

A CONTRIBUTION TO BYZANTINE PROSOPOGRAPHY. 3. THE LACHANADES

Pantelis Charalampakis

*National Archaeological Institute with Museum, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 2 Saborna Str., 1000 Sofia, Bulgaria;
pantelcha@gmail.com*

ABSTRACT

This study concerns individuals bearing the Byzantine family name Lachanas, which is attested in both literary and sigillographic sources as active mostly in the Balkans, Asia Minor, and the Aegean islands from the 11th to the 15th c. This essay consists of: an overview of the Lachanas name, its origin and variants; a short commentary on the known bearers of this name, their possible relations, and their presumable place in Byzantine society, with special attention paid to the seal of a Lachanas found recently in Plovdiv (published here for the first time) and its probable relation to another specimen presumably also from the same city; and a catalogue of individuals with the family name Lachanas.

Keywords: Byzantine prosopography, Lachanas, lead seals, social history

Introduction¹

Over recent years, researchers have focused more and more on Byzantine prosopography as this topic is rather crucial for understanding Byzantine history in general and Byzantine social history in particular. Prosopography studies people as individuals by giving identities to them but also the connections between these individuals and, if possible, between people and particular places. In this way, scholars can reconstruct the triptych “Who? – When? – Where?”. This study is dedicated to individuals with the family name Lachanas, which is attested in both literary and sigillographic sources as active mostly in the Balkans, Asia Minor and the Aegean, from the 11th to the 15th c.

The present essay begins with an overview of the Lachanas name, its origin and variants. Then follows a short commentary on the bearers of this name, their possible relations, and their presumable place in Byzantine society. Since lead seals showing the name Lachanas that have known find-spot are scarce – there is concrete information for only two out of the twenty-two presented in this paper² – special attention is paid to the specimen of a Lachanas found recently in Plovdiv, medieval

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This is the third of a series of articles on Byzantine prosopography. See: Charalampakis 2017 and Charalampakis 2018. Other prosopographic studies by the author: Χαράλαμπάκης 2010 and Campagnolo-Pothitou, Charalampakis 2019.

² One was found at excavations in Plovdiv; one has been registered as originating from Plovdiv; one was allegedly found in the wider area of the Strandzha mountain, southeastern Bulgaria. The majority of the remaining pieces per-

Philippopolis (published here for the first time), as well as its possible relation to another that allegedly also comes from the same city. Afterwards is a two-part catalogue of individuals bearing the family name Lachanas. The first part deals with socially independent individuals of various walks of life who are attested in the sources. The second part includes all people known from sources as small landowners, paroikoi, servants, or those dependent in any other way on a monastery in the area of Macedonia and on the Aegean islands.

The Lachanas name and family(-ies)

The Greek name Lachanas (Λαχανᾶς), meaning the greengrocer, is a composite from the noun λάχανον for “cabbage” and “lettuce” (but also greens and vegetables in general) and the ending -ᾶς, which is typical of names denoting professions. Other examples of such names include Ἀμπελᾶς, Ἀροτρᾶς, Ἀσβεστᾶς, Βελωνᾶς, Ζωναρᾶς, Καμινᾶς, Κασσιτηρᾶς, Κλειδᾶς, Κολυμβᾶς, Μαχαιρᾶς, Μεταξᾶς, Μολυβᾶς, Προβατᾶς, Σαλιβαρᾶς, Σιδηρᾶς, Σκαραμαγκᾶς, Τοξαρᾶς, Ὑαλᾶς, Χοιρινᾶς, and (Ο)Ψαρᾶς (Koder 1993, 24 – 25; Moritz 1897, 14, 25, 46; Moritz 1898, 27). A similar family name used in Byzantium was Maroules/Μαρούλης (see the entries in PBW and the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine seals online catalogue as well as Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, 679 – 680). Its female equivalents are attested in 14th c. documents as Λαχανῶ and Λαχανίνα (see below in the catalogue). Other endings were used too, most probably in the same context, as shown by the names (Claudius) Lachanius, a high official active in the late 4th/early 5th c. (Olszaniek 2013, 231 – 234), Λαχαναρᾶς, mentioned in a mid-12th c. document as Δανιῆλ ὁ τοῦ Λαχαναρᾶ (Lemerle et al. 1970, 333: 64.93, year 1162), and Λαχανεστούρης, a family name attested on 14th c. Cyprus (PLP Nos. 14617 – 14618). On other occasions, one encounters the name Lachanopoulos (Λαχανόπουλος), which originally denoted the son of a certain person called Lachanas and later probably evolved into a (distinct) family name (see, for example, the 11th c. seal of Basileios Lachanopoulos: DO BZS.1951.31.5.3436, online: <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.3436/view>³ and the unpublished 11th – 12th c. seal of Konstantinos Lachanopoulos: DO BZS.1951.31.5.2169, mentioned in Kazhdan, Ronchey 1999, 366 – 367. Also, PLP No. 14620 = Успенский, Бенешевич 1927, 116, № 168, area of Trabzon, year 1432: Εἰρήνη Λαχανόπουλος – sic!). Apart from a single name, the noun is also used as a composite together with other nouns, such as Λαχανο-δράκων (Koder 1993, 24; Moritz 1897, 14, 54).

As pointed out in many scholarly studies, family names in Byzantium evolved long after Late Antiquity (on the appearance and evolution of family names in Byzantium see the bibliography in Charalampakis 2018, 53, note 6). In this respect, the word λαχανᾶς inscribed on a 5th c. tombstone (IthrAeg E533 – Maroneia Archaeological Collection AKM391: Θέσις Εἰοάνου λαχανᾶ. See <http://pandektis.ekt.gr/pandektis/handle/10442/70659> as well as https://www.searchculture.gr/aggregator/edm/pandektis_epigrafes/000080-10442_70659?language=en, with photos and references to publications) suggests that Ioannes had been a vegetables producer or merchant; his funerary inscription simply states his profession and not a family name.

Perhaps the most famous Lachanas in medieval history gained his mocking nickname from his profession or occupation in his early years: this is the Bulgarian tsar Ivaylo, named Бърдоква (Βορδόκουβας or Κορδόκουβας in the Greek sources) in Bulgarian and Λαχανᾶς in Greek: ἦν ἀγρότης ἐκεῖσε μισθοῦ βόσκων χοίρους, Βορδόκουβας κεκλημένος· τὸ δ’ ὄνομα ἢ Ἑλλήνων γλῶττα

haps (though not necessarily) was found – or at least acquired – in Constantinople (because they were or are part of the ex-Zacos, the Hermitage, and the IFEB collections), but this uncertainty does not allow for statistics or any further scholarly observations.

³ All web-links quoted in this article were active when last accessed (March 15, 2024).

εις λάχανον ἐκλαμβάνει καὶ Λαχανᾶς ἐντεύθεν φημίζεται (Failler, Laurent 1984, Vol. II, 548 – 555: VI.3 – 4, 560 – 567: VI.7 – 8, 588 – 591: VI.19; Failler 1999, Vol. IV, 468 – 469: XI.23. On the Bulgarian word, see Георгиев и др. 1971, 101 – 102. Also, Moravcsik 1983, 177, on the change between B- and K-); βοσκηματώδης μὲν τὸ γένος ἀνὴρ ... ὄνομα Λαχανᾶς (Schopen 1829, 130 – 132).⁴ Apparently, Iwaylo was widely known by this nickname, which could have originated from his early years as a farmer (ἀγρότης) and also could have been later adopted as a family name (?), because shortly after his death an impostor pretended that he was Λαχανᾶς himself (Failler 1999, Vol. III, 210 – 213: VIII.30).

Since the name Lachanas could have been adopted by any person at any place in (or even outside) the Empire, it is unlikely that all individuals attested to have born this family name through the ages belonged to the same family or even distant branches of it. One can be more certain about those who issued seals in earlier centuries (11th – 12th c.) and about prominent individuals in later periods. It is rather challenging if not impossible, however, to establish any connection between these Lachanades and residents of the villages that were dependent on the Athonite monasteries mentioned in the respective documents. The engagement of a person as *λαχανᾶς* must have been quite frequent in the countryside, and therefore, the popularity of the name Lachanas in such areas can be expected. On the other hand, these same documents also reveal names of famous aristocratic families. In this respect, perhaps it is more accurate to speak about research on the prosopography of people who had a particular family name than research on a particular family, an observation already made by Polemis in his preface to the study on the Doukai about 55 years ago (Polemis 1968, preface). Nevertheless, it seems that some of the Lachanades share some common elements that might indicate they were indeed related.

Kazhdan and Ronchey argued that the Lachanas family members bore no titles or high offices either in civil or ecclesiastical administration and that, for this reason, its members should not be considered part of the (Byzantine) aristocracy (Kazhdan, Ronchey 1999, 246). Regarding honorific titles, one Lachanas was imperial protospatharios (here, No. 1), another protonobelissimos (here, No. 11) and a third hypatos and antigrapheus (here, No. 2) (Kazhdan, Ronchey 1999, 298, 366, No. 49). These titles were quite modest at the time, however. Besides, there is no way to make either a clear connection or a distinction between these two Lachanades and others who had the same family name. It is true, though, that certain bearers of the family name under examination managed to climb and occupy positions in the State or the Church. One could mention a Lachanas who became metropolitan of Crete (here, No. 14) and a second who was elected metropolitan of Herakleia (here, No. 15). Another was related to the Palaiologoi and became ambassador (here, No. 22), and a fourth Lachanas was related to the Laskarids and acted as the emperor's envoy (here, No. 23). Perhaps less prominent but still important was a Lachanas who might have established a church and so could not have been a commoner (here, No. 19), a protokentarchos (here, No. 4), and a grammatikos of the Zabareion (here, No. 6). It is not impossible that all these people were somehow related and that several branches of the same family existed at various locations, as was also the case with most of the well-known Byzantine houses.

