфрагистическим данным прослежены история и структура главной и до недавнего времени единственно известной из них – фемы Херсон (Соколова 1983; Alekseyenko 2012). Ранее по надписи стратига Льва Алиата 1059 г. из Херсонеса было известно о существовании объединенных фем Херсон и Сутдея (Латышев 1895, 83-86). Позже появились сфрагистические данные, подтвердившие сам факт существования фемы Сутдея как минимум в 60-90 гг. XI в. (Степаненко 2018, 56-60). По-видимому в середине X в. в византийской администрации в Таврике произошли существенные изменения. К сожалению, о причинах этого мы можем только догадываться. Еще Г. Шлюмберже издал печать протоспафария и стратига Боспора Аркадия (Schlumberger 1895, 206-207). Место ее хранения долгое время оставалась неизвестным. Поиски в собрании Государственного Эрмитажа, куда поступила коллекция Н. П. Лихачева, в свое время приобретшего часть собрания Г. Шлюмберже, были безрезультатны. Много позже выяснилось, что она хранится в Афинах (Нумизматический

¹ Последняя работа – Йорданов 2019. См. также Krsmanovic 2008. Ряд фем все еще не локализованы. Так например неизвестно место расположения фемы Западная Месопотамия. Ясно лишь, что она находилась в междуречье Дуная и неизвестной реки. Лишь недавно достаточно уверенно удалось локализовать центр фемы Понта Евксинского в крепости Иерон (совр. Йорос) расположенной на азиатском берегу Боспора при впадении его в Черное море (Степанова 2022, 243-250).

музей) (Κωνσταντόπουλος 1917, 6, # 15). Второй ее экземпляр из Преслава (Болгария) недавно был издан И. Иордановым с широкой датировкой третьей четвертью X – первой половиной XI в. (Йорданов 2018, 87-90). Показательно, что раскопки в Керчи и в Крыму в целом до сих пор не дали находок печатей стратигов Боспора. Но известен ряд моливдовулов, происходящих из Керчи и ее района, в том числе Льва, императорского спафария и турмарха Готии (Алексеев 2006, 564-570). Второй экземпляр происходит из Херсонеса. Остается предположить, что фема Боспор и турма Готия существовали одновременно короткое время и возникновение их было связано с быстро менявшейся внешне-политической ситуацией в Северном Причерноморье во второй половине X – середине XI в. Напомню лишь, что существование феми Боспор в 975 г. известно по т.н. Тактикону Икономидиса (Oikonomidēs 1972, 269, 363; Бибииков 1976, 87-88). Тем же временем принято датировать и печати стратига Аркадия. Но фема явно была создана ранее, в пользу чего свидетельствует находка второго известного экземпляра печати в Преславе. Город, как известно, был захвачен Иоанном Цимисхием в 971 г. и удерживался греками до 986 г. (Йорданов 2013, 267-302). Как следствие, фема Боспор появилась до 975 г. Возможно, что создание ее было связано с ситуацией в районе Боспора Киммерийского. Лев Диакон пишет, что во время переговоров Иоанна Цимисхия со Святославом в 971 г. император требовал чтобы «он получил обещанную императором Никифором за набег на мисян награду и удалился в свои области и к Боспору Киммерийскому» (Диакон Лев 1988, 55-56). По-видимому, к этому времени русское присутствие в регионе стало свершившимся фактом. Империя не могла игнорировать исходящую от него опасность, следствием чего вероятнее всего и было создание новой феми². Она вряд ли просуществовала долго. В 90-е гг. X в. (?) на азиатском берегу Боспора появилось т.н. Тмутараканское княжество. Время и причины его появления крайне смутны и неопределенны, что связано с плачевным состоянием источниковой базы (Степаненко 1993, 254; Науменко 2016, 67-80). В отравлении князя Тмутаракани Ростислава на пиру 1066 г. обвинили «катепана» Херсона (Раздвильловская летопись 1989, 71), но не стратига Боспора. В надписи 1059 г. из Херсона Лев Алиат назван стратигем объединенной феми Херсон и Сутдея, но не катепаном. Остается предположить, что самостоятельной администрации во главе со стратигем в это время здесь уже не было. Отметим, что после этого в 80-90 гг. XI в. контакты князей Тмутаракани с византийской администрацией в Крыму шли уже не через близкий Боспор и далекий Херсон, но через Сутдею, где были найдены печати Давида Игоревича и Олега Святославича (Степаненко 2018, 56-60). Так что создание феми Боспор могло быть связано именно с реакцией Византии на появление Руси на Боспоре. Позже необходимость держать здесь автономную администрацию отпала. В 1094 г., последний известный князь Тмутаракани Олег Святославич ушел на Русь (Степаненко 2013, 157-168). По-видимому, этим временем может быть датирована печать вестарха Никифора Алана, катепана Херсона и Хазарии. Создается впечатление, что под его контролем оказались огромные территории Крыма и Северного Кавказа (Алексеев,

² Судя по тому, что печать Льва, императорского спафария и турмарха Готии, найдена в этом районе. Писать он мог только представителю местной феменной администрации. Остается предположить, что фема и турма были созданы почти одновременно до 975 г.