Those who had the family name Lachanas appear in sources in the second half of the 11th c., at a time when several other families seem to have “emerged” and climbed the steps of the Byzantine

⁴ Iwaylo, who ruled the Bulgarians from 1278 to 1279, was married to Maria Palaiologina-Kantakouzene (as her third husband, after the Byzantine nobleman Alexios Philes and the Bulgarian tsar Konstantin Tich). It is not clear why Nicol 1968, 20, note 19, considered a certain Nikephoros Lachanas, known through his seal only (see the catalogue here), as “Maria's third husband”. There is no indication in the sources that the Bulgarian Βορδόκουβας/Λαχανᾶς bore the first name Nikephoros. His identification with Iwaylo, on the other hand, is more than certain and generally accepted in modern academic literature.

social hierarchy. We certainly lack sufficient evidence to establish the exact connections between those people and so to get a clear general view of their involvement in society. What cannot be neglected, though, is the fact that the Lachanades start to be attested at approximately the same time, in the second half of the 11th c., and that they were very active in the second half of the 12th and the early 15th c., which cannot be a coincidence. Such ups and downs are, perhaps, an indication that the Lachanades remained one close-knit family throughout these centuries and its members were noticed or escaped public attention rather as a group than individuals who happened to advance in their careers. Furthermore, with the exception of one person who used the figure of Saint Ioannes Prodromos on his seals (here, No. 2) and another who used that of Saint Theodoros Stratelates (here, No. 13), the other (five) individuals whose boulloteria are known to scholars used the figure of the Mother of God (here, Nos. 1, 3, 8, 9, 17). One might think that the Theotokos was the family protector of the Lachanades, but in the absence of a larger assemblage of boulloteria, this is only a hypothesis. Another link between these Lachanades is the use of first names: considering the first part of the catalogue (i.e., not including the paroikoi), the prevailing names are: Ioannes (7 times), Nikephoros (3 times), Manouel (2 times), Theodoros (2 times), and Georgios (2 times). Even if some of the Ioannes are identical, the number is still high, and as we know, Byzantine families preferred particular names.

The aforementioned examples are more than enough to show that: 1) at least some bearers of the family name Lachanas were related, although the exact family relations cannot be established at this stage of research, and 2) the Lachanades were not an unimportant family. On the contrary, the more evidence about them that comes to light, the more apparent it is that they were associated with the Byzantine elite. What is not clear at this stage of research, is whether a) the Lachanas family should be considered part of the aristocracy as a whole or b) only certain members of the main family and its various branches individually managed to have a successful career that allowed them to climb the social strata and enter relationships with other aristocratic families (such as the Palaiologoi and Laskarids). It is understandable, of course, that a (any?) family might have had members who rose to the upper strata in Byzantine society and even established connections with the aristocracy. As Cheynet has remarked, the names of certain families mirror their backgrounds, which were sometimes related to humble professions, and yet their bearers manage to climb the social ladder (Cheynet 2009, 96).

Aside from the aforementioned individuals, there is a fairly large number of people with the Lachanas family name who are explicitly mentioned in sources as paroikoi or small landowners and who neighbored monastic property inhabited and/or worked by paroikoi. These people are mostly known through Athonite documents and resided in various places in the area of modern-day Greek Macedonia. Furthermore, there is evidence of paroikoi with the same family name on the island of Lemnos. A question that so far has not been explored in depth in academic literature is whether some paroikoi were somehow related to homonymous middle- and/or upper-class families. The starting point behind this question is, as hinted above, the large presence of paroikoi bearing family names identical or similar to those of well-known aristocratic families whose members, prominent or not, would have hardly ended up as paroikoi of a monastery in the countryside of southern Macedonia. Should the use of such family names by paroikoi be treated as a mere coincidence? Did well-known families perhaps have so many branches that eventually some very distant relatives of the main branch were not only spread in various areas of the Empire but also were not in position to claim any wealth or prestige? The scarcity of documents such as the *praktika* and *testaments* related to monasteries other than the Athonite does not allow for a proper mapping of family names in the Byzantine Empire. Furthermore, one may notice the baptismal names Draganos and Stanna at

Melintziane as well as Bezanos at Radolibos, all of which point to either Slavic influence or mixed marriages (here, Nos. 29, 30, 45). In any case, the paroikoi and landowners of Macedonia and Lemnos who had the name Lachanas have been included in this study, though listed separately from the other individuals.

Another issue that posed a challenge in the preparation of this study is that of homonyms: the catalogue contains individuals bearing common and popular first names, which makes their identification more difficult. If one groups together individuals who in fact had nothing to do with each other, there is the risk of attributing to a single individual a seal or seals issued by others. On the other hand, considering each case as a separate individual would create a very long list of people, some of whom might have been the same person.

A good example of homonyms that might or might not be identical is the evidence of two lead seals from Plovdiv (Philippopolis). The first, found recently, is published here for the first time (here, No. 17). It was issued in the second half of the 12th c., or perhaps the beginning of the 13th c., by an Ioannes Lachanas and shows the Mother of God on the obverse. Another specimen, issued by a homonym, also showing the Mother of God and dated around the middle or, most likely, in the second half of the 12th c., was reportedly also found in Plovdiv a few decades ago (here, No. 9c). These people have been enlisted as separate entries in the following catalogue. However, despite the hesitation in identifying them, one cannot but notice similarities: the individuals' name and family name; the (approximate) date of their seals; the use of the Mother of God icon; the seals' find-spot (although we lack precise information on the specimen published by Jordanov); and similar formula and words used in the inscription (Μήτηρ Θεοῦ ἡ Κυριώτισσα. Σκέποις Λαχανᾶν Ἰωάννην Παρθένε vs Μήτηρ Θεοῦ. Λαχανᾶν Ἰωάννην σκέποις (or σκέπε) [...] Κόρη). It is not impossible that the same Ioannes issued both seals addressed to a person or persons in Philippopolis. The fact that none of these seals show office or title could mean either that Ioannes did not have any or that these seals were struck from his personal (and not professional, i.e., containing information about his office) boulloterion. As for the use of monogram on one of the two seals, it was not uncommon for someone to convey a boulloterion's inscription both in full text and as a monogram, especially in the second half of the 12th and the first half of the 13th c. when monograms were quite popular and frequently attested on seals.⁵

The two specimens bearing the name Ioannes are not the only ones issued by a Lachanas discovered in modern Bulgaria. The seal of a Manouel Lachanas (here, No. 13) was reportedly "found in the Strandzha mountain", which Jordanov interpreted as the find-spot being the medieval fortress at Melnitsa. Although this location is only a speculation, what matters to this study is that a third seal of a Lachanas was found in Bulgaria and especially in the wider area around Adrianople. This is not surprising, considering that numerous seals issued by particular Byzantine families with (possibly) personal ties and interests or professional reasons related to specific places have been found in various locations in modern Bulgaria (see the entries in Jordanov 2006 and 2009, as well as the commentary in Cheynet 2008). The areas of Philippopolis and the Strandzha (or rather the Tonzos valley immediately to the west of the mountain) were among the lands distributed to prominent Byzantine families in the 11th – 12th c., which may suggest that Byzantine emperors had also endowed the Lachanades with lands.

⁵ See, for example, the cases of Stephanos Bardales: Campagnolo-Pothitou, Cheynet 2016, 62 – 63, No. 44 and the seal DO BZS.1958.106.1277 on <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.1277/view> (to which the DO editors have ascribed a very late date); Alexios Krateros: Campagnolo-Pothitou, Cheynet 2016, 389, No. 348; and Alexios Kontostephanos: Cheynet 2019, 324 – 325, No. 7.3. All these specimens are dated in the same time period as the seals Ioannes Lachanas issued.

With the present work, scholars can add one more name to those of Byzantine families that emerged in sources in the 11th c. and eventually achieved elevated social standing. Even though in most cases the Lachanades' kinship cannot be determined with certainty (with the exception of the paroikoi where the documents define their relations in a straightforward way), this essay may be used as a research tool for future scholars working on prosopography and Byzantine social history so they can make use of known material for wider or deeper study.

All bearers of the Lachanas family name are presented below first chronologically and then in alphabetical order, without any established family line or tree (except for the paroikoi, when possible). The paroikoi are first listed by village or area and second by family (when such data is available). There is of course the possibility that Lachanas does not always denote a family name but a nickname; yet such occasions cannot be detected at the present stage of research, considering the information provided by available sources.

Catalogue of individuals who bore the family name Lachanas

Part I

(Socially independent individuals)

11th century

1) Theodoros Lachanas, imperial protospatharios (first half of the 11th c.)

a) Istanbul Archaeological Museum 554

Obverse: Half-figure of Theotokos (type Hagiosoritissa) turning right towards the hands of God (Manus Dei); sigla.

Μ(ήτηρ) [Θ(εο)ῦ].

Mother of God.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.

[Θ(εοτό)κε] β(οή)θ(ει) [Θ]εοδώρ(ω) [β(ασιλικῶ) (πρωτο)σ]παθαρ(ίω) τῶ] Λαχ[ανῆς].

Mother of God, aid Theodoros Lachanas, imperial protospatharios.

Ed.: Cheynet et al. 2012, 482 – 483, No. 5.167 (with photo).

Further references: Ebersolt 1914, 399, No. 511 (578).

Comment: The editors have rightly pointed out that the number of missing letters makes the reading of the family name uncertain. In the absence of a better preserved parallel, the reconstruction of the name as Lachanas seems best. Moreover, the last visible letter in the fifth line is too curvy to be an *alpha* for the dative case. Perhaps it is a *sigma*, and so providing a nominative instead of a dative, which might be grammatically wrong but is attested in other specimens (see here, No. 3).

2) Basileios Lachanas, hypatos, antigrapheus (second half of the 11th c.)

a) DO BZS.1958.106.1372

Obverse: Saint Ioannes Prodromos, standing, holding labarum with the medallion of Christ (left hand); vertical inscription in Greek.

Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Πρόδρομος.

Saint Ioannes Prodromos.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in six lines.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Βασιλ<ε>ίω ὑπάτω (καὶ) ἀντιγραφεῖ τῶ Λαχανῆ.

Lord, aid Basileios Lachanas, hypatos and antigrapheus.

Ed.: Online: <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.1372>; Jordanov 2006, 255 – 256 (without image).

Further references: PBW Basileios 20330; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 321.

Comment: Wassiliou-Seibt has provided an incorrect inventory number: 1958.106.1373 instead of 1372. The antigrapheus was a middle rank official subordinate to the quaestor. Although his duties are not clear to modern scholars, he must have been engaged with businesses related to those of the quaestor: supervision of visitors in Constantinople and judicial tasks related to privately held land (ODB 112, 1765 – 1766).

3) Georgios Lachanas (second half of the 11th c.)

a) Private collection Thierry, No. 165 (France)

Obverse: Bust of Theotokos, orans (type Blachernitissa?); sigla (not visible).

[Μή(τη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ].

Mother of God.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.

Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει Γεωργίω τῷ Λαχανᾶς.

Theotokos, aid Georgios Lachanas.

Ed.: Jordanov 2006, 256 (without image).

Further references: PBW Georgios 20236; mentioned in Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 321 and Seibt, Seibt 2003, 202.

Comment: Note the family name in the nominative (as given by Jordanov) despite the invocation being in the dative.

b) Romanian Academy, Numismatic Cabinet, Orghidan O.8327 (516)

Obverse: As above.

Μή(τη)ρ [Θ(εο)ῦ].

Mother of God.

Reverse: As above.

[Θ(εοτό)κε βοή]θει [Γε]ωργίω [τῷ Λ]αχα[νᾶς].

Theotokos, aid Georgios Lachanas.

Ed.: Laurent 1952, 248, No. 501 (without image).

Further references: PBW Georgios 20236; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 321; Seibt, Seibt 2003, 202.

c) Paris, IFEB

Obverse: As above.

Reverse: As above.

Ed.: Unpublished.

Further references: PBW Georgios 20236; Seibt, Seibt 2003, 202.

Comment: Seibt and Seibt do not provide an inventory number for the specimen in the collection.

4) Georgios Lachanas, protokentarchos (late 11th c.)

a) DO BZS.1951.31.5.1854

Obverse: Inscription in Greek, in four lines.

[Σ]φραγά[σ]μα γραφῆς [Λ]αχανᾶ Γ[ε]ωργ[ίου].

Sealing of the writing of Georgios Lachanas.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.

[Λ]αχόντος ἀξίωμα [π]ρωτοκ[εν]τάρχ(ου).

Who holds the dignity of protokentarchos.

Ed.: Online: <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.1854/>;

Jordanov 2006, 256 (without image).

Further references: PBW Georgios 20259; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 321.

Comment: Protokentarchos was a low-ranking, provincial military officer.

The participle on the reverse alternatively could be read as [Ὶ]χοντος and translated as “Who had attained”, but [Λ]αχόντος seems more likely.

b) Unknown present location (formerly in the Zacos collection)

Obverse: As above.

Reverse: As above.

Ed.: Unpublished.

Further references: PBW Georgios 20259; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 321; Jordanov 2006, 256.

11th/12th century

5) Nikephoros Lachanas (late 11th – early 12th c.)

a) DO BZS.1947.2.1552

Obverse: Inscription in Greek, in three lines.

+ Γραφά(ς) σφραγίζω.

I seal the writings.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in three lines.

+ Λαχαν(ᾶ) Νικηφόρου.

Of Nikephoros Lachanas.

Ed.: Online: <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1947.2.1552/>; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 216 – 217, No. 425 (without image; this is the correct entry for this seal), 267, No. 573 (without image), 565, No. 1318 (without image); Leontiades 2011, 304 – 305, No. 7 (with photo).

Comment: Wassiliou-Seibt has mistakenly included this seal in the entry with No. 573, which applies to a different inscription. Moreover, she has included yet another entry with the same seal (as No. 1318), this time erroneously reading the inscription: [Λ]όγ[ου]ς σφραγίζω instead of the correct Γραφά(ς) σφραγίζω. The same reading appears also in Leontiades. The letter Φ, however, is clearly visible in the first line.

6) Ioannes Lachanas, diakonos, grammatikos of the Zabareion (ca. mid-12th c.)

Source(s): Leone 1972, 152, No. 105, 153, No. 106 (lines 16 – 20); Leone 1968, 146 ff. (IV.471 ff.).⁶

Further references: PBW Ioannes 522; Pizzone 2018; Grünbart 1996, 221 – 223.

Comment: In Tzetzes’ letters, Ioannes Lachanas is mentioned in his capacity as deacon and as a person involved with the mills and in the bread-making activities at the monastery of Papiou. At some time Lachanas helped somebody become deacon, too; this person is not named in the

⁶ This is a letter in verses by Tzetzes that was incorporated into his historical work but is not available in his corpus of letters as an individual epistle. On the subject see Zagklas 2021, 66, note 11 and the comments and literature in Agapitos 2017, 21 – 22.

letter, but Tzetzes reveals that he called himself “Maniakes”. This person not only turned out to be ungrateful to his benefactor (i.e. Ioannes Lachanas) but also caused troubles everywhere he went. According to Tzetzes, Lachanas compiled some list or catalogue of deacons (perhaps active at the Holy Apostles?) and that person’s name was included there. Tzetzes’ letters cannot be precisely dated, but it seems that they were probably written between 1150 and 1160. Grünbart dated letter No. 105 to 1155 and No. 106 after that year. The editors of the PBW dated all these events to 1157.

It seems that later Ioannes Lachanas was appointed *grammatikos* at the Zabareion (armory warehouse. See: Kolias 1980, 27 – 35, especially 31 ff.) – hence Tzetzes also called him Zabareiotēs – and that after he got the post, he stopped corresponding with Tzetzes as the latter complains. Grünbart identified this Lachanas (with some reservation) as the anonymous Lachanas who was the correspondent of Eustathios (here, No. 7). This would have been possible if Ioannes Lachanas was serving at the Zabareion of Thessaloniki (on which see Kolias 1980, 31), and Eustathios refers to this Lachanas. However, Tzetzes does not mention in which Zabareion Lachanas served, and moreover, since there is neither a first name mentioned in Eustathios’ letter nor any indication that the recipient was a deacon or *grammatikos* at any Zabareion, the identification of the two persons remains only a hypothesis.

7) Ioannes Lachanas (mid-12th c.)

Source(s): Tafel 1832, 350 – 351, No. 48.

Further references: Grünbart 1996, 221 – 222.

Comment: Grünbart identified this anonymous Lachanas as Ioannes Lachanas, Tzetzes’ correspondent (here, No. 6). This identification is hypothetical due to a lack of evidence that connects the two persons.

8) Stephanos Lachanas (mid-12th c.)

a) DO BZS.1958.106.4812

Obverse: Theotokos (type Dexiokratousa – Basiotissa), standing; sigla; vertical inscription in Greek.

Μή(τη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ. Ἡ Βασιότισσα.

Mother of God. The Basiotissa.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.

Γραφὰς [σ]φραγίδ(ω) τοῦ Λαχαν(ᾶ) Σεφά[νου].

I seal the writings of Stephanos Lachanas.

Ed.: Online: <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.4812/>; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 239, No. 494 (without image).

Further references: PBW Stephanos 20234.

Comment: On the Dexiokratousa – Basiotissa type, see Effenberger 2018, 124 – 126, esp. note 124.

b) Private collection Thierry, No. 139 (France)

Obverse: As above.

Reverse: As above.

Ed.: Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 239, No. 494 (without photo).

Further references: PBW Stephanos 20234; Jordanov 2006, 256.

9) Ioannes Lachanas (mid-/second half of the 12th c.)

a) DO BZS.1958.106.3440

Obverse: Mother of God (type Kyriotissa), standing, holding Christ; Angels on each side; sigla; vertical inscription in Greek.

Μή(τη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ. Ἡ Κυριώτισ(σ)α.

Mother of God. The Kyriotissa.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.

Σκέποις Λαχανᾶν Ἰω(άννην) Παρθένε.

Virgin, may you protect Ioannes Lachanas.

Ed.: Online: <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.3440>; Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, 316 – 317, No. 2030 (without image).

Further references: PBW Ioannes 20550; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 321.

Comment: On the Kyriotissa type, see Effenberger 2018, 124 – 126.

b) Hermitage, M-6599 (formerly in the private collection of Likhachev)

Obverse: As above.

Reverse: As above.

Ed.: ШАНДРОВСКАЯ 2009, 418 (with photo).

Further references: PBW Ioannes 20550; Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, 316 – 317.

c) Sofia, National Archaeological Institute with Museum (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences), Numismatic Department, seal No. 1 (fig. 1)

Obverse: As above.

Reverse: As above.

Σκέποις Λαχανᾶν Ἰω(άννην) [Π]αρθένε.