Цепков 2012, 7-17; Степаненко 2014, 368-378). Надолго ли? В конце 90-х гг. все сведения о фемной структуре Византии полностью исчезают, в том числе печати представителей фемной администрации в Крыму.

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За „временните“ теми в Крим през X-XI в. Темата Боспор по сфрагистични данни

Валерий П. СТЕПАНЕНКО

През 1895 г. Г. Шлюмберже публикува печат на Аркадий, прото-спатарий и стратег на Боспор. Втори такъв екземпляр от Преслав е публикуван от И. Йорданов. Стратегът на Боспор е споменат в Тактикона на Икономидис от 975 г. Преслав е превзет от Византия през 971 г. и остава под неин контрол до 986 г. Според Лъв Дякон, по време на преговорите с княз Светослав през 971 г., Йоан Цимисхи настоява той да получи наградата, обещана му от предишния император Никифор, и да се оттегли в „неговите области и Кимерийския Боспор“. Така основаването на тема Боспор е в резултат на появата на Рус в близост до боспорските брегове, където т.нар. княжество Тмутаракан се образува по-късно. Темата съществува кратко. Намирането в този район на печат на Лъв, императорски спатарий и турмарх на Готия (втори екземпляр произхожда от Херсонес) е показателно за промени в структурата на византийската темна администрация в Таврика през 70-те години на X в.

Печати Эвксинского Понта*

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Группа византийских печатей, в легендах которых встречаются названия «Понт» и «Эвксинский Понт», достаточно многочисленна. Тем не менее, при работе с ней появляются значительные сложности. Они связаны, главным образом, с широтой значения топонимов «Понт» – «Эвксинский Понт». Как показало исследование И. Ирмшера, проанализировавшего письменные источники Византии разного времени, географические названия: ὁ Πόντος, ὁ Εὐξεινος, ὁ Εὐξεινος Πόντος касаются, как правило, либо самого Черного моря, либо, в отдельных случаях, речь идет о его южном побережье (Irmscher 1962). В научной литературе их используют в нескольких смыслах: 1) Черное море как таковое, древний Понт Эвксинский; 2) все области, прилегающие к Черному морю; 3) побережье Южного Причерноморья, примерно от Синопа до реки Чорох с центром в Трапезунде (Карпов 2001, 1-2).

Топонимы «Понт» – «Эвксинский Понт» встречаются на печатях коммеркиариев и императорских коммеркий, а также на печатях феми Эвксинского Понта. Чтение географического названия «Понт» на церковных печатях (Laurent 1963, # 489, 494, 495 Nota) не подтверждается. В одном случае В. Зайбт предлагает вариант «митрополит Икония» (Seibt 1974, 75), в другом вместо «Кесарии Понта» в легенде упоминается «Кесария Палестинская» (Эрмитаж, # М-7988; Лихачев 1991, табл. LXII.13). Очень сомнительно также чтение печати, опубликованной Г. Шлюмберже (Schlumberger 1884, 291): «Понт Полемониак» (в настоящее время печать хранится в коллекции Эрмитажа под # М-6051).

Печати коммеркиариев и императорских коммеркий Понта и Эвксинского Понта, чья деятельность в основном была связана со взиманием торговых пошлин на пограничных пунктах Византийской империи, датируются VIII – рубежом X/XI вв. В легендах их печатей эти географические названия появляются либо сами по себе, либо в сочетании с другими топонимами: Иерон, Синоп, Онориада, Пафлагония, Трапезунд (рис. 1).

Самые ранние из них – это печати Анастасия, ипата, императорского валнителя и коммеркиария аптеки Онориады, Пафлагонии и берегов Понта вплоть до Трапезунда, из коллекции Эрмитажа. На л.с. изображены Лев III и Константин V. Одну из них (рис. 2а, Эрмитаж, # М-7962) Г. Закос и А. Веглери датируют 721/722 г. (Zacos, Veglery 1972, 158). Первый издатель печати, Н.П.

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Лихачев, видел изображения императоров Ираклия и Ираклия Константина, индикт 2 и, соответственно, датировал печать 629 г. (Лихачев 1924, 165-166, табл. IX.5; Лихачев 1991, табл. LXXIII.3). На печати Анастасия другой матрицы (**рис. 2б**, Эрмитаж, # М-12458) с той же надписью на обороте, индикт не читается, поэтому она датируется широко: 720-741 гг. Экземпляр очень плохой сохранности. Он был найден в Судакe (Šandrovskaja 1993, 86-88). Деятельность Анастасия на посту коммеркиария нашла полное отражение в сфрагистическом материале, прослеживается по печатям с 718 до 727 гг. и проистекала на разных территориях империи: в Константинополе, Исаурии, Кари, Геллеспонте, Фессалонике и т.д. (Zacos, Veglery 1972, 158-159, table 13).

Еще одна печать плохой сохранности – Иоанна, ипата, главного коммеркиария аптеки Онориады, Пафлагонии и побережья Понта с изображениями Льва III и Константина V также была найдена в Судакe. Она датируется 720-741 гг. (**рис. 3**, Эрмитаж, # М-12457; Šandrovskaja 1993, 88-89)

Печать Феоктиста, ипата и главного коммеркиария аптеки побережья Понта, из коллекции Г. Закоса, с теми же изображениями относится к 727/728 г., или, возможно, 728/729 г. (**рис. 4**: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2765).

Г. Закос и А. Веглери предполагают, что под «Побережьем Понта» подразумевается отрезок побережья Черного моря от Амисоса (современного Самсуна) до Трапезунда (Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 1596).

К более позднему времени относится печать императорских коммеркий Эвксинского Понта, опубликованная И. Йордановым. На основании изображений императоров – Константина VI и Ирины, с одной стороны, и Константина V, Льва III и Льва IV, с другой стороны – и индикта, обозначенного буквой Z (т.е. 7) она датируется 783/784 гг. (**рис. 5**: Jordanov 2003, # 28.1; Jordanov 2009, # 1206).

Наконец, печать Льва, императорского коммеркиария Синопа Эвксинского Понта, с надписями на обеих сторонах, из коллекции Г. Закоса относится к так называемому переходному периоду, когда изображения императоров уже исчезают, а индикты еще присутствуют. Индикт 11 и эпиграфика печати позволяет датировать ее 832/833 или 847/848 гг. (**рис. 6**: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2894).

Очень большая группа печатей коммеркиариев Понта, конца VIII - начала X в., уже не имеет обозначения индикта. Это:

1. Печать Сергия, императорского веститора и коммеркиария Понта, VIII-IX вв. (DOS 3, # 72.2);
2. Печать (имя не сохранилось), коммеркиария Понта, VIII-IX вв. (**рис. 7а**, Дамбартон Оукс, # DO BZS.1977.34.87: DOS 3, # 72.3);
3. Печать Евгения, главного коммеркиария Понта, первая половина IX в., (**рис. 7б**, Эрмитаж, # М-6231: Лихачев 1991, табл. LXVII.7);
4. Печати Косьмы, главного коммеркиария Понта, первая половина IX в. (**рис. 7в**: Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2077А). Один из фрагментов был найден в Судакe (**рис. 7г**, Эрмитаж, # М-12558: Stepanova 1999, 56, # 20);

5. Печать Феодота, императорского коммеркиария Понта (?), IX в. (Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2480B);
6. Печать (имя не сохранилось) императорского веститора (?) и коммеркиария Понта, IX в. (Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2671 A);
7. Печать Никандра, ипата и коммеркиария Понта, конец IX – начало X в. (Wassiliou, Seibt 2004, # 160);
8. Сюда же можно отнести печать Михаила, императорского спафарокандидата и комита – также таможенного чиновника Иерона и Понта конца IX в. (**рис. 8**, Нумизматический кабинет Музея истории искусства Вены: Wassiliou, Seibt 2004, # 140). Иерон был очень важным – в военном и экономическом отношении – стратегическим пунктом на азиатском берегу Босфора, у выхода из пролива в Черное море. По свидетельству Прокопия должность комита Иерона была учреждена при Юстиниане I (Ahrweiler 1961, 247).

Таким образом, хотя и пунктирно – на ранних экземплярах более определённо прослеживается связь топонимов «Понт», «Эвксинский Понт» с южным побережьем Черного моря. А находки отдельных печатей коммеркиариев Понта в Судаке (Сугдее) в очередной раз подтверждают сообщения письменных источников о контактах Таврики с приморскими центрами Южного Причерноморья, что, прежде всего, связано с поставками на полуостров зерна и продовольствия.

Вопрос о том, где непосредственно находилось ведомство коммеркиариев или коммеркий Понта, остается открытым. Одно интересное предположение по поводу раннего периода было высказано Г. Закосом и А. Веглери. Исходя из сведений печатей Анастасия и ряда других коммеркиариев авторы пришли к выводу, что эти чиновники могли исполнять обязанности главного коммеркиария в нескольких местах одновременно. Например, в 723/724 г. местами деятельности Анастасия, по одной печати, был Константинополь, по другой – Фессалоника (Zacos, Veglery 1972, 158-159, table 13). В связи с этим Г. Закос и А. Веглери предполагают, что ведомства главных коммеркиариев могли находиться в столице, а в подведомственные им центры эти чиновники выезжали по мере необходимости (Zacos, Veglery 1972, 136).

9. Есть и еще одно любопытное соединение топонимов, которое наблюдается на печати N. (Иоанна?), императорского спафарокандидата и коммеркиария Херсона и Понта (**рис. 9а-б**: Алексеенко 2017, # III.2.22). Печать найдена в Судаке и датируется рубежом IX-X вв. На л.с. представлено погрудное изображение Богоматери Никоппеи, на о.с. надпись: Ἰω(άννη) βασιλικῶ σλαθ(α) ρωκαν[δ(ιδάτω) (καὶ) κομ(μ)ερκηρήθ(η) Χερσόνο(ς) κ(ε) τοῦ Πόντου, ἀμῆν – Иоанну, императорскому спафарокандидату и коммеркиарию Херсона и Понта, аминь. Как пишет Н.А. Алексеенко, «появление данной печати свидетельствует об очевидном возрастании роли херсонских коммеркиариев в Причерноморском регионе на рубеже IX-X вв. По крайней мере, одному из представителей местной таможенной службы в этот период был вменён в обязанности контроль над приморскими территориями Понта»

(Алексеев 2017, 127). Насколько эта ситуация была уникальной, неизвестно.