Virgin, may you protect Ioannes Lachanas.

Ed.: Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, 316 – 317, No. 2030 (without image); Jordanov 2011, 81, No. 163 (with photo); Jordanov 2009, 641 – 642, No. 1966 (with photo); Jordanov 2006, 254 – 257, No. 399 (with photo); Jordanov 1995, 128, No. 21 (with photo).

Further references: PBW Ioannes 20550; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 321.

Comment: According to a note by Gerassimov, the seal was found in Plovdiv in 1950. Unfortunately, there is no further information on the conditions of this discovery (whether it came from excavations or was a stray find).

d) DO BZS.1958.106.5747

Obverse: As above.



Fig. 1. NAIM – Sofia 1. Seal of Ioannes Lachanas – here No. 9c (Photo: N. Dimitrov)

Обр. 1. НАИМ – София 1. Печат на Йоан Лаханас – тук № 9с (Снимка: Н. Димитров)

Μή(τη)ρ [Θ(εο)ῶ]. [Ἡ] Κυρ[ιώτισ(σ)α].

Mother of God. The Kyriotissa.

Reverse: As above.

Σκέποις Λαχανῶν Ἰω(άννην) Παρθένε.

Virgin, may you protect Ioannes Lachanas.

Ed.: Online: <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.5747/>; Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, 316 – 317, No. 2030 (without image).

Further references: PBW Ioannes 20550; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 321, 539 (under No. 1234).

Comment: The disc has been struck three times: traces of lines show the original strike, which is not identifiable anymore. Later, it was struck again by two persons with the use of two small-size boulloteria: Konstantinos Spanopoulos and Ioannes Lachanas. Wassiliou-Seibt (2016, 317), who did not notice the lines indicating the first strike, assumed that either Lachanas or Spanopoulos issued the seal first and sent the letter to the other person, who reused the disc and sent a letter back to the first person. This is of course theoretically possible, but only if one assumes that both correspondents were aware of the size of each other's boulloterion and were looking for very large size discs that would fit both stamps (if resending the same disc was a practice between the two). In fact, it is not certain whether Spanopoulos and Lachanas used the disc at different times, corresponding with each other, independently from each other, or as seems most likely, one after the other while both were present at the same place, so that the disc bears the stamps of both men next to each other. This would explain in a satisfactory way why both stamps of small-sized boulloteria appear on the same large size disc without overlapping.⁷ See also the comments in Шандровская 2009, 418 and Jordanov 2006, 255. As Jordanov has written, it is possible that the two issuers used a very large-sized disc that was destined for the Ekdikoi of Hagia Sophia (but Lachanas and Spanopoulos struck an already used disc, not a blank, as Jordanov assumed).

e) Athens?

Obverse: As above?

Reverse: As above?

Ed.: Unpublished?

Comment: A parallel specimen to the above issued by Ioannes Lachanas and presently kept at the "Athen, Nationalmuseum 771" is mentioned by Wassiliou-Seibt (2016, 316). The reference is quite obscure since the only "National" museum in Athens is the National Archaeological Museum, the collection of which does not include Byzantine or other medieval objects (in this case Byzantine lead seals). Other possibilities are the collections of the Numismatic Museum and the Byzantine and Christian Museum, but the author apparently got the reference wrong and so it is not possible to verify the seal's present location.

10) Ioannes Lachanas (second half of the 12th c.)

a) DO BZS.1951.31.5.1490

Obverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.

+ Εἰς κῦρος ἔργων καὶ σφραγῖδα γραμμάτων.

As authentication for deeds and sealing of writings.

⁷ The practice of striking a disc more than once by placing the boulloterion's edge next to the previous strike so that the stamps do not overlap and they cover the whole surface has been attested so far on multiple occasions. In these cases, however, all strikes were made by the same issuer on each disc respectively, possibly in order to cover the markings of earlier stamps made by other people.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.

Γράμματα τυποῖ Λαχανᾶς Ἰω[ά]ννης.

Ioannes Lachanas marks (these) words.

Ed.: Online: <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.1490>; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 320 – 321, No. 704 (without image); Jordanov 2006, 254 – 255 (without image).

Further references: PBW Ioannes 20550.

11) Nikephoros Lachanas, protonobelissimos (second half of the 12th c.)

a) DO BZS.1958.106.1379

Obverse: Inscription in Greek, in four lines.

+ Γραφῶν σφράγισμα Λαχανᾶ Νικηφόρου.

Sealing of the writings of Nikephoros Lachanas.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.

Τὴν ἀξίαν δὲ πρωτονωβελισσίμ[ου].

By rank a protonobelissimos.

Ed.: Online: <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.1379/view>; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 267, No. 573 (without image); Leontiades 2011, 305 – 306, No. 8 (with photo); Jordanov 2006, 256 – 257 (without image).

Further references: PBW Nikephoros 20246.

Comment: The craftsman has put accentuation marks above the words of this metrical inscription (in two twelve-syllable verses). Wassiliou-Seibt has mistakenly included the seal DO BZS.1947.2.1552, also belonging to a Nikephoros but displaying a different inscription, under the entry with No. 573. Wassiliou-Seibt identified this Nikephoros with his namesake who issued the seal presented here above, which is only a speculation because there is no evidence pointing in this direction. It is worth mentioning here that very often Byzantine families had contemporary homonymous members. In Leontiades, the inventory number's last digits have been erroneously given as 1349 instead of the correct 1379.

12) Nikephoros Lachanas (second half of the 12th c.)

a) Hermitage, M-1695 (formerly in the collection of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople)

Obverse: Inscription in Greek, in four lines.

Ἡ σφραγὶς αὐτῆ Λαχανᾶ Νικηφόρου.

This seal of Nikephoros Lachanas.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.

+ Ἐπισφράγισμα καὶ γραφῶν καὶ πρακτέων.

(Is the) Sealing of his writings and acts.

Ed.: Панченко 1908, 147 – 148, № 491 with table VIII.6 (with photo); Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 355, No. 780 and 383, No. 847 (without image); Laurent 1931, 384, No. 151 (without image); Мушмов 1923, 159 – 160, № 245, with table VII (with photo and drawing).

Further references: PBW Nikephoros 20246; Jordanov 2006, 256.

Comment: Panchenko (followed by Mouchmoff) attempted to identify this Nikephoros as the Bulgarian tsar Iwaylo. Later, Laurent and, finally, Jordanov explained why these two should be regarded as different people. Wassiliou-Seibt included this specimen twice in her catalogue since the legend could be read starting from either side of the disc.

13) Manouel Lachanas (mid-/late 12th c.)

a) Private collection (Shumen, Bulgaria)

Obverse: Saint Theodoros Stratelates, standing, holding spear (r. hand) and shield (l. hand); vertical inscription, in Greek.

Ὁ (ἅγιος) Θεόδωρος ὁ Στρατηλάτης.

Saint Theodoros Stratelates.

Reverse: Inscription in Greek, in five lines.

+ Σὸν Μανουήλ με Λαχαν[ᾶ]ν μάρτυς σκέποις.

Martyr, may you protect me, your (servant) Manouel Lachanas.

Ed.: Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, 400, No. 2228 (without image); Jordanov 2009, 642, No. 1967 (with photo); Jordanov 2006, 257, No. 400 (with photo); Jordanov 2002, 47, No. 41A (with photo).

Further references: PBW Manuel 20146; Jordanov 2010, 34, No. 41a.

Comment: According to Jordanov, the collector found this seal in the area of the Strandzha mountain, which in his opinion perhaps indicates that it came from the fortress by Melnitsa (where dozens of Byzantine seals have been discovered over the last few years). This is of course possible, but given the amount of sites dated in that era in the larger area of the Strandzha, the seal could have originated from another place, too. Moreover, Melnitsa lies in the highly connected Tonzos valley immediately west of the Strandzha mountain. Jordanov raised the question whether Manouel, the seal's owner, is the one who participated in the revolt against Andronikos I (here, No. 16). Wassiliou-Seibt also suggested the possibility that the two namesakes may have been the same person.

b) Unknown present location (sold in the market; fig. 2)

Obverse: As above.

Reverse: As above.

+ Σὸν Μανουήλ με Λαχανᾶν μάρτυς σκέποις.

Ed.: Unpublished. Presented in the N&N (London) Online Auction 13 (February 26, 2023), No. 856: <https://www.biddr.com/auctions/nnlondon/browse?a=3288&l=3753892>.

Further references: PBW Manuel 20146.

Comment: The auction's editors erroneously read (or typed) the issuer's name as Theodoros Chetames.



Fig. 2. Unknown present location. Seal of Manouel Lachanas – here No. 13b (after N&N (London) Online Auction 13, February 26, 2023, No. 856)

Обр. 2. Неизвестно място на съхранение. Печат на Мануил Лакханас – тук № 13b (по N&N (London) Online Auction 13, 26.02.2023, № 856)

c) IFEB 795

Obverse: As above.

Ὁ (ἄγιος) [Θε]ό[δ]ω[ρ]ος ὁ Στρατ[ηλ]άτης.

Reverse: As above.

+ Σὸν Μανουήλ με Λαχανᾶν μάρτυς σκέποι[ς].

Ed.: Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, 400, No. 2228 (without photo).

Further references: PBW Manuel 20146; Jordanov 2006, 257.

Comment: Jordanov has erroneously given the inventory number as 175. It seems that the disc has been used twice, but nothing is clearly visible from the first strike except traces of a circular border and an additional line.

14) Anonymous (Ioannes?) Lachanas, metropolitan of Crete (third quarter of the 12th c.?)