Еще более неопределенна ситуация с фемой Эвксинского Понта. Известны всего несколько печатей, с ней связанных.

1. Это печать Иоанна Амиропула, патрикия и стратига Эвксинского Понта из коллекции Дамбартон Оукс, датирована Н. Икономидисом и Дж. Нэбиттом рубежом X-XI вв., с изображением Богородицы на лицевой стороне и надписью на обороте (**рис. 10**, DO BZS.1947.2.994: DOS 3, # 72.4). Издатели идентифицировали этого Иоанна с Иоанном Амиропулом, который в 989 г. был патрикием и катепаном Италии. Но судя по эпиграфике печать более поздняя, и ее владельца можно отождествить с заказчиком другой печати, из коллекции Эрмитажа (# М-6727). Это Иоанн Амиропул, патрикий и стратиг Феодосиополя (совр. Эрзурум, город в северо-восточной Турции). В. С. Шандровская и В. Зайбт датируют печать 40 гг. XI в. (Šandrovskaja, Seibt 2005, 34-35, # 15).

Еще два моливдовула хранятся в коллекции Государственного Эрмитажа.

2. Печать Михаила, протоспафария, ипата и стратига Эвксинского Понта, середина XI в. (**рис. 11**, Эрмитаж, # М-6894. Из коллекции Н. П. Лихачева. Место находки неизвестно. Издана: Шандровская 1996, 58, рис. 2; Степанова 2012, 314-315, # 216).

Л.с. Погрудное изображение Св. Николая. По сторонам надпись:
Ο-Α-Γ-Ι/ | Ν-Ι-ΚΟ-Λ-Α,
= 'Ο ἄγι(ος) Νικόλα(ος)

О.с. Надпись в семь строк:

KER,Θ, | ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | ΑΣΠΑΘΑΡ, | VΠΑΤΣCΤΡ | ΤΙΓΤΗΕV |
Ζ,ΝΥΠΟΝ | -Τ'-

= Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Μιχαήλ (πρωτο)σπαθαρά(ις) υπάτ(ης) (καὶ)
στρ(α)τιγ(ῶ) τ(οῦ) Εὐξ(εί)ν(ου) Πόντ(ου)

Копия эрмитажной печати находится в Музее Фогга (DOS 3, # 72.5), другой экземпляр (возможно, тоже копия) хранится в Археологическом музее Софии (Мушмов 1934, # 51; Jordanov 2003, # 28.2; Jordanov 2009, # 1207). Сочетание титулов протоспафария и ипата характерно для XI в.

Печать Фомы, спафарокандидата и императорского хартулария Эвксинского Понта, XI в. (**рис. 12**, Эрмитаж, # М-8872. Из коллекции Н.П. Лихачева. Место находки неизвестно. Ранее не издавалась).

Л.с. Надпись в четыре строки:

+ΘKER | ΟΗΘΕΙΓΩ | .ΩΔΔΛΩ | .ΩΜΑ

Вверху украшение.

О.с. Надпись в четыре строки:

СПΑΘ'Κ | .ΝΔΔSR/ | ✠ΤΘΕVΖ | .ΟΝΤΘ

Вверху украшение.

= Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σ[ῶ] δ(ού)λῳ [Θ]ωμᾶ σπαθ(αρο)κ[α]νδ(ι)
δ(άτῳ) (καὶ) β(ασιλικῶ) χ(α)ρτ(ου)(λαρίῳ) Εὐξ(είνου) [Π]όντ(ου)

Обращает на себя внимание очень редко встречающаяся аббревиатура должности «хартуларий», состоящая из лигатуры ХР и литеры Т (подобную можно видеть на печати Сергия, хартулария и коммеркиария Преславицы, XI в. (DOS 1, # 78.3, Йорданов 2019, # 169). Должность хартулария Эвксинского Понта впервые отмечена на сфрагистическом материале. Хартуларии – чиновники, состоящие на службе во многих ведомствах как центральной, так и провинциальной администрации Византии, отвечающие за финансовую и архивную документацию.

4. К перечню печатей фемы Эвксинского Понта можно также отнести печать Иоанна, спафарокандидата и коммеркиария Иерона и Понта (музей Фогга), поскольку она относится к этому же времени – она датируется X-XI вв. (рис. 13, Дамбартон Оукс, # DO BZS.1951.31.5.108: DOS 3, # 72.1). На л.с. погрудное изображение Богоматери с медальоном с Младенцем Христом перед грудью. На обороте надпись в 6 строк.

Вероятно, фема Эвксинский Понт была основана в середине X в. Должность стратига этой фемы упоминается в «Эскуриальском Тактиконе» 971-975 гг. (Oikonomidès 1972, 267₁₀). Более раннее свидетельство Льва Диякона от 963 года, с упоминанием Эвксинского моря, (Лев Диякон 1988, 27, прим. 25), вероятно, относится ко всему региону, а не к феме (Oikonomidès 1972, 358, # 393; Leo the Deacon transl. 2005, 94, # 41). Печати показывают, что она продолжала существовать и в XI в. В эту структуру (из того что нам известно) наряду со стратигами, входили хартуларии и, возможно, коммеркиарии.

Точное расположение фемы Эвксинский Понт неизвестно. Н. Икономидис и Дж. Нэсбитт предлагали два варианта: либо она располагалась на южном побережье Черного моря, где-то в районе Синопа, либо это была морская фема, и она могла находиться по соседству с Иероном. Авторы считают, что она была призвана защищать Константинополь от угроз с севера со стороны Древней Руси (DOS 3, 127-128). Вероятно, они имели в виду, прежде всего, неудачный поход князя Игоря 941 г., чей флот был уничтожен около Иерона. Н. Икономидис и Дж. Нэсбитт также предполагают, что должность стратига Эвксинского Понта имела отношение к должности стратига Стенона (другое название Босфора), печать которого они опубликовали (DOS 3, # 73.1). Неопределенно о месте резиденции стратига Эвксинского Понта высказался и И. Йорданов, он локализовал его на Фракийском Боспоре (Jordanov 2003, 84). В свое время И. А. Барановым была выдвинута версия о том, что фема Эвксинского Понта могла находиться в Сугдее (Баранов 1990, 154), но она перестала быть актуальной после того, как в Судак были найдены печати стратигов Сугдеи XI в. (Stepanova 1999, 49-50).

Позицию исследователей можно понять, поскольку пока каких-либо достоверных свидетельств о расположении этой фемы мы не имеем. Тем не менее, можно предположить, что она находилась не вблизи Иерона, а в самом Иероне. Об этом косвенно мо-

жет свидетельствовать печать Иоанна, коммеркиария Иерона и Понта. Другие сфрагистические материалы, касающиеся Иерона, на удивление скудны, в отличие, например, от Абидоса, игравшего ту же роль, что и Иерон, в проливе Геллеспонт (*Λεβενιώτης* 2017): известны многочисленные печати разнообразных чиновников Абидоса с VI по XI вв. (см. например DOS 3, # 40.1-39). В Иероне же от всего периода существования Византии сохранилось лишь несколько печатей комитов Иерона VII-IX вв. (Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 1333, 2077, 2358; Эрмитаж, # М-11768: Соколова 1991, # 47; DOS 3, # 81.1-3), печать Фотина, буллотера Иерона – чиновника, отвечающего за опечатывание товаров, подлежащих таможенному контролю, VIII в. (Алексеев 1997, 126-127, табл. 3) (имя Фотина определяется по неопубликованной печати # М-7132 из коллекции Эрмитажа), и печать Льва, епископства, управляющего императорскими доменами, X в. (Алексеев 2004, 270, ил. 12). Какова была административная структура в Иероне после IX в. неизвестно. Возможно это и была феода Эвксинского Понта, существовавшая в середине X-XI вв.

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Печатите на Евксински Понт

Елена В. СТЕПАНОВА

Известни са едва няколко печата, които могат да се свържат с Евксински Понт. Сред тях е моливдовулът на Йоан Амиропулос, патрикий и стратег на Евксински Понт от колекцията на Дъмбартън Оукс, датиран в 40-те години на XI в. Още два моливдовула се съхраняват в Ермитажа: на Михаил, протоспатарий, ипат и стратег на Евксински Понт (от средата на XI в.), и този на Тома, спатарокандидат и императорски хартуларий на Евксински Понт (XI в.). Към същата група можем да прибавим и печат на Йоан, спатарокандидат и комеркиарий на Хиерон и Понта, от Музея Фог (X-XI в.). Възможно е да се предположи, че темата Евксински Понт е основана в средата на X в. Постът на неин стратег се споменава в Тактикона на Ескориал (971-975). По отношение на структурата си, тази тема (доколкото ни е известно), освен със стратег, вероятно е разполагала също с длъжностите хартуларий, и може би комеркиарий.



Рис. 5. Печать императорских коммерций Эвксинского Понта, 783/784 гг. Национальный археологический институт и музей, Софии, # 14.



Рис. 6. Печать Льва, императорского коммеркиария Синопа Эвксинского Понта, 832/833 или 847/848 гг. Zacos, Veglery 1972, # 2894.



Рис. 7а-г. Печати коммеркиариев Понта, конца VIII – начала X в.: а. (Имя не сохранилось), коммеркиария Понта, VIII-IX вв. Дамбартон Оукс, DO BZS.1977.34.87. б. Евгения, главного коммеркиария Понта, первая половина IX в. Эрмитаж, # М-6231. в-г. Печати Косьмы, главного коммеркиария Понта, первая половина IX в. Zacos, VEGLELY 1972, # 2077A (в), Эрмитаж, # М-12558 (г).