Source(s): Tsougarakis 1993, 43 (9.3 – 4)

Further references: Roskilly 2017, 40 with note 44, 501; Tsougarakis 1993, 167, note 4.

Comment: As Tsougarakis has convincingly argued, this Lachanas, whose first name is not mentioned in the Life of Leontios, could be identified as Konstantinos, Nikolaos, or Ioannes, three metropolitans of Crete consecutively active after 1142/1145 and until 1172. It is not entirely certain that he was Ioannes, as Roskilly (2017, 467, 501) wrote. Moreover, Roskilly attributed to this metropolitan the PBW number “Ioannes 20550”, but in the dictionary itself there is no such identification. Finally, he calculated that Lachanas took the position in Crete before 1176 and kept it until after that year. The dates for Ioannes (regardless whether he was Lachanas or not) and his successor, Manouel Limas, must therefore be re-examined.

15) Theodoros Lachanas, metropolitan of Herakleia (between 1170 and 1178)

Source(s): Πάλλης, Ποτλής 1852, 275 – 276.

Further references: Roskilly 2017, 40, 130, 467; Grumel, Darrouzès 1989, 558, No. 1131a.

Comment: Theodoros Lachanas was elected metropolitan of Herakleia, but he never responded to the call and apparently never really exercised the office.

16) Manouel Lachanas († 1184)

Source(s): Van Dieten 1975, 287, 289. See also: Dölger 1995, 283, No. 1559 (for Andronikos’ letter) and Cheynet 1990, 115, No. 157 (with references to other sources describing the events).

Further references: Cheynet 1990, 432 (where instead of Manouel, Lachanas is inadvertently named Leon); Jurewicz 1970, 98, 101.

Comment: Manouel Lachanas was, together with Theodoros Angelos and Leon Synesios, among the opponents of Andronikos I Komnenos, who had recently risen to the throne as a result of Angelos’ and Theodoros’ Kantakouzenos’ revolt in 1183. They defended themselves behind the walls of Prusa (modern-day Bursa), which eventually fell to Andronikos in the summer of 1184. Lachanas and dozens of aristocrats were hanged while the rest of the opposition suffered various other forms of death or other kinds of punishment. Jurewicz points to Andronikos’ letter to the disobedient (dated in spring 1184), in which he mocks Synesios and Lachanas in particular. The latter is addressed as a “vegetable-maker”.



Fig. 3. RAM – Plovdiv. Seal of Ioannes Lachanas – here No. 17 (Photo: S. Ivanov)
Обр. 3. РАМ – Пловдив. Печат на Йоан Лаханас – тук № 17 (Снимка: С. Иванов)

12th/13th century

17) Ioannes Lachanas (second half of the 12th/early 13th c.)

a) Regional Archaeological Museum – Plovdiv⁸ (fig. 3)

Obverse: Bust of the Mother of God, type Episkepsis (orans, with Christ inside medallion before her). To the left there are faint traces of the Greek sigla ΜΡ (“Mother”), and to the right there should have been the sigla ΘΥ for “of God”, but the surface is flattened, and for this reason the space is empty.

Μ(ήτη)ρ [Θ(εο)ύ].

Mother of God.

Reverse: Circular inscription, in Greek; at the center, monogram in Greek.

Ἰω[άνν]ην σκ[έποις ... Κόρ]η or Ἰω[άνν]ην σκ[έπε ... Κόρ]η.

Virgin, protect Ioannes [...].

Λαχανᾶν or Λαχανᾶ.

Lachanas.

Ed.: Unpublished.

Comment: In Spring 2022, during rescue excavations at the site on 9 Artin Gidikov Str., at the center of Plovdiv (Byzantine Philippopolis; Божинова, Иванов (под печат)), two lead seal discs were found, one used and one unused.⁹ The used disc, with Field Inventory Number (FIN) 135, is published here for the first time. Unfortunately, this seal was removed from the site without authorization and was only later delivered to archaeologists, so the exact find-spot and context are unknown. Moreover, the person(s) who removed it tried to clean it, thus damaging parts of the disc and especially the letters' imprint. Both pieces are currently in the collection of the Regional Archaeological Museum – Plovdiv.

The site where the discs were found is located outside the medieval city walls, approximately 100 meters to the southwest of the church of Saint George. This church is mentioned for the first time in 1147 (modern-day Armenian church Surp Kevork).¹⁰ Recent archaeological research in the

⁸ The author is deeply grateful to Elena Bozhinova and especially to Kamen Stanev for permission to publish the specimen from the excavations in Plovdiv, as well as for providing valuable information on the site and its surroundings.

⁹ The unused one, a blank with Field Inventory Number (FIN) 31, was discovered in a pit (named P307) together with pottery dated in the late 12th and early 13th c.

¹⁰ See the map in Божинова, Станев 2018, 167. The site under discussion is located immediately to the right of the dot indicating the neighboring site, excavated at 65 Boris III Blvd., that gave finds dated in the 11th – 13th c.

area shows intense residential activity in the 12th – 13th c. (see an overview in Станев 2021, 150 – 151, № 34 – 39). As for the site excavated on 9 Artin Gidikov Str., numismatic evidence spans from the late 11th to the late 14th c., and fragments of wall-paintings suggest that there used to be a church/chapel or rich house here.

The seal consists of a medium-sized disc (total diameter: 22 mm; thickness: 2.5 mm; weight: 6.86 gr). Both sides of the disc are partly flattened. This could have happened because of an error during the strike when the seal was originally used or, less likely, later because of the disc's poor quality, which allowed a piece of it to fall off. The fact that both the obverse and the reverse have similar flat surfaces means that it must have been a bad strike or perhaps an imperfection in the boulloterion. On both sides' flattened areas there are scratches from some sharp-pointed object, which seem to have been made accidentally at an indeterminate time. Moreover, as hinted above, the person(s) who tried to clean the disc's surface caused irreversible damage to some of the letters. As a result, the thinner or weakly stamped lines have been distorted or have almost disappeared.

On the reverse side of the seal are faint traces of a border of dots and a circular inscription inside it, starting to the right of a cross. A large part of it is lost because of damage to the disc. The first visible letter seems to be an *iota* (Ι) or, less likely, a *tau* (Τ) followed by an *omega* (Ω). Then there are three letters not clearly visible and followed by an *eta* (Η). This sequence matches the name ΙΩ[ANN]Η. The next letters seem to be a damaged *nu* (Ν) (the middle hasta is no longer visible) followed by a *sigma* (Σ) and a vertical line that might have been the left hasta of a *kappa* (Κ). In this way, the inscription appears to be a metrical one in Greek: ΙΩ[ANN]ΗΝ ΚΣ[ΕΠΟΙΣ ...] or, in a more rare formula, ΙΩ[ANN]ΗΝ ΚΣ[ΕΠΕ ...]. The last letter of the inscription just before the cross looks like a broken *eta* (Η). A possible solution is that this is the ending of the word [ΚΟΡ]Η, referring to the Mother of God portrayed on the obverse.

At the center is a monogram consisting of at least six visible letters: Α, Χ, Β, Ω, Ν, Λ, and perhaps a Σ in the pointed shape of <. It is possible that the monogram denotes the issuer's family name. It is of course neither certain nor necessary that all the recognizable letters should be used. In this respect, the most likely solution would be to use four letters and form the well-known family name Lachanas – Λαχανᾶς (here as Λαχανᾶν or perhaps but less likely Λαχανᾶ). The peculiar shape of some of the letters, such as the *alpha* (Α) included in the monogram and the *iota* (Ι), together with the overall structure of the seal, point to a date in the second half of the 12th or even in the early 13th c. This date coincides with the attestation of other people having the name Lachanas, but if the solution of the monogram proposed here is correct, so far this is the first person with this name known from a seal with the name appearing in the form of a monogram. Since there are no titles or offices mentioned (and there is not enough space for this in the damaged part of the circular inscription), this was probably Ioannes' private seal. It is possible that this Ioannes Lachanas is identical to the homonym whose seal was also found in Plovdiv (here, No. 9c. See also the commentary above).

18) Anonymous Lachanas (late 13th c.?)

Source(s): Delehay 1921, 132 (47).

Further references: PLP No. 14605.

Comment: This Lachanas was a landowner at Lopadion (modern Uluabat, near Bursa); his estate is described in the typikon of the Lips monastery. Empress Theodora gave this property to the monastery probably towards the end of the 13th c. because the typikon is dated ca. 1294 – 1301. Whether Lachanas was a low- or middle-class landowner or a member of aristocracy who owned property at Lopadion (as well as elsewhere?) cannot be said for certain.

19) Anonymous Lachanas (end of the 13th c.)

Source(s): Успенский, Бенешевич 1927, 74, № 106 (line 249).

Further references: Bryer, Winfield 1985, 295, No. 38.

Comment: The document mentions the monastery of Theotokos of Lachanas (ἡ μονὴ ἡ Θεοτόκος τοῦ Λαχανᾶ). This can be interpreted in two ways: a) either the monastery was established by a person called Lachanas, or b) the monastery was established by some unknown person at a location called Λαχανᾶς or, alternatively, (σ)τοῦ Λαχανᾶ and was eventually named after this location.

20) Anonymous Lachanas (end of the 13th c.)

Source(s): Успенский, Бенешевич 1927, 65, № 105 (line 13).

Comment: This Lachanas was probably related to the person after whom a(nother?) location was named (see here, No. 19). The text goes: εἰς τοῦ Λαχανᾶ.

14th century

21) Athanasios Lachanas (1325)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 2001, 359: 64.159 – 160.

Further references: PLP No. 14607.