Рис. 8. Печать Михаила, императорского спафарокандидата и комита Иерона и Понта конца IX в. Нумизматический кабинет Музея истории искусства Вены. Wassiliou, Seibt 2004, # 140.



Рис. 9а-б. Печать Иоанна (?), императорского спафарокандидата и коммеркиария Херсона и Понта, рубеж IX-X вв. Национальный заповедник «София Киевская» в Киеве, Украина. Алексеев 2017, # III.2.22.



Рис. 10. Печать Иоанна Амиропула, патрикия и стратига Эвксинского Понта, 40 гг. XI в. Дамбартон Оукс, # DO BZS.1947.2.994.

Рис. 11. Печать Михаила, протоспафария, ипата и стратига Эвксинского Понта, середина XI в. Эрмитаж, # М-6894.



Рис. 12. Печать Фомы, спафарокандидата и императорского хартулария Эвксинского Понта, XI в. Эрмитаж, # М-8872.

Рис. 13. Печать Иоанна, спафарокандидата и коммеркиария Иерона и Понта, X-XI вв. Музей Фогга, Дамбартон Оукс, # DO BZS.1951.31.5.108.

An enigmatic seal from Varna

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In memory of our esteemed colleague and friend Ivan Jordanov

An exquisite seal was found in Varna not long ago. It was discovered during rescue archaeological excavations at Tsar Ivan Shishman 18 str., in the very center of the nowadays city, in the area known as the ‘Greek quarter’. The seal was found on June 4, 2021 at the C2 grid square – northeast part, in a layer filled with roof tiles over wall # 6. The excavation was led by Dr. V. Tenekedjiev – chief assistant professor at the Regional Museum of History – Varna, and A. Stefanova – chief curator of the Roman *Thermae* of Odessos archaeological site.¹

Archaeological materials which were uncovered in the trench (mostly pottery, including amphorae) date back to the 11th-12th c. Ruins of buildings were not found. An anonymous Byzantine follis class B (1030/35-1042; see Grierson 1973, Pl. 55.B) was found next to the seal (in the adjacent grid square D2).

The description of the seal is as follows (**Fig. 1**):

Obverse: Standing figure of the Virgin turned to the right with hands upraised toward the Hand of God in the upper field.

Reverse: Inscription of eight lines:

.....
.ΡΡΑΜ,
..ΑΘΚΑΔΔ
.ΔΙΑΔΟΧ.
.ΞΝΤΑΡΧ.
.ΚΡ,Τ,ΣΤΜ.
ΗΡΑΤ,ΜΕ
CΜ,

[Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θει Ἀ]βραμ(ίω) [σπ]αθ(αρο)κα(ν)δ(ι)δ(άτω) ...
διαδόχ(ω) [(καὶ) κ]εντάρχ[ω τοῦ] κρ(ι)τ(οῦ) (καὶ) τ(οῦ) μ(ε)γ(άλου)
[κ]ουράτ(ορος) Μεσ(η)μ(βρίας).

¹ We want to express our gratitude to our colleagues who gave the permission for publishing the seal. The very first information about the seal was given to us by the director of RMH – Varna, Dr. I. Lazarenko. We are grateful for his support and guidance during the time of writing of the present paper.

Regional Museum of History – Varna. Department of Archaeology, field inventory # 28.

D: 19-22 mm; D (field): 21 mm; Th: 4 mm.

W: 6.26 gr.

Unpublished. No parallels known.



Fig. 1. Seal of Abramios, spatharokandidatos, diadochos and kentarchos of the krites and of the megas kourator of Mesembria. Middle of the 11th c. (Photo: Nina Diyanova, restorer at NAIM – BAS, Branch Shumen).

The blank was too small for the boulloterion, so part of the field could not be printed. Additionally there are breakages and damages to the surface due to carbonate deposits.

On the obverse there is an aesthetically pretentious standing figure of the Theotokos Hagiosoritissa, with her hands covered in folds of the maphorion and in Deesis gesture, elevated to a (lost) segment of Heaven (usually with the hand of God). On the left in the middle of the field can be recognized traces of a Rho (from the siglum MP). Other traces above are probably not letters but simply damages on the field.

The reverse had a legend of eight lines, though the first one is more or less lost and the last line is badly damaged. On the left some letters are missing, while on the right there are serious damages.

The proposed transcription is partially hypothetical. In the lost first line we assume +ΘΚΕΡ. The personal name Abramios seems to be certain.

The title spatharokandidatos is clear, though the abbreviations at the end of the word are unusual. The first office seems to be an enigmatic diadochos, only very rarely attested on seals. At the beginning of the third preserved line there is place for one letter, perhaps R for β(ασilikῶ). Normally diadochos (perhaps [β(ασilikός)] διάδοχος?) means successor, but the duties of such a dignitary in the 11th c. are still based on suggestions. Well known is the seal type of a Nikolaos Methodios, protospatharios, hypatos and diadochos, recently published and interpreted by M. Campagnolo-Pothitou and J.-Cl. Cheynet (2016, # 191; parallel specimen: Bucephalus 5: 29-30.04.2022, # 1181). The authors propose two explanations for diadochos: a kind of ἐκ προσώπου, or a person responsible for the distribution of annona (by connecting the word with διάδοσις). If we consider any relation with the fiscal term δοχή (the LBG, 409, proposes the translation “Annahme”), resp. δοχειάριος (LBG, 409, “Lagerverwalter“, „Schatzmeister“) and similar, another solution comes to mind. It is well known that many high-standing, rich dignitaries (not only eunuchs) included the emperor as heir (successor) in their testament. Was it the duty of the diadochos to arrange all necessary changes in the register of assessment or to attribute the new possessions to an imperial oikos or domain? Perhaps his duties were even more extensive and included similar activities during confiscations? In our case the connection with the office of a curator would not contradict such

an interpretation. We hope to find more seals mentioning a diadochos together with other duties.

The next office remains unclear. The letters NTA appear in words like kentarchos, kontaratos, penta..., panta..., etc. Kentarchos would not be impossible, because we find such an officer even in the civil sekreton of the bestiarion (Oikonomidès 1972, 316), and if we really could read .ЄNTAP..., then kentarchos would be plausible.

If the first legible letter in the next line is a tall Kappa, krites comes to mind. The next dignity is probably kourator, but before this word there is some space, perhaps filled with the ligature My-Gamma (Μ) for μεγάλην. The name of the territorial jurisdiction of the kourator begins clearly with ΜΕ. Mesembria seems to be a plausible proposal, especially if in the last line there was really Sigma and My, and this town was geographically not far from Varna. Another toponym, Mesopotamia (tes Dyseos), would still correspond, though to a lesser extent, to the traces of the letters and the available space on the seal.

The total impression of the seal points to the period around the middle of the 11th century, perhaps 1035-1055.

An alternative interpretation would propose to assume a (lost) Tau in front of KP,T, making Abramios a diadochos and kentarchos of the krites and megas kourator of Mesembria. This way it would be less surprising that Abramios was only spatharokandidatos, and could be a hint to confiscations in the region of Mesembria during the 1040s.

Of great importance for the correct reading and dating of the seal is the fact that the seal was found during archaeological excavations. A brief overview of the place where this extremely interesting sphragistic monument was found is therefore necessary.

The archaeological site from where the seal originated, located on Tsar Ivan Shishman 18 str., today falls within the central area of the Archaeological Reserve "Ancient City of Odessos – Varna, and in the past was part of medieval Varna (Тенекеджиев, Стефанова 2021; Тенекеджиев, Стефанова 2022). During archaeological excavations on the same street in 2017 were uncovered parts of a Late Antique building, remains of at least three dwellings from the 11th-12th centuries, as well as pits with ceramic decorations of a church from the 13th-14th centuries (Манолова-Войкова и др. 2018, 223).

The archaeological data we have so far testify that from the end of the 10th to the middle of the 11th c. a settlement was formed in the southeastern part of the territory of the ancient town. Near the harbour, by the middle of the 11th c., a fortress was built in the high part of the ancient city around the ruins of the Roman baths for defence against barbarian invasions. At the same time, the harbour began to function. The Byzantine city of Varna thus formed and lasted until March 24, 1201 when it was captured and destroyed by the Bulgarian Tsar Kaloyan (Плетньов 2008, 181).

Almost nothing is known about the place and the significance of Varna during the years of Byzantine rule. In 2001, the seal of Ashot, anthypatos, patrikios and strategos of Varna from the middle of the 11th c. came to light (Seibt 2004, 253). This is the only record of the existence of a Varna strategia. We have no information about the city's role in the Byzantine provincial system. According to I. Jordanov, the dating of the seal should be assigned after the middle of the 11th c. He uses Skylitzes' information that in 1043 the military commander Katakalon

Kekaumenos defeated the Rus' troops at Varna (Каждан 1975, # 8.4). The need for a stronghold, and the increasing number of Pecheneg invasions, were the main reasons why this strategion was organized.

The numismatic picture of medieval Varna fully supports these assumptions. The largest number of coins is documented exactly from the late 10th-mid 12th c. period. Coins are the real dating material for the destructions by fire from the middle of the 12th c. which are undoubtedly related to the devastating Pecheneg invasions (Йордов 2004, 320).

The seal which is the subject of this paper is among the very few documented from the territory of medieval Varna with a certain archaeological context. There are only two other such cases. The first one is the monogrammatic seal of Bonos magistros, dated in the 6th-7th c. (Jordanov 2009, # 2236).² We prefer to attribute this seal to the well-known patrikios and magistros who defended the capital against the Avars as a deputy of the absent Emperor Herakleios in 626 (cf. PLRE, s.v. Bonus 5 and 7). The second case is an ecclesiastical seal of the presbyteroi and ekklesiokdikoi, probably from the early 13th c. (Jordanov 2009, # 1646).