Comment: He is listed among the many small beneficiaries of the testament of Theodoros Sarantenos (he received one cow and four hyperpera). His social status is not described and cannot be determined with certainty. He must have been a resident of the area around Veroia.

15th century

22) Anonymous Palaiologos Lachanas (first quarter of the 15th c.)

Source(s): Grecu 1958, 231 (28.2).

Further references: Barker 1969, 360 with note 108; Dölger 1965, 108, No. 3391.

Comment: Palaiologos Lachanas is mentioned together with Markos Iagaris¹¹ as a Byzantine ambassador to the sultan Murad II in late spring or early summer (possibly the 8th of June) of the year 1422 (στέλλει πρὸς τὸν Μωράτ ἀπροκρισιαρίουσ Παλαιολόγον τὸν Λαχανᾶν καὶ Μάρκον Ἰάγαριν, ἄνδρασ εὐγενεῖς καὶ συνετούς). A previous embassy had been dispatched in April of that same year. Barker has commented on the number of embassies and the information of the respective sources.

This person, whose baptismal name is not mentioned, had two family names, Palaiologos and Lachanas. This was a common practice among Byzantine aristocrats of his time, indicating that one of his ancestors (most probably one of his parents) came from the Palaiologoi. His co-ambassador Markos (see above) is also mentioned in other sources with two family names: Iagaris Palaiologos. This can only mean that the emperor sent to Murad two trusted and skillful relatives (who were unable to fulfill their mission due to the sultan's temper and plans).

¹¹ The name Iagaris is the Greek variant of a foreign name or word. There are several solutions: Old English *Jager/Jaggar*; Germanic *Säger* or its Slavic version *Žagar*; or the (Ottoman) Turkic *zağar*; or even *Gagarin* (see below). He was already serving as an ambassador before his mission to Murad. See, for example, a document from the year 1117 in Σάθας 1880, 90, No. 62 (Chirmarcum Paleologum Jagari) and other documents in the same volume. On his career see also: PLP No. 7811; Guiland 1949, 174 – 175 (with some mistakes in the dates), as well as Klostermann 1977, where the author suggests a connection to the Russian name Gagarin.

23) Anonymous Laschares Lachanas (1409)

Source(s): Laurent 1972, 163 (44 – 51, 79), 164 (89, 115).

Further references: PLP No. 14613; Darrouzès 1979, 500 – 504, No. 3284; Laurent 1972, 54.

Comment: This anonymous person was sent by the emperor Manouel II Palaiologos to meet Makarios, metropolitan of Ankara, and ask him to either appear before the forthcoming ecclesiastical council in Constantinople or settle his issues with the patriarch in writing. The text mentions his title as archon (ἄρχων), which implies that he was either a high official or a confidant of the emperor. In either case he was an important political figure.

His name consists of two family names: Lachanas and Lascharis, the latter probably being a misspelling of Laskaris (although it is attested like this throughout the document). This is not surprising, for we know of several members of the Laskarids who bore a second family name such as Angelos, Bryennios, Doukas, Metochites, Palaiologos, Philanthropenos, etc. It seems that the early 15th c. Lachanades had ties with both the Palaiologoi (see here, No. 22) and the Laskarids.

24) Anagnostes Lachanas (ca. late 14th/first half of the 15th c.?)

Source(s): Νικολόπουλος 1998, 191, No. 4: Saint Catherine at Sinai monastery, NE gr. 4, colophon.

Further references: see below, No. 25.

Comment: Father of Matthaios (here, No. 25). Anagnostes seems to be a personal name in this note, although it could well be an occupation, too (“one who reads aloud” in an ecclesiastic context). The name certainly derived from the occupation (either of this person or one of his ancestors).

25) Matthaios Lachanas, amonachos, scribe (1464, 1480)

Source(s): 1) Νικολόπουλος 1998, 191, No. 4: Saint Catherine at Sinai monastery, NE gr. 4, colophon (here, fig. 4); 2) Kamil 1970, 108, No. 1215 = Vogel, Gardthausen 1909, 258, 295: Saint Catherine at Sinai monastery, ms. gr. 908 (Gardthausen)/1215 (Kamil); 3) Vogel, Gardthausen 1909, 295 = Λάμπρος 1900, 238, No. 5044: Iberon monastery ms. gr. 924.

Further references: PLP Nos. 14606, 14614; 1) Ghent University, Online Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams: <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/persons/1633> and <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/manuscripts/16181>; Diktyon (Pinakes) 61194: <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/61194/>.

Comment: Matthaios was the scribe of at least three known manuscripts. One contained the Θεία λειτουργία τῶν προηγιασμένων (Presanctified Liturgy) that he completed in January 1464 according to the colophon: Ἐγράφει... διὰ χειρὸς κάμοῦ Ματθαίου ἀμονάχου τλήμονος καὶ εὐτελοῦς, υἱὸς δὲ ὑπάρχω Αναγνώστου, τοῦ Λαχανᾶ ἐπίκλιον ἔχω ἐγὼ ὁ τάλας... (fig. 4). Matthaios was the son of Anagnostes (here, No. 24). He refers to himself as ἀμονάχος (one who is not a “true” or fully initiated monk), εὐτελής (insignificant man), τάλας (miserable), and τλήμων (long-suffering). In a second manuscript also from the Sinai library that contains a menologion and is dated broadly to the 15th c., he signed as Λαχανᾶς ὁ τάλας (as given by Vogel and Gardthausen). In a third manuscript containing a psalterion, Matthaios Lachanas provides additional information about his life: Ἐγράφη ἐν Σινᾷ τῷ ὄρη τῷ ἁγίῳ. Γραφὴ πέφυκεν ἡ βίβλος Ματθαίου ἀμονάχου τάχα καὶ θύτου. Χριστὸν σέβοντος πλὴν ἀσέμνου τὸν βίον... Ματθαῖος ἐγὼ ὁ τλήμων ὁ Λαχανᾶς ἐπίκλιον ἔχων ἐγὼ ὁ τάλας. According to Lambros, the date written at the end is June 1480 while Vogel and Gardthausen prefer June 1408. If one considers the distance between these two dates and the certain date 1464, 1480 seems more plausible (otherwise, Matthaios would have been active for quite a long time, which is possible but less likely). The new information on his life, aside from the years of his engagement with copying and/or writing, is that he resided at Sinai and was a θύτης

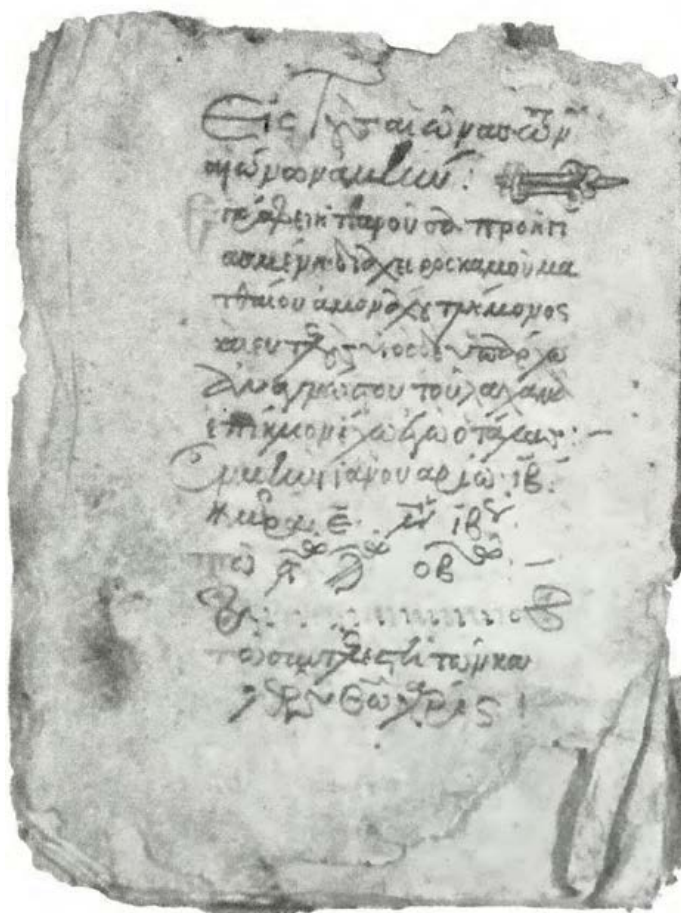


Fig. 4. Saint Catherine at Sinai Monastery, ms. NE gr. 4, colophon, written by Matthaïos Lachanas in 1464 – here No. 25 (after Νικολόπουλος 1998, πιν. 155)

Обр. 4. Синаϊски манастир „Света Екатерина“, NE gr. 4, колофон, написан от Матеΰ Λαχανας през 1464 г. – тук № 25 (по Νικολόπουλος 1998, πιν. 155)

(priest).¹² It is unknown whether Matthaïos ever visited the Iberon monastery on Mount Athos or had anything to do with it in general, or if the manuscript produced at Sinai(?) ended up in the Athonite monastery’s library for another reason.

Part II (Parioikoi, workers and servants related to monasteries)

Lemnos island

26) Theodoros Lachanas (first third of the 14th c.)

Source(s): Βρανούση 1980, 174 ff. (appendix Γ), esp. 176, lines 16 and 19.

Further references: PLP No. 14611.

Comment: Theodoros Lachanas, as well as his son-in-law, were parioikoi on the island of Lemnos and subject to the Patmos monastery. Their names are mentioned in a list of parioikoi included in a (probably falsified) chrysoboullos logos of the year 1331 and in relation to the renewal of the monastery’s rights to land and parioikoi on Lemnos, Leros and Kos.