The seal presented in this paper is the second of Byzantine type found in Varna,³ whose owner is possibly of Armenian origin. The accumulation of two seals in the same period of Varna's history supports the hypothesis that an Armenian community existed in this city in the second half of the 11th century. Some written sources testify that an Armenian ethnical group of people was forced to migrate to the Balkans by the Byzantine authorities. The two largest waves of migration were in the 6th-7th c. and in the first half of the 11th c. respectively (cf. Charanis 1961, 199). Most likely the formation of this community would have taken place after the middle of the 11th c., since it is known that in Varna at that time there was already a church which served the Armenian population and was subject in ecclesiastical terms not to the Patriarch of Constantinople, but to the Armenian Catholicos (Гюзелев 1972, 319). A notice by the Byzantine monk Cyril Phileotes, who passed through Varna and Anchialos and provided information about the life there in the second half of the 11th c., points to this dating. He himself became a monk after one of the devastating Pecheneg invasions of 1051 or 1056 (Гюзелев 1972, 315-323).

All these pieces of evidence support the dating of our enigmatic seal around the middle of the 11th c. To whom did Abramios send his correspondence? The fact that the seal was found in buildings close to the harbour directs our search to a person from the administration of medieval Varna, perhaps the strategos himself. It is tempting to suppose that it may have been Ashot himself, but the assumption is within the realms of a hypothesis. According to the seal under consideration, Abramios was a collaborator of the megas kourator of Mesembria. This town was originally a small theme, but in the third quarter of the 11th c. it developed into an independent katepanate. At that time, the Byzantine navy was stationed there and the town had the opportunity to maintain contacts with the other regions of the Empire (Jordanov 2006, 196). It was part – and in fact the starting point – of the defensive line Mesembria – Beroe – Philippopolis – Triaditsa – Nisos, which emerged in the second half of the 11th c. as a reaction to the invasions of the Uzes, Pechenegs and Cumans (Йорданов 2019, 247, 253). Therefore, our assumption is that the correspondence received in Varna could have been in connection with coordinating common actions against the Pechenegs.

² Apart from the parallel seals mentioned by Jordanov, an additional, excellently preserved specimen, was offered in the online auction NBS 10: 09.01.2022, # 28.

³ Following the information of the auction through which Ashot's, anthypatos, patrikios and strategos of Varna seal was sold, the specimen may have originated from Bulgaria, without giving more specific find-spot. It can be assumed that, because he was strategos of Varna, it is likely that the seal was issued either in the city of Varna itself or in its surrounding area.

ABBREVIATIONS

AOP: Археологически открития и разкопки. София.

LBG: Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts. Ed. E. Trapp. 2. Faszikel. Wien 1996.

PLRE: The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire. Ed. J. R. Martindale. III.A-B. A.D. 527-641. Cambridge 1992.

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AUCTIONS

Bucephalus: Bucephalus Numismatic.

NBS: NBS Auctions B.V.

Един загадъчен печат от Варна

Женя ЖЕКОВА, Вернер ЗАЙБТ

В настоящата работа се разглежда един изключително интересен оловен печат, намерен по време на спасителни археологически разкопки в центъра на съвременния град Варна (в т.н. Гръцка махала). На лицевата страна е представено изображение на Богородица Агиосоритиса, с ръце вдигнати молитвено към Бог. Текстът върху обратната страна е непълен, тъй като ядрото е било прекалено малко за булотириона. Надписът е осемредов и според него печатът принадлежи на някой си Аврамиос, спатарокандидат, диадох, кентарх на крит и на мегас куратор на Месемврия. Иконографските и стилови характеристики го датират около средата на XI в., най-вероятно 1035/1055 г.

До този момент лице с такова име е непознато от изворите. Особен интерес поражда енигматичната титла диадох, интерпретирана като приемник, наместник или най-общо лице отговарящо за разпределянето на аноната (данък, събиран в натура). Вероятно неговите задължения са били много по-широки. Откриването на нови печати с тази титла биха разширили нашите познания за нейната истинска функция.

Веднага прави впечатление, че името Аврамиос е от арменски произход. До този момент от Варна имаме документиран още един византийски печат на арменец – Ашот, антипат, патриций и стратег на Варна (средата на XI в.). Това е единственият извор, свидетелстващ за съществуването на стратегия Варна. Въпросът, който възниква, е дали има някаква връзка между двамата арменци, освен общият им произход. Изкушаващо е предположението, че Аврамиос е писал до Ашот, вероятно във връзка със засилените печенежки нашествия. Аврамиос е сътрудник на мегаскуратор на Месемврия – град, част от изградената от Византия отбранителна линия на юг от Стара планина, започваща именно от този морски порт, и стигаща до Ниш. През третата четвърт на XI в. Месемврия е превърната в независим катепанат, където е разположена и имперската флота. Допускаме, че именно във връзка с тези събития е осъществена и кореспонденцията между Месемврия и Варна.

The background of the entire page is a photograph of a stone wall and an archway, likely part of an ancient fortress or city wall. The wall is constructed from large, rectangular stone blocks. The archway is visible on the right side of the image. The sky above is a deep blue with some light clouds, suggesting a twilight or dusk setting. The foreground is filled with green grass.

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