¹² On certain occasions, the word *thytes* means the bishop or metropolitan, but it seems that this is not the case here.

Melintziane (Lower Strymon area)

27) Zoe Lachano, paroikos (1301)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 158: 70.24.

Further references: PLP No. 14621.

Comment: The Daughter of Ioannes Tzekon is called a widow, apparently of a deceased Lachanas (here, No. 28). Mother of Stanna, Draganos and Basileios (here, Nos. 29 – 31).

28) Anonymous Lachanas (late 13th c.? prior to the document dated in 1301)

Comment: Deceased husband of Zoe (here, No. 27), father of Stanna, Draganos and Basileios (here, Nos. 29 – 31).

29) Stanna Lachano (1301)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 158: 70.24.

Comment: Daughter of the anonymous Lachanas (here, No. 28) and Zoe Lachano (here, No. 27).

30) Draganos Lachanas (1301)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 158: 70.24.

Comment: Son of the anonymous Lachanas (here, No. 28) and Zoe Lachano (here, No. 27).

31) Basileios Lachanas, paroikos (1301, 1318, 1320)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 158: 70.24, 217: 75.42, 263: 79.37 – 38.

Further references: PLP No. 14608.

Comment: Son of the anonymous Lachanas (here, No. 28) and Zoe Lachano (here, No. 27). Husband of Eirene (here, No. 32) and father of Eirene, Georgios and Theodoros (here, Nos. 33 – 35).

32) Eirene Lachano (1318)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 217: 75.42.

Comment: Wife of Basileios (here, No. 31), mother of Eirene, Georgios and Theodoros (here, Nos. 33 – 35).

33) Eirene Lachano (1320)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 263: 79.38.

Comment: Daughter of Basileios and Eirene (here, Nos. 31 – 32).

34) Georgios Lachanas (1318, 1320)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 217: 75.42, 263: 79.38.

Comment: Son of Basileios and Eirene (here, Nos. 31 – 32).

35) Theodoros Lachanas (1318, 1320)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 217: 75.42, 263: 79.38.

Comment: Son of Basileios and Eirene (here, Nos. 31 – 32).

36) Anonymous Lachano (1318, 1320)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 217: 75.41, 263: 79.37.

Comment: Widow of the anonymous Lachanas (here, No. 37) and mother of Demetrios and Georgios (here, Nos. 38 – 39).

37) Anonymous Lachanas (early 14th c.)

Comment: Deceased husband of the anonymous Lachano (here, No. 36). Father of Demetrios and Georgios (here, Nos. 38 – 39). He is not explicitly mentioned in the documents, but since Lachano bears his (family) name, he should have been a Lachanas, too.

38) Demetrios Lachanas (1318, 1320)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 217: 75.41, 263: 79.37.

Comment: Son of the anonymous Lachanas and Lachano (here, Nos. 36 – 37).

39) Georgios Lachanas (1318, 1320)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 217: 75.41, 263: 79.37.

Comment: Son of the anonymous Lachanas and Lachano (here, Nos. 36 – 37).

40) Anonymous Lachanas (1341)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1995, 60: 86.27.

Comment: Father of Kale (here, No. 41), who was married to a certain Velkonas, and Eudokia (here, No. 42).

41) Kale Lachano (?; 1341)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1995, 60: 86.27.

Comment: She is called a daughter of Lachanas (here, No. 40). Therefore, it is unknown whether her family name was Lachano, Lachanina, or another derivative.

42) Eudokia Lachano (?; 1341)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1995, 60: 86.27.

Comment: She is mentioned as sister of Kale (here, No. 41). Therefore, it is not known whether her family name was Lachano, Lachanina or another derivative.

43) Anonymous Lachanas (1341)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1995, 61: 86.48 – 49.

Comment: His property neighbored the one described in the document. He could be identified with any of the aforementioned Lachanades at Melintziani.

Radolibos

44) Maria Lachanina (1316)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 204: 79.224.

Further references: PLP No. 14619.

Comment: Mother of Bezanos (here, No. 45). Lachanina is another form, apart from Lachano, of the female name Lachanas.

45) Bezanos Lachanas (1316)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1994, 204: 79.224.

Comment: Son of Maria Lachanina (here, No. 44). His family name is assumed to be Lachanas since his mother was a Lachanina.

46) Michael Lachanas (1341)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1995, 92: 87.188.

Further references: PLP No. 14615.

Comment: Husband of Maria (here, No. 46bis). Father of Georgios and Konstantinos (here, Nos. 47 – 48).

46bis) Maria Lachana (?; 1341)

Source(s): As above.

Comment: It is uncertain whether she kept her paternal family name or adopted that of her husband, Michael Lachanas (here, No. 46).

47) Georgios Lachanas (1341)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1995, 92: 87.188.

Comment: Son of Michael and Maria (here, No. 46).

48) Konstantinos Lachanas (1341)

Source(s): Lefort et al. 1995, 92: 87.188.

Comment: Son of Michael and Maria (here, No. 46).

Hermeleia (Chalkidike)

49) Anonymous Lachano (1322 – 23, 1325, 1331)

Source(s): Papachryssanthou 1986, 161: 19.62, 168: 21.27; Lefort et al. 2006, 81: 77.7 – 8, 18.

Further references: PLP No. 92518.

Comment: Most likely the Lachano mentioned in these documents is the same person.

Pinson (Kalamaria)

50) Demetrios Lachanas (1409)

Source(s): Lemerle et al. 1979, 158: 161.32.

Further references: PLP No. 14610.

Stomion (Kalamaria)

51) Ioannes Lachanas ho Anatolikos (1300)

Source(s): Papachryssanthou 1986, 86: 4.6, 92: 5.5.

Further references: PLP No. 14612.

Comment: Ἰωάννης Λαχανᾶς ὁ Ἀνατολικός was husband of Maria (here, No. 52) and father of Kale and Panagiotes (here, Nos. 53 – 54). It seems that Lachanas was the family name and Anatolikos a nickname and not vice versa. Perhaps this person had migrated there from a region to the East of his new residence or he came from the area that once included the thema of the Anatolikai and people originating from there were still (in the 13th c.) named Anatolikos (also used as a family name, apparently for the same reason).

52) Maria Lachana (1300)

Source(s): Papachryssanthou 1986, 86: 4.6, 92: 5.5.

Comment: Wife of Ioannes (here, No. 50), mother of Kale and Panagiotes (here, Nos. 52 – 53).

53) Kale Lachana (1300, 1318, 1320, before 1338)

Source(s): Papachryssanthou 1986, 86: 4.6, 92: 5.5, 122: 12.7, 129: 13.11 – 12, 232: Appendix II.5.

Comment: Daughter of Ioannes and Maria (here, Nos. 51 – 52), wife of a certain Georgios. The document published as Appendix II was composed between 1320 and 1338 and includes the names of Kale, Panagiotes, and his wife Maria (here, No. 54).

54) Panagiotes Lachanas (1300, 1318, 1320, before 1338)

Source(s): Papachryssanthou 1986, 92: 5.5, 122: 12.6, 129: 13.10, 232: Appendix II.5.

Further references: PLP No. 14616.

Comment: Son of Ioannes and Maria (here, Nos. 51 – 52), husband of Maria (here, No. 54bis).

54bis) Maria Lachana? (1320, before 1338)

Source(s): Papachryssanthou 1986, 129: 13.10 – 11, 232: Appendix II.5.

Comment: Wife of Panagiotes Lachanas (here, No. 54). We do not know her paternal family name, but after her wedding, she would have probably (though not necessarily) adopted the name Lachanas.

55) Kale Komana (1338)

Source(s): Papachryssanthou 1986, 189: 25.7.

Comment: She is mentioned as widow of a Lachanas (here, No. 56): Καλή Κομάνα ἡ τοῦ Λαχανᾶ. Mother of Anna (here, No. 57).

56) anonymous Lachanas (before 1338)

Source(s): Papachryssanthou 1986, 189: 25.7.

Further reference: PLP No. 14604.

Comment: Husband of Kale Komana (here, No. 55), father of Anna (here, No. 57).

57) Anna Lachana (1338)

Source(s): Papachryssanthou 1986, 189: 25.7.

Comment: Daughter of Lachanas and Kale Komana (here, Nos. 55 – 56).

Abbreviations/Съкращения

DO: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

ODB: A. Kazhdan (ed.). The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium. New York – Oxford, 1991.

PBW: M. Jeffreys et al. № 2016 (King's College London, 2017) available at <http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk>.

PLP: E. Trapp et al. Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit. Wien, 1976 – 1995.

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ПРИНОС КЪМ ВИЗАНТИЙСКАТА ПРОСОПОГРАФИЯ. 3. ФАМИЛИЯТА ЛАХАНАС

Пантелис Харалампакис

*Национален археологически институт с музей, Българска академия на науките, ул. „Съборна“ № 2, София 1000;
pantelcha@gmail.com*

РЕЗЮМЕ

Настоящата студия е посветена на лицата, носещи византийското фамилно име Лаханас, познати от историческите извори и по сфрагистични данни с дейността си основно на Балканите, в Мала Азия и Егейските острови от XI до XV в.

Текстът представя първо обзор на името Лаханас с коментари върху неговия произход и варианти. Той е последван от коментар за известните носители на името, възможните връзки между тях и предполагаемото им място във византийското общество. Тъй като оловните печати с името Лаханас и известно местонамиране са оскъдни (налична е конкретна информация за едва 2 от показаните тук 22 печата), специално внимание е обърнато на екземпляр с това име, намерен в Пловдив, и публикуван тук за първи път (№ 17), както и възможната му връзка с друг, за който се предполага, че е от същия град (№ 9с). След това е предложен каталог на лицата, носещи фамилно име Лаханас, в две части. Първата част включва независими лица от различни житейски сфери със сигурен или предполагаем сравнително издигнат социален статут; втората – социално зависими индивиди като дребни земевладелци, парики, служители и други подобни лица, обвързани с даден манастир.

Гръцкото име *Λαχανᾶς*, означаващо „зеленчукопроизводител/продавец“, е съставено от съществителното име *λάχανον* („зеле“, „маруля“, но и общо наименование за листни и други зеленчуци) и завършека *-ᾶς*, който показва професия, занимание. Подобно фамилно име във Византия е *Μαρούλης*. Както е отбелязвано в множество изследвания, фамилните имена във Византия са се развивали дълго след Късната античност (за появата и развитието на византийските фамилни имена вж. цитираната литература в Charalampakis 2018, 53, note 6).

Тъй като името Лаханас е могло да бъде получено от всеки, навсякъде във или извън Империята, и дори да бъде използвано като прякор (както е например случаят с Ивайло Лаханас/Бърдоква), слабо вероятно е всички индивиди, носещи такава фамилия, да са принадлежали към едно и също семейство. По-сигурни са данните за лицата, издавали печати в периода XI – XIII в., както и тези за по-известните личности от по-късните векове. При всички положения е трудно, дори невъзможно, да се установи връзка между тези Лаханас и обитателите на селата, зависими от атонските манастири, познати по официални документи: наемането/заниманието на дадена личност като зеленчукопроизводител трябва да е било по-често срещано в земеделските територии и популярността на името в такива райони е очаквано явление. От друга страна същите официални документи разкриват сред списъците от парики и имена, носени от прочути аристократични фамилии. В този смисъл тук е по-коректно да се говори за просопографско изследване на лицата, носещи това фамилно име, отколкото за изследване върху едно семейство. Въпреки това за някои от носителите на името Лаханас са регистрирани общи елементи, които биха могли да показват, че лицата наистина имат роднинска връзка.

Според А. Каждан и С. Ронки, семейство Лаханас не притежават титли или високи служебни длъжности нито в цивилната, нито в църковната администрация и по тази причина членовете на фамилията не могат да се причислят към (византийската) аристокрация (Kazhdan, Ronchey 1999, 246). Вярно е, че са ни известни само три лица-носители на почетни титли, които по онова време не са били така значими, както в по-ранните векове: един Лаханас, който е императорски протоспатарий (№ 1), един протоновелисим (№ 11), и друг, който е ипат и антиграф (№ 2; Kazhdan, Ronchey 1999, 298, 366, No. 49). Броят на издигнатите в обществото Лаханас всъщност е много по-голям от досега приетото: един от тях е бил митрополит на Крит (№ 14), а друг е бил избран за митрополит на Херак-

лея Понтика (№ 15); друг пък е бил в роднинска връзка с Палеолозите и е станал посланик (№ 21), а един представител е бил свързан с Ласакаридите и е служил като императорски пратеник (№ 22). Вероятно по-малко изтъкнат, но все пак значим, е бил един Лаханас, който е платил за построяването на църква и следователно едва ли е бил от простолюдието (№ 19), протокентарх (№ 4) и граматик на Завариона (№ 6). Изглежда, че всички те са били по някакъв начин свързани, и че различни клонове на семейството са били разпръснати из Империята, както се е случвало и с най-изтъкнатите византийски домове.

Носителите на фамилията Лаханас се появяват във втората половина на XI в., по време, когато много други семейства са засвидетелствани за пръв път и се издигат във византийското общество. Важен факт е, че различни представители на семейство Лаханас се появяват именно по това време и са изключително активни през втората половина на XII в., и после отново през XV в., което едва ли е съвпадение. Освен това, с изключение на един представител, който използва фигурата на Св. Йоан Предтеча върху печатите си (№ 2), и друг, който използва Св. Теодор Стратилат (№ 13), останалите (пет) индивида, чиито булотириони са познати на науката, използват фигурата на Богородица (№ 1, 3, 8, 9, 17). Вероятно тя е била покровителка на семейство Лаханас, но при липсата на други данни за булотириони това засега остава хипотеза. Друга връзка между отделните представители е употребата на конкретни лични имена: в първата част на каталога преобладаващите имена са Йоан (7 пъти), Никифор (3 пъти), Мануил (2 пъти), Теодор (2 пъти) и Георги (2 пъти). Дори да допуснем, че някои от Йоановците са едно и също лице, броят им все пак е висок, а и е добре известно, че византийските фамилии имат предпочитания към конкретни имена.

Горепосочените примери са достатъчни да покажат, че: 1) поне някои от лицата с това име са свързани, макар точната роднинска връзка да не може да се посочи на този етап; 2) семейство Лаханас не е незначително, напротив: задълбоченото му изследване показва, че поне част от членовете му имат връзка с византийския елит. Допустимо е, че дадено (всяко?) семейство може да има членове, които се издигат до горните слоеве на византийското общество и установяват редица връзки както с аристокрацията (посредством сродяване, кариера?), така и с обикновени граждани. Както Ж.-К. Шейне отбелязва, самите фамилни имена отразяват произхода, който понякога е свързан със скромни професии, и все пак отделни индивиди успяват да изкачат социалната стълбица (Cheynet 2009, 96).

Освен гореспоменатите лица, сравнително голям брой хора с фамилно име Лаханас изрично са определени в изворите като парики или като дребни земевладелци. Те са познати основно от манастирски документи и обитават различни места в Македония, попадащи в съвременна Гърция, и на о. Лемнос. Един въпрос, който до момента не е намерил задоволително обяснение в научната литература, е дали париките са свързани с едноименни семейства от средната и горната средна класа. Отправна точка за този проблем е голямото присъствие на парики с фамилни имена, съпадащи с тези на добре известни аристократични семейства, чиито членове, изтъкнати или не, не биха могли да се озоват в ролята на парики в манастир в Южна Македония. Възможно е известните фамилии да са имали много клонове и някои от далечните роднини на основния клон са били разпръснати из Империята и не са били в позиция да притежават богатство и престиж.

Друг проблем, свързан с това изследване, е наличието на едноименни лица. Каталогът съдържа разпространени и популярни имена, което прави разпознаването на отделните индивиди по-трудно. Това съдържа риск от погрешното отнасяне на печат или печати към лица, които нямат общо помежду си. От друга страна, ако приемем всеки отделен паметник за принадлежащ на отделен индивид, това може да доведе до дълъг списък лица, които могат да са един и същ човек.

Добър пример за омоними, които биха могли да са едно и също лице, се вижда от двата оловни печата от Пловдив (Филипопол). Единият от тях, открит наскоро, е публикуван тук за първи път (№ 17). Той е отсечен във втората половина на XII в. или може би в началото на XIII в. от Йоан Лаханас и показва Богородица на аверса и монограм с кръгов гръцки надпис на реверса. Другият екземпляр, издаден от омоним, който също показва Богородица и датира около средата или по-скоро втората половина на XII в., е вероятно открит в същия град преди няколко десетилетия (№ 9c). Тези лица са дадени като отделни записи в каталога. Въпреки колебанието в тяхната идентификация, има някои прилики:

личното и фамиленото име; приблизителната дата; представянето на Богородица; местонамирането (?); подобни формули и думи, използвани в надписа: Μήτηρ Θεοῦ ἢ Κυριώτισσα. Σκέλοις Λαχανᾶν Ἰωάννην Παρθένε vs Μήτηρ Θεοῦ. Λαχανᾶν Ἰωάννην σκέλοις (или σκέτε) [...] Κόρη. Не е невъзможно един и същ Йоан да е издал печатите и да е кореспондирал с лице или лица във Филипопол. Фактът, че нито един от печатите не показва служба или титла, би могло да значи, че Йоан не е притежавал такива, или пък, че печатите са отсечени от неговия частен (а не официален) булотирион. Колкото до употребата на монограм върху един от двата печата, не е невъзможно за едно лице да използва и двете форми в булотириите си, особено през втората половина на XII и първата половина на XIII в., когато монограмите са популярни и често срещани.

Двата екземпляра с името Йоан не са единствените печати на Лаханас, откривани в съвременна България: за печат на Мануил Лаханас (№ 13b) се счита, че е бил открит в Странджа (според Jordanov 2006, 257 – Мелница?). Макар и с несигурно местонамиране, за настоящото изследване е важно, че трети печат на Лаханас е открит в България, и особено в района на Адрианопол. Това не е изненадващо, имайки предвид, че много печати, издадени от отделни византийски фамилии с евентуални лични връзки, интереси или професионални мотиви, свързани с определени ареали, са откривани на различни места в днешна България (вж. записите в Jordanov 2006 и 2009, както и коментара в Cheynet 2008). Районите на Филипопол и Адрианопол (или може би долината на Тунджа западно от Странджа) са били сред териториите, разпределяни между по-важните византийски фамилии през XI – XII в., което може да означава, че семейство Лаханас също е получило такива земи от императора.

Тази студия добавя още едно име към познатите ни византийски фамилии, добили известност в изворите около XI в. и издигнали се в йерархията. Въпреки факта, че в повечето случаи родството на отделните Лаханас не може да бъде потвърдено (с изключение на париките, където документите недвусмислено определят техните роднински връзки), това изследване може да послужи и спомогне за бъдещи подобни търсения върху просопографията и социалната история на Византия.

Ключови думи: византийска просопография, Лаханас, оловни печати, обществена история